Congressional Record

CONTAINING

THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

ALSO

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE

OF

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, SPECIAL SESSION.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *March 5, 1917.*

The PRESIDENT of the Senate pro tempore (WILLARD SAULSBURY, a Senator from the State of Delaware) assumed the chair.

The Senators and Senators elect were seated to the left of the Vice President's desk.

The Speaker and Members and Members elect of the House of Representatives were announced and occupied seats to the right of the Vice President's desk, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives was escorted to a seat on the left of the Vice President's chair.

The ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary representing foreign Governments were announced and escorted to the seats reserved for them.

The Chief Justice of the United States and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States were announced and shown to the seats provided for them.

The Chief of Staff of the Army and the Admiral of the Navy were announced, and they with their aids were conducted to the seats assigned them.

The Committee on Arrangements of the two Houses of Congress escorted the President of the United States to the Senate Chamber and occupied the seats provided for them in the area in front of the Vice President's desk, as did also the members of the President's Cabinet.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock meridian.

PRAYER.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, by Thy grace we are called together to open another session of the Senate. We pause at the threshold of this solemn duty to make mention of Thy name and to invoke Thy blessing. We offer upon Thine altar the praises of a great Nation. Thy providence has never failed us in all our national history. The storms of earth do not shake Thy throne. Thy law stands guard over the rights of men. We thank Thee to-day for the abundance of material blessing that Thou hast been pleased to bestow upon us. Thou hast given us a vision of a fair and beautiful form of civilization. By Thy power and grace alone do we hope to perpetuate the institutions that have come to us as a rich inheritance from the past.

And now we humbly beseech Thee to look upon us as we are called upon to face the trials and dangers of this tragic hour of the world's history. Bless Thy servants who are now called into places of authority and power. May they have that wisdom which justifies authority and that grace which sanctifies power. As they make and execute the laws of this land may they hold with even hand the scale of justice for all men, and may they transmute into law the highest achievements of a Christian civilization.

We pray Thy blessing upon all nations. Give to us responsive hearts to the cry for help from the stricken and starving people of all lands that are now being blasted with cruel war. May our mission among all the nations be that of self-sacrificing service, and our message be an evangel of peace and good will.

Do Thou, O God of our fathers, commission us anew this day to a place of gracious ministry among the nations of the earth which will hasten the coming of the imperial Prince of Peace. For Christ's sake. Amen.

PROCLAMATION.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President of the United States convening the Senate in extraordinary session.

The Secretary (JAMES M. BAKER) read the proclamation, as follows:

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Whereas public interests require that the Senate of the United States be convened at 12 o'clock on the 5th day of March next to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Senate of the United States to convene at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 5th day of March next, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members of that body are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at Washington the 23d of February, in the year of Our Lord 1917, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.] WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH TO THE VICE PRESIDENT.

The President pro tempore administered the oath of office to THOMAS R. MARSHALL, of Indiana, Vice President elect of the United States, who responded, "I do, so help me God, in whom I believe."

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT MARSHALL.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators, custom calls for the utterance of a few words upon this occasion. Were it otherwise, I should gladly remain silent. It may not be inappropriate to express my gratitude for the little nameless, unnumbered, and oft-times unremembered, acts of courtesy and charity shown to me by the Members of this body during the last four years; to express my regret over the vanishing faces of those who are leaving us, and to welcome those who in a few moments are to become our coworkers in the cause of constitutional freedom.

Everywhere in America are clamant and strident voices proclaiming the essential elements of patriotism. He who seeks out of them all to select one clear note of love for country may fail. I conceive it to be far more important to examine myself than to cross-examine anyone else. May I make bold to insert in the RECORD some elements of the creed which I have prepared in this period of retrospection and introspection? It does not embrace what I know, but holds part of what I believe.

I have faith that this Government of ours was divinely ordained to disclose whether men are by nature or can by education be made fit for self-government; to teach Jew and Greek, bondman and free, alike, the essential equality of all men before the law and to be tender and true to humanity everywhere and under all circumstances; to reveal that service is the highest reward of life. I can not believe otherwise than these things when I read the words and view the sacrifices of the fathers. If ours is not the golden rule of government, then Washington wrought and Lincoln died in vain.

I believe that the world, advancing now, retreating then, is nevertheless assuredly moving forward to a far-off divine event wherein the tongues of Babel will again be blended in the language of a common brotherhood; that I can reach the highest ideal of my tradition and my lineage as an American, as a man, as a citizen, and as a public official when I judge my fellowmen without malice and with charity; when I worry more about my own motives and conduct and less about the motives and conduct of others. The only time I am liable to be wrong is when I know that I am absolutely right. In an individualistic republic I am the unit of patriotism, and if I keep myself keyed up in unison with the music of the Union my fellowmen will catch the note and fall into time and step.

I believe there is no finer form of government than the one under which we live, and that I ought to be willing to live or to

die as God decrees, that it may not perish from off the earth through treachery within or through assault from without; that while my first right is to be a partisan when the principles on which alone free government can rest are being strained, my first duty is to be a patriot, and in a wilderness of words to follow that clear call which bids me guard and defend the ark of our national covenant. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

ADMINISTRATION OF THE OATH TO SENATORS ELECT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senators elect whose credentials are on file with the Secretary of the Senate and against whom no objections have been made to taking the oath of office will present themselves four at a time at the Secretary's desk for the purpose of being qualified as Senators of the United States. The Secretary will call their names in alphabetical order.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. ASHURST, Mr. CALDER, Mr. CULBERSON, and Mr. FRANCE.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. TILLMAN, Mr. WADSWORTH, Mr. SHEPPARD, and Mr. SMITH of Maryland, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. GERRY, Mr. HALE, and Mr. HITCHCOCK.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. HUGHES, Mr. COLT, Mr. FERNALD, and Mr. NORRIS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, Mr. ANDRIEUS A. JONES, Mr. KELLOGG, and Mr. KENDRICK.

These Senators (with the exception of Mr. JOHNSON), escorted by Mr. FALL, Mr. NELSON, and Mr. WARREN, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. KING, Mr. KNOX, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, and Mr. LODGE.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. SMOOT, Mr. PENROSE, Mr. HUSTING, and Mr. WEEKS, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. MCCUMBER, Mr. MCKELLAR, Mr. MCLEAN, and Mr. MYERS.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. GRONNA, Mr. SHIELDS, Mr. BRANDEGEE, and Mr. WALSH, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. NEW, Mr. PAGE, Mr. PITTMAN, and Mr. POINDEXTER.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. WATSON, Mr. DILLINGHAM, Mr. NEWLANDS, and Mr. JONES of Washington, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. POMERENE, Mr. REED, Mr. SUTHERLAND, and Mr. SWANSON.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. HARDING, Mr. STONE, Mr. STERLING, and Mr. MARTIN, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of Mr. TOWNSEND, Mr. TRAMMELL, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. WOLCOTT.

These Senators, escorted by Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. VARDAMAN, and Mr. SAULSBURY, respectively, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath was administered to them.

LIST OF SENATORS.

The list of Senators by States is as follows:

Alabama—John H. Bankhead and Oscar W. Underwood.
Arizona—Henry F. Ashurst and Marcus A. Smith.
Arkansas—Joseph T. Robinson and William F. Kirby.
California—James D. Phelan and Hiram W. Johnson.
Colorado—Charles S. Thomas and John F. Shafroth.
Connecticut—Frank B. Brandegee and George P. McLean.
Delaware—Willard Saulsbury and Josiah O. Wolcott.
Florida—Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell.
Georgia—Hoke Smith and Thomas W. Hardwick.
Idaho—William E. Borah and James H. Brady.
Illinois—Jas. Hamilton Lewis and Lawrence Y. Sherman.
Indiana—James E. Watson and Harry S. New.
Iowa—Albert B. Cummins and William S. Kenyon.
Kansas—William H. Thompson and Charles Curtis.
Kentucky—Ollie M. James and J. C. W. Beckham.
Louisiana—Joseph E. Ransdell and Robert F. Broussard.
Maine—Bert M. Fernald and Frederick Hale.
Maryland—John Walter Smith and Joseph I. France.
Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge and John W. Weeks.
Michigan—William Alden Smith and Charles E. Townsend.
Minnesota—Knute Nelson and Frank B. Kellogg.
Mississippi—John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman.
Missouri—William J. Stone and James A. Reed.
Montana—Henry L. Myers and Thomas J. Walsh.
Nebraska—Gilbert M. Hitchcock and George W. Norris.
Nevada—Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman.
New Hampshire—Jacob H. Gallinger and Henry F. Hollis.
New Jersey—William Hughes and Joseph S. Frelinghuysen.
New Mexico—Albert B. Fall and Andrieus A. Jones.
New York—James W. Wadsworth, jr., and William M. Calder.
North Carolina—Furnifold McL. Simmons and Lee S. Overman.
North Dakota—Porter J. McCumber and Asle J. Gronna.
Ohio—Atlee Pomerene and Warren G. Harding.
Oklahoma—Thomas P. Gore and Robert L. Owen.
Oregon—George E. Chamberlain and Harry Lane.
Pennsylvania—Boies Penrose and Philander C. Knox.
Rhode Island—LeBaron B. Colt and Peter G. Gerry.
South Carolina—Benjamin R. Tillman and Ellison D. Smith.
South Dakota—Thomas Sterling and Edwin S. Johnson.
Tennessee—John K. Shields and Kenneth D. McKellar.
Texas—Charles A. Culberson and Morris Sheppard.
Utah—Reed Smoot and William H. King.
Vermont—William P. Dillingham and Carroll S. Page.
Virginia—Thomas S. Martin and Claude A. Swanson.
Washington—Wesley L. Jones and Miles Poindexter.
West Virginia—Nathan Goff and Howard Sutherland.
Wisconsin—Robert M. La Follette and Paul O. Husting.
Wyoming—Francis E. Warren and John B. Kendrick.

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In accordance with the usual custom and the order of the Senate the procession will now be formed for the inaugural ceremonies of the President of the United States. The Sergeant at Arms will take charge.

The President, Woodrow Wilson, accompanied by the Chief Justice of the United States, the committee on arrangements of the two Houses, the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, followed by the ambassadors of and ministers plenipotentiary from foreign countries, the Members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President and the Secretary of the Senate, the Speaker and Clerk, followed by the Members of the House of Representatives, and the other guests of the Senate, proceeded to the inaugural platform at the east front of the Capitol.

The oath of office having been administered to the President by the Chief Justice of the United States, he delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: The four years which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequence. Perhaps no equal period in our history has been so fruitful of important reforms in our economic and industrial life or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, liberate and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests. It is a record of singular variety and singular distinction. But I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself and will be of increasing influence as the years go by. This is not the time for retrospect. It is time, rather, to speak our thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future.

Although we have centered counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ourselves four years ago, other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention, matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence.

It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics, and our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of it was out of the question.

And yet all the while we have been conscious that we were not part of it. In that consciousness, despite many divisions, we have drawn closer together. We have been deeply wronged upon

the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return; have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself. As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind,—fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace. We have been obliged to arm outselves to make good our claim to a certain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is we insist upon and can not forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

There are many things still to do at home, to clarify our own politics and give new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve; but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for stage and in cooperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for those things. They will follow in the immediate wake of the war itself and will set civilization up again. We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege;

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

That governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations;

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms;

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety;

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow countrymen: they are your own, part and parcel of your own thinking and your own motive in affairs. They spring up native amongst us. Upon this as a platform of purpose and of action we can stand together.

And it is imperative that we should stand together. We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world. In their ardent heat we shall, in God's providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of the errant humors of party and of private interest, and shall stand forth in the days to come with a new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, the high purpose of the Nation in his own mind, ruler of his own will and desire.

I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in affairs. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel. The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America—an America united in feeling, in purpose, and in its vision of duty, of opportunity, and of service. We are to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and the necessities of the Nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private power; beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people; beware that our Government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts. United alike in the conception of our duty and in the high resolve to perform it in the face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance, and your united aid. The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled and we shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.

The Senate returned to its Chamber at 1 o'clock and 14 minutes p. m., and the President pro tempore took the chair.

HOUR OF DAILY MEETING.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I submit the following resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. No. 1) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the daily hour of meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian until otherwise ordered.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, March 6, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *March 6, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we come to Thee for the spiritual equipment to enable us to perform the duties of this day and of the coming days as men who fear God and who appreciate in the fullest degree the sacred responsibility of this place and of this office. With interests more precious than life itself in our hands and with a sense of our obligation to the world for clearness of discernment, for vision of possible achievement, for the exaltation of purity and righteousness—with this sense of obligation we come to Thee and pray that Thou wilt send us forth upon this day's work with Thy blessing. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings when, on request of Mr. MARTIN and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I wish, before any action is taken that will recognize the Senate as being bound by the rules of the preceding Congress, to make the observation that while the Senate is a continuing body as an executive body it is not a continuing body as a legislative body. All the bills on the calendar died with the Sixty-fourth Congress. We have no calendar. We have no legislative committees. I wish to make the point that those rules are not binding on the new Members who come into this body, who have had no opportunity to participate in the making of the rules by which they are to be bound, and that they are not bound in the legislative functions of the Senate by the rules of any preceding Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is that a point of order?

Mr. OWEN. I make that observation for the RECORD so that any proceedings we take here shall be by unanimous consent.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the fact that the committees of the Senate were continued by resolution, as usual, and those committees can only exist under the rules. The question whether the rules continue or not is a rather large one, which I have no desire to discuss at this time. I call attention to the action at the last session of Congress.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, it seems to me, as this matter will probably be considerably discussed, it would be better to

just let the protest of the Senator from Oklahoma be pending until ample opportunity is given for as full a discussion of it as may be reasonably desired.

Mr. OWEN. I ask that that be considered as a pending matter, so that the Senate is not at present bound until further action.

Mr. FLETCHER. I suggest that it would be well to call the roll.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Has the reading of the Journal been dispensed with by unanimous consent?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair so understood. He heard no objection.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolution which I sent to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia rises to a parliamentary inquiry. He will state it.

Mr. HARDWICK. I inquire of the Chair what is the pending parliamentary status, whether there is anything before the Senate for action?

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is a request on the part of the Senator from Virginia for the present consideration of a resolution, which will be read.

The Secretary proceeded to read the resolution.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Do I understand that unanimous consent has been asked for the present consideration of the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the request of the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I reserve the right to object, if I desire to do so, until after I know what is in the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 2), as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of three Senators be appointed to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of the Senate is assembled, and that the Senate is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I have no objection, Mr. President.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Do the officers of the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms and the officers, hold now by virtue of their election during a preceding session of the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair was trying to ascertain whether the Senator from Oklahoma wanted the ruling of the Chair upon the question as to whether the Senate as a continuing body has rules and whether it has officers. The Senator from Oklahoma simply desired to place on the RECORD a protest.

Mr. OWEN. A caveat.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes; he served notice that there is a patent applied for. The Chair is not inclined to answer parliamentary inquires for the reason that everyone knows or should know what is coming up. If it is taken up now the Chair will formally rule on the question and an appeal can be taken. There is no way the Chair could rule on a parliamentary inquiry without immediately precipitating a debate on this question.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator from Montana pardon a suggestion?

Mr. WALSH. I really would like to present to the Presiding Officer that question in connection with this matter, not involving the question of the continuity of the rules at all.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair believes that the various officials of the Senate hold until their successors have been by the Senate appointed.

Mr. WALSH. I was of the impression that it had been definitely determined by the Senate. That is the rule in respect to the President pro tempore, who holds his office by virtue of the Constitution. I am not so certain that there is a statute to the effect that when once elected he holds until his successor is elected and qualified. I am not certain whether that question has been determined so far as the other officers of the Senate are concerned.

I merely desire to say, Mr. President, that if the terms of those officers expired with the last Congress and they do not continue beyond the life of the last Congress, then the resolution offered by the Senator from Virginia would scarcely be in order until the organization of the Senate is completed by the election of a Secretary and a Sergeant at Arms. Accordingly, for the purpose of determining whether the resolution offered by the Senator from Virginia is in order at this time, it occurs to me that we must first determine whether we have a Secretary.

Mr. JAMES. I desire to say that the Senator from Virginia asked unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolution and that would make it in order, even though the point of order made by the Senator from Montana should be well taken upon a full consideration of the question.

Mr. WALSH. I was not unmindful of the suggestion now made by the Senator from Kentucky, but the resolution recites that there is a quorum of the Senate present and ready to receive any communication that the President of the United States may care to make. Of course, if he makes any communication to the Senate we ought to have a Secretary to report the communication that he makes. We ought to have a Sergeant at Arms to preserve order before——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. LODGE. It has not yet been determined that there is a quorum present.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll and Mr. ASHURST answered "present."

Mr. HARDING. May I make a parliamentary inquiry at this stage?

Mr. JAMES. The regular order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Nothing can be done in the way of a parliamentary inquiry until we determine whether a quorum is present.

Mr. HARDING. I want to raise this point, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has ruled. The Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

The Secretary resumed and concluded the calling of the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Myers	Smith, Ga.
Beckham	Hollis	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Borah	Hughes	New	Smith, Mich.
Brady	Husting	Newlands	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	James	Norris	Smoot
Broussard	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Stone
Calder	Jones, N. Mex.	Owen	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Page	Swanson
Colt	Kellogg	Penrose	Thomas
Culberson	Kendrick	Phelan	Thompson
Cummins	Kenyon	Pittman	Tillman
Curtis	King	Poindexter	Trammell
Dillingham	Kirby	Pomerene	Underwood
Fernald	Knox	Ransdell	Vardaman
Fletcher	La Follette	Reed	Wadsworth
France	Lane	Robinson	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	Lewis	Saulsbury	Warren
Gerry	Lodge	Shafroth	Watson
Gronna	McCumber	Sheppard	Weeks
Hale	McKellar	Sherman	Williams
Harding	McLean	Shields	Wolcott
Hardwick	Martin	Simmons	

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. My colleague [Mr. TOWNSEND] is unavoidably detained from the Senate this morning on account of illness in his family.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-seven Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I have no desire to annoy the Presiding Officer, but I should like to ask how we establish the validity of the roll call until the Chair has ruled concerning the continuing services of the officers of the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. They are at least de facto officers of the Senate, whether they be de jure or not.

Mr. HARDING. That is very manifest.

The VICE PRESIDENT. And the action of de facto officers is always valid anywhere at any time.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Chair remarked a few moments ago that the purpose of these queries and of the protest or notice by the Senator from Oklahoma is very obvious, and that is true. The purpose on the part of some of us—not from a partisan standpoint at all, but in the interest of transacting the public business—is to amend the rules of the Senate, if we can. It has been demonstrated many times that, whatever else we may be able to do, we can not vote upon a pending measure in the absence of unanimous consent. Some of us think that now we should stay here until December, if necessary, in order that the country may learn whether, in addition to that inability, we are too imbecile to amend our own rules.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I ask for the regular order.

Mr. OWEN. There is no regular order.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] has asked unanimous consent for the passage of a resolution.

Mr. OWEN. The regular order is under general parliamentary law, and in that sense only could there be unanimous consent to there being any regular order.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What is the business before the Senate, Mr. President?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Virginia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which has been read. Nobody seems to have objected to it.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is there objection?

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is no objection of which the Chair has heard.

Mr. WALSH. I do not desire to embarrass the proceedings at all, but I suggest that probably we can go on and allow a record of the proceedings to be made by some de facto officer or by anybody whom the Chair should designate to take down what transpires. I see no reason why this course should not be taken, even though we have not officers; but it is quite obvious that we must soon determine that question.

Mr. REED. Do I understand that the resolution proposed by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] has been adopted by unanimous consent?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Not yet.

Mr. REED. I hope that no one in the Senate will object to the consideration of the motion for the appointment of a committee to wait on the President. Whatever else we ought to do hereafter, we certainly ought not to neglect to do this necessary thing. No right will be lost by it. We are not in a court where we shall waive our right by laches.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Connecticut will state it.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Debate is not in order on a request for unanimous consent. I ask for the regular order.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, there is no regular order in the Senate, because the Senate has not adopted any rules for its procedure.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I should like a ruling of the Chair. I take the statement of the Senator from Oklahoma at its face value, but I prefer a ruling of the Chair.

Mr. OWEN. The Senator from Oklahoma will in this parliamentary body express his opinion without regard to the permission of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I demand the regular order, Mr. President.

Mr. OWEN. There is no regular order, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Just a moment. We are getting nowhere, and we are doing absolutely no good. The Senator from Oklahoma refuses to make a point of order, and nobody else makes one.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I make the point of order that debate is not in order on this request for unanimous consent, and I will ask for a ruling of the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Unanimous consent has been granted for the consideration of the resolution, but whether the resolution shall be passed is debatable, the Chair thinks.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is the resolution before the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution is before the Senate and has been read.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Very well.

Mr. OWEN. Now, Mr. President, I think it is perfectly obvious that the continuation of the services of the stenographers and all the officers of the Senate is granted by unanimous consent, because there is no single Senator who desires to make any objection to that, and that certainly may be considered as of unanimous consent, whether we are under the general parliamentary law or whether we are under the law of a continuing body. Therefore that much is eliminated, and the only thing that I wish to preserve is that we shall not be put in the attitude of proceeding under the rules of any preceding Congress. To that I will not consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. REED and Mr. VARDAMAN addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I presume it will take something like an hour for the committee appointed to wait on the President to report, and I move, therefore, that immediately upon the appointment of the committee the Senate shall stand in recess until the hour of half past 1 o'clock p. m.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I wish to rise to a question of personal privilege, if the Senator from Missouri will be kind enough to withhold his motion.

Mr. REED. Certainly; but my motion would not interfere with the Senator from Mississippi, because my motion was that the Senate take a recess after the committee has been appointed. However, I will withhold the motion.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator will pause a moment, the Chair appoints as the committee to wait on the President the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN].

ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, it is not my habit to explain. I prefer that my acts and words interpret themselves, but I can not remain silent under misrepresentation, however great or insignificant my accuser may be, especially when silence would be taken as a confession of guilt. I notice in the columns of the Washington Post of its issue of March 5, 1917, that my name appears among the "little group of willful men" who are charged with the flagitious crime of preventing the President's program from being carried out by the Senate. And in these unusual abnormal days when the atmosphere is surcharged with apprehension and timid hearts yield in silent adoration to power, the offense with which I am charged is rather serious. I am at a loss to understand just why the distinction of being one of the "willful men" should be given me, because I am not conscious of having done anything to merit it. If the patient, steady clock that hangs on the wall above the head of the honorable and dignified gentleman who presides over this body were possessed of the senatorial tongue, and were not afraid of being charged with treason, I am quite sure it would acquit me of having contributed in any way to the defeat of the aforesaid presidential program. I think by the watch I consumed just 16 minutes of the precious senatorial time in the discussion of the President's program. Now, I am not in the least displeased with the character of men with whom my name is associated in that "little group," who have been made a target of the President's animadversion—and I should not be altogether candid if I withheld from the Senate the fact that I am not in the least disappointed that Senate bill No. 8322 was defeated. I was not for that measure then, I am not for it to-day—I will not be for it to-morrow—but, as I stated a few days ago in a short address to the Senate, if this bill should have been amended by the adoption of the House measure in its stead and incorporated in the House bill the amendment offered by the able and patriotic Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], I should not have in the circumstances voted against it. But I would not have voted for it. I would have consented negatively to the passage of the bill out of deference to the wisdom of the majority of my colleagues in this Chamber. But I will not delegate to the President of the United States or anyone else the power to execute a trust committed by the people under the Constitution to the Congress. Especially when I believe the delegation of such a trust to the President, as in this instance, would in all probability bring on war. I have no constitutional right to delegate such a power to the President, and from my viewpoint to do so would be little short of a betrayal of a trust on my part. I think I know my duty to my constituents, and I am going to perform that duty regardless of what any individual man may say or others do. I shall rely upon the fire of patriotism burning within my own heart to light the pathway of duty in this hour of peril.

Mr. President, I am very sorry that the President of the United States is displeased with the conduct of the Congress. I myself am not altogether happy and pleased with the work that has been done by the Congress; but since I have not a corner on all the wisdom and patriotism, and do not arrogate to myself the divine attributes of inerrancy, my sense of justice will not permit me to indulge in the luxury of denouncing those who differ from me. The Congress is a coordinate branch of this Government. Its power is plenary in the matter of regulating its own acts and prescribing rules of conduct. It has rights and prerogatives of the highest order and it would be unfortunate if it should yield those rights to a coordinate branch of the Government. The Congress should guard with a jealous eye any effort to abridge or trench upon those prerogatives. Personally, I do not take orders in the performance of my official duties from any man or set of men outside of the State of Mississippi, to whose people I am indebted for the commission I hold in this body. If I know my own heart, I have no purpose, ambition, or desire in the performance of the functions of my office here other than to promote the public good. Recognizing my own limitations, I make it a rule to consider well the opinion of others, for I have faith in the wisdom of numbers. By the attrition of ideas and friction of suggestions, the eternal truth will be evolved. I think the safest guide to the statesman is the wisdom extracted from the experiences of all the people, and applied in legislation for their benefit. I am in favor of free and ample discussion of all public questions in the Senate, and after that I am also in favor of an honest vote—a vote that registers the patriotic, intelligent senatorial will. I have never engaged in a filibuster since I became a Member of this body, and during the considera-

tion of this particular measure, which I, with others, are charged with smothering, and for which we have brought upon the devoted heads of Senators the savage and indelicate criticism by the President, I want to say that I did nothing by word of mouth, thought, counsel, or suggestion to delay or prevent a vote upon that measure. While I was opposed to it for the reason I believed that no good would come to the American people by its adoption, I was fearful that war would be brought on with Germany, human lives sacrificed, hearts broken, billions of dollars expended, and in addition to the sorrows that would cloud the homes, the burden of taxation that would be placed upon posterity staggers the imagination. And whatever may be the motives of the President, I am willing to concede to him the highest altruism and most exalted patriotism, but that will not change the consequences. The motives behind the deed will not mitigate the sufferings of war.

The beneficiaries of war and the ones who are responsible for this agitation are the rich few in the congested centers who have made their billions of dollars out of the unfortunate conditions in Europe, and their desire is to make billions more. Notwithstanding the possibilities of the dangers that might grow out of the passage of this measure, I have remained in the Senate continuously since it met in January, and during the latter days immediately preceding final adjournment I was in the Chamber night and day, assisting in every way possible, as Senators on this side of the Chamber will testify, in the maintenance of a quorum and the promotion of the business of the Senate. I did not sign the so-called "round robin" for two reasons: First, because I was opposed to the Senate bill; and, second, I doubted the propriety of such a measure. I regard it as somewhat demagogic in nature, and not in keeping with the dignity of the Senate. Now, I want to say in conclusion, Mr. President, that no act of mine, either of commission or omission, was responsible in the failure of getting a vote on the President's program before Congress adjourned. I make this statement in the interest of truth, and any intimation to the contrary does the person or newspaper that utters it an injustice, for the reason that it has not an element of veracity in it. I want to say further, just in this connection, that I have heretofore repeatedly expressed myself since I became a Member of this body, and long before I became a Member, as being in favor of moderate cloture. I am still in favor of cloture, and I shall cooperate with my brethren in the Senate generally, and my Democratic colleagues especially, in any effort that may be necessary to bring about a change in the rule so that the will of the Senate may be expressed. I have never opposed cloture—I have never favored a filibuster; but, on the contrary, I have universally been in favor of majority rule in Congress of the United States. And I will be permitted to add that I am also in favor of the Congress ruling itself.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I did not intend to discuss this subject, but my colleague [Mr. VARDAMAN] has made certain statements which I think it well to correct. He says that he is "sorry the President is dissatisfied with Congress." If the President is dissatisfied with Congress, the President has never said so. The President, on the contrary, said he was very highly satisfied with the action of the House of Representatives, which is one branch of Congress, and that he was very highly satisfied with the demonstration of the purpose of seventy-odd Senators, constituting seven-eighths of the other branch of Congress. He merely expressed dissatisfaction with the conduct of 11 or 12 men who refused to permit the Senate of the United States to vote. So much for that.

Now, Mr. President, my colleague says that "Congress has some rights." I think so, too; and I think that one of the rights of Congress is to legislate and that, in order that Congress may exercise that right, Congress has a right to vote.

Filibustering is an excusable thing upon little matters, little partisan affairs; but filibustering when the honor and the safety of the Nation are at stake—filibustering, the result of which is to render the Government of the United States "helpless and contemptible" before the world, as the President says—and I indorse his language—is not excusable.

My colleague has said he "occupied the floor only 16 minutes." That is true. It is also true that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] did not occupy any minutes at all; but, all the same, the Senators who had made up their minds to defeat that bill defeated it between them; and they defeated it by not permitting the Senate of the United States to express its legislative opinion in a lawmaking way.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, my colleague does not in any way charge me with complicity with anybody to defeat that bill, does he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know what complicity the Senator had with anybody or anything, and I therefore made no charge of any sort.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I will say that I hope that neither he nor anybody else will make that charge, because it is absolutely without any foundation in fact; on the contrary, I desired a vote.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I know nothing about that. What the Senator's intention was as a Senator is a matter in foro conscientiæ with the Senator. It is within the inner arcanum of his own mind. Nobody but God can judge the intentions of men except by the outward appearance of things. What the real intent in the heart of any man is nobody but God and that man himself know. I therefore make no charge as to the intent of any of these gentlemen, but I do say that between them they *did* defeat this legislation by not permitting this, the greatest deliberative and the smallest legislative body in the world, to express its will legislatively; I do say that the President expressed no dissatisfaction with the Congress of the United States. He expressed dissatisfaction solely with the conduct of those men who prevented the Congress from being a legislative body—a law-making body—doing its own avowed and undenied will; and I do say that the President was exactly right when he said that the result of that conduct was to make the Government of the United States appear before all the world "helpless and contemptible." I say, moreover, that the President was right when he said that no explanation can be made abroad, because "the explanation is incredible." It is absolutely incredible to anybody in the world anywhere, except to a few people in the United States, that there could be a condition of things in a legislative body where not a rule but the lack of a rule enables a minority of 11 or 12 or 5 or 6 men to decree cloture against a majority, to decree negative cloture, when the majority can not have cloture affirmatively. The President is not "dissatisfied with Congress," but I do not want this occasion or any other to pass which may leave the impression upon the minds of the people of this country—especially I do not wish the occasion to pass or anything to be said which shall leave the impression upon the minds of the people in foreign countries—that the Congress of the United States is not unitedly behind the President of the United States in regard to legislation which he asks. Seven-eighths of this body wanted the legislation; seven-eighths of this body took the unprecedented step of affixing their names to a paper to say so, thereby substantially saying to all the world, "We are cabined, cribbed, confined, manacled, bound, helpless, and contemptible because we have no way in the world of expressing a legislative opinion in a law-making way, and must express it by 'round robin.'"

I should be sorry, indeed, if the President were dissatisfied with the conduct of the Congress; sorrier still if the Congress were dissatisfied with the conduct of the President. But Congress is not dissatisfied with the conduct of the President and is behind him heart and soul, and nearly unanimous, in both branches; and nearly the whole people of the United States are also behind him.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. GRONNA. I simply wish to state that the Senator from Mississippi is not so sure about that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Mississippi is as sure about that as any human being can be about any fact. He can not, like God, know those things to their absolute ultimate certainty, and men never do; but I am as sure of it as I am of the fact that the people of the South once wanted independence. I am as sure of it as I am of the fact that the people of the North were determined that they should not have it. I am as sure of it as I am that a majority of the people of America believe in God. I am as sure of it as I am that rain will come in the future, as it has come in the past. [Laughter in the galleries.] I am as sure of it as I am that water, let alone, will flow downstream. The papers, and the people, and the legislatures, and the mass meetings of the people all over the country are speaking in tones unmistakable to anybody who has ears to hear.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The doorkeepers have evidently not discharged their duties. The occupants of the galleries must keep quiet.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, that is all I have to say.

Mr. REED obtained the floor.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for two or three minutes?

Mr. REED. I very much wanted to have a recess until the committee could return.

Mr. KENYON. I wanted to rise to a question of personal privilege. I will occupy only a few minutes.

Mr. REED. Well, I dislike to refuse any Senator that right, but I should like to keep the floor for the purpose of making this motion, because I hope to end this discussion for the present and get a recess.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I am quite content to accept responsibility, criticism, condemnation, or commendation for anything that I may actually do.

I read in the Star of last evening, and several other papers, of "the 12 Members of the Senate who blocked the vote on the armed-neutrality bill." My name is given among them.

I want to say that the statement that I in any way was part of or aided in a filibuster or helped block any vote on the bill giving certain powers to the President is absolutely and unqualifiedly false, and the membership of this body know it. Much as I desired to discuss the bill, I did not take any time even to do that. In fact, I did not occupy one minute of the time of the Senate with relation to this bill.

The plan seems to be now to include as part of the alleged filibuster all those who did not sign the paper passed around the Senate. The paper was shown to me rather hastily. I glanced over it and noted that several Senators had signed it with the reservation that they would vote for the bill if certain amendments were adopted. I signified to the party in charge of the paper my willingness to sign, placing the same restrictions as other Senators had done.

It was suggested that a separate sheet should contain the names of those who signed with reservations as to amendments. Before this was done the paper was taken to other Senators for signature, and in the hurry and confusion the matter slipped by and I gave no further attention thereto. I am not in the habit, in any event, of signing papers stating how I will vote on any proposition, for no one can tell what the condition of the bill will be when brought to a final vote.

I did not understand that the question of signing that paper was a test of whether a man was a patriot or a traitor.

If the bill concerning which this controversy raged in its final form had contained either the Stone, Cummins, or McCumber amendment, I should have been glad to vote for it. If the House bill had been the one before us for final passage, as it seemed probable, I would have voted for it. If, however, the bill in its final form gave to the President the power to protect with our Army and Navy boats carrying munitions of war to belligerents, and to protect the alleged rights of Americans riding on the boats of belligerent nations, I should have hesitated to vote for it. If under those conditions, however, the question should have finally resolved itself into giving the President that power, with others, or giving him absolutely no power, I should have voted for the bill, trusting in his judgment not to use arms or the Army or Navy for the purposes suggested.

I refuse, and will in the future refuse, to be a party to sending our Nation to war to protect munition makers in their unholy business or piling up tremendous dividends by selling and shipping their weapons of destruction to foreign powers now engaged in war; and I shall further refuse to aid in sending this Nation to war to protect the alleged right of Americans riding on boats of belligerent powers.

If war comes, the munition makers will not do the fighting. Congress will not do it. The people of this country—the boys from the farms, the shops, the stores, the banks, the places of trade—will do all the fighting and all the dying.

I propose, Mr. President, in every way I can, to back the President at this time of national crisis. I have never knowingly put an obstacle in his pathway, and will not. He has a hard task.

I few more days' debate on the bill and it would have passed the Senate in some form. The criticism is not all on the Senate. It has not yet reached the point where legitimate debate on bills should be an indication of disloyalty to the country. I listened to most of the debate on this bill. It seemed to me legitimate discussion of a most important measure. The President did not come to Congress until the last week of the session to ask for this authority. Had he come before there would have been ample time to discuss and pass a suitable measure.

I did not rise, however, to discuss these various matters, but simply to brand as false any statement, coming I care not from where, that I was in any way a part of or had any hand in any filibuster or any effort to block a vote on the bill.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa a question. The Senator states that if this bill had come before the Senate earlier it would have been possible to have a vote. Was not the Senator in the Chamber, and did he not hear the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] say that he would not agree to a vote at any time upon that measure?

Mr. KENYON. I think the Senator will agree with me, upon calm reflection, that if the bill had had three or four more days for discussion, it would have passed. While there might not have been an agreement to vote the debate would have been exhausted.

Mr. JAMES. I can not agree to that, because under the rules of the Senate it is possible for any small number of Senators to prevent a vote; it would not matter how great the crisis.

Mr. KENYON. Well, they are compelled to occupy the time by talking.

Mr. JAMES. A foreign foe might be upon American soil, burning our cities and murdering our people, and yet a few men, under these old rules, could prevent Congress from summoning a soldier to the colors or appropriating a dollar for the defense of our homes.

Mr. KENYON. I am not disagreeing with the Senator as to the desirability of a change in the rules. I have been in favor of that ever since I have been in the Senate. It is a question of leaving reasonable debate for the Senate, and not going too far in restricting the same.

RECESS.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I now move that the Senate take a recess until the hour of 2 o'clock, in order to permit the committee to report.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 12 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.

The Senate reassembled at 2 o'clock p. m. on the expiration of the recess.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN, Mr. WALSH, and Mr. WARREN appeared and Mr. MARTIN said: Mr. President, the committee appointed for the purpose have waited upon the President and notified him that a quorum of the Senate is present and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make. The President desires us to say that he will at an early day communicate with the Senate.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 3), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the inaugural address of the President, delivered on March 5, 1917, be printed as a Senate document, and that 10,000 additional copies be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

ADDRESS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 4), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the address of the Vice President, delivered March 5, 1917, be printed as a Senate document, and that 10,000 additional copies be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I ask leave to introduce a bill and have it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the Committee on Foreign Relations is not organized. I ask that it go over for a day.

Mr. LODGE. I ask that the bill be read for the information of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not agree with either of the Senators. Let it be read.

The SECRETARY. A bill authorizing the President of the United States to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing the registry of the United States, with defensive arms, and for other purposes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I desire to make a point of order that there is no Congress of the United States in session and therefore that no such bill can be introduced.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That point of order the Chair will sustain.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I hoped the Chair would allow me to ask a question before the ruling was made.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Now, let the Chair make a statement. The Chair persumes that he is the only good-humored person anywhere just now. This is just fencing around the situation, and a very unsatisfactory situation.

From a personal standpoint the Chair does not like these rules. He thinks they ought to be changed. He thinks there ought to be some method devised whereby the Presiding Officer may at least have the poor satisfaction of being enabled to determine whether a motion is in order or is not. But the Senate is the

exclusive judge of the qualifications of its Members and of its own rules. The Chair wishes they were changed.

The Chair can not believe that after 50 years of recognition of these rules as the standing rules of the Senate on mere objection they can be swept out of existence and that 96 men who represent 48 sovereign States are here under no rules and under no authority whatever, having no officers and no way to discharge business. If those contentions be true, then there was no session of the Senate of the United States upon yesterday; the present Presiding Officer is not now the Vice President of the United States nor the Presiding Officer of this body, but a usurper, an interloper in his position. I do not believe any such thing. I think he is Vice President, and I do not believe it is in your power to put him out without charging him with some crime or misdemeanor, malfeasance or misfeasance in office.

The Chair would like to have these rules changed. The Chair does not believe that the Senate, called as it is as one of the bodies of the two bodies constituting the Congress of the United States, is a legislative body in the sense that bills may be introduced, referred to committees, reported back, and discussed in the Senate of the United States. If they can be then they can be passed, and what does it amount to? Nothing.

The Chair thinks this body is convened simply to do the things which it can do under the Constitution of the United States. It can receive and confirm executive nominations; it can receive and ratify treaties. There are certain other rights and privileges which appertain to the Senate of the United States that the Senate can exercise. The Chair does not believe that it can enter upon the general subject of legislation. The Chair would be glad to hear the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should be very glad to have pointed out to me anything in the Constitution of the United States or the rules of the Senate which prevents the Senate from considering legislative business when it is summoned apart from the House. The Constitution of the United States says the President "may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them." If he has the right to convene the House he can convene that body only for legislative business, and the fact that we have also executive business does not seem to me to deprive us of the same right. I have seen frequently at extraordinary sessions of the Senate petitions and memorials presented, bills and resolutions introduced and referred.

I admit the question is a new one, but I have been unable to find anything which debars the Senate from transacting legislative business if it is so minded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. May the Chair ask the Senator a question?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Suppose your bill goes to the Committee on Foreign Relations, suppose it reports it favorably, suppose it be taken up, discussed, and passed by the Senate of the United States; what does it amount to?

Mr. LODGE. It will await the summoning of the House. We frequently pass bills when the House is not in session and hold them for three days.

The VICE PRESIDENT. When the Congress is not in session?

Mr. LODGE. No; not when Congress is not in session, but when the House is not in session.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. Yet it is a new case. I do not know anything in the Constitution which forbids it. The right of the President to summon the House separately shows that he can summon a body which has only legislaive business. Of course as to the bill which I presented, one objection under the rules, which I conceive still to exist, prevents it from being read more than the first time, but if the rules do not exist then the Senate is operating under general parliamentary law, and there is nothing to prevent any Senator from presenting anything he chooses and having it read at the desk.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I think we all understand that there is going to be an effort made to modify the rules, and that until that effort has been tested out we shall not transact much business. The Democrats are to meet in conference. I understand the Republicans intend to meet in conference, and I have heard, although I of course do not know, that the question as to the rules will probably be considered in the Republican conference. I am sure it will be considered in the Democratic conference.

I, therefore, Mr. President, move that the Senate——

Mr. WALSH. Before making that motion will the Senator indulge me for a moment?

Mr. REED. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I feel that the question presented to the Senate by the bill tendered by the Senator from Massachusetts ought not to be considered as disposed of at the present time. It has been determined by the Senate of the United States that the Senate convened in extraordinary session, without the House acting in conjunction with it, can transact only executive business, as has been suggested by the Chair.

I have very carefully considered all the debates on that subject. In none of them, marvelous as it may seem, is any reference whatever made to that provision of the Constitution to which the Senator from Massachusetts has just called the attention of the Senate. I find it difficult to believe that that subject could have been canvassed by the able men who discussed it before this body without a reference to it. But after an exhaustive examination of the question I am obliged to say that that is the situation. Yet, for myself, I can see no possible escape from the conclusion which is announced by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. REED. I wish to say to the Senator from Montana that I had intended to make a motion to adjourn for the very purpose of leaving this question open, not for the purpose of foreclosing it.

Mr. WALSH. That is what I wanted to suggest to the Senator.

Mr. REED. Of course, if we are going to discuss it, we might be here all day. It is an important question and it ought to be fully discussed.

Mr. WALSH. I trust the Senator will permit me to make a statement of my attitude with respect to the matter. I will discuss it later on.

The Constitution gives to the President of the United States exactly the same power to convene the House in extraordinary session that it gives him to convene the Senate in extraordinary session. The language is that "he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them."

So, Mr. President, he may convene the House in extra session without the Senate. If he can, of course, the House can only transact legislative business, because it has no power but legislative power. So if the House may be convened in extra session for the purpose of transacting legislative business, it strikes me as indisputable that the Senate can transact legislative business when so convened.

Yet, Mr. President, you are quite right in the view that the other has been accepted for many years and even has been determined by this body. But we shall have to reexamine that question, and we shall have to reexamine it at this session.

So likewise, Mr. President, you are proceeding upon the assumption that the rules should have been continued in force. That question has never been debated in this body. It has never been determined in this body. I make that statement, likewise, Mr. President, advisedly.

I trust that we shall not consider that question either as determined until I have had an opportunity to advance some consideration which forces me strongly to the conclusion at which I have arrived in that regard as I am convinced on the other question to which reference has been made.

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, the question of the continuing existence of the Senate has been discussed. I have the references here. I have not had time to get them together in a form to present.

Mr. WALSH. The Senator from Massachusetts misunderstood me. Repeatedly you will find the declaration made that the Senate is a continuing body. The question is then presented as to what is meant by a continuing body; whether that means that the rules continue from one Congress to another Congress or not.

I assert, Mr. President, that the question as to whether the rules live from one Congress to another Congress has never been directly considered by this body, although many times incidentally it has been asserted that the Senate is a continuing body.

Mr. President, let me add, because a certain practice has been followed for many years is no reason at all, although its persuasive force may be open to question, why it is the right procedure. For instance, for 76 years— yea, for 87 years—it was regarded that the joint rules of the two Houses lived from one Congress to another, and yet when that question was directly presented to the Senate in 1876 and debated in this body the conclusion was arrived at that they did not.

So, Mr. President, I trust Senators will hold their minds in suspension on both these questions, because the question now presented by the Senator from Massachusetts is one of very grave moment, and, as I have indicated, I have been unable to

escape the conclusion which I have arrived at that we can transact legislative business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Just a word. I do not want any misconceptions about this matter. One thing particularly is clear, and I think everyone will agree upon it. The Vice President of the United States as the Presiding Officer of this body has absolutely nothing to do with making the rules. It is not any of his business what they are. The question whether there are or are not rules and whether you can or can not transact business are questions for the Senate, and it makes no difference what opinion I express, the Senate will settle it, and will settle it without any regard whatever to what my views are.

Mr. REED. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 22 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, March 7, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *March 7, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, draw near to us to-day. Let us feel and know that Thou art reading the secrets of our hearts. Amid the stress of our times, amid the alarm of war and the universal unrest, may we be sure that Thou art with us. May these things bring us closer to Thee. Keep Thou our spirit life calm and true and pure. May our ability to rule our own spirits be the promise and prophecy that we will be enabled to rule the circumstances of this world. Do Thou, we pray Thee, guide us with firm resolve, with high ideal, with consecrated purpose to the accomplishment of the great purpose of God in us as a Nation. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. MYERS. I present a number of memorials of the Montana Legislature, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I suggest that the Journal of the preceding day's session has not been read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to reading the Journal of the preceding session? The Chair hears none, and the Journal will be read.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

THE RULES OF THE SENATE.

Mr. WALSH. I ask unanimous consent to present the following resolution, upon which I shall not ask immediate action.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. Did the Senator ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution?

Mr. WALSH. I shall not ask for immediate consideration.

Mr. SMOOT. I could not hear what the Senator said.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 5), as follows:

Resolved, That until further ordered the rules of the Senate in force at the close of the Sixty-fourth Congress be adopted as the rules of the Senate, with the exception of Rule XXII thereof.

Resolved, That a committee of seven Members be appointed by the Vice President, four of whom shall be members of the majority and three members of the minority, to draft a substitute for Rule XXII.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, as I am obliged to leave the city to-night I am going to ask the indulgence of the Senate while I express briefly my views concerning the subject matter of the resolution. It presents this question:

Are the rules under which the Senate operated during the last session of Congress now effective, or is the Senate governed by the general parliamentary law until rules are adopted, and is it in order to move to fix a time when the Senate shall take a vote on a pending question or to move the previous question with a view to closing debate even on a motion to amend the rules?

Before response is made to this inquiry I desire, with the indulgence of the Senate, to submit some observations.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I ask for order.

The VICE PRESIDENT rapped with his gavel.

Mr. HARDWICK. A parliamentary inquiry, if the Senator will pardon me just a moment. I take it the Senator from Montana is addressing the Senate by unanimous consent?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair so understood it.

Mr. HARDWICK. I have no objection. I merely wanted to understand the situation.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, it is undeniable that since the present Government of the United States assumed the direction of their destiny the rules in force at the close of any session of the Senate have governed its deliberations upon reassembling without any formal action readopting them, even though the last adjournment marked the demise of a Congress. Were the rules theretofore in force adopted by the acquiescence of the Senate on reassembling, or was their vigor perpetual from Congress to Congress by virtue of the peculiar constitution of the Senate and the power vested in it by the Constitution? That the view has generally prevailed, so far as any thought has been given to the subject at all, that the rules have the quality of perpetuity, except as they may be altered or abrogated by affirmative action of the Senate, is altogether probable. It is a matter of common knowledge that the rules of the House do not survive the Congress during which they were adopted. At the first session of each new Congress that body entertains a motion that the rules of the last preceding Congress, with or without changes or exceptions, shall govern its deliberations until further ordered. Until such a resolution or some other of like import is passed the House operates under general parliamentary law, unless, as has occurred, it is assumed that the rules of the last House are in force until by acquiescence they are deemed to have been reinvigorated and in effect reenacted. The House of Representatives holds that by virtue of the provision of the Constitution that "each House may determine its rules of proceedings" the representatives of the people assemble, after a general election, untrammeled by any rules any of their predecessors may have adopted; that no House can take any proceedings in derogation of the powers of its successor; that it is powerless to bind its successor in any way touching the constitutional privilege of that body, and that the language of the Constitution—"each House"—differentiates one House from the House of a succeeding Congress, as well as from the coordinate branch of the Congress. This view of the powers of the House and the limitation of its powers, now universally acceded to, was not always dominant. Though it had been its practice since its history began formally to reenact in whole or in part the rules of the House in force at the expiration of the preceding Congress at the first session of a new Congress, the code of rules adopted in 1860 embraced the following:

> These rules shall be the rules of the present and succeeding Congresses unless otherwise ordered.

Notwithstanding it was continued nominally in force until 1890, it was repeatedly held during the intervening period to be nugatory though from time to time some feeble effort was made to justify it. On December 7, 1875, Samuel J. Randall offered a resolution providing that the rules of the Forty-third Congress, which had expired on the 4th day of March preceding, be the rules of the House then organizing. James A. Garfield raised the point of order that the rules of the last House were by their terms in force without such a resolution—to which the Speaker, Mr. Kerr, replied:

> The Chair overrules it on the ground that the Constitution clearly gives to each House the right to adopt its own rules. Whatever may have been the rules or orders of a preceding House in reference to this matter, they can not supersede the constitutional right of this House to adopt its own rules.

Any doubt that may have arisen from time to time was set at rest in the memorable controversy that attended the elevation of Thomas B. Reed to the Speakership in 1889. He held that the rules did not continue in force beyond the life of the Congress which recognized their authority, and it was while the House was operating under general parliamentary law that he counted a quorum. In his vigorous style he declared:

> The Chair has always been unable to see how it was possible for a House which had passed out of existence to bind by rules and regulations a House which was to come into existence in the future.

Mr. Carlisle, the leader of the militant opposition, in the course of debate, said:

> I agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], a member of the Committee on Rules, in the statement that it has been almost universally, perhaps universally, held in this House that it was not within the power of the House to bind its successors by any rules it might adopt, and that therefore each House, when it assembled, had in it the inherent right as a legislative body to prescribe for itself its own rules; that until it did so prescribe rules for the government of its own proceedings it was governed simply by what may be called the general parliamentary law.

He had himself ruled in accordance with these views when Speaker.

With much diffidence I submit that the Senate rules are equally evanescent in character. I do so in recognition of the weight that attaches to the uniform practice of the Senate down to this time and to the opinions of many eminent Members of this and the other House, expressed in a casual way in the course of debate on other more or less remotely related ques-

tions. I am reassured, however, so far as the usage of the Senate is concerned, by the fact—and to that, Mr. President, I direct your thoughtful consideration—by the fact that for 87 years, until 1876, the joint rules were treated as continuing in character just as the Senate rules have been to this day, and yet when that view was challenged, the Senate, with some dissent, it is true, in response to the sentiments of an overwhelming number of its Members, reached the conclusion that they were not. Statutes have been enacted by Congress and enforced for years without a suggestion having been made during the course of their passage or a suspicion having been aroused in the minds of those charged with the execution of them touching their constitutionality, only to be held void when eventually attacked before the judicial branch of the Government. The Missouri Compromise will readily occur to all as an instance of how the minds even of the most acute lawyers and students of the Constitution may fail to appreciate what in time is revealed as a fatal weakness in a statute.

Touching the other consideration adverted to, namely, the views advanced from time to time by Senators whose memories are revered and whose opinions upon the powers of this body under the Constitution are justly held in the highest respect, it is to be borne in mind in connection therewith that the question now before us, the continuing character of the Senate rules, has never been debated in or presented for determination by the Senate. It is absolutely new—*res nova*, to use the language of the law.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will it bother the Senator if I ask him a question or two?

Mr. WALSH. Not at all.

Mr. HARDWICK. By what authority, then, did the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY], the President pro tempore of the Senate, call the Senate to order on the 5th day of March, if there is no usage that the officers of the Senate hold over?

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. President, I shall canvass that a little later, and I am going to show to the Senate in the course of my remarks that any Senator could have performed that function.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator, then, contends that it is practically by unanimous consent, in the absence of objection?

Mr. WALSH. Pretty much so. The Senate was confronted with that situation exactly upon its first convening. The oldest Senator went to the desk and called the meeting to order, just the same as is done in a political convention.

Mr. HARDWICK. I think I can understand the Senator's view on that point. Just one more question, then. I am sorry to bother the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I am glad to have the Senator interrupt.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator contends—I have heard his contention before, as he has made it repeatedly in this body and with force, too—that the Senate is not a continuing body as a part of the Congress of the United States; but I have not yet heard the Senator contend that the Senate, as the executive council of the Nation, is not a continuing and unending body. If that is true, all of the Senator's argument has no application to the present situation, because this session is limited by the proclamation to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WALSH. If I do not canvass those considerations in the course of my remarks I will be very glad if the Senator from Georgia will challenge the attention of the Senate particularly to them by appropriate questions when I get through.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator from Montana, then, intends to cover these questions?

Mr. WALSH. I do; but if I do not deal with them so explicitly as to elucidate my views, I shall be very thankful to the Senator if he will address another question to me.

The debates in which the idea was expressed by Senators of great learning that the Senate is a "continuous body," or that its rules once adopted remain in force until amended or abrogated by affirmative action, afford intrinsic evidence that none of them gave the subject serious reflection or canvassed the considerations which impel the mind to a contrary conclusion. The most profound lawyers warn their clients against the acceptance of any views they may express without investigation, touching any debatable question of law, usually characterizing such contemptuously as a "curbstone opinion." May I ask you to disabuse your minds of any preconceived notion, to escape from the thraldom, which deference to usage long continued naturally imposes, to consider with me how far and in what sense the Senate is a continuing body?

As used in this connection the expression is intended to signify that the Senate as a constituent part of the Congress did not cease to exist as such when the Sixty-fourth Congress expired, to reassemble as an integral part of a quite distinct entity, the Sixty-fifth Congress. It embodies the idea of perpetual and continued existence on the part of the Senate, in character essentially different from the ephemeral life of the House.

But has not the entire history of this body, save in respect to the rules by which its proceedings have been guided, if any exception at all is to be made, been at war with any such theory? On the 4th day of March last, but two days ago, when the hands of the clock signified that the hour of 12 meridian had arrived, the Senator occupying the chair at the request of the Vice President, and in accordance, without doubt, with an understanding with that officer, without any direction from it, announced that the Senate stood adjourned *sine die*. By the mere lapse of time the body, as an organized assembly, had become *functus officio*. If it is, indeed, a "continuing body," why should the arrival of any particular time terminate its power to act? A majority of its Members were, on the occasion referred to, present on the floor. The successors of not a few of those whose terms were expiring, moved by curiosity or a desire to inform themselves concerning the procedure of the body of which they were about to become Members, were in the Chamber ready to take the oath.

The procedure on the occasion referred to was in conformity with that observed on the 3d day of March, 1791, when the First Congress came to its end. The Constitution provides that—

> Neither House during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days.

Congress having once convened, neither House can, except in defiance of the Constitution, quit, so long as the other insists upon continuing in session, until the 4th of March, in the odd-numbered year, arrives. Nominally a break will occur on the first Monday in December when, by another provision of the organic law, Congress is required to "assemble"; but, in fact, no interruption in the work of either Senate or House ensues in such a case. At the hour of 12 o'clock meridian on the first Monday in December, 1913, the Vice President announced the termination of the first session of the Sixty-third Congress, and forthwith declared the second session convened. The work of the Senate proceeded as it had on the day previous. The first session of the First Congress came to a close on the 29th day of September, 1789, agreeably to a joint resolution passed three days earlier. (1 Annals of Congress, 96.) But on the approach of the 4th day of March, 1791, the Congress being in session, each House notified the other that it was about to adjourn *sine die*, and did so adjourn without either asking or receiving any consent from the other, each recognizing its inability longer to preserve its existence as a body vested with any authority under the Constitution. (2 Annals of Congress, 826.)

So complete is the revolution on the arrival of the 4th day of March, in the odd year, that under the uniform practice of the Senate, since its career began, all bills die. Though a measure had proceeded until it had reached the final stage of its consideration by this body, even though a vote had been ordered when the fateful hour of 12 of the 4th day of March of the odd-numbered year arrives, it falls, and the tedious course through which it has passed must be traversed again when Congress reconvenes. It is of no consequence when that time arrives what views may have been voiced in the Senate as it was constituted at the preceding session—how protracted or how exhaustive may have been the debate, what statesmanship may have characterized it. The Senate as a constituent part of the new Congress utterly ignores the action taken by its predecessor and proceeds as it did upon the assembling of the First Congress. Not so in the case of an adjournment and a reassembling of Congress within the two-year period between the 4th day of March of any odd-numbered year and the same day two years later. In such a case every bill retains its status over the adjournment. The work of the session proceeds as if no interruption whatever had ensued. This practice, persisted in since the Constitution went into effect, under which each new Congress in both branches proceeds untrammeled by any action which may have been taken by its predecessor on any measures that may have come before it, plainly speaks of a prevalent and accepted theory that each Congress is an entity, possessing the same degree of independence as was enjoyed by the First when it assembled in 1789.

I am not unmindful of the fact that the procedure to which reference has been made is sanctioned by Rule XXXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate as they have been observed in past Congresses. But that rule is but an expression of the

practice which had been observed long before it first came into existence in 1868. It is merely declaratory in character, like the first clause of Rule I, which directs that "in the absence of the Vice President the Senate shall choose a President *pro tempore*," a duty enjoined by the Constitution.

The idea of a "continuing" Senate is at war with the theory of parliamentary government the world over. It is an essential conception in such a system that at intervals representatives assemble in one or more houses, transact such business as demands their attention, and then as a legislative body pass out of existence, a new assembly coming into being in conformity with organic law, or at the call of the sovereign authority. The British Parliament is "dissolved" at the end of seven years by operation of law, unless by the royal fiat its "dissolution" is accomplished earlier.

The Century Dictionary defines "*dissolve*" as "to disunite, break up; destroy, as any connected system or body; put an end to; as to *dissolve* a *government;* to dissolve *Parliament.*"

On reassembling after a dissolution the House of Lords goes through all the formalities attendant upon reorganization. Every member takes the oath. The representative peers from Scotland and Ireland are admitted. The members are, for the greater part, the same. The Lord Chancellor is ready to exercise the duties of presiding officer reposed in him by the constitution, the subordinate officers, even, are all at hand, for even in the House of Commons these functionaries hold practically for life, their tenure being indeterminate, but there is a new Parliament. The House of Lords can not be said to be a "continuing body." No one ever attempted to characterize it as such. It comes together at the call of the Crown. Writs are issued to every hereditary peer commanding his presence. At its pleasure the Crown dissolves the Parliament and dismisses the members of both houses. As a judicial body the House of Lords has permanency. As a part of the machinery of legislation it undergoes exactly the same dissolving process from time to time as does the House of Commons.

When the Senate is spoken of as a "continuing body" nothing more is meant or can be meant than that two-thirds of its Members remain in office at the expiration of each two-year period; that is, that there is not a complete change in membership as is the case in the House every second 4th of March, treating Members reelected as new Members.

Reference has been made to the fact that the session of the Senate comes to an end on the arrival of the 4th day of March of each alternate year just as does the session of the House. The Senate can not continue its existence, try as it may. It can not reassemble except at the call of the President or upon the arrival of the succeeding first Monday in December. It can neither convene nor can it adjourn beyond three days of its own volition.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, the Fortieth Congress assembled under a resolution.

Mr. WALSH. I did not understand the Senator.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Fortieth Congress was assembled in exactly the way the Senator says can not be done; that is, by resolution of the two Houses of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Mr. WALSH. If by a resolution of the preceding Congress they assembled at a certain time it would be simply tantamount to adjournment over to that day.

Mr. HARDWICK. I do not know about that.

Mr. WALSH. And if they did adjourn for more than three days they did it in defiance of the Constitution and not in accordance with it.

Mr. HARDWICK. That was after March 4.

Mr. WALSH. I can not help that.

Mr. HARDWICK. But it makes a very vital difference.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator will admit, I presume, that every Senator has the same capacity as a Member of this body and the same powers during his entire term. The status of a Member of the Senate does not change at any time during his term of six years.

Mr. WALSH. Not at all.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Whatever may be said in regard to the Senate, a Senator in an official capacity is a continuing official; the office of Senator is a continuous office. I should like to hear the Senator discuss the proposition: If the office of Senator is a continuing office and does not change in any respect during the six years of his term, how the body of which he is a Member can be said to be changed in that period of time. The two things, it seems to me, are indissoluble—membership in the body and the body itself. If the Members of the body have exactly the same nonvarying capacity and functions during the entire period of their term, which covers several Congresses, the body which gives them that capacity and authority must also continue.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, let me answer the Senator briefly. I think that is not the correct view at all. There is a vast difference between the Members of the Senate and the Senate. Although a bill should be signed at the home of each of the Members of the Senate by every Member of the Senate it would not be a law. It must be enacted while the Senate is actually assembled in its customary place for the transaction of business. I am talking about the continuity of the Senate as an organized legislative body.

Mr. POINDEXTER. May I ask one other question of the Senator? How can there be a member of a body unless there is that body in existence? How can there be membership in the Senate unless there is a Senate?

Mr. WALSH. The answer to that is that the same question may with equal propriety be directed to the House. How can there be a Member of the House of Representatives without a House of Representatives?

Mr. POINDEXTER. There can not be, Mr. President. The House of Representatives is a continuing body during the term of office of its Members, and is not a continuing body when their term of office expires, but the difference between the House and the Senate is that there are always Members of the Senate covering the entire period of time, without ending or beginning.

Mr. WALSH. The plain answer to that is that the very moment the term of office of the sitting Members of the House of Representatives expires, that moment the term of office of their successors begins, and there never is any interval.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, it seems to me, if the Senator will permit me to make a suggestion at this time, that the instance which was cited by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] is one which proves too much. If it be true that the Congress has the power, by resolution, to assemble itself without a call from the President, and that fact is of importance here, would it not also establish a continuing element in the House of Representatives as well as in the Senate?

Mr. WALSH. Unquestionably.

Mr. THOMAS. It seems to me that it proves too much if it is at all applicable to the discussion.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me, I was not suggesting my entire approval of that proceeding, but the fact is that it has been done in the history of this Government just in that way.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not questioning the accuracy of the Senator's statement. I am merely saying that it proves too much if it is applicable, because it would convert the House, as well, as the Senate, into a continuing body.

Mr. WALSH. It may occur to some that this paralysis which biennially overcomes the Senate is due to the fact that it can not function in the absence of an organized House of Representatives. The Senate has on various occasions adjourned from day to day until the House solved some troubles attendant on the selection of a Speaker, the notion prevailing, to some extent, that it could not proceed with the work of legislation until the other branch of Congress was duly organized, though courtesy alone might have prompted that course.

In the debate on the choice of a Public Printer at the first session of the Twenty-sixth Congress, in the year 1841, to which reference will be made more fully hereafter, and in the course of which the remark was frequently made that the Senate is a "continuing body," while the House is not, it was advanced, and with what appears to have been general acquiescence, that when the Senate alone is called in extra session it can exercise no legislative powers. The question has been discussed here on more than one occasion since. But the Constitution itself settles the question, for it provides, as was stated by the Senator from Massachusetts yesterday, that the President "may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them." He may, accordingly, convene the House of Representatives, which has no powers except those which are legislative in character. It certainly may act in a legislative capacity should it alone be called in extra session, and if it may, how can it be maintained that the Senate can not?

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. I beg to address myself to the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], and ask them this question: In their judgment, even though the President did not summon the Senate or the House, and even though there were not a constitutional provision providing a date for assembly, is it not the opinion of both the

learned Senators that the representatives of the people could come in, take possession of their Chamber, organize, and proceed with the business of legislation in response to the commission of the people, without regard to the fact that they were not called?

Mr. WALSH. I will say to the Senator from Illinois that if they all assembled and proceeded to the enactment of legislation which received the approval of the President of the United States, I am not prepared to say that they could not. Indeed, I apprehend that the action of the President would be regarded as tantamount to a proclamation assembling them. But, Mr. President, I have no doubt at all that if they did assemble under those circumstances, the President of the United States would be entirely justified in refusing to recognize them as authorized to transact any business.

Mr. LEWIS. Then may I ask my able friend to give me his view upon this question: Upon that theory, would we not be forced to the conclusion that until the President called them together they would have no right to come, and if we had a President who had purposes of his own in not calling the Congress, the people then would never have a Congress assemble to express their will?

Mr. WALSH. Not at all, Mr. President. The wise framers of the Constitution carefully guarded against that, because they provided that they should assemble at least once a year, on the first Monday in the month of December, unless the date of assembling should otherwise be fixed by law.

Mr. LEWIS. I thought I understood the able Senator from Montana to contend—and for that reason I rose—I must have misunderstood him—that this body ended unless called together by the President.

Mr. WALSH. Except on the first Monday in December. I so stated.

Mr. THOMAS, Mr. HARDWICK, and Mr. NORRIS addressed the Chair.

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. May I inquire of the Senator, for whose opinion I have the very highest esteem, whether he is strictly correct in his conclusion that if the House of Representatives should be assembled in special session it could legislate, in view of the constitutional provision which confers upon Congress—not upon the House, not upon the Senate, but upon Congress—the power of legislating? How is it conceivable that one-half of Congress, however assembled, can legislate? It would certainly seem to me to be exceeding its constitutional authority. For that reason I made the point of order yesterday against the bill offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. WALSH. And quite properly so, Mr. President.

Mr. THOMAS. If the House is in session, one-half of Congress is in session; and the same is true of the Senate.

Mr. WALSH. That is the argument that always has been advanced in favor of the contention that the Senate, convened in extra session, can exercise no legislative functions at all, because the legislative power is vested in Congress; but that provision must be considered in connection with the other, authorizing the President to convene the House of Representatives alone. Now, of course, the other House—the Senate—must give its concurrence either before or after the House of Representatives is assembled in extra session. There is not any question about that.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator is logical; but it does seem to me that the exact and literal conferring of power by the Constitution upon the Congress is not of a character that would justify the attempt to legislate by one half of that body when the other half is not in session.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I do not think that is a difficulty at all, because it is the Congress. When a bill receives the assent of the House of Representatives and receives the assent of the Senate, it has the assent of the Congress; and it does not by any means follow—at least, that is my view—that that must be actually in session concurrently.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I now yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. In connection with the Senator's statement that the Constitution provides that the President can call either House in extra session, and that the House of Representatives has no function except a legislative one, and therefore that the Senate can legislate, I should like to call the attention of the Senator to the constitutional provision and ask his opinion as to whether that might have an important bearing on this particular question, which provides that the House of Representatives shall have the sole right to originate legislation providing for the raising of revenue. Now, it occurred to me that possibly our forefathers had that in mind when they put in the provision that the President could call the House in special session as well as the Senate—that the House might be called for the purpose of originating and passing, or at least getting ready for passage, laws relating to the raising of revenue; but if that was the only thing that was going to be done in the special session, if the Senate were called at the same time, they could do nothing but wait until the House finished.

Mr. WALSH. I will say to the Senator from Nebraska that it had occurred to me that it is not at all improbable that they thought it would be in the interest of dispatch of the public business to assemble the House, when revenue legislation was necessary, a month or two months or three months before the general assembling of Congress.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. HARDWICK. I wanted to suggest to the Senator a rather more important consideration than that, I think. The power to originate impeachment—a matter totally disconnected with legislation—resides in the House of Representatives. That is one character of business that the House may transact, with which the Senate, in the beginning at least, has nothing whatever to do.

Mr. WALSH. That consideration had also addressed itself to me; but I reached the conclusion that impeachment, like the passage of a bill, is absolutely a futile thing unless there is concurrent action by the Senate.

Mr. HARDWICK. Oh, Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, I do not see how the Senator could arrive at that conclusion, because the right to try out the question whether or not articles of impeachment shall be preferred must exist; and if the House decides negatively, the Senate has nothing whatever to do with it.

Mr. WALSH. Why, certainly. I assume that they are going to find the articles, however.

Mr. HARDWICK. But very often they do not.

Mr. WALSH. Very often they reject a bill, too.

Mr. HARDWICK. I understand; but the power to consider the question is absolutely disconnected with any function of the Senate.

Mr. WALSH. I do not quite agree with that; but even if that were true I could scarcely believe that one could construe the provision granting power to the President to convene the House in extra session as being limited in its scope to the preferment of impeachment charges against an officer. I scarcely believe that that could have been in the minds of the framers of the Constitution.

Mr. HARDWICK. That might be, if the Senator will pardon me, one of the most important things that could ever be brought to the attention of the House.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, it seems to me that you might just as well claim that a grand jury could not find an indictment unless there was at the same time a petit jury impaneled to try the case, to try the indictment.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think so. I do not think the analogy is perfect at all.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I think it may not be perfect, but still there is an analogy. The function of the House in finding an impeachment and the function of the Senate in trying it are analogous in some respects to the indictment by a grand jury and the trial of the indictment by a petit jury; and it seems to me that one can sit separate from the other in each case.

Mr. WALSH. This discussion has been in the nature of a diversion, Mr. President. I proceed.

The Senate was accordingly shorn of none of its legislative powers by reason of the fact that the House organization fell with the arrival of March 4 if the Senate is and remained a "continuing body." But even if it were thus limited in its powers, why should it not remain in session and proceed with the executive business before it? Two treaties were pending at the time the Sixty-fourth Congress came to an end, one at least imperatively demanding the attention of the Senate. So imperative were its claims that in the estimation of many the good faith of our Government toward a sister Nation was compromised by further delay. Senators may differ as to the action that should be taken upon it; none can question the propriety of a speedy reply as to whether it is approved or not.

Owing to conditions on which it is not necessary to dwell, 1,134 nominations theretofore sent to the Senate by the President, many of them for offices of the highest importance, in view of the grave crisis confronting the country, were before it for consideration. Of these more than 1,100 had been reported upon by the committees to which they were referred and were on the calendar of the Senate awaiting its final action.

The President obviously did not think the Senate a "continuous" or "continuing" body, in any sense in which the

House is not likewise "continuing" or "continuous" in character. It is quite apparent that he did not believe that the Senate might quite properly at noon on March 4 admit the new members who should present themselves with no more interruption of the business of the Senate than attends the admission of a new member elected or appointed in the midst of a session to fill a vacancy occasioned by death or resignation, and thereupon proceed with the executive business before it or with such as he might transmit. Anticipating that the session would terminate and that the Senate would become powerless to act at noon on March 4, he issued his proclamation on the 23d day of February last, requiring this body to reconvene in extra session on March 5. This he did in accordance with the understanding and the practice that has prevailed even from the days of the fathers. The Senate realized its impotency when the fateful hour arrived and dissolved without a protest, upon the affirmation by the occupant of the Chair, a profound lawyer, that "under the Constitution" the body stood adjourned sine die.

When it reassembled next day the acting President pro tempore, who called the assembly to order, caused the proclamation of the President to be read in evidence of its authority to be and to act. No Senator, however emphatically he may to-day assert that the Senate is a "continuing" body, had sufficient confidence in the opinion he now expresses to suggest, on Sunday last, that the Senate remain in session after noon of that day to dispatch any business that might be before it, either executive or legislative.

Though the Vice President yesterday expressed somewhat hurriedly, though probably not without reflection, not only that the Senate is a "continuous" body but that the rules perpetuate themselves because it is such, he did not have the temerity to arrest the automatic dissolution of the session on Sunday. Some practical difficulties arising from the acceptance of the theory that the Senate is now without rules were suggested in the course of the comments by the Vice President, alluded to, among others, that he is, if that theory is sound, not the Vice President, apparently his view being that it would follow that his induction into office had not been legally accomplished. His right to preside depends to no extent on what transpired here on Monday. He was legally elected Vice President. He might qualify by taking the oath anywhere. The Senate has no power either to admit or to reject him as its Presiding Officer. The Senator who during the last session was elected President pro tempore called the Senate to order and administered the oath. Any Senator might have done either act without imperiling the validity of the proceedings. It has happened that there was neither Vice President nor President pro tempore, but that difficulty was easily solved. The majority Senator longest in service usually calls the Senate to order when it proceeds to organize. At the first session there could have been no President pro tempore to administer the oath, and even on assembling no Secretary to record the proceedings, no Sergeant at Arms to preserve order.

Here I might state a rather interesting historical fact, that the Senate on assembling for the first time was in session at least three or four days before it elected a Secretary.

The House of Representatives finds itself in that predicament as to the minor officers every two years. The embarrassments imagined by the Vice President are never appreciated by the House of Representaives, and such as they are they are met by every State legislative assembly—indeed, by both branches of every legislative assembly, on every occasion of their assembling except when they are convened in extra session.

Henry Clay insisted that the House of Representatives is as much a continuous body as is the Senate. He maintained that the same House that first convened in 1789 sat in 1841—its membership changed, changing, possibly, every two years, but remaining the same governmental agency. He likened the case to a court whose existence continues indefinitely, though the judges change from time to time. A court comprised of three judges would not cease to exist though the terms of all three expired at the same time instead of at intervals so that but one returned at a time. Their successors, should others be elected or appointed, would take the bench and the business of the court proceed without interruption. Senator Thurman took the same view. In the debate on the joint rules in 1876 he said:

> Why is it said that the Senate is a perpetual body? I know of no reason except one, and that is that only one-third of its Members go out every two years, so that there is always a sufficient number of Senators in office to constitute a quorum of the Senate. If the judges of the Supreme Court were all to die to-day, and their successors should be appointed to-morrow, it would still be the same Supreme Court, although the individuals would be changed. The Members of the House of Representatives are in a great measure different from those of the last House of Representatives, but still it is the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. Its character does not depend on its personnel; its character does not depend on the individuality of its Members; it is the House, which, according to the true idea of the Constitution, is a perpetual House, whoever may constitute the individual Members of that House.

It has been seen that the idea of perpetuity as an inherent quality in the House, thus advanced by one of the most brilliant and by one of the most profound statesmen that has ever held membership in the Senate, has been definitely repudiated by the other branch of Congress. But the contention which they both put forth that, with respect to perpetuity or continuity, no distinction can properly be raised between the Senate and the House has never been answered.

The logical result of the acceptance of that doctrine was pointed out by Senator Morton in the debate on the joint rules. Referring to the views expressed by Senator Thurman, he remarked:

> The argument of my friend from Ohio, I submit to him, defeats itself. He says the House of Representatives is a perpetual body just like the Senate. Well, the House of Representatives has always assumed that it made its own rules. It has adopted rules at the beginning of each Congress, showing that in its judgment the rules of the former House are not binding upon it. The two Houses stand upon the same footing, and that would be the law also in the Senate; the rules of the Senate at a former session are not binding at the next session, and the Senate consequently must adopt its rules at the beginning of every session.

The Senator must have meant to convey the idea that, conceding the soundness of Thurman's position, at the first session of each new Congress the Senate would be required to adopt rules. The analogy to which Thurman had recourse is not perfect, as the House ultimately decided, because under the system in vogue at stated intervals corresponding with the times when the terms of all the Members of the House and one-third of those of the Senate expire, the authority of Congress automatically ceases, and its action must be invoked on reconvening by proceedings entirely new. It is not necessary to start anew all lawsuits that were pending at the time the judge's term expired. The work of the court is continuous, however the personnel of the bench may change. A court never undergoes any fatality either equivalent or analogous to a dissolution. In legislation it has been deemed wise to fix periods, corresponding usually with the terms of the members of the most numerous branch of the legislature, after the lapse of which its authority ceases, the assembly when it reconvenes being bound in no way in respect to its proceedings by any action taken theretofore, and specifically by no rules deriving their force from such action, even though some of the members may be hold overs. A "legislative period" as distinguished from a "session" is a common conception in parliamentary government.

In a late report of a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into procedure with a view to reforming the system in vogue in that body occurs the following:

> In continental parliament it is the common rule that at the beginning of a legislative period the chair should be occupied by the oldest member.

A table is given of the duration of standing committees in the legislatures of the leading countries in which parliamentary government prevails, in which the "legislative period" is contrasted with the "session."

The idea of a complete break in the life of legislative assemblies at stated intervals is implied in the very terminology applicable to their sittings.

This will be known as the Sixty-fifth Congress, and so designated in all the official records. I am sending to the desk a list, to which reference will be made hereafter, of official publications from which it will appear that in Iowa they refer to the "thirty-fifth general assembly," in Missouri to the "forty-seventh general assembly," in Utah to the "seventeenth legislature," and in Texas to the "thirty-third legislature." I hold in my hand an official publication of what purports to be the laws of the "Thirteenth General Assembly of Montana."

In harmony with the idea embodied in this form of expression, the custom of formally adopting rules on reassembling after a general election seems to be universal among the constituent bodies of American legislatures and is observed even by those, one-half of whose members or even two-thirds are hold overs.

In New Jersey the members of the lower house are elected annually. As to the senate, the constitution provides that:

> The senate shall be composed of one senator from each county in the State, elected by the legal voters of the counties, respectively, for three years. As soon as the senate shall meet after the first election to be held in pursuance of this constitution, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year; of the second class at the expiration of the second year; and of the third class at the expiration of the third year, so that one class may be elected every year, and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, the persons elected to supply such vacancies shall be elected for the unexpired terms only."

Obviously the New Jersey senate is constituted on identically the same principle that is said to give continuity to the United States Senate. Yet the former regularly observes the custom referred to, adopting rules at the beginning of each regular session. It was followed in the sixty-eighth senate, 1912 (Journal, pp. 18, 19), in the sixty-ninth senate, 1913 (Journal, pp. 19, 20, 21), and in the seventieth senate, 1914 (Journal, pp. 10 to 13). The supreme court of that State has held, after the most elaborate argument and upon the fullest consideration, that notwithstanding the fact that two-thirds of the members of the Senate of New Jersey are hold overs, it is not a continuous body, but assembles annually, as does the lower house, as a body quite distinct from the senate of the preceding year. More will be said of this case hereafter.

Mr. OVERMAN. Does not that authority draw a distinction between that case and the Senate of the United States?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; I am going to refer to that. I am going to show just what the distinction is that the judges seek to draw.

The resolution customarily, as in the National House of Representatives, proposes that the rules in force at the last preceding session be adopted until otherwise ordered, evidencing the view that such rules would not be operative without affirmative action on the part of the body thus adopting them. In nearly half the States of the Union members of the upper branch of the legislature are elected for terms double the length of those of the lower house, and are so classified as that one-half of them go out of office with each general change in the more numerous branch. Usually the lieutenant governor is made ex officio presiding officer of the upper house. Yet they all, apparently, adopt rules on assembling after a general election; in none is any countenance given to the idea that the rules adopted at some remote time, under conditions that might be characterized as primitive, are efficacious to prevent the representatives, coming fresh from the people, from carrying out their will with all due speed.

The memorandum sent to the desk a few moments ago contains a list of 21 States—half of the members of whose senates, respectively, are hold overs—in all of which the custom prevails, to which reference has been made. For convenience of verification the page of the Senate Journal is given in each instance. I ask that the memorandum be printed as an appendix to my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, what has been thus far offered may be said to be more or less technical in character. I should despair of securing acceptance of the views which have been advanced, however sound they might appear to those who have followed the discussion, as a matter of strict legal right, unless the conviction is aroused that elemental justice and sound policy demand their adoption.

Why should the Senate, as it is constituted during any particular Congress, have power to impose its views concerning the procedure in this body upon the Senate of some succeeding Congress, one-third of the members of which, possibly, never heard of the rules to which they become subject? I appeal particularly to the new Members appearing upon this floor for the first time two days ago, and to you, Mr. President, and to my fellow members in their behalf.

Why should such members be bound by the so-called rule of "unlimited debate" which the Senate that assembled in the year 1808 deemed wise to adopt to regulate its deliberations? Is it consistent with the idea of representative government that they should be restrained by such a rule or by any rule to which their assent was never given and never asked? What is the theory upon which you decline to hold them bound by any action which the Senate, as constituted before they entered it, may have taken with reference to any bill? Why is it insisted that everything proceed *de novo*? What is the basis of reason underlying the want of power to proceed with all bills at the stage at which they had arrived at the death of one Congress upon the assembling of another? Clearly, because the people, whose representatives we are, have a right to have all measures that engage the attention of this body considered without prejudice on account of any action that may have been taken by a Senate whose course and record had made it odious, or which, for some other reason, had been regenerated so far as it was possible to make a change. It is because the new members, coming fresh from the people, ought to have the right to be heard and be accorded the opportunity to vote in the light of information gleaned at every stage of the passage of a bill or resolution.

The formalities observed are enjoined by the rules and by general parliamentary law, so that through deliberation a wiser conclusion may more certainly be assured. Moreover the elections which bring an entirely new membership to the House and new Members to the number of one-third to the Senate are quite the equivalent of those which ensue in most countries upon a dissolution of the Parliament. The sense of the people is taken concerning measures passed as well as those proposed. The result should not be without its lessons to those Senators who are to continue their service. All ought to act and be required to act in the light of the latest expression of the people. It is quite generally understood that the mere matter of the reference of a bill to one committee rather than to another occasionally signifies whether it is again to see the light of day or not. Neither the new Member nor the old Member whose views have changed to conform to the popular will ought to be required to acquiesce in the reference of a bill to an adverse committee. For like reasons the action of the Senate in the appointment of its committees goes for naught when it gets the regular infusion of new blood.

"Vacancies in the committees occasioned by the regular retirement of one-third of the Members are not filled up as they are in the event of the occurrence of such during the life of the Congress. They are constituted anew at the commencement of each Congress," to use the language of Rule XXXIII. Treaties fall that are not acted upon at the adjournment of any final session of a Congress, though they preserve their status from one interim session to another (Rule XXXVII). Can anyone assign any good reason why the Senate, as it begins the work of a new Congress, should be unrestrained by any action theretofore taken upon any bill or resolution or treaty or in the appointment of committees and yet be subject to the fiat of this assembly at some earlier day as to the method it is to pursue in dealing with bills or resolutions or treaties identical in every respect with those theretofore considered? The theory of the perpetuity of the rules subserves no good purpose and is a convenient one for the promotion of the ends of factional reactionaries.

It is well known that adroit parliamentarians in the service of corrupt masters of some of our legislative assemblies contrive speciously to have the rules so framed as to be useful in obstructing the enactment of remedial legislation and then tie the hands of later legislatures by procuring the hurried adoption, on organization, of the rules of the last assembly.

The idea I am combating is a refinement on this hoary but unhonored practice. It is fraught with a danger even more grave, illustrated by an incident in the history of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, whose senate is constituted, as will be remembered, upon the model of the National Senate. As a result of the elections held in the fall of 1893 the political complexion of the Senate of that State changed, though contests were instituted which, if successful, would preserve the status of the preceding year. A majority of the hold overs were Democrats. These assembled in the customary meeting place and proclaimed themselves the duly organized senate. They set up the claim that the senate is a continuous body; that on assembling after the election the old members alone constituted the senate; that they alone could admit new members; that they alone were invested with the right to pass upon the credentials of the new members and to say which, if any, of two contesting for the same seat should be recognized pending the contest.

The conditions excited what appeared to be a well-grounded suspicion on the part of the Republican members of a plot to seat enough Democratic claimants to maintain the supremacy in the chamber of the party to which they adhered. The Republican hold overs organized, with their brethren newly elected, a separate assemblage which sat in the antechamber and claimed to be the only true senate. The rivalries of the two bodies became the subject of inquiry by the supreme court of that State which utterly exploded the claim of continuity, and with it the pretension of the majority hold overs that none might participate in the deliberations of the new senate, if so it may be called until admitted in due course by an assemblage of those whose terms had not expired and at such time as suited their convenience or their whim. The details will be learned from the report of the case State *v.* Rogers, 56 N. J. L., 480.

Will it be contended that on assembling after the 4th day of March in the odd-numbered years, two-thirds of the Members of the Senate of the preceding Congress may proclaim themselves the United States Senate, appoint from among their number a committee on credentials, charge it with the duty of examining into the credentials of all new claimants to seats in this body, and that meanwhile and pending a report from that committee it may proceed with the transaction of business? Such a procedure would not be an abuse of power but a usurpation

Members presenting themselves Monday morning were sworn upon exhibiting their credentials, and immediately acquired the right to participate in all the proceedings of the Senate.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Is the Senator from Montana referring to the present Senate?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Is it not a fact that the Senator from Montana himself during the session of the Senate of the last Congress rose in his seat and presented the credentials of his colleague [Mr. MYERS], who had been elected last November, and asked that they be received and entered upon the records of the Senate?

Mr. WALSH. I did.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. And was that not done?

Mr. WALSH. It was.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Did not receiving the credentials of a Senator newly elected constitute an act of the old Senate and constitute a continuing membership?

Mr. WALSH. Not at all. The credentials were turned over to the Secretary of the Senate here in open Senate.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me, why did he not wait until the convening and organization of the Senate to which his colleague had been elected, and present the credentials to the Secretary of that body?

Mr. WALSH. I simply proceeded in accordance with the usage.

Mr. HARDWICK. Exactly.

Mr. WALSH. It does not signify anything one way or the other, so far as I can see.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Montana if he sees no advantage or convenience in the permanency and continuity of a set of rules for the Senate?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I have never discovered that any disaster has come to the Republic by reason of the adoption of that idea in the House of Representatives. As I have tried to indicate to the Senate, the matter has been debated and debated, and the practice in the House has been both ways. Finally the House has come to the conclusion that the procedure now followed is the course that ought to be adopted.

Mr. STERLING. Are not the rules apt to be better known and better understood if we have continuous rules?

Mr. WALSH. Oh, yes. The Senator from South Dakota, however, need have no apprehension about that, because, of course, the rules as a complete body would remain practically unchanged. It is exactly the same with the rules of a court.

Mr. THOMAS. And of the House.

Mr. WALSH. The rules of a court change from time to time, but the bar generally understands that in any revision, as a whole, they would be continued in force, and that changes would be made only in specific cases in which a necessity for the change had been demonstrated by experience.

Mr. STERLING. Take it in general parliamentary practice or general parliamentary law, is it not a great advantage and convenience that we recognize certain fixed rules as governing deliberative bodies?

Mr. WALSH. Undoubtedly. It is not to be assumed that the Senate, in modifying its rules, would disregard those fairly well-fixed principles.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I understand the Senator to say that no new Member of this body ought to be bound by the rules which had been enacted by a previous Senate. Then, a new Member may move to change the rules, may he not?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

Mr. STERLING. And if, in the judgment of a majority of this body, the rules should be changed, they may be changed at any time?

Mr. WALSH. A new Member may move to change the rules; but just so long as the Senator from South Dakota has physical endurance to stand on the floor the change could not be made.

Mr. STERLING. I do not know as to that. It may appeal to the wisdom and the good judgment of the Senate that the one particular rule to which the Senator from Montana refers should be changed. It is a matter that may be brought before the Senate at any time. It, after all, rests in the judgment of the Senate, to be determined by a majority vote, whether that rule should be changed, whether or not it is a hindrance to legislation, or whether it is in the interest or not in the interest of the public welfare.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Before the Senator resumes I should like to ask, if it would be agreeable to him, to have put into the RECORD the joint resolution adopted by Congress on January 22, 1867, which called a session of the new Congress to follow it on March 4, 1867.

Mr. WALSH. That would be agreeable to me, Mr. President, but I trust it will be put in at the conclusion rather than in the body of my address.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Then, I now ask consent that the joint resolution to which I have referred be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator, because it shows that heretofore Congress has used its power to call a session of Congress, and that it is not necessary for the President to do so.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, it is true that in the New Jersey case the court accepted without inquiry the oft-repeated assertion that the United States Senate is a continuous body, but pointed to some provisions of the local constitution which it said served to differentiate it from the senate of that State. But the whole argument of the court against the pretensions of continuity in the life of the New Jersey Senate is equally applicable to its counterpart in the Federal Congress.

The claim rests, in the case of both bodies, upon the fact that two-thirds of the Members, more than a quorum, are always in office, and that a presiding officer is designated by the law.

Mr. President, because I am obliged to leave, I want to submit a few observations now upon matters that will be under consideration, assuming that the view for which I am contending is rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. May the Chair interrupt the Senator from Montana?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to remain in the position he has taken—that it is not any of his business what rules the Senate adopts, and that he has no function except to carry out the will of the Senate—but take the old rules. The rule provides that no motion to suspend, modify, or amend the rules "shall be in order, except on one day's notice," and so forth. The Senator is conversant with it. Is there any inconsistency in the fact that there are now rules of the Senate which, if they are to be amended in any particular, must be amended in accordance with the rules, and the broad proposition that a set of new rules may be presented as an entirety to take the place of the existing rules?

Mr. WALSH. I should say, quite so; the two are utterly inconsistent. If the old rules are in force——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator does not get the point the Chair would like to have the Senator enlighten the Senate upon.

Mr. WALSH. I shall attend very carefully.

The VICE PRESIDENT. What have the old rules of the Senate to do with the desire of the Senate to adopt new rules at once, if they want to, if they are presented as a whole, instead of as amendments?

Mr. WALSH. If new rules, as a whole, an entire body of new rules are presented—and that is what I have done; I have presented an entire body of new rules, which are identical with the old rules, with the exception of Rule XXII—I have no doubt that some Senator will make a point of order that the motion is out of order; that my resolution contemplates an amendment of the rules; and that the rules can be amended only in accordance with their provisions. They must go——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Has any Presiding Officer ever ruled in that way?

Mr. WALSH. I understood the Chair to say yesterday that in his view——

The VICE PRESIDENT. There are rules here?

Mr. WALSH. That the old rules were in force.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. My contention is that the body is now governed by general parliamentary law and not by the old rules.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There are no old rules.

Mr. WALSH. That is to say, there are no old rules of the Senate at the present time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not desire to break off the continuity of thought of the Senator from Montana or to interfere in this matter, but the Chair perceives a very great distinction between attempting to amend the rules or a part of the rules, and the presentation of a new set of rules to be adopted by the Senate of the United States.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I should like to ask the parliamentary situation of a certain resolution introduced by the Senator from Montana. I will ask the Senator from Montana if he requested the reference of the resolution to a committee?

Mr. WALSH. If my view is correct, there is no committee to which it can be referred; indeed I think that is the state of affairs anyway—that, under the rules, there is no committee to which it can be referred.

Mr. STERLING. Would the Senator from Montana say that it should lie over until another day?

Mr. WALSH. Why, no. According to my view, I say it can be disposed of just as resolutions in a political convention are disposed of, governed by general parliamentary law. There is no rule that requires it to lie over any time. That is the argument I have been making, that there is no rule, and the Senate now can proceed just as it directs with respect to the matter; and there is no rule except general parliamentary law governing its action.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. If the Senator from Ohio will pardon me, I will say to the Senator from South Dakota that that is exactly the situation that would obtain in the House of Representatives, if, upon the assembling of that body, some Member introduced a resolution.

Mr. STERLING. I understand the Senator's position.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, the Senator from Montana must admit that political conventions, to which he makes allusion, first adopt the rules governing the House of Representatives until they adopt their own rules of procedure; but in this case the Senator from Montana is assuming a status of legislative chaos. We have nothing practically——

Mr. WALSH. Not at all. I recognize that sometimes political conventions do adopt a resolution of that kind; but more often they do not. They simply proceed, and Roberts's Rules of Order or Reed's Rules of Order are referred to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And Jefferson's Manual.

Mr. WALSH. And Jefferson's Manual is referred to; so that no resolution on the subject of rules is adopted at all.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, while I am on my feet, I want to ask the Senator from Montana another question.

Mr. WALSH. If the Senator will pardon me, of course assemblages of all kinds gather in this country, farmers' meetings, teachers' institutes, and all that kind of thing, and they proceed quite successfully without the adoption of any rules.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, all bodies start out with a temporary organization, and adopt some recognized rules of procedure. I want to ask the Senator from Montana if he holds that there is anything to impede a change of the rule which he has in mind if the Senate accepts its recognized rules and proceeds in regular order to make the change?

Mr. WALSH. If I am sound in my opinion, it is simply impossible to change the rules so long as one man has the physical endurance requisite to prevent the change. I offered a resolution this morning which contemplates a change of the rules. Under the rules, if they do exist, any Senator may debate that motion without end and without limit; one may raise a point of order that debate upon the matter is out of order, and if the Chair should sustain that point, and assuming that the old rules are in force and that we are proceeding in accordance with them to secure an amendment, an appeal is taken, the appeal may be debated without end, and thus the amendment of the rules is frustrated.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Montana and I are agreed as to the object aimed at. I am quite content to say that I favor some modified form of cloture rule; but the point I want to make is, that where the sentiment of this body is favorable to a change of the rules no dilatory tactics can long obtain in opposing that change of the rules.

Mr. WALSH. The Senator has not been here as long as some of us.

Mr. HARDING. That is quite true; I admit that; but I am not ready to accept the soundness of the Senator's argument, that this is not a continuing body; and I can not accept the contention that we must first enter into a state of chaos in order to bring about the reform which the Senator seeks.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator from Montana stated, in answer to the suggestion of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING], that, in his opinion, there were no committees now. I will remind the Senator that Senator KERN introduced a resolution, which passed this body, continuing in force the committees of the Senate as they then existed. So that there are committees now in existence.

Mr. HARDING. If the Senator from Montana will not be annoyed at another interruption——

Mr. WALSH. Not at all.

Mr. HARDING. If there are no committees continued, I should like to know by what process the Committee on Rules authoritatively designates what apartments the several Senators shall occupy?

Mr. OVERMAN. I say that the committees have been continued in force by the action of this body.

Mr. HARDING. I think that very wise——

Mr. WALSH. I did not understand the statement of the Senator from Ohio as to the activities of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. HARDING. I asked if there were no committees now, by what authority could the Committee on Rules designate to the new Senators their apartments in the Senate Office Building?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. OVERMAN. If the Senator will excuse me just a moment, I will read the resolution which was adopted by the Senate on motion of Senator Kern, of Indiana. It is as follows:

Resolved, That the standing committees of the Senate as constituted at the end of this session be, and they are hereby, continued until the next session of Congress, or until their successors are duly elected.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if the Senator from Montana will permit me, that resolution indicates that the committees are in existence by virtue of a special act of the last Senate, and not because they continued under the rules, the existence of which is now being challenged by the Senator from Montana.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I thought some Senator might rise and say that I was exceeding my authority in assigning rooms to the new Senators, and, inasmuch as the Senator from Montana said there were no committees, I desired to direct his attention to the resolution which has been adopted.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I think every one will acquiesce in the course of the Senator from North Carolina in the matter to which reference has been made. Likewise, Mr. President, the adoption of the resolution immediately suggests that it was the opinion of the Senate that the committees would die unless some action were taken continuing them.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. THOMPSON. There is another obstruction to a change in the rules. Under the old rules, as they have been interpreted by this body several times within the last few years, the Senate has decided under Rule XL that it requires a two-thirds vote, even when we get the question up to a vote, to suspend or to modify any rule of the Senate. The Senate, by its interpretation, has written that into the rules, although from the language of the rule itself it would seem that a majority should control. The rule is as follows:

RULE XL. SUSPENSION AND AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

No motion to suspend, modify, or amend any rule, or any part thereof, shall be in order, except on one day's notice in writing, specifying precisely the rule or part proposed to be suspended, modified, or amended, and the purpose thereof. Any rule may be suspended without notice by the unanimous consent of the Senate, except as otherwise provided in clause 1, Rule XII.

As will be observed, there is absolutely nothing in the rule that can possibly be construed as fairly implying the requirement of a two-thirds vote, but the Senate has unfortunately decreed otherwise.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate has not so decided. The requirement as to a two-thirds vote relates to a suspension of the rules, and not to a modification of the rules.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, if my colleague will yield to me for a moment, as I am obliged to leave the Chamber shortly, I desire to say that earlier in the day I presented a number of memorials from the Montana Legislature. I overlooked the fact that by resolution of the preceding Congress, the committees of this body had been continued. I asked that the memorials lie on the table. I now ask unanimous consent that they be referred to the appropriate committees to which they pertain.

Mr. WALSH. I shall object to that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There seems to be objection.

Mr. WALSH. I think they can very well remain where they are until we actually get to work.

But let it be assumed that the argument thus far made can not be accepted, that the Senate is indeed a continuous body in the widest sense; that the rules are endowed with a vitality, upon which age makes no inroads. I trust I am not wanting in reverence for the political sages of a century ago whose wisdom in all things that appertain to government has commanded the admiration of a grateful posterity.

It may be that we are obliged generally to accept for our guidance the rules they prescribed in 1806 to govern the deliberations of the Senate; that we are required, in a double sense, to salute them as—

> The dead but sceptered sovereigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns.

I venture to assert, notwithstanding, that their power to make rules was not without limitation. The Supreme Court defined that limitation in United States *v.* Ballin (144 U. S., 5, 6), saying in the opinion in that case:

> The Constitution empowers each House to determine its rules of proceedings. It may not by its rules ignore constitutional restraints or violate fundamental rights, and there should be a reasonable relation between the mode or method of proceeding established by the rule and the result sought to be attained.

The Senate, on the 13th day of January, 1915, recorded its judgment that under the rules then recognized, a two-thirds vote was necessary to the suspension of the rule. A majority determined that two-thirds must assent to accomplish a suspension. It is not so expressed in the rule—Rule XL. But it was believed to be implied therein. If so, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it is equally implied that a two-thirds vote is necessary to amend the rules. Let it be assumed that the wise men, whose work these rules are, expressly so declared in what is now Rule XL. Had they the right to make such a rule? Would it have any efficacy? Would it be entitled to any respect at any time or place? If they had such right, they might, with equal power, whatever might be said as to the justice or propriety of their action, have prescribed that the rules should not be amended except with the concurrence of three-fourths of the Members or nine-tenths or 99 per cent, or that like the laws of the Medes and Persians they should remain immutable forever. Any such regulation would be void because it would transgress the vital principle of majority rule. When the Constitution says that "Each House may determine its rules of proceeding," it means that each House may, by a majority vote, a quorum being present, determine its rules.

It is elementary that unless otherwise prescribed by the Constitution the Senate can, by a majority vote, do anything it can do at all. Speaker Reed says in his manual, speaking of amendment to the rules of parliamentary bodies:

> Such modifications the assembly is always competent to make. Such changes can be made by a majority. This is true even if the rules already adopted provide that two-thirds or any larger number alone shall make changes. The assembly can not deprive itself of power to direct its method of doing business. It is like a man promising himself that he will not change his own mind.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WARREN. As I understand, the gravamen of the Senator's contention is that he wishes some cloture for the ending of debate; and I judge from what he has said that he presumes that the proposal to amend a rule would cause contention which would finally result in a test of physical endurance. Now, if the Senator proposes new rules, does he propose to muzzle the Senate so that they shall not debate them? And if they are new rules, is there anything to prevent debate on every one of those rules by the Senate and by every Member of it? Does he think he would gain any time in the long run by declaring that we are in chaos and without rules, and undertaking to build up an entireiy new set of rules rather than by taking up the offensive rule and amending it?

That is the practical question. I am not entering into the elementaries of the matter.

Mr. WALSH. I want to answer the question in a perfectly practical way. I shall assume, as I said a while ago, that the rules will be in substance the same; that there will be no great change in the general body of the rules.

Mr. WARREN. I am putting it right down upon the basis of the Senator's argument that we are totally and wholly without rules; that we will start in to adopt new rules. If that is true, no matter if every rule but one is the same as the Senator presents it, yet every one of them is open to debate, if it is offered as a new matter.

Mr. WALSH. Why, undoubtedly—undoubtedly.

Mr. WARREN. Then does the Senator think, practically, that he would gain any time in that way rather than simply to recognize the old rules and seek to amend the particular one in question?

Mr. WALSH. But the Senator from Wyoming will recognize that if a resolution were presented here to amend only one rule, under the existing system every man who cares to do so may get up and talk about each rule from beginning to end; so they all are before us anyway.

Mr. WARREN. I will admit that under the rules there is practically unlimited debate, but what I am getting at is this: The Senator has evidently given this matter great attenion, and has proceeded with great ability, as he always does with all matters that challenge his attention; but I can not practically see where we are going to eliminate ourselves any sooner from the condition in which the Senators and the Senate find themselves if we adopt his theory that we are meeting here each time, every two years, without rules; because, as the Senator from Ohio has said, every body, when it meets, assumes the rules of some other body until it makes its own; and with two-thirds of the older body sitting as present Members, is it not better to assume the rules of the body wherein the two-thirds have helped to make those rules than to undertake to say we have none, or to assume the rules of some other body?

Mr. WALSH. The Senator from Wyoming will note that the resolution to which I am addressing myself provides that all of the rules of the Senate during the last Congress be adopted as the rules of the present one, save and except Rule XXII.

Mr. WARREN. Then to what effect is the Senator's argument leading, that we have no rules, and that we are building up new ones?

Mr. WALSH. It is to the effect that as we have no rules we proceed under general parliamentary law which permits us to put an end to debate at some time.

Mr. WARREN. Well, we will do that, anyway.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I think I see what the Senator from Wyoming is driving at. It is within the power of this or any other body, unless the rules forbid, to fix a time when a vote can be had upon any question. It is within the power of this body now to vote to fix a time for voting upon this very proposition at 2 o'clock, so there is no practical difficulty in the way.

Mr. WALSH. That is the line of argument which I am now going to make—that a legislative body can not deprive itself of the power to fix a time when a vote shall be taken.

Mr. WARREN. I understand from the Senator, then, that he proposes to accept entire and en bloc the Senate rules, with one exception?

Mr. WALSH. Exactly; and that in the expectation that when that exception is reserved, and an appropriate rule is made, we can then proceed with reasonable dispatch to correct any defect that there may be in other features of the rules.

Mr. WARREN. I wish the Senator to understand that I do not object to some manner of procedure that may terminate what sometimes becomes intolerable; but I am not willing yet to take the ground that every two years we are at sea without rudder or compass regarding rules.

Mr. WALSH. Well, I am thankful to the Senator for the attention he has given to my presentation of the other view of the matter.

Mr. HARDING and Mr. FLETCHER addressed the Chair.

Mr. WALSH. I yield first to the Senator from Ohio, who first rose.

Mr. HARDING. I want to ask the Senator from Montana a question. I do not want him to misconstrue my motive, or to think that the proposition is founded on the fortunes of political majorities in the Senate.

Mr. WALSH. The Senator need have no fear on that score.

Mr. HARDING. The Senator spoke a moment ago of the framers of the Constitution having the purpose that the Senate should be directed by the will of the majority. I assume that the Senator will agree that it was also designed that the Senate should be a deliberative body. I want to ask him, in perfect good faith, if he believes the framers of the Constitution had in mind at any time the domination of the majority through a majority in political conference or caucus, whereby a minority of this body could determine the proceedings of the Senate?

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I can not doubt that the framers of the Constitution had in mind the fact that they were framing a system under which party government would be operative, and in that view they must have recognized that party Members would confer and endeavor to agree upon a concerted line of action. I can not doubt that. Their model was the English constitution; experience had taught them that there were two parties in the Parliament, and that the two parties were composed of members who conferred together and usually agreed upon a certain line of action which they desired to pursue.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I am in perfect accord with the Senator from Montana in his statement that we are a Government through political parties. I think that it ever must be so, and I hope it will be so. I want to ask the Senator, however, if he is contending for a rule of the majority which will allow a majority in caucus to direct the majority in the Senate to come in here with a previous-question proposition which will deny the minority of the Senate the right of debate?

Mr. WALSH. The Senator from Montana would not think for a moment of advocating any course the tendency of which would be to shut off legitimate debate; but I am sure the Senator from Ohio will have recognized in very recent events and in the proceedings of recent Congresses the necessity for shutting off something that is a mere pretense of debate.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, if I may reply to that, I am again in accord with the Senator from Montana; and I have the abiding faith that a conservative cloture rule can be made a rule of this body along the lines of regular procedure for the amendment of the rules, without adopting a chaotic condition here wherein a majority of the Senate can fix the rules.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I do not agree with the Senator from Ohio that any chaotic condition would ensue, but I join with him in the hope that a reasonable cloture rule may be adopted; and it is in view of the likelihood of the submission of such that I am now addressing the Senate upon the question as to whether, when it is before us, it will be possible under the rules as they exist—assuming that they continue—for a Senator to stand here and simply pretend to debate, and hold up the proceedings of the Senate until he drops in his tracks from physical exhaustion. I want to address myself to that question for a few minutes.

A majority may adopt the rules, in the first place. It is preposterous to assert that they may deny to future majorities the right to change them. A court would make itself the subject of ridicule that should attempt to adopt rules one of which should provide that they could be changed only by a vote of two-thirds of the judges. It would not be tyrannical to make such a rule; it would be futile. The court, when wiser men graced the bench, would contemptuously, by a majority, set it aside. It is scarcely less preposterous that a legislative body should by rule deny itself the right to bring debate to an end and to proceed to a vote; nay, that it should by rule provide that so long as any Member should hold the floor and pretend to debate, there should be no vote; that though such pretense should be persisted in until it became a hollow mockery, a transparent sham, a subject of open raillery and jocularity, there should be no vote; that so long as there remains one Member with physical strength to keep the floor there should be no vote.

In the course of debates in this body in which the remark has been unreflectingly made, frequently, that the Senate is a continuous body and that the rules continue in force from Congress to Congress, they have been likened to the rules of a court that remain in force whatever changes ensue in the personnel of the judges.

The inaptness of the illustration has been adverted to. But continue the comparison. Suppose a rule of court expressly authorized counsel to be heard *ad libitum*, what reverence would be paid to it in the face of an abuse of the right by council who undertook to talk against time? Would not any court make itself contemptible by recognizing any force in such a rule? To make the parallel more perfect, let it be assumed that the rule forbade any decision so long as any member of the bench desired to talk. Would not the court be declining to discharge the functions reposed in it by the Constitution by refusing to decide, after a reasonable time for investigation had elapsed and a reasonable opportunity had been given to every justice to make known his views and to convert his brethren to his way of thinking? To delay justice is to deny justice. The judge who heeded such a rule, after becoming satisfied that the due proceeding of the court was being arrested to await adjournment or a change in its composition, or some other fortuitous circumstance that might avert the impending judgment, would be guilty of a violation of his oath to administer justice without delay.

I assert unhesitatingly that the Senate has no power to make a rule which will prevent it from bringing debate to a close or setting a time for a vote. That there are limitations upon the exercise of the right to bring on a vote may be conceded, but to maintain that a rule has any virtue under which one man may, by his physical prowess alone, defeat a vote is to invite calamity unspeakable and expose the Senate to the well-deserved contempt of mankind.

Reflecting upon this question being discussed, I wrote two years ago as follows:

> Much has been said recently of preparedness and the subject promises to engage the earnest thought of Congress.
>
> The people whom, in our feeble way, we are trying here to represent are evidently resolved to take upon themselves burdens for providing and maintaining a Naval and Military Establishment greater than ever heretofore borne in time of peace, and rivaling those rendered necessary by the exigencies of the Civil War. A genuine alarm pervades the country lest some enemy may, in the very near future, attack us. Imagine the time at hand and the foe bearing down upon us. The crisis involves the very life of the Nation. The occasion brooks no delay. Action—immediate action—by Congress is imperative. Congress is empowered by the Constitution to declare war. Congress it is, that is to raise and support armies. Congress is to provide and maintain a Navy. Congress is to provide for calling forth the militia to repel invasions and to organize armies and discipline them to that end. Congress it is that must lay and collect taxes to meet the expenditures of war and that must borrow money on the credit of the United States for the vigorous prosecution of war. It is scarcely conceivable that war should be precipitated or be impending without an appeal from the President, both in his civil capacity and as Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces of the Nation, for some hurried action by Congress. Such an appeal comes to this body. It finds a ready response except from a small coterie of Senators, who spell each other on the floor until the enemy thunders at the gates of our cities, and the Republic has had its death blow. They may be honest but misguided peace-at-any-price men, who refuse to believe that war is inevitable, and continue to hope that the awful horror of armed conflict may be averted by further peaceful overtures.
>
> Multitudes of sagacious men believed in 1861 that the South would not fight and others that the North would never resort to arms to preserve the Union. It is not inconceivable that the obstructionists—filibusterers—may be actuated by traitorous sentiments. The Revolution had its Arnold. I trust I offend no sensibilities in referring to the fact that in 1861 ten or more Members of this body were expelled for treason. A Vice President of the United States who, for four years presided over the Senate, was indicted and tried for treason, and a Senator, charged with him for this capital offense, escaped expulsion by but one vote. The Senate had already at that early day expelled one of its Members for perfidious negotiations with the enemies of his country. We are all sworn to bear true faith and allegiance to the United States—a needless oath unless it be that some of us may, conceivably, require the aid of Heaven to keep us true.
>
> What say you? Can the Senate make a rule under which it may be held at bay by treachery until a foreign foe shall have prevailed over a supine nation?

I repeat, a rule of the Senate, the effect of which is or may be to deprive it of the power, under any circumstances, of bringing debate to a close, is void. Mr. President, I am not one of those who, being balked by some law, organic or otherwise, would ruthlessly, having the power, sweep it aside to attain his end. Reverence for law is the sure foundation upon which government and society alike rest. If in our conduct it is not inculcated, where shall we look to find it exhibited? I shall vote with a clear conscience that we violate no law, even assuming the old rules remain in force, so far as they are valid, in fixing a time at which debate on any subject before this body shall close.

APPENDIX A.

DISCONTINUOUSNESS OF STATE SENATES IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR ACTION ON RULES.

Rules of the previous senate were adopted temporarily, with or without amendment, by 27 State senates, namely:

Arkansas, thirty-eighth session, 1911. Journal, p. 6. (In the thirty-ninth session, 1913, "suspension of the rules" took place shortly before the adoption of the rules. Journal, pp. 7, 8.)
California, fortieth session, 1913. Journal, p. 5.
Colorado, eighteenth session, 1911. Journal, p. 19.
Delaware, regular session, 1911. Journal, p. 46.
Florida, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 3.
Georgia, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 10.
Iowa, thirty-fifth general assembly, 1913. Journal, p. 8.
Louisiana, third general assembly under constitution of 1898, 1908. Journal, p. 6.
Maine, seventy-sixth legislature, 1913. Journal, p. 13.
Massachusetts, regular session, 1915. Journal, p. 5.
Minnesota, thirty-eighth session, 1913. Journal, p. 8.
Missouri, forty-seventh general assembly, 1913. Journal, p. 4.
Montana, thirteenth general assembly, 1913. Journal, p. 5.
New Hampshire, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 12. (A particular inquiry respecting New Hampshire warrants the additional statement that the practice was the same in 1911 and 1909. Journals, pp. 6, 6.)
North Carolina, regular session, 1911. Journal, p. 8.
North Dakota, thirteenth general assembly, 1913. Journal, p. 31.
Ohio, eightieth general assembly, 1913. Journal, p. 9.
Oregon, twenty-seventh legislature, 1913. Journal, p. 13. (These rules had been "recommended" to the previous senate.)
Pennsylvania, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 11.
South Dakota, fourteenth session, 1915. Journal, p. 6.
Tennessee, fifty-eighth general assembly, 1913. Journal, p. 9.
Texas, thirty-third legislature, 1913. Journal, p. 9.
Utah, tenth legislature, 1913. Journal, p. 4.
Vermont, regular session, 1912. Journal, p. 6.
Washington, thirteenth legislature, 1913. Journal, p. 6.
West Virginia, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 160. (There had been a deadlock over the presidency of the senate.)
Wyoming, thirteenth legislature, 1913. Journal, p. 7.

In 17 senates the rules of the previous senate were adopted at or near the time of organization without being characterized as temporary:

Arizona, first special session, 1912. Journal, p. 32.
Connecticut, regular session, 1911. Journal, p. 9.
Indiana, sixty-eighth session, 1913. Journal, p. 6. (However, no action upon the resolution concerned is shown. The same is true of a similar resolution at the sixty-seventh session, except that its passage receives mention in the index. Journal, p. 7.)
Kansas, eighteenth session, 1913. Journal, p. 26.
Maryland, January session, 1914. Journal, p. 15.
Michigan, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 11.
Mississippi, extra session, 1914. Journal, p. 5.
Nebraska, thirty-third session, 1913. Journal, p. 57.
Nevada, special session, 1912. Journal, p. 3.
New Jersey, seventy-first senate and one hundred and thirty-ninth session of the legislature, 1915. Journal, pp. 17–20.
New Mexico first State legislature, second session, 1913. Journal, p. 9.
New York, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 15. (The regular session of 1911 provided that pending adoption of rules the order of

business prescribed in rule 1 of the 1910 rules be adopted. Journal, p. 9.)

Oklahoma, extra session, fourth legislature, 1912–1913. Journal, p. 5.

Rhode Island, regular session, 1914. Journal, v. 8, No. 1, p. 2. (Proposed amendments to "the rules of the senate" had been defeated just before.)

South Carolina, regular session, 1913. Journal, p. 18.

Virginia, extra session, 1915. Journal, p. 11.

Wisconsin, fiftieth session, 1911. Journal, pp. 62–63. (Some minor business not related to organization had been transacted before. At the fifty-first session, 1913, the resolution was introduced, but its passage appears only by implication.)

In three senates rules were duly adopted, but without being characterized (at any stage), either as temporary or as taken from a previous senate:

Alabama, regular session, 1911. Journal, p. 97. (Rules were adopted on the fourth day as then reported from a standing committee appointed on the first. The resolution for the appointment of this committee was passed under "Suspension of the rules." Journal, pp. 7, 13.)

Idaho, twelfth session, 1913. Journal, p. 4.

Illinois, forty-seventh general assembly, 1911. Journal, p. 7.

One senate adopted rules which it characterized as temporary but not as taken from a previous senate:

Kentucky, regular session, 1912. Journal, p. 13. (These were Roberts's Rules of Order. At the session of 1914 the same resolution was introduced, and a week later a set of rules was adopted. Journal, pp. 17, 141.)

While the adoption of rules stands recorded in the journals of certain sessions only by implication, if at all, there is no State senate whose journals do not furnish valid evidence that such action forms part of the recognized program. In the case of every State senate, definitely recorded adoption of rules can be found without looking far.

APPENDIX B.

Chap. X. An act to fix the times for the regular meetings of Congress.

Be it enacted, etc., That in addition to the present regular times of meeting of Congress there shall be a meeting of the Fortieth Congress of the United States, and of each succeeding Congress thereafter, at 12 o'clock meridian on the 4th day of March, the day on which the term begins for which the Congress is elected, except that when the 4th of March occurs on Sunday, then the meeting shall take place at the same hour on the next succeeding day.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That no person who was a Member of the previous Congress shall receive any compensation as mileage for going to or returning from the additional session provided for by the foregoing section.

Approved, January 22, 1867.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. OVERMAN. Will the Senator from Virginia yield to me for a few moments?

Mr. MARTIN. I withdraw the motion for the present.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask the Senator from Montana whether he put in the RECORD the New Jersey case?

Mr. WALSH. No; I did not.

Mr. OVERMAN. Would the Senator object to putting it in, and also the dissenting opinion?

Mr. WALSH. I will be very glad if that order will be made.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask unanimous consent to put in the RECORD a little extract from a book entitled "Harrison, This Country of Ours." President Harrison was for a long time a Member of this body. He was one of the greatest lawyers who ever sat in the Senate. I ask leave to put in the extracts that I have marked here. He says that the rules of the Senate remain in force from one Congress to another; that the Senate is always a continuing body. I have marked the places.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCUMBER. Will not the Senator read it?

Mr. OVERMAN. I did not want to take the time to read it.

Mr. McCUMBER. It seems to me that it ought to be read.

Mr. OVERMAN. Very well; I will read it.

Mr. McCUMBER. Or let the Secretary read it. If it is to go into the RECORD we ought to know what it is.

Mr. OVERMAN (reading):

When a Senator is elected and receives his certificate of election from the governor he usually causes it to be presented to the Senate by his colleague before his own term begins. The certificate is received and filed, if regular in form; but if objection is made to the certificate, or the election is in any way challenged, the questions arising are referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for examination. The Senate is always an organized body. Its presiding officer—the Vice President—calls the Senate to order at the assembling of a new Congress and the Secretary, Sergeant at Arms, and other officers and clerks who hold office during the pleasure of the Senate resume their duties. If the Vice President is not present when the Senate assembles the Secretary of the Senate, or, in his absence, the Chief Clerk, performs the duties of the Chair, pending the election of a President pro tempore. The President pro tempore is entitled to call any Senator to the chair, but such a designation can not extend beyond an adjournment unless unanimous consent is given. If the session is a regular one the presiding officer raps for order and announces that the Senate is in session pursuant to law. If the session is a called or special one the proclamation of the President convening the Congress, or the Senate, as the case may be, is read and entered upon the Journal. The Senators-elect are escorted in groups of four (each usually by his own colleague) to the desk, and the oath of office is administered by the President of the Senate.

The rules of the Senate remain in force from one Congress to another, save as they may from time to time be modified. There is, however, a body of joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, and, as the concurrence of the House is necessary, these must be reenacted at the beginning of every Congress.

In the House the process of organization is quite different from that of the Senate. There are no hold-over members or officers, save that certain temporary duties are devolved by law upon the Clerk of the next preceding House. The law provides that he shall make a roll of the Representatives-elect, placing thereon the names of those persons whose credentials show that they were regularly elected. The practice is that when the hour of assembling arrives the Clerk of the preceding House calls the roll made up from the credentials filed with him, and, if a quorum is present, announces that fact, and that the first business in order is the election of a Speaker. Nominations for that office are then made, and, under the supervision of tellers, named by the Clerk from among the Members, the roll is called by him and the result announced. The oath of office is administered to the Speaker by a Member of the House, the habit being to devolve that duty upon the Member who has had the longest continuous service—the "father of the House," as he is called. The Members from each State are then called and the oath of office is administered to them by the Speaker. The adoption of a body of rules for the House has not always been an easy matter, and sometimes great delay and much excitement have attended the work. Often, by resolution, the rules of the last House are adopted to govern the proceedings until a new code is prepared and receives the concurrence of the House. If some such expedient is not adopted the House proceeds without any rules, except so far as the general rules of parliamentary law may be applicable.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. Thanking the Senator from Virginia, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry. Under the present status of the Senate may resolutions be introduced?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has observed that the proceedings up to this time have permitted the introduction of resolutions by unanimous consent, those resolutions going to the table.

Mr. LEWIS. I thank the Chair. I desire to present one to-morrow; not to-day.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Resolutions on legislative matters are not in order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair did not so state, except that some resolutions have been presented.

Mr. THOMAS. Anything is in order by unanimous consent.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It must be a matter relating to executive business.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 8, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *March 8, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the author of our liberty, defender of our rights, we turn our hearts to Thee this morning hour for that inward illumination by which alone we can know the things that make for our eternal peace. We thank Thee that Thou hast not permitted our spark of human knowledge to hide from us the vision of Thy glory and the reality of Thy thought and care and purpose for human life. We seek in Thy light to see light and turn our hearts to Thee that our path may be illumined by the Divine purpose and wisdom. So do Thou guide us this day in the discharge of our duties. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

LIMITATION OF DEBATE.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask that it be read, and when it has been read I will ask for its immediate consideration.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate shall, from and after its adoption, enforce the following rule, which is hereby adopted:

"If at any time a motion, signed by 16 Senators, to bring to a close the debate upon any pending measure is presented to the Senate, the Presiding Officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the following calendar day but one, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present the Presiding Officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by an aye-and-nay vote the question:

"'Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?'

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a two-thirds vote of those voting, then said measure shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

"Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than one hour on the pending measure, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the Presiding Officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time. No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer, shall be decided without debate.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I think it proper I should state to the Senate that in asking for the immediate consideration of this resolution I want it known that there is no desire to cut off legitimate debate. I expect the resolution to have full and complete discussion so far as Senators may desire to discuss it.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I earnestly hope there will be no objection made to the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I had hoped that this rule might be so drawn as to make it a little more drastic during the last few days of a session. My belief has been that a majority or at least a two-thirds vote of the Senate should have the right to further limit or conclude debate in the closing days of a session. I am satisfied, however, and I have talked the subject over with a number of Senators, that the rule presented by the Senator from Virginia is perhaps the best that can be obtained now. For this reason I earnestly hope that the proposed rule will be adopted, if we can get nothing better.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Virginia asks for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, now that unanimous consent has been allowed for the consideration of the rule, may I ask the Senator from Virginia to permit me to introduce a resolution that it may lie on the table, not interfering with the debate?

Mr. MARTIN. This is the foundation of the business of this session of the Senate, and I hope matters that can be presented at any other time will not be injected to impede it. I most earnestly request that that may not be done.

Mr. BORAH. What is the request of the Senator from Virginia?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He requests unanimous consent for the consideration of what is known as the cloture rule. The Chair hears no objection, and it is before the Senate.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask that the proposed rule be adopted.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I am very heartily in favor of this resolution which proposes to amend rules of the Senate so that debate may be closed. In 1911, when certain Senators on the other side were filibustering against certain measures which were then pending, I offered an amendment to the rules providing that two-thirds of the Senators might close debate after a certain time. That proposed amendment was not reported from the committee. In May, 1916, an amendment to the rules substantially like the one now proposed was reported unanimously from the Committee on Rules. That resolution, which enabled two-thirds of the Senate to close debate was on the calendar from May, 1916, to March 4, 1917, but was not taken up. The change proposed by the resolution was agreed to by a joint committee of the majority and the minority. I therefore hope this resolution may be adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the proposed rule.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, the immediate reason for the presentation of this resolution proposing to amend the rules is the failure to pass the armed merchant ship bill occurring when the Sixty-fourth Congress automatically adjourned last Sunday at noon. There was previous to the introduction of this measure a statement by the President which contains the following:

It would not cure the difficulty—

Referring to the defeat of the bill named—

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session.

The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now.

The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any man now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite.

But the Senate can not act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless. In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and decided action can make the Nation safe or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

RULES SHOULD BE ALTERED.

Although, as a matter of fact, the Nation and the representatives of the Nation stand back of the Executive with unprecedented unanimity and spirit, the impression made abroad will, of course, be that it is not so, and that other governments may act as they please without fear that this Government can do anything at all. We can not explain. The explanation is incredible.

The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which can not act when its majority is ready for action.

A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral.

This is the placing of the responsibility for the failure of the bill in question on the Senate or on the small number of Senators who are alleged by their action to have prevented a roll call on the bill. I was for this bill, Mr. President. I would have voted for it if a roll call had been had in its extreme form as originally written. I will vote for it yet, if an extraordinary session of Congress be called, in the form in which it was originally written.

The President knows, this Senate knows, and the House knows what the general public does not know. The President intentionally seeks to convey to the country the impression that only a change of the rules in the event of a special session would make it possible for such legislation successfully to be considered at that special session. That is not practically true, however theoretically it may be sought to make it appear to be true.

There is in the memory of no person now having a seat in the Senate delayed action or a filibuster which destroyed meritorious legislation, save during the last few weeks of the short session, when Congress automatically adjourns on the succeeding 4th day of March of that year. That is known to this body. It is known to the President. It is not stated in this article or prepared statement which I have read, and which was given to the press and sown broadcast throughout the country. The entire truth ought to have been stated. The entire truth was not stated. A portion of the truth was deliberately omitted, I believe, from that statement to make a stronger case, and thereby arouse greater resentment against the few Senators who opposed the bill in this body. It is not a fair statement.

I intend to support the bill if an extra session be called. I repeat that in order that I may not be misunderstood. But I repeat also that this statement going abroad by the President was an unfair statement. It lacks the candor the people have the right to expect from their President. It intentionally, I think, suppressed the part that I will supply.

If an extraordinary session of Congress be called to-morrow, it is not within the power of any 8 Senators, or 12, to delay legislation on the bill in question beyond from 2 to 4 weeks at the utmost.

There is a limitation, where mere exhaustion applies the cure. It is always in the power of the Senate to apply the remedy by continuous sessions, except the last few days named. The conditions that prevailed when this bill began originally to be urged for the first time are not contained in this statement, Mr. President. The conditions are that the entire legislation of a contested character at this session had accumulated. It had come down on the calendar or was before the Senate, reported out of committees in such a way that the appropriation bills had consumed considerable time and were demanding more. The naval appropriation bill had taken up a great deal of time. The legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill and all the bills of a general character appropriating money and otherwise, as well as the revenue bill, came on for consideration at the last of the session.

I shall not criticize human nature; no criticism would change it; but the methods of transacting business in both branches of Congress are well known. The important legislation accumulates until the last of the session. Then a great jam of bills occurs, time is taken, the supporters of various bills and those requiring action to advance them crowd for place. At that time a filibuster can be successfully used, and at no other time save when that accumulation of business occurs at the end of a short session. That was known to but is not stated by the President.

If this resolution were defeated, if no action were had by the amendment of the rules, if the President called Congress in extraordinary session within not exceeding 30 days from the time the two branches met, a roll call would be had upon this bill without any amendment of the rules. The rules are sought to be made the scapegoat for the deficiencies of human nature, the methods of transacting business in this body and the amendment of the rules that have long been sought unsuccessfully to be amended urged as a parliamentary nostrum to usher in a legislative millenium. These conditions have been seized solely for the purpose of breaking down the rule of the Senate and riveting Executive control on the Senate as firmly as on the House.

To me it is of no personal concern, but I do object to making a few Senators the object of the President's wrath in an unfair statement that was sent out to the general public. If this bill had come in due time it would not have been possible for those Senators to have defeated it by delaying a roll call until

the adjournment. No one questions that who knows the methods of transacting business here.

If this change is made it can or will be done by a majority vote of the Senate. A quorum being present, 49 or more, 25 or more will adopt it. It provides that on the application of 16 Senators they may in effect by a two-thirds vote bring any pending measure within the time named in the rule, a very short one, to a roll call. If it can be done by a two-thirds vote, and such a rule changed by a majority vote, to begin with, and another rule can be adopted, either to-day or at any time hereafter, by which the change of the rule can be made by a mere majority on the application of 16 Senators or fewer—by a mere majority, let it be remembered—and the two-thirds rule will be abolished.

I suppose the two-thirds rule has been selected, because it is thought to be entirely safe when two-thirds desire a roll call that it should be had. Concede it to be so, but the concession of the power to amend the rule by a majority, so as to require a two-thirds vote for the modification of this rule, establishes the precedent for the modification of the rule itself, so that a mere majority, instead of two-thirds, may relax this proposed rule or any other rule which it may be desired to change.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. HARDWICK. I am going to invite the Senator's attention to this fact, however: While it is true that the rules might be changed by a majority, yet you never would be able to get a vote on a proposition to change the rule unless two-thirds agreed to close debate on that proposition. So it amounts to the same thing.

Mr. SHERMAN. I say, in reply to that suggestion, that the Senate can change its rules by a mere majority, and the adoption of the new rule——

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; but when the motion was presented, if the Senator please, to change the rule, the debate on that proposition could not be closed, except by the unanimous consent of two-thirds of the Senate.

Mr. SHERMAN. Not necessarily. The same principle will apply. There will be a limit within which the debate can be conducted. The suspension of the rule, of course, requires two-thirds.

Mr. HARDWICK. I know, but if the Senator will pardon me, in order to make it plain, suppose a proposition was brought here, as the Senator says, to establish cloture by a majority vote, that proposition itself could never be brought to a vote unless two-thirds of the Senators present agreed to end discussion on it.

Mr. SHERMAN. But the Senator must bear in mind that when the precedent is established that two-thirds can bring a question of amending the rules to a roll call, the proposed amendment itself can be adopted by a majority vote. That is the statement, and it will be the ruling of the Senate when the final decision comes. I only request the Senator to wait and see whether this rule itself will not in turn be some time amended by a mere majority vote.

Mr. HARDWICK. If the Senator will pardon me there, I desire to remind him, however, that in the government of this body, it has never required anything but a majority vote to adopt a rule. That is nothing new.

Mr. SHERMAN. Then there is no controversy between the Senator and myself. A majority vote adopts this change of the rule. Then when the two-thirds vote is sought to be taken if a majority can change that——

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; but it will always take two-thirds to bring the debate to an end, even on a proposition to change the rules.

Mr. SHERMAN. How will the two-thirds rule be made of perpetual operation, if this resolution is agreed to?

Mr. HARDWICK. Because, unless two-thirds of the Senate consent to go to a vote on any proposition to change the rules so as to establish a majority cloture, it can not be done.

Mr. SHERMAN. The same precedent made here to-day, I say to the Senator from Georgia, will be binding as authority to again amend section 22, by striking out the two-thirds part of the amendment and making it a bare majority. To that there is no answer made.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois speaks of the precedent being established. Are we not now proceeding by unanimous consent and not by a majority vote to consider this proposition?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; there is no doubt about that. Any one Senator could have delayed the consideration of this proposed amendment.

I do not see, Mr. President, the necessity for this precipitate action. The war in Europe began in August, 1914. It will be two years ago this coming May since the *Lusitania* was sunk and the horrors of submarine warfare were first instituted. Since that time many other steamships of the allies have been sunk. Our own shipping has been sunk, carrying clearance papers from the neutral ports of the United States and destined to other neutral ports. Sailors, citizens of the United States, have lost their lives in that time. Another horror a few days ago, that of the *Laconia*, has occurred. In the two years nearly, next May, since the first steamship was sunk a great number of persons have lost their lives, a number of whom were citizens of the United States.

What has occurred during all that time? I wish to remind the President when he seeks to blame the Senate, to blame the Senate rules, and to blame a few Senators here, that during a large part of that time he has ridiculed the thought of preparedness; he has ridiculed it not only in the Army but in the Navy, and in a message delivered to the joint session of Congress he referred to the demand for the upbuilding of the Navy and dismissed it with the light suggestion that naval architecture and warfare were so changeable that if a Navy were built at the expense of millions of dollars it would be worthless in a very short time. That was in his address in Indianapolis, Ind., on Jackson Day. He said other nations had a right to spill as much blood as they pleased, and that it was no concern of ours. He called for absolute neutrality. The destruction of the *Lusitania*, the policy of unrestricted submarine frightfulness, created in his bosom no horror; it shocked no sensibility; it caused no proclamation, no convening of Congress in special session, or attack upon the rules of the Senate. He viewed it with indifference and dismissed it without apology or regret. Our border has remained in such a condition that within a zone of 50 miles no plantation or ranch owner has been safe. It is in that condition yet. Still, that called for no change in the rules; nothing has been done; all of that has come on apace without criticism and without demand for legislation. Murdered citizens on land along the Mexican border aroused no more concern than the *Lusitania* dead at sea.

I remember when petitions came to this body, not singly but by the thousands, when they were brought in here in a basket in huge rolls—individual petitions against the sale of munitions of war. The law of nations for 300 years has been that a neutral nation may open its market for war supplies to the nations of the world. From the time Hugo Grotius wrote his first book on the Laws of Peace and War, found in the library of every international lawyer in this Capitol, that has been true. It is true now. The protests came in; they have not been heeded. As a neutral we have kept our markets open to all the world, belligerents and neutrals alike. We have literally sent to the warring nations millions upon millions of dollars' worth of war supplies.

There is a factory within sight of the steps of this Capitol Building that has sent abroad to the battle fields of Europe its deadly product. So munitions have gone from Indiana. One plant in Indiana makes 48,000 pounds of guncotton every 24 hours. With three shifts at hand, it has never shut its doors since 1914. As soon as a carload is ready it is put in a car, shipped to New York, and taken across the Atlantic to fight the battles of the allies. Guncotton, explosives, and shells made in Indiana were used in the Battle of the Marne. We are a great neutral Nation; but our neutrality is a benevolent one, tinged at the same time with the profits that go with the traffic in munitions of war. I have not believed that we should change, and I shall not vote to change, the law of nations after war begins by an act of Congress so as to exclude the nations of the world, all alike, from buying war supplies in our open market.

The question has been asked in this body in my hearing, if this bill becomes a law, whether the President proposes to take guns from the navy yards and gunners from the United States Navy and put them on merchant ships, loaded with munitions of war in the future as in the past, and by the arms and the gunners of the United States on board enable the merchant ships to fight their way through the line of steel drawn by German submarines as they approach the ports of the allies, and by force of arms, supplied and used by the United States on board a merchant ship enter the belligerent ports, although we are claiming to be a great neutral Nation? That question has been asked; and it has not been answered in this body by any of the friends of the bill. It was not asked of me; but I am willing to answer it. Under this bill the President will have that right; and that right exercised, that act committed is an act of war. Without any formal declaration of Congress, we are then in a de facto war, without that mere formality that precedes the clash

of arms. That is what this bill means, and it means nothing else.

As a necessary corollary to that, Mr. President, the Navy of the United States can be used to convoy merchant ships laden with war supplies across the ocean to be landed at a port of the allies, even though it be done at the end of a naval battle with German warcraft. Is that a neutral act? I am voting for this bill, understand; but I wish no man to vote for it, much less myself, under any mistaken impression that he thinks it is armed neutrality in selling war supplies to be delivered at the ports of the allies. The President can not repeat the Vera Cruz fiasco with Germany. The Kaiser is not Huerta. It will be done either with guns from our Navy or by gunners working the guns from the same Navy; and I intend to vote for it with a full understanding that, if the President exercises that power, there is a de facto war; and no discretion is left to us afterwards except to humiliate the President and the country or to declare war when this question shall have been presented to us. When I vote for this bill I am saying to you in advance I am prepared to vote for war if the President exercises either of those powers authorized in the bill, and the exigency leaves no other alternative than stated.

I know what it means. We have not been neutral. I have my sympathies in the struggle across the sea. I voted twice against my own sympathies. I do not favor the Kaiser's Government or what it represents. It is an autocracy; it is militaristic; it is the dominance of the German States by Prussia; it is the execution of the declared purposes of Bismarck in the seventies, who, when asked how he would produce a union of the German States, by what legislative processes, by what statecraft, replied, "By none; but the German Empire will be welded by blood and iron." It is even so. The German Empire was created by blood and iron, and it is Prussia's ruthless creed to-day that in all this world there is nothing finally to decide the question of right and wrong but might; that the sword is the arbiter and that the army is the sovereign wherever its measured tread is heard. Germany and her indomitable people are great not because of her Government but in spite of it.

I know what it maens. I believe in a democratic form of govenrment. I have no sympathy with the absolutism of either kaiser or czar. My sympathies are against that arbitrary authority wherever found; but that does not blind me to the fact that this war did not begin on the question of mere democracy and autocracy; it may now be such a struggle. It began out of a thousand years of jealousy and race hatred and territorial aggression, of conflicting ambitions, with crowned kings deriving their authority from their ancestors by mere accidents of birth. It came upon the world as a struggle on land and sea growing out of the commercial rivalries of 16 nations of Europe; it is that to-day.

It is said that we are doing it to protect our integrity, our independence, and our sovereignty. Again, let us not deceive ourselves. That will be the purpose of the patriot who enlists on the call of the President; it may be the purpose of some Members of this body who, when the call is made, will leave their seats and their official authority and go where the call leads. That may be the purpose, but, after all, those who agitate, who shout for war have other motives less exalted. From many of the large cities of the country comes a call for an embargo to stop the exportation of food products. My desk has been loaded with them in months past; and still, except from the peace societies and those who disbelieve in war, I have not a solitary letter or petition from a citizen of the United States protesting against the export of war supplies. The places which cry out for war the loudest are where munitions of war are exported the most.

Do not mistake the country. Do not be deluded by mere locality. I do not question the sincerity or the patriotism of those along the eastern Atlantic coast. They are patriotic, and from the great centers of population and from the rural districts there is an earnest desire to sustain the President in order that our country may not be humiliated, weakened, or dishonored. But I have given due heed to the protests that have come against the exports of food supplies, from labor unions whose members have difficulty in sustaining their families; from all the many who have protested against such exports; and not one of them has protested against the export of war supplies except the numerous specific petitions I name.

Along the eastern coast, Mr. President, there is an undoubted sentiment for war. In the middle and far West, on the prairies and in the belted woodlands of that distant region they know that the money gained in the blood-stained traffic in war supplies has lodged along the eastern coast. It has not been generally distributed. Money is as close in many parts of the West to-day as it was before the war broke out. There are in that country, Mr. President, millions of people. I have touched elbows with the men who saw the Indians come into Chicago bringing their furs to traffic with the traders at that post when old Fort Dearborn marked the outposts of western civilization. Since that time millions of people have settled in that country. You along the Atlantic coast have not considered public sentiment in that country. I know what the many-tongued press has said and what they will say. I am willing to take the risk on being misinterpreted, criticized, or misunderstood. If any editor in New York City is clamoring for armed conflict let him throw down the pen that he thinks is mightier than the sword, gird on his armor, and go forth to conquer. I am in favor of conscripting every belligerent editor that is shouting for war in his editorial columns. These are not the ones whose blood will be shed on the battle fields of Europe or this continent, Mr. President. Our soldiers are the men in Illinois who are now beginning, at the southern end of the State, to follow the plow, preparing for the seeding of the spring crops. They are in the great States of the West, the railroad men, who take their trains out every morning, on engine and in car. They are the ones who work in the shops and the mines, the men of sturdy character, of heroic mold, whose ancestors laid the foundation of empire 100 years ago. They are the ones whose red American blood will be shed in torrents because somebody wants to convoy armed ships laden with war supplies across the Atlantic, through the line of German submarines, and sell their product in a market where the allies need it; and yet I may be willing to vote for it, Mr. President. I may be willing to go that far.

Two things have decided me on that course. One is the danger zone created by an arbitrary decree at Berlin some time ago, in which the open sea was withdrawn as a way of commerce for the neutral world. The open sea has been made a theater of war involuntarily to peaceful nations, so that no ship, belligerent or neutral, can navigate it. I regard it as indefensible, as utterly without right as to neutrals in either peace or war. It is destructive of our maritime rights.

Again, the admitted effort of Zimmermann, in charge of foreign affairs for the German Imperial Government, who has undertaken to involve Japan and Mexico against us, is an indication of deliberate hostile intent. Whether it would have come to any practical end or not, we need not inquire to-day. It is sufficient that it is admitted that this was done, and I regard that alone as an act of war against us. It justifies us in the passage of such a bill; but does not justify nor require this amendment of the rules of the Senate. The President makes it the excuse for what he desired to do anyhow.

It is of no concern to me what the rules of the Senate are. If you limit speeches to five minutes, I can say within that allotted time all I care to say. I have engaged in two filibusters; and let me say to you that I am violating no confidence—an open confession is good for the soul—when I tell how it happened. At no time did I engage in a filibuster, my fellow Senators on the majority side of this Chamber, when it was not by the connivance and request of the Senators who are to-day heaping their anathemas upon other Senators who used the same right against the bill they opposed.

It makes all the difference in the world whose ox is gored. If some vile conspirators defeat a bill that you think is the climax of legislative wisdom, then a filibuster becomes wholly an evil thing. Why, even the distinguished Senator and friend of popular government from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], who is a shining light in the National Popular Government League, admits that he once engaged in this nefarious practice. It was to kill some legislation that he thought required extinction, speedy or lingering, as the case might be. He defends it by saying he did it in the interest of the people.

I doubt not that every Senator who had a part in the filibuster under criticism would say that he, too, did it for the people. What people? He did it for that unnumbered host whose souls will go up from earth's battle fields, and whose stark faces will turn with unseeing eyes to the same sky whose stars have watched for centuries the voiceless dead when the storm of conflict has swept on to new slaughter; for the thousands that will sink to the depths of the sea in the war upon the ocean; for the children made fatherless; for the eternal widow in black, for the distress sown wide, for the clay that will be heaped over new-made graves. He did it for those people, who still walk among the living. Shall not some Senators speak for them? Have they not some argument equal to that of the Senator from Oklahoma, who did it for some people in Oklahoma or Arizona?

It makes the world's difference whether you are for a bill or against it. Democrats have used this expedient, as we have. It is a weapon of the minority party. I am not opposed to a change of the rule because I am with the minority. It has been

my political fortune generally to have been with a minority. For some reason for several years I had been with the majority party within the limits of State activities before I came here. It was unnatural to me, and when I came to a Democratic Senate I felt like I had arrived once more at headquarters, and was myself again; so it is not merely that. It is because the President, in his statement, has put it upon the unfair ground that the Senate rules prevented this legislation, when his own deferred action caused it. It could have been done months ago. In more than two and one-half years of warfare all this preparation could have been had. But "preparedness" was once an epithet, a word of reproach, until January, 1916, and then came the awakening. The awakening came so rapidly that this bill arrived during the last week of the session, when it was possible for men who differed from the President, by the consumption of time, to prevent its passage.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I ask my colleague if he does not recognize that it was not until the *Laconia* was sunk, and the circumstances surrounding that occurrence clearly indicated a new danger to the rights of American passengers, American commerce, and ships that might be under the American flag, that the necessity arose for action by the President—will not my colleague admit that the President could not have foreseen that event previous to its happening?

Mr. SHERMAN. He could have foreseen that event, Mr. President, when the neutrality of Belgium was violated.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOWNSEND. The *Laconia* was sunk after the President came before Congress.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, the Senators are right as to the time when the President came to Congress, but I am inviting the attention of my colleague to the fact that the demand for the passage of the bill asking the privilege to arm ships was only made absolutely necessary when patience and hope had been exhausted, and the instance of the *Laconia* clearly indicated that protection to commerce carried by American ships could only be secured by allowing them to arm for defense. How could the extreme necessity be seen sooner, I ask my able colleague?

Mr. SHERMAN. No, Mr. President; that is not the basis. The difficulty is that in all our foreign relations with Germany, as with Mexico, it has been a case of "watchful waiting." The unsuccessful speed is lack of foresight, not excitement after the event has occurred.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. Referring to the *Laconia* proposition, I want to ask the Senator if it is not true that the bill he is talking about, the substitute Senate bill that was pending on the 4th of March when we adjourned, would not have protected any of the American citizens on the *Laconia* because it was a British ship?

Mr. SHERMAN. That is strictly correct, because it limits the protection of citizens to those found on ships of the United States, registered under our laws.

Mr. NORRIS. That is right.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, the bill did not limit it in that way. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] introduced a proposed amendment which would have limited it in that way, if the Senate had adopted it.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; the original bill did not contain that amendment, but I had understood that there would be no serious opposition to the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I will say, as one member of the committee, that I had never been consulted about that amendment, and I regarded it as the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK].

Mr. SHERMAN. I so understood it, and believed that if it came to a roll call it would limit the protection of citizens of the United States to those found as passengers or crew on ships of the United States, and not upon the *Laconia* or any vessel of a belligerent that might similarly be destroyed hereafter.

So I regard it, Mr. President, as an attempt to change the rules by taking advantage of a present emergency, and putting the blame where it does not belong, seeking to absolve the President from the long delay that any person in official life of ordinary foresight could have prevented by urging the desired legislation before the last few weeks or the last few days when it was demanded.

I wish to say—and it is the last time I am going to remark generally on this question—unless by the fortunes of parliamentary warfare it becomes necessary for me to reply to any criticisms made, which I naturally expect if my utterances be thought of enough importance to merit that attention—that the change in the rules will eventually lead to making of the Senate just such a legislative body as the House of Representatives is. It is well enough that a popular body be so, as it represents people. We do not. We represent the sovereignty of the States in which we dwell. We represent those States. It is of no concern how small the State is territorially, or in population, or in business resources. We represent the States primarily.

For that reason this ought to be like no other legislative body in the country. It is a place of common counsel, of revision. Our powers are advisory, diplomatic, and legislative. We discharge all those functions. We are more nearly like the States General of the Netherlands in the time of William the Silent.

A previous question on the ratification of a treaty will be, Mr. President, subject to the same rule. It makes no difference how important, in what kind of a world alliance we are to be placed, the same rule applies. In the fullness of time some kind of a peace league will be formed. When the last shot has been fired the re-creating processes of peace will begin. We earnestly hope that at some time a peace league of enough powers in the world to make such wars as this impossible will be formed. How do the great powers form such a league? The ordinary diplomatic channels negotiate it. It is presented to this body for discussion and for ratification. Sixteen Senators and a two-thirds vote bring it to a roll call at any time that two-thirds think proper. Two-thirds require only 64 Senators—32 States and 64 Senators. Sixteen of the larger States that contain more than 50 per cent of the entire population of the country have no voice; they are voted out. The cloture is applied in that modified form, and the 16 States are voted into silence and oblivion. Any treaty, any legislation of this kind, is made subject to the same coercive rule. Bear in mind that in treaties our powers are advisory to the President and diplomatic in their practical effect. No treaty becomes a law of the land until we ratify it. Therefore why apply such a rule to a question of that kind?

When the question of joining a peace league is presented to the Senate in the future it will involve either our becoming a party with the empires of Europe or of remaining outside. It merits the fullest discussion. It merits the right fully to be heard in that diplomatic capacity before the vote is finally taken, and that is all the old rule of the Senate does.

I know that this resolution will be adopted. Of that I have no doubt. I am saying what I think because I wish to voice my protest against its adoption.

The same gentleman who occupies the executive office was not always of this mind. He, like others who have suddenly wakened to the iniquity of the present rule, once was of the opinion that such a rule was an aid to good government. In Congressional Government, by Woodrow Wilson, on page 211, is the following text:

> An attempt was once made to bring the previous question into the practices of the Senate, but it failed of success, and so that imperative form of cutting off all further discussion has fortunately never found a place there.

Who was it in Holy Writ, with a pious ejaculation, said, "Oh, that mine adversary had written a book?" And he has written not one, but several. I have often quoted pertinent passages from the New Freedom. That seemed to promise a new charter of liberty, a Magna Charta, besides which that wrested from John the First by the old barons of England seems to adopt a diplomatic phrase like a mere scrap of paper. The new charter of freedom, it is true, was written in the ardor of political contest. It sprang Jovelike from his brain, evolved from his inner consciousness before he had executive experience in the White House.

Continuing, on pages 217 and 218, he says:

> Of course, however, there is less temptation to such speech-making in the Senate than in the House. The House knows the terrible possibilities of this sort in store for it were it to give perfect freedom of debate to its 325 members—

Now 435, I might say parenthetically—

> in these days when frequent mails and tireless tongues of telegraphy bring every constituency within earshot of Washington; and it therefore seeks to confine what little discussion it indulges in to the few committeemen specially in charge of the business of each moment. But the Senate is small and of settled habits, and has no such bugbear to trouble it. It (the Senate) can afford to do without any cloture or previous question. No Senator is likely to want to speak on all the topics of the session—

That sounds liks what I have heard in the classroom—

> or to prepare more speeches than can conveniently be spoken before adjournment is imperatively at hand.

He did not know what these men would do here in the last days of the session. They prepared more speeches than could conveniently be spoken before adjournment. In fact, even one was left over on the coals that was not used. I do not think, however, upon the whole the Senate is suffering any from the

retention of eloquence. All of us can deliver it some other time. There are all the opportunities, even under this resolution, for a person who wishes to talk hours to do so. So the opportunity to talk until permanent relief is obtained is still present. I do not apprehend it will be used until the latter part of the session. Probably if it were not for the vile previous question I would not voice my protest against it. Continuing:

The House can be counted upon to waste enough time to leave some leisure to the upper Chamber.

That is what we are doing, using our leisure. These Senators who are opposed to the bill used the leisure. If the President had only used his leisure and the Senate leaders on the majority side had used their leisure earlier in the session these willful few could not have blocked the passage of the bill. The difficulty is that as in all other human affairs the President's hindsight is a good deal better than his foresight. He is the victim of this incurable propensity of the human mind.

I again quote further this authority, Mr. President. I have all the President's books in my library, some of them very thumbed, especially those on political subjects; some are not so much so, because they are purely theoretical, many of them of an ethical character. On page 219 of this same authority I again quote:

Still though not much heeded.

There was no use of putting that in—

Still, though not much heeded, the debates of the Senate are of great value in scrutinizing and sifting matters which come up from the House. The Senate's opportunities for open and unrestricted discussion and its simple, comparatively unencumbered forms of procedure, unquestionably enable it to fulfill with very considerable success its high functions as a chamber of revision.

That is what this is; but by this day's work a majority of the Senate hereafter will be enabled to apply the previous question on the application of 16 Senators who may represent eight of the smaller States in the Union, and thereafter all further discussion shall be closed. I repeat if the two-thirds majority be provided in this rule and be adopted by a majority the same majority can amend the rule and eliminate the two-thirds, not for the suspension of the rules, but for the adoption of a new rule just as we are now doing.

Mr. President, I shall not take the time of the Senate because I have said in substance all I wish. I am happy to be of the minority. I do not care how overwhelming that minority is, I have voiced my opinion. I am glad I have done so. I intend to vote for the armed-ship bill if an extraordinary session is convened. If you want to send shrapnel and torpedoes and guncotton on American ships, guarded by guns from the Navy and by United States gunners, across the Atlantic Ocean and land by force of arms in a belligerent port these supplies, do so. This seems to be the President's purpose. When he has done so prepare to vote to declare war. When he has done so, stop idly prating of the benevolent neutrality of this Republic; it has ended when the President avails himself of the powers conferred by this bill. When a like steamship shall be loaded and convoyed by the armed forces of the United States—a part of the Navy—across the Atlantic Ocean and landed in a belligerent port, prepare for the same result, because it is sure to rise before us.

Has anybody asked whether the President is likely to use the same power to convoy a boat laden with war supplies to Hamburg or Bremen? Will the President do so? Will he insist that by force of arms war supplies shall leave Baltimore and be landed in Bremen by our naval force? I hardly think he will. We have in fact been unneutral in this administration for many months, not to say years.

I have an article which I prepared several years ago—I am not going to read it—on the question of the practical result of the cloture. By figures and population and votes, to say nothing of material resources, the open forum of the Senate is actually an ally of popular government and not its enemy. It enables the majority of people finally to rule in the Senate by keeping the smaller States, the sparse population, from outvoting the great population in the large States. Senators may not realize that nine States of this Union contain a majority of the entire vote of the Republic. It is so. Those who desire the popular or direct election of President have never stopped to analyze the admitted or the demonstrated result. The popular election of the President or his popular nomination at a primary works out the same way. It would put in the hands of 10 States, at the utmost, the nomination of a President on a direct vote in a primary. If the Electoral College were to be abolished and the popular vote elect, 10 States in the Union will elect the President. Beginning with New York and running across, including Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, 10 of them will elect a President. The other 38 States will have no more to say than if they were mere outlying provinces of the German Empire. The open forum in the Senate actually promotes and makes possible the rule of the majority of the population or the voters of this country in the Senate. Still it is universally criticized as the enemy of popular rule.

I ask for leave to insert the article, modified to apply now, entire at the conclusion of my remarks, without reading.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

"The filibuster in 1915 in the United States Senate, resulting in the defeat of the shipping bill and the recent defeat of the armed merchant ship bill have provoked a discussion on an amendment of the Senate rules, so as to permit a cloture to be applied on any pending measure. This is proposed to be done whenever a majority of the Senate so votes. It is worthy of observation that the majority party of the Senate in the closing days of the Sixty-third Congress seemed to lack the unanimity required to adopt the cloture. What is the reason? Why do both Republican and Democratic Senators hesitate to close the only open forum in the United States? Now they will close it only when fearing war. It is generally understood that near the close of a session the freedom of discussion, without limit as to time or subject, may be successfully employed to kill a bill. Senatorial history proves that few, if any, meritorious measures have ever been so defeated. If a well-defined public opinion has favored any pending bill, the members of no political party care to take the responsibility of 'talking a bill to death.' It is only when a measure is fairly questionable and no popular verdict has been had that unlimited debate is destructively employed. If a bill is seasonably urged, it can not be so beaten.

"The shipping bill had been through no campaign, neither had it been submitted to the people, the press, discussed, and a verdict returned. The majority party was not sufficiently united to have enacted it if the President's influence and the party caucus had not been invoked.

"There is an underlying reason why Senators upon due reflection decline to close free discussion in the Senate by an amendment in the nature of a cloture. The House of Representatives is the direct agent of the people. Its membership is measured by mere population. An apportionment bill recasting the ratio and increasing the membership is had at 10-year intervals corresponding with the regular decennial census. The original ratio was 1 Member of the House of Representatives for every 30,000 population. This was fixed in the Constitution. In 1790 it was raised to 33,000. This ratio has uniformly increased from 33,000 until it was fixed, in 1910, at 211,407. The ratio has been raised in order to prevent the House from becoming unwieldly by mere size. Still it remains the popular body and directly represents the people. It was so intended when created by the Constitution.

"The Senate is not based upon population. The census returns may rise or fall but—

"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

"The foregoing is the language of the seventeeth amendment to the Federal Constitution. It provides for the direct election of Senators instead of the election by State legislatures as originally written. Senators are neither apportioned nor elected so as to represent mere population, although in a limited sense they are representative of the people residing in the States which elect them, and in a broader sense of all the people of the Republic. The number of Senators, however, is dependent solely on the number of States. The Senate represents the units known as States without regard to the number of people which may inhabit them. However much or little the population of a State may be it is on an equality with each of the other States of the Union. The Senate can not increase in numbers unless new States are created and admitted to the Union, and then such new State becomes automatically entitled to two Senators under existing constitutional provisions. The sovereignty or governmental individuality of the State, except in the broader sense alluded to, determines the number of the Senate, and the number of qualified voters whether large or small is merely the elective power. Territory, people, agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, or banking, whatever their character or importance, do not increase or decrease by so much as a single vote the voting power of a State in the Senate.

"The supporters of the ship-purchase bill said a majority was prevented from legislating and that popular government was thwarted. A majority of what, the people or of the smaller States? Of the 42 Senators from the 21 States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, 36 Democratic Senators voted

for the shipping bill in its various parliamentary stages and 6 against it. Of the 6 Senators so voting against it 5 were Democrats from the normally Democratic States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Mississippi, and 1, a Republican from the doubtful State of Delaware.

"Of the 36 Senators from the second group of 18 States—Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming—30 Republicans voted against it in its several parliamentary stages and 4 Democrats, 1 from each of the States of Illinois, Kansas, New Hampshire, and Ohio, all of which are normally Republican States, and were so carried in 1914, voted for the bill. One Progressive from the State of Washington, which went Republican in 1914, and may ordinarily be so regarded, was doubtful or voted against it in its final stages, and 1 Democrat from the State of New York voted against it.

"Of the 18 Senators from the third group of 9 States—California, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, South Dakota, Oregon, Wisconsin, and West Virginia—9 Republicans and 1 Democrat voted against it and 6 Democrats and 2 Republicans voted for it. The 9 Republicans were from California, Maine, Massachusetts, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and West Virginia, and the 1 Democrat was from Nebraska. The 6 Democrats who voted for it were from Colorado, Maine, Oregon, and West Virginia, and the 2 Republicans were 1 each from Nebraska and Wisconsin.

"For the purpose of testing the popular strength lying back of the senatorial votes, the first group of 21 States will be regarded as all Democratic. Eight of those States, however, are fighting ground, viz, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, and New Jersey.

"The total population of these 21 States, by the census of 1910, is 37,030,802. The total vote cast in these 21 States in 1912 was 4,314,496. The total Democratic vote cast in 1912 in these States was 2,339,191.

"The second group of 18 States may be regarded as all Republican. The largest States of the Union lie in this group. It is significant that the four largest States in both population and votes, the latter including no female votes in the figures used, namely, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio, all returned decisive Republican majorities in 1914.

"The total population of the 18 States by the census of 1910 was 41,321,180.

"The total vote cast in the 18 States in 1912, 7,987,465.

"The total popular vote cast in the 18 States in 1912 for Taft and Roosevelt was 4,398,751.

"The third group of nine States contains five which elected Democratic Senators in 1914 by a direct vote of the people: California, Oregon, Colorado, Wisconsin, and South Dakota.

"Omitting any reference to California, which elected Progressive and Republican governors, respectively, in 1914, and Republican factional divisions in South Dakota and Wisconsin, giving the election to the Democratic senatorial candidate by close pluralities, and the personal popularity of the Democratic candidates in Oregon, although all three of Oregon's congressional districts elected Republicans, they may all be considered, even by Democrats, as debatable ground. Massachusetts is a conspicuous example, electing Republicans in 12 out of 16 congressional districts and a State legislature Republican in both branches, with its Progressive vote of 142,228 in 1912, which gave the State to the Democrats, reduced to 32,145 in 1912. So far as recent votes can be made significant this State's two Senators are both justified in voting against the shipping bill, and Massachusetts might properly be put in the second group as a Republican State, thus effectively demonstrating that popular strength is against the bill. From the Republican viewpoint all five are naturally Republican, and on the shipping bill issue would be so regarded by that party.

The total population of the 9 States, census 1910, was	13,289,206
The total vote cast in the 9 States in 1912 was	2,729,208
The total Democratic vote cast in the 9 States in 1912 was	1,104,477
The total Taft and Roosevelt vote cast in the 9 States in 1912 was	1,377,958
The 36 Democratic Senators of the first group of States voting for the shipping bill represented a population of	37,030,802
The 30 Republican Senators and 1 Progressive Senator of the second group voting against the bill represented a population of	41,321,189
Or, the 30 Republican and 1 Progressive Senators of the second group voting against the bill represented population exceeding that of the first group represented by 36 Democratic Senators voting for the bill by	4,290,387
The total vote cast in the first group of 21 Democratic States was	4,314,496
The total vote cast in the second group of 18 Republican States was	7,987,465
Or, the second group of 18 Republican States cast an excess of votes over the first group of 21 Democratic States of	3,672,969

"The third group of 9 States classified as doubtful, with their population of 13,289,206 as against the first group of 21 States classified as Democratic, with a population of 37,020,797, cast a total vote of 2,729,208 as against a total vote of 4,314,496 in the 21 States or, reduced to percentages, less than 12 per cent (11.65) of the population of the first group voted as against over 20 per cent (20.5) of the third group. If the first group be subdivided into the solidly Democratic States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia it will be observed that they constitute a majority of 11 out of 21 States, containing 22 out of a total of 42 Senators. Under party caucus action they rule the group of great Democratic States. Those 11 States contain a population of 22,392,414. The total vote cast in the 11 States in 1912 was 1,540,514, or less than 7 per cent (6.88) of the population. If popular government is invoked to help the shipping bill let the 11 Republican States of New York, Ohio, Minnesota, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Kansas, North Dakota, Illinois, Iowa, and Washington in group two, with an aggregate population of 38,819,849, be pitted against the 22,392,414 population of the 11 States in group one. The 11 Republican States named cast a total vote in 1912 of 7,447,089, or over 19 per cent (19.18), against less than 7 per cent of the population of the 11 Democratic States. Less than 8 per cent (7.74) of the population of Texas voted, while more than 20 per cent (20.3) of the population of Illinois voted. The male vote cast in each State is the basis of computation. Still the cloture is demanded in the name of popular government.

"The foregoing analysis disposes of the claim that popular government was defied and the rule of the people outraged in defeating the shipping bill. The filibuster and the Senate rules became the ally of popular rule and not its enemy. If mere population or voting strength is the test, the bill was beaten by Senators who represented a decisive majority of the people of the United States.

"The strength of the support for the bill came from small States with their equal suffrage with the large States and States in which a comparatively small per cent of its population votes. It is one of the paradoxes of government that the cloture in the Senate, instead of promoting the rule of the majority, would become an instrument of legislation by the minority. This is because of the equal vote of the small and the large States in the Senate. New York, with 9,113,614 people and 1,587,693 votes, has but two Senators, both voting against the shipping bill, while Nevada, with 81,875 people and 20,115 votes, has two Senators who voted for it, or Arizona, with 204,354 people and 23,722 votes, has two Senators who voted for the bill, as against the great population of New York or that of Pennsylvania or Illinois, with 7,665,111 and 5,638,591, respectively. On a representative population basis, the two Senators from New York have more than one hundred and eleven times the population back of them the two Senators from Nevada have, and on a voting basis over seventy-eight times as much. Our scheme of Federal Government made it so from the beginning. The relative importance of the small States as original sovereignties could be preserved in no other way to which they would consent, and so the Union was formed with the representation of States in the Senate, each having an equal vote. This provision of the Constitution is unamendable. Nothing but the sword can involuntarily deprive the small States of their equal voting power in the Senate. The United States is therefore not exclusively a people's government. It is one of the States and the people. No change can eliminate this double nature save by the unanimous consent of every State. If a single State refused its consent, nothing but military force could coerce it into remaining in the Union changed so as to deprive it of its equal power in the Senate. Those who talk of a pure democracy and the abolition of the Senate have not studied well the foundations of the Federal Government. Such a scheme is either a chimera or a revolution. If only people be considered, then why should the numerically small and less populous States destroy by a combined vote the great centers of population? If this were a pure democracy the smaller States would themselves in turn, in a direct vote, be extinguished if the large States combined. The small States realize this. When the Constitution was framed their delegates then voiced their fears in the constitutional convention. They urged that the sovereignty of the small State would be submerged in the populous large States, so the small States have, as an indispensable condition, first, in the drafting of the Constitution, and second, in its ratification preserved their separate sovereignties in the Senate. This is zealously guarded in Article V, which provides—

"That no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

"It is noticeable that this safeguard is written in the article concerning amendments to the Constitution. The language quoted is a prohibition upon the power of three-fourths of the States ratifying an amendment to destroy the equal suffrage of any State in the Senate. I believe this limitation upon the right of amendment puts it beyond the power of the people or the States themselves to destroy the equal representation in the Senate of each State, whatever its population or the importance of its occupations, without its consent.

"The manufacturing of New York State alone equals that of 29 other States; Pennsylvania that of 27 other States; Illinois, 23 other States; and Massachusetts and Ohio each that of 20 and 19 other States, respectively. The relative values of the agricultural productions of the States in the several groups show an overwhelming preponderance in the States whose Senators opposed the bill or that went solidly against the administration at the November, 1914, elections. Even the total cotton production coming entirely from the 11 States found in the first group is about equaled in value by the hay crop of the United States, while the corn crop of the country is double that of the cotton crop for the export of which the bill was supposed to provide. New York State bank deposits are more than those of 33 other States. The deposits of Massachusetts equal that of 20 other States, and Pennsylvania and Illinois each that of 17 other States.

"If the occupations followed by the people of the several States are considered, neither can that majority in the Senate fairly claim to represent the immense volume of business and productive transactions of the larger States who are in a hopeless minority on a roll call of Senators. This peculiar condition which prevails in no other legislative body in the United States is another reason for the open forum in the Senate. It is a potent argument against the cloture. The artificial character of the representation in the Senate is met in certain emergencies by unlimited debate. Whatever names may be employed do not change the basic conditions. Filibuster is an offensive epithet to some ears. It is used to frighten some candidates for public office. It is the theme for denunciation by a certain element of the public press and by some well-meaning persons. Nevertheless, the filibuster in its crudest form is never as arbitrary as the majority in the Senate resulting from the equal suffrage of the smaller States. The Constitution probably could not have been framed and ratified unless this foundation of the Senate had been laid on a consenting constituency of States. It has preserved the States, and none of them would consider for an instant its surrender of its equal power in the Senate.

"Other powerful reasons exist. The party caucuses flourish in the majority party in the Senate. Whatever names may be employed to cover the proceedings, nevertheless it remains with all that the term implies. The Democratic Party of late years ceased to use the word 'caucus.' It has substituted the more euphonious terms of 'conference' of Democratic Senators on the shipping bill, in which King Caucus was supposed to be dethroned; all who attended it were intended to be bound by its iron rule. The recent extended and indignant denunciation of Democratic Senators who did not abide by the caucus action of their party by the Democratic administration Senators is an instance that within the internal mechanism of a conference there beats the sturdy heart of caucus rule. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is filled with criticisms of Democratic Senators who would not be so bound. They have been characterized as Judases. They have been read out of the party so far as the action of individual Senators can do so, and in other ways it has been attempted to make them feel the weight of the majority's displeasure. On a roll call in caucus the combination of small States can outvote and muzzle completely the larger States, so caucus rule thereby becomes misrepresentative of popular government.

"Added to the foregoing is the Executive encroachment. The President wishes to be on good terms with the Senators from the small States as well as those from the large States. This wish, however, is not so ardent as the wish of the two Senators from those States to be in accord with the President who is of their party. It is needless to insist that patronage does not play a large part in the mutual adjustment between the Senators of the smaller States and the President. It tightens the hold of the President on the Senators. This makes it comparatively easy for a President to control a caucus of the majority party. When this caucus action is joined with the tremendous power already in the hands of the Executive it can be realized why the President so often controls Congress. The only successful opposition to the vast power of the President is the open forum of the Senate. The cloture in the Senate becomes the ally of Executive usurpation and caucus rule. It is another reactionary movement masquerading in the name of reform.

"The Senate has been equal to its responsibility in time of trial. It is the only barrier in the way of supreme Executive control in the United States. If a cloture is adopted in the Senate, that barrier is swept aside. Hasty or injurious legislation is thereby made more possible than at present. History has demonstrated that Presidents may err. We acknowledge their sincerity and patriotism. We have a right, however, in the Senate at least to question their infallibility. It is there that the Executive measures are tested, tried, and in the open forum of the Senate approved or rejected. If this be a filibuster, let Senators and the people manfully acknowledge that it is justified under our plan of government so long as present practices continue. The filibuster is a proper corrective to caucus or conference action, the overshadowing influence of the President, and the dual system of national government by population and by States. The open forum in the Senate is an antidote developed by experience in the actual processes of the parliamentary operations in the Senate."

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, I believe a majority of the Senators on both sides of the Chamber, realizing the imminence of a vital national emergency, are sincerely desirous of reaching a solution of the cloture question which will give fair opportunity for debate and at the same time insure reasonable promptness of action. There is a broad twilight zone between unlimited debate and no debate; between headlong action and utter stagnation.

The majority in the Senate are prone to impatience. Knowing that they have the votes they are eager for action. They are quick to paste the filibuster label on extended debate by the minority. They are likely to overlook windy speeches on their own side of the aisle.

The minority, on the other hand, are extremely jealous of their rights. Knowing that the votes are against them and being strongly opposed to the inevitable result that a vote will insure, they naturally postpone the evil day. They are certainly in no hurry to help their opponents gain the credit for a conspicuously fine record of achievement.

Moreover, the minority feels a certain satisfaction in exercising its privileges to the discomfort of its opponents. It appeals to the gallery when the leader of a small minority shakes his fist at the majority and proudly announces that curfew shall not ring to-night. It consoles the minority somewhat for the defeat that has compelled its party to step back from the front and forego the bestowal of the political spoils.

This criticism is made amiably and without partisan bias. It applies as well to the Democratic as to the Republican Party. The dominant party usually favors cloture; the minority party opposes it.

But when a national crisis is actually upon us, when there is urgent necessity for quick and effective action, when the public is interested enough to indulge in the diverting but somewhat significant pastime of burning in effigy those who are supposed to be responsible for the delay, party lines largely disappear and we are able to join hands in a patriotic service.

I feel safe in assuming that a cloture rule will soon result from our deliberations. We have the unsual spectacle of a joint conference of committees representing both parties in the Senate. We have a substantial and, for aught I know, a unanimous agreement in that joint conference. It is fair to assume that the recommendation is so conservative that all the members of the joint conference can conscientiously support it. If that be so, it is probably too conservative.

The proposed rule will place an indefinite end to debate when two-thirds of those present and voting so decide. I say "indefinite end," because not even a two-thirds majority will have the power to set a definite time for a vote. Each member will thereafter have a right to speak a full hour on the pending question. If every Senator avails himself of the privilege this will mean more than two weeks of the usual sittings of the Senate.

I take the ground that a debate of two weeks is ample for the discussion of any measure in the Senate. I take the ground that one hour is as much as any Senator should debate any subject anywhere at any time. If it is apparent that any Senator is particularly well informed or has a special message to deliver, unanimous consent to extend his time may readily be obtained.

My point is that there is no virtue in requiring a two-thirds vote to invoke the imposition of a cloture rule permitting each Senator thereafter to talk as much as any Senator ought ever to talk. To listen to talk until the senatorial appetite for eloquence is satisfied, and then permit further talk at the risk of

senatorial surfeit and even nausea, is ridiculous—in most cases it is barbarous.

A bare majority ought to be sufficient to set the slow wheels to moving so that the journey's end must be reached at the end of a fortnight. What Senator would be willing to serve his country to the extent of riding from Washington to Pasadena, from Pasadena to Seattle, and from Seattle back to Washington, and be talked to six hours a day on one subject by the best talkers in Christendom? The senatorial salary of $20 a day would be grossly inadequate for such an imposition.

We believe in majority rule in this country. A bare majority is sufficient to elect any Senator to this body. A bare majority is sufficient to pass any measure when a vote is reached, except an amendment to the Constitution.

In the recent election a President was elected because a single State voted for one candidate instead of his opponent, and a plurality, not even a majority, was enough to swing the vote of that State.

We take ourselves too seriously when we insist upon a two-thirds vote to set the wheels in motion for our fortnight's tapering off. We liken ourselves in solemnity to the United States Constitution. A bare majority is sufficient, in all conscience.

I shall vote for the two-thirds rule if the Senate rejects the majority rule, but I think the country should know how the Senate stands on the proposition. I therefore move to amend the resolution by striking out the words "two-thirds" in the fourteenth line and inserting in place thereof the word "majority."

Mr. President, I offer this amendment because I feel that I ought to do so. If any Member of the Senate desires to close debate on the subject—and I sincerely believe that every Member here knows whether or not he favors a majority vote or a two-thirds vote on the question of cloture—and moves to lay the amendment on the table, I shall be entirely content with that motion.

Mr. PENROSE. I simply wish to say that, in my opinion, the motion made by the Senator from New Hampshire is a breach of good faith.

Mr. HOLLIS. I should like to inquire from the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania why it is a breach of good faith?

Mr. PENROSE. Because the minority were officially, or semi-officially informed, at least in the newspapers, that the Democratic conference, and we knew that the Republican conference had with practical unanimity agreed on the resolution in its present form. I do not think unanimous consent could have been obtained for any other than the pending proposition. I know that I myself should have objected to any other.

Mr. HOLLIS. I am very glad to hear the views of the distinguished Senator touching the newspapers. In a similar situation he complained because he was not notified of certain nominations which were made, and in reply to the statement that the whole matter was in the newspapers, the Senator entirely repelled the idea.

Now, speaking for myself, I have never been notified, directly or indirectly, of any unanimous-consent agreement on the subject. I have not attended any meeting where a vote of the kind was taken. I have not attended any meeting where the matter was up for consideration.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia and Mr. NORRIS addressed the Chair.

Mr. HOLLIS. I yield the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JAMES in the chair). The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I regret that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] has submitted this amendment. I think that we are bound by our agreement. I think there was practically a unanimous agreement in the Democratic conference to support this rule as it has been written. I thought the Senator from New Hampshire was present and participated in the agreement. I am sure that it is true that a committee of five Members from each conference conferred upon the subject, and agreed to recommend to their respective conferences the amendment to the rule which has been submitted. Under the circumstances, Mr. President, I move to lay the amendment upon the table.

Mr. HOLLIS rose.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. One moment. I withdraw the motion for the present. I think the Senator from New Hampshire, if he will reflect a little, even though he might not himself have been present and no binding agreement was made, will feel as I do, that we are bound by the understanding, that we have been proceeding upon that theory, and obtained the unanimous consent of the Senate for consideration to-day of the resolution. I know I had a small amendment which I desired to add to the proposition, but we determined to withhold it and not to offer it.

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, I do not recognize that I am bound by any rule adopted by any body of men when I am not present and do not know about a matter, and of which I have not been informed. That is a matter of party management, and I have no criticism to make; but I do not care to be bound by it. However, at the request of the Democratic leader, the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, while I should have voted against the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS], I think it was perfectly proper for him to offer it; and if a majority of the Senate think that cloture should be applied by a majority vote, instead of a two-thirds vote, his amendment ought to have been agreed to. I do not believe that any Senator is bound to vote against any amendment to this proposed rule which he thinks would improve it; but that is neither here nor there, Mr. President. I want to say a few words on the resolution itself.

Ever since I have been a Member of this body I have favored some kind of a cloture rule that would be reasonable. I would be opposed to the same kind of a cloture rule in a body of this size which I would favor, for instance, in the House of Representatives, whose membership is very much larger; but it has always seemed to me, Mr. President, that there ought to come a time in every debate on every question when, under the rules of the body, the majority could have its way. Under the rules as they now are we seldom reach a vote on a hotly-contested proposition until after a contest of physical endurance. This is not a fair or wise method of reaching a conclusion on any subject.

I am not one of those who believe it best to change a rule for a particular bill. I am in favor of this kind of a rule, because I believe in it as a general proposition. I have favored it when many of those who are now trying to secure it were bitterly opposed to it. I have been assailed often because I thought there ought to be some rule of the Senate by which debate could be brought to a close. I have always believed, however, that, whatever the rule was, every individual Senator ought to be permitted in his own right to debate the proposition, the same as any other Senator. I have always opposed any change of the rule that would give any majority, no matter how large, the right absolutely to close debate and permit no one to be heard further, because under that kind of a rule Members of the Senate could absolutely be precluded even from expressing an opinion on any pending measure. But this rule, Mr. President, goes only to a reasonable extent. It requires, in the first place, a two-thirds vote to invoke the rule, and after it is invoked every Senator has a right to speak one hour on the bill and the amendments, which, I take it from the language of the proposed rule, will mean that he can divide that hour as he sees fit—use it all on the bill, all on one amendment, or divide it up according to his own idea and his own judgment. To my mind, that is a reasonable proposition. I do not think those who favor the general proposition of a reasonable cloture can object to this proposed rule on account of its being unreasonable. I would not have any objection if, instead of an hour, it provided for two hours of debate by each Senator, because I think in practical application it would be about the same. It never occurs that every Senator desires to speak on any one measure.

In every filibuster that takes place those who are doing the filibustering are always in the minority. It would not be necessary to filibuster, of course, if they were not in the minority. If they had the votes to defeat the bill, then, of course, they would not object to an immediate vote. So that what happens is that those who are opposed and who are in the minority do most of the talking, as a rule, when there is a genuine filibuster on, and it is a pretty good criterion to go by when one wants to ascertain whether or not a filibuster is taking place to see whether those who favor the bill are doing the talking or whether it is being done by those who are opposed to it, and whether those who oppose it are resorting to various dilatory motions and points of order that can always be made in a parliamentary struggle. In the President's bill which failed on March 4 there was no filibuster. The supporters of the bill took most of the time. Those who opposed the bill never once made a dilatory motion, never once suggested the absence of a quorum, never even moved to adjourn or demanded a roll call. The real fact is that legitimate debate was never exhausted.

Mr. President, I favor this proposed modification of the rules, because I have always stood for a proposition of this kind. I have on several occasions addressed the Senate on the subject, and I have introduced several proposed amendments to the rules that came very near complying with all the requirements con-

tained in the proposed rule now under consideration. I wanted to say this much in defense of my own position.

I was one of the Senators who was opposed to the bill that was pending when Congress adjourned on the 4th of March. I spoke against it for something over an hour. I was accused of filibustering, something that I denied then and something that I deny now, although I believe that if the bill unamended were before the Senate at any time, and under any rule of the Senate that permitted a filibuster, I could defeat it, I would not hesitate to do so. I do not want anybody to understand that I am making any apology. It was not necessary to filibuster. Legitimate debate was never ended, and, Mr. President, at some time, perhaps when the bill comes up in the no distant future, I am going into that somewhat at length; but I do not care to do so now. I would not have mentioned it now had it not been referred to by others. I want to discuss the real question before the Senate.

But, Mr. President, those who opposed that bill in its unamended form, and who refused to be coerced by the Executive, were denounced by the President of the United States I think wrongfully, without cause, without reason, and contrary to the real facts. What they said and what they did in defense of their convictions on the floor of the Senate never reached the people of the United States. What the President said and what those said who favored the legislation was carried by the newspapers and spread broadcast, but the real issue, as the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] has said, was never told; it was never said that most of those who were opposed to that legislation were in favor of some kind of legislation, wanted legislation, wanted that bill if it could be amended in some particular form, but were opposed to giving, as that unamended bill did, the enormous power sought to be lodged in the hands of the President of the United States—a power greater than that possessed by any monarch on earth, a power that gives to the President of our country the right to make war at his own sweet will.

It was said by the President that it was useless to call Congress in special session, because the same means by which the bill was killed once would kill it again. I had an idea that the President knew more about the history and the conditions of the Senate than that. I think everybody realized then, and realizes now, that even if the rules were not changed and a special session of Congress were called to pass that legislation, it would be passed through the Senate in less than three days. Everybody knows it. Those who were opposing it knew it. They have never denied it; they have always realized it. It could not be talked to death, although I would talk it to death if I could; it could not be killed by dilatory tactics, because there would be no 4th of March just a day or two ahead, when, under the Constitution, the Senate must adjourn.

I am saying only what every Senator knows, but the President of the United States has said to the people of the United States that a special session could not pass the bill, although Congress is almost unanimously for it, because a few men could kill it under the rules of the Senate. That is absolutely a mistake. Mr. President, the President is wrong about that, and when he looks into it, if he ever does, he will discover that he is wrong. He is mistaken. That bill could be passed just as quickly, if Senators wanted to resort to a speaking tournament, as this proposed rule can be passed. You are going to pass a rule that will be a cloture in effect, and yet you are considering that rule right now with unlimited debate, with the right to talk forever, if some Senator can talk that long, and the right to filibuster, if any Senator desires to resort to that method. If Senators could defeat that bill in the way the President suggests they could defeat this proposed rule in the same way and so leave the rules as they are and then defeat the bill when the special session shall have been called. The same filibuster which would kill the bill would kill the rule and thus enable a filibuster to kill the bill. Everybody knows that. The President ought to know it.

I do not know whether the country will ever find out what the truth is, but some student of history some day, perhaps after we are dead, will discover that the President of the United States did a great wrong to men who were conscientiously trying to do their duty as they saw it The only reason why I dislike to vote for this proposed rule now, one that I have favored for years, is because I fear I may be misunderstood in voting for it. I have stood for it when the President of the United States was silent; I have stood for it when men here who are backing it up and demanding that it be passed were opposed to any such change; but now a great leader has spoken, and a certain class of people obey him now, as they always have and always will.

I congratulate the President in getting right on the rules question, in seeing that there ought to be a change of the rules. I am glad he has come over to the ground that I have occupied for four years. With his great influence behind the movement, the rules are going to be changed. It will never affect the particular legislation one iota, however, because, as I said, you could pass this bill just as quickly as you could pass this rule, if anybody wanted to do his best to talk it to death or to filibuster against its passage.

It would be interesting to show the exact legislative condition in the Senate when the President's pet bill was brought up for consideration. It was on the 2d day of March, late in the afternoon, and Congress would die March 4—less than two days from the time the bill was first taken up. It seems to me I ought to call your attention briefly to a few things at this time.

On that day, March 2, there was in conference the Navy bill, which, as it was reported to the Senate from the committee, carried $535,753,447.08.

There was in conference the District appropriation bill. As it was reported to the Senate it carried $14,860,558.66.

There was in conference the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill. As it came to the Senate it carried $39,815,302.42.

The Agricultural appropriation bill was in conference, and, as it was reported to the Senate, it carried $25,454,623.

The river and harbor bill was another bill that a great many Senators wanted to pass. It died. It had not even been considered by the Senate. I am glad that it died in the condition it was in. I think, by preventing its passage, those who did it performed a good service to their country.

The pension appropriation bill was in conference, and, as it was reported to the Senate, it carried $163,065,000.

The Indian appropriation bill was in conference on that day, and, as it came to the Senate, it carried $12,435,114.05.

The Post Office appropriation bill was in conference on that day. I have not the figures as to how much it carried.

Mr. PENROSE. About $330,000,000.

Mr. NORRIS. Three hundred and thirty million dollars, the Senator says. Now, I have not had time, but I wish you would add up all those millions—all of them in conference.

That is not the worst of it, Mr. President. There were seven or eight other bills in conference that were passed; and the conference reports on these bills that I have named, that were in conference at that time, with the exception of the river and harbor bill, where all agreed to after this famous bill was taken up in the Senate on the 2d day of March. The naval appropriation bill was brought up twice. All that was done between the 2d and the 4th of March.

Mr. President, that was not all. On the 2d day of March, when this bill that has been so strenuously demanded was brought into the Senate, the Army appropriation bill had never passed the Senate. It had never been considered by the Senate. It had simply been reported from the Senate committee. It carried, as reported, $278,186,496.02.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JAMES in the Chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator should add about $100,000,000 to that, because the bill carried as a rider a scheme for universal military training.

Mr. NORRIS. I thank the Senator. I did not know how much more that would cost, but I was going to call attention to it.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, that is an estimate, of course.

Mr. NORRIS. That is an estimate.

Mr. THOMAS. I should say that is my estimate.

Mr. NORRIS. Now, Mr. President, think of that. There were two days left. That one bill carrying over $278,000,000 in appropriations—and, as the Senator from Colorado says, carrying a universal-training legislative proposition which involved billions of dollars—had not even been considered. Now, it does not make any difference which side of the question of universal military training you are on; you must concede that it is a debatable proposition. Whether you favor universal military training or not, you must admit that the question has two sides; and if you had nothing else to do, you could not dispose of that question, and treat it fairly, in two days. Why, it is an impossibility.

Let us take another one. The general deficiency bill, carrying $62,598,279.67, had not even reached the Senate on that day. It had not gotten here. I do not know whether it had passed the House, even, at that time.

The Military Academy bill had not even been reported to the Senate at that time. That carried an appropriation of $1,348,496.18.

There was the sundry civil bill, one of the greatest appropriation bills that we consider, one that appropriates money for every part of the entire United States, not even considered. As the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] says, it had not even been reported by the committee at the time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. How much did that carry?

Mr. NORRIS. The sundry civil bill carried $139,028,513.77.

Now, I have added together those bills that had not even been considered by the Senate, every one of which had to be passed before noon on the 4th day of March, or an extra session was inevitable.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. There were two deficiency bills.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; it is suggested that there was another deficiency bill that I have not even mentioned, that was not considered. I do not know how many millions that carried. I have gathered these figures together hurriedly at my desk while this debate has been going on.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], who is on the committee, says the other bill that I have omitted carried about $80,000,000. I am going to count it as $80,000,000, and then see what we will get. That will make, Mr. President, appropriation bills that at that day had never even been taken up by the Senate amounting to $560,861,785.64; and yet you say that a man who will interfere with the putting through of that program in two days is a filibusterer and sometimes a traitor to his country!

Mr. President, in addition to these conference reports, as I said, there were conference reports on a great many other bills. They were taken up between the time this bill came up and noon on the 4th day of March. They were considered. They were passed.

I want to make this assertion, and I believe that upon full investigation it will be found to be justified: If you will take the very day that this bill was brought up before the Senate, the necessary appropriation bills that never had been considered by the Senate—and that does not include the river and harbor bill; I will exclude that because everybody concedes that that is not necessary to keep the Government going—if you will just take those other appropriation bills that I have mentioned, and the conference reports that actually did come in, and that were necessary to come in, and if you will assume that the Secretary of the Senate should work 12 hours a day without stopping, without eating, without drinking, he could not even have read those bills in the time that was left between the time this bill came up and noon on the 4th day of March. It would have been a physical impossibility. And yet we are called upon to put them through without reading, by unanimous consent, or else we will bring on a special session and not be patriotic!

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that in addition to this great accumulation of supply bills there was pending a great program of bills of the first importance which were being urged by the administration, such as the bill for increasing the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the bill authorizing the maintenance of common buying and selling agencies in export trade, called the Webb bill, the great water-power bill, the bill dealing with the question of strikes and lockouts upon railroads, and the commandeering of railroads by the President in time of national emergency.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. And the conservation bills.

Mr. NORRIS. And the so-called conservation bills, as the Senator from Connecticut suggests. They all failed.

Mr. WATSON. The bill conferring great additional power on the shipping board.

Mr. NORRIS. And the shipping board bill, as the Senator from Indiana suggests; and I have no doubt that list could be doubled if some care were taken to investigate the matter. They were all defeated, and there was no filibuster against any one of them.

Mr. GRONNA. I trust the Senator will not forget the banking bill, which the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board said it was absolutely necessary to have passed.

Mr. NORRIS. I was speaking of these appropriation bills that everybody knows must become law, or a special session must result; the Government can not run without them. I thank the Senators for calling attention to those other bills. The President mentions some of those in this statement in which he denounces the Members of the Senate. He evidently thought we ought to have passed those bills, because he mentioned them.

I will take one of these conservation bills, the water-power bill. Mr. President, I happen to be on the Committee on Public Lands. The President said, in that statement, that the House had passed those conservation bills. There were two water-power bills, one applying to water power on navigable streams, and one applying to water power on the public domain. The House did pass those bills. The Senate failed to pass them. Evidently the President was satisfied from that statement with the bills as they passed the House. I was likewise. I was on that committee, to which one of those bills was referred. I favored the bill substantially as it came from the House, but I was outvoted in that committee. The President had his men on that committee, members of his party, who were in control of it. They refused to accept the House bill. They reported out a substitute bill—the Myers bill—to which I was opposed, and to which I judge, from what the President has said in his statement, that he, too, must have been opposed.

But now let us take the other water-power bill. It was known in the Senate as the Shields bill. That bill did pass the Senate, and if you will look at the RECORD you will find a great many of us fighting that bill from the beginning to the end. I did everything I could to defeat it in the Senate. I took more time on it than I did on this bill that failed on the 4th of March. I took twice as much time on it. Nobody suggested then that I was filibustering; but I failed. The Shields bill was passed. I voted against it.

Now, let us see what happened later. The newspapers announced one day that the President had come up here and had gotten hold of some of his Democratic friends, and particularly those who were behind the Shields bill, and was demanding that they "lay down" and let the House bill prevail. We know what happened here. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] rose in his place the next morning and read that article out of the newspaper and denounced it as false in toto, excepting that the President had been here and had seen him; and then he announced that the President had said that he was in favor of the Shields bill. Now, how does that compare with the President's statement? I was opposed to the Shields bill. I supposed, until I heard the Senator from Alabama make this statement, that the President was opposed to it.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. NORRIS. I do.

Mr. SHIELDS. I do not understand. Does the Senator say that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] said that the President was for the bill?

Mr. NORRIS. I understood him so to say. I wish somebody would get the RECORD of that day, and I will read just what he did say.

Mr. SHIELDS. My recollection is that he stated that the President said he was not opposed to the bill, but that he had urged the conferees to get together and agree upon a good bill.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; he did say that he urged them to get together.

Mr. SHIELDS. And he offered no direct and definite opinion upon the differences.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, I should like to read just what the Senator said. If somebody will look that up while I am talking I will read it. I do not want to make any statement here that is not borne out by the facts, because I have no knowledge on the subject excepting what I heard. It occurred to me, though, that even if he did say to the Senator from Alabama that he was opposed to the Shields bill——

Mr. SHIELDS. He did not say that he was opposed to it.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, then, he can not square his conduct with the statement that he gave to the papers, because he left the impression there that he was in favor of the House bill and not the Senate bill, and condemned the Senate because it had not passed the House bill.

Mr. SHIELDS. When did the President give out any such statement to the newspapers?

Mr. NORRIS. Why, part of it has been read here this morning. He gave it out on the morning of the 5th of March, I think. That was the day when it was published in the newspapers.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The evening of March 5.

Mr. NORRIS. If somebody will get me the statement I will read it.

Mr. SHIELDS. I have no recollection of any such statement.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, let us see what he said.

Mr. SHIELDS. The President always favored some legislation upon this subject.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SHIELDS. But I never knew him to indorse directly either bill; but he left it to the Congress to work it out, as it should have done. In my own opinion, he ought to have indorsed the Shields bill.

Mr. NORRIS. I am not finding fault with the Senator from Tennessee if he thinks that. The Senator from Tennessee has always believed in the Shields bill. He is conscientious about it, and I concede that it is a question of two sides. I did not agree with the Senator, but the Senator had his way. He passed his bill. [Reading:]

"It would not cure the difficulty," says the President, "to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extra session.
"The paralysis of the Senate would remain."

Mr. SHIELDS. May I ask from what the Senator is reading.

Mr. NORRIS. I am reading from the President's statement, printed in the Washington Post on March 5, 1917.

The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission or to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency.
The conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry, have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives.

Then it goes on:

The appropriations for the Army—

I will read that, too, because that has particular application to an Army bill that was not reported until after his pet bill was taken up and was never considered by the Senate.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment. Let me finish reading this:

The appropriations for the Army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the Military Academy at West Point, and the general deficiency bill.

These are the bills I mentioned before, but the particular thing in point now is what he said in his statement about the water-power bills. From his statement no other conclusion can be reached than that the President is in favor of the House bills and against the Senate bills.

I now yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, I do not know how the discussion of the water-power bill arose. I came into the Chamber just at the time I interrupted the Senator in the discussion. I had read the article which the Senator refers to, where the President said this bill twice passed the House. A bill on the subject of water-power development did pass the House in the Congress before the last. In the last Congress Senate bill 3331 passed the Senate before any legislation had been enacted in the House. When it went to the House the bill introduced by Representative ADAMSON was substituted by the committee for it, and with very material, and I may say very hurtful, and I believe unconstitutional, amendments passed the House and went to conference. We have had several conferences upon the subject, some at my own instance and some at his request. The President never at any time to me condemned either of these bills. He was exceedingly anxious that some legislation upon this subject should be enacted that the water powers of the country could be developed, and that the two Houses should get together upon the subject. The last conversation, I believe the one that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] spoke of, occurred here in the President's room.

Mr. NORRIS. Now, I am going to read what the Senator from Alabama said.

Mr. SHIELDS. Please let me finish my statement.

Mr. NORRIS. All right, if Senators do not charge me with taking too much time.

Mr. SHIELDS. I read the statement that has been read into the RECORD, but the President does not express any preference for the House bill there.

Mr. NORRIS. I am going to read it.

Mr. SHIELDS. He does not there state that it was that bill.

Mr. NORRIS. Let us read it and see what it means.

Mr. SHIELDS. I will be glad to have the Senator read what the Senator from Alabama read.

Mr. NORRIS. I have the floor. Does the Senator think that when I read it he is going to go on and make his remarks?

Mr. SHIELDS. I do not wish to take the Senator from the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. I hope not.

Mr. SHIELDS. But I know the evidence that it was——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Senators must address the Chair.

Mr. NORRIS. I have expressed a hope for a good while that I might get an opportunity to read this. The bill pertaining to the public lands was passed by the House and is known as the Ferris bill. Mr. FERRIS was chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands of the House of Representatives. It came over here. It went to the Public Lands Committee, of which the Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS] is the chairman. The committee reported it back here with a substitute striking out all the Ferris bill, everything in it after the enacting clause, and putting in a new bill. It was known here as the Myers bill. So the Senate bill was the Myers bill and the House bill was the Ferris bill. The other Senate bill which applied to navigable streams was known as the Shields bill. It bears the name of the honorable Senator from Tennessee. Just remember those facts.

Now here was the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], on January 19, 1917, rising to a question of personal privilege.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. On what page of the RECORD?

Mr. NORRIS. I am reading from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 19, 1917, page 1662, the left hand column. I will read enough of it from the beginning so that the Senate will understand it.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President——

The Senator from Alabama had had this article read. I did not take up the time of the Senate to read it. It is probably not necessary. If anybody wants to have it read I will be glad to read it, but I do not want to take up unnecessary time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What article was it?

Mr. NORRIS. It was an article printed in a Washington paper. I will read some of it:

Last night the President called in Congressmen FERRIS, RAINEY, SHERLEY, and KENT, and told them he is favorable to the House action on water-power questions.

I am reading from the newspaper article now:

The Myers bill is pending before the Senate as the unfinished business. It was forced to the front by Democratic caucus action. Now that the President has made known his opposition it is uncertain what will be done with it. Efforts will be made to sidetrack it.

The Myers bill, remember, is a Senate bill substituted for the Ferris bill.

The Myers bill relates to water power on the public domain. The Shields bill is the general dam bill, and it has long been in conference.

I might add that the Shields bill applies to navigable streams. That is the other Senate bill.

Conservationists have attacked the Myers and Shields bills as bad, and the announcement of the President pleased them greatly to-day.
Neither Senator SHIELDS nor Senator BANKHEAD would admit that the President was opposed to the Shields bill or to the Myers bill. At the conference last night, however, the President is said to have taken a decided stand against them.

That is the end of the newspaper article.

Now, Mr. President, I will not comment on that language.

Mr. SHIELDS. May I ask the Senator just one question?

Mr. NORRIS. Certainly.

Mr. SHIELDS. The Senator has been a Member of the House and has often there participated in conferences, and he can answer the question readily. The Senator knows more about it than I do. The Senate bill was first passed by this body. It was Senate bill 3331. As the Senator said, it was known somewhat as the Shields bill. When that bill went to the House the House bill was substituted for it, but it did not change its number, it continued to be Senate bill 3331, and went into the conference as such and was known as the Shields bill, although it was largely amended. Now, is not that true?

Mr. NORRIS. That is true.

Mr. SHIELDS. Then the President and the Senator from Alabama both spoke correctly of it as being in favor of the Shields bill.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SHIELDS. It might have been construed as meaning the bill as amended, but the Senator from Alabama did not mean to say the President was in favor of it as amended, because the President left those matters to be settled by the conference committee, but he did express himself strongly in favor of water-power legislation.

Mr. NORRIS. Now, let me take up that statement. The parliamentary statement is correct. I want to apply it to the other bill and see just where the Senator is coming out. The Senator from Alabama in this statement said:

But in that conference the President of the United States emphatically stated that he is in favor of the passage of both these power bills, the one known as the Shields and the other as the Myers bill.

As the Senator says, the name was the Shields bill because it was originally introduced here and had Mr. SHIELDS's name to it and followed it all through, and therefore the President might have meant that he was in favor of the Shields bill, although he might have been in favor of some amendments. Now, let us see if that will work out.

If the President spoke of the Shields bill in a general way and meant, as he probably meant, that he was in favor of the

House substitute but called it the Shields bill because it was originally introduced here and had the name Shields attached to it, then how does this explanation work when we come to apply it to the Myers bill? The Senator from Alabama stated emphatically that the President said he was in favor of the passage of both these bills, the one known as the Shields bill and the other known as the Myers bill. The Myers bill passed the House first as the Ferris bill. It was the Ferris bill. If the Senator's explanation was sufficient he would have said the Ferris bill, because that was introduced in the House, it bore the House number, it passed the House, it came to the Senate, and it went to the committee. The Myers bill was substituted, but it still bore the House number; it was a House bill yet.

So if the Senator wants to make that explanation in regard to the Shields bill he runs right into the opposite when he applies his explanation to what the Senator from Alabama said about the Myers bill. The term used by the Senator from Alabama was that the President was in favor of the Myers bill and the Shields bill. They were both Senate bills, and in his statement he condemns the Senate because they have not passed both bills on that proposition, and says the House did. You can not draw any other conclusion than that he was in favor of the House bills, and I hope he was. I would be glad to know if he was. But, according to what was said on the floor of the Senate, he favored the Senate bills. I can draw no conclusion from all this except that House Members from conferences with the President were of the opinion that the President was behind them in their fight, and from what was said by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] I can reach no other conclusion than that the President was favorable to the Senate bills.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I just wish to direct the Senator's attention to the fact that while the President practically charges the Senate with preventing the passage of both these water-power bills, as a matter of fact the Shields water-power bill never came out of the conference committee. It never was brought into the Senate after it was sent to conference.

Mr. NORRIS. No; and there are other things he charged there; for instance, in regard to what was known as the Webb bill. That is a bill that amends, as I understand it, the Sherman antitrust law. I am not finding fault with the President because he favors that bill. When it is considered I may be favorable to it myself. I do not know enough about it to express an opinion because we have not considered it; we have not had it up in the Senate, and I am not to blame because we have not had it up. It is not my fault.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment. There was the other bill he mentioned in this statement, several other bills—for instance, the bill increasing the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission. I think I would have opposed that bill, and when the time comes I will give my reason, but I have not had an opportunity to do it yet; it has not been seriously considered by the Senate; and I am not to blame, neither are any of the other Senators whom the President denounces before the country to blame for it; neither are any of them to blame for the vast amount of legislation that was piled up on the Senate in the last few days of the session. Was it done purposely? I do not know. Sometimes it looks to me as though it was, that all these things were forced down on us at once when it was physically impossible in the time that remained even to read the bills, and then say you must swallow this dose or you are a filibusterer or a traitor to your country.

Mr. President, if that makes a filibusterer, then I am one. If that is treason, then make the most of it. I am not apologizing in any sense or in any degree.

I yield now to the Senator from Oklahoma if he wishes to ask me a question or I will yield the floor.

Mr. STONE. If the Senator yields the floor——

Mr. NORRIS. Very well.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I have just come into the Chamber. I have been informed that a resolution is pending changing the rules of the Senate, which change would authorize the Senate to close debate on certain conditions stated in the resolution. I ask the Chair if that is the question before us?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question before the Senate is the resolution offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] providing a rule by which 16 Senators may produce a closing of debate by limiting the time for debate. Does the Senator request that the rule be read?

Mr. STONE. I do not. I think I understand what the rule is. I supposed from what I have been told that that was the matter before the Senate.

I wish to say, Mr. President, that I am in entire sympathy with and heartily for the adoption of a cloture rule. The proposed rule is not in the form I would have written it if I could have written it. It is perhaps not in the form in which other Senators would have written it if they could have written it. But it does authorize the Senate to bring discussion to a close whenever two-thirds of the Senate voting so conclude. That is better than nothing.

I doubt, Mr. President, whether this proposed rule, if adopted, will be as effective as such a rule should be. It will serve the purpose of a cloture in cases where two-thirds desire to close debate; but where the Senate is divided, as it is now divided, on political lines, I do not believe the Senate will often be in a position to secure legislation with very much more facility than under the present rules. There were numerous bills pending at adjournment before the Senate of great importance. They will be before us again. I would have been glad if the rule could have been made so that instead of requiring a vote of two-thirds to close debate, debate could have been closed by a vote of a majority of the Senate.

I have stood for that policy for some years past and have labored in conjunction with others to establish it. But, of course, I am fully aware that to adopt any rude of cloture it must practically be done by unanimous consent, for the present rules would operate upon the consideration of a rule to establish cloture, and debate might go on indefinitely.

I shall vote for the rule as presented, although I can not escape the conviction that except for the particular purpose perhaps for which the rule is now presented—that is to say, for the passage of the so-called armed-neutrality bill—it will prove to be quite ineffective in the future. Nevertheless I am for it, even though it may be used to bring about the passage of a bill with which I am not in sympathy. I do not ask that the rules of the Senate shall be made to accommodate my individual purposes.

We ought to have a rule in the Senate that would enable the Senate to do business at any time with respect to any important pending legislation. Under the rule which is proposed, can you pass any of the bills referred to by the President in the statement he gave to the press criticizing the rules and procedure of the Senate, which he said was responsible for the defeat of the armed-neutrality bill? In that statement the President called attention to a number of pending bills of great importance to the country, the consideration of which had been defeated by the misuse of the Senate rules. Can you get a two-thirds vote in the Senate and close debate upon any of those bills?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think we can on any one of them.

Mr. STONE. I hope the Senator from Georgia is correct. I hope so, but I do not believe it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr STONE. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], speaking sotto voce, expresses a different opinion. I do not know.

Mr. THOMAS. And a decidedly different opinion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Senators must address the Chair.

Mr. STONE. I do not know.

Mr. SMOOT and Mr. SMITH of Georgia addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Missouri yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. STONE. I will yield first to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator this question. Is it not true that in the water-power bills less than a third of the Senators consumed all the time that was taken upon them and more than two-thirds of the Senators wanted to stop debate and would have brought the matter to a close if we had had a rule like this?

Mr. STONE. The Senator asks a question and asserts what he says is a fact.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I meant it all as a question.

Mr. STONE. I can not speak as to the fact. I do not know. I know, as far as I am personally concerned, I favored closing that debate and would have voted for it. The other water-power bill under the management of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] would have been acted upon by the Senate if I could have had it done; and so with the other bills referred to by the President.

But, Mr. President, I could not have my way. While I know what I would do and understand my own feelings, I do not know

what the ideas or feelings of my colleagues on either side might be. I fear, sir, that the happy hope expressed by the Senator from Georgia will not be realized when we take up some of these important measures to which I have adverted.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, I shall vote for this rule, but not with much confidence as to its efficacy. It is at least a step in the right direction, and it will do some good and can do no harm.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. STONE. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. Does not the Senator know that, under the present rules of the Senate, we could have obtained a vote upon the Myers water-power bill, but that the reason why the bill was not pressed was that those who were in favor of it felt that there were votes enough in the Senate to defeat it? It would have been impossible, Mr. President, to have talked the bill to death when it was reported to the Senate and was up for consideration.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I do not know about that. I heard Senators say on the floor—I can not name them now, although the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] authorizes me to name him as one—that they would exhaust every resource in their hands to prevent the passage of the bill.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri allow me to ask him a question?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. STONE. And yet the Senator from Utah at this moment is filled with the belief that that bill could have been enacted into law under the present rules. I feel sure he is mistaken.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, there were only two Senators who made any extended remarks upon that bill. The bill was put aside for everything else, and ultimately it was decided not to present it to the Senate at all.

Mr. STONE. I am familiar with that. I know everything was put aside for it. I also know that we went on here considering the bill as the unfinished business for days and days, and as one Senator I was anxious to have it disposed of, as both the Senators from Montana know, if they remember my assurances; but, sir, the bill was talked and talked about for days and days. I do not know whether there were 2 or 20 speeches, but Senators were talking about it in an endless sort of way. Whether the speeches were long or short is immaterial; Senators were talking and talking about the bill, until the Senate concluded that we could not pass it, and it was laid aside. Here was the Senator from Colorado, and there were others ready at any moment to take the floor and to present their views at any length—ad infinitum—with a determined effort to prevent the passage of the bill.

Mr. President, I think we shall find ourselves exactly in that condition under this proposed rule; but we can not get any other rule. I assume that the Senator from Georgia would have been glad to have made a better rule if he thought he could have gotten it through.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think this is a splendid rule, sir. I would not vote for a majority cloture.

Mr. STONE. Well, I should be very glad to vote for that; but I do not believe we would be able to pass—at least, I fear we would not be able to pass—a majority cloture through the Senate. If we could get it to a vote, however, we could pass it.

Mr. OVERMAN. I doubt that.

Mr. STONE. Well, I believe we could pass it if Senators would consent to vote to substitute majority rule for a two-thirds majority. I think there are votes enough here to pass the majority cloture rule.

Mr. OVERMAN. We have got unanimous consent to consider this resolution. Suppose the Senator offers his proposition.

Mr. STONE. Unanimous consent to offer that?

Mr. OVERMAN. I say we have unanimous consent for the consideration of the pending measure.

Mr. STONE. Yes; we have unanimous consent to consider the pending rule; but I do not propose to offer an amendment to strike out the words "two-thirds" and to insert the words "a majority," if it would lead, as I believe it would, to a long discussion, I am not so anxious as all that to develop the attitude of the Senate. I think I know the attitude of the Senate already without developing it. It has been developed often enough in my experience here for me to have an accurate idea of it.

I shall vote for the rule reported by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. I intend to vote for it, although I repeat that I think it will have but little beneficial effect except in a few rare and very exceptional instances; but for Heaven's sake let us apply it even in those few instances.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, it is my intention to support this resolution which has been brought in by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN]. My colleagues in their conference have by a practically unanimous vote—I believe it was unanimous—given their support to this particular motion providing for a modified cloture.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Oklahoma yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. OWEN. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. I dislike to interrupt the Senator from Oklahoma, but I desire to say that the vote was not unanimous.

Mr. OWEN. I beg the Senator's pardon, I thought that it was. The vote cast in the conference was on the basis, on the part of the overwhelming majority of the conference, I am sure, that it was the best we could do without engendering a prolonged filibuster against a change of the rules.

Mr. President, in giving support to this modified cloture, by which two-thirds may close debate, subject to one hour each to Senators thereafter on the pending measure and the amendments thereto, I desire to say that I, at this time, agree to the two-thirds vote with reluctance, and because I believe a national exigency requires that the Senate may, to some extent at least, be able to terminate debate; but, Mr. President, I would be unjust to myself and to my colleagues who agree with me on this side—and I think they are at least 40 in number—if I did not say that a majority has the right to close debate in this body when they see fit.

Mr. President, the theory that the Senate is a continuing body, that the Senate rules are a continuing set of rules, in my opinion, is not justified. I shall not repeat the argument which the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] made on yesterday with regard to this body not being a continuous body, but I do submit that, whether the body be continuous or not, the rules of the Senate are not continuous even during a session of the body itself, except subject to the will of the Senate itself. The Senate may, indeed, adopt rules which will permit a filibuster, which will permit a minority to rule the majority; the Senate may adopt a rule of that kind by a majority vote of the Senate; and if it does so it is within its constitutional rights, unless those rules be found to deprive the Senate of the United States of its constitutional function to legislate. If those rules do that, they are void; they are violative of the spirit and principle of the Constitution; and, in my judgment, Senators, bound on their oaths to observe the Constitution of the United States, can not maintain rules that do deprive the Senate of its constitutional right of government.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate—I am only going to take a few minutes, not over 10 minutes——

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma permit a suggestion?

Mr. OWEN. I will.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator is opening up a very wide range of discussion which will have to come up in the Senate for debate later on, and I earnestly hope that he will permit us to get at this pending resolution and to pass it.

Mr. OWEN. In just two minutes. I shall not take perhaps over a minute. I merely want to call the attention of the Senate to the Constitution of the United States, which says:

> Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

That is the Constitution of the United States. It does not need any illustration or explanation; it speaks for itself. I yield the floor.

Mr. PENROSE and Mr. CUMMINS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania first addressed the Chair.

Mr. PENROSE. Do I understand the Senator from Oklahoma has concluded?

Mr. OWEN. I have yielded the floor.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I do not intend to offer an amendment to the pending resolution; I expect to vote for it; but I want to address an inquiry to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] so that I may ascertain whether his view of the construction and interpretation of the resolution agrees with mine. The resolution provides a method of cloture for closing debate, and provides that the pending bill shall be the unfinished business of the Senate to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of. I take it that that does not mean that the Senate shall be held in continuous session until the bill is disposed of, but that certain motions provided for in Rule

XXII, so long as that rule may be in force, shall be applicable. I refer particularly to the following motions:

To adjourn;
To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn it shall be to a day certain;
To take a recess; and
To commit.

I take it these motions would be applicable to the unfinished business under this rule. Am I correct?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Undoubtedly, the motions mentioned would be. The resolution reads:

Said measure shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

Of course, a motion to take a recess or a motion to adjourn would be in order. A motion to recommit also would be in order. Any motion which disposes of the measure would be in order.

Mr. PENROSE. A motion to postpone indefinitely would be in order.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That would finally dispose of the measure.

Mr. PENROSE. But motions to amend and to postpone to a day certain, of course, would not be in order?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. They would not be in order.

Mr. PENROSE. Then, I take it, Mr. President, that it would be in order to move to adjourn, to move to adjourn to a day certain, to take a recess, to lay on the table, to postpone indefinitely, and to commit.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not think a motion to lay on the table would be in order. Under our rules that does not dispose of the measure.

Mr. PENROSE. That is true.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is subject to be recalled from the table.

Mr. PENROSE. And it would restrict debate, which is permitted under the rule.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. PENROSE. But the other motions would be in order?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The others would be in order. In the rule originally drafted—and this is practically the rule that the Rules Committee reported last summer, and which a number of Senators agreed two or three weeks ago they would seek to take up and dispose of at this time—in the former rule we had a provision that allowed motions to recess and to adjourn; but in that resolution the language used was not that the measure should become the unfinished business. Having become, under the rule now proposed, the unfinished business, a motion to adjourn or for a recess is a necessary consequence in the handling of the unfinished business, and we did not deem it necessary to put that proviso into this rule. Beyond question, a motion to recess and a motion to adjourn would be in order.

Mr. PENROSE. Or to commit?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Or to recommit.

Mr. PENROSE. That is my understanding; and, as I view it, that was the understanding of the Senators who met in conference on this resolution. The words "to recess or to adjourn," which were in the resolution reported out unanimously last May by the Committee on Rules were not retained in the resolution that is now pending before the Senate because, in the opinion of every Senator present at the conference, they were not necessary, it being, in their opinion, obvious that a motion to adjourn, a motion to recess, or a motion to commit was applicable to the unfinished business as such without mention in the resolution.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The change in the language, if the Senator will permit me, is this: The language in the original resolution was:

Then said measure shall be in order to the exclusion of all other business except a motion to recess or to adjourn.

Now, in this resolution we say:

Then said measure shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

Being the unfinished business, it is subject, as all unfinished business pending before the Senate is, to a motion to recess or to a motion to adjourn; but it must be kept the unfinished business until it is disposed of.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, perhaps the inquiry has been hardly necessary on my part; but I thought in a matter of this magnitude it would be well to have a memorandum in the RECORD that the understanding of the 10 Senators who discussed and framed this resolution was that the motions I have indicated would be in order.

Mr. CUMMINS and Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa first addressed the Chair, and is recognized. Does he yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from Colorado, if he so desires.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I desire to say a very few words at this time, and I am obliged to the Senator from Iowa for yielding to me for that purpose.

The discussion just ended regarding the Myers water-power bill requires, I think, a short statement from myself, as I was an humbly conspicuous opponent of the bill. My position regarding it was openly announced when the bill was reported and correctly stated by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], but the assertion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], that a vote could have been secured without a filibuster during the closing days of the session is equally true, for the reason that we polled the Senate and discovered a majority against its passage. Therefore, those of us who otherwise would have opposed its submission to a vote—perhaps my statement is too broad; my opposition to its submission to a vote disappeared with the knowledge of that fact.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. STONE. To be sure, if the Senator canvassed the Senate and found that there was a majority upon his side he would be willing to vote; but if the other side by some accident happened to get possession of that knowledge, what would they have had to say or do?

Mr. THOMAS. Why, Mr. President, open confession is good for the soul; I should have continued my opposition, as the rules permitted.

Now, Mr. President, a word as to this proposed rule, which I shall discuss more fully at some other time, I have no disposition to postpone a vote upon it, for it is slated to pass. Mr. President, the wisdom of many is greater than the wisdom of one, but were the opposite the fact, I should still feel constrained at a time like this to defer my individual opinions to those of the majority of my associates and with whom I politically affiliate. For that reason, and for that reason only, I shall vote for the rule. But, Mr. President, my own convictions are that inasmuch as the principle of majority rule is an established and essential principle in American Government, from the Nation to its smallest hamlet, and inasmuch as the majority is responsible for all governmental activity, they and they alone should have and exercise the power of determining what its policy will be not only with regard to legislation but as well the methods by which legislation is to be accomplished.

Some years ago the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] was an earnest and persuasive advocate of that doctrine. In 1893 he contributed two or three articles to the magazines upon the subject of cloture, at a time when the country was undergoing the ordeal of a filibuster against the repeal of the purchasing clause of what was popularly known as the Sherman Silver Act. In November, 1893, in a contribution to the North American Review, the Senator said:

No minority is ever to blame for obstruction. If the rules permit them to obstruct, they are lawfully entitled to use those rules in order to stop a measure which they deem injurious. The blame for obstruction rests with the majority, and if there is obstruction it is because the majority permit it. * * * They and they alone can secure action and initiate proceedings to bring the body whose machinery they control to a vote.

In that same article the Senator from Massachusetts further said:

No extreme or violent change is needed in order to remedy the existing condition of affairs. A simple rule giving the majority power to fix a time for taking a vote upon any measure which has been before the Senate and under discussion, say, for 30 days would be all sufficient. Such a change should be made and such a rule passed, for the majority ought to have and must have full power and responsibility.

In those sentences, Mr. President, the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts sums up the entire philosophy of the subject.

Now we have presented to us, because of the developments in the last few days, which may never recur, and the aroused public opinion upon the subject, a rare opportunity to amend the rules and establish cloture by majority. If we are to let it pass by the enactment of this rule, which will bring no real measure of relief, we shall regret it very soon. This rule, requiring a two-thirds vote for its recognition, can not be obtained in most instances, perhaps in very few. When obtained, it fixes no time when a vote can be taken, but leaves full opportunity to the minority to postpone a vote to the consideration of endless motions to adjourn and to calls for quorums and to appeals from the rulings of the Chair, which may prove quite as efficacious to obstruction as the longest addresses can be. We are therefore giving a promise to the ear of the country which will be broken

to the hope. We have agreed to, and are about to enact at this crisis, something that we call cloture, which, in its practical operation, will prove a delusion and a snare; in other words, this golden opportunity is to be lost, and we are about to enact a proposed limitation upon debate to relieve this body from the burden of future filibustering, which leaves many opportunities for its continuation. The fact is that a majority do not want cloture. They will not surrender the power which its absence gives to the individual. My impression is that, unless the rules be amended by providing cloture by majority, the practical operation of this measure will prove a deep disappointment to the hopes of those who are sponsors for it. I trust I may be mistaken. I have the most abundant confidence in the wisdom and judgment of the Senators who disagree with me upon this subject. I earnestly trust that theirs may in time prove to be the correct estimate of what this measure will accomplish, but I doubt it. I therefore vote for it under protest.

Mr. CUMMINS, Mr. HARDWICK, and Mr. MYERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, if I may be permitted to express an opinion about the resolution now before the Senate without being burnt in effigy, which seems to appeal strongly to at least one Senator present, or without being classified as a "filibusterer," I desire to do so.

I am very earnestly for the resolution. I am not for it, however, on account of the unparalleled and unprecedented outburst which recently emanated from the White House. I am not for it on account of the lying representations that have been spread about through the country in the newspapers. I am for it because I believe that the Senate—and, I was about to say, a majority of the Senate—should be permitted to do business. Three times since I became a member of this body have I introduced a resolution establishing cloture in the Senate, each one of them more rigid than the one now before us. Ten months and a half ago, when the resolution of the Senator from Georgia was before the Committee on Rules, I voted, in common with every other member of that committee, in favor of reporting it favorably. That resolution is, in substance, the resolution now before the Senate. I was for it because, very much as suggested by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], I felt that nothing more effective could be secured. If I could present a cloture that would satisfy my own judgment it would be one in which less than two-thirds could adopt the rule, but a longer time than one hour would be preserved to each Senator for debate after the rule is in force.

I have said so much, Mr. President, because I did not want it to be understood here or anywhere else that I am a recent convert to the proposition that the Senate should be able to control itself, or that I am in the least dismayed by the storm which the President's censure has aroused.

I refer to that for a moment, and only a moment, to the end that the RECORD may show at least how unfounded, how utterly baseless, is the charge or suggestion of filibustering so far as I am concerned, and so far as I know with any other Member of the body. I am speaking now of the bill which expired with the death of Congress at noon on the 4th day of March—the bill which will be known in the future as the bill empowering the President of the United States to declare and make war at his own pleasure.

That bill came into the Senate upon the motion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] on the morning of Friday, March 2. At 4 o'clock and 30 minutes on the afternoon of Friday the Senate proceeded to its consideration, having in the meanwhile laid it aside in order that the unanimous-consent agreement respecting the naval bill could be executed. At 4.30 in the afternoon of Friday, March 2, the Senate took up for consideration the bill to which I have referred. At that time there were 43½ hours before Congress would expire by constitutional limitation. There were 43½ hours, even though the Senate should sit continuously, in which to consider the bill, which I regard as the most important bill that has been proposed in a half century. The Senate did not sit continuously, however, because at 1 o'clock on Saturday morning, upon the motion of the Senator in charge of the bill, it took a recess until 10 o'clock. We therefore had a little less than 35 hours in which to consider this bill. Mark, now: Of the 35 hours of the Senate's session which intervened between the moment at which the Senate took up the bill for consideration and the expiration of Congress the Senators who have been termed, by way of reproach, "a little group of willful men," consumed less than 11 hours in debate. Those who do not suffer the reproach which it is thought has been cast upon some of us consumed more than 24 hours of time in some kind of debate.

I do not assert that the 24 or 25 hours to which I have alluded were consumed in debate by those who were in favor of the bill, but the time was either so consumed or the Senator in charge of the bill permitted it to be laid aside for other business which he thought imperative; and I am not criticizing him for doing it. Of the 11 hours so consumed by the "little group of willful men" the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE]—I am not sure whether I ought to classify him as one of that group, but it seems to me that the situation will permit me to do so—consumed four hours and a little more, and he consumed it in the delivery of one of the most convincing and profound arguments I have ever heard upon the floor of the Senate; and all the remainder of this so-called group consumed less than seven hours in debate upon the measure.

So far as I am concerned, I simply reiterate my position toward the bill. I was opposed to the bill as it was reported by the Senate committee. The moment it came before the Senate I presented an amendment to it which would have permitted merchant vessels to arm themselves for defense against unlawful attack, and which would have authorized the President to supply these vessels with arms and ammunition for defense against unlawful attack, subject to just one condition; namely, that a vessel so supplied from a Government arsenal should not carry arms and munitions of war to a belligerent. I was opposed to the latter part of the measure which attempted to confer upon the President unlimited, unrestricted power to use any instrumentality or any method which might seem to him wise in carrying out his purposes; but all that I desired was an opportunity to offer my amendment and to submit to the Senate the observations which seemed to me to be pertinent to my amendment. That opportunity did not come to me until 10 o'clock Saturday night, although I rose and addressed the Chair a half-dozen times before that hour. I am not criticizing the Chair at all, because there were others who were eager to speak, most of whom were in favor of the bill, and I am sure that the Chair was entirely impartial in his recognition of Senators. I am quite willing so to feel and so to publicly declare.

I debated the amendment which I had presented for a little more than one hour, and then my part in this drama—this tragedy, as it would have been—ceased; and any man, in the Senate or out of it, whether he is of high degree or low degree, who intimates that I attempted or conspired unfairly to prevent a vote upon this bill, deliberately falsifies. I wish I could use a stronger term and be within the rules of the Senate.

Mark you, I would not have voted for the bill unless either the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri or my amendment had been adopted, or some equivalent change in the measure had been made. There was no man in this Senate so anxious for any one thing as I was to secure a vote upon the amendment which I had proposed. If it had been rejected I might have been constrained to vote against the measure, for I regarded it as unwise, unconstitutional, and unpatriotic. But before those who had a right to speak upon it—who had just as unquestioned, absolute right to speak upon it as any Senator who had spoken theretofore—could be given an opportunity to express their views, and express them in a fair and reasonable way, without unduly prolonging the discussion, the session of Congress came to an end.

It is obvious, of course—everybody knows—that the rule we are about to adopt and for which I will very gladly vote and for which I have labored these eight years and more that I have been in the Senate, would not have secured a vote, if it had been in force, upon the bill to empower the President to declare war and thereafter make war. The time provided for between the filing of the motion signed by 16 Senators and the submission of the motion to the Senate, if there had not been one word of debate, would have precluded the operation of the rule, for before that time would have come Congress would have expired.

Mr. President, I apologize to the Senate, not for what I did or said upon a former occasion but for consuming the time I have now consumed in speaking upon a resolution the passage of which I so much desire.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I do not propose to detain the Senate for more than a very few minutes; but I feel that there are certain views about this matter that ought to be expressed, especially in view of the speech made on yesterday by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH].

Without undertaking to answer with as great detail as the Senator from Montana asserted his propositions, I wish to controvert them, practically every one, and to announce to the Senate and to the country my utter, complete, and entire dissent from the propositions announced by that Senator and the conclusions reached by him.

Mr. President, I have no doubt in my own mind—and I believe I have given the subject as much attention, as much thought, and possibly as much study, as the Senator from Montana—that the Senate is a continuing body. The framers of our Federal Constitution so intended. No man can read with care or thought the debates of the convention which framed it and reach any different conclusion. It was provided that two-thirds of the Senate should always be in office, the entire number of the Senate being recruited every two years by the addition of one-third new Members; so that always two-thirds of the Senate—a great deal more than a quorum—hold office continuously, and the Senate itself continues an unending, eternal existence.

Mr. President, in support of this opinion I could cite, if I felt authorized to consume the necessary time, not only the views and statements of the gentlemen who framed the Constitution under which we live, or many of them, but the most eminent authorities in this Republic, both Democratic and Republican. I will refer very briefly to one of these gentlemen.

James Buchanan, long distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, President of these United States, said this many years ago:

> Senators had contended that one Senate or one Congress had no right to elect officers for their successors; and that, therefore, the joint resolution violated the Constitution, because it gave the election of a Printer for the next Senate to that which had expired on the 3d of March. This was as strange a position as any which had been assumed throughout the argument. An old Senate and a new Senate.
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> There could be no new Senate. This was the very same body, constitutionally and in point of law, which had assembled on the first day of its meeting in 1789. It has existed without any intermission from that day until the present moment, and would continue to exist as long as the Government should endure. It was emphatically a permanent body. Its rules were permanent and were not adopted from Congress to Congress like those of the House of Representatives. For many years after the commencement of the Government its Secretary was a permanent officer, though our rules now require that he should be elected at stated intervals. The Senate always had a President, and there were always two-thirds of its actual members in existence, and generally a much greater number. It would be useless to labor this question. Every writer, without exception, who had treated on the subject had declared the Senate to be a permanent body. It never dies; and it was the sheet anchor of the Constitution on account of its permanency. Senators were thus deprived of the poor apology that one Senate had no right to bind its successors.

Mr. President, of course no one ever asserted that the Senate could not at any time change its officers or modify its rules, whenever a majority of its Members saw fit to do so.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. HARDWICK. I do.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator, if he had time to read it, might also cite what the great Delaware Senator said on the same subject. The question was asked here, "Is the Supreme Court of the United States, formed at the same time with the Senate, a continuing body?" A very significant question; and he then proceeded to argue, founded upon that, that the Senate was a continuing body.

Mr. HARDWICK. Not only that, but I might add that in language equally striking Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, long a distinguished Member of this body, voiced exactly the same sentiments.

Mr. OVERMAN. I read that into the RECORD yesterday.

Mr. HARDWICK. I am glad the Senator read that into the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. HARDWICK. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator may well add, too, that if anyone will take time to look up the debates in the Senate, whenever the question has been referred to, even incidentally, almost every Senator on both sides of the Chamber has admitted that the Senate was a continuing body.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; and until the advent into this body of the distinguished and able Senator from Montana, no Senator of any great rank as a lawyer ever made such a contention as he has made.

I am not going to waste the time of the Senate by referring at length to these authorities, but it is just as President Buchanan said. No writer who has studied the Constitution, or understands its philosophy, has ever stated this proposition differently. Of course the Senate may at any time change any one or all of its rules; the Senate may at any time displace any one or all of its officers; but the Senate itself was intended by the makers of our Constitution to be a permanent body, and provision was made that two-thirds of its membership should always be in office.

Mr. President, my conviction on this subject is not only profound, but my belief in the accuracy of the views I have stated to the Senate is so strong that I do not think it necessary to continue the discussion of this question, even if the Senator from Montana did take several hours to present a different opinion. I wish, however, very briefly, to address myself to the question presented by the resolution offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN].

I think my associates in this body on both sides of this Chamber understand full well that I am not very enthusiastic over establishing anything like what is called cloture in this body or on this floor. I have been through considerable experience in another body where they do have cloture; and adopting the language, I think, of a distinguished gentleman who once sat in this body, I will say to the Senate, If it is true that the Senate debates without legislating, it is equally true that the House of Representatives legislates without debating; and if we have all action in one body and no debate, and all debate in another body without any action, it seems to me that we ought not to rush from the extreme that we complain of in this body to the extreme that is established at the other end of this Capitol.

Will we gain anything by putting it in the power of a bare majority of the Senate to shut off debate on the instant, to close the mouths and hush the voices of the representatives of sovereign States on this floor? Will the American Government be stronger if such a course be adopted? I think not. I submit not.

This is a Government of checks and balances, and wisely so—so established, so constructed by our fathers; and, for one, I have not progressed far enough away from their ideas to believe that they wrought poorly, or that we can much improve on them, in the fundamentals, at least. I lay down the proposition before this Senate and before the country that to-day the last citadel of opposition to the Executive will and to the establishment of the Executive as an autocratic authority in this country, clothed with despotic powers, is here in this Chamber and on this floor; and I say to the Senate and to the country: If you chain this Senate, if you bind it, if you put it in the power of a partisan majority at any instant, at any moment, or on any question, to run roughshod over the minority for the time being, and deny to Senators the right to speak on this floor, and deny real debate in this Chamber, you will have destroyed one of the most valuable checks and balances in our Government, and you will have made a long step toward the possible establishment of an autocratic and despotic power in this country.

Mr. President, there is another reason why the Senate of the United States ought to be slow, indeed, about the adoption of any very radical or any very real cloture, and it is this: This is likewise the one piece of governmental machinery in the American system where "Pause" can be said to the majority, where whatever party is in power can be halted temporarily at least, until in a way—unofficially, of course, and informally—the sense of the public may be taken on any pending question. If the proposition advocated by some Senators is adopted here, and cloture on the majority vote is established in this body, it may be easier for us, my colleagues, on this side, in disposing of party measures; it may be more convenient for us as individuals; it may seem temporarily that as Democrats we will gain some advantage, but I do believe that as Americans we will lose. We may not always be in power. In years past we have been in power but very little; and for years while I was a Member of another body at the other end of this building I saw Democratic minority Senators use these rules to assert the rights of the minority and to hold down a rampant majority in both Houses; and I tell you right now, it is one of the great barriers, one of the great checks, under our American system.

Why, majorities are not always right. No, Senators; not at all. We all know that. I have seen many instances in which minorities were right, and even the men who constituted the majority lived to admit it. Now, if that is true, we might just as well be a little careful about entirely stifling a minority, about denying it all voice, about denying it all opportunity to say "Halt" and "Pause" to a partisan majority.

Mr. President, so much for that. I am coming down now to this proposition. I support this resolution reluctantly—reluctantly for one reason alone. I can not help but feel reluctant to go even this far with you, Senators, when Senators are openly asserting that this is but the entering wedge; when Senators are telling me, even are saying in my presence, that this is merely the beginning of the end. I fear so, and yet I hope not. I hope that a careful consideration of this question will convince Senators who maintain even now that position that they ought not to insist upon it. I would not yield even this far except, Mr. President, that I do feel that on questions that affect our country's international affairs, when war is imminent, is threatened, or is actually occurring there must be some way in which the will of an overwhelming majority—a majority so large as to

show that the interest of the country and not that of a party are at stake—can be asserted.

The Senator from Iowa said, and said very truly, that probably under this rule we might not have been able to pass the armed-neutrality bill. I think possibly we could have done it if the motion had been made when the matter was first presented. Certainly it could have been done if the proposition itself had been presented only a day or two earlier. Be that as it may, we, everyone, know that in the future on any question of this sort when two-thirds of the Senators, or a greater number even than two-thirds, stand together we will be able within a reasonable time to force a vote on any question in which the honor or the safety of the country is involved. For that reason, and for that reason alone, I am supporting this resolution.

Senators assert—some of them do on this side and a few on the other side—that they support this resolution reluctantly because it does not go far enough.

Mr. President, I support it reluctantly for a very different reason, for exactly the opposite reason, because I fear that it may go too far before many years be passed. My views on this question are so fixed and set that I thought it a matter of personal and official duty to utter my sentiments on this floor before the vote was taken.

Mr. President, I am about to yield the floor. I hope the resolution will pass. I intend to vote for it, and I am for it; but I hope the day may be far distant before any further step in this direction will ever be taken by this body.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] has stated so much better than I can the ideas which I have entertained on this subject that I shall not repeat them in detail. I think the Senate and the country, however, do not properly understand the real situation. It is not the fault of the rules that the Senate fails to act upon legislation in what is due and proper time. It is quite the habit of the Senate to delay work upon legislation until late in the session. It meets in December and shortly thereafter adjourns until after the holidays. It does not get down to effective work until the closing weeks of the session, at which period it is absolutely impossible for Senators to consider as they ought to consider the questions which are brought up under great congestion.

I have realized, however, for some time that there was to be a change in the rules. Illy informed public sentiment has seemed to demand it, and too many legislators are more busy listening to supposed public sentiment than they are in trying to properly inform that sentiment. I have been willing that Senators should speak as long as they wanted to speak upon the questions before the Senate, but unfortunately the great liberty which is accorded here in debate is sometimes abused. Some Senators occupy the time of the Senate evidently because they can occupy it; opportunity is given to get into the RECORD and to practice on long-distance talking, but nevertheless all the Senator from Georgia has stated is absolutely true. The perpetuity of the Republic depends, I firmly believe, upon unrestricted opportunity to deliberate on matters of legislation. Autocracy can be established and endure only when the people's representatives cease to deliberate and abandon all to the Executive.

I am going to vote for this proposed rule, because it is not, in terms, very radical, and because it may tend to correct some abuses in debate. I hope it will not lead to more dangerous changes. I regret the circumstances, however, under which it is brought to the Senate.

I submit, sir, that if some other question than one of international character, one that seems to appeal strongly to the country and to the Senators as of vital importance, had been under consideration and the Executive of this country had criticized the Senate as he did criticize it on last Monday, many Senators would be found here proposing that some action be taken by the Senate condemning the President for his unwarranted criticism of a coordinate branch of the Government. I regard it as most unfortunate and unbecoming a President to characterize the Senate and Senators as the President in his recent statement, as published in the press, did characterize them.

It could not have been done, sir, because the President felt that the legislation he desired had been permanently defeated, because he knew, as every Senator knew, that all he had to do was to call Congress together on the 5th of March to get consideration for the measure. No man can successfully dispute that proposition. To a great many Senators it seems that it is the business of Congress to be here in session ready to assist in the great emergency to which the President called attention and which we knew theretofore.

Mr. President, I suppose that at this time I would be criticized if I were to express my understanding of the President's motives in treating the Senate as he has treated it. There are many matters that come up and suggest themselves to me, as they do to you, other than the one of getting action upon this armed-neutrality bill which was before the Congress, which might have actuated the President; but, assuming that he was moved to anger by the failure of the Senate to vote his bill through, yet that did not warrant his unfortunate interference. I believe his criticism was unjust, undignified, and unwarranted, and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.

Suppose the Senate as a Senate should give to the press a statement condemning the President because of the manner in which he performed his duties and imputing to him lack of loyalty to the Government and lack of patriotism to his country, would it be condoned as thoughtless action induced by disappointment? It would be wrong for the Senate to do that, but no more wrong and improper than what the President has done. At a time when there ought to be cooperation between all the departments of the Government for one department to use the methods that are sometimes employed by the ordinary disappointed ward politician strikes me as being most unfortunate.

I regretted that on Sunday we could not get a vote upon the armed-neutrality bill. I would have been glad if Senators could have surrendered their right to speak upon it, a right that had been exercised, however, by other Senators before them, and allowed a vote. But failure to vote did not mean the death of the legislation. It would have been postponed only a day or two if the President really wanted action. It was known at that time that appropriation bills calling for five hundred and odd million dollars were pending which must be passed between then and the 30th day of June. An extra session was inevitable. It should have been called for the 5th day of March. Congress could then have proceeded to the disposition of all the business before it.

It is not possible except at the end of a session to defeat a measure by filibuster. Every Senator concedes that. Therefore it is unjust criticism that has been heaped upon Congress and makes it contemptible before the country because it does not know the truth. The President has degraded one of the coordinate branches of the Government at a time when there should be harmony and strength. There was no partisanship displayed in the discussion last week. No party lines were drawn. The great majority of the Senate on both sides of the aisle were joining hands to do, not what all of them wanted to do, because many of them like myself wanted to see the bill amended and wanted an opportunity to amend it; but we were all working, hoping that we might pass the legislation, thus serving notice on the world that the Congress of the United States was back of the President, right or wrong. But this rule is now brought here because, it will be said, the President has demanded that the Senate proceed with its work according to his will. He says the country demands that the rules be amended.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. TOWNSEND. With pleasure.

Mr. HARDWICK. I wish to state to the Senator that my colleague reported from the Committee on Rules substantially this same proposition on the 16th day of May, 1916. So the country is wrong if it says that.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Absolutely so.

Mr. PENROSE. It was a unanimous report signed by Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It was a unanimous report that I submitted.

Mr. TOWNSEND. And if the majority, that means both sides, were favorable to it, and had taken up that question at any time and insisted upon its passage it could have been passed. But there seemed no crying necessity for it at that time. If the empowering bill that was brought up had been a bill perchance which the majority of the Senate had favored but which the President opposed, and a minority had filibustered it to defeat, I imagine that the President would not have visited his disapproval upon the rules or upon that minority. Under such conditions the rules would have been what he said they were in his congressional government, viz, of great virtue.

Mr. McLEAN. Does not the Senator think we could show our faith by passing a resolution requesting the President to call a special session of the Congress, we will say, at a date not later than the 20th day of this month?

Mr. TOWNSEND. Undoubtedly, Mr. President; but I have not felt like encroaching upon the jurisdiction or the powers of the President. He knows and has known for some time that an extraordinary session was inevitable. It is possible that politi-

cal reasons connected with the organization of the other House of Congress may have had something to do with the President's indisposition to call Congress together, but I do not care to speculate in that matter. I am now protesting against what I have felt was an unwarranted criticism of the Senate of the United States by the President. It was unfortunate, it was unjust, and I believe it was in violation of the spirit of the Constitution. Before he became President he could see that the liberties of the people rested in the fact that there would be one deliberative body in this country that could, without coercion of any kind, deliberate upon all measures affecting the welfare of the United States.

I am going to vote for the proposed rule because some amendment seems inevitable, and this is not a very radical change. If it had been a Senate rule last week, it would not have secured the passage of the armed-neutrality bill. I desire to say, however, to the new Senators, that the longer you are here, the more you become familiar with the rules and the possibilities for service to your States which those rules give to every Senator, whether he be humble or influential, the more you will hesitate to rob yourselves of those possibilities by placing all power in a majority, no matter to what party that majority belongs. The rules of the Senate afford absolute equality to all Senators; and if any Senator abuses his privileges under those rules, let him answer to his constituents; but under no circumstances should the Senate remove the last barrier against autocracy.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] said a while ago that the reason why the bill for the development of water power on the public domain was not pressed in the Senate any further than it was was the fact that the proponents of the bill had discovered that a majority of the Senate was against it, and that it could not pass this body. I can not let that statement go unchallenged. It is incorrect, at least as far as I am concerned.

That bill was made the unfinished business of the Senate last August, and it remained before the Senate four or five days, the greater part of each day. It was then displaced, against my vote and my opposition and against the vote and opposition of my colleague [Mr. WALSH], by the bill for an appropriation for a Government armor-plate plant, on the ground that that bill was more important to the country. The Senate adjourned in a very few days after the armor-plate bill had been disposed of, leaving no further chance for the water-power bill at that session. The water-power bill was made the unfinished business again in January this year, and remained before the Senate the greater part of several days, when it was displaced, in spite of my vote and my opposition and in spite of the vote and opposition of my colleague [Mr. WALSH], by an appropriation bill, under the general understanding that appropriation bills have the right of way. Not at any time after that was there a day when there was not some appropriation bill or a revenue bill or some other bill pressed in this body which had more power back of it than the water-power bill had. Those were the things that kept the water-power bill from coming again before the Senate.

I knew nothing about a majority of the Senate being against the bill. What the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] has said has been supplemented by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], who says that the opponents of the bill had polled the Senate and learned that a majority of the Senate was against the water-power bill.

I accept the Senator's word, of course; and that being the case it must be because the majority of this Senate is opposed to any kind of legislation for the development of water power on the public domain, because it was in the power of the Senate to alter that bill, to modify it, to amend it, to put it in any shape that the majority of Senators might desire and prefer.

The bill was in the hands of the Senate, and if the bill as reported did not suit the Senate it could have changed it. I was not insistent, neither was my colleague [Mr. WALSH], on passing the bill in exactly the form in which it was reported, but I was willing to submit it to the Senate, and if it did not suit the Senate in that form to let the Senate consider it and adopt some other form.

So taking that statement to be correct it must have simply been because the majority of the Senate does not want any legislation of any character for the development of water power on the public lands.

These facts being stated, and I accept them all as true except that part which relates to my motives for not pressing the bill further, and in that the Senator from Utah is simply mistaken, but taking the other statements as true, if it is true that a majority of the Senate was against the bill, and that the opponents of the bill know that fact, then it is a new phase of legislation to me. That is a phase of legislation of which I never heard before; that is to say, that the majority of the members of a legislative body are against a bill and still will not allow it to come to a vote. If that is the case, then I think we ought to have an amendment to our rules to prevent a majority from filibustering against a measure, or, to put it in more pleasant language, to prevent a measure from coming to a vote. The idea that a majority is against a bill but will not let it come to a vote is something new in parliamentary practice. Yet that is what the opponents of the water-power bill would have us believe was the situation.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator from Montana is mistaken when he attributes to me a statement that he had ceased to press the Myers water-power bill.

Mr. MYERS. I thought the Senator said the proponents of the bill, those who favored it, and I was one of them. He did not call me by name, of course.

Mr. SMOOT. Certainly I did not call the Senator by name nor did I have reference to him. The water-power bill was before the Senate at the last session of Congress and was made the unfinished business——

Mr. MYERS. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. SMOOT. If the Senator will just let me finish this sentence, I will yield to the Senator for any question he may ask. At the beginning of the session in conformity with the action of the Democratic caucus the water-power bill was made the unfinished business, but it was laid aside time and time again. There were only two speeches of any length made upon it, and they were not made with a view of filibustering. The bill was made the unfinished business because of the action of the Democratic caucus, but I never thought for a moment that the majority of the Senate ever intended to force the bill to a vote. When I asked the question of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] whether the bill failed because of the fact that it was not pressed for action rather than on account of the rules of this body, I asked the question knowing full well that not one Senator on the other side of the Chamber, but a number of Senators, told me that the bill was never going to be voted on. There was no inclination to press it upon the other side of the Chamber, and future action on the part of the Senate demonstrated that I was correct in the position assumed in my question asked of the Senator from Missouri.

As far as I was concerned I never took five minutes of the time of the Senate in discussing the bill, and it was not discussed by any Senator after it was learned that there was a majority of the Senate opposed to it and that if it were brought to a vote it would be defeated. I was perfectly willing that the vote should be taken at any time, but I did make up my mind before I knew that fact that I could not allow the bill to pass if I could help it, because it meant so much to the Western States. There was a great principle involved in it. I do not believe that the people of the West yet want to become mere leasers of the public domain and I do not believe that they have arrived at a position where they want the Government of the United States to assume the position of a landlord.

The Senator knows that in most of the Western States three-fourths of the public land is at present tied up and the expenses of the States and all the institutions in the States must be and are supported by taxation upon about 20 per cent of the lands of those States.

So, Mr. President, I think I was well within the facts of the case when I stated that the reason why that bill was not forced to a conclusion was because there was little inclination on the part of the Senate to force it.

I want to say to the Senate now that the bill could have been forced to a vote under the rules of the body as they exist to-day.

I also want to say, Mr. President, that I believe under the rules of the Senate there would have been a vote upon the armed neutrality bill if the friends of the measure had not taken the time they did in discussing it. It is well known by all Senators that the friends of the measure occupied more time in discussing the bill than did those who were opposed to the bill.

I have taken a little time to examine the RECORD. The armed neutrality bill, so called, was reported to the Senate Friday morning. It was laid aside for the consideration of the naval appropriation bill. The Senate began the discussion of it at 4.30 o'clock Friday afternoon. I notice in the RECORD of March 2 there were 32 pages recording the Senate proceedings upon that day, and of the 32 pages there were but 21 pages showing a discussion of that bill. The balance of the RECORD of that day was filled with other matters and considered by the unanimous consent of this body. It also shows that the remarks of the friends of the bill cover nearly 20 pages of the RECORD, while

the opponents of the measure had but 1½ pages of the RECORD on that day.

In the RECORD of March 3 there were 46 pages. The friends of the measure took 15½ pages, the opponents 12¼ pages.

The RECORD of March 4 contains 32 pages. The friends of the measure took 8 pages, the opponents 15 pages. In other words, the friends of the measure took 46½ pages of the RECORD and the opponents of the measure 28¾ pages, exclusive of the remarks made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE], and those remarks have not yet been printed. But estimating 12 pages for the speech delivered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] and 2 pages for the speech delivered by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE], then there would be but 42¾ pages of the RECORD occupied by those who were in favor of the bill.

Mr. President, while the bill was being discussed there were the naval appropriation bill, the Agricultural appropriation bill, the conference reports made upon a number of bills presented and acted upon; there was the conference report on the Republic Coal Co. bill that upon two or three occasions was presented that led to discussion; there were petitions read, telegrams asked to be printed in the RECORD, and not satisfied with asking that they be printed in the RECORD Senators requested that they be read.

Mr. MYERS. May I make one remark there?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUGHES in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SMOOT. I yield.

Mr. MYERS. The Republic Coal Co. joint resolution was but a very little time before the Senate, because I was very expeditiously taken off the floor every time I tried to get it up.

Mr. SMOOT. We took the Senator off the floor just as quickly as we could under the rules, I admit; but it all took time. I desire to say to the Senate now, that when the bill was taken up for consideration, even as late as 4.30 on Friday afternoon, under the rules of the Senate as they exist to-day, I have not the least doubt but that the bill could have been passed if its opponents had been the only Senators who desired to discuss it. I desire to say that much, Mr. President, in relation to this matter.

I am going to vote for the pending resolution. I was willing last May that a resolution similar to this and reported from the Committee on Rules should be considered; but let us remember that from May last up until March 4, at the close of the last session, there was no motion made by any Senator to take up the resolution, notwithstanding, as the Senator from Georgia has said, the report came to the Senate by a unanimous vote of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah, however, will recall that several times I spoke to him and other Senators with reference to taking up the resolution, and there was objection. I did not undertake to force the resolution by motion, because I hoped there would be an opportunity when we could dispose of it without coming in contact with other matters. In no sense does the Senator mean that I abandoned the resolution?

Mr. SMOOT. No; and I am very glad the Senator has made his statement.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I very cordially approved of the resolution, and I approve of the present one, because it is so much like the former one.

Mr. SMOOT. I am very glad the Senator from Georgia has called my attention to that matter, and I want to state here that the Senator was at all times ready to have the resolution taken up. As he stated, he spoke to me several times, asking whether the resolution could be brought up by unanimous consent.

Mr. OVERMAN. I also will say to the Senator from Utah that several times the resolution came up on the calendar when the Senator himself objected to it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, on two occasions I objected to the consideration of the resolution, and I stated why I objected. It was not for myself, but for another Senator who had asked me in his absence to object to its consideration. I think I then stated to the Senator from Georgia that that was the reason.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator from Utah stated that he made the objection because he was under a promise to do so. He made that statement at least once to me, that some Senator on his side, who was absent, had asked him to make the objection to the resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; it was at a time when we had the calendar under consideration under Rule VIII, under which a Senator could only speak once upon a measure, and not to exceed five minutes. If the Senator from Georgia at any time had moved to take up the resolution, I would have very gladly voted to take it up.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The reason I did not make a formal motion to take up the resolution was that I feared considerable time would be consumed in its discussion, and I did not wish to inject it into the short session or into the time of the Senate, thinking it might take up quite a length of time in discussion and thereby prevent us from considering other matters which it was needful to pass. I had hoped to reach a period in the session when the resolution would pass with the consumption of but very little of the Senate's time.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, there never has been a filibuster in the Senate of the United States which has been successful, unless there have been at least a third or more of the Members of this body in favor of the filibuster——

Mr. STONE. What about the river and harbor bill?

Mr. SMOOT. And further, unless it was conducted during the last few days of the short session of Congress. I do not intend now to go into a consideration of the mass of legislation which it was necessary to pass in the last few days of the recent short session of Congress. That has already been done; so I will only state that it was a physical impossibility for the mass of legislation to pass.

Mr. President, I have no doubt in my mind that if the President of the United States would call an extra session of Congress the armed-neutrality bill, so called, would pass within three days after it reached the Senate, if the Senator having the bill in charge would keep it before the Senate and the friends of the measure would not further discuss it.

Mr. OVERMAN. Was there not some understanding on the other side of the Chamber that the debate would be kept up in order to compel the President to call an extra session of Congress?

Mr. SMOOT. There was no such understanding of which I have knowledge.

Mr. OVERMAN. I saw that stated.

Mr. SMOOT. The newspapers so stated. It was stated that such a proposition was acted upon by the Republican conference; but there was no truth whatever in the statement.

Mr. OVERMAN. But there were some Senators on the other side who wanted an extra session so badly that they were willing to consume time to accomplish that purpose.

Mr. SMOOT. There were one or two Senators who said that they thought there ought to be an extra session of Congress, because they were of the opinion that Congress ought to be in session in case the emergency required a declaration of war. They took the ground that Congress had the power, and Congress only had the power, to declare war; but I desire to say that the Senators who took that position did not occupy one moment of time in the discussion of the bill for the arming of merchant ships.

Mr. President, I shall not take up any further time upon this resolution. I am ready to vote upon the resolution, and I have not the slightest doubt but that it will be passed by the Senate.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator from Virginia, having this resolution in charge. As I understand it, it is the intention of the Senator from Virginia to endeavor to hold the Senate here in session until the measure is disposed of?

Mr. MARTIN. It is my purpose to ask the Senate to remain in session until a final vote on the resolution is reached.

Mr. PENROSE. I entirely concur in the purpose of the Senator; my only desire in rising is to have the Senate a little better notified than it seems to be as to the intention of the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. MARTIN. I am very glad to answer the inquiry. It is my purpose to ask—of course, it is for the Senate to determine—that the Senate remain in session until a final vote on the resolution is had.

Mr. PENROSE. A number of Senators have been under the impression that we should adjourn shortly, and I have informed them that the Senator's intention was otherwise. I thought it had better be publicly stated at this hour of the afternoon.

Mr. MARTIN. I am very glad, indeed, to state it.

Mr. MYERS and Mr. VARDAMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I will take but a moment, I will say to the Senator from Mississippi.

I know very well that the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] was unalterably opposed to the water-power bill and that a majority of the Senate were likewise opposed to it and would not let it come to a vote, while my colleague [Mr. WALSH] and I were earnestly desirous of securing a vote. So, I think it

is the majority of the Senate against which we need protection, instead of against the minority.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I shall be very brief in what I have to say on the resolution now under consideration before the Senate. I desire a vote at the earliest possible moment consistent with the convenience and pleasure of Senators who desire to speak. I wish to say in the outset that there is no greater necessity for cloture in the Senate to-day than has existed for the last quarter of a century. Certainly not since I became a Member of this very honorable body. I am for this resolution not because of anything that has happened in the immediate past, nor because of anything that has been done or has been left undone by the last session of Congress. I am for it because I am of the opinion that there should be a rule limiting debate—a rule by which questions can be brought before the Senate for final determination whether it meets the approbation of all the Senators or not. I would have the fullest, freest, most exhaustive discussion of every question. To take any other view of the question would be at variance with the very purpose and spirit, the letter of the Constitution, and the fundamental principles underlying our system of government. Unlimited debate has served the people of the South on a former occasion in a way that would naturally cause one who is so partial as I am to that section of our common country to regard with reverence the custom of long standing which recognizes the right of unlimited debate in the Senate.

It is said that under the privileges allowed a Senator in the matter of debate, determination, great mental ability, and limitless physical endurance enabled the Senators from the South on one occasion to defeat a force bill which, if it had been enacted into law, would have taken the government of the Southern States out of the hands of the capable white people and turned it over to the scalawags, carpetbaggers, and the former negro slaves. In those days partisan rancon and sectional hatred were intense. Feeling ran so high that it seemed that everything was lost sight of by some northern statesmen except the lust for revenge. War had dethroned the reason of men, hate poisoned the heart, and avarice and greed ruled the land. Blinded by the prejudices that grew out of that war, certain men designed to put black heels upon white necks and enthrone congenital incompetency, and denied to the sons and daughters of the men and women who conceived our incomparable plan of government and cemented with their blood the foundations upon which it was reared the right to rule their own land. But, thank God, that spirit no longer exists among our friends, the white people of the North. A few relics of the unhappy past may yet lag superfluous on the stage; but, thank Heaven, they are few and growing beautifully less every day. I do not share the apprehension of some of my southern senatorial brethren that there is any possibility of limited cloture being used by any majority, however great that majority may be, of northern Republicans to put the ignorant and incompetent negro to rule over the white people of the South. Of course, they could not do it if they wanted to, and would not if they could. My observations in the Chamber has convinced me that all the patriotism and all the love of country and all of the liberality of judgment is not limited to those geographical subdivisions of the country represented in this Chamber by Democrats. I find the broad American spirit here on either side of this center aisle, and when it comes to dealing with this special problem which is of such vast importance to us of the South—in truth the paramount problem of the Nation—there is quite as much intelligence, broad patriotism, and disposition to do the right thing—the thing needful for the preservation of the purity of the white race and the conservation of our civilization—among the northern Republicans as there is among the northern Democrats. In both cases it is after all only a question of information, of knowledge of the situation, and all the facts involved in the problem. Times have changed and viewpoints have changed with them; so I am not pestered about that phase of the problem.

The fact of the business is, all of the constitutional amendments which have been adopted by the Southern States, for the purpose of eliminating the negro from politics, and making it possible for the white man to govern by law in spite of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, are merely palliatives, expedients—anesthetics administered to relieve the suffering patient temporarily. The great issue still remains to be solved, and the sooner the Nation shall be confronted with it the sooner we shall extirpate the evil. Every day that passes while this great problem remains unsolved multiplies difficulties and renders it the more difficult of final settlement. It ought to be met, not in the spirit of hate or race prejudice—politics has no place in the consideration of it, but it ought to be met bravely, wisely, patriotically, and it ought to be solved now. I recognize the dangers involved—the painful ordeal through which the Southern States must pass before being relieved of this incubus, but it is a condition that confronts us, and it ought to be met intelligently without hesitation and delay. I would rather settle it now than to bequeath it to my children and the generations to follow us. No, I am not opposed to cloture on that account. I think this resolution ought to pass. It guarantees ample time for full and complete discussion, and after that is had there ought to be the vote. I have always been in favor of cloture, but I would prefer that the rule would provide for the invocation of the cloture by a majority rather than by a two-thirds vote. I believe in majority rule. I have been ready to vote for such a resolution ever since I came to the Senate, but would prefer to make it just a little bit more radical and easy of application. I am willing, however, to take this modified form, because it seems to suit pretty nearly everybody.

I desire to repeat, Mr. President, that in my judgment nothing has happened in the immediate past which has changed my views upon the subject The fact is, I feel this afternoon that there is really less necessity for the passage of such a resolution at this time than heretofore.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate but a moment. I have perhaps received as much criticism for the position I took on the armed-neutrality bill as has any other Senator in this body. I find no fault with that. I feel I am hardly entitled to the honor that has been given me by the metropolitan press. I want to assure the Senate that I do not rise for the purpose of making an apology. I was opposed to the bill providing for armed neutrality, and I was opposed to it from patriotic motives.

I was opposed to it from the standpoint of an American citizen, believing as I do that my first solemn duty is to protect the American people from a cruel, bloody war. God knows that my only purpose has been, is, and shall be to protect the lives of American citizens and prevent the sinister influences back of this war movement to force our country into war with any of the belligerent nations of Europe.

I have no criticism to make of the Senator who is courageous enough to say that he wants war with a foreign nation; I find no fault with the man who has the courage of his convictions, and says that he believes it would be beneficial for this Government to be plunged into war; but I do find fault with those who are playing upon patriotic phrases, who are fooling the American people and trying to show that it is for the purpose of keeping this country out of war that they desired to pass that bill.

In his message delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on February 26, 1917, President Wilson said:

> I can not in circumstance be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand, by constitutional limitation, and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it. I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer, in the present circumstances, not to act upon general implication.

The President specifically says that he is authorized under the law to arm American ships without any special law being passed by the Congress. If he has the authority to do the things which the provisions in the armed neutrality bill would confer upon him, why should we so hastily pass legislation which embodies fundamental principles upon which no two Senators have been able to agree? If the President has the power which he claims to have under the law and under the Constitution, why should this bill have been passed without full deliberation and debate, especially when no two Senators who were for the bill agreed upon the interpretation of the law and the provisions of the bill? If the President has the power which he says he has, and he believes that it is important to arm American ships for the purpose of protecting American lives and maintaining peace, why does he not do so? Or can it be possible that the President of the United States wants Congress to give him the power to declare war? The President was reelected to his high position not upon the issue of arming American ships but upon the single issue of having kept this Nation out of war.

I say most emphatically that it was not necessary to pass the armed neutrality bill in order to enable the President of the United States to maintain the position he has promised the American people he would pursue. The American people were promised by Woodrow Wilson and his friends in the last campaign, that if Wilson was reelected, friendly relations would be maintained with all the belligerent nations of Europe. They were promised that a "peace policy" and not a "war policy" would be carried out. This made the campaign a nonpartisan one, and thousands of loyal Republicans gave their support to Wilson because of these promises.

There is not a Member of the Senate so dull as not to know that armed neutrality means war. There is not a Member on this floor who fails to realize that if we had passed the bill which was pending before this body a few days ago it would be possible not only to ship munitions of war across the sea to belligerent nations, but it would be possible to convoy by our naval vessels merchant ships loaded with war material. Is there a Senator here, I ask, who will deny that that would have meant war?

Mr. President, I am no coward. If war must come, there will be some of my family on the firing line ready to fight and if needs be to die in defense of the flag and the preservation of this Union. Perhaps that is more than some of those who are so anxious to plunge this country into war can say; but I do not believe that we should unnecessarily plunge this country into war with any of the belligerent nations of Europe. I do not believe that this country should sacrifice millions of lives for the purpose of coining their blood into dollars. If war must come, then, sir, I believe that every patriotic citizen of this country will be ready to fight and to defend the flag; but it has been my conviction—and my actions and purposes have been directed to that end—that we should try to keep our country out of war; that we should not take sides with any of the belligerent nations; that we should remain neutral.

Mr. President, I have no criticism to make of Senators or of the President for having spoken so unkindly of the men who saw fit, in the discharge of their solemn duty, to oppose the armed merchant ship bill. In the words of the Master, as they fell from His immaculate lips, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do."

As to the pending resolution, I do not think it should be passed at this time. I think it is dangerous for a great Government like ours to deny a minority, small though it may be, an opportunity to be heard. Every republic that has disintegrated and gone to pieces has perished because of the very fact that the minority has been refused a hearing. I am opposed to an oligarchy; I am opposed to autocratic government; I believe in a democracy. I am surprised to find men who have advocated progressive measures rising to-day on this floor seeking to take away from the minority the possibility of being heard. I think it is a mistake. I do not believe that we are going to better conditions by passing the resolution now before us.

Of course, Mr. President, I think I understand that at this time it is exceedingly dangerous for those in the minority, in spite of their courage, to oppose a strong majority, without being subjected to the most severe and unfair criticism. I also realize that it is difficult for the minority to get justice from the press; but, Mr. President, that does not deter me from doing what I believe to be my conscientious duty. We have certain men in office to-day; a few years from now others will take their places. Let us not in our enthusiasm be carried away as hero worshipers, but let us remember that it is more important to maintain the principles and dignity of the office. I do not wish to do anything that will even have the slightest tendency to destroy in the smallest degree the liberty and freedom of this great Government of ours. Too much precious blood has been shed to establish it; too many lives were sacrificed to perpetuate it; and I shall not by any act of mine do anything that will cause any disturbance or that will have the least tendency to destroy it as a democracy.

Mr. President, I did not have an opportunity to speak upon the bill providing for armed neutrality. The Senator having that bill in charge took up nearly all the time and even refused to yield for questions. He occupied an hour and three-quarters, I believe, in denunciation of those who stood ready to carry out their honest beliefs. I did not during the last session occupy to exceed three hours, I believe, of the time of the Senate. On one or two occasions I did take some time in discussing the agricultural appropriation bill. Nor do I think I am subject to criticism for so doing, for I was a member of the committee which had that bill in charge.

Mr. President, I shall not take any more of the time of the Senate, because it might perhaps be said that I was doing so for the purpose of delaying the passage of this resolution. I simply want to repeat what I have said, that I have no apology to make for my action in trying to defeat the armed-neutrality bill. I was opposed to that bill, and am still opposed to it. If the bill were again before the Senate, I should talk against it and I should vote against it; but I have at no time had an idea that I could take up sufficient time to defeat it or to make it impossible to have it placed on its final passage.

If it had been presented to the Senate earlier in the session, it would not have been possible for a small minority to obstruct its passage. But the resolution had not been fully discussed and it should not be passed, and no bill of such tremendous importance should be passed without a free and full discussion.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I shall not consume the time of the Senate, but I deem it important that the RECORD should distinctly show that this rule is not adopted as the result of any excitement caused by occurrences of the past week. For several weeks past a number of Senators on each side contemplated bringing this matter to the attention of the Senate at this time and asking for the immediate adoption of substantially this rule.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. STONE. I have no doubt that what the Senator says is absolutely correct; but here I ask his leave to say that if the occurrences of the last week have resulted in bringing about a change in the rules by which the Senate can do some business, then the occurrences have not been wholly in vain.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish also to add that this rule is the work of Senators, and not of anybody outside of the Senate; and I may be justified in expressing the opinion that no one outside of the Senate is as capable of framing as wise a Senate rule as is any member of the joint committee that considered the subject.

Now, Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the RECORD the resolution in full, as it was reported from the Rules Committee last May.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution referred to is as follows:

[S. Res. 195. (Report No. 447.) In the Senate of the United States. May 16, 1916. Mr. SMITH of Georgia, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution; which was placed on the calendar. Calendar No. 416.]

Resolution.

Resolved, That the standing rules of the Senate be, and they hereby are, amended as follows: At the close of Rule XXII add:

"*Provided, however*, That if 16 Senators present to the Senate at any time a signed motion to bring to a close the debate upon any pending measure, the Presiding Officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate and at the close of the morning hour on the following calendar day lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and, upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present, the Chair shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by an aye-and-nay vote the question:

"'Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?'

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a two-thirds vote of those voting, then said measure shall be in order to the exclusion of all other business, except a motion to recess or adjourn.

"Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak more than one hour on the bill, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the Chair to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. No dilatory motions shall be in order, and all points of order and appeals from the decision of the Chair shall be decided without debate."

Mr. LA FOLLETTE obtained the floor.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Georgia a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do.

Mr. WATSON. Is it true that the committee having this matter in charge on the other side of the Chamber presented the matter to the President of the United States for his direct personal approval?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is not.

Mr. WATSON. It is not true? The statement, then, that was made in the press to that effect is incorrect?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I know nothing of the statement in the press; but I have answered categorically the question of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I did not intend to take any of the time of the Senate upon the pending resolution, but as I sat here listening to the debate I was reminded of another debate, many years ago, upon the subject of cloture which engaged the attention of the Senate while I was a Member of the House. That debate was in 1891, and it occurred to me to send for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I also called for the volumes covering other periods when the same subject had been before the Senate. I have before me three volumes of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing the reports of discussions which occurred in the Senate when attempts have been made to pass in some form a measure of cloture.

I know how prone we are, sir, in our youth, perhaps, to color somewhat the occurrences and events that then transpire. It has very often seemed to me—and I hope I will not offend against the proprieties if I say that I have had occasion to remark many times upon the public platform that it has seemed

to me—that the level of statesmanship of our time in this body would scarcely measure up to that of the Senate as I knew it 30 years ago. As I listened to the debate to-day I trust my colleagues here will pardon me for saying that it occurred to me that the debate at this time hardly rose to the importance of the occasion. So, sir, I shall venture to trespass upon the Senate a sufficient time to put into the RECORD some quotations from the arguments made when a similar attempt at cloture heretofore was made in the Senate of the United States. This matter may not interest the Senate, but I shall read it into the RECORD in order that it may go elsewhere, to be read and considered.

The present resolution is not in the same form in which cloture resolutions were presented at other times. At one time it was proposed to make cloture depend upon the vote of the majority. I have been interested in the two views which Senators on either side take of the present resolution. By some Senators it is contended that this resolution is scarcely a cloture at all, while still others give expression to the hope that we shall very soon have cloture in its real form.

Mr. President—and until I shall have opportunity to do so in a more ample way, this is the only reference I propose to make at this time to the events of the last week—supposing the rule of cloture here proposed had been in force during the session of Congress just closed, would anybody question seriously that the exigencies of the occasion, as seen in some quarters and by at least a majority of this body, would have been sufficient to command at any time just as readily the two-thirds vote of this body as a majority vote?

Here we were in the closing days of a short session with the appropriation bills held back as perhaps rarely if ever before in the history of legislation—why, I do not pretend to say; I do not know. I do know that the Army appropriation bill, I do know that the naval appropriation bill, and some of the other appropriation bills, carried larger appropriations not only than ever before in the history of the Government, sir, but that the military and naval appropriation bills carried in themselves alone appropriations as large as were required for the entire purposes of our Federal Government only a little more than a decade ago.

Mr. President, were those bills so long in coming before the Senate because it was undesirable that they should be discussed here? In 1907 and 1908 the naval appropriations amounted to only $131,000,000. I remember the figures because I had taken some pains to make special investigation with respect to the naval appropriation bill of that year and participated in the debate upon it with other Senators of the same mind as myself on this floor. That was in 1908, and in the few years that have elapsed it has jumped, Mr. President, to the enormous total of $532,000,000! That such a bill should have been delayed somewhere until only four or five days before the close of the session; that the military appropriation bill did not come before the Senate at all for consideration and was reported from the committee—I will ask the Senator from Oregon what day he reported it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It came to the Senate from the House, I think, on Saturday, and was reported here on the following Wednesday.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. What day of the month, and what month?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not recall the day.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Well, Mr. President, I believe it was the Wednesday before the life of the Senate expired on Sunday. Less than four days, sir, were left of the life of this Senate when that great bill was brought in here! The general deficiency bill and the sundry civil bill, covering appropriations for the Government service in all parts of the country, were also delayed somewhere, as these bills, with other appropriation bills, came crowding in during the last hours of the session.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUGHES in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. The Army bill was reported, according to the calendar, on the 28th of February.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The 28th of February, and we were to adjourn on the 4th of March.

Mr. President, that bill contained legislative provisions never before presented to an American Congress. Universal military training was embodied in it. With all of the other subjects involving great increases in expenditures, there was this proposition involving a complete change of policy, and the Senate must dispose of it within five days. There were piled up here these great appropriation bills carrying important and far-reaching changes in our law; propositions that should be thoroughly digested before action should be had; and on top of all that, about 50 hours before the Congress was to adjourn, there was brought in a bill of uncertain grant of power to another department, a bill which in the minds of the best students of constitutional government, the best authorities on international law, trenches upon the constitutional authority of Congress, and seeks to invest in another department of this Government powers denied by the Constitution. With your calendar loaded with these immense appropriation bills, carrying unheard-of propositions of legislation, you then bring in a bill of that character and demand that debate shall be made to conform to that condition of things!

With a rule such as is here proposed in force at that time, with an iron hand laid upon this body from outside, with a Congress that in three years has reduced itself to little more than a rubber stamp, let me ask you, Mr. President, if you do not think a rule of this sort would be bound to be pretty effective cloture? Especially is that true as some of the proposed legislation was of a character that appealed to certain Senators upon this side of the Chamber, who coming from States where the manufacture of munitions is a mighty important industry, are impressed with legislation that benefits the interests they represent?

Mr. President, believing that I stand for democracy, for the liberties of the people of this country, for the perpetuation of our free institutions, I shall stand while I am a Member of this body against any cloture that denies free and unlimited debate. Sir, the moment that the majority imposes the restriction contained in the pending rule upon this body, that moment you will have dealt a blow to liberty, you will have broken down one of the greatest weapons against wrong and oppression that the Members of this body possess. This Senate is the only place in our system where, no matter what may be the organized power behind any measure to rush its consideration and to compel its adoption, there is a chance to be heard, where there is opportunity to speak at length, and where, if need be, under the Constitution of our country and the rules as they stand to-day, the constitutional right is reposed in a Member of this body to halt a Congress or a session on a piece of legislation which may undermine the liberties of the people and be in violation of the Constitution which Senators have sworn to support. When you take that power away from the Members of this body, you let loose in a democracy forces that in the end will be heard elsewhere, if not here.

Now, sir, along that line, I want to put into the record of the extraordinary proceeding that is to be carried out here the most thoughtful words and reflections of some of our ablest statesmen. I regret, sir, that I had not the time to examine the RECORD at greater length. The very fact that from its earlier days there has been free discussion in the Senate, and that the ablest and the most patriotic statesmanship of the country has overwhelmingly defeated the kind of a rule pending here to-day, seems to me should make Senators hesitate to bring in this resolution and secure its immediate consideration.

Had I been on the floor at the moment this resolution was reported—I came in a minute or two later—I would, of course, have interposed an objection to its being disposed of to-day. It is too vastly important. It has been considered in all time by the Senate of the United States as too vastly important to be disposed of in any summary way. Whenever it has been brought before this body heretofore it has been debated at great length and most seriously both by the Members who favored it and by the Members who opposed it.

I do not say, Mr. President, that arguments can not be furnished for it. I do not say that the proceedings of the last hours of the recent session do not furnish such argument, and those proceedings made the occasion for bringing forward this rule at this time. At another time it could not have been done. But when there is interposed here on this floor an obstacle to the exercise of a constitutional right—for a constitutional right includes your rights under the rules which the Constitution says this body shall adopt, and in resisting legislation that overturns the Constitution—it includes the exercise of all of your rights under those rules, Mr. President.

I promised myself, when I took the floor, not to discuss that, so with that statement I stop.

Mr. President, I shall read the argument made by Mr. Turpie, of Indiana, when a similar resolution was before the Senate. It covers one or two pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. After that I shall quote from Mr. Spooner and Judge Gray, then a Member of the Senate, Mr. Teller, and perhaps two or three others, whose names I have before me. I regret that I could not have had time to read through these debates and put into

the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD such portions as I believe should be considered by Senators before they vote on this measure.

Let me say to the new Members who have been recently sworn in here that it may seem to you a very reasonable proposition. The Senators supporting it say, "Why, two-thirds must be in favor of it." But, Senators, you will find before you have been here very long that there is an organization upon each side of this Chamber; that each organization arranges the committee assignments for its side; and that the way the committees are constructed at the beginning of the life of every Congress means the control of legislation for the entire Congress. Then, having so apportioned the Members of this body in committee arrangements, if it seems to be the will of the combined organizations, it is an easy matter to hold back the legislation in those committees until the last hours of the session. When that time comes, the desire of Senators to get away, to go to their homes, the desire to take care of the departments, to be out from under the criticism of having held up appropriation bills and starved the Government—all that, Mr. President, comes upon them with a weight that is irresistible; and one after another they break down and yield, and the program goes through, no matter what it may contain. This rule will furnish an additional incentive to hold back important legislation until the closing hours of a session, as it makes the majority certain of success in carrying through its program.

I think, sir, that I will first read a brief passage or two from the very able and extended address of former Senator Gray, now an honored member of the Federal judiciary. At one point in his discussion of the 22d of January, 1891 (reading):

Mr. GRAY. It is all a farce to talk about the reasonable limit of debate in the opinion of majorities—

This was a majority proposition. His reasoning would make it just as applicable to a majority of two-thirds.

It is all a farce to talk about the reasonable limit of debate in the opinion of majorities, if you are to be content that free speech and liberty of debate have any place longer in American institutions.

You say that the power of obstruction must be put down, must be taken from the minority, that it is intolerable, this opportunity and liberty of obstruction that the minority has, when the majority makes up its mind. Very well. Let us destroy the power of obstruction and you have destroyed free parliamentary government. Obstruction is the very weapon of liberty in all English-speaking countries. There is no unimpeded path for a majority to walk in, no unobstructed road for its will to be worked through, unless that road and that path lead to despotism. Obstruction in parliamentary proceedings by a minority has been the fruitful source of some of the grandest achievements of human liberty that this world has known. You can not do away with it. You can not destroy it without at the same time doing away with the muniments of freedom and destroying liberty itself.

We can put up with obstruction, we can pay the price of our liberties, Mr. President; we can dispense with the haste and with the so-called business methods that obtain in some parliamentary bodies, because we are willing to pay the price of liberty. If you want a smoothly working machine, if you want a governmental framework that will produce at the least expense and in the shortest time given results, then I say go to your despotism, go to a crowned czar, or go to an unrestrained majority, an unobstructed majority, and there you will get results speedily, quickly, and inexpensively, without cost of time. But you will get other results, too. The spirit of freedom will have to die and the spirit of American liberty will have to suffer a fatal lesion before that desirable state of things can be brought about.

I pass over some of this. Still quoting from former Senator Gray, from the same debate, I read the following. Let me say that he had been interrupted and reminded that the British Parliament, under the leadership of Gladstone, had adopted a cloture. His reply to that matter, which was brought to his attention by the Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. Aldrich, was as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Gladstone at the time he led his party in the adoption of that rule was the inveterate, uncompromising foe of home rule in Ireland. He was deaf to their appeals. He would not listen to the argument or to the speech of those who were defending its people and pleading for its women and children. But, sir, since that unhappy day Mr. Gladstone was great enough and big enough and grand enough to put behind him the errors he then committed, and to come out and place himself at the head of that gallant band of Englishmen who are fighting to-day for the liberty of Ireland.

Now:

No, Mr. President, we do not need to cross the Atlantic yet for examples to follow in order that we may stifle debate on the floor of the Senate of the United States. That example does not commend itself to the good sense and to the patriotic instincts of the American people. Cloture, this foreigner, with strange air and mien, who can not talk the English-American speech, who has not the accent of liberty on his tongue, comes here and is knocking at the door of the Senate for admission and to be taken in and made at home. It may do in France; it may do in Austria; it may do in Germany; but it will not thrive when transplanted on American soil—

That great Democrat, Mr. President, will live to bow his head at the action forced upon the Senate of the United States by the great majority of his own party now here.

Listen to him further:

and I predict that it will wither and die before another year has rolled around.

What did Bentham say, that great political philosopher?

"In France the terrible decrees of urgency for the closing of discussion may well be remembered with dread. They were formed for the subjugation of the minority and for the purpose of stifling argument which they dreaded."

And that is the purpose here. It is the purpose everywhere where it has ever been applied. In the countries where it obtained as an institution, censorship of the press went hand in hand with it. You can not stifle free debate and also keep a free press. You will after a while get impatient of the strictures and the criticisms of a free, untrammeled press.

Alien and sedition laws are of kindred blood with this rule. They did not flourish long in American soil. But they were good men who voted for these alien and sedition laws. I can see them now with their periwigged heads and their ruffled shirts and their buff vests and shad-belly coats, the very essence of respectability. They represented the conservative classes. They were good fathers, and good husbands, and good citizens, and good neighbors, and they were somewhat shocked and scandalized at the freedom of the press, and they said, as the Senator from Vermont would say or has said in substance, "Oh, we do not oppose liberty; it is license that we oppose. We do not oppose freedom of debate; it is only unreasonable freedom of debate that we oppose." And so they said, "The liberty of the press is dear to us; but, my friend, you must recollect there is a difference between liberty and license.

"License will not do."

He is still quoting from these gentlemen:

"Liberty of the press—we grant that. Let us see the article. Well, that may do; it is coming very near the verge of license, though; and, if it does, then the alien and sedition law, scandalum magnatum, must apply, and the editor must abide the pains and penalties. You must recollect in conducting this sheet that you are not to cross the line. Liberty we ought to maintain. Liberty! We all love liberty. Liberty of the press is one of the watchwords of freedom. But license, oh, that is a different thing. License tends to the demoralization of the community; license tends to the sapping of the foundations of social order, and it will not do to tolerate it."

Resuming his argument he said:

And so Senators will find, when you attempt to draw the distinction between freedom of debate and what is unreasonable freedom of debate, that you will run into the same shadowy ground, and you will find yourself trespassing upon the liberties that belong to all American citizens, and you will find you can not erect any standard between liberty and license; you have got to leave it to work itself out by the good sense of the people themselves; and that has served from the beginning until now to save us from all the results that were prophesied from untrammeled liberty of the press.

Mr. President, this measure is obnoxious to every sentiment of American freedom. Its companions are such as I have described. It must go hand in hand with alien and sedition laws and with the censorship of the press, as it has in all the countries whence the cloture, this foreigner, this exotic, has come.

I do hope, I do believe, I express the confidence now as an American Senator, that there will be no line drawn in that alley that shall separate the friends and opponents of this measure, but that the votes will cross that line and there will be a majority—I trust not a partisan majority, but a majority of American Senators who will continue to vindicate the great principles of American liberty and parliamentary freedom as they have existed for a hundred years in the Senate of the United States.

Now, Mr. President, I read just a paragraph from former Senator Teller. He makes in his opening sentence some reference to the statehood bill, to which reference had been made in the course of the debate:

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I am myself very much in favor of the statehood bill and prepared to do anything which I think is just and consistent with my duty here to further that object. I agree with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Spooner], the chairman of the Committee on Rules, as to the desirability of maintaining in this body the right of free discussion. I have myself had occasion in the number of years I have served here to see the advantage of it.

I agree with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] that the bill, which he thinks did not have any element of force in it, would have become a law if we had had a cloture rule. I myself was an active opponent of that bill. If it did not have the element of force in it, it had in it, in my judgment at that time, the element of fraud, and created an opportunity for dishonest people to meddle with elections. But I do not care to discuss that question. I believe that discussion created a sentiment and belief in this body—and it was very much of the character which has been expressed in the debate which is going on here this morning—that it was not wise to pass that bill. While that bill was not voted on directly, the men who voted to displace it were the men who would have voted against it if there had been a vote taken upon it.

Mr. President, I have been a little restive sometimes, and probably once or twice I have said some things which I ought not to have said as to the length of the discussion on the statehood bill, but I myself will not vote for anything, directly or indirectly, which will indicate the right of the majority to censure the minority, or that will look directly or indirectly to any method, either legal or moral, which may prevent any Senator from exercising his judgment in securing delay whenever he thinks he ought to do so.

I believe that there ought to be somewhere in the Government of this country a place where unrestricted and untrammeled debate may be had. I believe it was the purpose of the creation of this body that deliberation and thought and delay might be secured for great questions which might for the time being unduly agitate the public mind, either because of intense partisanship or for any other reason.

He could not have had in mind, Mr. President, the impending horror of war, but some lesser excitement where he thought it would be justifiable for any Senator to exercise his rights on this floor to delay; and when I refer to a war measure I refer to one that does not threaten invasion, not one which infringes upon rights which have not already been surrendered—

and I believe that there is nothing which can so secure to the American people righteous and just legislation as the right on this floor to

discuss in every way and to delay by every method which shall meet the approval of Senators acting under oath all bills or measures which they think are improper and unwise.

Mark you, the attempt to get cloture here was following a debate protracted not only days but weeks.

I was delighted—

Says Senator Teller—

I was delighted to hear the chairman of the Committee on Rules say what he has said this morning. I believe he expresses the best thought of this body when he says that he is in favor of untrammeled debate and unrestricted obstruction when, in the judgment of Senators, such a course is necessary.

I now turn to read a few words from former Senator Spooner, who was at that time chairman of the Committee on Rules. In the first statement that I will read many Senators who are altogether new to this body or have been here perhaps for only a term will find reflection in their own minds of the sentiment which he expresses as to how he was impressed when he first entered this body as to this matter.

There was a time when I was in favor of cloture—

Says Senator Spooner—

There was a time when I was in favor of a cloture. I have been a Member of this body now for 12 years. I have been very constant in my attendance upon its sessions; I have been somewhat active in all controverted matters which have been before the Senate. I have seen times when Members of this body, impelled not by partisanship but only by the strongest possible motives of conscience, felt constrained to resist the passage of measures which they thought were unconstitutional, or which they thought, if constitutional and passed, would be subversive of great public interests.

I am frank to admit that years ago, when I was first a Member of the Senate and a struggle of that kind came, I was very restive under it. I thought that a minority ought not to be able to obstruct the passage of legislation.

But, Mr. President, I do not believe there is any legislative body in this world which accomplishes as much in a deliberate, thoughtful, and careful way as the Senate accomplishes under its existing rules. The very freedom which is accorded to Senators here assures debate, which would not occur if we had a previous question. There would of necessity be an exclusion of many from debate.

I have often seen in the newspapers and I have often heard it said that debate is of no effect in this body. That is not true. I appeal to every Senator here if the contrary is not true, as is shown at every session repeatedly upon full debate, because Senators desire here to get at the right. Sometimes we are constrained by political prejudice and more or less of partisanship where proposed legislation may have a political phase, but in the matters of legislation almost universally debate in this body has had great weight, and many Members have risen and acknowledged a change of view because of a discussion which has taken place. It would be quite absurd to have it understood that debate is of no consequence here.

This power to stop the hasty passage of bills by a single objection in the afternoon sometimes when we take up the calendar has been of infinite benefit to the country. We rely largely upon committees. Sometimes the committees act hastily and improvidently—all the committees. Sometimes bills are reported along toward the end of the session by a poll of the members of the committee, and it has often happened that objection to a bill has delayed it for an hour until the Senator in charge could explain it; and it has often happened the delay brought about a conference which disclosed a defect in the bill which was remedied by amendment.

It is true that when a bill is objected to by a single Senator it is possible, under the rules, to move to proceed to its consideration. I appeal to Senators that that rarely becomes necessary, and by common consent, as a rule, when a measure is objected to it goes over for examination, and that delay seldom fails to be useful.

For one I have become convinced that under the rules of the Senate as they are the interest of the public, of the whole country, is better subserved than it would be had we a cloture.

Now, Mr. President, I want to invite the attention of Senators to a most remarkable argument, one which has impressed me very strongly. It contains views upon this question which, I think, should have a place in this debate; but I do not wish to take the time to-night. I know Senators are anxious to act upon this resolution, and if I can omit portions of this I will be very glad to do so. I understand that I have consent to print it all.

Really, then, the true rule——

Mr. OVERMAN. From whom is the Senator reading?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. From Senator Turpie, of Indiana. Senator Turpie was regarded in his service, and I think he has been since by all Senators familiar with the debates, as one of the ablest constitutional lawyers who ever sat in this body.

Really, then, the true rule is there is but one way, and has been but one way since 1806, of procuring or bringing about a vote of the Senate upon any measure, and that way is the way of unanimous consent. Theoretically one might think, if that is the case and one Member of this body may at any time prevent a vote upon any measure, legislation has not been very frequent, has been very rare, has been very uncommon in this branch; but practically it will be seen that the one Member objecting to unanimous consent, this missing unit, has been always absent. He has been conspicuous by his absence. So that votes upon the passage of bills, final votes upon the determination of any questions whatever have been as frequent here as in the other branch of the National Legislature; and taking the whole body of legislation, subjected as it has been to this rule in the Senate that a vale can not be taken without unanimous consent, whatever other effect the rule has had it has not had the effect to diminish the amount or quantity of legislation or the sum of useful, important, and effectual legislation upon all subjects which the people demanded.

It is very often said, sir, that the majority in this country rules—I have heard it repeated once or twice in the discussion upon the question of cloture—and, therefore, that the majority in this body should rule. That statement is much too broad, whether it be applied to the whole country or to the Senate of the United States. It is much better made in this way, and can be only truly made in this way: the will of the majority expressed under the form of law, or in the form of law, or by the form of law, or in accordance with the form of law, governs in this country and governs in this body, as will be seen in the sequel.

The first form of law to which the majority is subject is the Constitution of the United States, and with respect to this body the second form of law is its own rules. The majority in this body controls its action when action is taken. It passes a bill or defeats a bill. But the majority in this body has never decided either when action shall be taken or whether action shall be taken at all. That has always depended upon the unit, the smallest possible minority. It is the smallest conceivable minority of this body which determines the question when action or whether action shall be taken.

I heard this body characterized the other day as a voting body. I disclaim that epithet very distinctly. I have heard it described elsewhere as a debating body. I disclaim that with equal disfavor. This body is best determined by its principal characteristic. The universal law and genius of language have given a name to this body derived from its principal attribute. It is a deliberative body—the greatest deliberative body in the world.

Now, voting is an incident to deliberation, and debate is an incident to deliberation; but when a body is chiefly characterized as deliberative there is much deliberation apart from discussion and debate, and wholly apart from what is called the business of voting.

The essence and the spirit of a body like ours, now over a century old, may be best gathered from its rules of action, the body of law governing it always very small, now very brief. Of the 21 rules properly affecting parliamentary procedure in this body 11 relate to the subject of deliberation. More than one-half relate exclusively to that subject and have nothing to do with debate or voting. I suppose that the form of law under which the will of the majority must control this body embraces at least the rules which govern us. Here is Rule XXII, one which touches us every day. I think it is the most frequently operative of any rule in the Senate.

Then he gives Rule XXII, as follows:

"RULE XXII.

"PRECEDENCE OF MOTIONS.

"When a question is pending no motion shall be received, but—
"To adjourn,
"To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn, it shall be to a day certain,
"To take a recess,
"To proceed to the consideration of executive business,
"To lay on the table,
"To postpone indefinitely,
"To postpone to a day certain,
"To commit,
"To amend;
"which several motions shall have precedence as they stand arranged."

Now, there is not a single one of these motions which relates to a vote of this assembly, to debate by it, but all relate primarily to the business of this body, which is deliberation, and they are all what are called dilatory motions relating only to deliberation. Take, for instance, the motion to adjourn What relation has that to the merits of any bill or measure pending before this body? Take the motion to adjourn, the first in precedence, taking precedence of any question pending here, what possible relation has that to the merits of any question pending? None.

What is the reason, then, why the motion to adjourn has attached to it this superlative excellence that it shall be first in order and shall precede all others? I have heard it very frequently said the motion to adjourn is always in order, and it is very seldom out of order. The chair is bound almost in any circumstances to entertain it. It has become almost a maxim, the motion to adjourn is always in order. It has not been always in order. The rule is only as old as the revolution of 1688. Prior to that time the house could not adjourn (I am speaking of another parliamentary body) while the speaker remained in the chair; and the speaker, a servile tool of the Crown, remained in the chair 26, 48, even at one time, as it is said, 50 hours, failing to recognize the motion to adjourn, refusing to put it, refusing to consider it, and holding the body in session simply by his presence in the chair.

It was under such necessity that the rule now become a maxim, the statute now worn out, has become the common law of parliamentary bodies, that the motion to adjourn shall always be in order; and the reason given for it is that private conference among members is preferable to debate, and that the body must always have an opportunity at least of resorting to privy conference if it so determine.

I might go on and notice each of these nine dilatory motions in detail to show how every one of them relates solely to deliberation, to show how this Rule XXII, connected as it is with all our procedure here, daily, hourly, has characterized and will characterize this body as long as it exists as preeminently deliberative.

All these dilatory motions resting jn Rule XXII have their foundation in a rule yet older than any in this compilation. It is a rule older than the Senate of the United States itself. All these dilatory motions relating to deliberation, so carefully guarded, so long observed, so characteristic of the Senate of the United States, are founded upon a rule not published in this body of rules, neither numbered nor classified. The first rule to which all our rules are subject, sir, the first rule of parliamentary procedure proper, is found in the Constitution of the United States:

"The yeas and nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal."

The whole series of dilatory motions and parliamentary action upon subjects here rests for foundation upon the rule I have just read from the Constitution of the United States. I speak of it as the first rule of this body. It is the first. It is older than any of the other rules. It is the first; it is a part of the paramount law of the land.

One might think, in reading it casually, that there had certainly been a mistake by the framers of the Constitution; that, as was said of Homer, they nodded when they put such a mere surface, at first thought, provision into and made it a part of the organic law, as they might have provided in that instrument, sir, that you should rise to your feet when putting a question to the body, or that a Senator in addressing you should rise from his seat.

Sir, this provision does not belong to that class. Why is it found in the Constitution of the United States? Senators have claimed here that a provision to cut off debate is absolutely necessary and of the highest superlative importance. Why was not that made a part of the Constitution of the United States? Senators have claimed here that a provision that a vote shall be and must be taken at some stage, at a certain stage—in other words, the closure—is imperious, is, in the language of the honorable and learned Senator from Connecticut, absolutely necessary to the transaction of what is called the business of the Senate and the business of the country.

Why, then, was not provision made for cloture in the Constitution of the United States? The question may be asked, Why should the Constitution makers have concerned themselves at all about a parliamentary rule for the government of this body? But as they have done so, it becomes very legitimate to ask why did they not provide for the cloture and for the cessation of debate, as it is said such rules exceed in necessity and importance all other parliamentary rules.

Let us examine this parliamentary rule in the Constitution. What was the object of it? Some man might say the object of this was to make a record. Sir, there was no necessity of such a provision to make a record. Records were made long before this provision of the Constitution. The majority had always the power to require the record to be made of a vote, and that was the former method; and the minority, a minority of one, had always the power to have his vote entered of record, either "nay" or "yea," and when all the nays were put in the record the absentees and the yeas were very apparent, and vice versa. There is not the slightest use in the intendment of common parliamentary law of the world then existing to have inserted for such a reason this provision in the Constitution of the United States.

Then it is said that the object of this provision was to assist in the passage of bills, or in other words to assist the business of enactment as distinguished from the business proper of this body, deliberation. Let us look at it in that view. It is not said that the yeas and nays of Members shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on any bill pending, on the passage of any bill pending; it is said "on any question," the most immaterial, the most irrelevant, the one most remotely connected with the business pending before this body. For instance, on the question of adjournment, the question to postpone indefinitely or to a certain day, the question to commit, the question to amend, on any of these dilatory motions one-fifth of the Members present may demand a roll call and a record; and that roll call and record was not, as I have shown very clearly, for the purpose of showing how a bill was passed; it relates to any question. Making a record was amply provided for. The reason of the roll call and record is that deliberation is the province of this body. It is the office of this body. Attendance may be compelled; deliberation is compelled by this rule. Voting is not compelled, can not be compelled.

This rule, sir, is found, as I have said before, in the organic law. It is much aggrandized, it is glorified by the company in which it is associated. This rule that one-fifth of the Members of this body may at any time demand a roll call is placed alongside of the inhibition against bills of attainder and ex post facto laws. It is placed alongside of the affirmative power of Congress to declare war, to conclude peace, to contract alliances. It is placed alonside of that great prerogative writ of personal liberty, habeas corpus.

It belongs to that character of legislation, except that habeas corpus may be suspended, but not even in case of invasion, not even in case of rebellion, can the great power of the potent fifth of the membership here ever be questioned, delayed, or ignored, no matter what is pending or how irrelevant it may be to what is called or may be thought the chief business of this body. The object of this rule was not to facilitate the passage of laws; it was not to make a record; it was to compel deliberation. It was to give to the minority a day in court. It may be a long day, broken, interrupted, full of excitement, in which a question is tossed from side to side as a ball between two animated bands of players. It is just in the midst of this excitement that the rule of the Constitution comes; that it says with imperious mandate, let this cease. Let the roll be called. Let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay. It makes a pause. It compels a pause. This rule is and always has been an element of force. It is not the cloture; it forces and compels deliberation, not enactment. It is on the side of the minority, not on that of the majority.

Now, take this form of law, the rule in the Constitution which I have just read, in connection with Rule XXII in our own body of law to which I have referred. Establish the proper connections between them, as we have often here seen done, and the operative relations, with the rule in the Constitution compelling a record, a roll call, and with the rule in our body compelling the entertainment in their order of nine different dilatory motions, having no possible reference to merits, it will be seen that under the form of law, the highest possible form of law, deliberation is distinctly the business, province, and the office of this body.

It will be seen how impossible under the operation even of the rule in the Constitution and how thoroughly inconceivably under the operation of our own rules it will be that debate can ever cease or that a vote can ever be taken as long as there is a dissenting unit in this Hall, assisted by one-fifth of the number. It would take a reconstruction of the entire body of laws of the Senate, if not an amendment to the Federal Constitution, peremptorily to enact what seems to be aimed at by the resolution of the Senator from Connecticut, and those modifications of the same now upon the table of the Senate, and yet the will of the majority rules in this body.

Is not the Constitution of the United States the will of the majority—a will of the majority, permanent, enduring; a law for all generations? Are not the rules of the Senate of the United States, most of them a hundred years old, the will of the majority, the permanent will? The will of the majority, it rules here in the same manner as elsewhere; the wish of the majority of the hour or of the day, the wish in regard to a pending measure, in regard to a pending bill, in regard to a pending enactment, in regard to any parliamentary action here, does not control. It is itself controlled and governed by the will of the majority, the law of the land and of the Senate.

The nine dilatory motions now compellable to be entertained by the Chair, the questions in relation to excuse, the questions in relation to appeal, without exhausting even a very small minority in this Chamber would in a parliamentary manner, in a distinctly constitutional manner, occupy the whole of the remainder of the present session of Congress. We must rely upon the assent of the fifth.

I am aware, sir, that such action as I have alluded to, action confined entirely to what are known as dilatory motions, is called obstruction, but I am not prepared, and I never heard any Senator here who expressed himself ready, to define the difference between obstruction and deliberation. One thing is very certain, the Constitution of the United States makes no distinction between obstruction and deliberation. It provides in express terms for deliberation in the very method which we of the hour might call obstruction.

It is the fortune, sir, of free parliamentary government to be subject to the sleepless vigil of dissent, of resistence, and of that sort of resistance which may end in revolution. The shadows of agitation and of revolution are constantly following the feet of those who are engaged in free parliamentary discussion and legislation. Behind obstruction at a greater or less distance is always agitation, and at some distance and at some time may be always revolution.

We have been frequently entertained here with a description of the hardships, and I do not wish to disparage them, of continuous session, of night sittings. They are very feeble antetypes, they are very frail mimic representations of the campfire and bivouac, but they do foreshadow them. I very much doubt, and I have thought a great deal about it and read something on the subject also, whether the establishment of cloture in this body would tend to increase the chances of public order, of public security, of wholesome agitation, and of legitimate resistance.

My impression is that the establishment of a cloture in this body would have the contrary tendency. I think that it would not diminish the real power of the minority. Cloture is after all suppression, repression here, to be harvested afterwards in boundless expansion elsewhere; and the statesman repressed, the member of this body suppressed, subjected to force and duress, returns for that very reason no longer of the minority, but with the majority behind him. A vote by force is not a vote either as to the time when it is taken or as to the character of the subject to which it relates or as to the place where it is cast. A vote by compulsion is not a free act; and yet the first definition of a vote is volition, the expression of the will, absolutely free, of the voter.

After all, as I have had occasion to remark upon subjects somewhat cognate, the very highest official functions in a free government are not compulsory and can not be made so. It is made the duty of the Vice President to recognize a Member who rises in this body and addresses him. Suppose he fails to do that; suppose he neglects to do that; suppose he wrongfully, knowingly, defiantly, refuses to recognize a Senator who addresses him, how shall we compel recognition? I am speaking of the action of the highest functionary. I know very well if the Secretary disobeys our orders, or if the Sergeant at Arms disobeys the rules governing him, the remedy is very swift, very complete, perfect; but with respect to the highest function and duty there is no remedial operation and can be none.

Of course it is possible that the officer might be punished; but that would not restore recognition. It is the duty of a Senator rising here to effect the Chair. It is the duty of a Senator under one of our rules to vote when his name is called. Suppose he does not vote and offers no excuse, how can we compel voting? That is a high function of a Member of this body, perhaps one of the highest; and the other, I think, is the very highest function belonging to the Chair, the function of recognition. It is the initiative in the great lesson of parliamentary liberty. Both these functions must depend—they do depend, Senators—upon the sanction of honor alone, stainless honor. They have no other sanction.

There is no obligation upon a Senator or upon the Vice President in respect to these high functions, except the sense of duty and the love of country. Heretofore these great sanctions have been sufficient. They have sufficed for all hours, for all days, for all perils, all dangers; but if they ever prove to be insufficient, how shall the sublime duties and motives, such as love of country and the obligation of conscience and honor, be supplied by the adoption of a parliamentary rule?

Formerly the edge of revolution came very near to obstruction. This was a parliamentary program of a body older than our own. Appropriation, revenue, and relief were put into the same budget and constituted a part of the same bill. For instance, such a proposition as the repeal of the Sherman Act, or any other conceivable relief, was not attached as an amendment to the budget, because that would have raised the question of cloture and of all other manner of deliberation, but it was placed originally in the same bill and reported with supplies, with appropriations.

Then, when the majority of the body defeated an appropriation and refused to grant supplies, defeating therewith relief, they attempted to take supplies by force, without the warrant of law, and that attempt to take supplies was resisted. The ayes and noes became bills and bows; obstruction blossomed into civil war. It was no uncommon thing, and happened three, four, or five times during the reign of the Stuarts and the sovereigns who preceded them.

I cite these examples for the purpose of showing, not that obstruction is illegitimate, but that it is an extreme remedy. Cloture itself belongs to the same class. I do not think that the rejection or establishment of cloture would determine much with respect to the right or power of a minority here or elsewhere; but I have been always of the opinion that constitutional deliberation, or, if you please to call it so, obstruction, is nearer the line of parliamentary freedom, of liberty of debate, than the other rule which is sought to be adopted, or at least is now being considered.

I am not taking the position that the cloture is unconstitutional, but it is in very sharp contrast—not in conflict, but in very sharp contrast—with the only parliamentary rule proper laid down in that instrument. There might be an extremity of emergency which might justify it, but I see none now, and in the calmest times I should much hesitate even to consider it.

We must continue to appeal to the wisdom and moderation and the well-known devotion to duty of our fellow Senators. I may submit whether there be enough of magnitude in the present question to justify a resort to the constitutional method of delay and that length of deliberation ordinarily called obstruction.

Whether we vote or do not vote, the ultimatum is appeal to the country. We must go to the country; we must go to our constituencies in either event; an appeal to the country is stronger, is more direct, on the basis of a vote, than that of abstention from voting. Responsibility for obstruction is infinitely greater than that of voting.

Mr. President, I shall be the last, here or elsewhere, to announce myself as being in favor of the legislation which was pending in the last hours of the preceding session, or to renounce my right under the rules and the Constitution to discharge my duty to the country as I see it. The argument made by Mr. Turpie against the cloture rule at that time applies to the

situation that confronts the Senate now. I believed this resolution if presented to-day would not be immediately pressed for consideration, so I have had no opportunity to prepare and present to the Senate such views as I have upon this question. I could not, however, permit this vote to be taken without putting into the RECORD and reading to the Senate the views of such men as Judge Gray, the late Senators Teller and Turpie, and my one-time associate in this body, Senator Spooner.

I realize how the hysteria of the moment may be driving Senators to acquiesce here in a procedure which at another time they would resist with all their force. But so far as I am concerned I will never by my voice or vote consent to a rule which will put an end to freedom of debate in the Senate. The adoption of this rule marks a decline in the influence of the Senate in the Government. I know that the majority are determined. I believe that a majority of that majority are in this matter yielding their judgments, and that the time will come when the men who are now clamoring for this change and who by their votes are imposing cloture upon the Senate will see that rule invoked to deprive them and their States of what they deem their rights. I can not prevent the adoption of this rule, so I am content at his time to protest and vote against it.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Unless there be objection, the Secretary will call the roll, the absence of a quorum being suggested. The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hollis	Martin	Smith, Ga.
Beckham	Hughes	Myers	Smith, Md.
Brady	Husting	Nelson	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	James	New	Smoot
Broussard	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Sterling
Calder	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Stone
Colt	Kellogg	Owen	Sutherland
Cummins	Kendrick	Page	Swanson
Curtis	King	Penrose	Thomas
Fall	Kirby	Pittman	Thompson
France	Knox	Poindexter	Townsend
Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Pomerene	Underwood
Gerry	Lane	Ransdell	Vardaman
Gronna	Lewis	Reed	Wadsworth
Hale	Lodge	Robinson	Warren
Harding	McCumber	Saulsbury	Watson
Hardwick	McKellar	Sheppard	Williams
Hitchcock	McLean	Simmons	Wolcott

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-two Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present. The question is on the resolution offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN].

Mr. SMITH of Georgia and Mr. JAMES called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The SECRETARY proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when Mr. BANKHEAD's name was called). My colleague [Mr. BANKHEAD] is unavoidably absent from the Chamber, and also absent from the city. He has requested me to say that if he were present he would vote for the pending measure.

Mr. CURTIS (when Mr. BORAH's name was called). I have been requested to announce the unavoidable absence from the Chamber of the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. Were he present he would vote "yea."

Mr. MARTIN (when Mr. CULBERSON's name was called). The senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] is unavoidably absent. I have been requested to announce that if present he would vote for this resolution.

Mr. CURTIS (when Mr. FERNALD's name was called). I have been requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD]. If he were present he would vote "yea." He is paired with the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when Mr. GOFF's name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is absent on account of illness. If he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. JAMES (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS], who is absent; but I am informed by his colleague that he would vote as I shall vote. I therefore vote "yea."

While I am on my feet I desire to state that the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH] is absent because of illness, and that if present he would vote "yea" on this measure, as he would have voted in favor of the armed neutrality bill had be been present.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM], who is absent; but I understand that he would vote "yea" if he were present. Therefore I vote "yea."

Mr. TOWNSEND (when the name of Mr. SMITH of Michigan was called). My colleague [Mr. SMITH] is absent from the city. He is paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. This announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. REED (after having voted in the affirmative). Mr. President, I ask to be permitted to make a statement.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I desire to state that I have just been informed that my colleague would have voted "yea" were he present.

Mr. REED. In order that I may be right in the RECORD, I wish to state that my pair with the Senator from Michigan is a sort of conditional one, by which, when either of us leaves the city, he shall notify the other. I had no notice of the Senator from Michigan being absent from the city. However, under the announcement just made by his colleague, I will allow my vote to stand.

Mr. MYERS (when Mr. WALSH's name was called). My colleague [Mr. WALSH] is necessarily absent from the city. If my colleague were here, I feel sure that he would vote "yea."

Mr. LODGE (when Mr. WEEKS's name was called). My colleague [Mr. WEEKS] is absent. I desire to say that if present he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM]. Were he present he would vote "yea." I have also been requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER].

Mr. OVERMAN. I have been requested to announce that the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] is unavoidably absent and has a general pair with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF]. If he were present the senior Senator from South Carolina would vote "yea."

Mr. REED. I desire to announce the fact that the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is still confined to his room and therefore has been unable to be in attendance.

Mr. PITTMAN. The senior Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] is absent by reason of illness. If he were present he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 76, nays 3, as follows:

YEAS—76.

Ashurst	Hughes	Nelson	Smith, Ga.
Beckham	Husting	New	Smith, Md.
Brady	James	Newlands	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Smoot
Broussard	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Sterling
Calder	Kellogg	Owen	Stone
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Page	Sutherland
Colt	Kenyon	Penrose	Swanson
Cummins	King	Pittman	Thomas
Curtis	Kirby	Poindexter	Thompson
Fall	Knox	Pomerene	Townsend
France	Lane	Ransdell	Trammell
Frelinghuysen	Lewis	Reed	Underwood
Gerry	Lodge	Robinson	Vardaman
Hale	McCumber	Saulsbury	Wadsworth
Harding	McKellar	Shafroth	Warren
Hardwick	McLean	Sheppard	Watson
Hitchcock	Martin	Shields	Williams
Hollis	Myers	Simmons	Wolcott

NAYS—3.

Gronna	La Follette	Sherman

NOT VOTING—16.

Bankhead	Fernald	Gore	Smith, Mich.
Borah	Fletcher	Johnson, S. Dak.	Tillman
Culberson	Gallinger	Phelan	Walsh
Dillingham	Goff	Smith, Ariz.	Weeks

So Mr. MARTIN's resolution was adopted.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS—LYDIA A. MUMA.

On motion of Mr. CURTIS, it was—

Ordered, That the papers accompanying S. 7158, granting a pension to Lydia A. Muma, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

PROTECTION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I tender a resolution and ask to have it lie upon the table. I purpose addressing the Senate later upon the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 6) is as follows:

Be it resolved by the United States Senate, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President of the United States has, by virtue of the power of his office under the Constitution and laws of the United States, the right to protect commerce destined from the United States to foreign nations, to the same extent that he has to protect interstate

commerce between the States and in the navigable waters of the United States.

Be it resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that this power is not derived nor necessarily related to any of the provisions of the Constitution or laws that have to do with declaring war but is derived from the power vested in the President as head civil officer of the United States Government to execute those provisions of the Constitution and laws which relate to the fostering of commerce between the United States and foreign nations.

Be it resolved, That to secure proper protection of commerce between nations, the President of the United States has the power to protect commerce destined to foreign countries by all the means he has the right to employ for the protection of commerce between the States.

MEMORIALS.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, yesterday, by unanimous consent, I presented several memorials to Congress from the Legislature of Montana and asked that they lie on the table and be printed in the RECORD, to which there was no objection. Later I asked that they be taken from the table and referred to the committee, to which my colleague [Mr. WALSH] objected, but to that only. There was no objection made to presenting them and having them printed in the RECORD; but they are not in to-day's RECORD. I suppose they were omitted by accident or misunderstanding. They are still on the table, and I ask unanimous consent that the memorials from the Legislature of Montana which I presented yesterday be printed in to-day's RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The memorials are as follows:

House joint resolution 1. (Introduced by Harbert.) A resolution memorializing Congress for an appropriation of $1,000,000 for the Flathead irrigation project for the ensuing year.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States assembled:

Whereas the Flathead irrigation project is one of the largest and most comprehensive Indian irrigation schemes ever undertaken in this country and involves the reclamation of approximately 152,000 acres of land;

Whereas homesteaders were invited by the Government to settle upon this project under promise that their lands would be irrigated, and after six years of watchful and prayerful waiting this project is now about 25 per cent completed;

Whereas the completed cost of this project will be about $7,000,000, and less than $2,000,000 has been expended to date, and all appropriations are reimbursable: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, the senate concurring herein, petition the Congress of the United States for the necessary legislation that will enable the Government to grant a million-dollar appropriation for construction work on the Flathead project for the ensuing year;

Resolved further, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of the State of Montana to the Senate of the United States, and that a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of the State of Montana to the House of Representatives of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy hereof be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana, with the request that they use every effort within their power to bring about a speedy action for accomplishments of the ends and purposes herein indicated.

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.

Approved February 7, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MONTANA, *ss:*

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of joint house resolution 1, a resolution asking Congress for an appropriation of $1,000,000 for the Flathead irrigation project for the ensuing year, enacted by the fifteenth session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 7th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

—

House joint resolution No. 2. (Introduced by Harbert.)

A resolution memorializing Congress for the passage of hydroelectric-power legislation that will enable the Government to lease power sites to private legitimate enterprises under proper rules and regulations.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States assembled:

Whereas the waterways of this State abound in water power, it being conservatively estimated that about one-tenth of the total potential water power in the United States lies within the borders of our own State, a very small proportion of which is now developed;

Whereas the development of the various Government power sites in this State by private enterprise would add millions of dollars to our tax rolls and develop the greatest national resources we have;

Whereas the members of this legislative assembly believe that our forests and coal beds should not be needlessly exploited, and the development of the Government power sites would help conserve two of our greatest natural resources;

Whereas an early development of the aforesaid water-power sites would induce manufacturing industries to operate in this State, would encourage railways to electrify their lines, and would furnish electrical energy in such abundance that our people could cheaply electrify and heat their homes: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the house of representatives of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, the senate concurring herein, petition the Congress of the United States for the necessary legislation that will enable the Government to lease power sites to private enterprises under such rules and regulations as will safeguard the interests of the people and yield to the lessee a fair return upon the money actually invested.

Resolved further, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of Montana to the Senate of the United States, and that a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of Montana to the House of Representatives of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy hereof be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Montana in Congress, with the request that they use every effort within their power to bring about a speedy action for the accomplishment of the ends and purposes herein indicated.

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.

Approved February 7, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MONTANA, *ss:*

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of house joint resolution No. 2, a resolution memorializing Congress for the passage of hydroelectric-power legislation, enacted by the fifteenth session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 7th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART, *Secretary of State.*

—

House joint memorial No. 3 (introduced by Harbert) memorializing Congress of the United States for a biological survey of Flathead, Whitefish, and Swan Lakes.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Whereas Flathead, Whitefish, and Swan Lakes situated in this State are the three largest bodies of water outside of the forest reserves in this State; and

Whereas these lakes contain approximately 400 square miles of water surface, varying from 150 to 350 feet in depth; and

Whereas a fish hatchery is located on Flathead Lake and an effort is being made by the State to stock these bodies of water with fish both native and foreign; and to intelligently arrive at conclusions to determine the most favored species of fish for commercial food purposes, it is necessary to ascertain the nature of animal, shell, and plant life on the bottoms of these respective lakes: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That we, your memorialists, the fifteenth legislative session of the State of Montana, do earnestly petition the Congress of the United States for a biological survey of the aforesaid waters for the purpose hereinbefore mentioned; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, instructed to forthwith transmit copies of this memorial, properly authenticated, to the honorable Secretary of the Interior, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana.

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.

Approved February 7, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MONTANA, *ss:*

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of house joint memorial No. 3, memorializing Congress for a biological survey of Flathead, Whitefish, and Swan Lakes, enacted by the fifteenth session of the legislative assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 7th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

—

House joint resolution No. 4. (Introduced by Harbert.)

A resolution memorializing Congress for the passage of an appropriation of $10,000 to dredge Polson Bay, on Flathead Lake, of this State.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States assembled:

Whereas Flathead Lake is one of the largest inland bodies of fresh water outside of the Great Lakes in the United States and contains approximately 360 square miles of water surface;

Whereas Flathead Lake is tapped on the north by the Great Northern Railway Co. and on the south by the Northern Pacific Railway Co., and the intervening space of 35 miles is water transportation;

Whereas Flathead Lake is on the park-to-park route and thousands of tourists each season journey back and forth across the lake, also hundreds of tons of freight are yearly transported across its waters;

Whereas the water in Polson Bay during certain seasons of the year is such as to make navigation hazardous, and some of the boats are unable to get to Polson on the southern end of the lake at all: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana (the Senate concurring herein), That we petition the Congress of the United States for the necessary legislation that will enable the Government to grant an appropriation of $10,000 to dredge a channel and build a breakwater in Polson Bay for the reasons hereinbefore stated;

Resolved further, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of Montana to the Senate of the United States; and that a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of the State of Montana to the House of Representatives of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy hereof be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senators and Representatives of the State of Montana in Congress, with the request that they use every effort within their power to bring about a speedy action for the accomplishment of the ends and purposes herein indicated.

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.

Approved February 7, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
State of Montana, ss:

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of joint house resolution No. 4, a resolution memorializing Congress for the passage of an appropriation of $10,000 to dredge Polson Bay, on Flathead Lake, enacted by the fifteenth session of the legislative assembly of the State of Montana and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 7th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

—

Senate joint memorial 1. (Introduced by Larson.)

Petition to Congress to enact a law admitting to citizenship one George Washington Taylor, formerly known as Sing On, born within the Empire of China.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress of the United States assembled:

Whereas one George Washington Taylor, born within the Chinese Empire, and at the age of 13 years, in the year 1873, emigrated to the United States and to the Territory of Montana, where he has resided for 44 years; first residing at the city of Helena, where he earned his own living and attended the public schools, and speaks and writes the English language, and afterwards residing in the counties of Chouteau and Teton; and

Whereas the Eleventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Montana, in the year 1879, at the special instance and request of the said George Washington Taylor, and out of respect for his individual worth and character, changed, by legislative act, his name which was at said time Sing On, to the name George Taylor; and

Whereas said Taylor out of respect and admiration of Gen. George Washington, the first President of the United States, and known as the Father of His County, thereafter inserted in his name the name of "Washington," and has ever since been known as and has transacted his business as George Washington Taylor; and

Whereas said George Washington Taylor was married in 1890 to Lena Bloom, a white woman of Swedish nativity, and there has been born unto said Taylor and his said wife, beginning with October, 1895, seven children, four boys and three girls, all of whom have been or are being educated in the public schools of the State of Montana, and who bear Christian names. The oldest son, Albert Henry Taylor, is of age, and has become a member of the National Guard of Montana, and has served as such for a number of years; in June, 1916, he was mustered into the service of the United States and served on the Mexican border with the Second Montana Regiment, and still remains a member of Company D of said regiment, being a sergeant thereof; and

Whereas the said George Washington Taylor is and has always been a law-abiding, honorable, intelligent, and upright man and is honored and held in great respect by all his neighbors and acquaintances; is devoted to the principles of the Constitution and Government of the United States, is opposed to anarchy and polygamy, and is wedded to this country, its people and institutions, and by virtue of his thrift, fair dealings, industry, and integrity has become the owner of large farming lands (480 acres) and other large interests in Teton, his home county, is a heavy taxpayer, and an enterprising member of society, bearing a high character and honorable name; and

Whereas Taylor has long and earnestly desired to become a citizen of the United States, his adopted country, and that all the privileges and respect of citizenship may be enjoyed by him during his declining years, and that his last resting place may be under a flag which he may call his own, and that whatever rights may follow his becoming naturalized may accrue to his children; and

Whereas he possesses all the qualifications to entitle him to become a citizen, save his nativity (the acts of Congress forbidding): Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, The House concurring, we the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, do hereby petition and earnestly pray the honorable Congress of the United States for the passage of special legislation, authorizing the naturalization of the said George Washington Taylor, and that upon his application to any court having jurisdiction to naturalize aliens, said court upon due proofs of good moral character, residence, and the other qualifications required before being naturalized, save and except his nativity admit forthwith said George Washington Taylor to full citizenship of the United States; and it is further

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senate of the United States, and that copies of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the House of Representatives of the United States, and that copies thereof be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senators and Represenatives in Congress of the State of Montana, with the request that they use every effort within their power to bring about a speedy action for the accomplishment of the ends and purposes herein indicated.

W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.
JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.

Approved January 29, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MONTANA, *ss.*

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of senate joint memorial No. 1, a memorial "Petitioning Congress to enact a law admitting to citizenship one George Washington Taylor, formerly known as Sing On, born within the Empire of China," enacted by the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, the 29th day of January, 1917.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

—

House resolution No. 2. (Introduced by Scott.)

To the honorable President of the Senate of the United States:

We, your memorialists, the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, do hereby respectfully submit the following resolution:

"Whereas there is now pending in the Senate of the United States a bill for an act providing for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto; and

"Whereas the State of Montana is desirous of the reasonable development of its resources under such laws and regulations as will effectively conserve the public interest is vitally interested in the consideration of such water-power bill; and

"Whereas there exists in our State an urgent need for the opportunity of developing its water power as an aid to its industrial growth and progress; and

"Whereas there are situate within the State of Montana many large streams and natural power sites of magnitude and great potential possibilities, the early development of which, for the production of dydroelectric energy and other kindred uses, depends entirely, in large measure, in the attitude and action of the National Congress in connection therewith: Now, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the House of Representatives of the State of Montana, respectfully ask, in connection with the water-power bill now under consideration in the Senate of the United States, for immediate legislation such as will permit, fully and freely, the development of water power in the streams and power sites on the public lands and on the Indian reservations in Montana, under such rules and regulations as the Congress of the United States may prescribe.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted, by the secretary of state, to the Hon. HENRY L. MYERS and Hon. THOMAS J. WALSH, United States Senators, at Washington, D. C."

I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution transmitted to you this day originated in the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, and was duly passed this 16th day of January, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

Attest:

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
C. H. TREACY,
Chief Clerk.

Approved January 16, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MONTANA, *ss:*

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing resolution is a true and correct copy of house resolution No. 2, a resolution asking Congress for immediate legislation for the development of water power in the streams and power sites on the public lands and on the Indian reservations in Montana, enacted by the fifteenth session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 16th day of January, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

—

Senate joint resolution No. 3. (Introduced by Hogan.)

Resolution relating to increase in compensation in the Federal Mail Service.

Whereas the employees in the Federal Mail Service have made application to the Congress of the United States for an increase in compensation; and

Whereas the present schedule of compensation was fixed at a time when the average wage schedule of the industries of the Nation was much below the present standard; and

Whereas the very great increase in the cost of living makes it impossible for many of the employees of the Mail Service to properly support themselves and families; and

Whereas it is unseemly and unjust that the employees of the most progressive and greatest Nation in the world should not participate in the general prosperity of the country; and

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States a bill, the purpose of which is to increase the compensation of said employees: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, That the Congress of the United States be urged to enact such laws as may be necessary to secure to said employees a fair measure of compensation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Senators and Representatives from the State of Montana in the Congress of the United States.

W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.
JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.

Approved, February 14, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF MONTANA, *ss.*

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of Senate joint resolution No. 3, a resolution memorializing Congress to increase

the compensation in the Federal Mail Service, enacted by the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 14th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

House joint memorial No. 5. (Introduced by Hathaway.) Memorial to Congress of the United States to pass an amendment to the Federal Constitution and submit the same to the several States for ratification, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for use as a beverage.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress of the United States of America:

Your memorialists, the members of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, the senate and house concurring, respectfully represent—

Whereas it appears that a majority of the people of the United States are in favor of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for use as a beverage; and,

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States a measure proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution designed to effect such prohibition: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house (the senate concurring), That we, the members of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, do hereby petition and earnestly pray the Congress of the United States that such measure proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution, so prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors be passed and submitted to the several States for ratification; and

Resolved further, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of Montana to the Senate and to the House of Representatives of the United States; and that copies hereof be transmitted by the secretary of the State of Montana to the Senators and Representatives of Montana in Congress.

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.

Approved February 13, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
State of Montana, ss.:

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of House joint memorial No. 5, memorializing Congress to pass an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and submit same to the several States for ratification prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for use as a beverage, enacted by the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, this 13th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

House joint memorial No. 2. (Introduced by Kemmis.)

A resolution memorializing Congress to relinquish and cease to exercise its jurisdiction over the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers in the State of Montana.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Whereas the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers in the State of Montana have ceased to be used for interstate commerce; and

Whereas said streams could not be made navigable between Montana and North Dakota without the expenditure of large sums of money, the amount of which would be wholly disproportionate to any benefit or advantage which could be derived from the use of said streams for the purpose of navigation; and

Whereas railroads now extend between all points on said rivers in and outside of the State of Montana, between which commerce is or can be carried on by means of such railroads; and

Whereas the welfare of the people of Montana and the proper development of said State require that the construction of bridges, the diversion of water from said streams for the purpose of irrigation, and the operation of ferries over and across said rivers should be under the supervision, control, and jurisdiction of said State; and

Whereas no useful purpose can be subserved by Congress continuing to exercise jurisdiction over said rivers in the State of Montana: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana (the senate concurring therein), That we do hereby petition the Congress of the United States that it relinquish and cease to exercise its jurisdiction over said rivers in the State of Montana; and

Resolved further, That a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senate of the United States; and that a copy of this memorial be forwarded by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the House of Representatives of the United States: And be it further

Resolved, That a copy hereof be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana, with the request that they use every effort within their power to bring about a speedy action for the ends and purposes herein indicated.

JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.
W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.

Approved, February 7, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
State of Montana, ss:

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of joint house memorial No. 2, "Memorializing Congress to relinquish and cease to exercise its jurisdiction over the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers in the State of Montana," enacted by the fifteenth legislative assembly of the State of Montana, and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, this 7th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, several Senators have indicated a desire for a short executive session. I think it will be very short. I therefore move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 15 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 6 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, March 9, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 8, 1917.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES.

George W. Jack, of Shreveport, La., to be United States district judge, western district of Louisiana, vice Aleck Boarman, deceased.

Peter J. Hamilton, of Mobile, Ala., to be United States district judge, district of Porto Rico. A reappointment, his term expiring March 17, 1917.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Francis J. Kearful, of Oklahoma City, Okla., to be Assistant Attorney General, vice Ernest Knaebel, resigned.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

W. P. McGinnis, of Muskogee, Okla., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Oklahoma, vice D. H. Linebaugh, resigned.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Miguel Antonio Otero, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., to be United States marshal, district of the Canal Zone, vice William Howard May, resigned.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

Brig. Gen. Hunter Liggett, United States Army, to be major general from March 6, 1917, vice Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, who died February 19, 1917.

Col. Francis J. Kernan, Twenty-eighth Infantry, to be brigadier general, vice Brig. Gen. Hunter Liggett, appointed major general.

PROMOTION IN THE NAVY.

Passed Asst. Surg. Cary T. Grayson, with rank of lieutenant commander, to be medical director in the Navy, with rank of rear admiral, from the 29th day of August, 1916.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *March 9, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Thou dost make us great through the service that we render to our fellow men. Thou dost make us God-like in our greatness as we draw inspiration and power from Thee in our service. Forbid that we shall fall short of the highest achievements of life by forgetfulness of God. Without Thee we fall short of our highest reach either of service or character. Forbid that in this life which we have from Thee that any of us should fail to measure its profound depths or to ascend to its glorious heights through the lure of any earthly good. To-day equip us for the duties that are before us, and help us at its close to come to the end with a comfortable satisfaction that Thou has guided our lives. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

CONVENING OF CONGRESS.

Mr. McLEAN. I ask unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution, which I ask may be read and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will, without objection, read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 8) was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Whereas important measures, vital to the honor and safety of the Nation, demand the immediate attention of the Congress: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Congress should be convened in extraordinary session at a date not later than the 26th day of the present month.

NEWS-PRINT-PAPER INDUSTRY.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I desire to present a resolution for printing the report of the Federal Trade Commission in response to Senate resolution, April 24, 1916, relative to an investigation of the news-print-paper industry in the United States. It is not a very long document and there is great demand for it. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 7), as follows:

Resolved, That the report of the Federal Trade Commission submitted in response to a Senate resolution of April 24, 1916, relative to an investigation of the news-print-paper industry in the United States be printed as a Senate document, and that 5,000 additional copies be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

Mr. SMOOT. I did not hear what the request was.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is a report of the Federal Trade Commission in response to a Senate resolution regarding an inquiry as to the news print paper industry. It is not a very long report. The resolution provides for printing the report as a Senate document. There is quite a demand for it.

Mr. SMOOT. It is in answer to the resolution passed at the first session of the last Congress?

Mr. FLETCHER. It is in answer to that resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

PROTECTION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I merely rise to say that I gave notice and had intended to address the Senate to-day upon the resolution I introduced yesterday touching the executive power of the President. I am requested this morning by the able Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], the chairman of the Committee on Committees, to forego that the committee may have as much time as possible to arrange the general committees of the Senate. I have gladly acceded to the request with the understanding that I may have the liberty of taking the floor on Monday instead of to-day.

MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON. I present a resolution adopted by the Minnesota Editorial Association, which I ask may be read.

There being no objection the resolution was read, as follows:

MINNESOTA EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION,
JORDAN, MINN.

Resolution adopted at the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the Minnesota Editorial Association, at St. Paul, February 17, 1917.

Whereas a grave international crisis exists, involving the relations of the United States and other world powers, we, the members of the Minnesota Editorial Association, in convention assembled, affirm our loyalty to our Government and pledge our undivided support to the President and Congress in defense of American institutions, and the protection of American rights and lives on land or sea; and

Be it resolved further, That we exert our influence in the promotion of national patriotism and loyalty among our people.

H. M. WHEELOCK,
President Minnesota Editorial Association.

Attest:

HERMAN ROE,
Secretary.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I present a resolution adopted by the Texas State Senate, which I ask may be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Simple resolution 97. (By Harley.)

Whereas the Government of the United States has again resumed friendly relations with the Government of Mexico and has designated an ambassador to said Government; and

Whereas there are in the State of Texas a number of distinguished and worthy citizens of our sister Republic, as well as a number of American citizens, who have large property holdings in Mexico: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we request our State Department at Washington to request our ambassador in the City of Mexico to continue to use his good offices in behalf of these unfortunate people, to the end that their property rights in Mexico may be respected and preserved by the Government of Mexico; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Department at Washington and to each of our Senators and Representatives at Washington.

February 23, 1917; read and adopted.

JOHN D. MCCALL,
Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. WEEKS. I present resolutions adopted by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which I ask may be incorporated in the RECORD.

The resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions in support of amendments to the naturalization laws of the United States.

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts, believing that there is injustice both to the alien desiring to become a citizen and to the State because of the lack of interest in the Government by unnaturalized aliens growing out of the present difficulty in securing naturalization, respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States to amend the law relating thereto with a view to making it less expensive to the alien to become a citizen, particularly by providing night sessions of naturalization courts.

Resolved, That certified copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of both branches of Congress, and to the Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts.

In house of representatives, adopted, February 16, 1917.
In senate, adopted, in concurrence, February 21, 1917.
A true copy.
Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions relative to the regulations of the National Government in respect to the shooting of migratory birds.

Whereas under the present rules and regulations of the United States Department of Agriculture, in respect to the shooting of migratory birds, it is illegal to hunt before sunrise or after sunset; and

Whereas such rules and regulations are unjust to the inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in that they do not permit the shooting of birds between the hours of one hour before sunrise and one hour after sunset: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Massachusetts are hereby requested to take early and concerted action to bring before the United States Department of Agriculture the present injustice of the rules and regulations of that department as above specified; and

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions, attested by the secretary of the Commonwealth, be sent to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Massachusetts.

In house of representatives, adopted February 15, 1917.
In senate, adopted in concurrence, February 20, 1917.
A true copy.
Attest:

ALBERT C. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS—SCHUYLER C. MORGAN.

On motion of Mr. THOMAS it was

Ordered, That the papers in the case of the bill (S. 6686) granting a pension to Schuyler C. Morgan, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN. The Committee on Committees on both sides of the Chamber are at work endeavoring to perfect the committees of the Senate. In order that they may have an opportunity to dispatch that work as rapidly as possible, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon Monday.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, March 12, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *March 12, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we call upon Thy name that we may reconcile the purposes and motives we have for our Nation with Thy revealed will. We would not go forward in the establishment of our commerce, we would not move forward in the defense of our national honor, unless it is to the call of God and in harmony with Thy purpose concerning us. Thou art the God of nations, and we put ourselves in Thy hands that we may work out a destiny that will redound to the honor and glory of Thy name. To this end do Thou lead us now and always. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore assumed the chair.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was read and approved.

Several messages, in writing, from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries.

COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration. I will state that

it is a resolution organizing the committees for the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the Republican members of the Senate have through a committee on committees arranged the minority list and have handed the same to the Senator from Virginia. Those names are contained, I understand, in the resolution the Senator from Virginia submits. I hope that the resolution will be adopted.

Mr. MARTIN. I will state that it includes the selection made by the Republican side of the Chamber just as it includes the selection made by the Democratic side.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the following shall constitute the standing committees of the Senate of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

On Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress: Messrs. Penrose (chairman), Sutherland, Stone, Hughes, and Vardaman.

On Agriculture and Forestry: Messrs. Gore (chairman), Chamberlain, Smith of South Carolina, Smith of Georgia, Sheppard, Ransdell, Thompson, Johnson of South Dakota, Kendrick, Warren, Page, Gronna, Brady, Norris, Kenyon, and Wadsworth.

On Appropriations: Messrs. Martin (chairman), Overman, Owen, Smith of Maryland, Chamberlain, Shafroth, Tillman, Culberson, Underwood, Robinson, Smith of Arizona, Hardwick, Warren, Gallinger, Smoot, Dillingham, Jones of Washington, Curtis, Kenyon, and Sherman.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. Thompson (chairman), Jones of New Mexico, McKellar, Smoot, and France.

On Banking and Currency: Messrs. Owen (chairman), Hitchcock, Reed, Pomerene, Shafroth, Hollis, Husting, Fletcher, Kendrick, McLean, Weeks, Page, Gronna, Norris, and Goff.

On Canadian Relations: Messrs. Kendrick (chairman), Ransdell, Gore, Smith of Maryland, Myers, Sherman, Curtis, Wadsworth, and Hale.

On the Census: Messrs. Sheppard (chairman), Broussard, Ashurst, Robinson, Hardwick, King, McKellar, La Follette, McLean, Townsend, Sutherland, and New.

On Civil Service and Retrenchment: Messrs. McKellar (chairman), James, Hollis, Ransdell, Bankhead, Kirby, Wolcott, Cummins, La Follette, Smoot, Colt, and ———.

On Claims: Messrs. Robinson (Chairman), Lane, Johnson of South Dakota, Beckham, Broussard, Kirby, Trammel, Wolcott, Goff, Gronna, Wadsworth, Fernald, Frelinghuysen, and New.

On Coast and Insular Survey: Messrs Saulsbury (Chairman), Culberson, Bankhead, Pittman, King, Townsend, Sterling, Hale, and ———.

On Coast Defenses: Messrs. Thomas (Chairman), Smith of Maryland, Lane, Phelan, Gerry, Wolcott, Weeks, Fernald, Nelson, Calder, and Frelinghuysen.

On Commerce: Messrs. Fletcher (Chairman), Chamberlain, Ransdell, Sheppard, Vardaman, Shields, Martin, Bankhead, Simmons, Reed, Kirby, Nelson, Smith of Michigan, Jones of Washington, Sherman, Harding, Fernald, Calder, and ———.

On Conservation of National Resources: Messrs. Vardaman (Chairman), Smith of South Carolina, Newlands, Bankhead, Smith of Arizona, Johnson of South Dakota, King, Kendrick, Gronna, Brady, Goff, Sterling, Calder, Hale, and France.

On Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia: Messrs. La Follette (Chairman), Knox, Stone, Ashurst, and Kirby.

On Cuban Relations: Messrs. Underwood (Chairman), Husting, Ashurst, Smith of Michigan, and Knox.

On Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments: Messrs. Jones of Washington (Chairman), France, Hollis, Kirby, and Martin.

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. Smith of Maryland (Chairman), Pomerene, Hollis, Saulsbury, Martin, Phelan, Vardaman, King, Dillingham, Jones of Washington, Kenyon, Sherman, Calder, and New.

On Education and Labor: Messrs. Smith of Georgia (Chairman), Swanson, Hollis, Ashurst, Jones of New Mexico, McKellar, Borah, Penrose, Page, McLean, and Kenyon.

On Engrossed Bills: Messrs. Warren (Chairman), Simmons, and Trammell.

On Enrolled Bills: Messrs. Hollis (Chairman), James, and Curtis.

To Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service: Messrs. Smith of Michigan (Chairman), Brandegee, Curtis, Culberson, Simmons, Smith of Maryland, and Gerry.

On Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture: Messrs. Kirby (Chairman), Simmons, Gore, Wadsworth, and France.

On Expenditures in the Department of Commerce: Messrs. Wolcott (Chairman), Overman, Gerry, Fall, and Brady.

On Expenditures in the Interior Department: Messrs. Smoot (Chairman), Poindexter, New, Swanson, Ashurst, Newlands, and Jones of New Mexico.

On Expenditures in the Department of Justice: Messrs. Borah (Chairman), Frelinghuysen, Hale, Pittman, Robinson, Saulsbury, and Underwood.

On Expenditures in the Department of Labor: Messrs. Beckman (Chairman), Shields, Hardwick, Goff, and Kellogg.

On Expenditures in the Navy Department: Messrs. Gronna (Chairman), Dillingham, Hughes, Martin, and Tillman.

On Expenditures in the Post Office Department: Messrs. King (Chairman), Culberson, Kendrick, Smith of Michigan, and Watson.

On Expenditures in the Department of State: Messrs. Lewis (Chairman), Stone, Shafroth, Penrose, and Hale.

On Expenditures in the Treasury Department: Messrs. Trammell (Chairman), Smith of Maryland, King, Harding, and Knox.

On Expenditures in the War Department: Messrs. Townsend (Chairman), Norris, Calder, Thomas, James, Williams, and Chamberlain.

On Finance: Messrs. Simmons (chairman), Stone, Williams, Smith of Georgia, Thomas, James, Hughes, Gore, Jones of New Mexico, Gerry, Penrose, Lodge, McCumber, Smoot, Gallinger, La Follette, and Townsend.

On Fisheries: Messrs. Lane (chairman), Fletcher, Martin, Husting, Wolcott, Jones of Washington, Curtis, Fernald, and ———.

On the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians: Messrs Nelson (chairman), Colt, Tillman, Newlands, and Owen.

On Foreign Relations: Messrs. Stone (chairman), Hitchcock, Williams, Swanson, Pomerene, Smith of Arizona, Saulsbury, Pittman, Shields, Thomas, Lodge, Smith of Michigan, McCumber, Borah, Brandegee, Fall, and Knox.

On Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game: Messrs. McLean (chairman), Norris, Weeks, Sherman, New, Tillman, Overman, Hitchcock, and Myers.

On the Geological Survey: Messrs. Fall (chairman), Norris, Sutherland, Smith of South Carolina, Smith of Arizona, Trammell, and Jones of New Mexico.

On Immigration: Messrs. Smith of South Carolina (chairman), Gore, Hardwick, Husting, Johnson of South Dakota, Ransdell, Gerry, Dillingham, Penrose, Colt, Goff, Sterling, and ———.

On Indian Affairs: Messrs. Ashurst (chairman), Pittman, Lane, Owen, Husting, Johnson of South Dakota, Walsh, Kendrick, Jones of New Mexico, La Follette, Gronna, Fall, Curtis, Fernald, and Calder.

On Indian Depredations: Messrs Poindexter (chairman), McCumber, Wadsworth, Watson, Frelinghuysen, Swanson, Myers, Fletcher, Pomerene, Newlands, and Kendrick.

On Industrial Expositions: Messrs. Hardwick (chairman), Overman, Myers, Phelan, Johnson of South Dakota, Husting, Lane, Gronna, Smith of Michigan, Norris, Calder, Sutherland, and Kellogg.

On Interoceanic Canals: Messrs. Shields (chairman), Walsh, Simmons, Thompson, Broussard, Phelan, Kirby, Trammell, Brandegee, Borah, Page, Cummins, Colt, and Goff.

On Interstate Commerce: Messrs. Newlands (chairman), Smith of South Carolina, Pomerene, Myers, Robinson, Saulsbury, Thompson, Lewis, Gore, Underwood, Cummins, Townsend, La Follette, Poindexter, McLean, Watson, and Kellogg.

To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands: Messrs. Husting (chairman), Beckham, King, Harding, and Sutherland.

On Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands: Messrs. Phelan (chairman), Lane, Pittman, Thompson, Sheppard, Walsh, Smith of Arizona, Jones of Washington, Warren, Borah, Weeks, Kellogg, and ——— ———.

Revision of the Laws of the United States (Joint): Messrs. Husting, Chamberlain, Robinson, Colt, and Kellogg.

On the Judiciary: Messrs. Culberson (chairman), Overman, Fletcher, Reed, Ashurst, Shields, Walsh, Smith of Georgia, King, Wolcott, Nelson, Dillingham, Brandegee, Borah, Cummins, Poindexter, Colt, and Sterling.

On the Library: Messrs. Williams (chairman), Newlands, Beckham, Broussard, McKellar, Gallinger, Weeks, and Wadsworth.

On Manufactures: Messrs. Reed (Chairman), Smith of South Carolina, Pomerene, Broussard, Vardaman, Jones of New Mexico, La Follette, Gallinger, Lodge, Kenyon, and Fernald.

On Military Affairs: Messrs. Chamberlain (Chairman), Hitchcock, Fletcher, Myers, Thomas, Sheppard, Beckham, Kirby, Reed, McKellar, Warren, Brady, Weeks, Wadsworth, Sutherland, New, and Frelinghuysen.

On Mines and Mining: Messrs. Walsh (Chairman), Ashurst, Pittman, Shafroth, Phelan, Jones of New Mexico, Poindexter, Sterling, Brady, and Sutherland.

On the Mississippi River and its Tributaries: Messrs. Cummins (Chairman), Sterling, Wadsworth, Shields, Stone, Kirby, and Trammell.

On National Banks: Messrs. Broussard (Chairman), Lewis, Gerry, Brady, and Kellogg.

On Naval Affairs: Messrs. Tillman (Chairman), Swanson, Smith of Maryland, Lewis, Phelan, Pittman, Walsh, Broussard, Gerry, Trammell, Penrose, Lodge, Smith of Michigan, Page, Poindexter, Harding, and Hale.

On Pacific Islands and Porto Rico: Messrs. Shafroth (Chairman), Saulsbury, Vardaman, James, Lewis, Sheppard, Trammell, Poindexter, Fall, Fernald, Harding, and Watson.

On Pacific Railroads: Messrs. Brandegee (Chairman), McCumber, Jones of Washington, Townsend, Watson, Reed, Stone, Johnson of South Dakota, Robinson, Thomas, and Kendrick.

On Patents: Messrs. James (Chairman), Smith of South Carolina, Gore, Kirby, Brandegee, Colt, and Knox.

On Pensions: Messrs. Hughes (chairman), Walsh, Johnson of South Dakota, Phelan, Hollis, Thompson, King, McCumber, Smoot, Poindexter, Goff, Sherman, and New.

On the Philippines: Messrs. Hitchcock (chairman), Fletcher, Reed, Lane, Ransdell, Shafroth, Thompson, Beckham, Phelan, McLean, Kenyon, Harding, Goff, Knox, and ———.

On Post Offices and Post Roads: Messrs. Bankhead (chairman), Smith of South Carolina, Swanson, Vardaman, Hardwick, Beckham, Hughes, Broussard, McKellar, Penrose, Townsend, Weeks, Sterling, McLean, Watson, and France.

On Printing: Messrs. Smith of Arizona (chairman), Lewis, Fletcher, Ransdell, Robinson, Smoot, Gallinger, and Page.

On Private Land Claims: Messrs. Lodge (chairman), Smith of Michigan, Gronna, Tillman, Thomas, Hitchcock, and Walsh.

On Privileges and Elections: Messrs. Pomerene (chairman), Reed, Vardaman, Hughes, Walsh, Thompson, James, King, Wolcott, Dillingham, Kenyon, Sherman, Fall, Knox, and Kellogg.

On Public Buildings and Grounds: Messrs. Swanson (chairman), Reed, Ashurst, Lane, Saulsbury, Culberson, Hardwick, Broussard, Beckham, Warren, Brady, Fernald, Curtis, Sutherland, Frelinghuysen, and France.

On Public Health and National Quarantine: Messrs. Ransdell (chairman), Fletcher, Owen, Culberson, Beckham, Underwood, Smoot, Weeks, Townsend, France, and Frelinghuysen.

On Public Lands: Messrs. Myers (chairman), Smith of Arizona, Pittman, Ransdell, Chamberlain, Phelan, Husting, Shafroth, Jones of New Mexico, Smoot, Fall, Norris, Sterling, Brady, and Kellogg.

On Railroads: Messrs. Gerry (chairman), Reed, Smith of Arizona, Williams, Smith of South Carolina, Lewis, Norris, Goff, Calder, Hale, and France.

On Revolutionary Claims: Messrs. Johnson of South Dakota (chairman), Newlands, Sheppard, Curtis, and Watson.

On Rules: Messrs. Overman (chairman), Williams, Smith of Georgia, Owen, James, Underwood, Broussard, Gallinger, Warren, Nelson, Cummins, and Knox.

On Standards, Weights, and Measures: Messrs. Kenyon (chairman), Harding, Bankhead, Shields, and Hughes.

On Territories: Messrs. Pittman (chairman), Hitchcock, Walsh, Owen, Lane, Phelan, Kendrick, McLean, Jones of Washington, Harding, New, and Hale.

On Transportation and Sale of Meat Products: Messrs. Page (chairman), Frelinghuysen, Tillman, Simmons, and Shafroth.

On Transportation Routes to the Seaboard: Messrs. McCumber (chairman), Lodge, Sherman, Watson, Sheppard, Bankhead, Vardaman, Hughes, and Martin.

On the University of the United States: Messrs. Dillingham (chairman), Brandegee, McCumber, Goff, Colt, Saulsbury, Shields, Williams, Overman, Hughes, and McKellar.

On Woman Suffrage: Messrs. Jones of New Mexico (chairman), Owen, Ransdell, Hollis, Johnson of South Dakota, Jones of Washington, Nelson, Cummins, and ———.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Virginia.

The resolution was agreed to.

PROPOSED INVESTIGATION BY COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I submit the following resolution and ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolution submitted by the Senator from Nevada.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 9), as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Rules investigate the question as to the efficiency of the present committee and legislative system of the Senate and report its recommendations.

Resolved further, That the Committee on Rules investigate the question as to superfluous committees of the Senate and report its recommendations regarding them, as well as the allowance of clerical aid which should be made to Senators who have not committee chairmanships.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I wish to make a few words of comment upon the resolution.

Mr. REED. The resolution will go over under the rule until to-morrow?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Surely.

Mr. REED. The only reason why I made the inquiry is that we are going into executive session for the transaction of executive business and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] who came here this morning prepared to deliver an address has, I understand, waived that right in order that the Senate might proceed at once to executive business. It would seem almost discourteous to ask him to waive a prepared speech and then go on with the transaction of general business.

Mr. LEWIS. If the Senator will allow me——

Mr. REED. Certainly. The Senator will pardon me for anticipating him.

Mr. LEWIS. If the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Nevada will indulge me, I wish to state that it was my desire to address myself to my resolution now lying upon the table, asserting the Executive power touching the placing of guns upon ships for the protection of international commerce. It was my intention to address the Senate this morning as to that power. I am, as the able Senator from Missouri says, informed and that through the chairman of the Committee on Committees, Chairman MARTIN, that important executive matters need attention this morning, that such is very urgent, and in view of that urgency I am asked to defer addressing the Senate at this time. Because of that request and that exigency, of course I yield for the present, allowing the matter to go over until a more convenient time. Therefore I will not stand in the way of the necessities of the occasion.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, my statement will take only a few moments, and, unless the Senator from Virginia is insistent, I will prefer to make it now; otherwise I will suit the convenience of the Senate. I propose to ask that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Rules for its report.

I wish to say simply in connection with the resolution that it must be evident to this body of most competent men that the methods employed by the Senate for the consideration of public business are not the most competent methods and are not such as to secure economy of time. When I first entered Congress, some 24 years ago, the length of the average session was about six months. Now we are almost in continuous session, and during the last Congress 15,000 bills were introduced. I think it must be perfectly evident to every Senator that this body should apply itself to the study of the rules of efficiency, which have been in the near past and are now being applied to almost every vocation. It is with a view to securing the judgment of the Committee on Rules upon the subject that I ask for this inquiry in the hope that that committee, if it needs an appropriation with a view to making its investigation thorough and complete, will ask it of this body, and in the hope that a thorough investigation through experts, publicists, and others, will be made of various legislative systems both in the States and in other governments with a view to securing the highest efficiency in our own.

With reference to the superfluous committees, I wish to state that doubtless these committees, though apparently formed for the purpose of providing chairmanships, really originated in some definite public purpose. For instance, I heard read this morning the list of the members of the Committee on the Conservation of Natural Resources. I know that when that committee was organized it was with the expectation that it would be an active committee, and that it would do a most important work upon a subject that was attracting the wide attention of the public. We all know that, as a matter of fact, the subjects which would come under the jurisdiction of that committee had been previously intrusted to other standing committees of the Senate, and thus, as a matter of fact, no legislation practically has come from that committee, all conservation legislation coming from the standing committees to which the jurisdiction of the particular subject, such as public lands, mines, forests, and waterways belongs. So it is with many other committees which are assigned either to majority Members, who have no active committee chairmanships, or to minority Members. They are organized for some beneficial purpose, but they have become unnecessary and superfluous.

Now, I wish to say that this is not suggested in any spirit of economy, so far as the minority Members are concerned. I realize the fact that the minority Members have just as important public duties as have the majority Members, and that they are entitled to just as much clerical aid. I do not think the standard of pay which has been allowed is sufficient. I think that every minority Senator ought to have a clerk at $2,400 a year, a clerk at $2,000 a year, and another at $1,500 a year; that at least that standard ought to be adopted.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. NEWLANDS. I do not wish to prolong the discussion.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I merely wish to suggest to the Senator that a special committee was appointed at the last session to look into this matter and to report to the Senate.

Mr. NEWLANDS. My resolution calls for the Committee on Rules to consider the matter. I hope that committee will be assigned this duty.

Mr. President, the duties of Senators have been constantly enlarging. The Senators, I imagine, from some States have as large a correspondence as all the Members of the House of Representatives from the State.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I hope that the Senator will not compel me to call for the regular order, but I certainly shall have to do so if the Senator takes very much longer.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I shall be through in another sentence.

Mr. REED. Very well.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I see no need of impatience regarding matters of this kind. This is an important matter.

Mr. President, I believe that defects exist with reference to our committee system, which devolves upon certain Members most arduous committee duties upon important committees, and that the result is that they can not attend to all their duties. I know that in the case of the committee of which I am chairman, which has a most important jurisdiction—that of interstate commerce—it has been during the last session exceedingly difficult to get a quorum, and that when we would secure a quorum, members would be obliged to leave with a view to attending to other important committee duties. It seems to me that the Committee on Rules ought to look into this and that the questions raised by this resolution are among the most important that relate to the efficient administration of the business of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution of the Senator from Nevada will be referred to the Committee on Rules and printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. NELSON. I present a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Minnesota, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas certain Senators of the United States have by conducting a filibuster prevented the enactment of an "armed-neutrality" law, by which law it was sought to give the President power to protect the neutrality of the Nation by armed force; and

Whereas said Senators have by such filibuster caused the opinion to prevail abroad that the country and its Government refuse to support the administration; and

Whereas the prevalence of such opinion abroad may make the task of the President of maintaining peace more difficult: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota, That the Representatives and Senators of the State in the Congress of the United States be urged henceforth to take such steps as will prove to the nations of the world that Americans are unanimous in supporting the President in his efforts to protect the lives of citizens on land and sea, and to maintain the honor and integrity of the Republic.

Which was read and adopted March 8, 1917.

OSCAR ARNESON,
Chief Clerk House of Representatives.

Mr. LODGE. I present resolutions of the New England Shoe and Leather Finders' Association, of Boston; the American Order of Fraternal Helpers, of Boston; and of sundry citizens of Topsfield and Amherst, all in the State of Massachusetts, in favor of the full protection of American rights, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted by the New England Leather & Shoe Finders' Association at its annual convention held at the Quincy House, Boston, Mass., March 8, 1917.

Whereas the very life of our country is endangered by the international crisis with which it is confronted, our commerce is injured, and our rights upon the high seas ignored; and

Whereas our country is menaced by the unfriendly acts and intrigues of a hitherto friendly nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the New England Leather & Shoe Finders' Association in convention assembled hereby heartily indorse the action of the President in this crisis and pledge to him its loyal support.

It earnestly commends those Senators and Congressmen who supported the President in his efforts to secure protective legislation, but it condemns in unmeasured terms the outrageous, un-American and unpatriotic action of those 12 Senators who endeavored to prevent legislation so vital to the protection of our land; and be it further

Resolved, That our association pledge its hearty cooperation to the governors and legislatures of each of our New England States and to the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety and will earnestly support and assist them as far as able in any measure which they deem necessary and advisable to take for the preservation of our liberty and rights, for the safeguarding of our flag and country and for the protection of our people and the Republic.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President, to the New England Senators and Congressmen at Washington, to each of the New England governors, and to the chairman of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety.

NEW ENGLAND LEATHER & SHOE FINDERS' ASSOCIATION,
By JOHN B. MITCHELL, *President.*
STEPHEN R. NICHOLS,
14 Albany Street, Boston, Mass., Secretary.

AMERICAN ORDER OF FRATERNAL HELPERS,
Boston, Mass., March 6, 1917.

The Supreme Lodge of the American Order of Fraternal Helpers in annual meeting assembled desires to give expression to the indignation of its members at the action of a small coterie of small Senators who, by the perversion of a Senate rule and the application of parliamentary trickery, endeavored to defeat the purpose of our President, our Congress, and our people to maintain the rights of American ships and safeguard the lives of American citizens:

Resolved, That we stand firmly in support of the President of our country in all his efforts to maintain its honor and protect its rights, and that for this purpose we hereby pledge him our services in any capacity in which they may be utilized.

Resolved, That a copy hereof be mailed to President Wilson.

JOS. T. INGALLS,
Supreme President.

Attest:

PATRICK W. CURRY,
Supreme Secretary.

The above was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolutions unanimously adopted at the annual town meeting in Topsfield, Mass., March 5, 1917.

As the descendants and successors of the men of one of the group of little communities surrounding Salem Bay, which, during the Revolutionary War and the early days of the Republic, sent out innumerable armed ships to defend the American rights on the high seas, it is hereby

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Topsfield, indorse the action of the President of the United States in dismissing the German ambassador.

Resolved, That we urge the immediate calling of an extra session of Congress and the use of the full power of the Nation in defense of American rights, American lives, and American honor on the high seas.

Resolved, That we pledge our loyalty and our support to the President for this purpose.

Voted that these resolutions be adopted and that the moderator now appoint a committee of three to transmit them to the President, the two Senators from Massachusetts, the Congressman of this district, and to the senator and representative of this district in the Massachusetts Legislature, with an appropriate letter.

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS,
Chairman.
ARTHUR H. WELLMAN,
HENRY F. LONG,
Committee.

AMHERST, Mass., *March 10, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: At the annual meeting of the voters of this town, held March 5, 1917, it was unanimously voted to adopt the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the voters of Amherst, Mass., assembled, unanimously indorse the President of the United States in upholding the honor and integrity of the Nation in the present crisis, and that the moderator and the town clerk be directed to forward a copy of this vote to the president of the United States and to the Senators from Massachusetts and to the Representative in Congress from this district."

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE B. CHURCHILL, *Moderator.*
THOS. W. SMITH, *Town Clerk.*

NORTH HANOVER, Mass., *March 5, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate.

Greeting:

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the town of Hanover, Mass., assembled at our annual town meeting, indorse the efforts of the President of the United States to safeguard the lives and rights of our Nation. We condemn the action of the small minority in the Senate in blocking needed legislation as being unpatriotic, undemocratic, and dangerous to our national welfare.

Voted: That the town of Hanover, Mass., indorse the above resolutions, and that a copy be sent to the President of the United States and a copy to United States Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE.

BERNARD L. STETSON, *Town Clerk.*

Mr. LODGE. I also present resolutions of the Central Labor Union of Fall River and of sundry citizens of Winchester, in the State of Massachusetts, in support of the President in his efforts to protect the lives and rights of American citizens, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FALL RIVER, MASS., *March 4, 1917.*

Whereas the Imperial German Government, by proclaiming a barred zone about the coasts of the British Isles, France, and the coasts of Europe and Africa bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, into which all vessels enter at peril of destruction, contrary to all recognized international rights; and

Whereas American ships have been destroyed and are now imperiled by the activities of submarine commanders under direction of the Imperial German Government, without right and without justification; and

Whereas the lives of American citizens have been sacrificed by the acts of the commanders of submarines acting under instructions of the Imperial German Government, which disclaims liability or blame, contrary to all law and morality: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Central Labor Union of Fall River, Mass., representing the body of organized labor in the city, does here and now pledge its support to the President of the United States in the measures that are made necessary by the aggressions of the Imperial German Government; and be it further

Resolved, That the extent of this support be not limited to the simple arming of merchant vessels and their convoyance by ships of war, but shall extend to the use of other instrumentalities that may be demanded by the exigencies of the situation; and be it further

Resolved, That the said Central Labor Union do hereby call upon Senator WEEKS and Senator LODGE and Congressman WILLIAM S. GREENE to support the President of the United States to the extent of their powers in maintaining the sovereign right of freedom to traverse the oceans without let or hindrance by the shipping of the United States of America.

To this end therefore, witness our hands and the seal of the Fall River Central Labor Union this 4th day of March, A. D. 1917.

WRIGHT TURNER, *President.*
———— ————, *Secretary.*

Attest:

Sheet Metal Workers Union; Granite Cutters Union; Steam Firemen's Union; Barbers Union; Molders Union; Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers Union; Doffers Union; Electrical Workers Union; Mule Spinners' Association; City Employees Union; Brewery Workers Union; Street Railway Employees Union; Painters Union; Typographical Union; Paving Cutters Union; Cigar Makers Union; Carpenters Union No. 223; Carpenters Union No. 1305; Clerks Protective Association; Plumbers Union; Musicians Union; Machinists Union; Moving Picture Operators Union; Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers Union; Bartenders' Association; Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers Union, 1033; Steam Engineers Union; and Folders Union.

WINCHESTER, MASS., *March 7, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the annual town meeting of the town of Winchester, Mass., held on March 5, 1917, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas the German Imperial Government has, as the President said, forbidden our people the exercise 'of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas'; and

"Whereas, in consequence, the President of the United States has severed diplomatic relations with Germany: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the citizens of the town of Winchester, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the town meeting assembled, this 5th day of March, 1917*—

"First. That they commend the President for his uncompromising stand in severing diplomatic relations;

"Second. That they regard with disgust and indignation the action of 11 Senators of the United States in preventing the passage by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the two Houses of the Congress of an act designed to protect the citizens of the United States and to arm their ships against the unlawful and barbarous aggressions of the German Imperial Government;

"Third. That they rely upon the President at once to protect American citizens and American ships in their acknowledged rights upon the high seas;

"Fourth. That they urge upon the President the necessity of making immediate preparations against the contingencies of war; and

"Fifth. That, while they desire peace, they desire peace only with honor, and call upon the President to regain at this time the honor of the American people."

Attest:

MABEL W. STINSON,
Assistant Town Clerk.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented petitions of the Business Men's Club of Mason, the Mason County Highway League, and the Commercial Club of Crockett, all in the State of Texas, praying for the adoption of a system of national highways, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. PITTMAN obtained the floor.

Mr. SHIELDS. Will the Senator from Nevada yield to me for a moment?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. PITTMAN. I will inquire of the Senator if what he has in mind will lead to debate?

Mr. SHIELDS. No; I merely desire to ask to have certain resolutions printed in the RECORD.

Mr. PITTMAN. Very well, I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SHIELDS. I present resolutions adopted by the Business Men's Club of Memphis, Tenn., on the subject of armed neutrality and preparedness. The resolutions have been sent to me with the request that I present them to the Senate, and I ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the absence of objection, the resolutions will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolutions are as follows:

The Business Men's Club Chamber of Commerce in meeting assembled—

First. *Resolves*, That in view of the grave crisis presented by our ships being denied the freedom of the seas in their peaceful pursuit of commerce, we believe it the duty of all citizens to uphold the President in his recommendation that the Government of our country furnish arms and gunners to our merchant ships, that attacks upon them of an unlawful and inhuman character may be repelled.

Second. *Resolved further*, That we pledge ourselves not only to support the President in this matter in every way, but in every effort to uphold the honor and dignity of the United States and protect the lives and rights of American citizens on every land and sea.

Third. *Resolved further*, That we call upon Congress to give the President every power and means asked for by him to protect and assert our rights.

Fourth. *Resolved further*, That we indorse the principle of universal military training and service for all men prior to their twenty-first birthday, and we call on our Senators and Congressmen to support, vote, and work for the passage of a bill in Congress to provide for and require such service and training; and

Fifth. *Resolved further*, That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee of 10 to have prepared and circulated petitions to be signed by voters in this and surrounding territory indorsing this position and urging the President and Congress to have such a law passed.

Mr. HUSTING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. PITTMAN. I will ask the Senator what is his desire?

Mr. HUSTING. I desire to present a number of petitions and ask to have them printed in the RECORD without reading.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, in regard to those petitions, are they all to be printed in the RECORD?

Mr. HUSTING. I do not desire to have the names printed, but the body of the petitions only, all of which are short.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Do they relate to different matters?

Mr. HUSTING. They all relate to preparedness and the war proposition.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Are they all practically alike? Would not the printing of one of them be sufficient?

Mr. HUSTING. They are not alike.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It seems to me, if we are going to print all these petitions in the RECORD, and keep it up during the session of Congress——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I shall not object, but it seems to me we ought not to print all such petitions in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Wisconsin will be complied with.

The petitions referred to are as follows:

We, the undersigned members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, desire to express our strong support of the course of the President of the United States in whatever steps he may deem necessary for defense of the rights of humanity and for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens when following their lawful pursuits.

We urge the Government of the United States to afford immediate and adequate protection to all American ships engaged in European trade, that our rights to trade and to travel on the high seas may be unabridged.

We urge the President and the Government of the United States in the present crisis to omit no act necessary for the prompt and vigorous defense of American rights and American security against all the assaults of the Imperial German Government.

[Signed by 85 per cent of the members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin.]

—

WAUSAU, WIS., *February 18, 1917.*

HON. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

To the President and Representatives in Congress and Senate of the United States of America:

Authorized thereto and representing more than 600 citizens of the United States, residing at Wausau, Wis., we most earnestly protest against participating in or entering upon a condition of warfare with any foreign nation. Neither the honor of our country nor the welfare of its people demand such savage recourse, but, on the contrary, will be best subserved by the condition of peace.

We most respectfully petition, therefore, that peace be maintained.

WAUSAU BRANCH OF GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN OF AMERICA,
Milwaukee, Wis., February 13, 1917.

Mr. PAUL O. HUSTING.

DEAR SIR:

Whereas there is great danger that our country also will be swept into the bloody abyss that is threatening civilization; and

Whereas there is no other reason why we should fight than that to safeguard the transportation of munitions and war material and grain to the Allies; and

Whereas the workingmen of this country must refuse to kill and be killed in order to bring more blood-covered billions to the ruling class of this country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the United Brewery Workers' Unions of Milwaukee, protest against a declaration of war on any country as a crime against humanity; and be it

Resolved, That we demand that our Government keep Americans off belligerent ships or ships carrying contraband of war; and be it also

Resolved, That our Government refuse clearance to all vessels carrying munition, war material, food, or contraband to Europe; and, finally, be it

Resolved, That a copy of each of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the two Senators from the State of Wisconsin, the two Congressmen from Milwaukee, and to the daily press.

—

TIGERTON, SHAWANO COUNTY, WIS.,
February 23, 1917.

HON. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of this community, do herewith solemnly urge you to use your every effort to keep this country out of the European war.

In making this request we voice the view of every citizen of this community.

—

To Hon. J. J. ESCH, Representative in the Congress of the United States, and Hon. R. M. LA FOLLETTE and Hon. PAUL HUSTING, United States Senators.

DEAR SIRS: Exercising our uninvadable right as American citizens to inform our Representatives of the sentiments and convictions held by those whom they are to represent in national affairs—

1. We, the members of the German Methodist Episcopal Church of La Crosse, Wis., comprising a constituency of 500 persons or more, do hereby solemnly and most emphatically protest against our nation entering, on either side, into the present European struggle.

2. As the followers of the Prince of Peace and the true exponents of the religion of the Son of God, we are opposed to wars among nations. Force never permanently settled anything. No great war has ever been waged with less justification and mere frivolous pretext than the present gigantic struggle. It is the most stupid and senseless slaughter humanity has ever witnessed, and for us, as the "American Nation" to enter into the deadly combat at the present time would surely mean the extermination and maiming of the manhood of the white race, and would therefore be an inexcusable crime against mankind.

3. The German submarine warfare does not threaten our national integrity or independence, nor our national dignity and honor, for it is not aimed primarily at the property and lives of the citizens of the United States, it will only strike those classes that have made huge profits out of the greatest human slaughter history ever will record and hurt those individuals who, in "Shylock" fashion, are taking away the "daily bread" from our own people and selling it at exorbitant prices to the armies of the belligerents or are withholding the necessaries of life from the market and thereby exert "war prices" from the consumer at home.

4. We are deeply convinced that if the people of the United States could register their will in this matter of "going to war or not" that they would, by an overwhelming majority, go on record against entering into a war where we have nothing at stake, certainly nothing to gain, but possibly much to lose in precious lives of our young manhood and fabulous sums of money.

We urge upon you to do all in your power to keep our nation out of the present "world war."

5. Furthermore, since the "high cost of living" makes it impossible for millions of honest toilers to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families, and since food riots are daily occurrences throughout our country, we do request you most earnestly to employ all legitimate means and to use your best endeavors to put an immediate and effective embargo upon all food exportation so that millions of our own citizens may be saved from hunger and starvation.

We expect you to stand by the slogan, "America first," and by the people who have elected you so we may have in reality a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Yours, very sincerely,

Rev. J. L. PANZLAU.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted by a rising vote February 25, 1917, La Crosse, Wis.

—

PORT WASHINGTON, WIS., *February 26, 1917.*

HON. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, American citizens, acting within the duties imposed upon us by the Constitution of the United States to serve our country at all times, and convinced that the interests of our country will be jeopardized by war, but will be served by a continuance of peaceful relations with all foreign countries, both neutrals and belligerents—

Do hereby earnestly protest against any measure or resolution of Congress which would lead to or result in war over the injury of, or death to, any American who persists in jeopardizing the peace of the United States by traveling as passenger or seaman on American or neutral ship carrying contraband of war or traveling on a ship of belligerent-nation registry; and

Do hereby earnestly petition you to voice our protest against any use of the United States Army and Navy for the protection of Americans who persist in this dangerous travel, and to vote against any proposal to so use our Army and Navy, or to so go to war.

MILWAUKEE, *February 26, 1917.*

Hon. E. L. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, citizens of the State of Wisconsin, residing in the city of Milwaukee, do urgently request you to support and vote for Senate bill 1695, reported by Senator CHAMBERLAIN February 10, 1917, providing for compulsory military and naval training.

—

A CALL TO AMERICANS TO ASSURE THE PRESIDENT THAT HE WILL RECEIVE THE UNITED SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN TAKING EFFECTIVE ACTION TO UPHOLD AMERICAN RIGHTS AND DEFEND THE NATIONAL HONOR.

Many citizens who are intensely convinced that the present state of the German submarine question demands prompt and vigorous action in defense of American rights hesitate to press their views for fear of embarrassing the President. No such consideration stays the hand of those who seek to paralyze any effort he may make to carry into practical effect his pledge to omit no act necessary for the protection of American ships and American citizens engaged upon lawful errands on the high seas. The clamor of extreme pacifists, and of those who from other motives are opposed to this patriotic course, makes itself insistently heard, within Congress and without. It is no longer permissible, therefore, for those to remain silent who wish to support the President in the protection of our national rights and the defense of our national honor.

Our ships and our flag are being excluded from the seas by the threat of death and destruction conveyed in Germany's declaration of war on neutral shipping. The need of the hour is to take effectual measures to safeguard our shipping and our citizens, rather than to wait for Americans to be murdered and then go to war to punish the offender. To refuse, or too long delay, such protection would be to acquiesce in the subjugation of American rights to German domination. The time has come to assure the President that he will have the overwhelming support of his fellow countrymen in taking effective measures to meet the intolerable situation with which the country is now confronted.

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

Just sent following telegram to the President: "Since publication in local press of our message to you of 27th instant, we have received thousands of responses solidly indorsing your vigorous stand for American rights and pledging continued loyal support in any stand which you may take, and also urging that you immediately and thoroughly prepare the military and naval forces sufficiently and adequately to protect this country against any and all dangers."

GUY D. GOFF,
FRANK M. HOYT,
JOHN H. TWEEDY, Jr.,
CLARENCE J. ALLEN,
WILLETT M. SPOONER,
W. P. BLOODGOOD,
Citizens' Committee.
WHEELER P. BLOODGOOD,
Chairman.

—

EAU CLAIRE, WIS., *February 27, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

I urgently request you to support and vote for the plan covered by Senate bill 1695, reported by Senator CHAMBERLAIN February 10, 1917, providing for compulsory military and naval training and service, preferably with such modification of it as may be recommended by the General Staff of the Army and the General Board of the Navy.

ALBERT E. PEIRCE.

—

GREEN BAY, WIS., *February 29, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Reported grave danger losing Green Bay Harbor $110,000 appropriation recommended by War Department. This is of utmost importance and urge everything possible be done to insure passage, as boat service will have to be discontinued into Green Bay unless harbor improved.

GREEN BAY ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE,
A. E. WINTER, *President.*
FRANK H. SMITH, *Secretary.*

—

GREEN BAY, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

PAUL HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We are reliably informed that appropriation for Green Bay Harbor is in danger of being lost. This appropriation is highly important not only to Green Bay but to a large surrounding territory for which Green Bay is a distributing point.

WISCONSIN FISHING CO.

—

GREEN BAY, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

P. O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Large new dock being built at big expense and any delay in improving Green Bay's harbor is going to be serious setback at this time for Green Bay and all of northern Wisconsin. Please do your utmost to have harbor bill reported before present session adjourns.

NORTHERN PAPER MILLS.

—

GREEN BAY, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

PAUL HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Reported great damage losing $110,000 appropriation for Green Bay Harbor recommended by War Department. Urge everything possible to be done. The boats are not running with full capacity now. Boat service will be discontinued into Green Bay unless we get this appropriation.

D. W. BRITTON COOPERAGE CO.

GREEN BAY, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We ask your support of the bill recently passed by the House which contains an appropriation for Green Bay Harbor. This money is needed and the commerce of this port will suffer severely if it is not allowed.

W. P. WAGNER,
President Citizens National Bank.

—

GREEN BAY, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL HUSTING,
1611 Irving Street NW., Washington, D. C.:

Report grave danger losing Green Bay $110,000 appropriation recommended by War Department. Utmost importance that harbor is improved without delay. Boats loaded full capacity can not enter harbor now. We urge everything possible in your power to get bill passed at this session of Congress.

GREEN BAY MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION,
FRANK BLAHNIK, *President.*

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 17, 1917.*

Senator PAUL O. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

We are deeply grateful to you for your thorough Americanism and your consistent support of the President in his efforts to uphold the honor and to preserve the rights of the United States and its citizens and we give below a message we are sending the President.

TO THE PRESIDENT: We, citizens of Milwaukee, are in entire sympathy with the policy of effectively protecting American lives and American rights against the illegal and unjustifiable acts of Germany. Pledge you our undivided support in any action you deem proper for that purpose. We urge upon you the necessity of immediate and thorough naval and military preparations sufficient and amply sufficient to safeguard the country against all possible contingencies.

John H. Tweedy, jr., Frank M. Hoyt, Guy D. Goff, Jackson B. Kemper, Willet M. Spooner, Francis Bloodgood, jr., G. A. Harlow, Frederic C. Morehouse, Wheeler P. Bloodgood, Franklin T. Smith, Clarence J. Allen, Wm. W. Coleman, Paul B. Jenkins, H. V. Ogden, J. L. Yates, Alfred F. James, Frank R. Bacon, David A. Edgar, F. L. Pierce, Wm. Thorndike, George Lines, A. K. Stebbins, A. G. Courteen, J. E. Dodge, W. H. Cameron, S. J. Pierce, C. S. Ordway, P. E. Dutcher, L. J. Morgan, L. K. Marsh, Stewart H. Markham, John B. Clark, John Cudahy, T. O. Allen, M. F. Cudahy, J. M. Romadka, W. V. Johnson, S. I. Gilpatrick, S. C. Hauxhurst, J. Tracy Hale, jr., Anson Eldred, Charles H. Palmer, C. F. Ilsley, Haskell Noyes, Alfred M. Jones, Karl Clausen, A. Timonsen, Douglas Parmentir, H. A. Balding, Austin Jenner, W. M. Spallcross, Edwin L. Smith, Clarence W. Bradford, Henry Bryant, Dan P. Eells, T. P. Carter, Geo. W. Smith, Robert K. Barton, Douglass Vandyke, C. M. Burdick, Allan H. Candee, Thomas S. Bell, Maurice G. Woodingham.

—

CRANDON, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

Senator PAUL HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

Be it unanimously resolved, by a mass meeting of the citizens of the city of Crandon, Wis., duly called and held this 1st day of March, 1917, That we heartily support President Wilson in his stand to protect lives and rights of American citizens on the high seas and elsewhere. Further

Resolved, That we appeal to our United States Senators and Member of Congress for a similar support of our President in this crisis.

C. O. DECKER, *Chairman.*
O. J. SWANSON, *Secretary.*

—

MARCH 5, 1917.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT, SIR: We pledge to you our loyal support in any action you see fit to take in defense of American rights which may be menaced by any foreign country, and have faith in your looking after American interests with courage and fidelity.

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *March 1, 1917.*

The following is a list of names taken from original copies on file at the office of the Wisconsin Branch, National Security League, 804 First National Bank Building.

AUGUST H. VOGEL, *Chairman.*

To the PRESIDENT and CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, strongly urge the adoption by the United States for a system of universal military training and service, providing for the training of young men prior to their twentieth year, with subsequent liability for service.

We urge that an extra session be called at once to enact such legislation and to provide immediately for the adequate defense of the Republic.

—

WISCONSIN STATE LEGISLATIVE BOARD B. OF L. F. & E.,
February 19, 1917.

Hon. PAUL HUSTING,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The following resolution was adopted at the recent meeting of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, with instructions that a copy of the same be forwarded to each Senator and Congressman from Wisconsin:

"Whereas, it is proposed and advocated to regulate our constitutional rights by means of compulsory arbitration, and believing as we do that the same can be done only by the sacrifice thereof, we take this opportunity of expressing our disapproval thereof; and be it

"*Resolved,* That we, the delegates in convention assembled representing 6,000 members in train and engine service in the State of

Wisconsin who are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, desire to go on record as being unalterably opposed to any and all means of compulsory arbitration or other compulsory methods that deprive us of our constitutional and inherent rights."

Thanking you for your cooperation in this matter, I am,

Respectfully yours,

A. S. MERZ, *Chairman.*

—

WILLIAM A. BANCROFT CAMP, No. 16,
UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS,
DEPARTMENT OF WISCONSIN,
Racine, Wis., February 21, 1917.

Whereas the recent development of over-seas conditions may possibly interfere with the rights, freedom, and privilege of our country, the United States of America, and that as citizens we consider those rights sacred and not to be violated by any foreign nation, and as the President of our country has deemed it wise and necessary to cease relations with the powers deemed guilty of such infringements of our Nation's rights and freedom, it is herewith

Resolved, That we, the members of the William A. Bancroft Camp, No. 16, United Spanish War Veterans, fully realizing the importance of the steps taken by our President and its possible consequences, express our complete and implicit confidence in the wisdom of our President and his advisers; and furthermore, we pledge ourselves to support, unreservedly, any and all future actions of our Government.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, our Representatives in Congress, also the chief executive of the State of Wisconsin.

GEO. H. HERZOG, *Past Commander,*
P. M. MATSON, *Past Commander,*
J. F. SUGDEN, *Past Commander,*
JOHN C. HOOD, *Adjutant,*
Courthouse, Racine.

—

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in the city of Milwaukee, Wis., on February 27, 1917.

Whereas there is great danger that our country will be plunged into war and the manhood of our Nation destroyed in order that our manufacturers may safely transport ammunition and war material to Europe, and that our food speculators may sell our food at exorbitant prices to feed the fighting armies; and

Whereas certain mouthpieces of the munition makers declare that the dignity of the Nation and our sovereignty demand that our citizens be permitted to travel on belligerent ships, even when these ships carry ammunition and war material: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, loyal American citizens, in meeting assembled, hereby declare that to our best knowledge and belief the common people of our country are in favor of peace and against war; that the common people protest against taking away our food in order to provide for the soldiers of Europe; and that the common people of our country therefore do not want a declaration of war on any power in order to protect a blood-stained commerce; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby declare that the dignity and sovereignty of our Nation do not demand that our citizens be protected on belligerent ships any more than that they be protected on belligerent soil; and that we therefore demand that American citizens be warned against boarding ships of belligerents except at their own risk, and that American ships be forbidden to enter the war zone; and be it also

Resolved, That the President and Congress hereby be petitioned, requested, and urged to declare a complete embargo on all food products in order to protect the necessary food supply of our own people and to prevent famine, starvation, and all concomitant evils; and finally, be it

Resolved, That a copy of each of these resolutions be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, to the two United States Senators from Wisconsin, and to the Wisconsin delegation in the National House of Representatives.

—

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the building now in use for the post office in the city of Viroqua, Vernon County, Wis., is entirely inadequate to the needs of the said city; and

Whereas two fraternal societies in said city of Viroqua, namely, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias, propose to erect a modern building at the intersection of Main and Decker Streets in said city in which good and sufficient quarters may be obtained by the Federal Government:

Therefore the undersigned, citizens of said city of Viroqua, do hereby petition you that you will make representations to the Federal Government showing that it is the desire of the petitioners that a contract be entered into with said societies to reserve suitable quarters for the post office in the building to be erected on the said site.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I have been requested on behalf of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations to announce that he has been called to the State Department, and that it is the desire of the Foreign Relations Committee that an executive session be held immediately, so that a proper reference of nominations, and so forth, may be made to that committee and other committees. I therefore move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE SULLOWAY.

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, I am very sorry to have to announce to the Senate the death on Sunday, March 11, of the Hon. CYRUS ADAMS SULLOWAY, Representative in Congress from the first New Hampshire district. Mr. SULLOWAY has had a long and distinguished record in the House, and his death will be properly commemorated on some suitable occasion. At this time I offer the following resolutions and ask for their adoption.

The resolutions (S. Res. 10) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. CYRUS ADAMS SULLOWAY, late a Representative from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That a committee of six Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to join a committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed, under the second resolution, Mr. GALLINGER, Mr. HOLLIS, Mr. ASHURST, Mr. KENYON, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, and Mr. SUTHERLAND the committee on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Mr. HOLLIS. Mr. President, I move, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, March 13, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 12, 1917.

SECRETARY OF EMBASSY OR LEGATION.

CLASS 4.

R. Henry Norweb, of Elyria, Ohio, to be a secretary of embassy or legation of class 4 of the United States of America.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES.

D. C. Westenhaver, of Cleveland, Ohio, to be United States district judge, northern district of Ohio, vice John H. Clarke, appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Joseph B. Poindexter, of Helena, Mont., to be United States district judge for the district of Hawaii, vice Charles F. Clemons, resigned.

JUDGES OF THE CIRCUIT COURT, TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Samuel B. Kemp, of Honolulu, Hawaii, to be second judge of the Circuit Court, First Circuit, Territory of Hawaii, vice William L. Whitney, resigned.

William H. Heen, of Honolulu, Hawaii, to be third judge of the Circuit Court, First Circuit, Territory of Hawaii, vice James L. Coke, appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii.

SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Curtis Piehu Iaukea, of Hawaii, to be secretary of the Territory of Hawaii, vice Wade Warren Thayer, resigned.

MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

The following-named persons to be members of the Federal Trade Commission:

John Franklin Fort, of New Jersey, for the term expiring September 25, 1917.

William B. Colver, of St. Paul, Minn., for the term expiring September 25, 1920, vice Hurley, resigned.

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION.

The following-named persons to be members of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission:

Dr. Riley McMillan Little, of Swarthmore, Pa., for a term of six years.

Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, of BeHingham, Wash., for a term of four years.

Mr. John J. Keegan, of Indianapolis, Ind., for a term of two years.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Albert L. Moise, of Philadelphia, Pa., to be appraiser of merchandise in customs collection district No. 11, with headquarters at Philadelphia, in place of William W. Roper, resigned.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

William H. Edwards, of New York City, to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of New York, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of the present incumbent.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles F. Rattigan, of Auburn, N. Y., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8, with headquarters at Rochester, N. Y., to succeed the present incumbent, whose term of office expired March 31, 1916.

MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

Raymond B. Stevens, of New Hampshire, to be a member of the United States Shipping Board, for a term of five years, vice Baker, resigned.

MEMBER OF THE EXCISE BOARD.

Henry S. Baker, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Excise Board for the District of Columbia, for a term of three years. (Reappointment.)

DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

Raymond T. Baker, of Reno, Nev., to be Director of the Mint, in place of F. J. H. von Engelken, resigned.

ENGRAVER IN THE MINT.

George T. Morgan, of Philadelphia, Pa., to be engraver in the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Pa., in place of Charles E. Barber, deceased.

PURCHASING AGENT FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

James A. Edgerton, of New Jersey, to be purchasing agent for the Post Office Department for a term of four years, from and including March 17, 1917.

COAST GUARD.

Third Lieut. of Engineers Gustavus Richard O'Connor to be second lieutenant of Engineers in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from August 13, 1916, in place of Second Lieut. of Engineers John T. Carr, promoted.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Passed Asst. Surg. Wade H. Frost to be surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from February 3, 1917. This officer has served the required length of time in his grade and has passed the necessary examination for promotion.

Passed Asst. Surg. Eugene H. Mulian to be surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from February 2, 1917. This officer has served the required length of time in his grade and has passed the necessary examination for promotion.

Ray Preston Sandidge to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

John Wilson Tappan to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Joseph Davis Applewhite to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Harry Stoll Mustard to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Ralph Chester Williams to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Paul Darwin Mossman to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Richey Laughlin Waugh to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Thomas Parran, jr., to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

Julius Stanley Shourds Gardner to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CHAPLAINS.

Rev. George Runyan Longbrake, of Wisconsin, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from February 16, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Rev. Frank Campion Armstrong, of Illinois, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from February 16, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Rev. John Henry Hardy, of Texas, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from February 17, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Chaplain Nathaniel Alexander Jones, Fourth Infantry, Alabama National Guard, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from February 23, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

DENTAL CORPS.

Dr. Maurice W. Haag, of Pennsylvania, to be dental surgeon from February 2, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

VETERINARY CORPS.

To be veterinarians with rank from June 3, 1916.

Veterinarian Frederick Foster, Seventh Field Artillery.
Veterinanian Gerald E. Griffin, Third Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Charles Douglas McMurdo, Tenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian William George Turner, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian William V. Lusk, Second Cavalry.
Veterinarian Olaf Schwarzkopf, Third Cavalry.
Veterinarian Walter R. Grutzman, Eighth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Joseph R. Jefferis, Thirteenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Harry Frank Steele, Fourteenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Ray J. Stanclift, Eighth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Coleman Nockolds, First Cavalry.
Veterinarian Eugene John Cramer, Quartermaster Corps.

To be assistant veterinarians with rank from June 3, 1916.

Veterinarian Richard H. Power, Fifth Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Henry W. Peter, Fourteenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian William P. Hill, Sixth Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Jules H. Uri, Sixth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Robert Vans Agnew, Fifth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Charles H. Jewell, Fourth Cavalry.
Veterinarian William A. Sproule, Fourth Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Fred B. Gage, Second Field Artillery.
Veterinarian John H. Gould, Second Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Walter Fraser, Thirteenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Walter R. Pick, Fourth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Andrew E. Donovan, Twelfth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Burt English, Second Cavalry.
Veterinarian Robert J. Foster, Ninth Cavalry.
Veterinarian George A. Hanvey, jr., Sixth Cavalry.
Veterinarian George A. Lytle, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Robert C. Musser, Fifteenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Aquila Mitchell, Third Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Wilfred J. Stokes, First Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Oliver A. Barber, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Herbert S. Williams, Fifth Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Alfred Lewis Mason, Sixth Field Artillery.
Veterinarian Thomas H. Edwards, Fifteenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Burton A. Seeley, Fifth Cavalry.
Veterinarian William C. Van Allstyne, Tenth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Sherman L. Teeple, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Ingild Hansen, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Lloyd E. Case, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian James R. Haynes, First Field Artillery.
Veterinarian George H. Koon, Twelfth Cavalry.
Veterinarian Ralph M. Buffington, First Cavalry.
Veterinarian Daniel B. Leininger, Seventh Cavalry.
Veterinarian Joseph N. Hornbaker, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Charles Edward Channing, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Samuel Henry Saul, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Alexander G. Fraser, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian George William Brower, Quartermaster Corps.
Veterinarian Joseph William Burby, Quartermaster Corps.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

MEDICAL CORPS.

Capt. Howard H. Johnson, Medical Corps, to be major from March 3, 1917, vice Maj. Jesse R. Harris, retired from active service March 2, 1917.

Capt. Edgar King, Medical Corps, to be major from January 30, 1917, vice Maj. George H. Crabtree, retired from active service January 29, 1917.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Lieut. Col. Francis R. Shunk, Corps of Engineers, to be colonel from January 30, 1917, vice Col. Joseph E. Kuhn, appointed brigadier general.

Maj. George M. Hoffman, Corps of Engineers, to be lieutenant colonel from January 30, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Francis R. Shunk, promoted.

Capt. Joseph H. Earle, Corps of Engineers, to be major from January 30, 1917, vice Maj. George M. Hoffman, promoted.

First Lieut. Charles F. Williams, Corps of Engineers, to be captain from January 30, 1917, vice Capt. Joseph H. Earle, promoted.

Second Lieut. Stanley L. Scott, Corps of Engineers, to be first lieutenant from January 30, 1917, vice First Lieut. Charles F. Williams, promoted.

Second Lieut. Tattnall D. Simkins, Corps of Engineers, to be first lieutenant from February 2, 1917, vice First Lieut. Edward C. Smith, who died February 1, 1917.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Maj. Daniel J. Carr, Signal Corps, to be lieutenant colonel from February 14, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. George O. Squier, appointed Chief Signal Officer with the rank of brigadier general.

Capt. Charles de F. Chandler, Signal Corps, to be major from February 14, 1917, vice Maj. Daniel J. Carr, promoted.

CAVALRY ARM.

Lieut. Col. Alexander L. Dade, Seventh Cavalry, to be colonel from February 2, 1917, vice Col. John F. Guilfoyle, Fourth Cavalry, retired from active service February 1, 1917.

Maj. Edwin B. Winans, Seventh Cavalry, to be lieutenant colonel from February 2, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Alexander L. Dade, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

Capt. Henry C. Smither, Ninth Cavalry, to be major from January 30, 1917, vice Maj. John B. Christian, Seventeenth Cavalry, transferred to Field Artillery.

Capt. Roy B. Harper, Twelfth Cavalry, to be major from February 6, 1917, vice Maj. George W. Moses, Sixteenth Cavalry, placed on detached officers' list.

Capt. Thomas A. Roberts, Cavalry, detached officers' list, to be major from February 27, 1917, vice Maj. Samuel McP. Rutherford, Eleventh Cavalry, detailed in the Adjutant General's Department.

Capt. Edgar A. Sirmyer, Fourteenth Cavalry, to be major from March 6, 1917, vice Maj. Nathan K. Averill, Thirteenth Cavalry, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Frederick T. Dickman, Seventh Cavalry, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Lawrence S. Carson, Twelfth Cavalry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Adna R. Chaffee, Cavalry, unassigned, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. George F. Bailey, Second Cavalry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. George W. De Armond, Fifteenth Cavalry, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. William C. Gardenhire, Tenth Cavalry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. John G. Quekemeyer, Seventh Cavalry, to be captain from July 10, 1916, vice Capt. Alfred E. Kennington, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Frank M. Andrews, Second Cavalry, to be captain from July 15, 1916, vice Capt. Herman A. Sievert, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Joseph C. King, Cavalry, unassigned, to be captain from July 17, 1916, vice Capt. Christian Briand, Twelfth Cavalry, who died July 16, 1916.

First Lieut. George L. Converse, jr., Fourth Cavalry, to be captain from July 21, 1916, vice Capt. Walter S. Grant, Third Cavalry, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. Donald A. Robinson, Fifteenth Cavalry, to be captain from August 21, 1916, vice Capt. Thomas F. Ryan, Thirteenth Cavalry, retired from active service August 20, 1916.

First Lieut. Bruce L. Burch, Fifteenth Cavalry, to be captain from August 27, 1916, vice Capt. George E. Mitchell, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Edgar M. Whiting, Fourth Cavalry, to be captain from September 6, 1916, vice Capt. Pierce A. Murphy, First Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Edward G. Elliott, Cavalry, unassigned, to be captain from September 13, 1916, vice Capt. Frederick T. Arnold, unassigned, promoted.

First Lieut. Wade H. Westmoreland, Eleventh Cavalry, to be captain from September 14, 1916, vice Capt. Leonard L. Deitrick, Seventh Cavalry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Guy H. Wyman, Eighth Cavalry, to be captain from September 21, 1916, vice Capt. William S. Valentine, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Verne R. Bell, Seventh Cavalry, to be captain from September 28, 1916, vice Capt. Thomas B. Esty, unassigned, retired from active service September 27, 1916.

First Lieut. Henry W. Baird, Ninth Cavalry, to be captain from October 6, 1916, vice Capt. Aubrey Lippincott, Fourth Cavalry, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Firt Lieut. Alexander H. Jones, Cavalry, unassigned, to be captain from November 15, 1916, vice Capt. Alexander B. Coxe, Second Cavalry, detailed in the General Staff Corps.

First Lieut. Charles L. Stevenson, Fourteenth Cavalry, to be captain from November 21, 1916, vice Capt. William L. Lowe, Tenth Cavalry, retired from active service November 20, 1916.

First Lieut. Frank K. Chapin, Seventh Cavalry, to be captain from December 3, 1916, vice Capt. Ralph Talbot, jr., Fifteenth Cavalry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Henry L. Watson, Seventeenth Cavalry, to be captain from December 25, 1916, vice Capt. James D. Tilford, unassigned, placed on Detached Officers' List.

First Lieut. Murray B. Rush, Cavalry, Detached Officers' List, to be captain from January 16, 1917, vice Capt. Samuel Van Leer, Seventh Cavalry, who resigned January 15, 1917.

First Lieut. Augustine W. Robins, Twelfth Cavalry, to be captain from January 23, 1917, vice Capt. Kyle Rucker, Fourteenth Cavalry, who resigned January 22, 1917.

Second Lieut. Daniel A. Connor, Seventeenth Cavalry, to be first lieutenant from November 2, 1916, vice First Lieut. Hugh S. Johnson, First Cavalry, promoted.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Capt. George V. H. Moseley, Fifth Field Artillery, to be major from July 1, 1916, to fill an original vacancy.

Capt. Charles M. Bundel, Sixth Field Artillery, to be major from July 1, 1916, to fill an original vacancy.

Capt. Charles D. Herron, Third Field Artillery, to be major from July 1, 1916, vice Maj. Harry G. Bishop, Fifth Field Artillery, promoted.

Capt. Robert C. Foy, Ninth Field Artillery, to be major from July 1, 1916, vice Maj. Dan T. Moore, unassigned, detailed in the General Staff Corps.

Capt. Edward T. Donnelly, Fifth Field Artillery, to be major from July 1, 1916, vice Maj. Frank E. Hopkins, unassigned, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Capt. George M. Brooke, Field Artillery, Detached Officers' List, to be major from August 3, 1916, vice Maj. John E. Stephens, unassigned, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

Capt. Harry C. Williams, Field Artillery (detailed in Quartermaster Corps), to be major from September 22, 1916, vice Maj. Henry L. Newbold, unassigned, placed on Detached Officers' List.

Capt. Albert U. Faulkner, Fourth Field Artillery, to be major from September 22, 1916, vice Maj. Harry C. Williams, whose detail in the Quartermaster Corps is continued.

Capt. George M. Apple, Fourth Field Artillery, to be major from February 26, 1917, vice Maj. Alfred A. Starbird, Fifth Field Artillery, detailed in the Inspector General's Department.

First Lieut. Robert G. Kirkwood, Third Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. William McK. Lambdin, Fourth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Harold E. Marr, Field Artillery, Detached Officers' List, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. George V. H. Moseley, Fifth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Joseph W. Rumbough, Fourth Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Charles M. Bundel, Sixth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. William McCleave, First Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Charles D. Herron, Third Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Allan C. McBride, Field Artillery, Detached Officers' List, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Robert C. Foy, Ninth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Joe R. Brabson, Third Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Edward T. Donnelly, Fifth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Leonard C. Sparks, Field Artillery, unassigned, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Walter E. Prosser, unassigned, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. John A. Crane, Fifth Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. John N. Greely, unassigned, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. Frederick A. Prince, Fifth Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. James H. Burns, detailed in the Ordnance Department.

First Lieut. Marshall Magruder, Field Artillery, unassigned, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Everett S. Hughes, detailed in the Ordnance Department.

First Lieut. Truby C. Martin, Sixth Field Artillery, to be captain from July 1, 1916, vice Capt. Thomas J. Smith, detailed in the Ordnance Department.

First Lieut. Wilbur Rogers, Seventh Field Artillery, to be captain from July 2, 1916, vice Capt. Arthur F. Cassels, Sixth Field Artillery, retired from active service July 1, 1916.

First Lieut. Louis R. Dougherty, Field Artillery, unassigned, to be captain from July 2, 1916, vice Capt. Edward A. Stuart, Second Field Artillery, retired from active service July 1, 1916.

First Lieut. Samuel R. Hopkins, Second Field Artillery, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Harry C. Williams, Fifth Field Artillery, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Charles P. Hollingsworth, Field Artillery, unassigned, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Tilman Campbell, Sixth Field Artillery, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Charles D. Daly, First Field Artillery, to be captain from August 3, 1916, vice Capt. George M. Brooke, Field Artillery, unassigned, promoted.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

First Lieut. Isaac E. Titus, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 1, 1916, to fill an original vacancy.

Second Lieut. Frederick G. Dillman, Coast Artillery Corps, to be first lieutenant from July 1, 1916, vice First Lieut. Robert Arthur, promoted.

First Lieut. Horton M. Beardslee, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 2, 1916, vice Capt. John G. Workizer, retired from active service July 1, 1916.

First Lieut. William C. Whitaker, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Harry W. Newton, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. James A. Brice, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Charles E. N. Howard, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. James L. Dunsworth, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. John O. Steger, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Dana H. Crissy, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Graham Parker, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. James L. Walsh, Coast Artillery Corps (captain, Ordnance Department), to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Raphael R. Nix, whose detail in the Ordnance Department is continued.

First Lieut. Henry H. Malven, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. James L. Walsh, whose detail in the Ordnance Department is continued.

First Lieut. Edward L. Kelly, Coast Artillery Corps, detached officers' list, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Louis C. Brinton, jr., detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Thruston Hughes, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Mark L. Ireland, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Charles B. Meyer, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 10, 1916, vice Capt. James A. Ruggles, promoted.

First Lieut. Frederick A. Mountford, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 10, 1916, vice Capt. Terence E. Murphy, promoted.

First Lieut. Francis G. Delano, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Richard H. Jordan, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Raphael R. Nix, Coast Artillery Corps (captain, Ordnance Department), to be captain from July 7, 1916, vice Capt. Owen G. Collins, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Fordyce L. Perego, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 15, 1916, vice Capt. Allen D. Raymond, promoted.

First Lieut. Philip S. Gage, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 19, 1916, vice Capt. James R. Pourie, promoted.

First Lieut. Monte J. Hickok, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 21, 1916, vice Capt. Clarence M. Condon, who died July 20, 1916.

First Lieut. Frederick Hanna, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from July 26, 1916, vice Capt. John L. Hughes, promoted.

First Lieut. Theodore M. Chase, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from August 1, 1916, vice Capt. William H. Raymond, detailed in the General Staff Corps.

First Lieut. William C. Koenig, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from August 22, 1916, vice Capt. John W. C. Abbott, promoted.

First Lieut. Albert C. Wimberly, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from September 10, 1916, vice Capt. Harry T. Matthews, promoted.

First Lieut. Harry W. Stephenson, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from November 15, 1916, vice Capt. Henry C. Merriam, detailed in the General Staff Corps.

First Lieut. Herbert H. Acheson, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from November 15, 1916, vice Capt. James B. Taylor, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. Willis Shippam, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from November 27, 1916, vice Capt. George A. Wieczorek, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. Frank A Buell, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from January 27, 1917, vice Capt. Jacob A. Mack, transferred to the Field Artillery Arm.

First Lieut. Frank D. Applin, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from January 28, 1917, vice Capt. Pierre V. Kieffer, transferred to the Field Artillery Arm.

First Lieut. Rollin L. Tilton, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from January 29, 1917, vice Capt. James P. Robinson, transferred to the Field Artillery Arm.

First Lieut. John K. Jemison, Coast Artillery Corps, to be captain from February 1, 1917, vice Capt. Howard L. Landers, transferred to the Field Artillery Arm.

INFANTRY ARM.

Lieut. Col. Julius A. Penn, Third Infantry, to be colonel from March 2, 1917, vice Col. Edwin A. Root, Infantry, unassigned, detached from his proper command.

Maj. John W. Heavey, Ninth Infantry, to be lieutenant colonel from January 26, 1917, subject to examination required by law, vice Lieut. Col. Sydney A. Cloman, Twelfth Infantry, resigned January 25, 1917.

Maj. Harry J. Hirsch, Quartermaster Corps (Infantry), to be lieutenant colonel from March 2, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Julius A. Penn, Third Infantry, promoted.

Capt. Ira C. Welborn, Infantry, Detached Officers' List, to be major from January 6, 1917, vice Maj. William J. Lutz, First Infantry, who died January 5, 1917.

Capt. Alexander E. Williams, Quartermaster Corps (Infantry), to be major from January 26, 1917, vice Maj. John W. Heavey, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

Capt. Charles W. Exton, Infantry, Detached Officers' List, to be major from January 26, 1917, vice Maj. Alexander E. Williams, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. George T. Everett, Twenty-fourth Infantry, to be captain from September 18, 1916, vice Capt. Joseph F. Janda, First Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. Henry H Arnold, Infantry, captain, Aviation Section, Signal Corps, to be captain from September 23, 1916, vice Capt. Alvan C. Read, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. Walter R. Wheeler, Twenty-sixth Infantry, to be captain from September 23, 1916, vice Capt. Henry H. Arnold, detailed in the Aviation Section, Signal Corps.

First Lieut. George F. N. Dailey, Thirteenth Infantry, to be captain from September 24, 1916, vice Capt. Donald W. Strong, unassigned, who died September 23, 1916.

First Lieut. Barton K. Yount, Fifteenth Infantry, to be captain from September 25, 1916, vice Capt. Charles L. Willard, Twenty-fifth Infantry, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. Denham B. Crafton, Twenty-eigth Infantry, to be captain from September 25, 1916, vice Capt. Rinaldo R. Wood, Twenty-fourth Infantry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. William E. Selbie, Fourth Infantry, to be captain from September 27, 1916, vice Capt. Alvin C. Voris, Twenty-second Infantry, detailed in the Aviation Section, Signal Corps.

First Lieut. John L. Jenkins, Twenty-ninth Infantry, to be captain from September 29, 1916, vice Capt. Edwin P. Thompson, Infantry, unassigned, who died September 28, 1916.

First Lieut. Charles H. White, Thirteenth Infantry, to be captain from October 1, 1916, vice Capt. Deas Archer, Infantry, unassigned, who died September 30, 1916.

First Lieut. Alivn G. Gutensohn, Infantry, detailed in the Signal Corps, to be captain from November 11, 1916, vice Capt. Leo I. Samuelson, unassigned, retired from active service November 10, 1916.

First Lieut. Stanley L. James, Twenty-seventh Infantry, to be captain from November 11, 1916, vice Capt. Alvin G. Gutensohn, detailed in the Signal Corps.

First Lieut. John S. Sullivan, Second Infantry, to be captain from December 6, 1916, vice Capt. Marshall Childs, Twenty-fifth Infantry, who died December 5, 1916.

First Lieut. David G. C. Garrison, Thirteenth Infantry, to be captain from January 7, 1917, vice Capt. Louis Soléliac, Twelfth Infantry, dismissed January 6, 1917.

First Lieut. Bruce B. Buttler, Thirtieth Infantry, to be captain from January 11, 1917, vice Capt. Earnest M. Reeve, Twenty-third Infantry, dismissed January 10, 1917.

First Lieut. Evan E. Lewis, Tenth Infantry, to be captain from January 15, 1917, vice Capt. Charles C. Herman, jr., Twenty-sixth Infantry, resigned January 14, 1917.

First Lieut. Paul A. Larned, Tenth Infantry, to be captain from January 17, 1917, vice Capt. Harry Graham, Twenty-sixth Infantry, dismissed January 16, 1917.

Second Lieut. Samuel J. Heidner, Infantry, unassigned, to be first lieutenant from July 1, 1916, to fill an original vacancy.

CHAPLAIN.

Chaplain John T. Axton, Twentieth Infantry, to be chaplain with rank of major from March 5, 1917, vice Chaplain James W. Hillman, Sixteenth Infantry, retired by operation of law March 4, 1917.

TRANSFER TO THE ACTIVE LIST OF THE ARMY.

Col. Tracy C. Dickson, United States Army, retired, for transfer to the active list of the Army as a lieutenant colonel in the Ordnance Department, with rank from March 7, 1917.

INFANTRY ARM.

First Lieut. Sylvester C. Loring, United States Army, retired, to the grade of captain in the Infantry Arm with rank from July 1, 1916.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE ARMY.

The officers herein named for provisional appointment, by transfer, in the Army of the United States:

Second Lieut. Leander R. Hathaway, Sixteenth Cavalry, to be second lieutenant of Infantry with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Athael B. Ellis, Sixth Infantry, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Erskine S. Dollarhide, Fifth Field Artillery, to be second lieutenant of Infantry with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. George N. Ruhberg, Twenty-sixth Infantry, to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Frederic Charles Dosé, Seventh Field Artillery, to be second lieutenant of Infantry with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Edward Martin Smith, Seventh Infantry, to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Armand Durant, Twelfth Infantry, to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery with rank from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Barnwell Rhett Legge, Sixth Field Artillery, to be second lieutenant of Infantry with rank from November 30, 1916.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

The officers of the National Guard herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants in the Army of the United States, to rank from date of appointment:

CAVALRY ARM.

Capt. George H. Carruth, First Infantry, Louisiana National Guard.

Second Lieut. Eugene M. Dwyer, Sixty-eighth Infantry, New York National Guard.

Second Lieut. Fredrick John Holzbaur, Second Infantry, Pennsylvania National Guard.

Second Lieut. Wharton Girard Ingram, Second Field Artillery, Pennsylvania National Guard.

Second Lieut. Walter Carl Merkel, First Cavalry, Vermont National Guard.

Second Lieut. Edward Semple Moale, Twenty-second Engineers, New York National Guard.

Second Lieut. Adrian St. John, Twenty-second Engineers, New York National Guard.

Second Lieut. David Hazen Blakelock, Third Infantry, District of Columbia National Guard, to be second lieutenant of Cavalry, with rank from date of appointment.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

First Lieut. Charles W. Gallaher, Company A, Engineers, Iowa National Guard.

Second Lieut. Laurence V. Houston, Texas National Guard.

Second Lieut. Hugh Chapman Minton, First Infantry, Virginia National Guard.

INFANTRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Frederick R. Baker, Coast Artillery Corps, North Carolina National Guard.

First Lieut. Ernest Hill Burt, Field Artillery, Connecticut National Guard.

Second Lieut. Albert Francis Christensen, Second Infantry, Massachusetts National Guard.

Second Lieut. William H. Coacher, Fourth Infantry, South Dakota National Guard.

First Lieut. John Colford Daly, Signal Corps, Massachusetts National Guard.

Capt. Clarence P. Evers, Fourth Infantry, South Dakota National Guard.

Second Lieut. Kirke B. Everson, Fifth Infantry, Massachusetts National Guard.

Second Lieut. Ray Parker Harrison, Third Infantry, Indiana National Guard.

Second Lieut. John Taylor Henderson, Second Infantry, Idaho National Guard.

First Lieut. Edward Scott Johnston, Second Infantry, Indiana National Guard.

First Lieut. Herman Frederick Kramer, Fifth Infantry, Nebraska National Guard.

Capt. Le Roy Lutes, Fourth Infantry, Illinois National Guard.

Capt. Sidney Freudenthal Mashbir, First Infantry, Arizona National Guard.

Second Lieut. William Stirling Maxwell, Second Infantry, Illinois National Guard.

First Lieut. William Cheney Moore, First Infantry, Kentucky National Guard.

Second Lieut. Paul Everton Peabody, Seventh Infantry, California National Guard.

Second Lieut. Albion Smith, Fifth Infantry, Georgia National Guard.

First Lieut. Oliver John Troster, Fourth Infantry, Illinois National Guard.

Second Lieut. Edwin Daviess Patrick, Second Infantry, Indiana National Guard.

Second Lieut. Stuart Randall Carswell, First Infantry, Delaware National Guard, to be second lieutenant of Infantry, with rank from date of appointment.

CAVALRY ARM.

The officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants in the Army of the United States:

Second Lieut. Nelson Mark Imboden, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

Capt. John Elliott, Cavalry Officers' Reserve Corps.

Second Lieut. Randolph Dickins, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

Second Lieut. John Newton Steele, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

INFANTRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Willis Henry Hale, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

Second Lieut. Noe Calhoun Killian, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

Second Lieut. Walter Ray Mann, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

Second Lieut. Henry Wideman Lee, Infantry Officers' Reserve Corps.

CAVALRY ARM.

The enlisted men herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants in the Army of the United States, to rank from date of appointment:

Corpl. Rinaldo L. Coe, Troop K, Seventeenth Cavalry.

First Class Pvt. Harold John Duffey, Headquarters Troop, Sixth Cavalry.

Sergt. Jay Kenneth Colwell, Troop K, Twelfth Cavalry.

Sergt. Amory Coffin Cotchett, Medical Department.

Corpl. Otis Porter, Troop A, Fifteenth Cavalry.

Corpl. Victor Kerney, Company D, First Telegraph Battalion, Signal Corps.

Corpl. Arthur C. D. Anderson, Troop B, Third Cavalry.

Sergt. Alan Bartle Edson, Quartermaster Corps.

Corpl. Folsome Reed Parker, Coast Artillery Corps.

Saddler Emory Moses Mace, Company B, Third Regiment of Engineers.

Corpl. Harry Howell Dunn, Troop L, Fifth Cavalry.

Corpl. Renn Lawrence, Troop A, Sixteenth Cavalry.

Corpl. Fred H. Clark, Troop G, Third Cavalry.

First Class Pvt. Joseph Allen Covington, Company B, First Field Battalion, Signal Corps.

Mess Sergt. John L. Rice, Troop D, Twelfth Cavalry.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Corpl. John Oliver Hoskins, Company D, Third Regiment of Engineers.

Supply Sergt. William Clarke, Battery A, Second Field Artillery.

Sergt. Albert R. Ives, Battery C, Second Field Artillery.

Corpl. Arthur Brigham, jr., Battery C, Third Field Artillery.

Corpl. William McKinley Jackson, Battery D, Fourth Field Artillery.

Battalion Sergt. Maj. Joseph A. Sheridan, Second Field Artillery.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

Sergt. Ira Benjamin Hill, Coast Artillery Corps.

Master Electrician Berthold Vogel, Coast Artillery Corps.

Corpl. Odes Tillman Pogue, Coast Artillery Corps.

Radio Sergt. William Chason, Coast Artillery Corps.

INFANTRY ARM.

Sergt. Gilbert S. Harter, Company F, Fifteenth Infantry.

Sergt. John Warren Cotton, First Aero Squadron, Signal Corps.

Pvt. Ralph Edward Wallace, Company G, Third Regiment of Engineers.

Sergt. Lawrence Wellburn Fagg, Medical Department, Army Reserve.

First Class Pvt. Maury Mann, Company C, Third Regiment of Engineers.

Corpl. Rupert L. Purdon, Company G, Thirty-fourth Infantry.

First Class Pvt. Richard S. Jones, Ordnance Department.

Sergt. William Carleton Hanna, Medical Department.

Corpl. Leon G. Harer, Coast Artillery Corps.

First Sergt. Edwin Mack Scott, Coast Artillery Corps.

Sergt. Paul J. Dowling, Company E, Second Regiment of Engineers.

Corpl. John Herbert Jones, school detachment, Aviation Section, Signal Corps.
Corpl. Rufus E. Wicker, Company F, Third Regiment of Engineers.
Sergt. Charles L. Briscoe, Medical Department.
Corpl. Roy O. Wren, Quartermaster Corps.
Sergt. Hermann Charles Dompewolf, Company E, Second Regiment of Engineers.
Pvt. Paul Ireton Jones, Company E, Second Telegraph Battalion, Signal Corps.
Sergt. Frank Everett Hinton, Company D, Second Infantry.
Corpl. Frank Patrick Tuohy, Company C, Third Regiment of Engineers.
Sergt. John R. Hermann, Company I, Eighth Infantry.
Pvt. Louis T. Roberts, Coast Artillery Corps.
Sergt. James Minch Palmer, Medical Department.
Sergt. Ralph A. W. Pearson, school detachment, Aviation Section, Signal Corps.
Corpl. Alfred Millard, Company H, Twenty-seventh Infantry.
Pvt. Harry H. Ambs, Company M, Twenty-ninth Infantry.
Corpl. William H. Bittenbender, Company D, Twenty-seventh Infantry.
Q. M. Sergt. Raymond H. Bishop, Quartermaster Corps.
Sergt. Henry D. Mitchell, Company D, Thirty-first Infantry.
First Class Pvt. James A. Summersett, jr., school detachment, Aviation Section, Signal Corps.
Corpl. Hugh Coskery Gilchrist, Company F, Sixth Infantry.
Sergt. Allen T. Veatch, Quartermaster Corps.
First Class Pvt. Sigurd J. Simonsen, Company M, Signal Corps.
Sergt. Thomas G. Bond, Medical Department.
Sergt. John E. Haywood, Quartermaster Corps.

The persons herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants in the Army of the United States, to rank from date of appointment:

CAVALRY ARM.

Joseph M. Hurt, jr., of Virginia.
George I. Speer, of Delaware.
Charles B. Duncan, of Tennessee.
Ferris M. Angevine, of Massachusetts.
Julian W. Cunningham, of the District of Columbia.
Sam George Fuller, at large.
Clinton Albert Pierce, of New York.
Thomas McFarland Cockrill, of Missouri.
Delmore Stephen Wood, of California.
George William Lyman Prettyman, of New York.
Thomas McIlvaine Turner, of New York.
Horace Lyle Hudson, of Utah.
Lawrence Cordell Frizzell, of Georgia.
Jean Frederick Sabin, of Wisconsin.
Robert Fulton White, of North Carolina.
Henry Davis Jay, of Pennsylvania.
George Ralph Barker, of Georgia.
Ray Lawrence Burnell, of Maine.
Arthur Winton Hartman, of Pennsylvania.
John William Berry, of Texas.
Harry Madara Brown, of New York.
Joseph Nixon Marx, of New York.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Stacy Knopf, of Pennsylvania.
James M. Garrett, jr., of Alabama.
David M. Pope, of Illinois.
Harry B. Weston, of Pennsylvania.
Eugene Henry Willenbucher, of New Jersey.
Louis C. Arthur, jr., of North Carolina.
John Flavel Hubbard, of New York.
Franklin McKenzie Davison, of Illinois.
William Edgar Shepherd, jr., of New York.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

Evan C. Seaman, of Pennsylvania.
Clarence E. Cotter, of Utah.
Gordon Bennett Welch, of Kansas.
James Moore Evans, of Virginia.
Cedric Ferris Maguire, of New York.
Edward Eugene Murphy, of Massachusetts.
Marshall McDiarmid Williams, jr., of North Carolina.
Henry Rasick Behrens, of Pennsylvania.
Edward Clarence Seeds, of Iowa.
Edison Albert Lynn, of California.
Milton Pierce Morrill, of Minnesota.
Guy Humphrey Drewry, of Virginia.
Raphael Saul Chavin, of New York.
John Lester Scott, of Maine.
Alva Franklin Englehart, of Missouri.

INFANTRY ARM.

James D. Basey, of Oregon.
Ray M. O'Day, of Washington.
Alan Pendleton, of Pennsylvania.
Merritt Elijah Olmstead, of Oklahoma.
Benjamin F. Caffey, jr., of Utah.
Hadyn Potter Mayers, of Texas.
Rogers Murchison Wilson, of Georgia.
Henry Ephraim Mosher, of New York.
Albin Krill Kupfer, of New York.
Augustine Joseph Zerbee, of Ohio.
Frank August Heileman, of Missouri.
Arthur Blaine Hutchinson, of Iowa.
Lauritz Daniel Simonson, of Connecticut.
Carl Reah Perkins, of Ohio.
Stanley Morton Muckleston, of Wisconsin.
Franklin Washington Cheney, of Georgia.
George Francis Wellage, of Texas.
Alfred F. Biles, jr., of Oregon.
Charles Turner Hearin, of Alabama.
Hugh Mackay Davis, of Maryland.
John Frederick Fredin, jr., of Minnesota.
James Bowdoin Wise, jr., of Virginia.
Thomas Alexander Langford, of Connecticut.
Harry Lispenard Kimmell, of the District of Columbia.
Clarence Maxwell Culp, of Indiana.
Charles Benjamin Kehoe, of North Carolina.
Philip Shaw Wood, of Texas.
Sheldon Eliot Hoadley, of New York.
Harvey Cecil Kearney, of Nebraska.
Arthur Wallace Stedman, jr., of Colorado.
Arthur Postell Jervey, of South Carolina.
Starr Sedgwick Eaton, of Wisconsin.
Oliver Franklin Holden, of Texas.
Maurice Percy Walker, of Pennsylvania.
Thomas Liggett Lamoreux, of New York.
Daniel Newton Murphy, of Texas.
Adlai Cyrus Young, of Wisconsin.
Alexander Newton Stark, jr., of Virginia.
Clinton Inness McClure, of Kansas.
Roy Charles Lemach Graham, of New Hampshire.
Arthur Franklin Joseph Holben, of Pennsylvania.
Lloyd Bebb Russell, of Kansas.
George Sawtelle, at large.
John Edwin Gough, of Pennsylvania.
Leonard Almy Smith, of Connecticut.
John Waldemar Thompson, of Wisconsin.
Philip Overstreet, of Illinois.
Lara Paul Good, of Indiana.
George A. McDonald, of Texas.
George Maltby Wright, junior, of Ohio.
Archie Arrington Farmer, of North Carolina.
John Thomas Fisher, of California.
Edwin Eugene Elliott, of Minnesota.
Charles Sabin Ferrin, of Vermont.
George Warner Titus, of California.
Samuel David Mann, of Ohio.
John Carver Adams, of Oregon.
Robert Gilpin Ervin, of Pennsylvania.
Edward Lodge McKee, jr., of Indiana.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Capt. Harry S. Knapp to be a rear admiral in the Navy from the 13th day of August, 1916.

The following-named captains to be rear admirals in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:
William L. Rodgers,
Harry McL. P. Huse (an additional number in grade),
George W. McElroy (an additional number in grade),
Robert S. Griffin (an additional number in grade),
George E. Burd (an additional number in grade),
James H. Oliver (an additional number in grade),
John Hood, and
William S. Sims.

The following-named commanders to be captains in the Navy from the 10th day of August, 1916:
Cleland N. Offley (an additional number in grade), and
Louis R. de Steiguer.

Commander William W. Phelps to be a captain in the Navy from the 13th day of August, 1916.

The following-named commanders to be captains in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:
Louis A. Kaiser,
William C. Cole,
Jehu V. Chase,
Henry J. Ziegemeier,

George W. Williams,
Montgomery M. Taylor,
Carl T. Vogelgesang,
Charles B. McVay, jr.,
John H. Dayton,
Lucius A. Bostwick,
William A. Moffett,
Julian L. Latimer, and
DeWitt Blamer.

Commander John K. Robison to be a captain in the Navy from the 10th day of October, 1916.

The following-named commanders to be captains in the Navy from the 1st day of January, 1917:

Arthur L. Willard, and
Henry H. Hough.

Lieut. Commander Earl P. Jessop to be a commander in the Navy from the 10th day of August, 1916.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

David E. Theleen,
Orin G. Murfin,
Luther M. Overstreet,
Walton R. Sexton,
William D. Leahy,
John Halligan, jr.,
William C. Watts,
Lyman A. Cotten,
William T. Tarrant,
Yancey S. Williams,
Charles P. Nelson,
Edward B. Fenner,
Victor A. Kimberly,
Claude C. Bloch,
Henry E. Lackey,
Edward C. Kalbfus,
Cyrus W. Cole, and
John W. Greenslade.

Lieut. Commander Harry L. Brinser to be a commander in the Navy from the 30th day of September, 1916.

Lieut. Commander James H. Tomb to be a commander in the Navy from the 1st day of January, 1917.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

James D. Willson,
William Ancrum,
John Rodgers,
William D. Greetham,
Benjamin K. Johnson,
Charles S. Joyce,
Ormond L. Cox,
Royal E. Ingersoll,
Herbert F. Leary,
Chester W. Nimitz,
Reuben B. Coffey,
Joseph V. Ogan,
Albert T. Church,
Logan Cresap,
John N. Ferguson,
Louis C. Farley,
Arthur C. Stott,
William S. McClintic,
Byron McCandless,
Roscoe C. MacFall,
Robert L. Irvine, and
Turner F. Caldwell.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Walter F. Lafranz,
Riley F. McConnell,
George W. Simpson,
Charles S. Keller,
Edmund D. Almy,
Jere H. Brooks,
Burton A. Strait,
Charles H. Davis, jr.,
Paul E. Speicher,
Eddie J. Estess,
William H. Stiles, jr.,
James D. Smith,
Abner M. Steckel,
Laurance S. Stewart, and
Guy C. Barnes.

Ensign Charles W. McNair to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 8th day of June, 1915.

Ensign Karl E. Hintze to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy from the 7th day of June, 1916.

Boatswain Dallas Wait to be an ensign in the Navy from the 9th day of February, 1917.

Medical Inspector George H. Barber to be a medical director in the Navy from the 2d day of October, 1916.

Medical Inspector Rand P. Crandall to be a medical director in the Navy from the 11th day of January, 1917.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Charles E. Riggs,
James F. Leys,
Frank C. Cook,
Ammen Farenholt,
Charles P. Kindleberger,
Arthur W. Dunbar,
Theodore W. Richards,
Moulton K. Johnson,
Middleton S. Elliott,
Dudley N. Carpenter, and
James C. Pryor.

Surg. Washington B. Grove to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 2d day of October, 1916.

Surg. Raymond Spear to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 11th day of January, 1917.

Passed Asst. Surg. Robert G. Heiner to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 12th day of June, 1916.

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Robert E. Stoops,
Benjamin H. Dorsey,
Harry F. Hull,
William J. Zalesky,
Lewis H. Wheeler,
Henry A. May,
William D. Owens,
Owen J. Mink,
Frederick E. Porter, and
Paul T. Bessez.

Passed Asst. Surg. Norman T. McLean to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916.

The following-named assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps to be assistant surgeons in the Navy from the 5th day of February, 1917:

Arthur C. Sinton,
Franklin F. Murdoch,
Harold L. Jensen,
Theo E. Cox,
James A. Halpin,
Franklin T. Bower,
Aubrey M. Larson,
Julian C. Brantley,
Louis H. Williams,
Ogden D. King,
Irving W. Jacobs,
James M. Quinn,
Arthur W. Hoaglund,
Philip F. Prioleau,
Lockhart D. Arbuckle,
Robert L. Nattkemper,
William E. Lawhead,
George P. Shields,
Edward K. Lee,
John P. Owen,
Charles F. Glenn,
George B. Tyler,
Arthur Freeman,
John J. Loughlin, and
Jack H. Harris.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 19th day of January, 1917:

George J. Eckel, a citizen of New York,
Luther F. Warren, a citizen of New York, and
John T. Bennett, a citizen of Mississippi.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 26th day of January, 1917:

Arthur H. Drane, a citizen of Georgia, and
William H. Whitmore, a citizen of Virginia.

Thomas C. Anderson, a citizen of South Dakota, to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 30th day of January, 1917.

Charles Eastmond, a citizen of New York, to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 2d day of February, 1917.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 9th day of February, 1917:

William O. Bailey, a citizen of the District of Columbia,
William B. Fowlkes, a citizen of Virginia, and
Ralph H. Jenkins, a citizen of Maryland.

Julius L. Waterman, a citizen of New York, to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 13th day of February, 1917.

The following-named acting assistant dental surgeons to be dental surgeons in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

William N. Cogan,
Harry E. Harvey,
James L. Brown,
Eugene H. Tennent,
Joseph A. Mahoney,
Leon Martin,
Joseph D. Halleck,
Anson F. McCreary,
Marion E. Harrison,
Ernest W. Lacy,
Lucian C. Williams,
Harry W. Blaisdell,
Harry D. Johnson,
Paul G. White,
Cornelius H. Mack,
Arthur A. Rehm,
Hugh T. Meyers,
William L. Darnall,
Logan A. Willard,
John R. Barber,
George H. Reed,
Franklin L. Morey,
John V. McAlpin,
Marson W. Mangold,
Edward E. Harris,
Alexander G. Lyle,
Alexander J. Zuehlke,
John W. Crandall,
Thomas L. Sampsell, and
Thomas J. Daly.

The following-named assistant dental surgeons in the Dental Reserve Corps to be assistant dental surgeons in the Dental Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

George C. Kusel,
Meyer L. Rhein,
Clarence J. Grieves,
Charles W. Rodgers,
Clyde M. Gearhart,
David J. Alexander,
Walter C. Miller,
Edwin N. Cochran,
Gordon H. Claude,
Charles C. Galloway,
William M. Thebaut, and
George C. Fowler.

The following named citizens to be dental surgeons in the Navy for a probationary period of two years from the 20th day of February, 1917:

Griffin G. Frazier, a citizen of District of Columbia,
Rufus A. Ferguson, a citizen of Virginia,
Alfred W. Chandler, a citizen of New Jersey, and
Carl S. Ziesel, a citizen of New Jersey.

Assistant Civil Engineer Carl A. Bostrom to be a civil engineer in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Boatswain Ernest Heilmann to be a chief boatswain in the Navy from the 21st day of June, 1916.

Boatswain John B. Hupp to be a chief boatswain in the Navy from the 21st day of June, 1916.

Pharmacist Howard E. Sausser to be a chief pharmacist in the Navy from the 21st day of November, 1916.

Pay Clerk Charles E. Rappolee to be a chief pay clerk in the Navy from the 2d day of November, 1916.

Pharmacist Stephen Wierzbicki to be a chief pharmacist in the Navy from the 19th day of January, 1917.

Douglas B. Parker, a citizen of New York, to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Dental Reserve Corps of the Navy from the 30th day of January, 1917.

Assistant Paymaster Nicholas H. Stavey, with rank of lieutenant (junior grade) on the retired list, to be a passed assistant paymaster in the Navy with the rank of lieutenant on the retired list from the 29th day of June, 1906, in accordance with the provisions of an act of Congress approved on that date.

The following-named naval constructors with rank of commander to be naval constructors in the Navy with rank of captain from the 29th day of August, 1916:

John G. Tawresey,
Robert Stocker,
Elliot Snow, and
George H. Rock.

The following-named naval constructors with rank of lieutenant commander to be naval constructors in the Navy with rank of commander from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Richard M. Watt,
John D. Beuret,
Daniel C. Nutting, jr.,
William P. Robert,
Thomas G. Roberts,
Laurence S. Adams,
Stuart F. Smith,
William G. DuBose,
Ernest F. Eggert, and
Henry Williams.

Brig. Gen. Joseph H. Pendleton (now commissioned subject to examination required by law), to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Brig. Gen. Eli K. Cole (now commissioned subject to examination required by law), to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. Col. Henry C. Haines, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. Col. Rufus H. Lane, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. Col. Albert S. McLemore, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. Col. Cyrus S. Radford, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Capt. Frank J. Schwable, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Capt. Frank Halford, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Capt. Walter E. Noa, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Capt. Percy F. Archer, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Capt. Seth Williams, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Capt. Rupert C. Dewey, assistant quartermaster, to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major (subject to examination required by law) from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Maj. Albert S. McLemore, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Maj. Louis J. Magill, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Maj. David D. Porter, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

The following-named lieutenant colonels to be colonels in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Charles G. Long,
Ben H. Fuller,
Laurence H. Moses,
Thomas C. Treadwell,
Dion Williams,
John T. Myers, and
Albertus W. Catlin.

Lieut. Col. Wendell C. Neville, to be a colonel in the Marine Corps (subject to examination required by law) from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. Col. Thomas C. Treadwell (now commissioned subject to examination required by law) to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps from the 27th day of September, 1914.

The following-named majors to be lieutenant colonels in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

William N. McKelvy,
John H. Russell,
Melville J. Shaw,
Philip M. Bannon,
Newt H. Hall,
Smedley D. Butler,
George C. Thorpe,
Charles S. Hill,
George C. Reid,
Robert H. Dunlap,
Harry Lee,
John F. McGill,
Louis M. Gulick,
Hiram I. Bearss,
Frederic L. Bradman,
Arthur T. Marix, and
George Van Orden.

The following-named majors to be lieutenant colonels in the Marine Corps (subject to examination required by law) from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Randolph C. Berkeley,
Carl Gamborg-Andresen, and
James C. Breckinridge.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

George Van Orden,
James T. Bootes,
Logan Feland,
William Hopkins,
Dickinson P. Hall,
Charles H. Lyman,
Louis McC. Little,
Frederic M. Wise,
Richard M. Cutts,
Harold C. Snyder,
Alexander S. Williams,
Julius S. Turrill,
James McE. Huey,
Jay M. Salladay,
Macker Babb,
Harry R. Lay,
Charles B. Taylor,
John W. Wadleigh,
William C. Harllee,
Richard S. Hooker,
Richard P. Williams,
John C. Beaumont,
Paul E. Chamberlin,
Presley M. Rixey, jr.,
Theodore E. Backstrom,
Thomas H. Brown,
William G. Fay,
Robert Y. Rhea,
Eli T. Fryer,
Thomas Holcomb, jr.,
Edward B. Manwaring,
Thomas M. Clinton,
Hamilton D. South,
James T. Buttrick,
Giles Bishop, jr.,
James K. Tracy,
Berton W. Sibley,
Chandler Campbell,
Arthur J. O'Leary,
Charles T. Wescott,
Frederick A. Ramsey,
Earl H. Ellis,
John A. Hughes, and
Thomas C. Turner.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps (subject to examination required by law) from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Charles C. Carpenter,
John N. Wright, and
William L. Redles.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 12th day of June, 1916:

Victor I. Morrison,
Maurice E. Shearer,
Harry G. Bartlett, and
Charles A. Lutz.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

John R. Henley,
Henry S. Green,
Ralph L. Shepard,
William W. Buckley,
William C. Wise, jr.,
William D. Smith,
Randolph Coyle,
Philip H. Torrey,
Robert L. Denig,
Charles S. McReynolds,
Charles F. B. Price,
Sydney S. Lee,
Ross E. Rowell,
Harold H. Utley,
Paul A. Capron,
William F. Bevan,
Edward A. Ostermann,
Edward S. Willing,
Ralph S. Keyser,
Julian P. Willcox,
Ross S. Kingsbury,
Robert E. Adams,
Edwin N. McClellan,
Littleton W. T. Waller, jr.,
John Dixon,
Clarke H. Wells,
Wilbur Thing,
Edwin H. Brainard,
Alfred A. Cunningham,
Alley D. Rorex,
Harold L. Parsons,
Dwight F. Smith,
Ernest A. Perkins,
Randolph T. Zane,
Clarence C. Riner,
Julian C. Smith,
Charles J. Miller,
Otto Becker, jr.,
Leander A. Clapp,
William S. Harrison,
Clarence E. Nutting,
Edward M. Reno,
Joseph C. Fegan,
Joseph D. Murray,
Woolman G. Emory,
Francis T. Evans,
Donald F. Duncan,
Ralph E. Davis,
Frederick R. Hoyt,
Fred S. N. Erskine,
Roy S. Geiger,
Richard H. Tebbs, jr.,
Robert E. Messersmith,
George W. Van Hoose,
Charles D. Barrett,
Edmond H. Morse,
Robert P. Peirce,
Oliver Floyd,
Gerald A. Johnson,
Harry Schmidt,
Rolland E. Brumbaugh,
Earl C. Long,
Harry L. Smith,
William M. McIlvain,
Roy D. Lowell,
Selden B. Kennedy,
Miles R. Thacher,
Lloyd W. Williams,
William B. Sullivan,
George W. Martin,
George K. Shuler,
David S. Barry, jr.,
David L. S. Brewster,
Tracy G. Hunter, jr.,
Bernard F. Hickey,
Richmond Bryant,
Paul C. Marmion,
Lowry B. Stephenson,
John L. Mayer, and
Benjamin A. Moeller.

First Lieut. Bernard L. Smith to be a captain in the Marine Corps (subject to examination required by law) from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Second Lieut. Sidney N. Raynor to be first lieutenant in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of July, 1914.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 12th day of June, 1916:

James T. Reid,
Robert P. Peirce,
Oliver Floyd,
Rolland E. Brumbaugh,
Earl C. Long,
William M. McIlvain,
Roy D. Lowell,
Marion B. Humphrey,
George W. Martin,
Tracy G. Hunter, jr.,
Bernard F. Hickey,
John L. Doxey,
John A. Gray,
Richmond Bryant, and
Charles A. E. King.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Paul C. Marmion,
Lowry B. Stephenson,
John L. Mayer,
Benjamin A. Moeller,
Clyde H. Metcalf,
Harold C. Pierce,
Douglas B. Roben,
Theodore A. Secor,
Thomas M. Luby,
George A. Stowell,
Henry L. Larsen,
John C. Foster,
William H. Rupertus,
James L. Underhill,
Keller E. Rockey,
George W. Hamilton,
Matthew H. Kingman,
Alphonse De Carre,
Cecil S. Baker,
John F. S. Norris,
Samuel L. Howard,
Lyle H. Miller,
Anderson C. Dearing,
Ralph J. Mitchell,
Louis R. de Roode,
Archie F. Howard,
Raymond R. Wright,
Walter H. Sitz,
William G. Hawthorne,
Oscar R. Cauldwell,
Edward C. Fuller,
Arnold W. Jacobsen, and
Earl H. Jenkins.

The following-named enlisted men of the Marine Corps to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps for a probationary period of two years from the 30th day of August, 1916:

Robert S. Hunter,
Glenn D. Miller,
Burwell H. Clarke,
Walter G. Sheard,
Charles A. Wynn,
Thomas E. Watson,
Roger W. Peard,
Thad T. Taylor,
Herbert Rosenzweig,
Paul Brown,
Edward S. Chandler, and
Charles A. Howell.

John D. Nevin, a citizen of Pennsylvania, to be a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps from the 25th day of September, 1916.

The following-named citizens to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps for a probationary period of two years from the 29th day of September, 1916:

Charles P. Gilchrist, a citizen of South Carolina,
Lloyd L. Leech, a citizen of Virginia,
George C. Hamner, a citizen of the District of Columbia,
James M. Bain, a citizen of Virginia,
Harold S. Fassett, a citizen of Maine,
Karl I. Buse, a citizen of South Carolina,
John R. Martin, a citizen of South Carolina,
Gustav Karow, a citizen of Georgia,
Arthur B. Jacques, a citizen of Maryland,
Jesse H. Fugate, jr., a citizen of Virginia,
Samuel A. Woods, jr., a citizen of South Carolina,
Raphael Griffin, a citizen of Virginia,
Horace C. Cooper, a citizen of North Carolina,
David H. Owen, a citizen of South Carolina,
Peter C. Geyer, jr., a citizen of New York,
James E. Davis, a citizen of Virginia,
James T. Moore, a citizen of South Carolina,
William C. Byrd, a citizen of South Carolina,
George B. Reynolds, a citizen of South Carolina,
Joseph E. Brewster, a citizen of New York, and
Nimmo Old, jr., a citizen of Virginia.

The following-named citizens to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps for a probationary period of two years from the 12th day of February, 1917:

George F. Adams, a citizen of Massachusetts,
George W. Spotts, a citizen of Virginia,
Bruce J. Millner, a citizen of Virginia,
Emmett W. Skinner, a citizen of Kansas, and
Jesse J. Burks, a citizen of Virginia.

The following-named citizens to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps for a probationary period of two years from the 6th day of February, 1917:

Maurice G. Holmes, a citizen of Mississippi,
Charles C. Gill, a citizen of Tennessee,
James E. Betts, a citizen of Iowa,
Norman S. Hinman, a citizen of Ohio,
George F. Adams, a citizen of Virginia,
John H. McCahey, a citizen of Pennsylvania,
Wethered Woodworth, a citizen of California,
James W. Webb, a citizen of Alabama,
John M. Tildsley, a citizen of Mississippi,
LeRoy P. Hunt, a citizen of California,
Louis E. Woods, a citizen of New York,
Edward R. Rhodes, a citizen of Massachusetts,
Harry K. Cochran, a citizen of Missouri,
Donald R. Fox, a citizen of New York,
William McN. Marshall, a citizen of Colorado,
George H. Scott, a citizen of South Dakota,
Alexander Galt, a citizen of Virginia,
Paul R. Cowley, a citizen of Massachusetts,
Allen W. Harrington, jr., a citizen of Massachusetts,
Bailey M. Coffenberg, a citizen of New York,
Eugene F. C. Collier, a citizen of the District of Columbia,
Evans O. Ames, a citizen of California,
Stanley M. Muckleston, a citizen of Wisconsin,
William H. Davis, a citizen of Idaho,
Richard N. Platt, a citizen of New Jersey,
William E. Williams, a citizen of the District of Columbia,
William W. Scott, jr., a citizen of West Virginia, and
Franklin A. Hart, a citizen of Alabama.

First Lieut. William C. Powers, jr., to be a captain in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916.

George S. Whiteside, a citizen of Oregon, to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy, from the 27th day of February, 1917.

The following-named enlisted men of the United States Marine Corps, to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps for a probationary period of two years, from the 8th day of March, 1917:

William LaF. Crabbe,
Harlan E. Major, and
Frank L. Morris.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Robert A. Baird to be postmaster at Castleberry, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph C. Boone to be postmaster at Berry, Ala. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Thomas A. Carter to be postmaster at Grove Hill, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

B. B. Cather to be postmaster at Ashville, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Willis C. Johnson to be postmaster at Vernon, Ala. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Charles E. Mitchell to be postmaster at Hamilton, Ala. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

ALASKA.

J. F. Warder to be postmaster at Ketchikan, Alaska, in place of M. E. Swineford, resigned.

ARIZONA.

George H. Francis to be postmaster at Patagonia, Ariz. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Robert T. Jones to be postmaster at Superior, Ariz. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Elva C. Shuck to be postmaster at Oatman, Ariz. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

ARKANSAS.

Duffy Allen to be postmaster at De Witt, Ark., in place of L. J. Miller, resigned.

Ernest W. Cato to be postmaster at Gravette, Ark., in place of W. H. Austin, resigned.

W. E. Lamb to be postmaster at Lepanto, Ark. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

James H. Landes to be postmaster at Lewisville, Ark., in place of J. A. Steele, deceased.

James C. Perkins to be postmaster at Yellville, Ark., in place of Alfred Watts, resigned.

Albert S. Snowden to be postmaster at Paragould, Ark., in place of T. E. Haley, resigned.

Thomas R. Willson to be postmaster at Ola, Ark. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

William D. Yancey to be postmaster at Van Buren, Ark., in place of H. C. Pernot, deceased.

CALIFORNIA.

George C. Coggin to be postmaster at Armona, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Thomas J. Durfee to be postmaster at Bieber, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ida M. Fink to be postmaster at Crows Landing, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Margaret C. Finnegan to be postmaster at Nevada City, Cal. in place of G. B. Finnegan, resigned.

John W. Foley to be postmaster at Amador City, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Solomon Geer to be postmaster at Puente, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

H. A. Hall to be postmaster at Bigpine, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

S. R. Jumper to be postmaster at Balboa, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Thomas F. Keating to be postmaster at Novato, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Merle Koeh to be postmaster at Le Grand, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

May Lent to be postmaster at Byron, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Annie M. Lepley to be postmaster at Plymouth, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Henry A. Miles to be postmaster at Ramona, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward R. Neill to be postmaster at Indio, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

William O'Grady to be postmaster at Kennett, Cal., in place of Kenneth V. Blair, resigned.

Ralph H. Read to be postmaster at Middletown, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Mabel P. Reeder to be postmaster at La Manda Park, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph P. Schaefer to be postmaster at Mayfield, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Ross L. Taylor to be postmaster at Downieville, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

William D. Thornton to be postmaster at Yosemite, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Herbert S. Watson to be postmaster at Tahoe, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

COLORADO.

Charles D. Baldwin to be postmaster at Granada, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

R. O. Casady to be postmaster at Springfield, Colo., in place of J. E. Gordon, resigned.

Ralph H. Crawford to be postmaster at Nederland, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Adelbert E. Humeston to be postmaster at Collbran, Colo. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph C. Irvin to be postmaster at Kremmling, Colo. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

CONNECTICUT.

Moses G. Marcy to be postmaster at Falls Village, Conn., in place of R. P. Smith. Commission expired July 29, 1916.

FLORIDA.

G. L. Anderson to be postmaster at Leesburg, Fla., in place of J. M. Hewitt, resigned.

E. L. Brigman to be postmaster at Panama City, Fla., in place of Ai Hogeboom, removed.

Sterling L. Canter to be postmaster at Avon Park, Fla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Jesse S. Collins to be postmaster at Webster, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Samuel W. Eldridge to be postmaster at Apopka, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Emma S. Fletcher to be postmaster at Havana, Fla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Charles T. Hellier to be postmaster at Jensen, Fla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Homer E. Hooks to be postmaster at Clermont, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edna F. Hope to be postmaster at Dunedin, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph M. Jones to be postmaster at Vero, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward B. Langford to be postmaster at Zolfo, Fla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Eleanor R. McKenna to be postmaster at Palm Beach, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James E. Maddox to be postmaster at Port St. Joe, Fla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Charles W. Pierce to be postmaster at Boynton, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

N. Macon Thornton to be postmaster at Ormond Beach, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

GEORGIA.

Scott Berryman to be postmaster at Bowman, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward J. Bible to be postmaster at Mount Berry, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John S. Brown to be postmaster at Locust Grove, Ga., in place of John S. Brown. Incumbent's commission expired June 7, 1916.

Edward S. Downs to be postmaster at Monticello, Ga., in place of Augusta Glover. Incumbent's commission expired April 11, 1916.

Shedrick J. Faulk to be postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ga., in place of M. L. Carswell, removed.

George L. Lemon to be postmaster at Acworth, Ga., in place of Mattie Mitchell. Incumbent's commission expired August 1, 1916.

Gussie C. Lyon to be postmaster at Roswell, Ga. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Susie McAllister to be postmaster at Fort Gaines, Ga., in place of T. C. Peterson. Incumbent's commission expired June 7, 1916.

Elisha A. Meeks to be postmaster at Nicholls, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Elias L. Moore to be postmaster at Willacoochee, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William Smith to be postmaster at Pearson, Ga. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

James A. Stone to be postmaster at Wrens, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Will P. Tate to be postmaster at Trion, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John D. Watterson to be postmaster at Eatonton, Ga., in place of T. C. Spivey, resigned.

HAWAII.

D. H. MacAdam to be postmaster at Honolulu, Hawaii, in place of W. F. Young, resigned.

William Miner to be postmaster at Waipahu, Hawaii, in place of J. G. Lewis, resigned.

IDAHO.

J. I. Allen to be postmaster at Rockland, Idaho. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

D. Rolla Harris to be postmaster at Sugar, Idaho. Office became presidential July 1, 1914.

Marie Leeper to be postmaster at Elk River, Idaho, in place of J. L. Rettig, resigned.

L. H. Merriam to be postmaster at Grace, Idaho. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

J. V. Nash to be postmaster at Cottonwood, Idaho, in place of C. W. Greenough, resigned.

Clarence P. Sweeney to be postmaster at St. Maries, Idaho, in place of P. T. Sweeney, resigned.

INDIANA.

John F. Bond to be postmaster at Nashville, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Earl Chamberlain to be postmaster at Chalmers, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ray E. Ceyer to be postmaster at Star City, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Oscar M. Farley to be postmaster at Wheatland, Ind. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Maggie L. Harding to be postmaster at Brownsburg, Ind., in place of J. F. Harding, deceased.

S. J. Lenon to be postmaster at Culver, Ind., in place of John Osborn, resigned.

Ethel J. Pinney to be postmaster at La Crosse, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Stirling B. Rash to be postmaster at Shirley, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James H. Spilman to be postmaster at Milroy, Ind., in place of J. R. Sage, resigned.

Fred J. Tam to be postmaster at Idaville, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Cyrenius W. Walters to be postmaster at Hazleton, Ind. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

ILLINOIS.

Fred Arber to be postmaster at Brimfield, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Earl Bitner to be postmaster at Glasford, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Anna Byron to be postmaster at Bourbonnais, Ill. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Thomas E. Cahill to be postmaster at Lake Bluff, Ill. Office became presidential July 1, 1915.

Abdrew B. Campbell to be postmaster at Hardin, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William B. Carlile to be postmaster at Chicago, Ill., in place of D. A. Campbell. Incumbent's commission expired January 15, 1916.

Edna Clemens to be postmaster at Weldon, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. B. Coykendall to be postmaster at Yates City, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John L. Eyrse to be postmaster at San Jose, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Andrew J. Gillogly to be postmaster at Sidell, Ill., in place of T. B. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired January 18, 1916.

Charles A. Heffern to be postmaster at Ashkum, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Mary H. Hrdlicka to be postmaster at Cary Station, Ill. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Conrad C. Miller to be postmaster at Chadwick, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Harriet I. Miller to be postmaster at Lake Villa, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John F. Petit to be postmaster at Mooseheart, Ill. Office became presidential April 1, 1916.

Alta A. Rose to be postmaster at Atwood, Ill., in place of C. C. Hamilton. Incumbent's commission expired April 24, 1916.

George H. Sherman to be postmaster at Wayne City, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank W. Squire to be postmaster at Godfrey, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

IOWA.

Robert N. Bagley, jr., to be postmaster at Dike, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Arthur E. Bassett to be postmaster at Little Sioux, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

E. E. Beck to be postmaster at Leon, Iowa, in place of C. Y. Smith, resigned.

Clara Behle to be postmaster at Norway, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Forest Cole to be postmaster at Grand River, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Oscar O. Conwell to be postmaster at Lovilia, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William H. Fowler to be postmaster of Paton, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

C. Ola Goode to be postmaster at Melcher, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John Grant to be postmaster of Stanwood, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ray Hamilton to be postmaster at Washta, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

W. L. Hoggatt to be postmaster at Salem, Iowa, in place of Owen Hourihan, resigned.

Adelaide M. Johnson to be postmaster at Bode, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

H. P. Juhl to be postmaster at Thompson, Iowa, in place of M. C. Evans, resigned.

Peter H. Jurgensen to be postmaster at Lowden, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Thomas Kelah to be postmaster at Lamont, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John J. McCartan to be postmaster at Fonda, Iowa, in place of S. T. Jordan, resigned.

Josephine McMahon to be postmaster at Melbourne, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

H. D. Mussman to be postmaster at Germania, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Earl W. Neessen to be postmaster at Wellsburg, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Virgil R. Northrop to be postmaster at Grandmound, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

A. J. Palas to be postmaster at Elkader, Iowa, in place of Carl Reinecke, jr., removed.

Fred R. Parker to be postmaster at Moorhead, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Emil M. Peters to be postmaster at Schleswig, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Mayme L. Petersen to be postmaster at Titonka, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Gertrude G. Pitts to be postmaster at Mondamin, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Jacob A. Schwartz to be postmaster at Fenton, Iowa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

William R. Shott to be postmaster at Birmingham, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Albert Tagge to be postmaster at Hartley, Iowa, in place of E. B. Peck, removed.

Charles W. Wescott to be postmaster at Lake Mills, Iowa, in place of J. B. Conley, resigned.

T. T. Williams to be postmaster at Marion, Iowa, in place of C. S. Shanklin, deceased.

KANSAS.

Beatrice Hoffman to be postmaster at Harper, Kans., in place of A. B. Hoffman, deceased.

Bertha McDonald to be postmaster at Cuba, Kans. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Dudley Lunger to be postmaster at Mayetta, Kans. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

R. P. Sloan to be postmaster at Larned, Kans., in place of J. C. McConnaughhay, resigned.

William P. Turner to be postmaster at Leonardville, Kans. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

H. B. Walker to be postmaster at Augusta, Kans., in place of Timothy Sexton, resigned.

Mollie E. Willems to be postmaster at Lansing, Kans., in place of Leonard Willems, deceased.

KENTUCKY.

Harvey J. McRoberts to be postmaster at Stanford, Ky., in place of M. McR. Bruce, resigned.

J. Forrest Porter to be postmaster at Dixon, Ky., in place of A. L. Hall, resigned.

LOUISIANA.

John H. Allen to be postmaster at Plain Dealing, La. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Albert Boudreaux to be postmaster at Thibodaux, La., in place of T. D. Dent, deceased.

Edwin R. Ford to be postmaster at Jonesville, La. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Albert R. Smith to be postmaster at Mangham, La. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MAINE.

F. Raymond Brewster to be postmaster at Ogunquit, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edgar S. Chase to be postmaster at Rockwood, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Harvey F. Mansfield to be postmaster at Jonesport, Me. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Charles W. Mower to be postmaster at North Vassalboro, Me. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Mark P. Pollard to be postmaster at Solon, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Herbert M. Poland to be postmaster at Rockport, Me., in place of C. A. Churchill, resigned.

Eliel D. Sentner to be postmaster at Greenville Junction, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

David H. Smith to be postmaster at Darkharbor, Me. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward C. Watson to be postmaster at Naples, Me. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

MARYLAND.

Robert McI. Shower to be postmaster at Manchester, Md. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Edwin S. Worthington to be postmaster at Darlington, Md. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Josephine E. Dempsey to be postmaster at South Ashburnham, Mass., in place of A. C. Lombard. Incumbent's commission expired March 21, 1916.

Lewis N. Gilman to be postmaster at Allerton, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward L. Harkins to be postmaster at Shirley, Mass., in place of Kate E. Hazen. Incumbent's commission expired February 23, 1915.

Abner Harlow to be postmaster at Mattapoisett, Mass., in place of J. S. Burbank. Incumbent's commission expired December 14, 1912.

Benjamin C. Kelley to be postmaster at Harwich Port, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William M. Knowles to be postmaster at Brewster, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James H. Madigan to be postmaster at Harvard, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John J. Mahoney to be postmaster at Mittineague, Mass., in place of Edwin Smith, resigned.

Charlotte L. Parker to be postmaster at Osterville, Mass., in place of C. L. Parker. Incumbent's commission expired July 18, 1916.

Frank M. Reynolds, jr., to be postmaster at Nantasket Beach, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Willard H. Rowell to be postmaster at Wrentham, Mass., in place of H. A. Cowell, resigned.

D. Anthony Sheehan to be postmaster at Weston, Mass., in place of G. W. Cutting, resigned.

Edward W. Sullivan to be postmaster at Stockbridge, Mass., in place of Agnes J. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired December 20, 1915.

Joseph H. Whelan to be postmaster at South Lancaster, Mass., in place of F. A. Hanaford. Incumbent's commission expired July 18, 1916.

MICHIGAN.

Frances C. Ackerman to be postmaster at Empire, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George T. Baldwin to be postmaster at Fowler, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William Beacom to be postmaster at Pickford, Mich. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Joseph H. Boyle to be postmaster at Bark River, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Neil H. Burns to be postmaster at Kingston, Mich. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Mary A. Deplonty to be postmaster at Auburn, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Thomas J. Donlan to be postmaster at Dollar Bay, Mich. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Floyd W. Downing to be postmaster at Byron, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

De Vere England to be postmaster at Woodland, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James L. Erkenbeck to be postmaster at Grand Junction, Mich. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Roy B. Gaskill to be postmaster at Delton, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Orla C. Gingles to be postmaster at Schoolcraft, Mich., in place of J. N. Budrow, deceased.

George E. Goul to be postmaster at Sand Lake, Mich., in place of John Butler, deceased.

Sara E. C. Irish to be postmaster at Bay View, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank A. Miller to be postmaster at Gladstone, Mich., in place of O. L. Mertz, removed.

Edward P. Ritzler to be postmaster at New Buffalo, Mich. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MINNESOTA.

J. A. Bloom to be postmaster at Chisago City, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Fleur de Lis Bradford to be postmaster at Verndale, Minn., in place of C. J. Aldean, resigned.

H. A. Bye to be postmaster at Ashby, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Bert S. Colton to be postmaster at Granada, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

C. A. Desmond to be postmaster at Franklin, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Emily M. Drexler to be postmaster at Brandon, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George A. Etzell to be postmaster at Clarissa, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Tillmon W. Gillson to be postmaster at Bellingham, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joesph Groebner to be postmaster at Wabasso, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Kate Hostetler to be postmaster at Wykoff, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ole J. Leding to be postmaster at Cook, Minn. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Halvor Lee to be postmaster at Gary, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Samuel A. Nystrom to be postmaster at Watertown, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Margaret McC. Maher to be postmaster at Brewster, Minn., in place of M. I. McCall, name changed by marriage.

Edith A. McN. Marsden to be postmaster at Handrum, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Louis E. Olson to be postmaster at Nicollet, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Otto W. Peterson to be postmaster at Audubon, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

De Wane Searles to be postmaster at Elgin, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John S. Stensrud to be postmaster at Canby, Minn., in place of J. S. Stensrud. Incumbent's commission expired May 31, 1914.

William H. Sturgeon to be postmaster at Canton, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James H. Tofflemire to be postmaster at Jeffers, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Thomas A. Torgerson to be postmaster at Greenbush, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Arthur J. Yackel to be postmaster at Comfrey, Minn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MISSOURI.

George H. Applegate to be postmaster at Keytesville, Mo., in place of G. H. Applegate, deceased.

Robert J. Ball to be postmaster at Gallatin, Mo., in place of R. J. Ball. Incumbent's commission expires May 1, 1917.

Frank D. Lair to be postmaster at Charleston, Mo., in place of E. H. Smith, resigned.

Thomas R. Morris to be postmaster at Clark, Mo. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Amelia C. Walters to be postmaster at Gorin, Mo. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

MISSISSIPPI.

Samuel J. Craig to be postmaster at Sunflower, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Woodward M. Herring to be postmaster at Inverness, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. R. Moreland to be postmaster at Philipp, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George D. Myers to be postmaster at Byhalia, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Nora B. Rose to be postmaster at Shelby, Miss., in place of Rosa Mayers, resigned.

William J. Stephens to be postmaster at Webb, Miss. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MONTANA.

Charles H. Allan to be postmaster at Ryegate, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Don W. Beeman to be postmaster at Lambert, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank Bernatz to be postmaster at Dixon, Mont. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Mattie C. Donaldson to be postmaster at Froid, Mont. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

W. M. Eaman to be postmaster at Dutton, Mont. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

James C. Graves to be postmaster at Glacier Park, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Harriet R. Hord to be postmaster at Superior, Mont. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Matthew U. Mains to be postmaster at Savage, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ulysses H. Nottingham to be postmaster at Bearcreek, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Margaret O'Connell to be postmaster at St. Ignatius, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Hallie Savage to be postmaster at Troy, Mont. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NEBRASKA.

John T. Bridges to be postmaster at Oconto, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Mildred B. Graves to be postmaster at Palisade, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

W. N. Hunter to be postmaster at Syracuse, Nebr., in place of B. S. Littlefield, deceased.

Emil H. Mack to be postmaster at Petersburg, Nebr., in place of Gus Diers, removed.

William A. Naviaux to be postmaster at Lewellen, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William J. Ramaekers to be postmaster at Lindsay, Nebr., in place of J. W. Connelly, resigned.

Gertrude Shepardson to be postmaster at Homer, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Laura E. Smith to be postmaster at Doniphan, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. Frank Smyth to be postmaster at Springview, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Anders P. Thomsen to be postmaster at Dannebrog, Nebr. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William N. Trent to be postmaster at Bellevue, Nebr. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Albert A. Bennett to be postmaster at Center Harbor, N. H. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Stella E. Coburn to be postmaster at North Rochester, N. H. Office became presidential April 1, 1916.

Benjamin H. Dodge to be postmaster at New Boston, N. H. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Merton C. Harriman to be postmaster at Jackson, N. H. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Henri T. Ledoux to be postmaster at Nashua, N. H., in place of H. C. Phaneuf, deceased.

Arthur H. Rollins to be postmaster at Andover, N. H. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Effie T. Smith to be postmaster at North Woodstock, N. H. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Henry A. Smith to be postmaster at Berlin, N. H., in place of P. J. Smyth, deceased.

NEW JERSEY.

Arthur D. Appleby to be postmaster at Spotswood, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Alley B. Ayres to be postmaster at Island Heights, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John Boyd to be postmaster at Greystone Park, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank C. Carle to be postmaster at Madison, N. J., in place of L. A. Waters. Incumbent's commission expired December 14, 1915.

George A. Clark to be postmaster at Scotch Plains, N. J. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Frank R. Crater to be postmaster at Lake Hopatcong, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank Ferry, jr., to be postmaster at Bayhead, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John B. Geary to be postmaster at South Plainfield, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Walter R. Huff to be postmaster at Neshanic Station, N. J. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

William D. Jardine to be postmaster at Kenvil, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward F. Lonergan to be postmaster at Millburn, N. J., in place to G. C. Kessler. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1916.

Daniel E. McCallion to be postmaster at Lakehurst, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George E. Obdyke to be postmaster at Landing, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Susie S. Smith to be postmaster at Maywood, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William C. Snyder to be postmaster at Avon by the Sea, N. J. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Horace G. Stonaker to be postmaster at Riverton, N. J., in place of C. L. Flanagan. Incumbent's commission expired April 15, 1916.

NEW MEXICO.

Ira Allmon to be postmaster at Estancia, N. Mex., in place of James Walker, resigned.

R. A. Dodson to be postmaster at Tucumcari, N. Mex., in place of T. F. Gorman, deceased.

Charlie McDonald to be postmaster at Lovington, N. Mex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

R. M. McNatt to be postmaster at Tularosa, N. Mex., in place of W. A. Cloman, resigned.

NEVADA.

Norman B. Price to be postmaster at Goodsprings, Nev. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NEW YORK.

George B. Burdick to be postmaster at De Ruyter, N. Y., in place of C. P. Monro, resigned.

Walter J. Burke to be postmaster at Mineville, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Charles O. Craft to be postmaster at Roslyn, N. Y., in place of Peter Lynch, jr., deceased.

Leslie E. Eignor to be postmaster at Pine Hill, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph A. Frost to be postmaster at Williamstown, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

John B. Mattice to be postmaster at Wayland, N. Y., in place of J. A. Kramer, deceased.

Thomas G. Patten to be postmaster at New York, N. Y., in place of Edward M. Morgan. Incumbent's commission expired December 14, 1915.

Clara M. Park to be postmaster at Woodstock, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George H. Smiley to be postmaster at Minnewaska, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

George W. Snyder to be postmaster at Schoharie, N. Y., in place of C. B. L'Amoreaux, removed.

Charles B. Stickel to be postmaster at Madalin, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Charles H. Whitson to be postmaster at Briarcliff Manor, N. Y., in place of C. H. Whitson. Incumbent's commission expired April 17, 1916.

Herbert C. Wood to be postmaster at Morrisville, N. Y., in place of I. D. Blowers, resigned.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William C. Allen, jr., to be postmaster at Sunburst, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Albert R. Bauman to be postmaster at Montreat, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Annie K. Brown to be postmaster at Red Springs, N. C., in place of N. A. Brown, deceased.

Joseph B. Colvard to be postmaster at Jefferson, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

D. O. Daniel to be postmaster at Southport, N. C., in place of R. S. Newton, resigned.

William H. Lane to be postmaster at Leaksville, N. C., in place of J. H. Lane, resigned.

Lewis B. McBrayer to be postmaster at Sanatorium, N. C. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Edgar F. McCulloch, jr., to be postmaster at Elizabethtown, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

H. Roy Martin to be postmaster at Mayodan, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edward K. Morris to be postmaster at Creedmore, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

W. T. Potts to be postmaster at Highlands, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Archie J. Sykes to be postmaster at Pomona, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George L. Taylor to be postmaster at Fletcher, N. C. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Minnie E. Anderson to be postmaster at Leonard, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

James Fitzpatrick to be postmaster at Sawyer, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Mabelle Fletcher to be postmaster at Adams, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Jeanette Gamble to be postmaster at Portal, N. Dak., in place of William Gamble, deceased.

William M. Hambleton to be postmaster at Woodworth, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William E. Hynes to be postmaster at Tolley, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

R. E. Itskin to be postmaster at Hazen, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Andrew C. Jensen to be postmaster at Edinburg, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

C. J. King to be postmaster at Columbus, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Gertrude M. Larin to be postmaster at Parshall, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Charles Lescault to be postmaster at Stanley, N. Dak., in place of John W. Doles. Incumbent's commission expired July 16, 1916.

Oscar W. Moore to be postmaster at Rocklake, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Mons K. Ohnstad to be postmaster at Sharon, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William J. Quigley to be postmaster at Bathgate, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Budd Reeve, jr., to be postmaster at Buxton, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John W. Stevenson to be postmaster at Flasher, N. Dak., in place of J. R. Krueger, resigned.

Ira L. Walla to be postmaster at Arnegard, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Myrtle M. Williams to be postmaster at Makoti, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Robert A. Yeater to be postmaster at Wing, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

OHIO.

William L. Bryan to be postmaster at Bradner, Ohio. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

William J. Connolly to be postmaster at Grand Rapids, Ohio. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

E. L. Churchill to be postmaster at Metamora, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

G. B. Darling to be postmaster at Perrysville, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Emil L. Davis to be postmaster at Lakeview, Ohio. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

John S. Heeter to be postmaster at West Carrollton, Ohio, in place of P. J. McClain. Incumbent's commission expires July 29, 1917.

Charles O. Polen to be postmaster at Beallsville, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Lena L. Reed to be postmaster at Amanda, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. D. M. Russell to be postmaster at Wilberforce, Ohio. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Clayton C. Schoner to be postmaster at Hartville, Ohio. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Elden E. Schott to be postmaster at Brewster, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Kate B. Stanley to be postmaster at Lowell, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George M. Towle to be postmaster at Sardis, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William T. Wilson to be postmaster at Mount Orab, Ohio. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

OKLAHOMA.

Samuel L. Arnold to be postmaster at Devol, Okla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Sullivan G. Ashby to be postmaster at Ringling, Okla., in place of T. R. Dunlap, resigned.

Joel L. Baugh to be postmaster at Choteau, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. C. Cobb to be postmaster at Wirt, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Fred Couch to be postmaster at Westville, Okla., in place of L. E. Chase, resigned.

Charles S. Cravens to be postmaster at Jenks, Okla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

George P. Creal to be postmaster at Supply, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John F. Garner to be postmaster at Mill Creek, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edwin R. Harrison to be postmaster at Byars, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Charles H. Hatfield to be postmaster at Hydro, Okla., in place of L. R. Daniels, resigned.

John L. Homan, jr., to be postmaster at Eufaula, Okla., in place of W. T. Fears, resigned.

Kenneth T. Henson to be postmaster at Carter, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph O. Jackson to be postmaster at Mountain Park, Okla., in place of Edward Hensley, resigned.

Randolph Laurence to be postmaster at Roff, Okla., in place of Emma Dale. Incumbent's commission expired July 13, 1916.

C. B. McCallon to be postmaster at Kiefer, Okla., in place of O. P. Ramsey, resigned.

Allan C. Melton to be postmaster at Cement, Okla., in place of G. L. Powell, resigned.

Ellen L. Morris to be postmaster at May, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Myrtle C. Murphy to be postmaster at Kingston, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frances G. Owens to be postmaster at Gate, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

David Russell to be postmaster at Madill, Okla., in place of C. S. Cannady. Incumbent's commission expired July 13, 1916.

I. E. Strickland to be postmaster at Allen, Okla. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Waldo E. Watkins to be postmaster at Valliant, Okla., in place of J. P. Montgomery, resigned.

David M. Watson to be postmaster at Francis, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

OREGON.

Daisy Buckner to be postmaster at Scio, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edgar L. Davidson to be postmaster at Oswego, Oreg. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Shelby F. Deaderick to be postmaster at Halfway, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Clark B. Foster to be postmaster at Dayton, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Volney E. Lee to be postmaster at North Powder, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Roy E. Pritchett to be postmaster at Gaston, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Roy J. Rhoades to be postmaster at Powers, Oreg. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

J. W. Vandervelden to be postmaster at Banks, Oreg. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

W. W. Wilson to be postmaster at Yoncalla, Oreg. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Camilla W. Adams to be postmaster at East McKeesport, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Margaret B. Berneker to be postmaster at Camp Hill, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Charles E. Burket to be postmaster at Claysburg, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

C. E. Chapel to be postmaster at Youngsville, Pa., in place of E. A. Swanson, deceased.

Kenneth F. Clancy to be postmaster at Exposition, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Mabel E. Davidson to be postmaster at Ulster, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John Foster to be postmaster at Washington, Pa., in place of J. W. Martin, removed.

John L. Goss to be postmaster at Expedit, Pa., in place of T. F. Curry, resigned.

J. R. Henry to be postmaster at Dawson, Pa., in place of W. Fairchild, sr., deceased.

William T. Hetler to be postmaster at Nescopeck, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. W. Keffer to be postmaster at Starjunction, Pa., in place of Isaac Lowe, resigned.

Leslie R. McKee to be postmaster at Sligo, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Isaac G. Mansfield to be postmaster at Sykesville, Pa., in place of G. B. McC. Hennigh, resigned.

Frank W. Matz to be postmaster at Mohnton, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Daniel J. O'Brien to be postmaster at Everson, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Edith M. Phelps to be postmaster at Ludlow, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ella I. Price to be postmaster at Canadensis, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

John M. Smelker to be postmaster at Newton Hamilton, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Emma A. Smith to be postmaster at Seelyville, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

W. A. Walker to be postmaster at Warren, Pa., in place of E. R. Allen. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1916.

J. K. Wiley to be postmaster at Mount Union, Pa., in place of A. W. Jones, deceased.

PORTO RICO.

Alfredo Giminez y Moreno to be postmaster at Bayamon, P. R., in place of A. G. y Moreno. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1916.

RHODE ISLAND.

Charles H. Brown to be postmaster at Hope Valley, R. I. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Lewis A. McGowan to be postmaster at Providence, R. I., in place of W. A. Kilton. Incumbent's commission expired March 1, 1917.

Caleb E. Moffitt to be postmaster at Esmond, R. I. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

W. O. Brownlee to be postmaster at Due West, S. C., in place of G. M. Collins. Incumbent's commission expired April 23, 1916.

Thomas H. Pope to be postmaster at Greenville, S. C., in place of D. B. Traxler, resigned.

Lemuel Reid to be postmaster at Iva, S. C. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Charles L. Brady to be postmaster at Buffalo, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Walter R. Dickson to be postmaster at Hitchcock, S. Dak., in place of Bernard Laverty, declined.

Anna A. Dithmer to be postmaster at Kadoka, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John L. Donahue to be postmaster at Ethan, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William T. Gough to be postmaster at Canova, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Charles H. Hess, jr., to be postmaster at Blunt, S. Dak., in place of Nettie H. Beebe. Incumbent's commission expired April 6, 1914.

John F. Kostel to be postmaster at Tabor, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John Michels to be postmaster at Mitchell, S. Dak., in place of T. J. Ball, deceased.

Mary F. Ryan to be postmaster at Bridgewater, S. Dak., in place of T. J. Ryan, deceased.

Bert E. Schroeder to be postmaster at Emery, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

TENNESSEE.

William S. Bare to be postmaster at Bluff City, Tenn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Sallie A. Hammer to be postmaster at McMinnville, Tenn., in place of A. R. Hammer, deceased.

J. B. Moore to be postmaster at Smithville, Tenn., in place of C. W. Moore, resigned.

Joe D. Sperry to be postmaster at Mount Juliet, Tenn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

TEXAS.

C. F. Christian to be postmaster at Remlig, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Jonathan W. Duncan to be postmaster at Malakoff, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Henry G. Harcrow to be postmaster at Rochester, Tex. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

W. S. Nelson to be postmaster at Sterling City, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. H. Shackelford to be postmaster at Cross Plains, Tex., in place of J. M. Hembree, resigned.

J. A. Stegall to be postmaster at Hereford, Tex., in place of R. H. Barnett, resigned.

Napoleon B. Vernon to be postmaster at Holland, Tex., in place of C. B. Starke. Incumbent's commission expired August 23, 1916.

Carrie L. Wilson to be postmaster at Celina, Tex., in place of J. L. Wilson, deceased.

UTAH.

Joseph A. Sill to be postmaster at Layton, Utah. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

VERMONT.

Elwin J. Clogston to be postmaster at Williamstown, Vt. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

VIRGINIA.

William W. Davies to be postmaster at Manassas, Va., in place of A. W. Sinclair, deceased.

John C. Hudgins to be postmaster at Claremont, Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Harry A. Lamb to be postmaster at Ocean View, Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Lucile H. Prince to be postmaster at Stony Creek, Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

WASHINGTON.

John L. Field to be postmaster at Quincy, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

W. W. Gwinn to be postmaster at Harrington, Wash., in place of F. M. Charlton, resigned.

Sadie Haight to be postmaster at Creston, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Agnes J. Hare to be postmaster at Mabton, Wash., in place of H. W. Hare, resigned.

Minnie M. McCracken to be postmaster at Clearlake, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joseph E. McManamon to be postmaster at Othello, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William J. Meade to be postmaster at Pe Ell, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Wiley C. Agee to be postmaster at Eccles, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James E. Billups to be postmaster at Hurricane, W. Va. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Otis Merton Carroll to be postmaster at McMechen, W. Va., in place of Isaiah Stephens. Incumbent's commission expired July 29, 1916.

J. Hornor Davis to be postmaster at Clarksburg, W. Va., in place of J. C. Vance, resigned.

S. D. Frantz to be postmaster at Mullens, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. Frank Grimet to be postmaster at Mount Hope, W. Va., in place of C. M. Brown, resigned.

R. D. Rose to be postmaster at Hinton, W. Va., in place of John Haynes, deceased.

WISCONSIN.

Charles J. Anderson to be postmaster at Clayton, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Lawrence Barrett to be postmaster at Peshtigo, Wis., in place of Lawrence Barrett. Incumbent's commission expired January 20, 1915.

Harry Bradley to be postmaster at Taylor, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Peter Cosgrove to be postmaster at Centuria, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. E. Dennis to be postmaster at Downing, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William A. De Smidt to be postmaster at Cedar Grove, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Emma W. DuFrenne to be postmaster at Middleton, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Alphonse R. Eichman to be postmaster at Trempealeau, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frank H. Grimm to be postmaster at Cassville, Wis., in place of Aloys Grimm, resigned.

George H. Hedquist to be postmaster at Goodman, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Theresa Heinen to be postmaster at Random Lake, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Howard C. Hepburn to be postmaster at Prairie Farm, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Hazel I. Hicks to be postmaster at Linden, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Arthur M. Howe to be postmaster at Elk Mound, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Theodore Koenings to be postmaster at Schleisingerville, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John Lindow to be postmaster at Manawa, Wis., in place of Herman Lindow, resigned.

Malcolm McNaughton to be postmaster at New Auburn, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

F. W. Mitchell to be postmaster at Ogema, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Mark V. Murphy to be postmaster at Bear Creek, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John E. Nolan to be postmaster at Reedsville, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William J. Neu to be postmaster at Three Lakes, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George L. Reed to be postmaster at Darien, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Felix A. Roeseler to be postmaster at Hustisford, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Arnie M. Sanders to be postmaster at Marshall, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Richard S. Serrurier to be postmaster at Wilton, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ella M. Taylor to be postmaster at Blue River, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Joshua Thayer to be postmaster at Palmyra, Wis., in place of J. S. Meldeen, removed.

Samuel Tufts to be postmaster at Knapp, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Oscar M. Waterbury to be postmaster at Williams Bay, Wis. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William White to be postmaster at Algoma, Wis., in place of William White. Incumbent's commission expired February 4, 1911.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *March 13, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee for calling us into fellowship with Thyself in the service that we endeavor to render to our fellow men. We thank Thee for the assurance that Thou who dost hold all the spheres in their paths and dost note the fall of a sparrow art familiar with all the needs of Thy children. They are the flowers of Thy heart; they are the constant care of Thy thought. Thou hast called us into fellowship with Thyself in service, and our equipment for service must come from Thee. Give to us the inspiration that will make us true to the divine commission Thou hast put in our hands and hearts. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

Mr. NELSON. I present short resolutions adopted by the Plymouth Club, of the city of Minneapolis, Minn., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions.

Plymouth Club, of the city of Minneapolis, in meeting assembled, March 5, 1917, adopts the following resolutions:

"First. That the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany is one to be approved and commended by all who have the best interests of the United States at heart.

"Second. That the German declaration of January 31, 1917, represents an unjustified and unjustifiable attempt to destroy the freedom of the sea and to abridge the commercial liberty guaranteed to us by established law and custom; and that if the Government of the United States were to acquiesce therein such action would be resented by all good citizens as in the highest degree pusillanimous and as altogether inconsistent with the spirit and traditions of a free people.

"Third. That the President will be justified in recommending to Congress the most extreme measures that may be deemed necessary to protect life, liberty, and property; and that it is our duty and that of all loyal citizens to tender immediately to the Government all the service of which we severally and collectively are capable.

"Fourth. That while all should stand ready to volunteer, if voluntary service is called for, yet Congress in providing for our common safety should not adopt emergency measures merely, but should definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service. To the end, therefore, that the burden of safeguarding the country should no longer be cast exclusively upon the loyal National Guard and upon other patriotic military and naval volunteers, Congress should be urged to exercise its constitutional power 'to raise and support armies' by establishing immediately a permanent and democratic system of defense based upon universal service and training under direct and exclusive Federal control."

A copy of these resolutions is ordered to be transmitted to the President of the United States, to Senators NELSON and KELLOGG, and to Representatives LUNDEEN and SCHALL.

H. C. RICHARDSON,
Secretary.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS—MARY M'KAY.

On motion of Mr. JONES of Washington, it was

Ordered, That the papers accompanying the bill S. 2490, Sixtieth Congress, first session, granting a pension to Mary McKay be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, March 14, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *March 14, 1917.*

Rev. Richard R. Riedel, of the city of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God and Father of us all, who hast been our hope in ages past, our hope for years to come, we thank Thee that Thy guiding hand has been constant in our Nation's history, controlling and ruling all for good. Permit these Thy servants, placed here by Thy providence, to labor and plan for the welfare of our great Republic, and may it please Thee to give them Thy grace, wisdom, and power that they may do their work and do it well. Bless, we beseech Thee, our dear country, this Senate, the President of the United States, and all in authority. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary [James M. Baker] read the following communication:

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., March 14, 1917.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, a Senator from the State of Ohio, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

WILLARD SAULSBURY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. POMERENE thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer and directed the Secretary to read the Journal of the proceedings of the preceding session.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

A message, in writing, from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries.

SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA.

Mr. SIMMONS. I present a petition from Hon. W. E. Chilton asking for an investigation into the legality of the election of Hon. HOWARD SUTHERLAND as a Senator from the State of West Virginia. I ask that the petition, with the accompanying papers, be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

Mr. CALDER. I present resolutions of the residents of the town of Southampton, Suffolk County, N. Y.; the Nineteenth Ward Woodrow Wilson Democratic Club of Rochester, N. Y.; the Common Council of the City of Middletown, N. Y.; and the Republican Club of the Fifteenth Assembly District of New York County, N. Y., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the voters of the town of Southampton, Suffolk County, N. Y., in a convention duly assembled for the purpose of nominating officers for such corporate body; and

Whereas the present world war has provided sufficient cause for our country to sever diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government of Germany; and

Whereas our greater destiny and position before the nations of the world has caused us as a nation to resent the U-boat policy of the Imperial Government of Germany; and

Whereas our rights have been maimed and our freedom of the seas molested and we have been forced to protect our rights and freedom and our flag upon the high seas; and

Whereas a disgraceful few of our United States Senators have seen fit, at the expense of the dignity and honor of our country, to play shameface politics along the boundary line of treason to prevent the arming of American merchantmen and defending our honor: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we condemn the attitude that these 12 United States Senators have taken for their acts, their cowardice, their unpatriotism, their failure in supporting the President, and their total disregard for the American flag; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to one newspaper in each town in the county, and also to our Representatives in Congress.

CHAS. WELLS BROWN,
East Quogue, N. Y.

—

ROCHESTER, N. Y., *March 12, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM M. CALDER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Nineteenth Ward Woodrow Wilson Democratic Club, held Wednesday evening, March 7, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas 500 out of 531 Members of Congress were back of the President of the United States in his stand on the arming of merchantmen; and

"Whereas action by this Government has been delayed by the filibustering of a few United States Senators: Be it

"*Resolved*, That the Woodrow Wilson Democratic Club of the Nineteenth Ward, of the city of Rochester, N. Y., condemn the action of these few Senators as unpatriotic; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That this club call upon the Representatives in the House of Representatives from Monroe County and the Senators from the State of New York to stand back of the President in his efforts to uphold the rights of American citizens on the high seas and the honor of this country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Senators from New York State, and to the Representatives from Monroe County in the House of Representatives."

Yours, very respectfully,

NINETEENTH WARD WOODROW WILSON DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
EDWARD S. O'NEILL, *Secretary*.

—

MARCH 12, 1917.

The Common Council of the City of Middletown, N. Y., in meeting assembled, unanimously adopts the following minute:

"After exhausting the resources of diplomacy in an effort to avert war, the President has now taken the only course consistent with national self-respect.

"War with Germany will not ensue unless the Imperial German Government knowingly violates well-settled principles of international law, and violates them with intent definitely hostile to the United States. In that event war will inevitably follow not by our own act, but through the deliberate aggression of another nation.

"If any honest doubt exists respecting the cause of war in Europe, the awful responsibility for extending it to this hemisphere will rest upon Germany, and upon Germany alone.

"It may be that the Imperial German Government is misinformed respecting the temper of the people of the United States, just as that Government is supposed to have misconceived the sentiment of the British Empire at the outbreak of the European war. If so, and before fatal action based upon so grave a mistake is taken, Germany should be made aware of the essential unity of our people and of their loyal determination to make all sacrifices necessary to protect our liberty and to maintain our honor. To this end we call upon all bodies similar to ours throughout the country, and upon all groups of citizens organized for whatever purpose, to meet without delay and express themselves with no uncertain voice respecting the course that they will be prepared to follow.

"We urge all such groups of citizens, secular and religious, large and small, societies, clubs, and institutions of every sort, to unite with us in giving immediate public expression to such convictions as those which we now solemnly record:

"First. That the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany is one to be approved and commended by all who have the best interests of the United States at heart.

"Second. That the German declaration of January 31, 1917, represents an unjustified and unjustifiable attempt to destroy the freedom of the sea and to abridge the commercial liberty guaranteed to us by established law and custom; and that if the Government of the United States were to acquiesce therein such action would be resented by all good citizens as in the highest degree pusillanimous and as altogether inconsistent with the spirit and traditions of a free people.

"Third. That the President will be justified in recommending to Congress the most extreme measures that may be deemed necessary to protect life, liberty, and property; and that it is our duty and that of all loyal citizens to tender immediately to the Government all the service of which we severally and collectively are capable.

"Fourth. That while all should stand ready to volunteer if voluntary service is called for, yet Congress, in providing for our common safety, should not adopt emergency measures merely, but should definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service. To the end, therefore, that the burden of safeguarding the country should no longer be cast exclusively upon the loyal National Guard and upon other patriotic military and naval volunteers, Congress should be urged to exercise its constitutional power 'to raise and support armies' by establishing immediately a permanent and democratic system of defense based upon universal service and training under direct and exclusive Federal control."

A copy of this minute is ordered to be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of War and other members of the Cabinet, and to the members of both congressional Committees on Military Affairs.

G. H. STANTON, *Clerk*.

I, Frederick A. Stahl, secretary, certify that at a regular meeting of the Republican Organization Club of the Fifteenth Assembly District of Manhattan Borough, New York City, held at the club rooms, No. 2228 Broadway, on the 7th day of March, 1917, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas a crisis has arisen in our international relations threatening the peace, security, and welfare of our country; and

"Whereas a policy of complete preparedness is the surest safeguard for peace; and

"Whereas the present situation has made clear the urgent necessity for some form of military system adequate for the defense of this Nation and commensurate with its dignity; and

"Whereas a volunteer system is inefficient and undemocratic in that it favors the 'slacker' at the expense of the willing and patriotic citizen: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*—

"First. That this organization pledges its loyal support to the President of the United States in the present emergency;

"Second. That we are heartily in favor of preparedness against war in the shape of a powerful Navy and an efficient Army backed by a trained citizenry;

"Third. That we earnestly urge the adoption of a system of universal military training; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the two Senators from the State of New York."

FREDERICK A. STAHL, *Secretary*.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 11), which was read:

Resolved, That an edition of the Congressional Directory for the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress be prepared and published, as provided for in section 73 of the printing act approved January 12, 1895, and that the sum of $800 for compiling, preparing, and indexing said edition be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon voucher to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, the resolution will have to go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as provided by law, as there is an appropriation involved.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is correct, Mr. President. I will state that the printing law provides for three issues of the Congressional Directory at each regular session, but does not provide for an edition at an extra session, and such edition must be authorized by a resolution. The extra session will assemble next month with an entire new House and one-third of the Senate new, and it is important, I think, that we should have an edition of the Directory at that time.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator is correct in his statement. I only called attention to the fact that the resolution must go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. FLETCHER. It must go there. I ask that it be so referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the rule, the resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERK.

Mr. JAMES (for Mr. POMERENE) submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 12), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate be, and it is hereby, authorized to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $100 per month, to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate until otherwise provided by law.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. UNDERWOOD submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That the rules of the Senate be amended by adding thereto, in lieu of the rule adopted by the Senate for the limitation of debate on March 8, 1917, the following:

"1. There shall be a motion for the previous question, which, being ordered by a majority of Senators voting, if a quorum be present, shall have the effect to cut off all debate and bring the Senate to a direct vote upon the immediate question or questions on which it has been asked and ordered. The previous question may be asked and ordered upon a single motion, a series of motions allowable under the rules, or an amendment or amendments, or may be made to embrace all authorized motions or amendments and include the bill to its passage or rejection. It shall be in order, pending the motion for or after the previous question shall have been ordered on its passage, for the Presiding Officer to entertain and submit a motion to commit, with or without instructions, to a standing or select committee.

"2. All motions for the previous question shall, before being submitted to the Senate, be seconded by a majority by tellers, if demanded.

"3. When a motion for the previous question has been seconded it shall be in order, before final vote is taken thereon, for each Senator to debate the propositions to be voted upon for one hour."

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. STONE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After one hour and five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

TREATY WITH COLOMBIA—INJUNCTION OF SECRECY REMOVED.

On motion of Mr. STONE the injunction of secrecy was removed from the following documents pertaining to the treaty with Colombia for the settlement of differences with that country (Ex. H., 63d Cong., 2d sess.), and they were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, together with a copy of the treaty.

Mr. STONE, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following report:

[S. Rept. 1, pt. 1, 65th Cong., special session, in executive session.]

"By direction of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I hereby report, with certain amendments, the treaty concluded between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, dated April 6, 1914, and transmitted by the President to the Senate for the action of this body thereon, and which in due course, under the rules of the Senate, was referred to said committee. The committee recommends that the treaty, as amended, should be ratified by a resolution in the form herewith submitted.

"The amendments to the treaty agreed to by the committee are as follows:

"1. Strike out clause 1 of Article I of the original text of the treaty, which is in the following language:

"The Government of the United States of America, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences with the Republic of Colombia arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, expresses, in its own name and in the name of the people of the United States, sincere regret that anything

should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations.

"And in lieu thereof insert the following:

"The Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, in their own names and in the names of their respective peoples, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences between them arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, express sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations.

"2. After Article IV, in the original text of the treaty, insert the following:

"ARTICLE V.

"That neither the making of this convention nor any of the stipulations herein contained shall be considered to cast any doubt or shadow upon the title of the United States to the Panama Canal, which title the Government of Colombia recognizes as entire, absolute, and complete in the United States of America.

"3. Change the number of Article V, as it appears in the original text of the treaty, to Article VI.

"It is the judgment of the committee that the treaty, as so amended, should be ratified. The treaty should be considered solely on its merits as a question of present moment, without regard to the circumstances out of which the long-standing differences between Colombia and the United States originated. Whatever may be the different opinions of men with respect to the occurrences out of which the pending troubles between the two countries originated, it is believed it would be the part of wisdom for both Governments, since both are desirous of restoring their old amicable relations, to put the past behind them. It would be bootless to revive a partisan issue here or elsewhere with respect to past events. The things of the past are now written in history, and no present good can come by recalling and rediscussing old issues.

"The wise thing to do is to deal with the subject before us as a live question of present importance. If the two countries wish to reestablish, as it must be assumed they do, cordial relations of amity, then let them mutually agree to settle their differences without engaging in the futile and obstructive business of crimination and recrimination concerning events which occurred and which were irrevocably settled years ago. There can be no doubt that the people of the United States sincerely desire to have and maintain the most friendly relations with the people of Colombia. The desire of the United States to maintain such relations, not only with Colombia but with all the Latin Republics of Central and South America, has been demonstrated so often and in so many ways that the attitude of this country in that behalf is well defined and universally known. This attitude has been made known not only by the course of the present administration but also by that of former administrations. Several treaties have been made between the United States and Colombia looking to the settlement of these particular differences which have unhappily arisen between them. But for one reason or another, none of these treaties was agreed to by both Governments. In all of these treaties the United States, out of the desire to settle the controversy, has offered to make recompense to Colombia by way of satisfaction for her claim for damages. These offers have been made without regard to the merits of the Colombian claim, which has not been conceded by this Government to be well founded. The paramount idea with us has been to adjust this unfortunate international difference. It is to be hoped that the Senate will now consider this treaty from that broad standpoint.

"There are numerous other important reasons, which have been often stated both here and in the Central and South American States, why cordial relations of confidence and good will should exist between all the American Republics. It is manifestly to the interest of all that this should be so. If differences between them should unfortunately arise, they should be settled as friends kindly disposed to each other should settle their controversies. That spirit of dealing with each other is of the highest importance to all the American Republics. It is to be hoped that the Senate of the United States will now deal with this question at this time in this spirit."

Mr. KNOX, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, asked and obtained leave to file his separate views, as follows:

SEPARATE VIEWS OF MR. KNOX.

I am prepared to vote in favor of the consent of the Senate to the ratification of an American-Colombian treaty that expressly does not impugn in any way the past attitude, acts, or motives of this Government.

At a time when American interests, the interests of all the 20 other republics of this hemisphere, and the interests of the world imposed upon the United States an urgent and imperative mandate to construct the Panama Canal, the course of events finally left the United States no choice but political action if the great work was not to be indefinitely delayed. The historian will justify this Government, as those informed of the circumstances now do.

It is not regrettable, I think, that such a treaty has awaited ratification for nearly three years. Its instant acceptance might have encouraged the idea, mooted in this connection a few years ago, that foreign interests might avail of party politics in our country. Believing it vital to the United States that American foreign policy should pursue a course united, continuous, dignified, and removed high above partisan considerations, I think this time more opportune than an earlier date for the ratification of the treaty now under consideration.

My idea of the power of the United States and of the prestige it ought of right to have, as well as my conception of Pan American relations, impel me to remark that I do not consider that the exceedingly grave crisis impending is seriously germane or appropriately to be invoked in connection with the ratification of a treaty with Colombia. The wisdom of that action rests upon broader and sounder grounds. The inception of the purpose to compose the differences with Colombia preceded the present world crisis many years and the signing of the treaty antedated the beginning of the European war. To safeguard our interests to-day there remain neglected many and obvious vital measures of preparedness. If this treaty represented a sort of barter for friendship, that would be most questionable in itself. An implication that the power which stands for the Monroe doctrine should thus seek safety in friendships, while at the same time neglecting to arm for its defense and the maintenance of its rights, would connate a level to which I trust the United States will never sink.

But the advisability of ratifying a fair treaty rests upon a sound basis. Colombia is neighbor to our stupendous enterprise on the Isthmus; Colombia fronts upon our vital sphere of interest, the neighborhood of the Panama Canal and the zone of the Caribbean, where strategic reasons have recently induced us to pay a great sum for the Danish West Indies. Colombia and the United States have a peculiar mutuality of interests due to geographical, economic, and strategic circumstances. The two countries are especially fitted for close amity and cooperation. It is the historic policy of the United States to recognize these ideas and to foster this realization. This was true from early times, and the policy forced upon the United States in 1903–4 implied no change.

By the Hay-Herran treaty it was contemplated that Colombia should profit financially and otherwise on account of her former interest on the Isthmus. In the entirely new status quo following the secession of Panama the same intention was shown in this Government's negotiation of the Root-Cortez treaties. The same good disposition toward Colombia actuated the efforts made by this Government in 1912 and 1913, which were described in President Taft's message to Congress March 1, 1913, and which paved the way for the present treaty.

Believing that the power and the prestige of the United States in its foreign relations, no less than the funds of the Treasury, are intrusted to this Government not for dissipation in shadowy or millennial projects but for the practical benefit of real American interests, I have considered this treaty from the point of view of its contribution to the general welfare of this Nation in the sense of the Constitution. I find the treaty conscionable and proper in that respect. It adds formal and complete regularization to the actual situation on the Isthmus of Panama, where the canal gives America an interest so colossal as to make this at least desirable. Perhaps its most important provision is that it adjusts the political relations between Panama and Colombia. The real ground of Colombia's complaint against the United States has all along been Colombia's claim that the United States espoused the cause of Panama at the time of the revolution. By article 4 of the treaty Colombia "recognizes Panama as an independent nation," and further agrees to a program looking to the establishment of diplomatic relations and adjustment of all differences. In view of our relations to Panama, and especially of our guaranty of her independence, this is a most important consideration. This treaty differs in degree or character of consideration and other details, but not in principle, from two sets of contemplated treaties which, if consummated, would have embodied the policies of the last two Republican administrations. It will end a grievance which, whether fancied or real, has grown so traditional as to be unsusceptible of obliteration in any other way.

There exists a real and long-standing difference between the United States and Colombia. In the interest of peace and good will both wish to compromise that difference, which is to be done upon the well-known principle that the compromise of a difference need carry no implication of wrong on either part. In this view, and for the reasons stated, I favor the Senate's

advice and consent to the ratification of the reported treaty, as a consistent nonpartisan act, conformable to the foreign policy of the United States.

P. C. KNOX.

Mr. McCUMBER, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, asked and obtained leave to file the views of a minority, as follows:

[S. Rept. 1, pt. 2, 65th Cong., special session, in executive session.]

The undersigned minority members of the Committee on Foreign Relations agree most heartily with the declaration contained in the majority report that "no good can come by recalling and discussing old issues." But we beg to remind the majority that this proposed treaty does exactly that thing. What are we paying this $25,000,000 for except in settlement of old issues? Will not the American people ask this question, and can we avoid the answer that it is in payment of something that grew out of that past issue? What does the United States receive for this vast sum? Absolutely nothing, either corporeal or incorporeal. Colombia grants nothing, parts with nothing which she possesses.

This payment, then, can only be predicated on the assumption that we are indebted to Colombia, either morally or legally, and no combination of words, no niceties of diplomatic language can hide the naked truth that this treaty is an admission that the conduct of this country in acquiring the right to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama was a wrong committed against Colombia. On no other hypothesis could Colombia ask for this indemnity of $25,000,000, and on no other could we acquiesce in that demand.

While there is an attempt in the beginning of the report by careful wording to veil this disagreeable aspect of the case, it is, nevertheless, forced into relief as the moving consideration for this great outlay in another sentence of that report, which reads as follows: "In all of these treaties the United States, out of the desire to settle the controversy, has offered to make recompense to Colombia by way of satisfaction for her claim for damages." There is a clear admission that we are paying this sum to settle a claim for damages. By making the payment we admit the claim.

The minority of the committee desire to go on record as denying the charge which this payment recognizes as valid, that this country was guilty of any international misconduct in the acquisition of the territory on which the canal was constructed.

On the contrary, the minority declare that our conduct in securing an agreement from Panama was just and proper in every respect and that the Colombian Government has no just or equitable claim against this Nation for any act on our part in connection therewith.

This treaty is, in effect, not only a plea of guilty to the charge made against us by Colombia, but an agreement that, in addition to the payment of $10,000,000, the price for which the Government of Colombia had agreed to convey to us the right of way over the Isthmus, while she claimed sovereign rights over that territory, we shall also pay $15,000,000 to Colombia as exemplary damages. No other construction can or will be placed by the world on our action.

Nor can we avoid this conclusion by declaring to the world that we are paying this vast sum, two and a half times greater than we paid Panama for our right of way, "to establish cordial relations of amity." We can not afford to purchase cordial relations with any country. We can not afford to answer a blackmail demand. Once respond to such a demand and we shall be held up for every fancied wrong by other countries.

This treaty involves two questions: First, whether on its merits it ought to be ratified by the Senate; and, second, whether any treaty with Colombia ought, under existing circumstances, to be ratified at this time. In our opinion Colombia, by her conduct at the time of the Hay-Herran treaty, forfeited all claim upon the United States on account of the latter's acquisition of the Canal Zone and its accompanying rights from the Republic of Panama. But assuming that a treaty is to be made at all, the undersigned regard the one now presented to the Senate as improvident and unworthy. This treaty contains an apology for past conduct on the part of the United States which, however veiled, is still an apology. It proposes to give Colombia the enormous sum of twenty-five millions with no return, no equivalent except the highly doubtful good will of Colombia. All the articles confer rights and privileges upon Colombia, and the United States gets nothing, neither the control of the Atrato route nor the important islands provided for in the Knox treaty, nor even a formal recognition of the title of the United States to the canal and the Canal Zone. It seems to the minority that such a treaty, giving a huge sum of money to a country which has, strictly speaking, forfeited all claims upon the United States by its own conduct, is not to be defended and should not be ratified.

Another grave objection to this treaty will be found in the first clause of Article II, which makes an exception in favor of Colombian transit of the canal, particularly for her ships, munitions of war, and armed forces, not provided for in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. It discriminates as to canal tolls for all such transit against all other Latin-American countries, as well as against our own ships even in the coastwise trade. It places us in a position where, even granting our right to refuse transit to the armed forces and vessels of countries at war with us, Colombia might pass the vessels of the countries with which we are at war through the canal by putting them under her own flag and claiming them as her nationals.

The second objection which lies against any possible treaty with Colombia at this time is to be found in the fact that immediate and hasty action is urged because Colombia threatens us with hostility. Any friendship which is bought is worthless, especially when purchased under threats which, when successful, breed contempt in the mind of the seller and a sense of bitter dislike and humiliation in that of the buyer. No strong and proud nation should ever consent to buy with money the abstention from hostility of any country which sees fit to threaten it. It is a degradation to which the United States should never submit.

If we believed that we had wronged the Colombian Government we should be quick to repair that wrong. As we believe we have not done that country any injustice, we earnestly protest against the purchase of her friendship.

H. C. LODGE.
P. J. McCUMBER.
W. E. BORAH.
F. B. BRANDEGEE.
A. B. FALL.

Mr. STONE submitted the resolution of ratification, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION.

"*Resolved* (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein*), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty, signed at Bogota April 6, 1914, between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, for the settlement of their differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama, November 19, 1903, with the following amendments:

"I. Strike out clause 1 of Article I of the original text of the treaty, which is in the following language:

"The Government of the United States of America, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences with the Republic of Colombia arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, expresses, in its own name and the name of the people of the United States, sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between two nations.

"And in lieu thereof insert the following:

"The Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, in their own names and the names of their respective peoples, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences between them arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, express sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two Nations.

"II. After Article IV in the original text of the treaty insert the following:

"ARTICLE V.

"That neither the making of this convention nor any of the stipulations herein contained shall be considered to cast any doubt or shadow upon the title of the United States to the Panama Canal, which title the Government of Colombia recognizes as entire, absolute, and complete in the United States of America.

"III. Change the number 'Article V,' as it appears in the original text of the treaty, to 'Article VI.'

"*Provided*, That nothing in this treaty shall be construed to impugn in any way the past attitude, acts, and motives of this Government."

The proposed treaty is as follows:

[Senate Executive H, 63d Cong., 2d sess.]

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith, for the constitutional action of the Senate, a treaty signed at Bogota on April 6, 1914, between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, for the settlement of their differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November, 1903.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 16, 1914.

The PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to its ratification, a treaty signed at Bogota on April 6, 1914, between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, for the settlement of their differences arising out of the events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in November, 1903.

Respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 16, 1914.

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCES ARISING OUT OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA IN NOVEMBER, 1903.

The United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, being desirous to remove all the misunderstandings growing out of the political events in Panama in November, 1903; to restore the cordial friendship that formerly characterized the relations between the two countries, and also to define and regulate their rights and interests in respect of the interoceanic canal which the Government of the United States is constructing across the Isthmus of Panama, have resolved for this purpose to conclude a treaty and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

His Excellency the President of the United States of America: Thaddeus Austin Thomson, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Government of the Republic of Colombia; and

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Colombia: Francisco José Urrutia, minister for foreign affairs; Marco Fidel Suárez, first designate to exercise the executive power; Nicolás Esguerra, ex-minister of State; José Maria González Valencia, senator; Rafael Uribe Uribe, senator; and Antonio José Uribe, president of the House of Representatives;

Who, after communicating to each other their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE I.

The Government of the United States of America, wishing to put at rest all controversies and differences with the Republic of Colombia arising out of the events from which the present situation on the Isthmus of Panama resulted, expresses, in its own name and in the name of the people of the United States, sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations.

The Government of the Republic of Colombia, in its own name and in the name of the Colombian people, accepts this declaration in the full assurance that every obstacle to the restoration of complete harmony between the two countries will thus disappear.

ARTICLE II.

The Republic of Colombia shall enjoy the following rights in respect to the interoceanic canal and the Panama Railway:

1. The Republic of Colombia shall be at liberty at all times to transport through the interoceanic canal its troops, materials of war, and ships of war, even in case of war between Colombia and another country, without paying any charges to the United States.

2. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia passing through the canal, as well as the Colombian mails, shall be exempt from any charge or duty other than those to which the products and mails of the United States may be subject. The products of the soil and industry of Colombia, such as cattle, salt, and provisions, shall be admitted to entry in the Canal Zone, and likewise in the islands and mainland occupied or which may be occupied by the United States as auxiliary and accessory thereto, without paying other duties or charges than those payable by similar products of the United States.

3. Colombian citizens crossing the Canal Zone shall, upon production of proper proof of their nationality, be exempt from every toll, tax, or duty to which citizens of the United States are not subject.

4. During the construction of the interoceanic canal and afterwards, whenever traffic by the canal is interrupted or whenever it shall be necessary for any other reason to use the railway, the troops, materials of war, products, and mails of the Republic of Colombia, as above mentioned, shall, even in case of war between Colombia and another country, be transported on the railway between Ancon and Cristobal or on any other railway substituted therefor, paying only the same charges and duties as are imposed upon the troops, materials of war, products, and mails of the United States. The officers, agents, and employees of the Government of Colombia shall, upon production of proper proof of their official character or their employment, also be entitled to passage on the said railway on the same terms as officers, agents, and employees of the Government of the United States. The provisions of this paragraph shall not, however, apply in case of war between Colombia and Panama.

5. Coal, petroleum, and sea salt, being the products of Colombia, passing from the Atlantic coast of Colombia to any Colombian port on the Pacific coast, and vice versa, shall be transported over the aforesaid railway free of any charge except the actual cost of handling and transportation, which shall not in any case exceed one-half of the ordinary freight charges levied upon similar products of the United States passing over the railway and in transit from one port to another of the United States.

ARTICLE III.

The United States of America agrees to pay to the Republic of Colombia, within six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the sum of $25,000,000 gold, United States money.

ARTICLE IV.

The Republic of Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent nation and taking as a basis the Colombian law of June 9, 1855, agrees that the boundary shall be the following: From Cape Tiburon to the headwaters of the Rio de la Miel and following the mountain chain by the ridge of Gandi to the Sierra de Chugargun and that of Mali going down by the ridges of Nigue to the heights of Aspave and from thence to a point on the Pacific halfway between Cocalito and La Arvita.

In consideration of this recognition the Government of the United States will, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, take the necessary steps in order to obtain from the Government of Panama the dispatch of a duly accredited agent to negotiate and conclude with the Government of Colombia a treaty of peace and friendship, with a view to bring about both the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between Colombia and Panama and the adjustment of all questions of pecuniary liability as between the two countries, in accordance with recognized principles of law and precedents.

ARTICLE V.

The present treaty shall be approved and ratified by the high contracting parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the city of Bogotá as soon as may be possible.

In faith whereof the said plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their respective seals.

Done at the city of Bogotá the 6th day of April in the year of our Lord 1914.

THADDEUS AUSTIN THOMSON.
FRANCISCO JOSÉ URRUTIA.
MARCO FIDEL SUÁREZ.
NICOLAS ESGUERRA.
JOSÉ MARIA GONZÁLEZ VALENCIA.
RAFAEL URIBE URIBE.
ANTONIO JOSÉ URIBE.

Mr. MARTIN. I move the Senate adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 15, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 14, 1917.

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION.

The following-named persons to be members of the United States Tariff Commission:

Frank W. Taussig, of Massachusetts, for a term of 12 years.
Daniel C. Roper, of South Carolina, for a term of 10 years.
David J. Lewis, of Maryland, for a term of 8 years.
William Kent, of California, for a term of 6 years.
William S. Culbertson, of Kansas, for a term of 4 years.
Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, for a term of 2 years.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

William D. Kyser, of Memphis, Tenn., to be United States attorney, western district of Tennessee, vice Hubert F. Fisher, resigned.

Wilmot M. Odell, of Cleburne, Tex., to be United States attorney, northern district of Texas, vice James C. Wilson, resigned.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

The first lieutenants of the Medical Reserve Corps herein named for appointment as first lieutenants in the Medical Corps, United States Army, each to rank from the date set opposite his name:

MEDICAL CORPS.

Edgar Erskine Hume, January 14, 1917.
Harry Loren Arnold, January 15, 1917.
Walcott Denison, January 16, 1917.
James Earle Ash, January 17, 1917.
Calvin Hooker Goddard, January 18, 1917.
Bascom Lee Wilson, January 19, 1917.
Clarence Pennell Baxter, January 20, 1917.
John Edward Walker, January 21, 1917.
Henry Freeman Lincoln, January 22, 1917.
Edgar Allan Bocock, January 23, 1917.
Willis Power Baker, January 24, 1917.
Henry Louis Krafft, January 25, 1917.
Paul Ramsey Hawley, January 26, 1917.
John Dibble, January 27, 1917.
George Clark Dunham, January 28, 1917.
Joseph Madison Greer, January 29, 1917.
Joseph de Roulhac Moreno, January 30, 1917.
Robert Burns Hill, January 31, 1917.
Arthur Maxwell Alden, February 1, 1917.
Gouverneur Vincent Emerson, February 2, 1917.
Louis John Regan, February 3, 1917.
William Archer Hagins, February 4, 1917.
Shannon Laurie Van Valzah, February 5, 1917.
William Oscar Hampton Prosser, February 6, 1917.
George Corwin Beach, jr., February 7, 1917.
Jesse Irving Sloat, February 8, 1917.
David Norvell Walker Grant, February 9, 1917.
James Stevens Simmons, February 10, 1917.
Charles Carlin Ayres, February 11, 1917.
Cyrus Boynton Wood, February 12, 1917.
Charles Le Baron, jr., February 13, 1917.
Alvin Jay Bayley, February 14, 1917.
John Francis Corby, February 15, 1917.
Prescott Stearns Tucker, February 16, 1917.
Roy Macleay Fortier, February 17, 1917.
Roy Edward Fox, February 18, 1917.
Herbert De Witt Porterfield, February 19, 1917.
Dean Flewellyn Winn, February 20, 1917.
Alva Burton McKie, February 21, 1917.
Albert Walton Kenner, February 22, 1917.
Robert Eunice Parrish, February 23, 1917.
William Lacey Edmundson, February 24, 1917.
Cary Robert Pollock, February 25, 1917.
James Francis Roohan, February 26, 1917.
Emery Bowers Neff, February 27, 1917.
Arturo Carbonell, February 28, 1917.
Edward Augustus Coates, jr., March 1, 1917.
William Rogers Klingensmith, March 2, 1917.
Leroy Taylor Howard, March 3, 1917.
James Albertus Bethea, March 4, 1917.
Asa Margrave Lehman, March 5, 1917.
Harrison John McGhee, March 6, 1917.
Thomas Lee Gore, March 7, 1917.
Oramel Henry Stanley, March 8, 1917.
Sewell Munson Corbett, March 9, 1917.
William Clark Thomas, March 10, 1917.
Samuel Reily Norris, March 11, 1917.
Benjamin Norris, March 12, 1917.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY ARM.

Maj. La Roy S. Upton, Thirtieth Infantry, to be lieutenant colonel from March 2, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Harry J. Hirsch, Infantry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

Capt. Edgar Ridenour, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be major from March 2, 1917, vice Maj. La Roy S. Upton, Thirtieth Infantry, promoted.

Capt. Chauncey B. Humphrey, Tenth Infantry, to be major from March 2, 1917, vice Maj. Hugh D. Wise, Twenty-fifth Infantry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

T. H. Alexander to be postmaster at Albany (late New Decatur), Ala., in place of Claude McMillan, to change name of office.

Mary E. Cain to be postmaster at Wetumpka, Ala., in place of Mary E. Cain. Commission expires May 22, 1917.

W. L. Crew to be postmaster at Good Water, Ala., in place of W. L. Crew. Commission expires May 20, 1917.

Thomas S. Hoskins to be postmaster at Vredenburgh, Ala. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

A. A. Leach to be postmaster at Dadeville, Ala., in place of A. A. Leach. Commission expires May 20, 1917.

J. L. Thornton to be postmaster at Alexander City, Ala., in place of J. L. Thornton. Commission expires May 20, 1917.

Dora G. Wendel to be postmaster at Tallassee, Ala., in place of Dora G. Wendel. Commission expires May 29, 1917.

ARIZONA.

James M. Russell to be postmaster at Chloride, Ariz. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

CALIFORNIA.

Mae Longfellow to be postmaster at Maricopa, Cal., in place of Maxwell Longfellow, resigned.

Minnie Sheddrick to be postmaster at Brentwood, Cal. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

George H. Treat to be postmaster at San Andreas, Cal., in place of E. F. Floyd. Commission expired February 21, 1916.

COLORADO.

W. S. Buchanan to be postmaster at Salida, Colo., in place of Thomas Ryan. Commission expires May 1, 1917.

Mary E. Mason to be postmaster at Buena Vista, Colo., in place of Charles S. Logan, resigned.

CONNECTICUT.

Thomas Hickey to be postmaster at Springdale, Conn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

FLORIDA.

Harry D. Gilmore to be postmaster at Seabreeze, Fla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

GEORGIA.

J. D. Howard to be postmaster at Milledgeville, Ga., in place of R. B. Moore. Commission expires May 22, 1917.

M. C. Shadburn to be postmaster at Buford, Ga., in place of Lizzie Hamilton. Commission expired April 11, 1916.

ILLINOIS.

Frank L. Thompson to be postmaster at Roodhouse, Ill., in place of J. W. Starkey, removed.

IOWA.

William F. Bales to be postmaster at Colo, Iowa, in place of Harry R. Wilson, removed.

Carie A. Jones to be postmaster at Cantril, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

KANSAS.

Josephine Curtis to be postmaster at Englewood, Kans., in place of T. J. Doyle. Commission expires June 6, 1917.

Grover T. Emmons to be postmaster at Bucklin, Kans., in place of E. C. Gresham. Commission expires June 6, 1917.

William J. Helvering to be postmaster at Beattie, Kans., in place of Alma Helvering, resigned.

MISSISSIPPI.

Cecil W. Tinnin to be postmaster at Isola, Miss. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

MISSOURI.

Zina A. Cleeton to be postmaster at Green Castle, Mo., in place of R. M. Morton. Commission expires May 22, 1917.

Thomas A. Dodge to be postmaster at Milan, Mo., in place of Thomas A. Dodge. Commission expires May 1, 1917.

B. P. Northcutt to be postmaster at Seligman, Mo. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John P. Ray to be postmaster at Cassville, Mo., in place of A. L. Galloway. Commission expires May 1, 1917.

Herbert Standley to be postmaster at Bogard, Mo. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MONTANA.

Frank R. Adams to be postmaster at Rudyard, Mont. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

J. T. Casey to be postmaster at Gildford, Mont., in place of Grace E. Crater, resigned.

NEW JERSEY.

W. A. Tripp to be postmaster at Millington, N. J., in place of Laird H. Bowers, deceased.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

George H. Laffee to be postmaster at Enfield, N. H., in place of Arthur D. Sloan, deceased.

NEW YORK.

Louis C. Donovan to be postmaster at Mount Morris, N. Y., in place of John F. Donovan, resigned.

Robert H. Gittins to be postmaster at Niagara Falls, N. Y., in place of James Hulls, deceased.

Charles L. Graham to be postmaster at Mayfield, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Adam Hersperger to be postmaster at Mayville, N. Y., in place of Frank Stowell. Commission expired February 23, 1915.

Otis W. Howe to be postmaster at Luzerne, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Garra K. Lester to be postmaster at Blasdell, N. Y. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Lamont B. Miller to be postmaster at Cairo, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

William E. Norton to be postmaster at Bolton Landing, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Benjamin K. Lassiter to be postmaster at Oxford, N. C., in place of Mary H. Osborn, deceased.

David J. Whichard to be postmaster at Greenville, N. C., in place of D. J. Whichard. Commission expires May 20, 1917.

Isaac J. Young to be postmaster at Henderson, N. C., in place of W. E. Gary. Commission expires May 29, 1917.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Abbie I. Boyd to be postmaster at Pingree, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Lorena S. Will to be postmaster at Medora, N. Dak. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Alfred J. Wise to be postmaster at Tuttle, N. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

OKLAHOMA.

George A. Clark to be postmaster at Hennessey, Okla., in place of John M. Jones, resigned.

Effie Gibbins to be postmaster at Fort Sill, Okla., in place of Alfa Gibbins, resigned.

Jerome G. Queenan to be postmaster at Elk City, Okla., in place of S. M. Flournoy, removed.

OHIO.

John Q. Baker to be postmaster at Middletown, Ohio, in place of J. Q. Baker. Commission expires May 20, 1917.

Henry W. Brown to be postmaster at Findlay, Ohio, in place of G. D. Dunathan. Commission expires August 12, 1917.

John C. Gorman to be postmaster at Ironton, Ohio, in place of J. C. Gorman. Commission expires April 21, 1917.

Forrest L. May to be postmaster at Dayton, Ohio, in place of F. L. May. Commission expires May 6, 1917.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Allen H. Barthold to be postmaster at Bethlehem, Pa., in place of G. W. Riegel. Incumbent's commission expired January 11, 1916.

Thomas B. McKaig to be postmaster at Langeloth, Pa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. Mitchell Witsell to be postmaster at Walterboro, S. C., in place of P. M. Murray. Commission expires May 13, 1917.

TENNESSEE.

Leonard D. Carmack to be postmaster at Pressmen's Home, Tenn. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

James A. Fields to be postmaster at Henning, Tenn. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

TEXAS.

H. F. Atkinson to be postmaster at Burnet, Tex., in place of M. B. Brown, resigned.

W. B. Claunch to be postmaster at Hamilton, Tex., in place of J. L. Spurlin. Commission expires May 29, 1917.

Charles Howes to be postmaster at Milano, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Willis A. Leuty to be postmaster at Justin, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

H. H. Taylor to be postmaster at Bangs, Tex. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

WASHINGTON.

Charles A. Cole to be postmaster at Everett, Wash., in place of Hugh A. Nolan, resigned.

WEST VIRGINIA.

S. J. Cole to be postmaster at Hundred, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

H. A. Turk to be postmaster at Newell, W. Va., in place of S. K. Rush. Commission expires May 29, 1917.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 12, 1917.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

D. C. Westenhaver to be United States district judge, northern district of Ohio.

PURCHASING AGENT FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

James A. Edgerton to be purchasing agent for the Post Office Department for a term of four years.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *March 15, 1917.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we call upon Thee continually amid the deepening shadows that surround us and invoke Thy guidance and Thy blessing upon us. In the midst of constant demands for force we fear that we may not pursue with ardor the great ideals that involve the true, the beautiful, and the good. We pray that Thou wilt keep guard over our hearts and minds, that we forget not Thy name, and that we remember that Thou art interested in the beauty of life, and its grace, and its purity. So do Thou keep us in the midst of the stress and storm of human life untouched by its evils unto life eternal. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

AMERICAN REGISTRY OF VESSELS.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I submit the following resolution, and I ask unanimous consent that it be immediately considered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 14) as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Commerce be, and is hereby, directed to forthwith prepare and furnish, or cause to be forthwith prepared and furnished, to the Senate a full list of all seagoing vessels for which application has been made for registry under the laws of the United States, and also what vessels for which such application has been made have been in fact granted registration between January 1, 1916, and March 15, 1917; and that in said list it shall be set forth (1) the name and character of the vessel before the application for registry was made and the name under which the registration was granted; (2) the name of the nation under whose registration and flag each of said vessels operated prior to the application for United States registration; (3) the name or names of the person or persons or association or corporation applying for United States registration in each instance; (4) and the exact date of both the application for and the issuance of the registry in each instance.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. Without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. STONE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After six hours and five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, March 16, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 15, 1917.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Asst. Surg. Mather H. Neill to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 7, 1917.

Asst. Surg. John H. Smith, jr., to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 12, 1917.

Asst. Surg. Henry F. White to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 12, 1917.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

VETERINARY CORPS.

To be assistant veterinarians from March 12, 1917.

Allen Chamberlain Wight, of Pennsylvania.
George Holland Dean, of Kansas.
Elwood Luke Nye, of Idaho.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY ARM.

Robert Williamson Nix, jr. (honor graduate), of New York, to be second lieutenant of Infantry, with rank from date of appointment.

POSTMASTERS.

GEORGIA.

B. A. Nolan to be postmaster at Senoia, Ga., in place of Ralph E. McKnight, removed.

MINNESOTA.

C. E. Nightengale to be postmaster at International Falls, Minn., in place of J. J. Lloyd. Incumbent's commission expired June 2, 1914.

MISSOURI.

John Hetrick to be postmaster at Laclede, Mo., in place of John Hetrick. Incumbent's commission expires May 1, 1917.

May W. Spurling to be postmaster at Higbee, Mo., in place of M. W. Spurling. Incumbent's commission expires April 28, 1917.

NEBRASKA.

Mary J. Flynn to be postmaster at Jackson, Nebr. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

A. P. McLaughlin to be postmaster at Bretton Woods, N. H. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NEW JERSEY.

Helen Mylod to be postmaster at Glen Ridge, N. J., in place of John H. Mylod, resigned.

NEW YORK.

Ira Baker to be postmaster at Amagansett, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Daniel Sheehan to be postmaster at Elmira, N. Y., in place of W. H. Lovell, deceased.

George D. Squires to be postmaster at Good Ground, N. Y. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

M. B. Watson to be postmaster at Ridge Spring, S. C. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Edith A. Sproat to be postmaster at Bradley, S. Dak. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

VIRGINIA.

John Hanlon to be postmaster at Hopewell, Va. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Robert R. Church to be postmaster at Winding Gulf, W. Va. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 15, 1917.

MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

John Franklin Fort for the term expiring September 25, 1917.

William B. Colver for the term expiring September 25, 1920.

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION.

Dr. Riley McMillan Little for a term of six years.

Mrs. Frances C. Axtell for a term of four years.

Mr. John J. Keegan for a term of two years.

MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

Raymond B. Stevens to be a member of the United States Shipping Board for a term of five years.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Peter J. Hamilton to be United States district judge, district of Porto Rico.

JUDGE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF HAWAII.

Samuel B. Kemp to be second judge of the circuit court, first circuit, Territory of Hawaii.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

W. P. McGinnis to be United States attorney, eastern district of Oklahoma.

Wilmot M. Odell to be United States attorney, northern district of Texas.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

Miguel Antonio Otero to be United States marshal, district of the Canal Zone.

APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Albert L. Moise to be appraiser of merchandise in customs collection district No. 11, with headquarters at Philadelphia.

DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

Raymond T. Baker to be Director of the Mint.

ENGRAVER IN THE MINT.

George T. Morgan to be engraver in the Mint of the United States at Philadelphia.

COAST GUARD.

Third Lieut. of Engineers Gustavus Richard O'Connor to be second lieutenant of Engineers.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

William H. Edwards to be collector of internal revenue for the second district of New York.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CHAPLAINS.

Rev. George Runyan Longbrake to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant.

Rev. Frank Campion Armstrong to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant

Rev. John Henry Hardy to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant.

Chaplain Nathaniel Alexander Jones to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be first lieutenants.

Edgar Erskine Hume.
Harry Loren Arnold.
Walcott Denison.
James Earle Ash.
Calvin Hooker Goddard.
Bascom Lee Wilson.
Clarence Pennell Baxter.
John Edward Walker.
Henry Freeman Lincoln.
Edgar Allan Bocock.
Willis Power Baker.
Henry Louis Krafft.
Paul Ramsey Hawley.
John Dibble.
George Clark Dunham.
Joseph Madison Greer.
Joseph de Roulhac Moreno.
Robert Burns Hill.
Arthur Maxwell Alden.
Gouverneur Vincent Emerson.
Louis John Regan.
William Archer Hagins.
Shannon Laurie Van Valzah.
William Oscar Hampton Prosser.
George Corwin Beach, jr.
Jesse Irving Sloat.
David Norvell Walker Grant.
James Stevens Simmons.
Charles Carlin Ayres.
Cyrus Boynton Wood.
Charles Le Baron, jr.
Alvin Jay Bayley.
John Francis Corby.
Prescott Stearns Tucker.
Roy Macleay Fortief.
Roy Edward Fox.
Herbert De Witt Porterfield.
Dean Flewellyn Winn.
Alva Burton McKie.
Albert Walton Kenner.
Robert Eunice Parrish.
William Lacey Edmundson.
Cary Robert Pollock.
James Francis Roohan.
Emery Bowers Neff.
Arturo Carbonell.
Edward Augustus Coates, jr.
William Rogers Klingensmith.
Leroy Taylor Howard.
James Albertus Bethea.
Asa Margrave Lehman.
Harrison John McGhee.
Thomas Lee Gore.
Oramel Henry Stanley.
Sewell Munson Corbett.

William Clark Thomas.
Samuel Reily Norris.
Benjamin Norris.

VETERINARY CORPS.

To be veterinarians.

Veterinarian Frederick Foster.
Veterinarian Gerald E. Griffin.
Veterinarian Charles Douglas McMurdo.
Veterinarian William George Turner.
Veterinarian William V. Lusk.
Veterinarian Olaf Schwarzkopf.
Veterinarian Walter R. Grutzman.
Veterinarian Joseph R. Jefferis.
Veterinarian Harry Frank Steele.
Veterinarian Ray J. Stanclift.
Veterinarian Coleman Nockolds.
Veterinarian Eugene John Cramer.

To be assistant veterinarians.

Veterinarian Richard H. Power.
Veterinarian Henry W. Peter.
Veterinarian William P. Hill.
Veterinarian Jules H. Uri.
Veterinarian Robert Vans Agnew.
Veterinarian Charles H. Jewell.
Veterinarian William A. Sproule.
Veterinarian Fred B. Gage.
Veterinarian John H. Gould.
Veterinarian Walter Fraser.
Veterinarian Walter R. Pick.
Veterinarian Andrew E. Donovan.
Veterinarian Burt English.
Veterinarian Robert J. Foster.
Veterinarian George A. Hanvey, jr.
Veterinarian George A. Lytle.
Veterinarian Robert C. Musser.
Veterinarian Aquila Mitchell.
Veterinarian Wilfred J. Stokes.
Veterinarian Oliver A. Barber.
Veterinarian Herbert S. Williams.
Veterinarian Alfred Lewis Mason.
Veterinarian Thomas H. Edwards.
Veterinarian Burton A. Seeley.
Veterinarian William C. Van Allstyne.
Veterinarian Sherman L. Teeple.
Veterinarian Ingild Hansen.
Veterinarian Lloyd E. Case.
Veterinarian James R. Haynes.
Veterinarian George H. Koon.
Veterinarian Ralph M. Buffington.
Veterinarian Daniel B. Leininger.
Veterinarian Joseph N. Hornbaker.
Veterinarian Charles Edward Channing.
Veterinarian Samuel Henry Saul.
Veterinarian Alexander G. Fraser.
Veterinarian George William Brower.
Veterinarian Joseph William Burby.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE ARMY.

Second Lieut. Leander R. Hathaway to be second lieutenant of Infantry.

Second Lieut. Athael B. Ellis to be second lieutenant of Cavalry.

Second Lieut. Erskine S. Dollarhide to be second lieutenant of Infantry.

Second Lieut. George N. Ruhberg to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery.

Second Lieut. Frederic Charles Dosé to be second lieutenant of Infantry.

Second Lieut. Edward Martin Smith to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery.

Second Lieut. Armand Durant to be second lieutenant of Field Artillery.

Second Lieut. Barnwell Rhett Legge to be second lieutenant of Infantry.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

The officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants:

CAVALRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Nelson Mark Imboden.
Capt. John Elliott.
Second Lieut. Randolph Dickins.
Second Lieut. John Newton Steele.
Second Lieut. David Hazen Blakelock.

INFANTRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Stuart Randall Carswell.
Second Lieut. Willis Henry Hale.
Second Lieut. Noe Calhoun Killian.
Second Lieut. Walter Ray Mann.
Second Lieut. Henry Wideman Lee.

The officers of the National Guard herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants:

CAVALRY ARM.

Capt. George H. Carruth.
Second Lieut. Eugene M. Dwyer.
Second Lieut. Fredrick John Holzbaur.
Second Lieut. Wharton Girard Ingram.
Second Lieut. Walter Carl Merkel.
Second Lieut. Edward Semple Moale.
Second Lieut. Adrian St. John.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

First Lieut. Charles W. Gallaher.
Second Lieut. Laurence V. Houston.
Second Lieut. Hugh Chapman Minton.

INFANTRY ARM.

Second Lieut. Frederick R. Baker.
First Lieut. Ernest Hill Burt.
Second Lieut. Albert Francis Christensen.
Second Lieut. William H. Coacher.
First Lieut. John Colford Daly.
Capt. Clarence P. Evers.
Second Lieut. Kirke B. Everson.
Second Lieut. Ray Parker Harrison.
Second Lieut. John Taylor Henderson.
First Lieut. Edward Scott Johnston.
First Lieut. Herman Frederick Kramer.
Capt. Le Roy Lutes.
Capt. Sidney Freudenthal Mashbir.
Second Lieut. William Stirling Maxwell.
First Lieut. William Cheney Moore.
Second Lieut. Paul Everton Peabody.
Second Lieut. Albion Smith.
First Lieut. Oliver John Troster.
Second Lieut. Edwin Daviess Patrick.

The enlisted men herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants:

CAVALRY ARM.

Corpl. Rinaldo L. Coe.
First Class Pvt. Harold John Duffey.
Sergt. Jay Kenneth Colwell.
Sergt. Amory Coffin Cotchett.
Corpl. Otis Porter.
Corpl. Victor Kerney.
Corpl. Arthur C. D. Anderson.
Sergt. Alan Bartle Edson.
Corpl. Folsome Reed Parker.
Saddler Emory Moses Mace.
Corpl. Harry Howell Dunn.
Corpl. Renn Lawrence.
Corpl. Fred H. Clark.
First Class Pvt. Joseph Allen Covington.
Mess Sergt. John L. Rice.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Corpl. John Oliver Hoskins.
Supply Sergt. William Clarke.
Sergt. Albert R. Ives.
Corpl. Arthur Brigham, jr.
Corpl. William McKinley Jackson.
Battalion Sergt. Maj. Joseph A. Sheridan.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

Sergt. Ira Benjamin Hill.
Master Electrician Berthold Vogel.
Corpl. Odes Tillman Pogue.
Radio Sergt. William Chason.

INFANTRY ARM.

Sergt. Gilbert S. Harter.
Sergt. John Warren Cotton.
Pvt. Ralph Edward Wallace.
Sergt. Lawrence Wellburn Fagg.
First Class Pvt. Maury Mann.
Corpl. Rupert L. Purdon.
First Class Pvt. Richard S. Jones.
Sergt. William Carleton Hanna.
Corpl. Leon G. Harer.

First Sergt. Edwin Mack Scott.
Sergt. Paul J. Dowling.
Corpl. John Herbert Jones.
Corpl. Rufus E. Wicker.
Sergt. Charles L. Briscoe.
Corpl. Roy O. Wren.
Sergt. Hermann Charles Dompewolf.
Pvt. Paul Ireton Jones.
Sergt. Frank Everett Hinton.
Corpl. Frank Patrick Tuohy.
Sergt. John R. Hermann.
Pvt. Louis T. Roberts.
Sergt. James Minch Palmer.
Sergt. Ralph A. W. Pearson.
Corpl. Alfred Millard.
Pvt. Harry H. Ambs.
Corpl. William H. Bittenbender.
Q. M. Sergt. Raymond H. Bishop.
Sergt. Henry D. Mitchell.
First Class Pvt. James A. Summersett, jr.
Corpl. Hugh Coskery Gilchrist.
Sergt. Allen T. Veatch.
First Class Pvt. Sigurd J. Simonsen.
Sergt. Thomas G. Bond.
Sergt. John E. Haywood.

The persons herein named for provisional appointment as second lieutenants:

CAVALRY ARM.

Joseph M. Hurt, jr.
George I. Speer.
Charles B. Duncan.
Ferris M. Angevine.
Julian W. Cunningham.
Sam George Fuller.
Clinton Albert Pierce.
Thomas McFarland Cockrill.
Delmore Stephen Wood.
George William Lyman Prettyman.
Thomas McIlvaine Turner.
Horace Lyle Hudson.
Lawrence Cordell Frizzell.
Jean Frederick Sabin.
Robert Fulton White.
Henry Davis Jay.
George Ralph Barker.
Ray Lawrence Burnell.
Arthur Winton Hartman.
John William Berry.
Harry Madara Brown.
Joseph Nixon Marx.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Stacy Knopf.
James M. Garrett, jr.
David M. Pope.
Harry B. Weston.
Eugene Henry Willenbucher.
Louis C. Arthur, jr.
John Flavel Hubbard.
Franklin McKenzie Davison.
William Edgar Shepherd, jr.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

Evan C. Seaman.
Clarence E. Cotter.
Gordon Bennett Welch.
James Moore Evans.
Cedric Ferris Maguire.
Edward Eugene Murphy.
Marshall McDiarmid Williams, jr.
Henry Rasick Behrens.
Edward Clarence Seeds.
Edison Albert Lynn.
Milton Pierce Morrill.
Guy Humphrey Drewry.
Raphael Saul Chavin.
John Lester Scott.
Alva Franklin Englehart.

INFANTRY ARM.

James D. Basey.
Ray M. O'Day.
Alan Pendleton.
Merritt Elijah Olmstead.
Benjamin F. Caffey, jr.
Hadyn Potter Mayers.
Rogers Murchison Wilson.
Henry Ephraim Mosher.
Albin Krill Kupfer.
Augustine Joseph Zerbee.
Frank August Heileman.
Arthur Blaine Hutchinson.
Lauritz Daniel Simonson.
Carl Reah Perkins.
Stanley Morton Muckleston.
Franklin Washington Cheney.
George Francis Wellage.
Alfred F. Biles, jr.
Charles Turner Hearin.
Hugh Mackay Davis.
John Frederick Fredin, jr.
James Bowdoin Wise, jr.
Thomas Alexander Langford.
Harry Lispenard Kimmell.
Clarence Maxwell Culp.
Charles Benjamin Kehoe.
Philip Shaw Wood.
Sheldon Eliot Hoadley.
Harvey Cecil Kearney.
Arthur Wallace Stedman, jr.
Arthur Postell Jervey.
Starr Sedgwick Eaton.
Oliver Franklin Holden.
Maurice Percy Walker.
Thomas Liggett Lamoreux.
Daniel Newton Murphy.
Adlai Cyrus Young.
Alexander Newton Stark, jr.
Clinton Inness McClure.
Roy Charles Lemach Graham.
Arthur Franklin Joseph Holben.
Lloyd Bebb Russell.
George Sawtelle.
John Edwin Gough.
Leonard Almy Smith.
John Waldemar Thompson.
Philip Overstreet.
Lara Paul Good.
George A. McDonald.
George Maltby Wright, jr.
Archie Arrington Farmer.
John Thomas Fisher.
Edwin Eugene Elliott.
Charles Sabin Ferrin.
George Warner Titus.
Samuel David Mann.
John Carver Adams.
Robert Gilpin Ervin.
Edward Lodge McKee, jr.

TRANSFERS TO THE ACTIVE LIST OF THE ARMY.

Col. Tracy C. Dickson as a lieutenant colonel in the Ordnance Department.

First Lieut. Sylvester C. Loring to the grade of captain in the Infantry Arm.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

Brig. Gen. Hunter Liggett to be major general.
Col. Francis J. Kernan to be brigadier general.

MEDICAL CORPS.

Capt. Edgar King to be major.
Capt. Howard H. Johnson to be major.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Lieut. Col. Francis R. Shunk to be colonel.
Maj. George M. Hoffman to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. Joseph H. Earle to be major.
First Lieut. Charles F. Williams to be captain.
Second Lieut. Stanley L. Scott to be first lieutenant.
Second Lieut. Tattnall D. Simkins to be first lieutenant.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Maj. Daniel J. Carr to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. Charles de F. Chandler to be major.

CAVALRY ARM.

Lieut. Col. Alexander L. Dade to be colonel.
Maj. Edwin B. Winans to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. Henry C. Smither to be major.
Capt. Roy B. Harper to be major.
Capt. Thomas A. Roberts to be major.
First Lieut. Frederick T. Dickman to be captain.
First Lieut. Adna R. Chaffee to be captain.

First Lieut. George W. De Armond to be captain.
First Lieut. John G. Quekemeyer to be captain.
First Lieut. Frank M. Andrews to be captain.
First Lieut. Joseph C. King to be captain.
First Lieut. George L. Converse, jr., to be captain.
First Lieut. Donald A. Robinson to be captain.
First Lieut. Bruce L. Burch to be captain.
First Lieut. Edgar M. Whiting to be captain.
First Lieut. Edward G. Elliott to be captain.
First Lieut. Wade H. Westmoreland to be captain.
First Lieut. Guy H. Wyman to be captain.
First Lieut. Verne R. Bell to be captain.
First Lieut. Henry W. Baird to be captain.
First Lieut. Alexander H. Jones to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles L. Stevenson to be captain.
First Lieut. Frank K. Chapin to be captain.
First Lieut. Henry L. Watson to be captain.
First Lieut. Murray B. Rush to be captain.
First Lieut. Augustine W. Robins to be captain.
Second Lieut. Daniel A. Connor to be first lieutenant.
Capt. Edgar A. Sirmyer to be major.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Capt. George V. H. Moseley to be major.
Capt. Charles M. Bundel to be major.
Capt. Charles D. Herron to be major.
Capt. Robert C. Foy to be major.
Capt. Edward T. Donnelly to be major.
Capt. George M. Brooke to be major.
Capt. Harry C. Williams to be major.
Capt. Albert U. Faulkner to be major.
Capt. George M. Apple to be major.
First Lieut. Robert G. Kirkwood to be captain.
First Lieut. Harold E. Marr to be captain.
First Lieut. Joseph W. Rumbough to be captain.
First Lieut. William McCleave to be captain.
First Lieut. Allan C. McBride to be captain.
First Lieut. Joe R. Brabson to be captain.
First Lieut. Leonard C. Sparks to be captain.
First Lieut. John A. Crane to be captain.
First Lieut. Frederick A. Prince to be captain.
First Lieut. Marshall Magruder to be captain.
First Lieut. Truby C. Martin to be captain.
First Lieut. Wilbur Rogers to be captain.
First Lieut. Louis R. Dougherty to be captain.
First Lieut. Samuel R. Hopkins to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles P. Hollingsworth to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles D. Daly to be captain.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

First Lieut. Horton M. Beardslee to be captain.
First Lieut. William C. Whitaker to be captain.
First Lieut. James A. Brice to be captain.
First Lieut. James L. Dunsworth to be captain.
First Lieut. Dana H. Crissy to be captain.
First Lieut. Francis G. Delano to be captain.
First Lieut. Raphael R. Nix to be captain.
First Lieut. James L. Walsh to be captain.
First Lieut. Henry H. Malven, jr., to be captain.
First Lieut. Edward L. Kelly to be captain.
First Lieut. Thruston Hughes to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles B. Meyer to be captain.
First Lieut. Frederick A. Mountford to be captain.
First Lieut. Fordyce L. Perego to be captain.
First Lieut. Philip S. Gage to be captain.
First Lieut. Monte J. Hickok to be captain.
First Lieut. Frederick Hanna to be captain.
First Lieut. Theodore M. Chase to be captain.
First Lieut. William C. Koenig to be captain.
First Lieut. Albert C. Wimberly to be captain.
First Lieut. Harry W. Stephenson to be captain.
First Lieut. Herbert H. Acheson to be captain.
First Lieut. Willis Shippam to be captain.
First Lieut. Frank A. Buell to be captain.
First Lieut. Frank D. Applin to be captain.
First Lieut. Rollin L. Tilton to be captain.
First Lieut. John K. Jemison to be captain.
First Lieut. Isaac E. Titus to be captain.
Second Lieut. Frederick G. Dillman to be first lieutenant.

INFANTRY ARM.

Maj. John W. Heavey to be lieutenant colonel.
Maj. Harry J. Hirsch to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. Ira C. Welborn to be major.
Capt. Alexander E. Williams to be major.
Capt. Charles W. Exton to be major.
First Lieut. George T. Everett to be captain.
First Lieut. Henry H. Arnold to be captain.
First Lieut. Walter R. Wheeler to be captain.
First Lieut. George F. N. Dailey to be captain.
First Lieut. Barton K. Yount to be captain.
First Lieut. Denham B. Crafton to be captain.
First Lieut. William E. Selbie to be captain.
First Lieut. John L. Jenkins to be captain.
First Lieut. Charles H. White to be captain.
First Lieut. Alvin G. Gutensohn to be captain.
First Lieut. Stanley L. James to be captain.
First Lieut. John S. Sullivan to be captain.
First Lieut. David G. C. Garrison to be captain.
First Lieut. Bruce B. Buttler to be captain.
First Lieut. Evan E. Lewis to be captain.
First Lieut. Paul A. Larned to be captain.
Second Lieut. Samuel J. Heidner to be first lieutenant.
Lieut. Col. Julius A. Penn to be colonel.
Maj. La Roy S. Upton to be lieutenant colonel.
Capt. Edgar Ridenour to be major.
Capt. Chauncey B. Humphrey to be major.

CHAPLAIN.

Chaplain John T. Axton to be chaplain, with rank of major.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Passed Asst. Surg. Cary T. Grayson to be medical director in the Navy, with rank of rear admiral.
Capt. Harry S. Knapp to be a rear admiral.
The following-named captains to be rear admirals:
William L. Rodgers,
Harry McL. P. Huse (an additional number in grade),
George W. McElroy (an additional number in grade),
Robert S. Griffin (an additional number in grade),
George E. Burd (an additional number in grade),
James H. Oliver (an additional number in grade),
John Hood, and
William S. Sims.
The following-named commanders to be captains:
Cleland N. Offley (an additional number in grade), and
Louis R. de Steiguer.
Commander William W. Phelps to be a captain.
The following-named commanders to be captains:
Louis A. Kaiser,
William C. Cole,
Jehu V. Chase,
Henry J. Ziegemeier,
George W. Williams,
Montgomery M. Taylor,
Carl T. Vogelgesang,
Charles B. McVay, jr.,
John H. Dayton,
Lucius A. Bostwick,
William A. Moffett,
Julian L. Latimer, and
DeWitt Blamer.
Commander John K. Robison to be a captain.
The following-named commanders to be captains:
Arthur L. Willard, and
Henry H. Hough.
Lieut. Commander Earl P. Jessop to be a commander.
The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:
David E. Theleen,
Orin G. Murfin,
Luther M. Overstreet,
Walton R. Sexton,
William D. Leahy,
John Halligan, jr.,
William C. Watts,
Lyman A. Cotten,
William T. Tarrant,
Yancey S. Williams,
Charles P. Nelson,
Edward B. Fenner,
Victor A. Kimberly,
Claude C. Bloch,
Henry E. Lackey,
Edward C. Kalbfus,
Cyrus W. Cole, and
John W. Greenslade.
Lieut. Commander Harry L. Brinser to be a commander.
Lieut. Commander James H. Tomb to be a commander.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:
James D. Willson.
William Ancrum.
John Rodgers.
William D. Greetham.
Benjamin K. Johnson.
Charles S. Joyce.
Ormond L. Cox.
Royal E. Ingersoll.
Herbert F. Leary.
Chester W. Nimitz.
Reuben B. Coffey.
Joseph V. Ogan.
Albert T. Church.
Logan Cresap.
John N. Ferguson.
Louis C. Farley.
Arthur C. Stott.
William S. McClintic.
Byron McCandless.
Roscoe C. MacFall.
Robert L. Irvine.
Turner F. Caldwell.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:
Walter F. Lafrenz.
Riley F. McConnell.
George W. Simpson.
Charles S. Keller.
Edmund D. Almy.
Jere H. Brooks.
Burton A. Strait.
Charles H. Davis, jr.
Paul E. Speicher.
Eddie J. Estess.
William H. Stiles, jr.
James D. Smith.
Abner M. Steckel.
Laurance S. Stewart.
Guy C. Barnes.

Ensign Charles W. McNair to be a lieutenant (junior grade).
Ensign Karl E. Hintze to be a lieutenant (junior grade).
Boatswain Dallas Wait to be an ensign.
Medical Inspector George H. Barber to be a medical director.
Medical Inspector Rand P. Crandall to be a medical director.

The following-named surgeons to be medical inspectors:
Charles E. Riggs,
James F. Leys,
Frank C. Cook,
Ammen Farenholt,
Charles P. Kindleberger,
Arthur W. Dunbar,
Theodore W. Richards,
Moulton K. Johnson,
Middleton S. Elliott,
Dudley N. Carpenter, and
James C. Pryor.

Surg. Washington B. Grove to be a medical inspector.
Surg. Raymond Spear to be a medical inspector.
Passed Asst. Surg. Robert G. Heiner to be a surgeon.

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons:
Robert E. Stoops,
Benjamin H. Dorsey,
Harry F. Hull,
William J. Zalesky,
Lewis H. Wheeler,
Henry A. May,
William D. Owens,
Owen J. Mink,
Frederick E. Porter, and
Paul T. Bessez.

Passed Assistant Surgeon Norman T. McLean to be a surgeon:

The following-named assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps to be assistant surgeons:
Arthur C. Sinton,
Franklin F. Murdoch,
Harold L. Jensen,
Theo. E. Cox,
James A. Halpin,
Franklin T. Bower,
Aubrey M. Larson,
Julian C. Brantley,
Louis H. Williams,
Ogden D. King,
Irving W. Jacobs.
James M. Quinn.
Arthur W. Hoaglund.
Philip F. Prioleau.
Lockhart D. Arbuckle,
Robert L. Nattkemper,
William E. Lawhead,
George P. Shields,
Edward K. Lee,
John P. Owen,
Charles F. Glenn,
George B. Tyler,
Arthur Freeman,
John J. Loughlin, and
Jack H. Harris.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps:
George J. Eckel,
Luther F. Warren, and
John T. Bennett.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps:
Arthur H. Drane and
William H. Whitmore.

Thomas C. Anderson to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps.

Charles Eastmond to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps.

The following-named citizens to be assistant surgeons in the Medical Reserve Corps:
William O. Bailey,
William B. Fowlkes, and
Ralph H. Jenkins.

Julius L. Waterman to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps.

The following-named acting assistant dental surgeons to be dental surgeons:
William N. Cogan,
Harry E. Harvey,
James L. Brown,
Eugene H. Tennent,
Joseph A. Mahoney,
Leon Martin,
Joseph D. Halleck,
Anson F. McCreary,
Marion E. Harrison,
Ernest W. Lacy,
Lucian C. Williams,
Harry W. Blaisdell,
Harry D. Johnson,
Paul G. White,
Cornelius H. Mack,
Arthur A. Rehm,
Hugh T. Meyers,
William L. Darnall,
Logan A. Willard,
John R. Barber,
George H. Reed,
Franklin L. Morey,
John V. McAlpin,
Marson W. Mangold,
Edward E. Harris,
Alexander G. Lyle,
Alexander J. Zuehlke,
John W. Crandall,
Thomas L. Sampsell, and
Thomas J. Daly.

The following-named assistant dental surgeons in the Dental Reserve Corps to be assistant dental surgeons in the Dental Reserve Corps:
George C. Kusel,
Meyer L. Rhein,
Clarence J. Grieves,
Charles W. Rodgers,
Clyde M. Gearhart,
David J. Alexander,
Walter C. Miller,
Edwin N. Cochran,
Gordon H. Claude,
Charles C. Galloway,
William M. Thebaut, and
George C. Fowler.

The following-named citizens to be dental surgeons in the Navy:

Griffin G. Frazier,
Rufus A. Ferguson,
Alfred W. Chandler, and
Carl S. Ziesel.

Asst. Civil Engineer Carl A. Bostrom to be a civil engineer.

Boatswain Ernest Heilmann to be a chief boatswain.

Boatswain John B. Hupp to be a chief boatswain.

Pharmacist Howard E. Sausser to be a chief pharmacist.

Pay Clerk Charles E. Rappolee to be a chief pay clerk.

Pharmacist Stephen Wierzbicki to be a chief pharmacist.

Douglas B. Parker to be an assistant dental surgeon in the Dental Reserve Corps.

Asst. Paymaster Nicholas H. Stavey to be a passed assistant paymaster, with the rank of lieutenant.

The following-named naval constructors, with rank of commander, to be naval constructors, with rank of captain.

John G. Tawresey,
Robert Stocker,
Elliot Snow, and
George H. Rock.

The following-named naval constructors, with rank of lieutenant commander, to be naval constructors, with rank of commander:

Richard M. Watt,
John D. Beufet,
Daniel C. Nutting, jr.,
William P. Robert,
Thomas G. Roberts,
Laurence S. Adams,
Stuart F. Smith,
William G. DuBose,
Ernest F. Eggert, and
Henry Williams.

Brig. Gen. Joseph H. Pendleton to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps.

Brig. Gen. Eli K. Cole to be a brigadier general in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. Henry C. Haines to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel.

Lieut. Col. Rufus H. Lane to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel.

Lieut. Col. Cyrus S. Radford to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel.

Capt. Frank J. Schwable to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Frank Halford to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Walter E. Noa to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Percy F. Archer to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Seth Williams to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Capt. Rupert C. Dewey to be an assistant quartermaster in the Marine Corps with the rank of major.

Maj. Albert S. McLemore to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Maj. Louis J. Magill to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Maj. David D. Porter to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

The following-named lieutenant colonels to be colonels in the Marine Corps:

Charles G. Long,
Ben H. Fuller,
Laurence H. Moses,
Dion Williams,
John T. Myers, and
Albertus W. Catlin.

Lieut. Col. Wendell C. Neville to be a colonel in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. Thomas C. Treadwell to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

The following-named majors to be lieutenant colonels in the Marine Corps:

William N. McKelvy,
John H. Russell,
Melville J. Shaw,
Philip M. Bannon,
Newt H. Hall,
Smedley D. Butler,
George C. Thorpe,
Charles S. Hill,
George C. Reid,
Robert H. Dunlap,
Harry Lee,
John F. McGill,
Louis M. Gulick,
Hiram I. Bearss,
Frederic L. Bradman,
Arthur T. Marix, and
George Van Orden.

The following-named majors to be lieutenant colonels in the Marine Corps:

Randolph C. Berkeley,
Carl Gamborg-Andresen, and
James C. Breckinridge.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps:

George Van Orden,
James T. Bootes,
Logan Feland,
William Hopkins,
Dickinson P. Hall,
Charles H. Lyman,
Louis McC. Little,
Frederic M. Wise,
Richard M. Cutts,
Harold C. Snyder,
Alexander S. Williams,
Julius S. Turrill,
James McE. Huey,
Jay M. Salladay,
Macker Babb,
Harry R. Lay,
Charles B. Taylor,
John W. Wadleigh,
William C. Harllee,
Richard S. Hooker,
Richard P. Williams,
John C. Beaumont,
Paul E. Chamberlin,
Presley M. Rixey, jr.
Theodore E. Backstrom,
Thomas H. Brown,
William G. Fay,
Robert Y. Rhea,
Eli T. Fryer,
Thomas Holcomb, jr.,
Edward B. Manwaring,
Thomas M. Clinton,
Hamilton D. South,
James T. Buttrick,
Giles Bishop, jr.,
James K. Tracy,
Berton W. Sibley,
Chandler Campbell,
Arthur J. O'Leary,
Charles T. Westcott,
Frederick A. Ramsey,
Earl H. Ellis,
John A. Hughes, and
Thomas C. Turner.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps:

Charles C. Carpenter,
John N. Wright, and
William L. Redles.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps:

Victor I. Morrison,
Maurice E. Shearer,
Harry G. Bartlett, and
Charles A. Lutz.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps:

John R. Henley,
Henry S. Green,
Ralph L. Shepard,
William W. Buckley,
William C. Wise, jr.,
William D. Smith,
Randolph Coyle,
Philip H. Torrey,
Robert L. Denig,
Charles S. McReynolds,
Charles F. B. Price,

Sydney S. Lee,
Ross E. Rowell,
Harold H. Utley,
Paul A. Capron,
William F. Bevan,
Edward A. Ostermann,
Edward S. Willing,
Ralph S. Keyser,
Julian P. Willcox,
Ross S. Kingsbury,
Robert E. Adams,
Edwin N. McClellan,
Littleton W. T. Waller, jr.,
John Dixon,
Clarke H. Wells,
Wilbur Thing,
Edwin H. Brainard,
Alfred A. Cunningham,
Alley D. Rorex,
Harold L. Parsons,
Dwight F. Smith,
Ernest A. Perkins,
Randolph T. Zane,
Clarence C. Riner,
Julian C. Smith,
Charles J. Miller,
Otto Becker, jr.,
Leander A. Clapp,
William S. Harrison,
Clarence E. Nutting,
Edward M. Reno,
Joseph C. Fegan,
Joseph D. Murray,
Woolman G. Emory,
Francis T. Evans,
Donald F. Duncan,
Ralph E. Davis,
Frederick R. Hoyt,
Fred S. N. Erskine,
Roy S. Geiger,
Richard H. Tebbs, jr.,
Robert E. Messersmith,
George W. Van Hoose,
Charles D. Barrett,
Edmond H. Morse,
Robert P. Peirce,
Gerald A. Johnson,
Harry Schmidt,
Harry L. Smith.
Selden B. Kennedy,
Miles R. Thacher,
Lloyd W. Williams,
William B. Sullivan,
George W. Martin,
George K. Shuler,
David S. Barry, jr., and
David L. S. Brewster.

First Lieut. Bernard L. Smith to be a captain in the Marine Corps.

Second Lieut. Sidney N. Raynor to be a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

James T. Reid,
Robert P. Peirce,
Oliver Floyd,
Rolland E. Brumbaugh,
Earl C. Long,
William M. McIlvain,
Roy D. Lowell,
Marion B. Humphrey,
George W. Martin,
Tracy G. Hunter, jr.,
Bernard F. Hickey,
John L. Doxey,
John A. Gray,
Richmond Bryant, and
Charles A. E. King.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

Paul C. Marmion,
Lowry B. Stephenson,
John L. Mayer,
Benjamin A. Moeller,
Clyde H. Metcalf,
Harold C. Pierce,
Douglas B. Roben,
Theodore A. Secor,
Thomas M. Luby,
George A. Stowell,
Henry L. Larsen,
John C. Foster,
William H. Rupertus,
James L. Underhill,
Keller E. Rockey,
George W. Hamilton,
Matthew H. Kingman,
Alphonse De Carre,
Cecil S. Baker,
John F. S. Norris,
Samuel L. Howard,
Lyle H. Miller,
Anderson C. Dearing,
Ralph J. Mitchell,
Louis R. de Roode,
Archie F. Howard,
Raymond R. Wright,
Walter H. Sitz,
William G. Hawthorne,
Oscar R. Cauldwell,
Edward C. Fuller,
Arnold W. Jacobsen, and
Earl H. Jenkins.

The following-named enlisted men of the Marine Corps to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

Robert S. Hunter,
Glenn D. Miller,
Burwell H. Clarke,
Walter G. Sheard,
Charles A. Wynn,
Thomas E. Watson,
Roger W. Peard,
Thad T. Taylor,
Herbert Rosenzweig,
Paul Brown,
Edward S. Chandler, and
Charles A. Howell.

John D. Nevin, a citizen of Pennsylvania, to be a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps.

The following-named citizens to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

Charles P. Gilchrist,
Lloyd L. Leech,
George C. Hamner,
James M. Bain,
Harold S. Fassett,
Karl I. Buse,
John R. Martin,
Gustav Karow,
Arthur B. Jacques,
Jesse H. Fugate, jr.,
Samuel A. Woods, jr.,
Raphael Griffin,
Horace C. Cooper,
David H. Owen,
Peter C. Geyer, jr.,
James E. Davis,
James T. Moore,
William C. Byrd,
George B. Reynolds,
Joseph E. Brewster,
Nimmo Old, jr.,
George F. Adams,
George W. Spotts,
Bruce J. Millner,
Emmett W. Skinner, and
Jesse J. Burks.
Maurice G. Holmes,
Charles C. Gill,
James E. Betts.
Norman S. Hinman,
George F. Adams,
John H. McCahey,
Wethered Woodworth,
James W. Webb,
John M. Tildsley,
Le Roy P. Hunt,
Louis E. Woods,

Edward R. Rhodes,
Harry K. Cochran,
Donald R. Fox,
William McN. Marshall,
George H. Scott,
Alexander Galt,
Paul R. Cowley,
Allen W. Harrington, jr.,
Bailey M. Coffenberg,
Eugene F. C. Collier,
Evans O. Ames,
Stanley M. Muckleston,
William H. Davis,
Richard N. Platt,
William E. Williams,
William W. Scott, jr., and
Franklin A. Hart.

First Lieut. William C. Powers, jr., to be a captain in the Marine Corps.

George S. Whiteside to be an assistant surgeon in the Medical Reserve Corps.

The following-named enlisted men of the United States Marine Corps to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

William LaF. Crabbe,
Harlan E. Major, and
Frank L. Morris.

REJECTION.

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate March 15, 1917.

Lewis A. McGowan to be postmaster at Providence, R. I.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate March 15, 1917.

Maurice W. Haag for appointment as dental surgeon in the Army.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *March 16, 1917.*

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we call upon Thy name with reverence and seek Thy blessing not only that we may be guided for the solemn responsibility of office but that in the larger sphere of our personal life, where we touch and mold public opinion, where we help or hinder our fellow men, we may have the guidance and blessing of God. Help us to lift the burden, help us to make the way more happy, help us to elevate the ideals of the people, and out of our personal consecration to the ideals of the Gospel of Thy Son may we be enabled to refine and purify the lives of those we touch with our lives. To this end do Thou keep us under Thy grace and care and leadership this day. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I make the point that there is no quorum present.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Beckham	Jones, Wash.	Newlands	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Page	Swanson
Culberson	Kendrick	Poindexter	Thompson
Curtis	Kenyon	Pomerene	Townsend
Fletcher	Kirby	Saulsbury	Trammell
France	Knox	Sheppard	Underwood
Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Sherman	Vardaman
Gerry	Lodge	Simmons	Warren
Hale	McCumber	Smith, Ga.	Watson
Hardwick	McKellar	Smith, Md.	Williams
Hollis	Martin	Smoot	Wolcott
Hughes	Nelson	Sterling	
James	New	Stone	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Fifty Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present. The Secretary will read the Journal of the proceedings of the preceding session.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

THE CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

Mr. THOMPSON, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 11, submitted by Mr. FLETCHER on the 14th instant, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That an edition of the Congressional Directory for the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress be prepared and published, as provided for in section 73 of the printing act approved January 12, 1895, and that the sum of $800, for compiling, preparing, and indexing said edition, be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon voucher to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

TREATY WITH COLOMBIA.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I desire to present to the Senate a memorial from the legislature of my State, and I ask the indulgence of the Senate for four or five minutes in doing so.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection——

Mr. JAMES. What is the request?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. To present a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to use four or five minutes of the time of the Senate in doing it.

Mr. President, I present to the Senate a memorial from the Legislature of the State of Washington. It was, no doubt, adopted in the midst of the excitement of a few days ago caused by the imperfect and biased newspaper reports of the proceedings of Congress and by misrepresentations and untruthful statements from a source much higher but which it had a right to assume to be entirely trustworthy.

This resolution pledges the people and resources of the State of Washington to support the President in arming merchant ships and "all other measures, ways, and means which the President believes to be necessary and expedient," and so forth. While it does not in express terms ask me to do this, I assume that it expects me to do it. In fact, in so far as it can do so it pledges me to do it. In effect, it pledges me as a citizen of our State and a Member of one of the coordinate branches of the Government to abdicate my power and shirk my responsibilities by turning these over to the President. It pledges me to support whatever "measures" or "expedient" he may deem necessary for the defense of our honor and the maintenance of the rights of American citizens, regardless of whether it meets with my conception of duty or not. I can not do that without being recreant to the oath which I took to support the Constitution and laws of our country and to discharge the duties of my office according to my ability.

The approval of the treaty we are now considering is urged by the President and a majority of the committee as a necessary "measure" or "expedient" to meet the present critical foreign situation. In the Washington Times of a couple of days ago it was stated that Senator MARTIN after a call upon the President reported to the Democratic caucus that the President was more than ever insistent that the Colombian treaty should be ratified, and said:

> The President explained that he wanted the treaty passed at once, in order to remove all danger of trouble at this time in the vicinity of the Panama Canal.

And referring to a recent appeal of the President in behalf of the Colombian treaty it was said:

> On that occasion he observed significantly that at the present time, of all times, the United States needs the friendship of Colombia and other Latin-American countries.

And Senator LODGE, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who knows what representations have been made, said, in a statement issued a day or two ago:

> We are told that Colombia will furnish submarine bases for Germany from which she can assail our shipping and the Panama Canal and, therefore, in the present crisis we must ratify the treaty and buy Colombia off with $25,000,000 and an apology.

Mr. President, I am not in favor of Zimmermannism on the part of Germany——

Mr. STONE. If the Senator will permit me, the Senate declined to consider the treaty in open session.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am just referring to some statements made in open session and I am stating the reason why I can not comply in this respect with the demand of the resolution of the legislature of my State. I have just another page.

Mr. STONE. The Senator understands——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am just referring to statements that have been made in the public press.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Missouri yielded to the Senator from Washington in order that he might present a memorial of his State legislature.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I told the Senator I wanted to use four or five minutes in connection with the presentation of the memorial.

Mr. STONE. The Senator did say that he had a memorial he wished to present and that he would like to take three or four minutes in some explanation of it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes.

Mr. STONE. I said, of course, that was all right. I did not know what it was about.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think the Senator will see the pertinency of what I am saying as to the resolution of the legislature which I present.

Mr. President, I am not in favor of Zimmermannism on the part of Germany, and I am not in favor of Zimmermannism on the part of this country, and that is what the approval of this treaty means as now urged. Zimmermannism proposed to give Mexico certain territory of the United States if she would help Germany in case of war with this country. It is now urged that we should pay Colombia $25,000,000 of our money to secure simply her neutrality in case we get into war with Germany. I can not vote for a treaty urged for such a purpose. I can not support such a "measure" or "expedient" even though the legislature of my State has, so far as it can do, pledged me to do so. That, to my mind, dishonors the Nation. I can not approve by my vote such a position, and I do not believe that my legislature would want me to do it, even though they have passed a resolution so sweeping in its terms as to cover such a request from the President. It simply illustrates the unwisdom of using broad and general expressions in a resolution really intended to cover a particular matter.

I will go as far as I possibly can to carry out the wishes and pledges of the legislature of my State. I will support to the limit every act of the President, whether right or wrong, in his dealings with foreign countries done within the limits of his constitutional powers, and possibly go even further where he may have already acted. I will support to the limit every act done by a majority of Congress within its constitutional powers, whether in my judgment right or wrong; and if this treaty is ratified I will then cheerfully assist in carrying it out, but even though pledged to do so by the legislature of my State, composed, as I know it to be, of able, earnest, and patriotic men, I will not violate my convictions of duty nor shirk the responsibility placed upon me by the Constitution and vote for this treaty on the grounds urged.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] in a statement the other day expressed my views better than I can express them when he said:

> I shall most cheerfully join in giving the President every power he needs and vote to place on the statute books every necessary law to help us win the war as soon as possible, if war must come; but I will not vote to betray gratuitously my country's honor and to drag her through the deepest humiliation by submitting to blackmailing threats and naked coercion from Colombia or any other State.
>
> It matters not whether her claim is meritorious or worthless. It must not be extorted from the United States by threats of war or of alliance with Germany.

I ask unanimous consent that the memorial of the State legislature be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is the request?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I ask unanimous consent that the memorial may be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Together with the remarks just made by the Senator?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Clearly the remarks made by the Senator were upon executive business and were not made in executive session, but they have been made, and I do not suppose they will do any great amount of harm. I shall not object, but certainly nobody considered in granting unanimous consent that he was granting the right to discuss the treaty outside of executive session.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Senator will do me the justice to say that whatever I have quoted has been in the public press and is practically contained in the report which has been made upon the treaty. I would not willingly violate any rule or any of the secrets of executive session, and I do not think I have done so. I will let my remarks speak for themselves in that respect.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I said I would not object. It will not do any harm.

There being no objection, the memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STATE OF WASHINGTON,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To all to whom these presents shall come:

I, I. M. Howell, secretary of state of the State of Washington and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of senate joint resolution No. 14 of the Fifteenth Session of the Legislature of the State of Washington with the original copy of said resolution as enrolled, now on file in this office, and find the same to be a full, true, and correct copy of said original, and of the whole thereof, together with all official indorsements thereon.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed hereto the seal of the State of Washington. Done at the capitol at Olympia, this 7th day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] I. M. HOWELL,
Secretary of State.

Senate joint resolution 14.

Whereas the United States of America is face to face with a grave national crisis revealing a foreign conspiracy to invade our country after the repeated murder of our citizens on the high seas, the driving of our ships and commerce from the ocean, and practically establishing a blockade of our ports; Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Washington in legislative session assembled, That the State of Washington be pledged to stand by the President to the limit of its resources in men and money, for arming our merchant ships and in support of all other measures, ways, and means which the President believes to be necessary or expedient for the defense of the country and the full protection of the lives, property, and just rights of American citizens on sea and land.

The secretary of state is hereby instructed to prepare copies of this resolution and transmit the same to the President of the United States, the Senate and House of Representatives, and the Members of the Washington delegation to the United States Congress.

Passed the senate March 5, 1917.

LOUIS F. HART,
President of the Senate.

Passed the house March 5, 1917.

GUY E. KELLY,
Speaker of the House.

[Indorsed.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *ss:*

Filed in the office of secretary of state, 10.40 a. m., March 7, 1917.

I. M. HOWELL, *Secretary of State.*

SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

Mr. HARDWICK. I present a memorial which I ask may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The Greater Savannah Commercial Club, of the city of Savannah, Ga., in meeting assembled unanimously adopts the following minute:

"After exhausting the resources of diplomacy in an effort to avert war the President has now taken the only course consistent with national self-respect.

"War with Germany will not ensue unless the Imperial German Government knowingly violates well-settled principles of international law, and violates them with intent definitely hostile to the United States. In that event war will inevitably follow, not by our own act but through the deliberate choice of a self-confessed disturber of the peace of the Western World.

"If any honest doubt exists respecting the cause of war in Europe, the awful responsibility for extending it to this hemisphere will rest upon Germany, and upon Germany alone.

"It may be that the Imperial German Government is misinformed respecting the temper of the people of the United States, just as that Government is supposed to have misconceived the sentiment of the British Empire at the outbreak of the European war. If so, and before fatal action based upon so grave a mistake is taken, Germany should be made aware of the essential unity of our people and of their loyal determination to make all sacrifices necessary to protect our liberty and maintain our honor. To this end we call upon all bodies similar to ours throughout the country and upon all groups of citizens organized for whatever purpose to meet without delay and express themselves with no uncertain voice respecting the course that they will be prepared to follow.

"We urge all such groups of citizens, secular and religious, large and small, societies, clubs, and institutions of every sort to unite with us in giving immediate public expression to such convictions as those which we now solemnly record:

"First. That the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany is one to be approved and commended by all who have the best interests of the United States at heart.

"Second. That the German declaration of January 31, 1917, represents an unjustified and unjustifiable attempt to destroy the freedom of the sea and to abridge the commercial liberty guaranteed to us by established law and custom; and that if the Government of the United States were to acquiesce therein such action would be resented by all good citizens as in the highest degree pusillanimous and as altogether inconsistent with the spirit and tradition of a free people.

"Third. That the President will be justified in recommending to Congress the most extreme measure that may be deemed necessary to protect life, liberty, and property, and that it is our duty and that of all loyal citizens to tender immediately to the Government all the service of which we severally and collectively are capable.

"Fourth. That while all should stand ready to volunteer if voluntary service is called for, yet Congress, in providing for our common safety, should not adopt emergency measures merely, but should definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service. To the end, therefore, that the burden of safeguarding the country should no longer be cast exclusively upon the loyal National Guard and upon other patriotic military and naval volunteers, Congress should be urged to exercise its constitutional power 'to raise and support armies' by establishing

immediately a permanent and democratic system of defense based upon universal service and training under direct and exclusive Federal control."

A copy of this minute is ordered to be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of War, and to the State Representatives in the National Congress.

I certify the above to be a true copy of minute adopted at meeting of the Greater Savannah Commercial Club at its meeting held March 8, 1917.

E. L. GOODMAN, *Secretary.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The memorial will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President, the Legislature of Vermont is in session, and has adopted resolutions touching current events. I will not ask that the valuable time of the Senate be taken while I read the resolutions or have them read by the Secretary, but as indicating the general nature of the resolutions I will read the first paragraph, and ask that the entire resolutions may be printed in the RECORD.

This is the first paragraph:

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives, That the State of Vermont, through her legislature, duly assembled in regular session, does hereby renew her allegiance and fealty to the Government of the United States, and pledges her support to the President in whatever lawful steps he may take in defense of the national honor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolutions will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives, That the State of Vermont, through her legislature, duly assembled in regular session, does hereby renew her allegiance and fealty to the Government of the United States and pledges her support to the President in whatever lawful steps he may take in defense of the national honor.

That we commend the patriotism and loyalty of her Representatives in the United States Senate, Hon. WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM and Hon. CARROLL S. PAGE, and applaud their unselfish and high-minded devotion to the national welfare in a grave international crisis.

That we approve of their desire to authorize the President to arm American vessels in self-defense against the submarine menace, and we disapprove of the action of those who made it impossible for that desire to find expression in a vote.

That we further approve of their signature to a manifesto expressing that desire and conviction, and hereby support and indorse their action.

That we also approve the loyal and consistent support of the President's position on this subject expressed in the National House of Representatives by the votes of Congressmen FRANK L. GREENE and PORTER H. DALE.

That we further commend to our Senators their consideration of such revision of procedure as will make it henceforth impossible for a small group of Senators to defeat the will of the people, tie the President's hands, and place us, before the nations of the world, in a false and humiliating light.

That a copy of this resolution be sent to each of our Representatives in Congress and an additional copy to Senator DILLINGHAM, to be by him transmitted to the President.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. STONE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After two hours and fifteen minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened.

TREATY WITH COLOMBIA.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I have a letter from the President which I would like to have printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The letter will be received and printed in the RECORD.

The letter is as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 17, 1917.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I take the liberty of writing to ask you if it will not be possible to press the pending treaty with Colombia again for ratification. I must admit my surprise that there should be any objection to its consideration or to immediate action upon it in view of the unusual circumstances of the moment.

The main argument for the treaty and for its immediate ratification is, of course, that in it we seek to do justice to Colombia and to settle a long-standing controversy which has sadly interfered with the cordial relations between the two Republics. In addition to that argument, which should be conclusive, there is this only too obvious consideration, that we need now and it is possible shall need very much more in the immediate future all the friends we can attach to us in Central America, where so many of our most critical interests center.

I would very much like your advice as to this matter. It seems to me that those who oppose this treaty must be thoughtless of the present situation.

Cordially and faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE,
United States Senate.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

At 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m. the doors were reopened.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 18) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the President pro tempore to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the Senate, having completed the business of the present session, is ready to adjourn unless the President has some other communication to make to it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore appointed Mr. MARTIN and Mr. WARREN as the committee to wait upon the President.

AMERICAN REGISTRY OF VESSELS (S. DOC. NO. 4).

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of Commerce transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 15th instant, detailed information relative to all sea-going vessels for which application has been made for registry under the laws of the United States, and so forth. The communication and accompanying papers will be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, should not this communication be printed in the RECORD?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will entertain a motion to that effect.

Mr. FLETCHER. Would the Senator from Missouri like to have the communication printed in the RECORD?

Mr. STONE. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. FLETCHER. I take it that the order of the Chair that the communication be referred to the Committee on Commerce still obtains, and that it will be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The communication and accompanying papers will be printed as a document, printed in the RECORD, and referred to the committee on Commerce.

The communication is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 16, 1917.

SIR: I have received the following resolution adopted in the Senate of the United States March 15, 1917:

"*Resolved,* That the Secretary of Commerce be, and is hereby, directed to forthwith prepare and furnish, or cause to be forthwith prepared and furnished, to the Senate a full list of all seagoing vessels for which application has been made for registry under the laws of the United States, and also what vessels for which such application has been made have been in fact granted registration, between January 1, 1916, and March 15, 1917; and that in said list it shall be set forth (1) the name and character of the vessel before the application for registry was made, and the name under which the registration was granted; (2) the name of the nation under whose registration and flag each of said vessels operated prior to the application for United States registration; (3) the name or names of the person or persons, or association or corporation, applying for United States registration in each instance; (4) and the exact date of both the application for and the issuance of the registry in each instance."

The detailed information desired is attached, covering 39 foreign vessels of 93,711 gross tons transferred from foreign to American registry from January 1, 1916, to March 15, 1917, inclusive. Of these totals 7 vessels of 10,369 gross tons were admitted to registry as wrecked vessels repaired in American shipyards under the act of February 24, 1915. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915, foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry aggregated 513,306 gross tons. The great decline in foreign tonnage admitted to American registry since December 31, 1915, is due in part to the fact that during 1915 and 1916 practically all maritime nations enacted laws or issued decrees prohibiting the sale of merchant vessels under their respective flags to the citizens or subjects of other nations, except by special permission of the Government concerned, and it has been increasingly difficult to obtain such permission. The United Kingdom forbade such transfers except with the approval of the board of trade after February 12, 1915, and Belgium, France, Italy, Russia, Austria, Denmark, Brazil, Norway, and Germany passed similar laws the same year. Similar laws were passed in 1916 by Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Greece.

Since 1915 the drift has not been from foreign to American register, but from American to foreign register. During the year ended June 30, 1915, only 18,545 gross tons of American vessels were sold to foreigners, while during the year ended June 30, 1916, American vessels sold to foreigners aggregated 102,479 gross tons. From July 1, 1916, to March 3, 1917, returns show the sale of 152 American vessels of 180,612 gross tons to foreigners, of which 76,541 tons were sold to Norwegians, 26,219 to British, 21,992 to French, 14,801 to Japanese, 14,527 to Uruguayans, 7,955 to Dutch, 2,711 to Nicaraguans, 2,119 to Greek, 1,980 to Portuguese, 1,393 to Spanish, 1,366 to Danish, 1,261 to Cubans, 974 to Russians, 496 to Peruvians, 366 to Venezuelans, 349 to Mexicans, 279 to Dominicans, 203 to Costa Ricans, 144 to Haitians, 71 to Panaman, 6 to Swedish, and 4,859 to other foreigners. The sale of American ships to foreigners without the approval of the Shipping Board was prohibited by the proclamation of the President on February 5, 1917.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

(Inclosure.)

Foreign ships transferred to American registry from Jan. 1, 1916, to Mar. 15, 1917, inclusive.

[Act of Aug. 18, 1914.]

Foreign name of vessel.	Rig.	Gross tons.	American name of vessel.	Foreign flag.	Applicant for registry.	Date of application.	Date of register.
Algonquin	Steam screw	1,805	Algonquin	British	William Wallace Wotherspoon	Dec. 16, 1916	Dec. 18, 1916
Australia	Bark	2,246	Phyllis	Chilean	Pacific Freighters Co. (Inc.)	Feb. 18, 1916	[1] Oct. 5, 1916
Avellaneda	Steamship	2,853	Orleans	Argentine	Oriental Navigation Co. of New York	Feb. 2, 1917	Feb. 7, 1917
Calgary	Gasoline screw	1,714	Bacoi	British	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey	May 23, 1916	June 12, 1916
Candace	Steam yacht	405	Remlik	do	Willis Sharp Kelmer	Feb. 14, 1916	Feb. 29, 1916
Christiane	Bark	964	Christiane	Russian	Bennett Trading Co	Aug. 25, 1916	Mar. 12, 1917
County of Linlithgow	Ship	2,205	Katherine	Chilean	Pacific Freighters Co. (Inc.)	Feb. 18, 1916	June 7, 1916
Constitucion	Steam screw	3,358	Constitucion	Ecuadorian	Caribbean & Southern Steamship Co.	Nov. 24, 1915	Apr. 8, 1916
Colombia	do	5,643	Colombia	Dutch	W. R. Grace & Co., for Pacific Mail Steamship Co.	Feb. 21, 1916	[2] Jan. 25, 1917
Contre Amiral Caubet	do	2,078	Vigo	French	Junius H. Stone	Sept. 2, 1916	[3] Dec. 7, 1916
Fordonian	Oil screw	2,367	Fordonian	British	A. J. Outerbridge	Dec. 2, 1916	Dec. 8, 1916
Ecuador	Steam screw	5,544	Ecuador	Dutch	W. R. Grace & Co., for Pacific Mail Steamship Co.	Feb. 24, 1916	[4] Aug. 25, 1915
Gobernador Bories	do	4,725	Sherman	Chilean	Braden Copper Co	May 5, 1916	June 14, 1916
Glenmount	do	1,957	Glenmount	British	Oriental Navigation Co. of New York.	Dec. 27, 1916	Dec. 29, 1916
Gral Barhona	do	183	Harsteele	Honduran	Jefferson Davis Hardin, jr	June 23, 1916	Aug. 26, 1916
Ituna	do	247	Ituna	British	R. Fred Vogle	May 27, 1916	June 9, 1916
Kaministiquia	do	2,172	Westoil	do	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey	do	June 20, 1916
La Sirene	Gasoline yacht	33	Early Dawn V	do	Joseph E. Doherty	Dec. 19, 1915	Sept. 13, 1916
Liberia	Steam screw	2,518	Maryanne	do	Maryanne Shipping Co. (Inc.)	Feb. 13, 1917	Feb. 16, 1917
Lisboa	do	1,621	Lisboa	Argentine	Bluefields Fruit & Steamship Co	Oct. 23, 1913	[5]
Madrid	do	1,726	Rama	do	do	do	[3] Mar. 12, 1917
Marina Quesada	do	4,927	Marina Quesada	Costa Rican	Edwin C. Gregory	Aug. 18, 1915	[5]
Plan de Guadaloupe	do	1,649	St. Charles	Mexican	New York & New Orleans Steamship Co.	Sept. 21, 1915	Jan. 4, 1917
Prins Valdemar	Barkentine	1,338	Prins Valdemar	do	G. W. McNear (Inc.)	Aug. 25, 1915	[6] Feb. 21, 1913
Puebla	Steam screw	1,430	Clinchdale	do	Clinchdale Navigation Co	July 17, 1916	July 21, 1913
Purelight	do	4,489	Healdton	German	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey	Dec. 30, 1915	[3] Mar. 4, 1913
Van der Duyn	do	3,298	Sagua	Dutch	Atlantic Fruit Co	Jan. 12, 1917	Feb. 3, 1917
Van Hogendorp	do	3,298	Van Hogendorp	do	do	do	Jan. 13, 1917
Venezuela	do	5,641	Venezuela	do	W. R. Grace & Co., for Pacific Mail Steamship Co.	Feb. 24, 1916	[10] Sept. 20, 1916
Vikar	Bark	870	Brown Bros	Norwegian	American Shipping Co	May 8, 1916	May 15, 1916
Walkure	Steam screw	4,169	Republic	German (French prize).	John A. Hooper	Nov. 17, 1915	[11] Apr. 27, 1916
Taifuku Maru	do	5,863	Argonne	Japanese	Argonne S. S. Co	Dec. 18, 1916	[12]
Total 32 vessels, gross tons.		83,342					

REPAIRED WRECKS.

[Act of Feb. 24, 1915.]

Avenger	Bark		John H. Kirby	Norwegian	W. B. Gillican	Dec. 14, 1916	[13]
Ben Cruachan	Gasoline screw	1,379	Carmela	British	Edward P. Bayles	June 17, 1916	Sept. 12, 1916
Callao	Bark	1,014	Callao	Peruvian	Geo. W. McNear (Inc.)	July 13, 1916	Aug. 2, 1916
Carioca	Barkentine	762	Carioca	French	Carioca Co. (Inc.)	Nov. 2, 1916	Mar. 13, 1917
Dunholme	Steam screw	3,675	Campana	British	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey	Feb. 3, 1916	May 9, 1916
Lamberga	Bark	1,302	Lamberga	Cuban	Norman H. Davis	Jan. 18, 1917	Feb. 13, 1917
Simla	Schooner barge	2,237	Simla	British	Union Oil Co	Nov. 16, 1915	Aug. 16, 1915
Total, 7 vessels, gross tons.		10,369					

[1] Provisionally registered Mar. 27, 1916.
[2] Provisionally registered Aug. 3, 1916.
[3] Provisionally registered Sept. 21, 1916.
[4] Provisionally registered Mar. 24, 1916.
[5] Provisionally registered May 16, 1916.
[6] Undocumented to date.
[7] Provisionally registered Oct. 29, 1916.
[8] Provisionally registered Sept. 3, 1915.
[9] Provisionally registered Jan. 4, 1916.
[10] Provisionally registered Mar. 14, 1916.
[11] Provisionally registered Jan. 21, 1916.
[12] Provisionally registered Dec. 30, 1913.
[13] Application incomplete.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL MESSENGER.

Mr. NELSON submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 16), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to place on the Senate rolls one additional messenger, at the rate of $1,200 per annum, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate until otherwise provided for by law.

Mr. THOMPSON subsequently said: From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back favorably, with amendments, Senate resolution 16, submitted by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] to-day, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The Senate by unanimous consent proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendments were, in line 3, before the word "messenger," to strike out the words "one additional" and insert "a"; in the same line, after the word "messenger" to insert "for the minority"; and in line 5, to strike out the words "otherwise provided for by law" and insert "the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1917"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to place on the Senate rolls a messenger for the minority at the rate of $1,200 per annum, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate until the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1917.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I am not going to object; I think the minority ought to have this messenger if they want him, but I want to say right here and now that we are passing a great many of these resolutions from time to time, and we are getting the roll filled up with special clerks for Senators and special committees. For instance, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] ought to have had his clerk, and I think the minority should have this one, but not long ago the Appropriations Committee had to go over the entire subject and repeal a great many resolutions which had been introduced in the Senate by different Senators. I hope such matters will usually go to the Appropriations Committee. If these expenses are paid out of the contingent fund, our contingent fund will soon be exhausted.

As I said, I am not going to object, and I think the minority ought to have this man. At the suggestion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], in both these resolutions the time of employment has been limited and fixed for a particular period. That is very wise, because there are several men now on the rolls who were placed there years ago by resolutions that have been lost sight of, and they have held their offices here when the Senators who had them put on the rolls have gone out or died. That is the reason why we should keep in touch with such appointments hereafter. That can be done by appointing them for a certain time, and then the Appropriations Committee can keep up with these officers. There are men sitting around here now who were placed on the rolls under certain resolutions. I think a Senator ought to have what he wants; but I hope that each resolution hereafter will fix a certain, definite time for which the men shall be employed. This the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] has done, and also the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, some weeks ago a special committee was appointed to inquire into the question of additional clerk hire for Senators, and I think that ought to be done. I have felt that a good many Senators do not have the clerks accredited to them that they ought to have. I believe that matter should be taken up promptly.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I think the Senator is right about that; and if Senators who feel that they must have more clerks will write to the Committee on Rules that committee will take up the question and make a report to the Committee on Appropriations, and then in the Committee on Appropriations we can take up the matter when we come to make up the next appropriation bill. What I was speaking of was the loose way we have of putting men on the rolls here at a salary, some getting more than others, and after a time they are lost sight of. If the Senator from Utah and myself had not investigated the matter the men would have stayed on indefinitely. We got to investigating and found these resolutions, some of them passed years ago, putting these men on the rolls. There are two or three of them there now. We are trying to keep in touch with them; but the Appropriations Committee can not keep in touch with them if resolutions are passed putting men on the rolls for indefinite periods.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator that as long as I am a member of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, after the experience that we have had in the past, I shall never sanction a favorable report to the Senate of a resolution putting a man on the roll to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate "until otherwise provided by law." I shall support whatever particular resolution may be in question, insisting that the employment be limited to a certain time, not longer than a period in which it can be demonstrated whether or not the clerk is really needed. Then, if he is needed, I want him to be appropriated for as all other clerks are.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is just what I called attention to. The Senator being on that committee, I want the new committee that has come in to be informed of the condition of things as it has existed before. It was not so during the time my friend from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] was chairman of the committee; but the condition ought to be known to the new committee that has been appointed, so that they can take care in the future about these resolutions, so that they will not provide for indefinite employment.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I wish to say that before I presented the report on this resolution I consulted with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN], and I understood from him that the minority were entitled to this clerk. We certainly want to be fair and just with the minority. At the suggestion of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] the amendment was made which has been agreed to, fixing the time of June 30, 1917.

I wish to say in this connection that as long as I am chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I shall do my utmost to see that these matters are properly taken care of, and that no one gets on the rolls in the manner in which the Senator from North Carolina says they have in the past. There has been no resolution reported so far but what the time has been expressly fixed in the resolution to meet the immediate necessities of the case under consideration.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, although this resolution is a resolution of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], to whom I am very much attached personally and socially, I should hate to see it passed.

The Democratic Party, since it has come into power, has been shamelessly chivalrous about a great many of these things. There are right at the reading desk now, under a Democratic Senate, a Republican personnel kept in office by our good nature, and who were kept in office by having their names put on the permanent roll in the law before we came in. I do not suppose there is another instance in all the history of the world where a deliberative body of one party permitted all of its reading clerks, or substantially all of them, to be of the other party.

Every now and then there comes up some little matter of this sort, proposing to put some Republican by name upon the permanent rolls; and then there comes a resolution like this to start him out for that sort of thing by providing for him from the contingent fund of the Senate temporarily. I hope it will not be done.

Now, there are no nicer fellows in the world than our reading clerks, Mr. Rose and Mr. Crockett, and they are perfectly efficient men. Nobody has anything in the world against them; but we have stood here and allowed you absolutely to control the reading desk of a Democratic Senate, and I think you ought to be a little bit generous to us, and not try to impose upon our good nature by getting men named every now and then. We are going to try to take care of the patronage so that each Senator will have, as nearly as can be, the same patronage. I have been doing my utmost with that aim in view; the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] has been doing his utmost with that aim in view; and I hope this resolution will not pass.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield to me?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Certainly.

Mr. NELSON. I want to say to the Senator from Mississippi that many years ago, when the Republicans came into control of the organization of the Senate, I found here a Democrat from Maryland who originally owed his appointment to Senator Gorman. He was in the air; he had no one to take charge of him or to stand for him. His name was Maryman. He is now on the elevator here. I took him as a part of my patronage. Mr. Maryman is charged to me, I believe. I was told by the Senator from North Carolina that he was charged to me to this day. He has been here 22 or 23 years. During the entire Republican administration, when we had control of the Senate, he stood charged to me, and I kept him in his place. In view of that fact, I trust the Senators on the other side will have a little of the milk of human kindness about this matter.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator pardon me just a moment?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I happen to know about the Maryman case, and I happen to know about the generous and chivalrous conduct of the Senator from Minnesota in connection with Sam Maryman. We are going to relieve you of that situation. We propose to do that. It has been settled by the patronage committee that we would do that if we could; so we are going to try, and I think we can. I do not know of anything that has happened in my entire career in public that ever seemed more generous and chivalrous than your proposal to take care of Maryman if he was not taken care of in some other way and to take it out of your own patronage. If you will pardon me for saying so, without the slightest blarney in the world—because I am neither an Irishman nor a darkey and hardly ever blarney—it is in keeping with your usual course of conduct; but I hope you will not insist upon this. I think we will relieve you later of the Maryman embarrassment, and then you can take care of yourself.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senator from Mississippi that the Committee on Appropriations found that there were on the rolls of the Senate some three or four employees placed there by resolution of the Senate, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate "until otherwise provided by law." In the last legislative appropriation bill all such resolutions were repealed. Of course, that took from the Committee on Privileges and Elections one employee that Senator Kern had had appointed under a resolution of that sort. We provided here by a special resolution to-day for an extra clerk at $1,200 for that committee for a period of 60 days.

I do not know of any employee of the Senate or of the Government who is named in an appropriation bill now with the single exception of Mr. Rose; and, of course, it was years ago when he was first mentioned. I think 10 years ago there were about six or seven employees named in the legislative appropriation bill. They have all died but Mr. Rose, and his name is still carried in the legislative bill; but that is the only one.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And Mr. Crockett.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. Crockett is not named in the appropriation bill. He is just provided for as the assistant.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think there are a lot of them.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, the Senator is mistaken about that. Now, of course, if the Senate wants to disagree to this resolution, it can do so.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator whether a request has been made of the Committee on Rules to supply you with this messenger without adding another to the rolls? I think they will give it to you without adding another to the rolls.

Mr. SMOOT. Oh, I do not think so. The position is not provided for in the bill. All the patronage that the minority has is provided for now, as the Senator knows.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But I feel sure that the Committee on Rules can give you an additional messenger out of those that are now on the rolls, and let you fill the position, if you wish.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If we can, we are going to give you just as much patronage as you gave us.

Mr. SMOOT. I think to-day that the Democrats are giving us just the same patronage that we gave them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, then, we are going to give you just as much; and if, following that rule, we can give you this one, we will do it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There are two less Democratic Senators than there were, and that might make it practicable to give it without increasing the rolls at all.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator that the patronage which is given to the minority consists of so many elevator men, so many policemen, and six of the pages of the Senate. They are all provided for now on the legislative appropriation bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator does not understand me. What I mean is this: There are two less Democratic Senators than there were last year, and there is some patronage that has not been absorbed. If you presented your application to the chairman of the Committee on Rules, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN], I think it most probable that he could arrange to give you this help without having the contingent fund charged with an additional messenger. Does the force require an additional messenger? If it does, we ought to vote it; if it does not, we ought not.

Mr. SMOOT. I will ask the Senator from North Carolina if the patronage of the majority is such that he could assign this man to the minority?

Mr. OVERMAN. I think we can. Suppose there is $3,000 left over; you can not divide it among 47 men. I think we will be in a position to give this man to the minority without making any appropriation.

Mr. SMOOT. Very well, if you can assign him to the minority.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; we will just give him to the minority.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. I understand there will be no difficulty about it, because the time is named when the appointment shall begin and the time is named when he shall be taken off, and we can let it go as it is. It will have to be done by a resolution.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Is this man already on the roll?

Mr. SMOOT. He has been on the roll.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. And he was paid out of the contingent fund?

Mr. SMOOT. No; he was provided for in another way. He was with the former Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Clapp.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What I am opposed to is to have him named in the law and to hold on forever.

Mr. SMOOT. He is not named here.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator read the resolution?

Mr. SMOOT. It says:

That the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to place on the Senate rolls a messenger for the minority at the rate of $1,200 per annum, to be paid out of the contingent fund until the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1917.

There is no name.

Mr. OVERMAN. Let it be adopted.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think we can take care of him.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendments proposed by the committee.

The amendments were agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

LOBBY INVESTIGATION.

Mr. OVERMAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 15), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the time by which the Committee on the Judiciary was instructed to report to the Senate on the investigation by a subcommittee thereof authorized under Senate resolution No. 92, Sixty-third Congress, first session, being a resolution instructing them to investigate the charge that a lobby is maintained to influence legislation pending in the Senate, which was heretofore extended by resolutions of June 6 and June 26, 1913, February 19 (calendar day March 3), 1915, and September 1 (calendar day September 6), 1916, be, and the same is hereby, further extended so as to permit the said subcommittee to conclude its investigation of, and the committee to make its report to the Senate on, any matters which have arisen or may arise within the scope of said resolution No. 92, Sixty-third Congress, first session, on or before the 4th day of March, 1919; and that the authority granted under the resolutions of August 9, 1913, October 8 (calendar day October 12), 1914, February 19 (calendar day March 3), 1915, and September 1 (calendar day September 6), 1916, for the incurring and payment of expenses is hereby extended for the same length of time so far as it relates to such investigation and report.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. HUGHES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 17) which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Whereas differences have arisen between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. (a street railway corporation in the District of Columbia, created and existing by virtue of the act of Congress approved June 5, 1900), and certain of its employees, by reason of which said employees declared a strike or "walkout" on Monday, March 12, 1917, and withdrew from the service of the company, and

Whereas the failure of the said street railway company and its employees to settle and adjust their differences has caused and is causing great public inconvenience and loss, and

Whereas it is in the interest of the public safety and welfare that the causes of the existing differences between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and its employees should be ascertained and a means devised, if possible, whereby the same may be justly accommodated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate who are hereby given full authority to investigate the cause or causes which have occasioned the present strike by the said employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co., and to report the result of its investigation with such recommendations as it may deem proper to make to the Senate at the earliest possible day, and the said committee or subcommittee thereof is hereby given power and authority to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony under oath as to all matters and things covered by this resolution and to employ such clerical and stenographic assistance as may be necessary in the premises, the expenses of said committee to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

EMPLOYMENT OF ADDITIONAL CLERK.

Mr. THOMPSON. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably, with an amendment, Senate resolution 12, submitted by Mr. POMERENE on the 14th instant, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was, in line 5, after the word "Senate," to strike out "until otherwise provided by law" and insert "for the term of two months from March 16, 1917," so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate be, and it is hereby authorized to employ an additional clerk at the rate of $100 per month, to be paid out of the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, for the term of two months from March 16, 1917.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

THE PANAMA CANAL.

On motion of Mr. LODGE, it was

Ordered, That 1,000 copies of Senate Document No. 471, Sixty-third Congress, second session, on the subject of the Panama Canal and our relations with Colombia be printed for the use of the Senate Document Room.

OUR NAVAL PROBLEM.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD an article in the edition of the North American Review for the present month, entitled "Our Naval Problem," by Lieut. Commander Lyman A. Cotten, United States Navy.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Connecticut will be complied with.

The article is as follows:

OUR NAVAL PROBLEM.

[By Lieut. Commander Lyman A. Cotten, United States Navy.]

There is probably no considerable faction among the various elements that go to make up the American public that does not now actively or passively favor an adequate navy for our Government. However, as to what constitutes an "adequate" navy there is the greatest divergence of opinion. The peace-at-any-price faction considers a few antiquated gunboats an "adequate" navy, since they can protect our citizens in revolution-ridden ports, or take them away to places of safety. At the other extreme our militaristic faction can see adequacy for us only in a navy more powerful than the navy of any other nation or even any possible combination of nations. Between these two extremes may be found what constitutes in reality a navy adequate to the needs of the United States, i. e., a navy capable of properly performing such duties as may logically fall to the lot of the navy of a rich, careless, and ill-prepared country.

As to what constitutes an adequate navy in the above premise even expert opinions differ, and nonexpert opinions run through the entire gamut from reason and moderation to impracticability and freakishness. One self-appointed authority demands a thousand submarines, and nothing else, to satisfy his idea of adequacy; another a fleet of battle cruisers, or a myriad aircraft.

That our Navy is our first line of defense has been long recognized. Let us see then what we have to expect of our Navy; how important to the country is the duty that may fall to its lot and what would be the probable result of a failure on the part of the Navy to measure up to expectations. In general terms, "What is our naval problem?" We are not so much concerned now with the functions of navies in general, but we are very vitally interested in the practical question as to the function of our own Navy, and, so far as can be deducted from this, its necessary size and its desirable composition.

It is frequently stated, as a broad proposition, that in case of war our Navy must keep our enemy from landing on our shores, at least until we have had time to organize and train an adequate army to meet him when he does land. This statement is frequently followed by another citing the miles of coast line of our country, and comparing it with the coast lines of other countries. This is all very interesting, perhaps, but unfortunately the difficulties of defense can not be measured in miles of coast line, nor does the necessary size or composition of a nation's fleet vary with any known property of its coast line. It is the task of our Navy to keep our shores free of invaders, and more than that, for we can hardly abandon to our enemies from the beginning of the war our outlying dependencies—Porto Rico, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands, not to mention the Panama Canal. The problem that will tax the energies of our Navy in war is to keep our normal naval frontier inviolate, at least in its vital parts.

The naval frontier of a nation may be defined as the geographical sea limit of its military power. It includes, but is not necessarily conterminous with, the coast line of all territory facing the sea that is under the political control of a nation; it matters not whether this territory is contiguous or remote; and it incloses such parts of the sea as are occupied or controlled by its naval forces or are necessary to the military security of its territory.

Under this definition our naval frontier on the Atlantic, beginning near the easternmost point of Maine, sweeps down outside our eastern coast to the straits of Florida, juts out to the eastward around Porto Rico, then back by Jamaica and south to the Panama Canal. Continuing on the Pacific, it stretches out, southward and westward, to the Samoan Islands, on around the Philippines by way of Guam, back to the Midway Islands, up around the Aleutian Islands and north to Behring Strait. Of course, this frontier includes certain territory not under the political control of the United States, but its relations to the United States are such as to place it, navally, in a special category. Without in any way anticipating or desiring political control of any territory between the Rio Grande and the Panama Canal, all of this territory falls within our naval frontier for defensive purposes and as herein defined. In other words, it is as vital in a naval sense to keep an enemy out of Mexico as out of Texas.

It may interest those fond of comparing miles of coast line and other purely physical properties to point out that our naval frontier extends from longitude 65° west to 120° east, approximately half way around the world, and in latitude it extends from 18° south to 70° north. The length of this naval frontier of ours is approximately 21,000 miles, a distance that makes our extensive coast line seem scarcely more than a Sabbath day's journey.

A nation's naval frontier is exposed to the military force of all other nations touching the sea, for only the high seas intervene and these are free to all those that can maintain their rights thereto. At one time distance was reckoned on as a considerable factor in defense, but to-day the sea is a convenience rather than a barrier, unless the way be barred by naval power. Extreme distance, it is true, introduces difficulties, but so long as these may be overcome it is extremely unwise to count upon mere distance from possible enemies as an element of actual strength. When the difficulties of distance have been overcome, force is applied as though these difficulties had never existed.

We see that for an enemy to reach us he must penetrate our naval frontier—the danger to our two land frontiers may for the moment be disregarded—and so long as we can keep it intact we not only prevent invasion of our home shores but also keep our possessions from falling into the hands of an enemy. Thus the maximum that we can demand of our Navy, whatever its size or composition, is the preservation of our naval frontier inviolate. Let us see how much of a problem this involves, and from this deduce the size and composition of the Navy needed to handle adequately this problem.

Before considering our naval frontier, as it is to-day, let us for a moment look at it as it was in 1898, before the "hand of destiny," imperialism, or common sense, as you choose, stepped in and stretched it to the east around Porto Rico, to the west around the Philippines and other Pacific islands, and to the south around Panama: Then it merely skirted our coast line in a modest and unassuming manner, and only struck into remote waters as it rounded Alaska. This may be termed our coast-line naval frontier, and its problems were simple compared with the problems of our present far-flung naval frontier, joining the new West with the old East, the Tropics with the Frigid Zone. This may be termed our naval frontier of destiny, or simply our naval frontier, for this is the one with which we are now concerned, the one the defense of which constitutes our problem.

It will be apparent to the most untrained military eye that our present naval frontier is far more difficult to defend than our former one. Destiny does not confer unmixed blessings, and one can not enjoy increased authority and opportunity without shouldering additional responsibility.

Other things being equal, an exposed or projecting portion of a military area is the more vulnerable part, and the same is true in naval warefare. This is because such a part is less easily supported or succored by other parts, is more detached physically, is more accessible to an enemy, and is farthest removed from the main sources of friendly supply, both of men and material. If the vulnerable part be also an area desired by an enemy, by virtue of location, trade possibilities, or strategic reasons, the danger of its vulnerability being tested is, of course, vastly increased. Also if through such an area another and more important one may be reached more easily, the first becomes increasingly desirable for an enemy; the question of its defense involves both areas equally and the vulnerable one can not be abandoned without involving the other.

With these few elementary principles, and without attempting to investigate extensively the offensive and defensive characteristics or the complications of naval strategy, let us look at our naval frontier. We find an exposed area in the Atlantic, another in the Pacific, and a third where the Atlantic and Pacific are joined by the Panama Canal. These three areas, Porto Rico, Panama, and the Philippines, are thrust forward, as it were, and are remote, as compared with adjacent areas, from the strengthening bases of our mainland; they are all most valuable commercially, as well as strategically, and they are in many ways most enticing to an enemy. Alaska is also exposed geographically, but climate and physical characteristics are a bulwark of defense, and this area is not in the same category as the other three we have mentioned.

In the Atlantic the Porto Rico region and the adjoining Panama region together form the Caribbean area, that frequent scene of maritime warfare and fruitful field for easy spoils since the days of Drake and Raleigh. This is an area of great interest to many nations, and one in which a number of European nations have territory.

It may be noted how our naval frontier skirts the shores of Jamaica, so aptly termed by Admiral Mahan "The Key of the Caribbean," and how other European-owned islands extend to the southward and eastward from the very shores of Porto Rico. All of this tends to complicate matters from our point of view, and, together with our avowed purpose of maintaining the countries bordering on the Caribbean free from the political control of European nations, makes of the Caribbean an area of paramount importance to us from every point of view. The fate of the Monroe doctrine and the control of the Panama Canal may be said to center in our ability to maintain inviolate our naval frontier in the Caribbean area. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the fate of the Monroe doctrine will be determined by the nation that controls the Panama Canal, to stand if that nation so desires, to fall if it so wills. This and other more generally recognized functions makes of the Panama Canal itself a prize of the first magnitude that would give the highest strategic value to the surrounding area.

The exposed area in the Pacific, the Philippine-Guam area, has not for us perhaps the vital interest that the Caribbean has, but it is not devoid of value for us and appeals with particular force to some other powers. It occupies an important, if not a commanding, position in the Orient and its influence can not safely be ignored by us. Still it is a long way from our home shores, and our far eastern interest is, after all, very largely one of sympathy. We speak of our trade with the Orient, but it is so small a fraction of our whole trade that its loss would scarcely be missed, and we do nothing year after year to increase it. These few passing thoughts are prompted by the inevitable query as to whether our interests really justify us in attempting to maintain our naval frontier almost to the shores of China. However, this is a question for the people of our democracy to settle.

We see from our cursory glance at our naval frontier that we have three areas of natural vulnerability, one in the east, one in the west, and one in the south. In reality there are but two separate areas, since the Panama Canal and the Porto Rico region merge into one, as they stand or fall together. These areas, for the reasons briefly stated above, may be considered as naturally the weakest part in our naval frontier. This natural weakness, of course, may be counteracted by artificial aids to defense; and these are what we are now seeking in general terms.

Do our people wish to abandon either or both of the naturally vulnerable areas in our naval frontier in case of war? If so, we need not take into consideration the defense of these areas in attempting to determine what constitutes an adequate navy for our country. The Caribbean area is so intimately connected with our country, is so close to our shores, and is so rich in possibilities that it seems hardly necessary to consider the voluntary abandoning of it. It may be mentioned that this area in the possession of some other power would constitute a menace to our actual coast line that could be met only by greater defensive measures than are now needed to safeguard the area in question. From what we have said of naval frontiers it should be apparent to anyone that with our naval frontier contracted to our frontier of 1898, and the Caribbean in the control of possible enemies, Florida at once becomes our exposed area, with possible threatening positions in close proximity thereto. Also with our abandonment of the Caribbean area would go the loss of the canal, unless we had power enough subsequently to retake a large portion. It is safe to say that our people wish the Caribbean area defended to the last resource.

As to the Philippine area, the wishes of our people are not so easily deduced from reason. Of that portion of our people that is not absolutely indifferent, it is probable that the majority would see us abandon the area in question with absolute equanimity. Certainly we have known now for 17 years that this region would be a source of weakness to us in war, and it is no violation of confidence to say that we have done but little to correct that condition. To save a possibly long and profitless inquiry that at the end would probably lead to nothing definite, let us assume that we are willing to fall back in the Pacific to the Aleutian Island-Hawaii-Panama line. This shortens up our naval frontier immensely and brings it in nearer to our coast line, yet does not omit anything of vital importance to our country.

What constitutes a navy "adequate" for the defense of the retracted frontier that we have here sketched? This, in a democracy, each man may decide for himself and may back his decision with all the force that is his, but it would seem the part of wisdom for each citizen to demand that the trained experts of the Government work out the details of such a decision for him, and that the proper branch of the Government be forced by popular will to see these details authorized and executed.

The following may be taken as the outline of an adequate Navy, based upon the defensive demands of our naval frontier. It makes no claims to being authoritative, and reasons can necessarily be given but briefly. At any rate, it is founded upon certain military principles that are thought to be correct, and it does not claim to be the only possible answer that will meet the conditions of adequacy.

First, we will have to indicate what we conceive to be the constituent parts of a Navy, since these are not generally recognized in our country. In America prospective naval effectiveness is measured in dreadnaughts, or great guns, or total tonnage, but all of these are utterly false standards of measurement. War efficiency is primarily a question of men, not of material. What men are to business and success ashore, so are the officers and men of the Navy to the business of the Navy, which ultimately means victory.

In discussions of our Navy in print, on the platform and in Congress itself the question of personnel is rarely mentioned, and personnel is always the last element provided in "increase of the Navy." Yet since man first went to sea in rough "dugouts," sea battles have been decided by personnel and not by material.

Besides personnel, a navy consists of many classes of ships, with their various weapons, and of bases from which they can operate and to which they can return for repairs and replenishment. Each class of ship has its own function to perform in the complicated business of war on the sea, and in many cases the function of one is as different from that of the other as are the functions of the five human senses. As a dumb man may converse on his fingers, so in some cases may one class of ships take the place of another, but a makeshift is never so effective as the real thing. The advocates of submarines only, or aircraft alone, must realize that they are viewing but one pattern in the rug of naval warfare, and the whole is made up of many complicated patterns.

The most pressing need of our Navy is increased personnel, both commissioned and enlisted, and this is regardless of whether there is any further increase of ships. The ratio of personnel to ship displacement is dangerously small even now, and it is more important to keep this ratio sufficient than it is to add new guns or new submarines. With the personnel-displacement ratio too small, the work of preparation for war piles up ahead, instead of being completed in the present, until those responsible (every person in the Navy in his own sphere) are borne down physically and in spirit.

Let us see what our Navy needs particularly to protect its Atlantic naval frontier. If we wish to hold our position in the Porto Rico-Panama region, we need, and need badly, a first-class naval base in that area. We have an excellent location for such a base at Guantanamo and have had it since 1898, but the naval base is not there. Nature has done its part, but the size and location of appropriations would seem to be determined by other than strategic reasons. We knowingly accept a big handicap in the defense of this region so long as we have there no first-class naval base.

In the Pacific we will consider as abandoned from the outbreak of war all regions between our present naval frontier and the Aleutian-Hawaiian-Panama Line. It is better to be prepared to do this than to

attempt to hold the more extended line with insufficient power. On our modified frontier we have been more provident than in the West Indies, for here we have the beginnings of a first-class base.

Now, to defend our frontier we need three fleets: An Atlantic Fleet, a Caribbean Fleet, and a Pacific Fleet, and the three should be approximately of the same composition. In case of war in the Atlantic, the Atlantic and Caribbean Fleets would work together and the Pacific Fleet would be drawn upon and handled as the Pacific problem permitted. In case of war in the Pacific, the Caribbean Fleet would pass through the canal to the Pacific, and the Atlantic Fleet would be drawn upon and handled as the Atlantic problem permitted.

The composition of each of these three fleets should be such that by a junction of two of them we could hope to meet, with fair prospect of victory, any force that could in reason be brought to bear against our naval frontier. This condition would seem to be met by a main fighting strength, for each fleet of two squadrons of dreadnaughts, and one of battle cruisers, each squadron composed of nine ships; one fast scout for each dreadnaught to locate the enemy and work with destroyers, and two destroyers for each capital ship.

When this ideal is attained, if ever, we could bring to bear in either ocean a minimum effective fleet of 36 dreadnaughts, 18 cruiser battleships, 36 scouts, and 108 destroyers. Of course, in addition to these there should be a more or less extensive fleet of auxiliaries, fuel ships, ammunition ships, food ships, repair ships, hospital ships, mine layers, transports, tugs, and tenders.

There remains to be determined the number of submarines and aircraft needed to complete our defense. The scope of activity of naval aircraft is still largely problematical, but we are safe in assuming that we need at least two effective machines for each scout and that probably three machines are necessary to insure that one may always be effective. This would give us in all a very modest air fleet of 324 machines, or an effective fleet at all times of 108 machines.

When we come to discuss submarines we take up a vast subject. Much that has to do with submarines is confidential, much is guesswork, and much is faith. Yet no one denies that they are a powerful and increasingly influential weapon of warfare, but chiefly in defense. Submarines should not be required or expected to work continuously, and probably one day in three on duty is sufficiently taxing.

If one will glance at our naval frontier, he will see behind it at various places points of manifest strategic value, as New York Harbor, Delaware Bay, etc. Each of these points should at all times be covered by not less than three submarines, which will make nine, based on each of these strategic points, that could come out when summoned to actual attack. Of these strategic points that really go to make up our naval frontier—leaving out Guam and the Philippines—there are 20, which gives us for our required number of submarines 180.

The outline here given of what constitutes for us an adequate Navy may seem to many Americans extreme, but there is only one standard of comparison for navies, and that is other navies.

ARTICLE BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I find another article in the same magazine by Sydney Brooks, on "How to raise armies: A lesson for America from British experience." I ask that this article may also be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article is as follows:

HOW TO RAISE ARMIES: A LESSON FOR AMERICA FROM BRITISH EXPERIENCE.

[By Sydney Brooks.]

The imminent possibility of a war with Germany imposes upon the United States the necessity of testing very thoroughly her military organization and of assimilating and applying the lessons of the European struggle. In this article I propose to show, by particular reference to Great Britain, the scope and character of just one of those lessons—the lesson of how to raise, and incidentally also of how not to raise, the largest armies that a commercial and nonmilitary nation can produce.

The United States has much to learn from all the belligerents, but most of all from Great Britain, and if and when Americans are forced, as we in England were forced in 1914, to fight a sudden and supreme fight for national existence, to gather up all their resources of men and material, transform them to military uses, and hurl them in a single thunderbolt against a long-prepared enemy, it is to British experience in the present war that they will turn both for the guidance and for the warnings to be extracted from it. That is not because Great Britain has managed her part in the war with a faultless and mechanical perfection. Her people have, indeed, accomplished marvels. In less than two and a half years they have built up a military organization which in efficiency and equipment equals, if it does not surpass, the machine that it took the Germans 40 years of unswerving effort to construct. But though the achievements that stand to the credit of the British side of the account are prodigious and indisputable, they might have been attained more expeditiously and with a much smaller expenditure of money and energy. Great Britain has had to grope her way, painfully, with many stumblings and strayings, to that summit of power which is now securely in her possession. But therein, precisely, lies the value of her record to Americans. You can learn from her successes; you can learn almost as much from her mistakes.

If I were an American—and the past 20 years have made me very largely one in sympathy and sentiment—I should be inclined to urge, as the first step toward national preparedness, a thorough study of British problems and performances since August, 1914. For in the fundamental conditions that determine a country's attitude toward war and its capacity to wage it, Great Britain and the United States are so similar as to be virtually one and the same land. Neither nation is organized for war, as Prussia, for instance, has been organized for the past hundred and fifty years. Neither nation regards war as the chief end of its existence. Neither in normal times and as a regular item in its policy enjoys universal military service. Both are busy, commercial democracies, armed for defense, but meditating no aggression upon any other power, with a strong bias of individualism in their composition, much more concerned with the factory than with the camp, firm in their attachment to representative and responsible government, suspicious of all State control and particularly suspicious of anything that tends to exalt the military over the civil power. Both have been accustomed to rely for their protection upon a small efficient professional army, with larger but much less highly trained reserves of militia in the background.

We in Great Britain found in 1914 when the storm broke upon us how utterly inadequate was such provision to the demands of modern war and that nothing less than the arraying of the entire nation in arms would meet the needs of the crisis. Were a similar crisis to confront Americans they too would make the same discovery. They too would have to face on the spur of the moment the vast and varied problems of enrolling and training the whole manhood of the country. In that event I hope they would duplicate our triumphs while avoiding our blunders. I hope they would profit by our experience instead of by their own errors. Indeed, I cherish a greater hope than that. There is no reason why Americans should not apply the lessons taught them by Great Britain in such a way that even the gravest emergency will find them ready to cope with it, fortified with ample knowledge of how to set about the business, provided beforehand with a plan of action and the necessary machinery for its execution. We were caught two and a half years ago largely, grievously, unprepared. An Englishman can have no dearer wish than that Americans should never find themselves in any such predicament. They need not unless they wish to. With a little forethought, a little application, a little energy, a little common sense, they can succeed, not only where we succeeded but also where we failed.

In this article I propose to bring out, if I can, some of the lessons to be learned from the tale of British recruiting. When the war broke out the utmost we could put into the field was 550,000 men. The regular army, with its reserves, accounted for 300,000, and the territorial force, corresponding to the American National Guard, only partially trained and not liable, except as volunteers, for foreign service, contributed a further 250,000. But of these 550,000 men over 100,000 were serving in India or other foreign stations. For the defense of the United Kingdom, consequently, and for the dispatch of an expeditionary force, only about 400,000 men were available, more than half of whom were not fully trained. And not only was our army a small one but it had no arrangements for expansion.

Its recruiting machinery and personnel barely sufficed to collect the customary annual quota of 30,000 recruits. Indeed only a month before the outbreak of the war the military authorities were solemnly debating how best to improve the methods of obtaining these 30,000 a year. The recruiting offices were as a rule hidden away in poky back streets, with one medical officer in attendance; and an elaborate series of questions had to be administered, and a prodigious number of forms filled up, and each new recruit was compelled to have a bath before the King's shilling was handed to him and he became a duly enrolled member of His Majesty's forces. In those leisurely days some 500 persons comprised the total recruiting staff of the country. To-day there are all but 7,000 engaged on nothing else. Great Britain declared war on Tuesday, August 4. On the previous Saturday the officer in charge of Great Scotland Yard, the principal recruiting office in London, attested only eight men. On Sunday and on Monday the office was closed. On Tuesday he found a seething mass of men outside the doors and it took nearly half an hour and 20 policemen to force a path to his desk.

For the whole of that day and for many days to come he was attesting men as hard as he could. So it was all over Great Britain. Men waited in thousands under a broiling sun the whole day long for their turn to come and were then, as often as not, told to come again next day. In the country districts they walked 20 miles and more to the nearest recruiting station and after enlisting would quietly lie down in a ditch for the night. Lord Kitchener on August 8 called for 100,000 volunteers. He got them in a fortnight. Instead of 30,000 recruits in a year more than that rolled in in a single day. In the fifth week of the war 175,000 enlisted for the regular army alone; many more joined the territorials; and the full total of those who offered themselves in that one week can hardly have been less than 250,000.

Naturally the old machinery for recruiting broke down. But civilian volunteers quickly rushed to the rescue. Members of Parliament, armed with a scrap of Lord Kitchener's handwriting, spread over the country, assuming unheard-of responsibilities, turning the city halls into recruiting offices, engaging the necessary doctors out of hand, abolishing one by one the old formalities of enrollment, and improvising accommodation and a comissariat for the attested recruits, and explaining the cause for which Great Britain was fighting to huge and excited audiences. Getting the men, it was soon seen, was easy enough. Indeed, it was fatally easy.

The preparations that had been made and the reserves of material that had been accumulated on the basis of the prewar establishment proved utterly inadequate to feed, house, clothe, equip, arm, and drill these scores and hundreds of thousands of new recruits. The food was to be had, indeed, but there was no machinery for its proper distribution; there were no barracks, no huts, no tents to deal with so huge a host; the most essential items in their equipment would have required under normal conditions years to produce, and even under the highest pressure could not be turned out at anything like the rate at which the men were coming forward; and as nearly all the officers and noncommissioned officers of the regular army had left for the front there was next to nobody available for the drilling and training of the new army. Very much the same situation arose in the American Civil War. Flooded with far more men than he could handle, Stanton at the end of the first year of the war stopped recruiting and dispersed his staff. It was a suicidal policy, but we came near to repeating it in England two years ago.

The war office did not actually put up the shutters of the recruiting offices, but on September 11, being at its wits' end how to deal with the 500,000 men who had then joined up, it raised the standard for recruits. The device was but too successful. In the first week of its adoption the number of recruits for the regular army fell to less than a third of the figures for the previous week. A little later they were less than a ninth. But the falling off of recruits was only part of the evil. The nation got it into its head that enough had been done, that the war office was satisfied and that no more men were needed. The splendid enthusiasm of the opening days and weeks of the war was severely checked and its subsequent restoration required a titanic effort.

The second phase of recruiting in Great Britain is really the history of this effort. When the primal instinctive rush to the colors had been deliberately dammed by the war office the people rather tended to infer that in this as in previous wars Great Britain's main functions would be not to supply fighting men but to keep the seas and furnish the allies with the sinews of war.

The country, it must be remembered, had never known conscription; it was not invaded; there was little to bring the war visibly home to it; and the sluggish, unrealizing cast of the national temperament made

it difficult for the mind to grasp what the eyes did not see. On the morrow of some German atrocity, like the bombardment of undefended ports, there was always a big flow of men into the recruiting offices; but though the standard of height and chest measurement and physical fitness was lowered in October and the age limit extended, and no further step was taken to limit the number of volunteers, it was clear that a special campaign would be needed if the nation was to put forth its full strength. This campaign was undertaken by the united organizations of all the political parties. They deluged the country with speakers; they covered the wall with posters; they filled the newspapers with advertisements; they sent out something like 8,000,000 letters of appeal; they utilized the services of wounded men home from the front; they turned the cinematograph into a most effective agency; they organized recruiting bands and parades; they conducted, in short, a campaign that was more like an American presidential election than anything that had ever been seen in Britain.

Over 54,000,000 posters and leaflets were issued, over 12,000 meetings held, over 20,000 speeches delivered. Meanwhile cities and counties and private individuals began raising local battalions, making themselves responsible for the clothing, feeding, housing, and initial training of the units, subject, of course, to future reimbursement by the War Office. These local battalions, each recruited from its own neighborhood, caught the popular imagination and evoked an immense amount of local patriotism. No less than 243 of them have been raised, including a whole division of "bantams" of men, that is, between 5 feet and 5 feet 3 inches in height, who had hitherto been excluded from the army.

By these methods more than 2,000,000 men had been enlisted within a year from the beginning of the war. But they were wasteful methods. They were wasteful because they were indiscriminate. They made no distinction between the men who ought to be in the army and the men who would be more usefully employed in making munitions, on the railways, on the farms, or in industries that it was vital to maintain if the national wealth was to stand the strain of the war.

It was to bring about a more judicious and a better organized system of recruiting, as well as to tabulate all our remaining resources of man and woman power, that the national registration act was passed in July, 1915. Under its terms not only had the actual occupation of every male and female between the ages of 15 and 65 to be declared, but also their capacity for any other business which might be serviceable to the country. More than 150,000 volunteers, mostly women, quickly offered themselves for the work of collecting the cards and checking and collating the information contained in them; and in a very few weeks and without a single hitch or the creation of any new machinery a complete survey had been made of the whole country and of every man and woman in it between 15 and 65. At the same time, various committees were busily at work weighing the comparative needs of the army, munition works, and agriculture and other civil industries. Their recommendations, when placed side by side with the results of the registration, made it possible to draw up lists of trades in the order of their national importance, and to decide in the case of some of them that no workers, even though of military age, should be drafted from them into the army. These trades were known as "reserved occupations" and the registration cards of the men employed in them were "starred" as a precaution against their being taken away for other purposes.

Everything was now complete for a final effort of the voluntary system. Each recruiting office was supplied with the registration cards giving the names and addresses and occupations of all the men of military age in its district. There was a great outburst of posters and advertisements on the boardings; the party organizations redoubled their activities; recruiting marches, composed of troops of all arms, headed by the regimental bands, paraded the country, one of them, and an extremely successful one, being no less than 8,000 strong; the Germans came opportunely to the assistance of the War Office by a series of Zeppelin raids; and Lord Derby was appointed director general of recruiting. Lord Derby's outstanding innovation was the system of group recruiting. Those who wanted to enlist at once were still allowed to do so. Those who preferred merely to attest their willingness to fight if called upon and in the meantime to remain undisturbed in their civil employments were immediately placed in the reserve under one of 46 groups according to their age and married or single state—the first 23 groups consisting of single men between the ages of 18 and 41, a group for each year, and the second 23 groups being similarly allocated to married men.

By this arrangement the war office could always reckon on being able to call up a given number of recruits just as and when it wanted them. Two stipulations were attached to Lord Derby's campaign. One was that if it failed after a two months' trial to produce enough men for the army's needs some form of compulsory service would be introduced. The other was that no married men were to be called up until the groups of single men had been exhausted, and that if the single men were found not to have attested in satisfactory numbers compulsion would be applied to them before the married volunteers were summoned to the colors.

On December 11, 1915, after two months of incessant effort, the lists were formally closed. The campaign had proved a big success. It had brought 275,000 men directly into the army; it had induced 2,250,000 men to attest their readiness to join up when called upon. But it had also shown that a considerable number of single men of military age had neither attested nor enlisted.

A bill was rapidly passed through Parliament in January of last year applying compulsion to these reluctant bachelors; but before it was put into operation the group tests were reopened, a great rush of recruits followed, and comparatively few single men were left to be gathered in by compulsion. The principle of compulsion, however, having thus been established, it was only a question of time before it was enforced universally. On May 25 all men between ages of 18 and 41 in Great Britain became liable for military service. At the same time tribunals were set up in every recruiting area to pass upon individual cases, to decide, for instance, whether a given individual for business or family reasons was not entitled to temporary or permanent exemption; to examine, or rather to reexamine, the position of the men in the "reserved occupations"; to hear the pleadings of the conscientious objectors who, however, in spite of the attention they have attracted, only number 2 per cent of the total claimants for exemption; and to comb out all the employees, manual or clerical, in industry or the Government offices or anywhere else whose work could be done at a pinch by boys or women or men above military age.

There are nearly 1,500 of these tribunals in Great Britain. They are all composed of busy men who receive no pay and precious few thanks for their unenviable but most necessary labors. On the whole they have deservedly earned the confidence of the country. Only about 4 per cent of their decisions have been appealed against; and they are still at work putting the finishing touches to their task of distributing the burden of military service as widely and equitably as possible. But it is worth noting that before either they or the compulsory system came into existence over 5,000,000 men, or more than 11 per cent of the total population of the British Isles, had voluntarily joined the army—a record of patriotic eagerness and sacrifice unparalleled, I believe, in the history of any land. It seems probable that, with the additional numbers brought in by conscription, at least 6,500,000 men of the United Kingdom will have served with the colors before the war is over.

The lessons to be derived from such a record lie on its face. It was our great fault in Great Britain that we had never thought out the recruiting problem in advance and that the war found us utterly ignorant of the number of eligible men that we might reasonably hope to enlist. That, I say, was a grave fault. But it will be nothing less than a crime if the United States duplicates our error.

There is no clearer injunction laid upon Americans by British experience than this—that they should take stock of their man power betimes; that they should know beforehand how many men at a time of crisis would be at their disposal. If I were an American I should certainly seek to lay the foundations of preparedness by urging upon both the State and the Federal Governments the necessity for a census of all the able-bodied men between 18 and 41, with a list of their occupations. In no other way, as we have found in Great Britain, can recruiting proceed on a scientific basis and a just proportion be observed between the claims of the Army and the claims of industry. To enlist everybody who offers himself and who is physically fit means in practice crippling trades that are vital to victory. I do not know exactly how many men we have had to discharge from the army simply because, however excellent they were as soldiers, they were still more useful to the Nation as foremen and skilled artisans; but they can hardly by now be less than 60,000.

It was not until we got the national-registration act, nearly a year after the commencement of the war, that the waste and misdirection of energy involved in training men to fight who had afterwards to be reinstated in their civilian occupations was obviated. Were each State in the American Union to pass a registration act of its own, to prepare, in other words, and to keep up to date, a muster roll of its potential recruits, the main difficulty in the way of raising, if necessary, an American army of 10,000,000 men would be removed. You would know where you were; each State could tell almost at a glance which men could be spared for the Army and which ought to be retained in the trades that support the main fabric of the Nation's commerce or furnish the infinitely varied paraphernalia of modern war; you would obtain, in short, a bird's-eye view of the whole situation. That preliminary survey, if British experience goes for anything, is absolutely indispensable when there is any question of recruiting men on so large a scale as to affect the proper balance between military and industrial needs. Without it you lose time—and time is the most precious of military commodities; you squander energy—and energy in a life-and-death struggle is precisely what you can not afford to squander; you grope and fumble in the dark when the imperative necessities of the hour call for brisk and confident progress in the light; you take steps that have afterwards to be retraced; you do work merely to find yourself later on compelled to undo it; you bungle a business that with a little prevision you might have dispatched with a clear-cut swiftness and efficiency.

I doubt whether there is to-day a single Englishman who would not assert that for a country like the United States the first and essential starting point in any program of preparedness is the compilation of a roster that will show at once the numbers, addresses, and occupation of all the men of military age in each State. The information thus collected would naturally and automatically find its way to the War Department, there to be studied and classified. And it would be no small gain if the Federal Government lent its assistance by adding military statistics to the other objects fulfilled by the decennial census returns. In Great Britain, at any rate, I shall hope to see the day when special cards to be filled up by all men of military age are sent to every household in the land whenever a national census is taken.

Another lesson that is very forcibly impressed by British experience is that recruiting is or should be a civilian business. That is to say, the military should prescribe the general terms and conditions of enlistment, but the actual raising of the volunteer armies should be left in civilian hands. Americans in this respect have a very great advantage over the people of Great Britain in the fact that theirs is a Federal system of Government, that each State is a self-contained entity, and that the natural recruiting sergeants of the country are the 48 governors of the States, who have at their instant command not only all the necessary local knowledge and experiecne but also the machinery of administration. Were I an American I should most strongly urge upon the governor of my State the necessity of preparing a plan of recruiting without one day's delay. Such a plan would include, first, the selection of the most prominent buildings in the cities and villages as recruiting stations; secondly, the designation and enrollment of an adequate staff of doctors and clerks; thirdly, the choice—in consultation, of course, with the military authorities—of sites for camps and training grounds; fourthly, the registration of the local firms that could be depended upon to furnish huts, tents, and food supplies; and fifthly, a survey of the private dwelling houses adjacent to each camp on which recruits could be immediately billeted. With the ground plan thus completed, all the rest would follow in orderly sequence.

If it were necessary, for instance, as we found it to be in Great Britain, to explain the issues to the people and to rouse their patriotic enthusiasm, an American governor, using the unequaled organization of the political parties throughout his State and having within arm's reach the most expert writers of advertisements and designers of telling posters in the world, would quickly achieve results that would throw our British efforts into the shade. And just as the War Department would throw upon the governors of the States the main responsibility for recruiting, so the governors of the States, if they had profited by British example, would pass it on as much as possible to the mayors of the various towns. A measured devolution is the essence of successful recruiting, and the most fruitful plan that can be adopted is that which enlists troops on a strictly territorial basis, so that men of the same neighborhood train and fight together, which elicits the greatest amount of local interest, and which encourages wealthy men to raise at their own initial expense special battalions in their own localities.

But all recruiting is conditioned by two factors. The first factor is the supply of officers. The second is the supply of armaments. It is

of no use enlisting men by the hundreds of thousands unless there are officers to train them and rifles and other equipment ready for their use. If the civilian authorities hand over to the military authorities more men than the latter can possibly absorb and turn to account, the result is a breakdown. That, as I have described, was what happened to Great Britain. To get round it we adopted the disastrous expedient of checking enlistment by artificial expedients, with the consequence that an immense effort was subsequently necessary to start the flow of recruits again. There is a much better way. It is the way that we ultimately adopted ourselves, and that Americans, I think, would do well to copy. It consists in accepting every fit man who comes forward but in not calling him to the colors until he is wanted, until, that is, the military are ready to receive him. The moment he enlists and the doctors have certified him as sound, he becomes a soldier and receives a soldier's pay. But instead of instantly entraining him for the nearest camp or depot, he is sent back to his civilian employment and told to remain in it until the military authorities need him.

The system works very smoothly. It is decided, for instance, that the military organization in New York State is in a position to handle 100,000 recruits. When that total is reached men ought not to be, as they were in Great Britain, discouraged from enlisting. On the contrary, the door should remain wide open and every inducement held out to enter it. But those who do so should be placed on the active reserve, sent home, urged to resume their normal life, and wait until a summons from the commanding officer tells them that they are wanted. In this way the disturbance to civil life and business is reduced to a minimum and the military authorities are enabled to cut their coat according to their cloth, to plan ahead, and to take stock from day to day of the resources at their disposal. In no other way, indeed, can recruiting in an unprepared nation that does not possess a system of universal service and that is called upon to develop its utmost fighting power on the spur of the moment—in no other way can it proceed without an infinity of waste, confusion, and needless dislocation. We have paid in Great Britain during the past two and a half years a heavy and bitter price to assimilate that simple fact.

With the well-nigh innumerable problems involved in producing munitions and material on the scale demanded by modern war—problems on which British experience throws a light of the highest power—I can not deal in this article. But there is one factor intimately connected with recruiting on which a word or two should be said—I mean the supply of officers and their training. We were badly off in both respects in Great Britain when the war broke out. Outside the regular army, which, of course, was dispatched to the front, and the territorials, we had very few officers, and such as we had, while keen and intelligent, knew next to nothing of what soldiering was. What saved the situation was the officers' training corps, founded by Lord Haldane, and attached to practically all our universities and our great public schools. The officers who were members of or had graduated from these training corps and had then passed into civil life knew, at any rate, the rudiments of drill; and with the help of retired noncommissioned officers and a few officers on the active list of the regular army and a considerable array of dugouts they proceeded to put the new armies through their paces. But so engrossing was this work that they had no chance of carrying on their own military education.

Until the end of 1914 there was practically no training whatever for the officers of the new armies. The first batch were put through a month's hurried course, but even this had to be dropped, so urgent and overriding was the necessity of licking the raw recruits into some sort of shape. Gradually schools for the instruction of officers in musketry, signaling, telephone, engineering for trench work, and the use of grenades, mortars, and machine guns began to spring up. But it was not until the opening of the year 1916 that their training was thoroughly organized. No officer now gets a commission unless he has served six weeks in the ranks. Then he goes to a cadet corps for four months. After that he is posted to his unit for three months. The most efficient men are then sent to a senior officers' corps for a further three months. It is only, in short, after a year's severe training that a lieutenant is now considered fit to go to the front in charge of his men. In all this, I imagine, there is more than one hint that Americans might usefully bear in mind, and more than one question they would do well to revolve.

What steps, in particular, are being taken by the American universities and by the large private schools that have become in recent years so distinctive a feature of American education to establish officers' training corps and to instruct the youth of the country in the elements of soldiering I do not know. But I do know that if, when your time comes and you have to grapple with the tremendous task of raising armies that run into millions, you are forced to depend for their training upon the officers of the Regular Army and the National Guard and have no outside source of supply, it will go desperately hard with you. And I also know that, short of universal service, there is no factor in preparedness more vital than the steady pouring forth from the schools and universities of batches of young men who are not unversed in the duties of an officer and who are ready, when the call upon them is made, to take charge of hastily raised recruits with everything to learn and turn them into soldiers.

TREATY WITH COLOMBIA.

On motion of Mr. STONE, the injunction of secrecy was removed from the separate views submitted by Mr. PITTMAN on the 16th instant pertaining to the treaty with Colombia for the settlement of differences with that country (printed as a part of Ex. H., 63d Cong., 2d sess.), and they were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEPARATE VIEWS OF MR. PITTMAN.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations who participated in the favorable report of the majority, I am unwilling through silence to appear to admit that the construction placed upon such report by the minority in the views printed and submitted by them is either an accurate presentation of the reasons or a fair suggestion of the motives that urged me to join in the recommendation that the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the Colombian treaty.

The statement in the report that "In all of these treaties the United States, out of the desire to settle the controversy, has offered to make recompense to Colombia by way of satisfaction for her claim for damages" is unfortunate, as it is possible of misinterpretation, as is demonstrated by the report of the minority.

It is true that Colombia for 14 years has contended that the United States did her a grevious wrong in the matter of the Panama revolution, and for such wrong she has claimed damages. It is also true that a controversy has and does now exist by reason of such contention and claim. Whilst our Government has never admitted the contentions of Colombia, it has for several years conceded the good faith underlying the controversy and has made several efforts to settle such controversy in a spirit of compromise without a determination of the questions involved and without admissions by either party.

The entire history of the unfortunate affair supports the good faith of Colombia and calls for a settlement in the spirit proposed. In 1903, our Government having theretofore determined to construct the Panama Canal, sought the right from the Government of Colombia, which then held title to and sovereignty over the territory now embraced in the Canal Zone. To such end on the 22d day of January, 1903, a treaty was signed at Washington known as the Hay-Herran treaty. The treaty was ratified by the United States Senate, but was rejected by Colombia. On the 3d day of November, 1903, the Panama revolution broke out. The U. S. S. *Nashville*, which had been ordered to Panama in anticipation of the revolution, had arrived. The United States marines resisted the Colombian troops which landed for the purpose of putting down the revolution, and later prevented them from recapturing Panama.

Mr. Roosevelt in his statement concerning the matter filed with the committee, says:

> It is therefore perfectly true that I prevented any attempt by Colombia to land troops on the Isthmus and plunge the Isthmus into a long-drawn-out bloody war.

The revolution was a success, and Panama as a de facto government thus acquired title to and sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone.

On the 18th day of November, 1903, only 15 days after this peculiar revolution broke out, President Roosevelt caused the United States to enter into a treaty with the unorganized revolutionary Government of Panama, wherein Panama conveyed to the United States title to and sovereignty over the Canal Zone. This, it is argued, canceled our obligations, both legal and moral, to the Government of Colombia.

There is no question of the title we received from Panama, but the part our Government had in the Panama revolution is a matter that may reasonably be the subject of controversy. In the Hay-Herran treaty the United States agreed to pay Colombia $10,000,000 upon the ratification of the treaty and $250,000 annually after four years from date, and to guarantee to her substantially all of the special privileges contained in the pending treaty. All these benefits Colombia lost through the Panama revolution.

The minority of the committee, in the printed statement of their views, charge that Colombia is attempting to blackmail the United States. Was Colombia attempting to blackmail the United States in 1909, when President Roosevelt obtained signatures to the treaties between the United States and Colombia and the United States and Panama and between Panama and Colombia, by the terms of which Colombia recognized the existence of Panama as a sovereign power and received as a consideration $2,500,000 from Panama and substantially the same privileges in the Canal Zone provided in the pending treaty? In the terms of the minority, may I ask why a treaty with Colombia was then desired? What had Colombia then to convey for the $2,500,000 and such special privileges that she has not now?

Mr. Root, by approval of President Roosevelt, in the introductory clause to the treaty of 1909, said:

> The United States of America and the Republic of Colombia, being equally animated by the desire to remove all obstacles to a good understanding between them and to facilitate the settlement of the questions heretofore pending between Colombia and Panama by adjusting at the same time the relations of Colombia to the canal which the United States is now constructing across the Isthmus of Panama, have resolved to conclude a treaty, and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries. * * *

Were there any questions then pending? Were there any moral or legal concessions then due Colombia? If there were no concessions due, then why did President Roosevelt and Mr. Root propose them? If such questions did exist then, have they ever been settled? If such concessions were then due, have they ever been made?

In 1912 and 1913, Mr. KNOX, Secretary of State under President Taft, recognized the claim of Colombia to the extent that there were justiciable questions as to the rights of Colombia in the conditions arising out of the Panama revolution. Mr. KNOX in a communication to the American minister to Colombia,

under date of December 6, 1912, said in speaking of Colombian contentions:

However, inasmuch as the latter Government appears to consider itself still the owner of those reversionary rights, and in view of the attitude which this Government takes in the premises, and having in mind the justiciable character of this difference of view, the department would, should the course of the negotiations show that such a course would be necessary to secure a final adjustment of all difficulties, be inclined to look with favor upon the suggestion to arbitrate this question. * * *

President Taft and Mr. KNOX recognized the advisability of entering into some convention with Colombia for the purpose of forever settling the unhappy controversy which originated in the separation of Panama and of definitely settling the relations of Colombia to the Panama Canal. Why should these efforts have been made if the conclusions of the minority are correct? And yet such efforts were continued by President Taft and Mr. KNOX until the Democratic administration went into power, and ever since then the present administration has persisted in such efforts.

There are justiciable questions that should be settled, and I believe it best to settle them in the broad spirit of generosity and compromise. This is the only spirit in which a powerful nation can afford to treat with a weaker.

KEY PITTMAN.

RECESS.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If there is no further business before the Senate, I move that the Senate take a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m., when it reassembled.

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, in pursuance of the provisions of the joint resolution creating a joint subcommittee from the membership of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the conditions relating to interstate and foreign commerce and the necessity of further legislation relating therefor, and defining the powers and duties of such subcommittee, approved July 20, 1916, the committee has selected the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] as a member of the joint subcommittee on the part of the Senate in place of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE], who has resigned from the Interstate Commerce Committee.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN and Mr. WARREN appeared and Mr. MARTIN said:

Mr. President, the committee appointed to wait on the President and inform him that the Senate had completed its labors and was ready to adjourn unless he had something further to communicate have discharged that duty, and the President requested us to state to the Senate that he has nothing further to communicate at present.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I know of nothing which should delay our final adjournment. I therefore move that the Senate adjourn sine die.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned without day.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 16, 1917.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Walter Leak Snapp, of Harrison, Ark., to be receiver of public moneys at Harrison, Ark., vice William F. Eatman, term expired.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

John Lawrence Clendenin, of Harrison, Ark., to be register of the public lands at Harrison, Ark., vice Brice B. Hudgins, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Frederick H. Mulcahy to be postmaster at Gardner, Mass., in place of George L. Minott, whose commission expired July 18, 1916.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 16, 1917.

SECRETARY OF EMBASSY OR LEGATION.

CLASS 4.

R. Henry Norweb to be a secretary of embassy or legation of class 4.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES.

George W. Jack to be United States district judge, western district of Louisiana.

Joseph B. Poindexter to be United States district judge for the district of Hawaii.

SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Curtis Piehu Iaukea to be secretary of the Territory of Hawaii.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Walter Leak Snapp to be receiver of public moneys at Harrison, Ark.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

John Lawrence Clendenin to be register of the land office at Harrison, Ark.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

VETERINARY CORPS.

To be assistant veterinarians.

Allen Chamberlain Wight.
George Holland Dean.
Elwood Luke Nye.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

INFANTRY ARM.

Robert Williamson Nix, jr., to be second lieutenant of Infantry.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Thomas S. Hoskins, Vredenburgh.
T. H. Alexander, Albany (late New Decatur).
Willis C. Johnson, Vernon.
Charles E. Mitchell, Hamilton.
Thomas A. Carter, Grove Hill.
Robert A. Baird, Castleberry.
Joseph C. Boone, Berry.
B. B. Cather, Ashville.

ALASKA.

J. F. Warder, Ketchikan.

ARIZONA.

James M. Russell, Chloride.
Robert T. Jones, Superior.
George H. Francis, Patagonia.
Elva C. Shuck, Oatman.

ARKANSAS.

William D. Yancey, Van Buren.
Thomas R. Willson, Ola.
James H .Landes, Lewisville.
Duffy Allen, De Witt.

CALIFORNIA.

Herbert S. Watson, Tahoe.
William D. Thornton, Yosemite.
Merle Kroh, Le Grand.
Mae Longfellow, Maricopa.
Joseph P. Schaefer, Mayfield.
Ralph H. Read, Middletown.
Margaret G. Finnegan, Nevada City.
Thomas F. Keating, Novato.
Annie M. Lepley, Plymouth.
Solomon Geer, Puente.
Henry A. Miles, Ramona.
George H. Treat, San Andreas.
Mabel P. Reeder, La Manda Park.
William O'Grady, Kennett.
Edward R. Neill, Indio.
Ross L. Taylor, Downieville.
Ida M. Fink, Crows Landing.
May Lent, Byron.
Minnie Sheddrick, Brentwood.
H. A. Hall, Bigpine.
Thomas J. Durfee, Bieber.
S. R. Jumper, Balboa.
George C. Coggin, Armona.
John W. Foley, Amador City.

COLORADO.

Mary E. Mason, Buena Vista.
R. O. Casady, Springfield.
Ralph H. Crawford, Nederland.
Joseph C. Irvin, Kremmling.
Charles D. Baldwin, Granada.
Adelbert E. Humeston, Colibran.

CONNECTICUT.

Thomas H. Hickey, Springdale.
Moses G. Marcy, Falls Village.

FLORIDA.

Harry D. Gilmore, Seabreeze.
Edward B. Langford, Zolfo.
Jesse S. Collins, Webster.
Joseph M. Jones, Vero.
James E. Maddox, Port St. Joe.
E. L. Brigman, Panama City.
Eleanor R. McKenna, Palm Beach.
N. Macon Thornton, Ormond Beach.
G. L. Anderson, Leesburg.
Charles T. Hellier, Jensen.
Emma S. Fletcher, Havana.
Edna F. Hope, Dunedin.
Homer E. Hooks, Clermont.
Charles W. Pierce, Boynton.
Samuel W. Eldridge, Apopka.

GEORGIA.

Elias L. Moore, Willacoochee.
Will P. Tate, Trion.
Gussie C. Lyon, Roswell.
William Smith, Pearson.
Elisha A. Meeks, Nicholls.
Edward J. Bible, Mount Berry.
John S. Brown, Locust Grove.
Susie McAllister, Fort Gaines.
John D. Watterson, Eatonton.
Scott Berryman, Bowman.
M. C. Shadburn, Buford.
George L. Lemon, Acworth.

HAWAII.

William Miner, Waipahu.
D. H. MacAdam, Honolulu.

IDAHO.

Clarence P. Sweeney, St. Maries.
J. I. Allen, Rockland.
L. H. Merriam, Grace.
Marie Leeper, Elk River.
J. V. Nash, Cottonwood.

ILLINOIS.

William B. Carlile, Chicago.
Charles A. Heffern, Ashkum.
Anna Byron, Bourbonnais.
Fred Arber, Brimfield.
Mary H. Hrdlicka, Cary Station.
Conrad C. Miller, Chadwick.
Earl Bitner, Glasford.
Frank W. Squire, Godfrey.
George H. Sherman, Wayne City.
Edna Clemons, Weldon.
J. B. Coykendall, Yates City.
Andrew B. Campbell, Hardin.
Thomas E. Cahill, Lake Bluff.
Harriet I. Miller, Lake Villa.
John F. Petit, Mooseheart.
Frank L. Thompson, Roodhouse.
John L. Eyrse, San Jose.
Andrew J. Gillogly, Sidell.

INDIANA.

Oscar M. Farley, Wheatland.
Ray E. Geyer, Star City.
Stirling B. Rash, Shirley.
John F. Bond, Nashville.
Ethel J. Pinney, La Crosse.
Fred J. Tam, Idaville.
Cyrenius W. Walters, Hazleton.
S. J. Lenon, Culver.
Earl Chamberlain, Chalmers.
Maggie L. Harding, Brownsburg.

IOWA.

Carie A. Jones, Cantril.
William F. Bales, Colo.
Earl W. Neessen, Wellsburg.
Ray Hamilton, Washta.
Mayme L. Petersen, Titonka.
H. P. Juhl, Thompson.
John Grant, Stanwood.
Emil M. Peters, Schleswig.
W. L. Hoggatt, Salem.
William H. Fowler, Paton.
Clara Behle, Norway.
Fred R. Parker, Moorhead.
Gertrude G. Pitts, Mondamin.
C. Ola Goode, Melcher.
Josephine McMahon, Melbourne.
T. T. Williams, Marion.
Peter H. Jurgensen, Lowden.
Oscar O. Conwell, Lovilia.
Arthur E. Bassett, Little Sioux.
E. E. Beck, Leon.
Thomas Kelsh, Lamont.
Charles W. Wescott, Lake Mills.
Albert Tagge, Hartley.
Forest Cole, Grand River.
Virgil R. Northrop, Grandmound.
H. D. Mussman, Germania.
John J. McCartan, Fonda.
Jacob A. Schwartz, Fenton.
A. J. Palas, Elkader.
Robert N. Bagley, jr., Dike.
Adelaide M. Johnson, Bode.
William R. Shott, Birmingham.

KENTUCKY.

Harvey J. McRoberts, Stanford.
J. Forrest Porter, Dixon.

KANSAS.

William J. Helvering, Beattie.
Dudley Lunger, Mayetta.
William P. Turner, Leonardville.
R. P. Sloan, Larned.
Mollie E. Willems, Lansing.
Beatrice Hoffman, Harper.
Bertha McDonald, Cuba.
H. B. Walker, Augusta.

LOUISIANA.

Albert Boudreaux, Thibodaux.
John H. Allen, Plain Dealing.
Albert R. Smith, Mangham.
Edwin R. Ford, Jonesville.

MAINE.

David H. Smith, Darkharbor.
Eliel D. Senter, Greenville Junction.
Harvey F. Mansfield, Jonesport.
Charles W. Mower, North Vassalboro.
F. Raymond Brewster, Ogunquit.
Herbert M. Poland, Rockport.
Edgar S. Chase, Rockwood.
Mark P. Pollard, Solon.

MARYLAND.

Edwin S. Worthington, Darlington.
Robert McI. Shower, Manchester.

MICHIGAN.

De Vere England, Woodland.
Edward P. Ritzler, New Buffalo.
Neil H. Burns, Kingston.
William Beacom, Pickford.
George E. Goul, Sand Lake.
Roy G. Gaskill, Delton.
Thomas J. Donlan, Dollar Bay.
Thomas C. Ackerman, Empire.
George T. Baldwin, Fowler.
James L. Erkenbeck, Grand Junction.
Mary A. Deplonty, Auburn.
Joseph H. Boyle, Bark River.
Sara E. C. Irish, Bay View.
Floyd W. Downing, Byron.

MINNESOTA.

Margaret Mc. Maher, Brewster.
John S. Stensrud, Canby.
William H. Sturgeon, Canton.
J. A. Bloom, Chisago.
Louis E. Olson, Nicollet.
Fleur de Lis Bradford, Verndale.
Joseph Groebner, Wabasso.
Samuel A. Nystrom, Watertown.
Kate Hostetter, Wykoff.
C. A. Desmond, Franklin.
Halvor Lee, Gary.
Bert S. Colton, Granada.
Thomas A. Torgerson, Greenbush.
Edith A. McN. Marsden, Handrum.
James A. Toffelmire, Jeffers.

George A. Etzell, Clarissa.
Arthur J. Yackel, Comfrey.
Ole J. Leding, Cook.
De Wane Searles, Elgin.
H. A. Bye, Ashby.
Otto W. Peterson, Audubon.
Tillman W. Gillson, Bellingham.
Emily M. Drexler, Brandon.

MONTANA.

J. T. Casey, Gildford.
Frank R. Adams, Rudyard.
Hallie Savage, Troy.
Harriet R. Hord, Superior.
Matthew U. Mains, Savage.
Margaret O'Connell, St. Ignatius.
Charles H. Allan, Ryegate.
Don W. Beeman, Lambert.
James C. Graves, Glacier Park.
Mattie C. Donaldson, Froid.
W. M. Eaman, Dutton.
Frank Bernatz, Dixon.
Ulysses H. Nottingham, Bearcreek.

MISSISSIPPI.

Cecil W. Tinnin, Isola.
William J. Stephens, Webb.
Samuel J. Craig, Sunflower.
Nora B. Rose, Shelby.
J. R. Moreland, Philipp.
Woodard M. Herring, Inverness.
George D. Myers, Byhalia.

MISSOURI.

George H. Applegate, Keytesville.
Amelia C. Walters, Gorin.
Frank D. Lair, Charleston.
Thomas R. Morris, Clark.
Herbert Standley, Bogard.
Robert J. Ball, Gallatin.
B. P. Northcutt, Seligman.

NEBRASKA.

W. N. Hunter, Syracuse.
J. Frank Smyth, Springview.
Emil H. Mack, Petersburg.
Mildred B. Graves, Palisade.
John T. Bridges, Oconto.
William J. Ramaekers, Lindsay.
William A. Naviaux, Lewellen.
Gertrude Shepardson, Homer.
Laura E. Smith, Doniphan.
Anders P. Thomsen, Dannebrog.
William N. Trent, Bellevue.

NEVADA.

Norman B. Price, Goodsprings.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

George H. Laffee, Enfield.
A. P. McLaughlin, Bretton Woods.
Effie T. Smith, North Woodstock.
Stella E. Coburn, North Rochester.
Benjamin H. Dodge, New Boston.
Henri T. Ledoux, Nashua.
Merton C. Harriman, Jackson.
Albert A. Bennett, Center Harbor.
Henry A. Smith, Berlin.
Arthur H. Rollins, Andover.

NEW MEXICO.

R. M. McNatt, Tularosa.
R. A. Dodson, Tucumcari.
Charlie McDonald, Lovington.
Ira Allmon, Estancia.

NEW JERSEY.

Helen Mylod, Glen Ridge.
Arthur D. Appleby, Spotswood.
John B. Geary, South Plainfield.
George A. Clark, Scotch Plains.
Horace G. Stonaker, Riverton.
Walter R. Huff, Neshanic Station.
Edward F. Lonergan, Millburn.
Susie S. Smith, Maywood.
Frank C. Carle, Madison.
George E. Obdyke, Landing.
Daniel E. McCallion, Lakehurst.
Frank R. Crater, Lake Hopatcong.
William D. Jardine, Kenvil.
Alley B. Ayres, Island Heights.
John Boyd, Greystone Park.
Frank Ferry, jr., Bayhead.
William C. Snyder, Avon by the Sea.

NEW YORK.

Charles L. Graham, Mayfield.
Adam Hersperger, Mayville.
Walter J. Burke, Mineville.
George H. Smiley, Minnewaska.
Charles B. Stickel, Madalin.
Otis W. Howe, Luzerne.
George D. Squires, Good Ground.
Daniel Sheehan, Elmira.
George B. Burdick, De Ruyter.
Lamont B. Miller, Cairo.
Charles H. Whitson, Briarcliff Manor.
William E. Norton, Bolton Landing.
Garra K. Lester, Blasdell.
Herbert C. Wood, Morrisville.
Louis C. Donovan, Mount Morris.
Thomas G. Patten, New York.
Robert H. Gittins, Niagara Falls.
Leslie E. Eignor, Pine Hill.
Charles O. Craft, Roslyn.
George W. Snyder Schoharie.
John B. Mattice, Wayland.
Joseph A. Frost, Williamstown.
Clara M. Park, Woodstock.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William C. Allen, jr., Sunburst.
D. O. Daniel, Southport.
Lewis B. McBrayer, Sanatorium.
Annie K. Brown, Red Springs.
Archie J. Sykes, Pomona.
Benjamin K. Lassiter, Oxford.
Albert R. Bauman, Montreat.
H. Roy Martin, Mayodan.
William H. Lane, Leaksville.
Joseph B. Colvard, Jefferson.
George L. Taylor, Fletcher.
Edgar F. McCulloch, jr., Elizabethtown.
Edward K. Morris, Creedmore.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Lorena S. Will, Medora.
Abbie I. Boyd, Pingree.
Alfred J. Wise, Tuttle.
William M. Hambleton, Woodworth.
Robert A. Yeater, Wing.
William E. Hynes, Tolley.
Charles Lescault, Stanley.
Mons K. Ohnstad, Sharon.
James Fitzpatrick, Sawyer.
Oscar W. Moore, Rocklake.
Jeanette Gamble, Portal.
Gertrude M. Larin, Parshall.
Myrtle M. Williams, Makoti.
Minnie E. Anderson, Leonard.
R. E. Itskin, Hazen.
John W. Stevenson, Flasher.
Andrew C. Jensen, Edinburg.
C. J. King, Columbus.
William J. Quigley, Bathgate.
Ira L. Walla, Arnegard.
Mabelle Fletcher, Adams.

OHIO.

J. D. M. Russell, Wilberforce.
George M. Towle, Sardis.
G. B. Darling, Perrysville.
William T. Wilson, Mount Orab.
E. L. Churchill, Metamora.
Kate B. Stanley, Lowell.
Emil L. Davis, Lakeview.
Clayton C. Schoner, Hartville.
William J. Connolly, Grand Rapids.
Elden E. Schott, Brewster.
William L. Bryan, Bradner.
Charles O. Polen, Beallsville.
Lena L. Reed, Amanda.

OKLAHOMA.

J. C. Cobb, Wirt.
Fred Couch, Westville.
Waldo E. Watkins, Valliant.
George P. Creal, Supply.

Sullivan G. Ashby, Ringling.
Joseph O. Jackson, Mountain Park.
Ellen L. Morris, May.
David Russell, Madill.
Myrtle C. Murphy, Kingston.
Charles S. Cravens, Jenks.
Charles H. Hatfield, Hydro.
Frances G. Owens, Gate.
John L. Homan, jr., Eufaula.
Samuel L. Arnold, Devol.
Joel L. Baugh, Choteau.
Allan C. Melton, Cement.
Kenneth T. Henson, Carter.
Edwin R. Harrison, Byars.

OREGON.

W. W. Wilson, Yoncalla.
Daisy Buckner, Scio.
Roy J. Rhoades, Powers.
Edgar L. Davidson, Oswego.
Volney E. Lee, North Powder.
Shelby F. Deaderick, Halfway.
Roy E. Pritchett, Gaston.
Clark B. Foster, Dayton.
J. W. Vandervelden, Banks.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Allen H. Barthold, Bethlehem.
John M. Smelker, Newton Hamilton.
C. E. Chapel, Youngsville.
John Foster, Washington.
W. A. Walker, Warren.
Mabel E. Davidson, Ulster.
Isaac G. Mansfield, Sykesville.
J. W. Keffer, Starjunction.
Leslie R. McKee, Sligo.
Emma A. Smith, Seelyville.
William T. Hetler, Nescopeck.
J. K. Wiley, Mount Union.
Frank W. Matz, Mohnton.
Edith M. Phelps, Ludlow.
Kenneth F. Clancy, Exposition.
John L. Goss, Expedit.
Daniel J. O'Brien, Everson.
Camilla W. Adams, East McKeesport.
J. R. Henry, Dawson.
Charles E. Burket, Claysburg.
Ella I. Price, Canadensis.
Margaret B. Berneker, Camp Hill.

PORTO RICO.

Alfredo Giminez y Moreno, Bayamon.

RHODE ISLAND.

Charles H. Brown, Hope Valley.
Caleb E. Moffitt, Esmond.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Thomas H. Pope, Greenville.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Charles H. Hess, jr., Blunt.
John Michels, Mitchell.
John F. Kostel, Tabor.
Anna A. Dithmer, Kadoka.
Walter R. Dickson, Hitchcock.
John L. Donahue, Ethan.
Bert E. Schroeder, Emery.
William T. Gough, Canova.
Charles L. Brady, Buffalo.
Mary F. Ryan, Bridgewater.

TENNESSEE.

Leonard D. Carmack, Pressmen's Home.
James A. Fields, Henning.
J. B. Moore, Smithville.
Joe D. Sperry, Mount Juliet.
Sallie A. Hammer, McMinnville.
William S. Bare, Bluff City.

TEXAS.

H. H. Taylor, Bangs.
H. F. Atkinson, Burnet.
Willis A. Lenty, Justin.
Charles Howes, Milano.
W. S. Nelson, Sterling City.
Henry G. Harcrow, Rochester.
C. F. Christian, Remlig.
Napoleon B. Vernon, Holland.
J. A. Stegall, Hereford.
Carrie L. Wilson, Celina.
W. S. Nelson, Sterling City.
J. H. Shackelford, Cross Plains.

UTAH.

Joseph A. Sill, Layton.

VERMONT.

Elwin J. Clogston, Williamstown.

VIRGINIA.

John Hanlon, Hopewell.
Lucile H. Prince, Stony Creek.
Harry A. Lamb, Ocean View.
William W. Davies, Manassas.
John C. Hudgins, Claremont.

WASHINGTON.

Charles A. Cole, Everett.
John L. Field, Quincy.
William J. Meade, Pe Ell.
Joseph E. McManamon, Othello.
Agnes J. Hare, Mabton.
W. W. Gwinn, Harrington.
Sadie Haight, Creston.
Minnie M. McCracken, Clearlake.

WEST VIRGINIA.

S. J. Cole, Hundred.
Robert R. Church, Winding Gulf.
S. D. Frantz, Mullens.
J. Frank Grimet, Mount Hope.
Otis Merton Carroll, McMechen.
James E. Billups, Hurricane.
R. D. Rose, Hinton.
Wiley C. Agee, Eccles.
J. Hornor Davis, Clarksburg.

WISCONSIN.

Richard S. Serrurier, Wilton.
Oscar M. Waterbury, Williams Bay.
Alphonse R. Eichman, Trempealeau.
William J. Neu, Three Lakes.
Theodore Koenings, Schleisingerville.
Harry Bradley, Taylor.
John E. Nolan, Reedsville.
Theresa Heinen, Random Lake.
Howard C. Hepburn, Prairie Farm.
Lawrence Barrett, Peshtigo.
Joshua Thayer, Palmyra.
F. W. Mitchell, Ogema.
Malcolm McNaughton, New Auburn.
Emma M. DuFrenne, Middleton.
Arnie M. Sanders, Marshall.
John Lindow, Manawa.
Hazel I. Hicks, Linden.
Samuel Tufts, Knapp.
Felix A. Roeseler, Hustisford.
George H. Hedquist, Goodman.
Arthur M. Howe, Elk Mound.
J. E. Dennis, Downing.
George L. Reed, Darien.
Charles J. Anderson, Clayton.
Peter Cosgrove, Centuria.
William A. De Smidt, Cedar Grove.
Frank H. Grimm, Cassville.
Ella M. Taylor, Blue River.
Mark V. Murphy, Bear Creek.
William White, Algoma.

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,
FIRST SESSION.

Congressional Record.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 2, 1917.*

The first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress commenced this day at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, in pursuance of the proclamation of the President of the United States of the 21st day of March, 1917.

The VICE PRESIDENT (THOMAS R. MARSHALL, of Indiana) called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

In the simplicity of our hearts, O God, and in the very depths of humility we come into Thy presence. At the opening of this extraordinary session of Congress we come first to seek Thy guiding hand. Amid the confusion and violence of the world to-day we can not know the things that may shortly come to pass. Lead us, O God, through the darkness until the day dawns and the shadows flee away. Enlighten our minds, control our thoughts, direct our speech, and give us wisdom and grace to defend the truth and to advocate the cause of righteousness.

At this critical time in our country's history we pray Thee lead Thy servants in the plain path, teach them Thy ways, and inspire them with those lofty aims and principles that emanate from Thy throne and which have been the heritage of our people from the beginning. In all their deliberations may they seek the accomplishment of Thy purposes and the enlargement of Thy kingdom in the earth. We ask it all in the name of Christ the Lord. Amen.

THE PROCLAMATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President of the United States convening Congress in extraordinary session.

The Secretary (James M. Baker) read the proclamation, as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at 12 o'clock noon on the 2d day of April, 1917, to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken immediately under consideration:

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 2d day of April, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States of America the 21st day of March, in the year of our Lord 1917, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.] WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, the Senator elect from California, HIRAM W. JOHNSON, is present and, if agreeable, I will conduct him to the desk that he may be sworn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator elect from California will present himself at the desk for the purpose of taking the oath of office.

Mr. JOHNSON of California was escorted to the Vice President's desk by Mr. PHELAN, and the oath prescribed by law having been administered to him he took his seat in the Senate.

CALLING OF THE ROLL.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Broussard	Cummins	Fletcher
Beckham	Calder	Curtis	France
Borah	Chamberlain	Dillingham	Frelinghuysen
Brady	Colt	Fall	Gallinger
Brandegee	Culberson	Fernald	Gerry
Hale	Lewis	Pomerene	Stone
Hardwick	Lodge	Ransdell	Sutherland
Hitchcock	McCumber	Reed	Swanson
Husting	McKellar	Robinson	Thompson
James	McLean	Saulsbury	Tillman
Johnson, Cal.	Martin	Shafroth	Townsend
Johnson, S. Dak.	Myers	Sheppard	Underwood
Jones, N. Mex.	Nelson	Sherman	Vardaman
Jones, Wash.	New	Shields	Wadsworth
Kellogg	Norris	Simmons	Walsh
Kendrick	Overman	Smith, Ariz.	Warren
Kenyon	Owen	Smith, Ga.	Watson
King	Page	Smith, Md.	Weeks
Kirby	Penrose	Smith, Mich.	Williams
Knox	Phelan	Smith, S. C.	Wolcott
La Follette	Pittman	Smoot	
Lane	Poindexter	Sterling	

Mr. FLETCHER. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. TRAMMELL] is unavoidably absent on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of sickness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-six Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a constitutional quorum present.

LIST OF SENATORS.

The list of Senators by States is as follows:

Alabama—John H. Bankhead and Oscar W. Underwood.
Arizona—Henry F. Ashurst and Marcus A. Smith.
Arkansas—Joseph T. Robinson and William F. Kirby.
California—James D. Phelan and Hiram W. Johnson.
Colorado—Charles S. Thomas and John F. Shafroth.
Connecticut—Frank B. Brandegee and George P. McLean.
Delaware—Willard Saulsbury and Josiah O. Wolcott.
Florida—Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell.
Georgia—Hoke Smith and Thomas W. Hardwick.
Idaho—William E. Borah and James H. Brady.
Illinois—Jas. Hamilton Lewis and Lawrence Y. Sherman.
Indiana—James E. Watson and Harry S. New.
Iowa—Albert B. Cummins and William S. Kenyon.
Kansas—William H. Thompson and Charles Curtis.
Kentucky—Ollie M. James and J. C. W. Beckham.
Louisiana—Joseph E. Ransdell and Robert F. Broussard.
Maine—Bert M. Fernald and Frederick Hale.
Maryland—John Walter Smith and Joseph I. France.
Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge and John W. Weeks.
Michigan—William Alden Smith and Charles E. Townsend.
Minnesota—Knute Nelson and Frank B. Kellogg.
Mississippi—John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman.
Missouri—William J. Stone and James A. Reed.
Montana—Henry L. Myers and Thomas J. Walsh.
Nebraska—Gilbert M. Hitchcock and George W. Norris.
Nevada—Francis G. Newlands and Key Pittman.
New Hampshire—Jacob H. Gallinger and Henry F. Hollis.
New Jersey—William Hughes and Joseph S. Frelinghuysen.
New Mexico—Albert B. Fall and Andrieus A. Jones.
New York—James W. Wadsworth, jr., and William M. Calder.
North Carolina—Furnifold McL. Simmons and Lee S. Overman.
North Dakota—Porter J. McCumber and Asle J. Gronna.
Ohio—Atlee Pomerene and Warren G. Harding.
Oklahoma—Thomas P. Gore and Robert L. Owen.
Oregon—George E. Chamberlain and Harry Lane.
Pennsylvania—Boies Penrose and Philander C. Knox.
Rhode Island—LeBaron B. Colt and Peter G. Gerry.
South Carolina—Benjamin R. Tillman and Ellison D. Smith.
South Dakota—Thomas Sterling and Edwin S. Johnson.
Tennessee—John K. Shields and Kenneth D. McKellar.
Texas—Charles A. Culberson and Morris Sheppard.
Utah—Reed Smoot and William H. King.
Vermont—William P. Dillingham and Carroll S. Page.
Virginia—Thomas S. Martin and Claude A. Swanson.
Washington—Wesley L. Jones and Miles Poindexter.
West Virginia—Nathan Goff and Howard Sutherland.
Wisconsin—Robert M. La Follette and Paul O. Husting.
Wyoming—Francis E. Warren and John B. Kendrick.

NOTIFICATION TO THE HOUSE.

Mr. MARTIN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 19), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 20), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. MARTIN and Mr. GALLINGER the committee on the part of the Senate.

HOUR OF DAILY MEETING.

Mr. MARTIN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 21), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the hour of daily meeting of the Senate be 12 o'clock meridian until otherwise ordered.

RECESS.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I am advised there is a strong probability that the House of Representatives will perfect its organization by 3 o'clock, and it will, I understand, be the pleasure of the President to address both branches of Congress as soon as the organization of the House is completed. I therefore move that the Senate take a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m., when it reassembled.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I am informed that it is the wish of the President to address the two Houses of Congress this afternoon just as soon as the other House completes its organization. I have just returned from the House, and it is there thought that they may possibly be organized by 5 o'clock, but certainly by 5.30. Under these circumstances I feel that it would be wise for the Senate to recess further until 5 o'clock. I move that the Senate take a recess until 5 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 5 o'clock p. m., when it reassembled.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate take a recess until a quarter of 8. I will state in explanation it has been arranged that the President will address the two Houses of Congress at 8 o'clock. The organization of the other House was not perfected so as to permit an earlier hour. So I move that the Senate take a recess until a quarter before 8 o'clock this evening.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 7 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m., when it reassembled.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, in the absence of the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] I have been requested to say that it has been found necessary to postpone the time of the President's address until 8.30; and I was also requested to move, which I do now, that the Senate take a recess until 8.15 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 7 o'clock and 46 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 8 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m., when it reassembled.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

Mr. South, the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, appeared and delivered the following message:

Mr. President, I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled; that CHAMP CLARK, a Representative from the State of Missouri, has been elected Speaker; that South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, has been elected Clerk; and that the House is ready for business.

Also, that a committee of three was appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join the committee on the part of the Senate to wait on the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication which he may be pleased to make, and that Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, and Mr. MANN were appointed as the committee on the part of the House.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MARTIN, on behalf of the committee on the part of the Senate appointed to wait on the President of the United States, appeared and said:

Mr. President, the committee appointed to act in conjunction with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and to inform him of the organization of the two Houses of Congress have performed the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report that the President has expressed his purpose to communicate to the two Houses in joint session in the Hall of the House of Representatives forthwith.

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES.

A message from the House of Representative, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution providing that the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 2d day of April, 1917, at 8 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make them, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 2.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 2d day of April, 1917, at 8 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make them.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was concurred in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Sergeant at Arms will carry out the instructions of the Senate, and the Senate will proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

Thereupon the Senate, preceded by its Sergeant at Arms, and headed by the Vice President and the Secretary, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

At 9 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m. the Senate returned to its Chamber, and the Vice President resumed the chair.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (S. DOC. NO. 5.)

The address of the President of the United States this day delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress is as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto

subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privi-

leged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honour.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United Sates on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a joint resolution, which I ask may be read at length and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Whereas the recent acts of the Imperial German Government are acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States:

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take immediate steps not only to put the country in a thorough state of defense, but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 9 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 3 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *April 2, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

This being the day fixed in the proclamation of the President for the assembling of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, the Clerk of the last House, Mr. South Trimble, called the House to order.

The Chaplain of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

God of the ages, Our fathers' God and our God, whose holy influence has shaped and guided the destiny of our Republic from its inception, we wait upon that influence to guide us in the present crisis which has been thrust upon us. Diplomacy has failed; moral suasion has failed; every appeal to reason and justice has been swept aside. We abhor war and love peace. But if war has been or shall be forced upon us, we pray that the heart of every American citizen shall throb with patriotic zeal; that a united people may rally around our President to hold up his hands in every measure that shall be deemed necessary to protect American lives and safeguard our inherent rights. Let Thy blessing, we beseech Thee, attend the Congress now convened in extraordinary session under extraordinary conditions which call for extraordinary thought, wise counsels, calm and deliberate legislation; that its resolves and all its enactments may spring spontaneously from loyal and patriotic hearts; that our defenders on land and sea may be amply supplied with the things which make for strength and efficiency.

And, O God, our Heavenly Father, let Thy strong right arm uphold, sustain, and guide us in a just and righteous cause; for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT.

The CLERK. The Clerk will cause to be read the proclamation of the President assembling the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session.

The proclamation of the President was read as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at 12 o'clock noon on the 2d day of April, 1917, to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken immediately under consideration;

Now, therefore I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol in the city of Washington on the 2d day of April, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States of America the 21st day of March, in the year of our Lord 1917 and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.] WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

CALL OF STATES.

The CLERK. The next business in order is the calling of the roll by States of Members elect of the House of Representatives to the Sixty-fifth Congress to ascertain if there be a quorum present.

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll, and the following Members elect answered to their names:

ALABAMA.

Oscar L. Gray.
S. Hubert Dent, jr.
Henry B. Steagall.
Fred L. Blackmon.
J. Thomas Heflin.
William B. Oliver.
John L. Burnett.
Edward B. Almon.
George Huddleston.
William B. Bankhead.

ARIZONA.

Carl Hayden.

ARKANSAS.

Thaddeus H. Caraway.
William A. Oldfield.
John N. Tillman.
Otis Wingo.
Henderson M. Jacoway.
Samuel M. Taylor.
William S. Goodwin.

CALIFORNIA.

Clarence F. Lea.
John E. Raker.
Charles F. Curry.
Julius Kahn.
John I. Nolan.
John A. Elston.
Denver S. Church.
Everis A. Hayes.
Charles H. Randall.
Henry Z. Osborne.
William Kettner.

COLORADO.

Benjamin C. Hilliard.
Charles B. Timberlake.
Edward Keating.
Edward T. Taylor.

CONNECTICUT.

Augustine Lonergan.
Richard P. Freeman.
John Q. Tilson.
Ebenezer J. Hill.
James P. Glynn.
Albert F. Polk.

Herbert J. Drane.
Frank Clark.

James W. Overstreet.
Frank Park.
Charles R. Crisp.
William C. Adamson.
William S. Howard.
James W. Wise.

Addison T. Smith.

Martin B. Madden.
James R. Mann.
William W. Wilson.
Charles Martin.
Adolph J. Sabath.
James McAndrews.
Niels Juul.
Thomas Gallagher.
Fred A. Britten.
George E. Foss.
Ira C. Copley.
Charles E. Fuller.
John C. McKenzie.
William J. Graham.

George K. Denton.
Oscar E. Bland
William E. Cox.
Lincoln Dixon.
Everett Sanders
Daniel W. Comstock.
Merrill Moores.

Charles A. Kennedy.
Harry E. Hull.
Burton E. Sweet.
Gilbert N. Haugen.
James W. Good.
C. William Ramseyer.

Daniel R. Anthony, jr.
Edward C. Little.
Philip P. Campbell.
Dudley Doolittle.

Alben W. Barkley.
David H. Kincheloe.
Robert Y. Thomas, jr.
Ben Johnson.
Swagar Sherley.
Arthur B. Rouse.

Albert Estopinal.
H. Garland Dupré.
Whitmell P. Martin.
John T. Watkins.

Louis B. Goodall.
Wallace H. White, jr.

Jesse D. Price.
J. Fred. C. Talbott.
Charles P. Coady.

Allen T. Treadway.
Frederick H. Gillett.
Calvin D. Paige.
Samuel E. Winslow.
John Jacob Rogers.
Augustus P. Gardner.
Michael F. Phelan.
Frederick W. Dallinger.

Frank E. Doremus.
Mark R. Bacon.
John M. C. Smith.
Edward L. Hamilton.
Carl E. Mapes.
Patrick H. Kelley.
Louis C. Cramton.

Sydney Anderson.
Franklin F. Ellsworth.
Charles R. Davis.
Carl C. Van Dyke.
Ernest Lundeen.

Ezekiel S. Candler.
Hubert D. Stephens.
Benjamin G. Humphreys.
Thomas U. Sisson.

Milton A. Romjue.
William W. Rucker.
Joshua W. Alexander.
Charles F. Booher.
William P. Borland.
Clement C. Dickinson.
Courtney W. Hamlin.
Dorsey W. Shackleford.

DELAWARE.

FLORIDA.

Walter Kehoe.
William J. Sears.

GEORGIA.

Charles H. Brand.
Thomas M. Bell.
Carl Vinson.
J. Randall Walker.
William W. Larsen.

IDAHO.

Burton L. French.

ILLINOIS.

Edward J. King.
Clifford Ireland.
John A. Sterling.
Joseph G. Cannon.
William B. McKinley.
Henry T. Rainey.
Loren E. Wheeler.
William A. Rodenberg.
Martin D. Foster.
Thomas S. Williams.
Edward E. Denison.
Medill McCormick.
William E. Mason.

INDIANA.

Albert H. Vestal.
Fred S. Purnell.
William R. Wood.
Milton Kraus.
Louis W. Fairfield.
Henry A. Barnhart.

IOWA.

Cassius C. Dowell.
Horace M. Towner.
William R. Green.
Frank P. Woods.
George C. Scott.

KANSAS.

Guy T. Helvering.
John R. Connelly.
Jouett Shouse.
William A. Ayres.

KENTUCKY.

James C. Cantrill.
Harvey Helm.
William J. Fields.
John W. Langley.
Caleb Powers.

LOUISIANA.

Riley J. Wilson.
Jared Y. Sanders.
Ladislas Lazaro.
James B. Aswell.

MAINE.

John A. Peters.
Ira G. Hersey.

MARYLAND.

J. Charles Linthicum.
Sydney E. Mudd.
Frederick N. Zihlman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Alvan T. Fuller.
Peter F. Tague.
George Holden Tinkham.
James A. Gallivan.
William H. Carter.
Richard Olney, 2d.
William S. Greene.
Joseph Walsh.

MICHIGAN.

Joseph W. Fordney.
James C. McLaughlin.
Gilbert A. Currie.
Frank D. Scott.
W. Frank James.
Charles A. Nichols.

MINNESOTA.

Harold Knutson.
Andrew J. Volstead.
Clarence B. Miller.
Halvor Steenerson.
Thomas D. Schall.

MISSISSIPPI.

William W. Venable.
Pat Harrison.
Percy E. Quin.
James W. Collier.

MISSOURI.

Jacob E. Meeker.
William L. Igoe.
Leonidas C. Dyer.
Walter L. Hensley.
Joseph J. Russell.
Perl D. Decker.
Thomas L. Rubey.

John M. Evans.

Charles F. Reavis.
Charles O. Lobeck.
Dan V. Stephens.

E. E. Roberts.

Edward H. Wason.

William J. Browning.
Isaac Bacharach.
Thomas J. Scully.
Elijah C. Hutchinson.
John R. Ramsey.
Dow H. Drukker.

William B. Walton.

Frederick C. Hicks.
Chas. Pope Caldwell.
Joseph V. Flynn.
Harry H. Dale.
James P. Maher.
Frederick W. Rowe.
John J. Fitzgerald.
Daniel J. Griffin.
Oscar Wm. Swift.
Reuben L. Haskell.
Daniel J. Riordan.
Meyer London.
Christopher D. Sullivan.
Fiorello H. LaGuardia.
Peter J. Dooling.
John F. Carew.
George B. Francis.
Walter M. Chandler.
Isaac Siegel.
Murray Hulbert.
Henry Bruckner.

John H. Small.
Claude Kitchin.
George E. Hood.
Edward W. Pou.
Charles M. Stedman.

George M. Young.

Nicholas Longworth.
Victor Heintz.
Warren Gard.
Benjamin F. Welty.
John S. Snook.
Charles C. Kearns.
Simeon D. Fess.
John A. Key.
Isaac R. Sherwood.
Robert M. Switzer.
Horatio C. Claypool.

Thomas A. Chandler.
William W. Hastings.
Charles D. Carter.
Tom D. McKeown.

Willis C. Hawley.
Nicholas J. Sinnott.

William S. Vare.
George S. Graham.
J. Hampton Moore.
George W. Edmonds.
Peter E. Costello.
George P. Darrow.
Thomas S. Butler.
Henry W. Watson.
William W. Griest.
John R. Farr.
Thomas W. Templeton.
Robert D. Heaton.
Arthur G. Dewalt.
Louis T. McFadden.
Edgar R. Kiess.
John V. Lesher.
Benjamin K. Focht.
Aaron S. Kreider.

George F. O'Shaunessy.
Walter R. Stiness.

Richard S. Whaley.
James F. Byrnes.
Fred H. Dominick.
Samuel J. Nicholls.

Charles H. Dillon.
Royal C. Johnson.

Sam R. Sells.
Richard W. Austin.
John A. Moon.
Cordell Hull.
William C. Houston.

MONTANA.

Miss Jeannette Rankin.

NEBRASKA.

Charles H. Sloan.
Ashton C. Shallenberger.
Moses P. Kinkaid.

NEVADA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NEW JERSEY.

Edward W. Gray.
Richard Wayne Parker.
Frederick R. Lehlbach.
John J. Eagan.
James A. Hamill.

NEW MEXICO.

NEW YORK.

Daniel C. Oliver.
Benjamin L. Fairchild.
James W. Husted.
Edmund Platt.
Charles B. Ward.
Rollin B. Sanford.
James S. Parker.
George R. Lunn.
Bertrand H. Snell.
Luther W. Mott.
Homer P. Snyder.
George W. Fairchild.
Walter W. Magee.
Norman J. Gould.
Harry H. Pratt.
Thomas B. Dunn.
Archie D. Sanders.
S. Wallace Dempsey.
Charles B. Smith.
William F. Waldow.
Charles M. Hamilton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Hannibal L. Godwin.
Leonidas D. Robinson.
Robert L. Doughton.
Edwin Y. Webb.
Zeb Weaver.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Patrick D. Norton.

OHIO.

Clement Brumbaugh.
Arthur W. Overmyer.
Ellsworth R. Bathrick.
George White.
Roscoe C. McCulloch.
William A. Ashbrook.
David A. Hollingsworth.
John G. Cooper.
William Gordon.
Robert Crosser.
Henry I. Emerson.

OKLAHOMA.

Joseph B. Thompson.
Scott Ferris.
James V. McClintic.
Dick T. Morgan.

OREGON.

Clifton N. McArthur.

PENNSYLVANIA.

John M. Rose.
Andrew R. Brodbeck.
Charles H. Rowland.
Edward E. Robbins.
Bruce F. Sterling.
Henry W. Temple.
Henry A. Clark.
Henry J. Steele.
Nathan L. Strong.
Stephen G. Porter.
M. Clyde Kelly.
John M. Morin.
Guy E. Campbell.
Thomas S. Crago.
Mahlon M. Garland.
Joseph McLaughlin.
John R. K. Scott.

RHODE ISLAND.

Ambrose Kennedy.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

William F. Stevenson.
J. Willard Ragsdale.
Asbury F. Lever.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Harry L. Gandy.

TENNESSEE.

Joseph W. Byrns.
Lemuel P. Padgett.
Thetus W. Sims.
Finis J. Garrett.
Hubert F. Fisher.

TEXAS.

Eugene Black.
Martin Dies.
James Young.
Sam Rayburn.
Hatton W. Sumners.
Rufus Hardy.
Alexander W. Gregg.
Joe H. Eagle.
Joseph J. Mansfield.

James P. Buchanan.
Tom Connally.
James C. Wilson.
Marvin Jones.
James L. Slayden.
John N. Garner.
Thomas L. Blanton.
Jeff: McLemore.
Daniel E. Garrett.

UTAH.

Milton H. Welling.

James H. Mays.

VERMONT.

Frank L. Greene.

Porter H. Dale.

VIRGINIA.

William A. Jones.
Edward E. Holland.
Andrew J. Montague.
Walter A. Watson.
Edward W. Saunders.

Carter Glass.
Thomas W. Harrison.
Charles C. Carlin.
C. Bascom Slemp.
Henry D. Flood.

WASHINGTON.

John F. Miller.
Lindley H. Hadley.
Albert Johnson.

William L. La Follette.
C. C. Dill.

WEST VIRGINIA.

M. M. Neely.
George M. Bowers.
Stuart F. Reed.

Harry C. Woodyard.
Edward Cooper.
Adam B. Littlepage.

WISCONSIN.

Henry Allen Cooper.
Edward Voigt.
John M. Nelson.
William J. Cary.
William H. Stafford.
James H. Davidson.

John J. Esch.
Edward E. Browne.
David G. Classon.
James A. Frear.
Irvine L. Lenroot.

WYOMING.

Frank W. Mondell.

The CLERK. Four hundred and twenty-eight Members have answered "present," a quorum.

The Clerk has prepared a statement of the changes in the membership caused by death since the last regular election. Without objection, it will be printed in the RECORD:

The statement is as follows:

District.	Name.	Date of vacancy.	Name of successor.
Eighth Georgia.....	Samuel J. Tribble...	Dec. 8, 1916	Charles H. Brand.
Fifteenth New York...	Michael F. Conry...	Mar. 2, 1917	
Fifth South Carolina...	David E. Finley....	Jan. 26, 1917	William F. Stevenson.
First New Hampshire..	Cyrus A. Sulloway..	Mar. 11, 1917	

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

The CLERK. The next business in order is the election of a Speaker. Nominations for Speaker are in order.

Mr. SCHALL. We are met to-day efficiently and harmoniously to organize the House and quickly to put it into condition to transact the public business. The issue of the organization of this House is the issue of the Nation. It is not the tariff; it is not whether any one party, any one man, or any one group of men shall fail or succeed. The question is whether the Nation, involved in an international crisis, shall show to the world a solid front. [Applause.] Full cooperation between the President and Congress should be a national benefit, impossible with one branch Republican and one branch Democratic. [Applause.] A State divided against itself would stand in time of peace, but to-day such a condition might hold a serious menace. To-day our vision should project beyond party cleavage. The responsibility weighing down our President should inspire the utmost cooperation, even to the extent of foregoing party advantage, that to-day's action may square with the public good. [Applause.]

The extraordinary peril to-day renders partisanship dangerous, for it would be interpreted as showing a divided spirit. To-day there should be just one party, and that is the American party. [Applause.] We can settle our domestic differences later. Standing at the crossway of party and Nation, as an independent Progressive Republican I have no hesitancy as to which way is right. The responsibility of my vote has weighed heavily upon my soul. I have reviewed and rereviewed the situation from every possible angle, and I have again and again been forced to the same conclusion. I have asked God to guide me, that in my vote I might not be false to any man, much less betray a trust confided in me.

I am not unmindful of the sterling, deserving, patriotic character of the able, hard-working, faithful Republican candidate, and were our country not facing an international crisis, with a Democratic President and a Democratic Senate, I should with full party pride cast my vote for the Republican candidate. My

father was a Republican and voted for and fought under Abraham Lincoln. I have always been a Republican and still am a Lincoln Republican, and I believe that the spirit of that greatest American is here with us to-day, guiding the destiny of our Nation, upholding the hands of our President in this hour of trial.

I realize that my action to-day will be used to attempt my political death, for out of 43,000 votes in my district over 32,000 are Republican. But I am ready at any time to give of myself whatever my country can use. With my sightless eyes I would be of little service on the field of battle, but in the position I hold I can to-day, with the light that God gives me, vote right and let the consequences to me be what they may. [Applause.] The responsibility of Congress, I believe, should be with the President. Should the Republican Party succeed in organizing the House, evenly divided as it is, with a Democratic Senate and a Democratic President, it could accrue no possible advantage, and would only furnish an excuse for Democratic failures. The party that have controlled our Nation during the development of the present crisis should reap the harvest of the seeds they have sown.

From all over the country, by wire, by letter, by petition, by newspaper, by voice, have come the word, whatever it may mean, "Stand by the President." [Applause.] The legislature of my State, with only one dissenting vote, passed resolutions to that effect. Labor, professional, business, civic, farmers, and church organizations and individuals all urge the upholding of the President. Leading Republicans from all over the country, among them no less than the illustrious ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, and Elihu Root and Charles E. Hughes, pledge their word to stand by the President in this international crisis. Newspapers from coast to coast are editorially calling upon the men intrusted with the Nation's heritage to stand by the President. I know of no better way, at the outset of this Congress, to assist the President in standing erect under his heavy burden than to help him retain the organization of the House, and I shall therefore cast my vote for that progressive Democrat, CHAMP CLARK [applause], one of the most able and one of the squarest men who has ever graced the Speaker's chair. [Applause.] In so doing it is my patriotic hope that not to-morrow nor the next day, but to-day, after the first roll call, the trained lightning may flash the message of our unity, a warning to all the world that, despite internal differences, when external danger threatens, from North to South, from East to West, Americans stand for America. [Applause.]

The CLERK. Did the gentleman from Minnesota intend to place Mr. CLARK of Missouri in nomination for Speaker?

Mr. SCHALL. It was not my intention. I merely wished to state the reasons and motive for my vote; but I deem it an unusual honor. I gladly place him in nomination for Speaker.

The CLERK. CHAMP CLARK, of Missouri, has been placed in nomination for Speaker of the House.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Clerk, the Republican party has never failed in its duty during its entire history. [Applause.] I appear here to-day by reason of the position I hold, granted to me by the Republican Party, and, in accordance with the instructions of the meeting of Republican members elect held on Saturday last, I nominate as candidate for Speaker the Hon. JAMES R. MANN, of Illinois. [Applause.]

The Republican Party needs to make no apology for its action in this House to-day. We, ourselves, shall act as we believe to be right, as we always have, and leave the question with the people as to whether we act rightfully or wrongfully. [Applause.]

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Clerk, I rise to second the nomination of JAMES R. MANN for Speaker. [Applause.] Mr. Clerk, I had no intention of speaking upon the matter of the nominations. I merely expected to vote for the Republican nominee, but as a Republican I can not permit the statement just made by the gentleman from Minnesota and the inferences to be drawn therefrom to go unchallenged. [Applause.]

The position that the gentleman takes is that in this crisis patriotism demands that the organization of this House be turned over to the Democrats. Mr. Clerk, as a Republican I can not admit that Republicans are less patriotic than are Democrats [applause], and if the gentlemen upon the Democratic side of the aisle to-day would practice the principles that they now applaud and avoid partisanship patriotism demands that they submit to a Republican organization of this House, and I wish to state why this should be done. There ought not to be any partisanship in the consideration of the great matters that will come before this special session of Congress. There will be no partisanship on the Republican side of the House, irrespective of what the Democrats may do. But, gentlemen, what we need in this hour is a united country. [Applause.] What we need in this hour is the wisdom, the advice, and the assistance of every American, regardless of what his politics may be. [Applause.] Is there one of you upon that side of the aisle that will not admit privately that if Republicans were consulted as well as Democrats upon these great questions, that if the country could understand that while we have a Democratic President and a Democratic Senate there was a Republican House acting unitedly upon these great questions, we would have a united country behind us much more effectively than with a partisan Democratic administration? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Clerk, this is no time for any man to criticize the President of the United States; but I do beg leave to say that it would be better for the country to-day if the President was compelled under the organization of this House to consult Republicans as well as Democrats upon legislation in this crisis. [Applause.] He would be thus compelled if the Republicans organized the House, while to-day, unfortunately, the situation is that no Republican in the Senate or in the House has been, so far as I can ascertain, consulted upon the greatest questions that this country has been confronted with for more than half a century; questions as to which there ought not to be the slightest partisanship.

In conclusion, you gentlemen upon that side of the House will probably organize to-day. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And we upon this side will have performed our duty, our patriotic duty, because we believe we can be trusted as well as you upon nonpartisan questions. But if you organize, notwithstanding any partisanship that may be displayed by you, I say now that in the days to come there will be no partisanship on the Republican side upon these matters. [Applause.]

The CLERK. Are there any further nominations? If not, the Clerk will call the roll. The Chair will appoint as tellers to count the vote the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. TAGUE, the gentleman from California, Mr. LEA, the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. MILLER, and the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. BROWNING, who will please take their places at the desk. The Clerk will call the roll and Members will designate whom they desire to elect as Speaker.

The tellers having taken their places, the House proceeded to vote viva voce for Speaker. The following is the vote in detail:

FOR MR. CHAMP CLARK—217.

Adamson	Doughton	Kelly, Pa.	Russell
Alexander	Drane	Kettner	Sabath
Almon	Dupré	Key, Ohio	Sanders, La.
Ashbrook	Eagan	Kincheloe	Saunders, Va.
Aswell	Eagle	Kitchin	Schall
Ayres	Estopinal	Larson	Scully
Bankhead	Evans	Lazaro	Sears
Barkley	Ferris	Lea, Cal.	Shackleford
Barnhart	Fields	Lee, Ga.	Shallenberger
Bathrick	Fisher	Lesher	Sherley
Bell	Fitzgerald	Lever	Sherwood
Black	Flood	Linthicum	Shouse
Blackmon	Flynn	Littlepage	Sims
Blanton	Foster	Lobeck	Sisson
Booher	Gallagher	London	Slayden
Borland	Gallivan	Lonergan	Small
Brand	Gandy	Lunn	Smith, N. Y.
Brodbeck	Gard	McAndrews	Snook
Bruckner	Garner	McClintic	Steagall
Brumbaugh	Garrett, Tenn.	McKeown	Stedman
Buchanan	Garrett, Tex.	McLemore	Steele
Burnett	Glass	Maher	Stephens, Miss.
Byrnes, S. C.	Godwin, N. C.	Mansfield	Stephens, Nebr.
Byrns, Tenn.	Goodwin, Ark.	Martin, Ill.	Sterling, Pa.
Caldwell	Gordon	Martin, La.	Stevenson
Campbell, Pa.	Gray, Ala.	Mays	Sullivan
Candler, Miss.	Gregg	Montague	Sumners
Cantrill	Griffin	Moon	Tague
Caraway	Hamill	Neely	Talbott
Carew	Hamlin	Nicholls, S. C.	Taylor, Ark.
Carlin	Hardy	Oldfield	Taylor, Colo.
Carter, Okla.	Harrison, Miss.	Oliver, Ala.	Thomas
Church	Harrison, Va.	Oliver, N. Y.	Thompson
Clark, Fla.	Hastings	Olney	Tillman
Claypool	Hayden	O'Shaunessy	Van Dyke
Coady	Heflin	Overmyer	Venable
Collier	Helm	Overstreet	Vinson
Connally, Tex.	Helvering	Padgett	Walker
Connelly, Kans.	Hensley	Park	Walton
Cox	Hilliard	Phelan	Watkins
Crisp	Holland	Polk	Watson, Va.
Crosser	Hood	Pou	Weaver
Dale, N. Y.	Houston	Price	Webb
Decker	Howard	Quin	Welling
Dent	Huddleston	Ragsdale	Welty
Denton	Hulbert	Rainey	Whaley
Dewalt	Hull, Tenn.	Raker	White, Ohio
Dickinson	Humphreys	Randall	Wilson, La.
Dies	Igoe	Rayburn	Wilson, Tex.
Dill	Jacoway	Riordan	Wingo
Dixon	Johnson, Ky.	Robinson	Wise
Dominick	Jones, Tex.	Romjue	Young, Tex.
Dooling	Jones, Va.	Rouse	
Doolittle	Keating	Rubey	
Doremus	Kehoe	Rucker	

FOR MR. JAMES R. MANN—205.

Anderson	Foss	Lenroot	Sanders, Ind.
Anthony	Francis	Little	Sanders, N. Y.
Austin	Frear	Longworth	Sanford
Bacharach	Freeman	Lundeen	Scott, Iowa
Bacon	French	McArthur	Scott, Mich.
Bland	Fuller, Ill.	McCormick	Scott, Pa.
Bowers	Garland	McCulloch	Sells
Britten	Gillett	McFadden	Siegel
Browne	Glynn	McKenzie	Sinnott
Browning	Good	McKinley	Slemp
Butler	Goodall	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sloan
Campbell, Kans.	Gould	McLaughlin, Pa.	Smith, Idaho
Cannon	Graham, Ill.	Madden	Smith, Mich.
Carter, Mass.	Graham, Pa.	Magee	Snell
Cary	Green, Iowa	Mapes	Snyder
Chandler, N. Y.	Greene, Mass.	Mason	Stafford
Chandler, Okla.	Greene, Vt.	Meeker	Steenerson
Clark, Pa.	Griest	Miller, Minn.	Sterling, Ill.
Classon	Hadley	Miller, Wash.	Stiness
Comstock	Hamilton, Mich.	Mondell	Strong
Cooper, Ohio	Hamilton, N. Y.	Moore, Pa.	Sweet
Cooper, W. Va.	Haugen	Moores, Ind.	Swift
Cooper, Wis.	Hawley	Morgan	Switzer
Copley	Hayes	Morin	Temple
Costello	Heaton	Mott	Templeton
Crago	Heintz	Mudd	Tilson
Cramton	Hersey	Nelson	Timberlake
Currie, Mich.	Hicks	Nichols, Mich.	Tinkham
Curry, Cal.	Hill	Nolan	Towner
Dale, Vt.	Hollingsworth	Norton	Treadway
Darrow	Hull, Iowa	Osborne	Vare
Davidson	Husted	Paige	Vestal
Davis	Hutchinson	Parker, N. J.	Voigt
Dempsey	Ireland	Parker, N. Y.	Volstead
Denison	Johnson, S. Dak.	Peters	Waldow
Dillon	Johnson, Wash.	Platt	Walsh
Dowell	Juul	Porter	Ward
Drukker	Kahn	Powers	Wason
Dunn	Kearns	Pratt	Watson, Pa.
Dyer	Kelley, Mich.	Purnell	Wheeler
Edmonds	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramsey	White, Me.
Ellsworth	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramseyer	Williams
Elston	Kiess, Pa.	Rankin	Wilson, Ill.
Emerson	King	Reavis	Winslow
Esch	Kinkaid	Reed	Wood, Ind.
Fairchild, B. L.	Knutson	Robbins	Woods, Iowa
Fairchild, G. W.	Kraus	Roberts	Woodyard
Fairfield	Kreider	Rodenberg	Young, N. Dak.
Farr	La Follette	Rogers	Zihlman
Fess	La Guardia	Rose	
Focht	Langley	Rowe	
Fordney	Lehlbach	Rowland	

FOR MR. FREDERICK H. GILLETT—2.

Dallinger	Gray, N. J.

FOR MR. IRVINE L. LENROOT—2.

Fuller, Mass.	Gardner

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2.

Haskell	James

At the conclusion of the roll,

The CLERK said: The result of the ballot as agreed to by the tellers is as follows: Mr. CHAMP CLARK, of Missouri, received 217 votes; Mr. JAMES R. MANN, of Illinois, received 205 votes; Mr. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, of Massachusetts, received 2 votes; Mr. IRVINE L. LENROOT, of Wisconsin, received 2 votes; answering "present" 2. Total number of votes cast, 428. Mr. CLARK having received 217 votes, a majority of all the votes cast, and a quorum being present and voting, is duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth Congress. [Applause.] The Clerk appoints as a committee to notify Mr. CLARK of his election and to escort him to the chair Mr. MANN of Illinois, Mr. RIORDAN of New York, and Mr. SHOUSE of Kansas.

The committee appointed to conduct the Speaker elect to the chair having returned with him,

Mr. MANN said: Members of the House of Representatives, I present to you your chosen Speaker, the genial, able, impartial, patriotic statesman of Missouri and the Nation, Hon. CHAMP CLARK. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF THE SPEAKER.

The SPEAKER elect, on taking the chair, said:

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I am profoundly grateful to the House for my fourth election to the Speakership. Also to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, my close personal friend, Brother MANN, for the cordial, generous, and splendid manner in which he introduced me. [Applause.]

The delicate situation in which we find ourselves justifies a few words more. I fully appreciate the fact that it will be exceedingly difficult to discharge the duties of the Speakership in this House. It will be almost impossible to do so without the hearty cooperation of the Members without regard to party affiliations. I will use my utmost endeavor to be absolutely fair, and I invoke the aid of all the Members in doing so.

It is absolutely unnecessary and superfluous to lecture the membership on patriotism. We are all patriots, as are the people who elected us. We are all Americans, whether natives or foreign born, as our constituents. On many questions we are "distinct as the billows, yet we are one as the sea," when the honor and safety of the Republic are involved. [Applause.] Politics finds no place in this House when the general welfare and the common defense of the Nation are at stake. Let all the ends we aim at be our country's, and in the accomplishment of these ends may the God of our fathers be with us and guide us in the way which will redound to the honor and perpetuity of the greatest Republic that ever existed in all the flood of time. [Applause.]

I am now ready to take the oath of office and will ask that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. TALBOTT] administer it.

The oath of office was administered by Mr. TALBOTT.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBERS.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will now call the Members by States, and they will assemble in front of the Speaker's desk and take the oath of office.

The Members presented themselves as their States were called and took the oath of office provided by law.

Mr. GRIEST and Mr. BUTLER affirmed.

ELECTION OF CLERK AND OTHER OFFICERS.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk the following resolution, which I ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 1.

Resolved, That Hon. South Trimble, of the State of Kentucky, be, and he is hereby, chosen Clerk of the House of Representatives;

That Robert B. Gordon, of the State of Ohio, be, and he is hereby, chosen Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives;

That Joseph J. Sinnott, of the State of Virginia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives;

That William M. Dunbar, of the State of Georgia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Postmaster of the House of Representatives; and

That Henry N. Couden, of the State of Michigan, be, and he is hereby, chosen Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. Are there any other nominations?

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for the resolution just reported, I offer the following and ask the Clerk to report the same.

The Clerk read as follows:

By Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts: I move to amend the resolution by striking out—

"That South Trimble, of the State of Kentucky, be, and he is hereby, chosen Clerk of the House of Representatives"—

And inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"That William Tyler Page, of the State of Maryland, be, and he is hereby, chosen Clerk of the House of Representatives;"

And by striking out—

"That Robert B. Gordon, of the State of Ohio, be, and he is hereby, chosen Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives"—

And inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"That Joseph G. Rogers, of the State of Pennsylvania, be, and he is hereby, chosen Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives;"

And by striking out—

"That Joseph J. Sinnott, of the State of Virginia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives"—

And inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"That Bert W. Kennedy, of the State of Michigan, be, and he is hereby, chosen Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives;"

And by striking out—

"That William M. Dunbar, of the State of Georgia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Postmaster of the House of Representatives"—

And inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"That Lawrence Lyons, of the State of Indiana, be, and he is hereby, chosen Postmaster of the House of Representatives."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on that amendment I demand a division of the question, so as to cover each of the officers.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands a division of the question, and the vote will be taken first upon that part of the amendment which substitutes the name of Tyler Page for that of South Trimble as Clerk of the House.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask if it would not be possible to have an agreement whereby Members might vote for the nominees of the respective parties?

Mr. MANN. I am quite willing to have that done.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. As it is, the vote will be either yea or nay upon the amendment, whereas, if we can have an arrangement by which we can simply vote for the individual, giving the respective names, that will settle the matter in one roll call.

Mr. MANN. That is satisfactory.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Then, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in taking the vote on the Clerk of the House——

Mr. MANN. Make it on all of them.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. On all of them, if we have a separate vote on each—that we shall vote the names of those for whom we desire to vote for the respective officers.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman asking for a vote upon all five of these officers at once?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No.

The SPEAKER. Then, the understanding is that upon the vote on the Clerkship the Member in casting his vote shall vote for either Mr. Page or Mr. Trimble?

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. If the gentleman from Illinois could agree, and if we could do it by unanimous consent, one roll call would settle the entire matter.

Mr. MANN. Oh, no. The reason for offering the amendment in the form in which it is is for the purpose of having a separate vote.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, what was done with the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] that in voting upon these different officers, where there is a contest, we shall vote for the name of our respective candidates?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the vote shall be for either South Trimble or Tyler Page, by name.

Mr. MANN. I want it to apply to all the offices except that of Chaplain.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That is my request, that it shall apply to all except the Chaplain.

The SPEAKER. The request of the gentleman from Tennessee is for unanimous consent to vote for the names of the men who are candidates instead of going through the motion of voting for the substitute. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will call the roll on the Clerkship and the vote will be for South Trimble or William Tyler Page.

ELECTION OF CLERK.

The question was taken; and there were—voting for South Trimble 217, for William Tyler Page 213, as follows:

FOR MR. TRIMBLE—217.

Adamson	Doughton	Kelly, Pa.	Rucker
Alexander	Drane	Kettner	Russell
Almon	Dupré	Key, Ohio	Sabath
Ashbrook	Eagan	Kincheloe	Sanders, La.
Aswell	Eagle	Kitchin	Saunders, Va.
Ayres	Estopinal	Larsen	Scully
Bankhead	Evans	Lazaro	Sears
Barkley	Ferris	Lea, Cal.	Shackleford
Barnhart	Fields	Lee, Ga.	Shallenberger
Bathrick	Fisher	Lesher	Sherley
Bell	Fitzgerald	Lever	Sherwood
Black	Flood	Linthicum	Shouse
Blackmon	Flynn	Littlepage	Sims
Blanton	Foster	Lobeck	Sisson
Booher	Gallagher	London	Slayden
Borland	Gallivan	Lonergan	Small
Brand	Gandy	Lunn	Smith, N. Y.
Brodbeck	Gard	McAndrews	Snook
Bruckner	Garner	McClintic	Stengall
Brumbaugh	Garrett, Tenn.	McKeown	Stedman
Buchanan	Garrett, Tex.	McLemore	Steele
Burnett	Glass	Maher	Stephens, Miss.
Byrnes, S. C.	Godwin, N. C.	Mansfield	Stephens, Nebr.
Byrns, Tenn.	Goodwin, Ark.	Martin, Ill.	Sterling, Pa.
Caldwell	Gordon	Martin, La.	Stevenson
Campbell, Pa.	Gray, Ala.	Mays	Sullivan
Candler, Miss.	Gregg	Montague	Sumners
Cantrill	Griffin	Moon	Tague
Caraway	Hamill	Neely	Talbott
Carew	Hamlin	Nicholls, S. C.	Taylor, Ark.
Carlin	Hardy	Oldfield	Taylor, Colo.
Carter, Okla.	Harrison, Miss.	Oliver, Ala.	Thomas
Church	Harrison, Va.	Oliver, N. Y.	Thompson
Clark, Fla.	Hastings	Olney	Tillman
Claypool	Hayden	O'Shaunessy	Van Dyke
Coady	Heflin	Overmyer	Venable
Collier	Helm	Overstreet	Vinson
Connally, Tex.	Helvering	Padgett	Walker
Connelly, Kans.	Hensley	Park	Walton
Cox	Hilliard	Phelan	Watkins
Crisp	Holland	Polk	Watson, Va.
Crosser	Hood	Pou	Weaver
Dale, N. Y.	Houston	Price	Webb
Decker	Howard	Quin	Welling
Dent	Huddleston	Ragsdale	Welty
Denton	Hulbert	Rainey	Whaley
Dewalt	Hull, Tenn.	Raker	White, Ohio
Dickinson	Humphreys	Randall	Wilson, La.
Dies	Igoe	Rayburn	Wilson, Tex.
Dill	Jacoway	Riordan	Wingo
Dixon	Johnson, Ky.	Robinson	Wise
Dominick	Jones, Tex.	Romjue	Young, Tex.
Dooling	Jones, Va.	Rouse	The Speaker
Doolittle	Keating	Rubey	
Doremus	Kehoe		

FOR MR. PAGE—213.

Anderson	Francis	Langley	Rowland
Anthony	Frear	Lehlbach	Sanders, Ind.
Austin	Freeman	Lenroot	Sanders, N. Y.
Bacharach	French	Little	Sanford
Bacon	Fuller, Ill.	Longworth	Schall
Bland	Fuller, Mass.	Lundeen	Scott, Iowa
Bowers	Gardner	McArthur	Scott, Mich.
Britten	Garland	McCormick	Scott, Pa.
Browne	Gillett	McCulloch	Sells
Browning	Glynn	McFadden	Siegel
Butler	Good	McKenzie	Sinnott
Campbell, Kans.	Goodall	McKinley	Slemp
Cannon	Gould	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sloan
Carter, Mass.	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Smith, Idaho
Cary	Graham, Pa.	Madden	Smith, Mich.
Chandler, N. Y.	Gray, N. J.	Magee	Snell
Chandler, Okla.	Green, Iowa	Mann	Snyder
Clark, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	Mapes	Stafford
Classon	Greene, Vt.	Mason	Steenerson
Comstock	Griest	Meeker	Sterling, Ill.
Cooper, Ohio	Hadley	Miller, Minn.	Stiness
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamilton, Mich.	Miller, Wash.	Strong
Cooper, Wis.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mondell	Sweet
Copley	Haskell	Moore, Pa.	Swift
Costello	Haugen	Moores, Ind.	Switzer
Crago	Hawley	Morgan	Temple
Cramton	Hayes	Morin	Templeton
Currie, Mich.	Heaton	Mott	Tilson
Curry, Cal.	Heintz	Mudd	Timberlake
Dale, Vt.	Hersey	Nelson	Tinkham
Dallinger	Hicks	Nichols, Mich.	Towner
Darrow	Hill	Nolan	Treadway
Davidson	Hollingsworth	Norton	Vare
Davis	Hull, Iowa	Osborne	Vestal
Dempsey	Husted	Paige	Voigt
Denison	Hutchinson	Parker, N. J.	Volstead
Dillon	Ireland	Parker, N. Y.	Waldow
Dowell	James	Peters	Walsh
Drukker	Johnson, S. Dak.	Platt	Ward
Dunn	Johnson, Wash.	Porter	Wason
Dyer	Juul	Powers	Watson, Pa.
Edmonds	Kahn	Pratt	Wheeler
Ellsworth	Kearns	Purnell	White, Me.
Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Ramsey	Williams
Emerson	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramseyer	Wilson, Ill.
Esch	Kennedy, R. I.	Rankin	Winslow
Fairchild, B. L.	Kiess, Pa.	Reavis	Wood, Ind.
Fairchild, G. W.	King	Reed	Woods, Iowa
Fairfield	Kinkaid	Robbins	Woodyard
Farr	Knutson	Roberts	Young, N. Dak.
Fess	Kraus	Rodenberg	Zihlman
Focht	Kreider	Rogers	
Fordney	La Follette	Rose	
Foss	La Guardia	Rowe	

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call my name.

The name of Mr. CLARK of Missouri was called, and he voted for South Trimble.

The SPEAKER. On this vote South Trimble received 217 votes, William Tyler Page 213, and South Trimble is elected Clerk for the next two years. [Applause.]

ELECTION OF SERGEANT AT ARMS.

The SPEAKER. The next vote will be taken on the Sergeant at Arms. The nominees are Robert C. Gordon, by the Democrats, and Joseph B. Rodgers, by the Republicans, and when the roll is called the Members will vote.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] if it would be agreeable to make an arrangement whereby we might vote on the three remaining officials at the same time?

Mr. MANN. I am sorry to say I can not do that.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called; and there were voting—for Mr. Gordon 218, for Mr. Rodgers 202, as follows:

FOR MR. GORDON—218.

Adamson	Caraway	Drane	Hamlin
Alexander	Carew	Dupré	Hardy
Almon	Carlin	Eagan	Harrison, Miss.
Ashbrook	Carter, Okla.	Eagle	Harrison, Va.
Aswell	Church	Estopinal	Hastings
Ayres	Clark, Fla.	Evans	Hayden
Bankhead	Claypool	Ferris	Heflin
Barkley	Coady	Fields	Helm
Barnhart	Collier	Fisher	Helvering
Bathrick	Connally, Tex.	Fitzgerald	Hensley
Bell	Connelly, Kans.	Flood	Hilliard
Black	Cox	Flynn	Holland
Blackmon	Crisp	Foster	Hood
Blanton	Crosser	Gallagher	Houston
Booher	Dale, N. Y.	Gallivan	Howard
Borland	Decker	Gandy	Huddleston
Brand	Dent	Gard	Hulbert
Brodbeck	Denton	Garner	Hull, Tenn.
Bruckner	Dewalt	Garrett, Tenn.	Humphreys
Brumbaugh	Dickinson	Garrett, Tex.	Igoe
Buchanan	Dies	Glass	Jacoway
Burnett	Dill	Godwin, N. C.	Johnson, Ky.
Byrnes, S. C.	Dixon	Goodwin, Ark.	Jones, Tex.
Byrns, Tenn.	Dominick	Gordon	Jones, Va.
Caldwell	Dooling	Gray, Ala.	Keating
Campbell, Pa.	Doolittle	Gregg	Kehoe
Candler, Miss.	Doremus	Griffin	Kelly, Pa.
Cantrill	Doughton	Hamill	Kettner

Key, Ohio	Nicholls, S. C.	Sabath	Talbott
Kincheloe	Oldfield	Sanders, La.	Taylor, Ark.
Kitchin	Oliver, Ala.	Saunders, Va.	Taylor, Colo.
Larsen	Oliver, N. Y.	Schall	Thomas
Lazaro	Olney	Scully	Thompson
Lea, Cal.	O'Shaunessy	Sears	Tillman
Lee, Ga.	Overmyer	Shackleford	Van Dyke
Lesher	Overstreet	Shallenberger	Venable
Lever	Padgett	Sherley	Vinson
Linthicum	Park	Sherwood	Walker
Littlepage	Phelan	Shouse	Walton
Lobeck	Polk	Sims	Watkins
London	Pou	Sisson	Watson, Va.
Lonergan	Price	Slayden	Weaver
Lunn	Quin	Small	Webb
McAndrews	Ragsdale	Smith, N. Y.	Welling
McClintic	Rainey	Snook	Welty
McKeown	Raker	Steagall	Whaley
McLemore	Randall	Stedman	White, Ohio
Maher	Rayburn	Steele	Wilson, La.
Mansfield	Riordan	Stephens, Miss.	Wilson, Tex.
Martin, Ill.	Robinson	Stephens, Nebr.	Wingo
Martin, La.	Romjue	Sterling, Pa.	Wise
Mays	Rouse	Stevenson	Young, Tex.
Montague	Rubey	Sullivan	The Speaker
Moon	Rucker	Sumners	
Neely	Russell	Tague	

FOR MR. RODGERS—212.

Anderson	Francis	Langley	Rowland
Anthony	Frear	Lehlbach	Sanders, Ind.
Austin	Freeman	Lenroot	Sanders, N. Y.
Bacharach	French	Little	Sanford
Bland	Fuller, Ill.	Longworth	Scott, Iowa
Bowers	Fuller, Mass.	Lundeen	Scott, Mich.
Britten	Gardner	McArthur	Scott, Pa.
Browne	Garland	McCormick	Sells
Browning	Gillett	McFadden	Siegel
Butler	Glynn	McKenzie	Sinnott
Campbell, Kans.	Good	McKinley	Slemp
Cannon	Goodall	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sloan
Carter, Mass.	Gould	McLaughlin, Pa.	Smith, Idaho
Cary	Graham, Ill.	Madden	Smith, Mich.
Chandler, N. Y.	Graham, Pa.	Magee	Snell
Clark, Pa.	Gray, N. J.	Mann	Snyder
Classon	Green, Iowa	Mapes	Stafford
Comstock	Greene, Mass.	Mason	Steenerson
Cooper, Ohio	Greene, Vt.	Miller, Minn.	Sterling, Ill.
Cooper, W. Va.	Griest	Miller, Wash.	Stiness
Copley	Hadley	Mondell	Strong
Costello	Hamilton, Mich.	Moore, Pa.	Sweet
Crago	Hamilton, N. Y.	Moores, Ind.	Swift
Cramton	Haskell	Morgan	Switzer
Currie, Mich.	Haugen	Morin	Temple
Curry, Cal.	Hawley	Mott	Templeton
Dale, Vt.	Hayes	Mudd	Tilson
Dallinger	Heaton	Nelson	Timberlake
Darrow	Heintz	Nichols, Mich.	Tinkham
Davidson	Hicks	Nolan	Towner
Davis	Hill	Norton	Treadway
Dempsey	Hollingsworth	Osborne	Vare
Denison	Hull, Iowa	Paige	Vestal
Dillon	Husted	Parker, N. J.	Volgt
Dowell	Hutchinson	Parker, N. Y.	Volstead
Drukker	Ireland	Peters	Waldow
Dunn	Johnson, S. Dak.	Platt	Ward
Dyer	Johnson, Wash.	Powers	Wason
Edmonds	Juul	Pratt	Watson, Pa.
Ellsworth	Kahn	Purnell	Wheeler
Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Ramsey	White, Me.
Emerson	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramseyer	Williams
Esch	Kennedy, R. I.	Rankin	Wilson, Ill.
Fairchild, B. L.	Kiess, Pa.	Reavis	Winslow
Fairchild, G. W.	King	Reed	Wood, Ind.
Fairfield	Kinkaid	Robbins	Woods, Iowa
Farr	Knutson	Roberts	Woodyard
Fess	Kraus	Rodenberg	Young, N. Dak.
Focht	Kreider	Rogers	Zihlman
Fordney	La Follette	Rose	
Foss	La Guardia	Rowe	

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call my name.

The name of Mr. CLARK of Missouri was called, and he voted for Mr. Gordon.

The SPEAKER. On this vote Mr. Gordon has 219 votes, Mr. Rodgers 201, and Mr. Gordon is therefore Sergeant at Arms elect. [Applause.]

ELECTION OF DOORKEEPER.

The SPEAKER. The next vote is on the Doorkeeper, Joseph J. Sinnott being the Democratic nominee and Bert W. Kennedy the Republican. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called; and there were voting—for Mr. Sinnott 216, for Mr. Kennedy 211, as follows:

FOR MR. SINNOTT—216.

Adamson	Booher	Caraway	Dale, N. Y.
Alexander	Borland	Carew	Decker
Almon	Brand	Carlin	Dent
Ashbrook	Brodbeck	Carter, Okla.	Denton
Aswell	Bruckner	Church	Dewalt
Ayres	Brumbaugh	Clark, Fla.	Dickinson
Bankhead	Buchanan	Claypool	Dies
Barkley	Burnett	Coady	Dill
Barnhart	Byrnes, S. C.	Collier	Dixon
Bathrick	Byrns, Tenn.	Connally, Tex.	Dominick
Bell	Caldwell	Connelly, Kans.	Dooling
Black	Campbell, Pa.	Cox	Doolittle
Blackmon	Candler, Miss.	Crisp	Doremus
Blanton	Cantrill	Crosser	Doughton
Drane	Hood	Moon	Sisson
Dupré	Houston	Neely	Slayden
Eagan	Howard	Nicholls, S. C.	Small
Eagle	Huddleston	Oldfield	Smith, N. Y.
Estopinal	Hulbert	Oliver, Ala.	Snook
Evans	Hull, Tenn.	Oliver, N. Y.	Steagall
Ferris	Humphreys	Olney	Stedman
Fields	Igoe	O'Shaunessy	Steele
Fisher	Jacoway	Overmyer	Stephens, Miss.
Fitzgerald	Johnson, Ky.	Overstreet	Stephens, Nebr.
Flood	Jones, Tex.	Padgett	Sterling, Pa.
Flynn	Jones, Va.	Park	Stevenson
Foster	Keating	Phelan	Sullivan
Gallagher	Kehoe	Polk	Sumners
Gallivan	Kelly, Pa.	Pou	Tague
Gandy	Kettner	Price	Talbott
Gard	Key, Ohio	Quin	Taylor, Ark.
Garner	Kincheloe	Ragsdale	Taylor, Colo.
Garrett, Tenn.	Kitchin	Rainey	Thomas
Garrett, Tex.	Larsen	Raker	Thompson
Glass	Lazaro	Randall	Tillman
Godwin, N. C.	Lea, Cal.	Rayburn	Van Dyke
Goodwin, Ark.	Lee, Ga.	Riordan	Venable
Gordon	Lesher	Robinson	Vinson
Gray, Ala.	Lever	Romjue	Walker
Gregg	Linthicum	Rouse	Walton
Griffin	Littlepage	Rubey	Watkins
Hamill	Lobeck	Rucker	Watson, Va.
Hamlin	London	Russell	Weaver
Hardy	Lonergan	Sabath	Webb
Harrison, Miss.	Lunn	Sanders, La.	Welling
Harrison, Va.	McAndrews	Saunders, Va.	Welty
Hastings	McClintic	Scully	Whaley
Hayden	McKeown	Sears	White, Ohio
Heflin	McLemore	Shackleford	Wilson, La.
Helm	Maher	Shallenberger	Wilson, Tex.
Helvering	Mansfield	Sherley	Wingo
Hensley	Martin, Ill.	Sherwood	Wise
Hilliard	Mays	Shouse	Young, Tex.
Holland	Montague	Sims	The Speaker

FOR MR. KENNEDY—211.

Anderson	Frear	Langley	Rowe
Austin	Freeman	Lehlbach	Rowland
Bacharach	French	Lenroot	Sanders, Ind.
Bacon	Fuller, Ill.	Little	Sanders, N. Y.
Bland	Fuller, Mass.	Longworth	Sanford
Bowers	Gardner	Lundeen	Schall
Britten	Garland	McArthur	Scott, Iowa
Browne	Gillett	McCormick	Scott, Mich.
Browning	Glynn	McCulloch	Scott, Pa.
Butler	Good	McFadden	Sells
Campbell, Kans.	Goodall	McKenzie	Siegel
Cannon	Gould	McKinley	Sinnott
Carter, Mass.	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Slemp
Cary	Graham, Pa.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sloan
Chandler, N. Y.	Gray, N. J.	Madden	Smith, Idaho
Chandler, Okla.	Green, Iowa	Magee	Smith, Mich.
Clark, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	Mann	Snell
Classon	Greene, Vt.	Mapes	Snyder
Comstock	Griest	Martin, La.	Stafford
Cooper, Ohio	Hadley	Mason	Steenerson
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamilton, Mich.	Miller, Minn.	Sterling, Ill.
Cooper, Wis.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Miller, Wash.	Stiness
Copley	Haskell	Mondell	Strong
Crago	Haugen	Moore, Pa.	Sweet
Cramton	Hawley	Moores, Ind.	Swift
Currie, Mich.	Hayes	Morgan	Switzer
Curry, Cal.	Heaton	Morin	Temple
Dale, Vt.	Heintz	Mott	Templeton
Dallinger	Hersey	Mudd	Tilson
Darrow	Hicks	Nelson	Timberlake
Davidson	Hill	Nichols, Mich.	Tinkham
Davis	Hollingsworth	Nolan	Towner
Dempsey	Hull, Iowa	Norton	Treadway
Denison	Husted	Osborne	Vare
Dillon	Hutchinson	Paige	Vestal
Dowell	Ireland	Parker, N. J.	Volgt
Drukker	James	Parker, N. Y.	Volstead
Dunn	Johnson, S. Dak.	Peters	Waldow
Dyer	Johnson, Wash.	Platt	Walsh
Edmonds	Juul	Porter	Ward
Ellsworth	Kahn	Powers	Wason
Elston	Kearns	Pratt	Watson, Pa.
Emerson	Kelley, Mich.	Purnell	Wheeler
Esch	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramsey	White, Me.
Fairchild, B. L.	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramseyer	Williams
Fairchild, G. W.	Kiess, Pa.	Rankin	Wilson, Ill.
Fairfield	King	Reavis	Winslow
Farr	Kinkaid	Reed	Wood, Ind.
Fess	Knutson	Robbins	Woods, Iowa
Focht	Kraus	Roberts	Woodyard
Fordney	Kreider	Rodenberg	Young, N. Dak.
Foss	La Follette	Rogers	Zihlman
Francis	La Guardia	Rose	

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call my name.

The Clerk called the name of Mr. CLARK of Missouri, and he voted for Mr. Sinnott.

The SPEAKER. On this vote Mr. Sinnott has 216 votes and Mr. Kennedy has 211. Mr. Sinnott is elected. [Applause.]

ELECTION OF POSTMASTER.

The SPEAKER. The next vote is on the election of Postmaster of the House, Mr. William M. Dunbar being the Democratic nominee and Mr. Lawrence Lyons the Republican. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll was called and there were—voting for Mr. Dunbar 217, for Mr. Lyons 206, as follows:

FOR MR. DUNBAR—217.

Adamson	Doughton	Kelly, Pa.	Sabath
Alexander	Drane	Kettner	Sanders, La.
Almon	Dupré	Key, Ohio	Saunders, Va.
Ashbrook	Eagan	Kincheloe	Schall
Aswell	Eagle	Kitchin	Scully
Ayres	Estopinal	Larsen	Sears
Bankhead	Evans	Lazaro	Shackleford
Barkley	Ferris	Lea, Cal.	Shallenberger
Barnhart	Fields	Lesher	Sherley
Bathrick	Fisher	Lever	Sherwood
Bell	Fitzgerald	Linthicum	Shouse
Black	Flood	Littlepage	Sims
Blackmon	Flynn	Lobeck	Sisson
Blanton	Foster	London	Slayden
Booher	Gallagher	Lonergan	Small
Borland	Gallivan	Lunn	Smith, N. Y.
Brand	Gandy	McAndrews	Snook
Brodbeck	Gard	McClintic	Steagall
Bruckner	Garner	McKeown	Stedman
Brumbaugh	Garrett, Tenn.	McLemore	Steele
Buchanan	Garrett, Tex.	Maher	Stephens, Miss.
Burnett	Glass	Mansfield	Stephens, Nebr.
Byrnes, S. C.	Godwin, N. C.	Martin, Ill.	Sterling, Pa.
Byrns, Tenn.	Goodwin, Ark.	Martin, La.	Stevenson
Caldwell	Gordon	Mays	Sullivan
Campbell, Pa.	Gray, Ala.	Montague	Sumners
Candler, Miss.	Gregg	Moon	Tague
Cantrill	Griffin	Neely	Talbott
Caraway	Hamill	Nicholls, S. C.	Taylor, Ark.
Carew	Hamlin	Oldfield	Taylor, Colo.
Carlin	Hardy	Oliver, Ala.	Thomas
Carter, Okla.	Harrison, Miss.	Oliver, N. Y.	Thompson
Church	Harrison, Va.	Olney	Tillman
Clark, Fla.	Hastings	O'Shaunessy	Van Dyke
Claypool	Hayden	Overmyer	Venable
Coady	Heflin	Overstreet	Vinson
Collier	Helm	Padgett	Walker
Connally, Tex.	Helvering	Park	Walton
Connelly, Kans.	Hensley	Phelan	Watkins
Cox	Hilliard	Polk	Watson, Va.
Crisp	Holland	Pou	Weaver
Crosser	Hood	Price	Webb
Dale, N. Y.	Houston	Quin	Welling
Decker	Howard	Ragsdale	Welty
Dent	Huddleston	Rainey	Whaley
Denton	Hulbert	Raker	White, Ohio
Dewalt	Hull, Tenn.	Randall	Wilson, La.
Dickinson	Humphreys	Rayburn	Wilson, Tex.
Dies	Igoe	Riordan	Wingo
Dill	Jacoway	Robinson	Wise
Dixon	Johnson, Ky.	Romjue	Young, Tex.
Dominick	Jones, Tex.	Rouse	The Speaker
Dooling	Jones, Va.	Rubey	
Doolittle	Keating	Rucker	
Doremus	Kehoe	Russell	

FOR MR. LYONS—206.

Anderson	Francis	La Guardia	Rowland
Austin	Frear	Langley	Sanders, Ind.
Bacharach	Freeman	Lehlbach	Sanders, N. Y.
Bacon	French	Lenroot	Sanford
Bland	Fuller, Ill.	Little	Scott, Iowa
Bowers	Fuller, Mass.	Longworth	Scott, Mich.
Britten	Gardner	Lundeen	Scott, Pa.
Browne	Garland	McArthur	Sells
Browning	Gillett	McCormick	Siegel
Butler	Glynn	McCulloch	Sinnott
Campbell, Kans.	Good	McFadden	Slemp
Cannon	Goodall	McKenzie	Sloan
Carter, Mass.	Gould	McKinley	Smith, Idaho
Cary	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Smith, Mich.
Chandler, N. Y.	Graham, Pa.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Snell
Chandler, Okla.	Gray, N. J.	Madden	Snyder
Clark, Pa.	Green, Iowa	Magee	Stafford
Classon	Greene, Mass.	Mann	Steenerson
Comstock	Greene, Vt.	Mapes	Sterling, Ill.
Cooper, Ohio	Griest	Mason	Stiness
Cooper, W. Va.	Hadley	Miller, Minn.	Strong
Cooper, Wis.	Hamilton, Mich.	Miller, Wash.	Sweet
Copley	Hamilton, N. Y.	Moore, Pa.	Swift
Costello	Haskell	Moores, Ind.	Switzer
Crago	Haugen	Morgan	Temple
Cramton	Hawley	Morin	Templeton
Currie, Mich.	Hayes	Mott	Tilson
Curry, Cal.	Heaton	Nelson	Timberlake
Dale, Vt.	Heintz	Nichols, Mich.	Tinkham
Dallinger	Hersey	Nolan	Towner
Darrow	Hicks	Norton	Treadway
Davidson	Hill	Osborne	Vare
Davis	Hollingsworth	Paige	Vestal
Dempsey	Hull, Iowa	Parker, N. J.	Voigt
Denison	Husted	Parker, N. Y.	Volstead
Dillon	Hutchinson	Peters	Waldow
Dowell	Ireland	Platt	Walsh
Drukker	James	Porter	Ward
Dunn	Johnson, Wash.	Powers	Wason
Dyer	Juul	Pratt	Watson, Pa.
Edmonds	Kahn	Purnell	Wheeler
Ellsworth	Kearns	Ramsey	White, Me.
Elston	Kelley, Mich.	Ramseyer	Williams
Emerson	Kennedy, Iowa	Rankin	Wilson, Ill.
Esch	Kennedy, R. I.	Reavis	Winslow
Fairchild, B. L.	Kiess, Pa.	Reed	Wood, Ind.
Fairfield	King	Robbins	Woods, Iowa
Farr	Kinkaid	Roberts	Woodyard
Fess	Knutson	Rodenberg	Young, N. Dak.
Focht	Kraus	Rogers	Zihlman
Fordney	Kreider	Rose	
Foss	La Follette	Rowe	

So Mr. Dunbar was elected Postmaster of the House.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to make the statement that Mr. LEE of Georgia, and Mr. MEEKER, of Missouri have been present and voting, and both are sick and both have left the Hall, and I ask unanimous consent that a pair may be announced for them for the remainder of the day.

The SPEAKER. There will not be any trouble about that. The Clerk will announce the pairs.

The Clerk announced the following pair:

For the remainder of the day:

Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. MEEKER.

The SPEAKER. On this vote Mr. Dunbar has 217 votes, Mr. Lyons 206, and Mr. Dunbar is elected Postmaster. [Applause.]

ELECTION OF CHAPLAIN.

Mr. TALBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., Chaplain of the House in the last Congress, be elected by acclamation Chaplain of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland moves that the Chaplain of the last House, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., be elected Chaplain by acclamation.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The vote recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GREENE] as a substitute for the main resolution.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, while the form in which the matter was presented to the House was that of a resolution to which there was an amendment offered—that is what the Speaker has reference to, is it not?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Still, by unanimous consent, the House voted directly upon the names, and the Speaker announced in each case that the person receiving the majority was elected. I would be glad to have some gentleman on the other side ask unanimous consent that that be considered as disposed of and that these gentlemen be declared elected.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it was contemplated in the request which I made—whether or not it was expressed fully enough to cover the situation I do not now recall—but in order that there may be no question about it I ask unanimous consent that these several gentlemen——

Mr. MANN. That the action taken be considered as the final election in each case.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That they be considered as elected in each case.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that the action taken in voting on these gentlemen separately be taken as final, and that they be elected. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

SWEARING IN OF OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE.

The SPEAKER. If the gentlemen who have been elected will present themselves, the Chair will administer the oath of office to them.

Messrs. Trimble, Gordon, Sinnott, Dunbar, and Couden appeared at the bar of the House and the Speaker administered to them the oath of office.

THE RULES.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina offers a resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 3.

Resolved, That the rules of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress be, and they are hereby, adopted as the rules of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth Congress: *Provided*, That the Committee on Ways and Means shall consist of 23 members, and the Committee on Rules of 12 members: *Provided further*, That any motion or resolution to elect the members or any portion of the members of the standing committees of the House and the joint standing committees shall not be divisible.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I have not yielded the floor.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman can not stand on the floor and keep still.

Mr. POU. If the gentleman desires time I will be glad to yield to him.

Mr. MANN. I am not asking any favors of the gentleman at this time. He must either do something or yield the floor.

Mr. POU. Then, Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question. I have not yielded the floor.

Mr. MANN. The Speaker was putting the question.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield for a question?

Mr. POU. I will.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this resolution contains three separate provisions, the most important of which provides for adopting the rules of the Sixty-fourth Congress as

the rules of the Sixty-fifth Congress. I had prepared a number of changes in the rules that I would have liked to have considered, but it would be unwise to consider them at this time because of vital matters which demand instant action. As the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU] is the ranking member of the Rules Committee, I would like to have an assurance from him that the Rules Committee will promptly take up changes which may be offered and afford the House an opportunity to vote upon them.

Mr. POU. I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that if it is my good fortune to be a member of the Committee on Rules I think I am in a position to assure the gentleman that any proposition to change the rules will receive very earnest and early consideration.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POU. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. We had an assurance in the Sixty-third Congress and also in the Sixty-fourth Congress to the same effect. Is it not a fact that the suggestions for amendments of the rules have not been considered?

Mr. POU. I will say to the gentleman from North Dakota that all that has passed into history, and I am not in a position and do not attempt to speak of what has occurred in the past. All I can say is that, so far as I am concerned, so far as the majority of the Rules Committee is concerned, the several propositions for a change, and particularly for liberalizing the rules, will receive early and serious consideration. There is no disposition to put it off, and any gentleman who desires to make any changes in the rules will have a very cordial invitation to appear before the committee and make them.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. POU. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. Will that consideration be such as will bring the suggestions before the House for a vote and not bury the suggestions in the Committee on Rules?

Mr. POU. I can not undertake to say what will be the action of the Rules Committee.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. A fair proposition would be to assure us that action will be taken on the suggestions by the committee. I would not be disposed to vote for the motion presented unless that assurance is given, and I feel that since it is given fairly we may accept it without impeachment.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Speaker, in reference to the suggestion made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the gentleman from Pennsylvania will understand that if the Committee on Rules does not see fit to act affirmatively on any suggestion for a change by any Member, if this resolution is adopted, the House will never have an opportunity to vote in the Sixty-fifth Congress on those questions.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question.

The question was taken, and Mr. LENROOT asked for a division.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 216, nays 206, not voting 11, as follows:

YEAS—216.

Adamson	Coady	Gandy	Jones, Tex.
Alexander	Collier	Gard	Jones, Va.
Almon	Connally, Tex.	Garner	Keating
Ashbrook	Connelly, Kans.	Garrett, Tenn.	Kehoe
Aswell	Cox	Garrett, Tex.	Kelly, Pa.
Ayres	Crisp	Glass	Kettner
Bankhead	Crosser	Godwin, N. C.	Key, Ohio
Barkley	Dale, N. Y.	Goodwin, Ark.	Kincheloe
Barnhart	Decker	Gordon	Kitchin
Bathrick	Dent	Gray, Ala.	Larsen
Bell	Denton	Gregg	Lazaro
Black	Dewalt	Griffin	Lea, Cal.
Blackmon	Dickinson	Hamill	Lesher
Blanton	Dies	Hamlin	Lever
Booher	Dill	Hardy	Linthicum
Borland	Dixon	Harrison, Miss.	Littlepage
Brand	Dominick	Harrison, Va.	Lobeck
Brodbeck	Dooling	Hastings	London
Bruckner	Doolittle	Hayden	Lonergan
Brumbaugh	Doremus	Heflin	Lunn
Buchanan	Doughton	Helm	McAndrews
Burnett	Drane	Helvering	McClintic
Byrnes, S. C.	Dupré	Hensley	McKeown
Byrns, Tenn.	Eagan	Hilliard	McLemore
Caldwell.	Eagle	Holland	Maher
Campbell, Pa.	Estopinal	Hood	Mansfield
Candler, Miss.	Evans	Houston	Martin, Ill.
Cantrill	Ferris	Howard	Martin, La.
Caraway	Fields	Huddleston	Mays
Carew	Fisher	Hulbert	Montague
Carlin	Fitzgerald	Hull, Tenn.	Moon
Carter, Okla.	Flood	Humphreys	Neely
Church	Flynn	Igoe	Nicholls, S. C.
Clark, Fla.	Foster	Jacoway	Oldfield
Claypool	Gallagher	Johnson, Ky.	Oliver, Ala.
Oliver, N. Y.	Romjue	Small	Van Dyke
Olney	Rouse	Smith, N. Y.	Venable
O'Shaunessy	Rubey	Snook	Vinson
Overmyer	Rucker	Steagall	Walker
Overstreet	Russell	Stedman	Walton
Padgett	Sabath	Steele	Watkins
Park	Sanders, La.	Stephens, Miss.	Watson, Va.
Phelan	Saunders, Va.	Stephens, Nebr.	Weaver
Polk	Schall	Sterling, Pa.	Webb
Pou	Scully	Stevenson	Welling
Price	Sears	Sullivan	Welty
Quin	Shackleford	Sumners	Whaley
Ragsdale	Shallenberger	Tague	White, Ohio
Rainey	Sherley	Talbott	Wilson, La.
Raker	Sherwood	Taylor, Ark.	Wilson, Tex.
Randall	Shouse	Taylor, Colo.	Wingo
Rayburn	Sims	Thomas	Wise
Riordan	Sisson	Thompson	Young, Tex.
Robinson	Slayden	Tillman	The Speaker

NAYS—206.

Anderson	Frear	Langley	Rowe
Anthony	Freeman	Lehlbach	Sanders, Ind.
Austin	French	Lenroot	Sanders, N. Y.
Bacharach	Fuller, Ill.	Little	Sanford
Bacon	Fuller, Mass.	Longworth	Scott, Iowa
Bland	Gallivan	Lundeen	Scott, Mich.
Bowers	Gardner	McArthur	Scott, Pa.
Britten	Garland	McCormick	Sells
Browne	Glynn	McCulloch	Siegel
Browning	Good	McFadden	Sinnott
Butler	Goodall	McKenzie	Slemp
Campbell, Kans.	Gould	McKinley	Sloan
Cannon	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Smith, Idaho
Carter, Mass.	Graham, Pa.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Smith, Mich.
Cary	Gray, N. J.	Madden	Snell
Chandler, N. Y.	Green, Iowa	Magee	Snyder
Chandler, Okla.	Greene, Mass.	Mann	Stafford
Clark, Pa.	Greene, Vt.	Mapes	Steenerson
Classon	Griest	Mason	Sterling, Ill.
Comstock	Hadley	Miller, Minn.	Stiness
Cooper, Ohio.	Hamilton, Mich.	Miller, Wash.	Strong
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Mondell	Sweet
Cooper, Wis.	Haskell	Moore, Pa.	Swift
Copley	Haugen	Moores, Ind.	Switzer
Costello	Hawley	Morgan	Temple
Crago	Hayes	Morin	Templeton
Cramton	Heaton	Mott	Tilson
Currie, Mich.	Heintz	Mudd	Timberlake
Curry, Cal.	Hersey	Nelson	Tinkham
Dale, Vt.	Hill	Nichols, Mich.	Towner
Dallinger	Hollingsworth	Nolan	Treadway
Darrow	Hull, Iowa	Norton	Vare
Davidson	Husted	Osborne	Vestal
Davis	Hutchinson	Paige	Voigt
Dempsey	Ireland	Parker, N. J.	Volstead
Denison	James	Parker, N. Y.	Waldow
Dillon	Johnson, S. Dak.	Peters	Walsh
Dowell	Johnson, Wash.	Platt	Ward
Drukker	Juul	Porter	Wason
Dunn	Kahn	Powers	Watson, Pa.
Dyer	Kearns	Pratt	Wheeler
Edmonds	Kelley, Mich.	Purnell	White, Me.
Ellsworth	Kennedy, Iowa	Ramsey	Williams
Elston	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramseyer	Wilson, Ill.
Emerson	Kiess, Pa.	Rankin	Winslow
Esch	King	Reavis	Wood, Ind.
Fairchild, B. L.	Kinkaid	Reed	Woods, Iowa
Farr	Knutson	Robbins	Woodyard
Fess	Kraus	Roberts	Young, N. Dak.
Fordney	Kreider	Rodenberg	Zihlman
Foss	La Follette	Rogers	
Francis	La Guardia	Rose	

NOT VOTING—11.

Bleakley	Fairfield	Helgesen	Meeker
Capstick	Focht	Hicks	Rowland
Fairchild, G. W.	Gillett	Lee, Ga.	

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pair:

Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. MEEKER, on this vote.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the motion technically called a motion to recommit with instructions, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MANN moves to commit the resolution to a select committee to be appointed by the Speaker, to be composed of seven members, with instructions to that committee to report back to the House forthwith the following amendment to the resolution:

Strike out all after the word *"Resolved"* and insert in lieu of the part stricken out the following:

"That the rules of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress shall be the rules of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth Congress until December 15, 1917, unless sooner changed; that said committee be further instructed to consider the subject matter of the rules of the House and make report thereupon to the House prior to December 10, 1917, with its recommendations for the adoption of rules for the Sixty-fifth Congress: *Provided, however*, That it shall be in order at any time on or before April 14, 1917, to move to suspend the rules and pass any bill making the regular annual appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, or deficiency appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior years."

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 208, nays 215, not voting 10, as follows:

YEAS—208.

Anderson	Foss	La Follette	Kreider
Anthony	Francis	La Guardia	Rose
Austin	Frear	Langley	Rowe
Bacharach	Freeman	Lehlbach	Sanders, Ind.
Bacon	French	Lenroot	Sanders, N. Y.
Bland	Fuller, Ill.	Little	Sanford
Bowers	Fuller, Mass.	Longworth	Scott, Iowa
Britten	Gallivan	Lundeen	Scott, Mich.
Browne	Gardner	McArthur	Scott, Pa.
Browning	Garland	McCormick	Sells
Butler	Gillett	McCulloch	Siegel
Campbell, Kans.	Glynn	McFadden	Sinnott
Cannon	Good	McKenzie	Slemp
Carter, Mass.	Goodall	McKinley	Sloan
Cary	Gould	McLaughlin, Mich.	Smith, Idaho
Chandler, N. Y.	Graham, Ill.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Smith, Mich.
Chandler, Okla.	Graham, Pa.	Madden	Snell
Clark, Pa.	Gray, N. J.	Magee	Snyder
Classon	Green, Iowa	Mann	Stafford
Comstock	Greene, Mass.	Mapes	Steenerson
Cooper, Ohio	Greene, Vt.	Mason	Sterling, Ill.
Cooper, W. Va.	Griest	Miller, Minn.	Stiness
Cooper, Wis.	Hadley	Miller, Wash.	Strong
Copley	Hamilton, Mich.	Mondell	Sweet
Costello	Hamilton, N. Y.	Moore, Pa.	Swift
Crago	Haskell	Moores, Ind.	Switzer
Cramton	Haugen	Morgan	Temple
Currie, Mich.	Hawley	Morin	Templeton
Curry, Cal.	Hayes	Mudd	Tilson
Dale, Vt.	Heaton	Nelson	Timberlake
Dallinger	Heintz	Nichols, Mich.	Tinkham
Darrow	Hersey	Nolan	Towner
Davidson	Hill	Norton	Treadway
Davis	Hollingsworth	Osborne	Vare
Dempsey	Hull, Iowa	Paige	Vestal
Denison	Husted	Parker, N. J.	Voigt
Dillon	Hutchinson	Parker, N. Y.	Volstead
Dowell	Ireland	Peters	Waldow
Drukker	James	Platt	Walsh
Dunn	Johnson, S. Dak.	Porter	Ward
Dyer	Johnson, Wash.	Powers	Wason
Edmonds	Juul	Pratt	Watson, Pa.
Ellsworth	Kahn	Purnell	Wheeler
Elston	Kearns	Ramsey	White, Me.
Emerson	Kelley, Mich.	Ramseyer	Williams
Esch	Kennedy, Iowa	Rankin	Wilson, Ill.
Fairchild, B. L.	Kennedy, R. I.	Reavis	Winslow
Fairchild, G. W.	Kiess, Pa.	Reed	Wood, Ind.
Fairfield	King	Robbins	Woods, Iowa
Farr	Kinkaid	Roberts	Woodyard
Fess	Knutson	Rodenberg	Young, N. Dak.
Fordney	Kraus	Rogers	Zihlman

NAYS—215.

Adamson	Dill	Huddleston	Polk
Alexander	Dixon	Hulbert	Pou
Almon	Dominick	Hull, Tenn.	Price
Ashbrook	Dooling	Humphreys	Quin
Aswell	Doolittle	Igoe	Ragsdale
Ayres	Doremus	Jacoway	Rainey
Bankhead	Doughton	Johnson, Ky.	Raker
Barkley	Drane	Jones, Tex.	Randall
Barnhart	Dupré	Jones, Va.	Rayburn
Bathrick	Eagan	Keating	Riordan
Bell	Eagle	Kehoe	Robinson
Black	Estopinal	Kelly, Pa.	Romjue
Blackmon	Evans	Kettner	Rouse
Blanton	Ferris	Key, Ohio	Rubey
Booher	Fields	Kincheloe	Rucker
Borland	Fisher	Kitchin	Russell
Brand	Fitzgerald	Larsen	Sabath
Brodbeck	Flood	Lazaro	Sanders, La.
Bruckner	Flynn	Lea, Cal.	Saunders, Va.
Brumbaugh	Foster	Lesher	Schall
Buchanan	Gallagher	Lever	Scully
Burnett	Gandy	Linthicum	Sears
Byrnes, S. C.	Gard	Littlepage	Shackleford
Byrns, Tenn.	Garner	Lobeck	Shallenberger
Caldwell	Garrett, Tenn.	Lonergan	Sherley
Campbell, Pa.	Garrett, Tex.	Lunn	Sherwood
Candler, Miss.	Glass	McAndrews	Shouse
Cantrill	Godwin, N. C.	McClintic	Sims
Caraway	Goodwin, Ark.	McKeown	Sisson
Carew	Gordon	McLemore	Slayden
Carlin	Gray, Ala.	Maher	Small
Carter, Okla.	Gregg	Mansfield	Smith, N. Y.
Church	Griffin	Martin, Ill.	Snook
Clark, Fla.	Hamill	Martin, La.	Steagall
Claypool	Hamlin	Mays	Stedman
Coady	Hardy	Montague	Steele
Collier	Harrison, Miss.	Moon	Stephens, Miss.
Connally, Tex.	Harrison, Va.	Neely	Stephens, Nebr.
Connelly, Kans.	Hastings	Nicholls, S. C.	Sterling, Pa.
Cox	Hayden	Oldfield	Stevenson
Crisp	Heflin	Oliver, Ala.	Sullivan
Crosser	Helm	Oliver, N. Y.	Sumners
Dale, N. Y.	Helvering	Olney	Tague
Decker	Hensley	O'Shaunessy	Talbott
Dent	Hilliard	Overmyer	Taylor, Ark.
Denton	Holland	Overstreet	Taylor, Colo.
Dewalt	Hood	Padgett	Thomas
Dickinson	Houston	Park	Thompson
Dies	Howard	Phelan	Tillman
Van Dyke	Watkins	Welty	Wingo
Venable	Watson, Va.	Whaley	Wise
Vinson	Weaver	White, Ohio	Young, Tex.
Walker	Webb	Wilson, La.	The Speaker
Walton	Welling	Wilson, Tex.	

NOT VOTING—10.

Bleakley	Helgesen	London	Rowland
Capstick	Hicks	Meeker	
Focht	Lee, Ga.	Mott	

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call my name.

The name of Mr. CLARK of Missouri was called, and he voted "no."

The Clerk announced the following pair:

Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. MEEKER.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POU].

The question was taken, and the resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. POU, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 19.

Resolved, That the following-named gentlemen be, and they are hereby, elected members of the standing committees of the House and the joint standing committees, as follows:

ELECTIONS NO. 1.

1. Riley J. Wilson (chairman), of Louisiana.
2. Joe H. Eagle, of Texas.
3. Albert F. Polk, of Delaware.
4. L. D. Robinson, of North Carolina.
5. Benjamin F. Welty, of Ohio.
6. Fred H. Dominick, of South Carolina.

ELECTIONS NO. 2.

1. James A. Hamill (chairman), of New Jersey.
2. Joseph J. Russell, of Missouri.
3. Jouett Shouse, of Kansas.
4. John N. Tillman, of Arkansas.
5. J. W. Overstreet, of Georgia.
6. J. Y. Sanders, of Louisiana.

ELECTIONS NO. 3.

1. Walter A. Watson (chairman), of Virginia.
2. Michael F. Phelan, of Massachusetts.
3. William J. Sears, of Florida.
4. Horatio C. Claypool, of Ohio.
5. Tom Connally, of Texas.
6. Harvey Helm, of Kentucky.

WAYS AND MEANS.

1. Claude Kitchin (chairman), of North Carolina.
2. Henry T. Rainey, of Illinois.
3. Lincoln Dixon, of Indiana.
4. Cordell Hull, of Tennessee.
5. John N. Garner, of Texas.
6. James W. Collier, of Mississippi.
7. Clement C. Dickinson, of Missouri.
8. William A. Oldfield, of Arkansas.
9. Charles R. Crisp, of Georgia.
10. Guy T. Helvering, of Kansas.
11. George F. O'Shaunessy, of Rhode Island.
12. John F. Carew, of New York.
13. George White, of Ohio.

APPROPRIATIONS.

1. John J. Fitzgerald (chairman), of New York.
2. Swagar Sherley, of Kentucky.
3. Joseph W. Byrns, of Tennessee.
4. Thomas U. Sisson, of Mississippi.
5. William P. Borland, of Missouri.
6. James McAndrews, of Illinois.
7. William Schley Howard, of Georgia.
8. John M. Evans, of Montana.
9. John J. Eagan, of New Jersey.
10. James P. Buchanan, of Texas.
11. James A. Gallivan, of Massachusetts.
12. James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina.

THE JUDICIARY.

1. Edwin Y. Webb (chairman), of North Carolina.
2. Charles C. Carlin, of Virginia.
3. Robert Y. Thomas, jr., of Kentucky.
4. William L. Igoe, of Missouri.
5. Warren Gard, of Ohio.
6. Richard S. Whaley, of South Carolina.
7. Thaddeus H. Caraway, of Arkansas.
8. M. M. Neely, of West Virginia.
9. Henry J. Steele, of Pennsylvania.
10. John Randall Walker, of Georgia.
11. Hatton W. Sumners, of Texas.
12. Joseph V. Flynn, of New York.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

1. Carter Glass (chairman), of Virginia.
2. Michael F. Phelan, of Massachusetts.
3. Joe H. Eagle, of Texas.
4. Otis Wingo, of Arkansas.
5. Jouett Shouse, of Kansas.
6. Henry B. Steagall, of Alabama.
7. James A. Hamill, of New Jersey.

8. Charles O. Lobeck, of Nebraska.
9. Augustine Lonergan, of Connecticut.
10. C. H. Brand, of Georgia.
11. W. F. Stevenson, of South Carolina.

COINAGE, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

1. William A. Ashbrook (chairman), of Ohio.
2. James L. Slayden, of Texas.
3. Ladislas Lazaro, of Louisiana.
4. J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland.
5. Benjamin C. Hilliard, of Colorado.
6. William J. Sears, of Florida.
7. James H. Mays, of Utah.

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE.

1. William C. Adamson (chairman), of Georgia.
2. Thetus W. Sims, of Tennessee.
3. Frank E. Doremus, of Michigan.
4. Dan V. Stephens, of Nebraska.
5. Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky.
6. Sam Rayburn, of Texas.
7. Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia.
8. Perl D. Decker, of Missouri.
9. Charles P. Coady, of Maryland.
10. Arthur G. Dewalt, of Pennsylvania.
11. Harry H. Dale, of New York.
12. John S. Snook, of Ohio.

RIVERS AND HARBORS.

1. John H. Small (chairman), of North Carolina.
2. Charles F. Booher, of Missouri.
3. Thomas Gallagher, of Illinois.
4. Thomas J. Scully, of New Jersey.
5. William Kettner, of California.
6. Samuel M. Taylor, of Arkansas.
7. Murray Hulbert, of New York.
8. H. Garland Dupré, of Louisiana.
9. Martin Dies, of Texas.
10. Oscar L. Gray, of Alabama.
11. George K. Denton, of Indiana.
12. Hubert Fisher, of Tennessee.

THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES.

1. Joshua W. Alexander (chairman), of Missouri.
2. Rufus Hardy, of Texas.
3. Edward W. Saunders, of Virginia.
4. Peter J. Dooling, of New York.
5. Henry Bruckner, of New York.
6. Ladislas Lazaro, of Louisiana.
7. William S. Goodwin, of Arkansas.
8. Jesse D. Price, of Maryland.
9. Carl C. Van Dyke, of Minnesota.
10. David H. Kincheloe, of Kentucky.
11. Clarence F. Lea, of California.
12. W. B. Bankhead, of Alabama.

AGRICULTURE.

1. Asbury F. Lever (chairman), of South Carolina.
2. Gordon Lee, of Georgia.
3. Ezekiel S. Candler, jr., of Mississippi.
4. J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama.
5. Thomas L. Rubey, of Missouri.
6. James Young, of Texas.
7. Henderson M. Jacoway, of Arkansas.
8. John V. Lesher, of Pennsylvania.
9. Dudley Doolittle, of Kansas.
10. Arthur W. Overmyer, of Ohio.
11. Joseph B. Thompson, of Oklahoma.
12. Charles Martin, of Illinois.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1. Henry D. Flood (chairman), of Virginia.
2. J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland.
3. William S. Goodwin, of Arkansas.
4. Charles M. Stedman, of North Carolina.
5. Pat Harrison, of Mississippi.
6. Charles B. Smith, of New York.
7. Dorsey W. Shackleford, of Missouri.
8. Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois.
9. J. Willard Ragsdale, of South Carolina.
10. George Huddleston, of Alabama.
11. Tom Connally, of Texas.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

1. S. Hubert Dent, jr. (chairman), of Alabama.
2. William J. Fields, of Kentucky.
3. Percy E. Quin, of Mississippi.
4. William Gordon, of Ohio.
5. A. C. Shallenberger, of Nebraska.
6. Charles Pope Caldwell, of New York.
7. James W. Wise, of Georgia.
8. Richard Olney, 2d, of Massachusetts.
9. Samuel J. Nicholls, of South Carolina.
10. T. W. Harrison, of Virginia.
11. Daniel E. Garrett, of Texas.
12. George R. Lunn, of New York.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

1. Lemuel P. Padgett (chairman), of Tennessee.
2. Joshua F. C. Talbott, of Maryland.
3. Albert Estopinal, of Louisiana.
4. Daniel J. Riordan, of New York.
5. Walter L. Hensley, of Missouri.
6. John R. Connelly, of Kansas.
7. William B. Oliver, of Alabama.
8. William W. Venable, of Mississippi.
9. Carl Vinson, of Georgia.
10. Adam B. Littlepage, of West Virginia.
11. Ellsworth R. Bathrick, of Ohio.
12. James C. Wilson, of Texas.

THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS.

1. John A. Moon (chairman), of Tennessee.
2. Thomas M. Bell, of Georgia.
3. William E. Cox, of Indiana.
4. Arthur B. Rouse, of Kentucky.
5. Fred. L. Blackmon, of Alabama.
6. Edward E. Holland, of Virginia.
7. Daniel J. Griffin, of New York.
8. Peter F. Tague, of Massachusetts.
9. Eugene Black, of Texas.
10. William A. Ayers, of Kansas.
11. Charles H. Randall, of California.
12. Bruce F. Sterling, of Pennsylvania.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

1. Scott Ferris (chairman), of Oklahoma.
2. Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado.
3. John E. Raker, of California.
4. Carl Hayden, of Arizona.
5. Denver S. Church, of California.
6. C. C. Dill, of Washington.
7. James H. Mays, of Utah.
8. John N. Tillman, of Arkansas.
9. Harry L. Gandy, of South Dakota.
10. Jeff: McLemore, of Texas.
11. James V. McClintic, of Oklahoma.
12. W. B. Walton, of New Mexico.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

1. Charles D. Carter (chairman), of Oklahoma.
2. Carl Hayden, of Arizona.
3. Denver S. Church, of California.
4. William J. Sears, of Florida.
5. C. C. Dill, of Washington.
6. John N. Tillman, of Arkansas.
7. Harry L. Gandy, of South Dakota.
8. William W. Hastings, of Oklahoma.
9. Joe H. Eagle, of Texas.
10. W. B. Walton, of New Mexico.
11. Zeb Weaver, of North Carolina.

THE TERRITORIES.

1. William C. Houston (chairman), of Tennessee.
2. John T. Watkins, of Louisiana.
3. Scott Ferris, of Oklahoma.
4. Walter A. Watson, of Virginia.
5. Clement Brumbaugh, of Ohio.
6. Courtney W. Hamlin, of Missouri.
7. Jeff: McLemore, of Texas.
8. J. W. Overstreet, of Georgia.
9. Walter Kehoe, of Florida.
10. Zeb Weaver, of North Carolina.

INSULAR AFFAIRS.

1. William A. Jones (chairman), of Virginia.
2. Finnis J. Garrett, of Tennessee.
3. Harvey Helm, of Kentucky.
4. Joseph J. Russell, of Missouri.
5. Clement Brumbaugh, of Ohio.
6. Peter J. Dooling, of New York.
7. James B. Aswell, of Louisiana.
8. Christopher D. Sullivan, of New York.
9. T. D. McKeown, of Oklahoma.
10. L. D. Robinson, of North Carolina.
11. Marvin Jones, of Texas.
12. Fred H. Dominick, of South Carolina.

RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

1. Henry Bruckner (chairman), of New York.
2. Clement Brumbaugh, of Ohio.
3. James H. Mays, of Utah.
4. Benjamin F. Welty, of Ohio.
5. H. J. Drane, of Florida.
6. Thomas L. Blanton, of Texas.
7. W. F. Stevenson, of South Carolina.

MINES AND MINING.

1. Martin D. Foster (chairman), of Illinois.
2. Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado.
3. Courtney W. Hamlin, of Missouri.
4. Carl C. Van Dyke, of Minnesota.
5. Otis Wingo, of Arkansas.
6. Meyer London, of New York.
7. Andrew R. Brodbeck, of Pennsylvania.
8. M. H. Welling, of Utah.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.

1. Frank Clark (chairman), of Florida.
2. John L. Burnett, of Alabama.
3. James C. Cantrill, of Kentucky.
4. William A. Ashbrook, of Ohio.
5. Frank Park, of Georgia.
6. William W. Rucker, of Missouri.
7. Henry A. Barnhart, of Indiana.
8. Michael F. Phelan, of Massachusetts.
9. Henry Bruckner, of New York.
10. George E. Hood, of North Carolina.
11. J. J. Mansfield, of Texas.

EDUCATION.

1. William J. Sears (chairman), of Florida.
2. Benjamin C. Hilliard, of Colorado.
3. Horatio C. Claypool, of Ohio.
4. Daniel C. Oliver, of New York.
5. W. B. Bankhead, of Alabama.
6. C. H. Brand, of Georgia.
7. Thomas L. Blanton, of Texas.

LABOR.

1. James P. Maher (chairman), of New York.
2. Walter A. Watson, of Virginia.
3. Edward Keating, of Colorado.
4. Edward B. Almon, of Alabama.
5. Carl C. Van Dyke, of Minnesota.
6. Meyer London, of New York.
7. Jeff: McLemore, of Texas.
8. Guy E. Campbell, of Pennsylvania.
9. L. D. Robinson, of North Carolina.

PATENTS.

1. Charles B. Smith (chairman), of New York.
2. Robert Crosser, of Ohio.
3. James V. McClintic, of Oklahoma.
4. Henry B. Steagall, of Alabama.
5. Guy E. Campbell, of Pennsylvania.
6. Milton A. Romjue, of Missouri.
7. H. J. Drane, of Florida.

INVALID PENSIONS.

1. Isaac R. Sherwood (chairman), of Ohio.
2. Joseph J. Russell, of Missouri.
3. Edward W. Saunders, of Virginia.
4. William A. Ashbrook, of Ohio.
5. Jouett Shouse, of Kansas.
6. Robert L. Doughton, of North Carolina.
7. William E. Cox, of Indiana.
8. Augustine Lonergan, of Connecticut.
9. Albert F. Polk, of Delaware.

PENSIONS.

1. John A. Key (chairman), of Ohio.
2. Edward Keating, of Colorado.
3. J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland.
4. John N. Tillman, of Arkansas.
5. George Huddleston, of Alabama.
6. James V. McClintic, of Oklahoma.
7. J. W. Overstreet, of Georgia.
8. Daniel C. Oliver, of New York.

CLAIMS.

1. Hubert D. Stephens (chairman), of Mississippi.
2. Jesse D. Price, of Maryland.
3. William S. Goodwin, of Arkansas.
4. Henry B. Steagall, of Alabama.
5. Horatio C. Claypool, of Ohio.
6. Daniel C. Oliver, of New York.
7. Milton A. Romjue, of Missouri.
8. M. H. Welling, of Utah.
9. Thomas L. Blanton, of Texas.

WAR CLAIMS.

1. Alexander W. Gregg (chairman), of Texas.
2. William C. Houston, of Tennessee.
3. Charles O. Lobeck, of Nebraska.
4. Frank Clark, of Florida.
5. John T. Watkins, of Louisiana.
6. James P. Maher, of New York.
7. M. Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania.
8. W. B. Walton, of New Mexico.
9. Walter Kehoe, of Florida.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

1. Ben Johnson (chairman), of Kentucky.
2. Robert Crosser, of Ohio.
3. James A. Hamill, of New Jersey.
4. J. Willard Ragsdale, of South Carolina.
5. Benjamin C. Hilliard, of Colorado.
6. Andrew R. Brodbeck, of Pennsylvania.
7. Christopher D. Sullivan, of New York.
8. Milton A. Romjue, of Missouri.
9. Albert F. Polk, of Delaware.
10. J. J. Mansfield, of Texas.

REVISION OF THE LAWS.

1. John T. Watkins (chairman), of Louisiana.
2. Robert Crosser, of Ohio.
3. James H. Mays, of Utah.
4. Edward B. Almon, of Alabama.
5. Meyer London, of New York.
6. C. H. Brand, of Texas.
7. T. D. McKeown, of Oklahoma.

REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

1. Hannibal L. Godwin (chairman), of North Carolina.
2. Charles D. Carter, of Oklahoma.
3. Denver S. Church, of California.
4. James A. Hamill, of New Jersey.
5. Hubert D. Stephens, of Mississippi.
6. J. W. Overstreet, of Georgia.
7. Marvin Jones, of Texas.
8. J. Y. Sanders, of Louisiana.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, AND REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

1. William W. Rucker (chairman), of Missouri.
2. Alexander W. Gregg, of Texas.
3. David H. Kincheloe, of Kentucky.
4. Horatio C. Claypool, of Ohio.
5. Clarence F. Lea, of California.
6. Fred H. Dominick, of South Carolina.
7. Albert F. Polk, of Delaware.

ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

1. Adolph J. Sabath (chairman), of Illinois.
2. John L. Burnett, of Alabama.
3. Frank Clark, of Florida.
4. Hannibal L. Godwin, of North Carolina.
5. John A. Key, of Ohio.
6. Denver S. Church, of California.
7. M. Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania.

IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS.

1. Edward T. Taylor (chairman), of Colorado.
2. John E. Raker, of California.
3. Carl Hayden, of Arizona.
4. Harry L. Gandy, of South Dakota.
5. C. C. Dill, of Washington.
6. M. H. Welling, of Utah.
7. Thomas L. Blanton, of Texas.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

1. John L. Burnett (chairman), of Alabama.
2. Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois.
3. James L. Slayden, of Texas.
4. John E. Raker, of California.
5. Riley J. Wilson, of Louisiana.
6. George E. Hood, of North Carolina.
7. Charles B. Smith, of New York.
8. Benjamin F. Welty, of Ohio.
9. Guy E. Campbell, of Pennsylvania.

EXPENDITURES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

1. Courtney W. Hamlin (chairman), of Missouri.
2. Clement Brumbaugh, of Ohio.
3. Andrew R. Brodbeck, of Pennsylvania.
4. W. B. Bankhead, of Alabama.

EXPENDITURES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

1. Charles O. Lobeck (chairman), of Nebraska.
2. Charles D. Carter, of Oklahoma.
3. Jesse D. Price, of Maryland.
4. Fred H. Dominick, of South Carolina.

EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

1. Peter J. Dooling (chairman), of New York.
2. Hannibal L. Godwin, of North Carolina.
3. Otis Wingo, of Arkansas.

EXPENDITURES IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

1. Rufus Hardy (chairman), of Texas.
2. Benjamin F. Welty, of Ohio.
3. H. J. Drane, of Florida.
4. Thomas D. Schall, of Minnesota.

EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

1. Edward Keating (chairman), of Colorado.
2. George Huddleston, of Alabama.
3. Walter Kehoe, of Florida.

EXPENDITURES IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

1. William W. Hastings (chairman), of Oklahoma.
2. M. H. Welling, of Utah.
3. Zeb Weaver, of North Carolina.
4. W. F. Stevenson, of South Carolina.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

1. John E. Raker (chairman), of California.
2. Riley J. Wilson, of Louisiana.
3. W. B. Walton, of New Mexico.
4. J. J. Mansfield, of Texas.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1. Robert L. Doughton (chairman), of North Carolina.
2. James B. Aswell, of Louisiana.
3. David H. Kincheloe, of Kentucky.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1. Robert Crosser (chairman), of Ohio.
2. John T. Watkins, of Louisiana.
3. Daniel C. Oliver, of New York.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

1. Christopher D. Sullivan (chairman), of New York.
2. Scott Ferris, of Oklahoma.
3. Clarence F. Lea, of California.
4. Tom Connally, of Texas.

EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

1. James V. McClintic (chairman), of Oklahoma.
2. Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois.
3. Augustine Lonergan, of Connecticut.

RULES.

1. Edward W. Pou (chairman), of North Carolina.
2. Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee.
3. Martin D. Foster, of Illinois.
4. James C. Cantrill, of Kentucky.
5. Pat Harrison, of Mississippi.
6. Daniel J. Riordan, of New York.
7. M. Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania.
8. Thomas D. Schall, of Minnesota.

ACCOUNTS.

1. Frank Park (chairman), of Georgia.
2. Ben Johnson, of Kentucky.
3. William W. Hastings, of Oklahoma.
4. Jeff: McLemore, of Texas.
5. Andrew R. Brodbeck, of Pennsylvania.
6. Christopher D. Sullivan, of New York.
7. Clarence F. Lea, of California.

MILEAGE.

1. C. C. Dill, of Washington.
2. James P. Maher, of New York.

THE CENSUS.

1. Harvey Helm (chairman), of Kentucky.
2. William C. Houston, of Tennessee.
3. James B. Aswell, of Louisiana.
4. Joshua W. Alexander, of Missouri.
5. George E. Hood, of North Carolina.
6. Carl C. Van Dyke, of Minnesota.
7. Joe H. Eagle, of Texas.
8. W. W. Larsen, of Georgia.

THE LIBRARY.

1. James L. Slayden (chairman), of Texas.
2. Frank Clark, of Florida.
3. Jouett Shouse, of Kansas.

PRINTING.

1. Henry A. Barnhart (chairman), of Indiana.
2. Harry L. Gandy, of South Dakota.

ENROLLED BILLS.

1. Ladislas Lazaro (chairman), of Louisiana.
2. Otis Wingo, of Arkansas.
3. Benjamin C. Hilliard, of Colorado.
4. Guy E. Campbell, of Pennsylvania.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND EXPOSITIONS.

1. James C. Cantrill (chairman), of Kentucky.
2. William A. Jones, of Virginia.
3. Courtney W. Hamlin, of Missouri.
4. Isaac R. Sherwood, of Ohio.
5. Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado.
6. J. Willard Ragsdale, of South Carolina.
7. Marvin Jones, of Texas.
8. J. Y. Sanders, of Louisiana.
9. W. W. Larsen, of Georgia.

DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS.

1. Joshua F. C. Talbott, of Maryland.

ROADS.

1. Dorsey W. Shackleford (chairman), of Missouri.
2. Edward W. Saunders, of Virginia.
3. Henry A. Barnhart, of Indiana.
4. Hubert D. Stephens, of Mississippi.
5. Robert L. Doughton, of North Carolina.
6. Edward Keating, of Colorado.
7. James B. Aswell, of Louisiana.
8. Edward B. Almon, of Alabama.
9. Marvin Jones, of Texas.
10. W. W. Larsen, of Georgia.
11. J. Y. Sanders, of Louisiana.
12. T. D. McKeown, of Oklahoma.

FLOOD CONTROL.

1. Benjamin G. Humphreys (chairman), of Mississippi.
2. Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee.
3. Martin D. Foster, of Illinois.
4. Joseph J. Russell, of Missouri.
5. Riley J. Wilson, of Louisiana.
6. J. J. Mansfield, of Texas.
7. Thomas D. Schall, of Minnesota.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I demand the question of consideration on the motion offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The SPEAKER. What is the motion of the gentleman?

Mr. MANN. I demand the question of consideration on the motion of the gentleman from North Carolina.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands consideration. The question is whether the House at this time will consider this resolution.

Mr. MANN. And on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman demands the yeas and nays. Evidently a sufficient number have arisen, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 212, nays 198, answered "present" 2, not voting 20, as follows:

YEAS—212.

Adamson	Doolittle	Kehoe	Rubey
Alexander	Doremus	Kelly, Pa.	Rucker
Almon	Doughton	Kettner	Russell
Ashbrook	Drane	Key, Ohio	Sabath
Aswell	Dupré	Kincheloe	Sanders, La.
Ayres	Eagle	Kitchin	Saunders, Va.
Bankhead	Estopinal	Larsen	Schall
Barkley	Evans	Lazaro	Scully
Barnhart	Ferris	Lea, Cal.	Sears
Bathrick	Fields	Lesher	Shackleford
Bell	Fisher	Lever	Shallenberger
Black	Fitzgerald	Linthicum	Sherley
Blackmon	Flood	Littlepage	Sherwood
Blanton	Flynn	Lobeck	Shouse
Booher	Foster	London	Sims
Borland	Gallagher	Lonergan	Sisson
Brand	Gandy	Lunn	Slayden
Brodbeck	Gard	McAndrews	Small
Bruckner	Garner	McClintic	Smith, N. Y.
Brumbaugh	Garrett, Tenn.	McKeown	Snook
Buchanan	Garrett, Tex.	McLemore	Steagall
Burnett	Glass	Maher	Stedman
Byrnes, S. C.	Godwin, N. C.	Mansfield	Steele
Byrns, Tenn.	Goodwin, Ark.	Martin, Ill.	Stephens, Miss.
Caldwell	Gordon	Martin, La.	Stephens, Nebr.
Campbell, Pa.	Gray, Ala.	Mays	Sterling, Pa.
Candler, Miss.	Gregg	Montague	Stevenson
Cantrill	Griffin	Moon	Sullivan
Caraway	Hamill	Neely	Sumners
Carew	Hamlin	Nicholls, S. C.	Tague
Carlin	Hardy	Oldfield	Taylor, Ark.
Carter, Okla.	Harrison, Va.	Oliver, Ala.	Taylor, Colo.
Church	Hastings	Oliver, N. Y.	Thomas
Clark, Fla.	Hayden	Olney	Thompson
Claypool	Heflin	O'Shaunessy	Tillman
Coady	Helm	Overmyer	Van Dyke
Collier	Helvering	Overstreet	Venable
Connally, Tex.	Hensley	Padgett	Vinson
Connelly, Kans.	Hilliard	Park	Walker
Cox	Holland	Phelan	Walton
Crisp	Hood	Polk	Watkins
Crosser	Houston	Pou	Watson, Va.
Dale, N. Y.	Howard	Price	Weaver
Decker	Huddleston	Quin	Webb
Dent	Hulbert	Ragsdale	Welling
Denton	Hull, Tenn.	Rainey	Welty
Dewalt	Humphreys	Raker	Whaley
Dickinson	Igoe	Randall	White, Ohio
Dies	Jacoway	Rayburn	Wilson, La.
Dill	Johnson, Ky.	Riordan	Wilson, Tex.
Dixon	Jones, Tex.	Robinson	Wingo
Dominick	Jones, Va.	Romjue	Wise
Dooling	Keating	Rouse	Young, Tex.

NAYS—198.

Anderson	French	Lehlbach	Rowe
Austin	Fuller, Ill.	Lenroot	Rowland
Bacharach	Fuller, Mass.	Little	Sanders, Ind.
Bland	Gallivan	Longworth	Sanders, N. Y.
Bowers	Garland	Lundeen	Sanford
Britten	Gillett	McArthur	Scott, Iowa
Browning	Glynn	McCormick	Scott, Mich.
Butler	Goodall	McCulloch	Scott, Pa.
Campbell, Kans.	Gould	McFadden	Sells
Cannon	Graham, Ill.	McKenzie	Siegel
Cary	Graham, Pa.	McKinley	Sinnott
Chandler, N. Y.	Gray, N. J.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Slemp
Chandler, Okla.	Green, Iowa	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sloan
Clark, Pa.	Greene, Mass.	Madden	Smith, Mich.
Classon	Greene, Vt.	Magee	Snell
Comstock	Griest	Mann	Stafford
Cooper, Ohio	Hadley	Mapes	Steenerson
Cooper, W. Va.	Hamilton, Mich.	Mason	Sterling, Ill.
Cooper, Wis.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Miller, Minn.	Stiness
Copley	Haskell	Miller, Wash.	Strong
Costello	Haugen	Mondell	Sweet
Crago	Hawley	Moore, Pa.	Swift
Cramton	Hayes	Moores, Ind.	Switzer
Currie, Mich.	Heaton	Morgan	Temple
Curry, Cal.	Heintz	Morin	Templeton
Dale, Vt.	Hicks	Mott	Tilson
Dallinger	Hill	Mudd	Timberlake
Darrow	Hollingsworth	Nelson	Tinkham
Davidson	Hull, Iowa	Nichols, Mich.	Towner
Davis	Husted	Nolan	Treadway
Dempsey	Hutchinson	Norton	Vare
Denison	Ireland	Osborne	Vestal
Dillon	James	Paige	Voigt
Dowell	Johnson, S. Dak.	Parker, N. J.	Volstead
Drukker	Johnson, Wash.	Parker, N. Y.	Waldow
Dunn	Juul	Peters	Walsh
Dyer	Kahn	Platt	Wason
Edmonds	Kearns	Powers	Watson, Pa.
Ellsworth	Kelley, Mich.	Pratt	Wheeler
Elston	Kennedy, Iowa	Purnell	White, Me.
Emerson	Kennedy, R. I.	Ramsey	Williams
Esch	Kiess, Pa.	Ramseyer	Wilson, Ill.
Fairchild, B. L.	King	Rankin	Winslow
Fairfield	Kinkaid	Reavis	Wood, Ind.
Fess	Knutson	Reed	Woods, Iowa
Focht	Kraus	Robbins	Woodyard
Fordney	Kreider	Roberts	Young, N. Dak.
Foss	La Follette	Rodenberg	Zihlman
Francis	La Guardia	Rogers	
Frear	Langley	Rose	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2.

Farr Harrison, Miss.

NOT VOTING—20.

Anthony	Carter, Mass.	Good	Porter
Bacon	Eagan	Helgesen	Smith, Idaho
Bleakley	Fairchild, G. W.	Hersey	Snyder
Browne	Freeman	Lee, Ga.	Talbott
Capstick	Gardner	Meeker	Ward

So the House decided to consider the resolution.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. LEE of Georgia (for) with Mr. MEEKER (against).

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi (for) with Mr. GOOD (against).

Mr. TALBOTT (for) with Mr. FARR (against).

Mr. EAGAN (for) with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD (against).

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, did the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. TALBOTT, vote?

The SPEAKER. He did not.

Mr. FARR. I am paired with him, and I want to withdraw my vote of "nay" and answer "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. MANN. And on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Is it in order, pending that order, for the gentleman to yield to me for an inquiry?

Mr. MANN. Of course, it can only be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I would like to ask unanimous consent to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] asks unanimous consent to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] a question. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I should like to ask the gentleman from Illinois, if he does not object to saying, if it is the purpose of that side to vote against the election of those named as members of the respective committees indicated?

Mr. MANN. It is, so far as I can have any influence.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman knows, of course, that for six years the majority has always permitted the minority to name its members of committees as it saw fit.

Now, is the majority to be opposed by a solid minority in naming——

Mr. MANN. I deny that you are a majority until you settle it by a roll call.

Mr. FITZGERALD. How many roll calls does it take to determine that?

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 211, nays 197, answering "present" 2, not voting 24, as follows:

YEAS—211.

Adamson	Doolittle	Kehoe	Russell
Alexander	Doremus	Kelly, Pa.	Sabath
Almon	Doughton	Kettner	Sanders, La.
Ashbrook	Drane	Key, Ohio	Saunders, Va.
Aswell	Dupré	Kincheloe	Schall
Ayres	Eagan	Kitchin	Scully
Bankhead	Eagle	Larsen	Sears
Barkley	Estopinal	Lazaro	Shackleford
Barnhart	Evans	Lea, Cal.	Shallenberger
Bathrick	Ferris	Lesher	Sherley
Bell	Fields	Lever	Sherwood
Black	Fisher	Linthicum	Shouse
Blackmon	Fitzgerald	Littlepage	Sims
Blanton	Flood	Lobeck	Sisson
Booher	Flynn	Lonergan	Slayden
Borland	Foster	Lunn	Small
Brand	Gallagher	McAndrews	Smith, N. Y.
Brodbeck	Gandy	McClintic	Snook
Bruckner	Gard	McKeown	Steagall
Brumbaugh	Garner	McLemore	Stedman
Buchanan	Garrett, Tenn.	Maher	Steele
Burnett	Garrett, Tex.	Mansfield	Stephens, Miss.
Byrnes, S. C.	Glass	Martin, Ill.	Stephens, Nebr.
Byrns, Tenn.	Godwin, N. C.	Mays	Sterling, Pa.
Caldwell	Goodwin, Ark.	Montague	Stevenson
Campbell, Pa.	Gordon	Moon	Sullivan
Candler, Miss.	Gray, Ala.	Neely	Sumners
Cantrill	Gregg	Nicholls, S. C.	Tague
Caraway	Hamill	Oldfield	Talbott
Carew	Hamlin	Oliver, Ala.	Taylor, Ark.
Carlin	Hardy	Oliver, N. Y.	Taylor, Colo.
Carter, Okla.	Harrison, Va.	Olney	Thomas
Church	Hastings	O'Shaunessy	Thompson
Clark, Fla.	Hayden	Overmyer	Tillman
Claypool	Heflin	Overstreet	Van Dyke
Coady	Helm	Padgett	Venable
Collier	Helvering	Park	Vinson
Connally, Tex.	Hensley	Phelan	Walker
Connelly, Kans.	Hilliard	Polk	Walton
Cox	Holland	Pou	Watkins
Crisp	Hood	Price	Watson, Va.
Crosser	Houston	Quin	Weaver
Dale, N. Y.	Howard	Ragsdale	Webb
Decker	Huddleston	Rainey	Welling
Dent	Hulbert	Raker	Welty
Denton	Hull, Tenn.	Randall	Whaley
Dewalt	Humphreys	Rayburn	White, Ohio
Dickinson	Igoe	Riordan	Wilson, La.
Dies	Jacoway	Robinson	Wilson, Tex.
Dill	Johnson, Ky.	Romjue	Wingo
Dixon	Jones, Tex.	Rouse	Wise
Dominick	Jones, Va.	Rubey	Young, Tex.
Dooling	Keating	Rucker	

NAYS—197.

Anderson	Focht	Kennedy, Iowa	Parker, N. Y.
Austin	Fordney	Kennedy, R. I.	Peters
Bland	Foss	Kiess, Pa.	Platt
Bowers	Francis	King	Porter
Britten	Freeman	Kinkaid	Powers
Browne	French	Knutson	Pratt
Browning	Fuller, Mass.	Kraus	Purnell
Butler	Gallivan	Kreider	Ramsey
Campbell, Kans.	Gardner	La Follette	Ramseyer
Cannon	Garland	La Guardia	Rankin
Carter, Mass.	Gillett	Langley	Reavis
Cary	Glynn	Lehlbach	Reed
Chandler, N. Y.	Goodall	Lenroot	Robbins
Chandler, Okla.	Gould	Little	Rodenberg
Clark, Pa.	Graham, Ill.	Lundeen	Rogers
Classon	Graham, Pa.	McArthur	Rose
Comstock	Green, Iowa	McCormick	Rowe
Cooper, Ohio	Greene, Mass.	McCulloch	Rowland
Cooper, W. Va.	Greene, Vt.	McFadden	Sanders, Ind.
Copley	Griest	McKenzie	Sanders, N. Y.
Costello	Hadley	McKinley	Sanford
Crago	Hamilton, Mich.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Scott, Iowa
Cramton	Hamilton, N. Y.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Scott, Mich.
Currie, Mich.	Haskell	Madden	Scott, Pa.
Curry, Cal.	Haugen	Magee	Sells
Dale, Vt.	Hawley	Mann	Siegel
Dallinger	Hayes	Mapes	Sinnott
Darrow	Heaton	Mason	Slemp
Davis	Heintz	Miller, Minn.	Sloan
Dempsey	Hersey	Miller, Wash.	Smith, Mich.
Denison	Hicks	Mondell	Snell
Dillon	Hill	Moore, Pa.	Stafford
Dowell	Hollingsworth	Moores, Ind.	Steenerson
Dunn	Hull, Iowa	Morgan	Sterling, Ill.
Dyer	Husted	Morin	Stiness
Edmonds	Hutchinson	Mott	Strong
Ellsworth	Ireland	Mudd	Sweet
Elston	James	Nelson	Swift
Emerson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nichols, Mich.	Switzer
Esch	Johnson, Wash.	Nolan	Temple
Fairchild, B. L.	Juul	Norton	Templeton
Fairfield	Kahn	Osborne	Tilson
Farr	Kearnes	Paige	Timberlake
Fess	Kelley, Mich.	Parker, N. J.	Tinkham
Towner	Waldow	White, Me.	Woodyard
Treadway	Walsh	Williams	Young, N. Dak.
Vare	Ward	Wilson, Ill.	Zihlman
Vestal	Wason	Winslow	
Voigt	Watson, Pa.	Wood, Ind.	
Volstead	Wheeler	Woods, Iowa	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2.

Harrison, Miss. London

NOT VOTING—24.

Anthony	Davidson	Gray, N. J.	McLemore
Bacharach	Drukker	Griffin	Martin, La.
Bacon	Fairchild, G. W.	Hadley	Meeker
Bleakley	Frear	Helgesen	Roberts
Capstick	Fuller, Ill.	Lee, Ga.	Smith, Idaho
Cooper, Wis.	Good	Longworth	Snyder

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On the vote:

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi (for) with Mr. GOOD (against).

Mr. LEE of Georgia (for) with Mr. MEEKER (against).

Mr. GRIFFIN with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I desire to change my vote from "yea" to "present."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the gentleman's name.

The Clerk called the name of Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi, and he answered "Present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

On motion of Mr. KITCHIN, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 16.

Resolved, That the Clerk be instructed to inform the President of the United States that the House of Representatives has elected CHAMP CLARK, a Representative from the State of Missouri, as Speaker, and South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, as Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed, to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

And in compliance with the foregoing resolution the Vice President had appointed Mr. MARTIN and Mr. GALLINGER the committee on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution;

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

NOTIFICATION TO THE SENATE.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have passed.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 15.

Resolved, That a message be sent to the Senate to inform that body that a quorum of the House of Representatives is assembled; that CHAMP CLARK, a Representative from the State of Missouri, has been elected Speaker; that South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, has been elected Clerk, and that the House is now ready for business.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT UPON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 17.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join with a committee on the part of the Senate to wait on the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER appointed Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, and Mr. MANN as the members of the committee on the part of the House.

DAILY HOUR OF MEETING.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 18.

Resolved, That, until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting of the House of Representatives shall be 12 o'clock meridian.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

RECESS.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 8.15 o'clock.

Mr. MANN. I suggest that the gentleman had better make it 8.20 o'clock. We can not get back before that.

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, say 8.20.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess until 8.20 o'clock. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until 8 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.

The recess having expired, the House (at 8 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) resumed its session.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. FITZGERALD, and Mr. MANN, the committee appointed to notify the President, appeared at the bar of the House.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, your committee appointed to wait upon the President and inform him that the House is organized and ready to receive any communication he may make, have, in company with a like committee on the part of the Senate, performed that duty. The President wishes to inform the House that he will be pleased to deliver in person a message to a joint session of the House and Senate at 8.30 this evening.

I send to the Clerk's desk the following resolution and move its adoption.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 2.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the 2d day of April, 1917, at 8.30 o'clock post meridian, for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make them.

The resolution was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had agreed to House concurrent resolution 2.

JOINT MEETING OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE.

At 8 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m. the Doorkeeper, J. J. Sinnott, announced the Vice President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Members of the House rose.

The Senate, preceded by the Vice President and by their Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The Vice President took the chair at the right of the Speaker and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. On the part of the House the Chair appoints Messrs. KITCHIN, FITZGERALD, FLOOD, SHERLEY, MANN, COOPER of Wisconsin, and GREENE of Vermont a committee to wait on the President in conjunction with the Senate committee which the Vice President will announce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On behalf of the Senate the Chair appoints Senators MARTIN, STONE, SAULSBURY, SIMMONS, NORRIS, LODGE, and COLT.

At 8 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m. the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House and stood at the Clerk's desk amid prolonged applause.

The SPEAKER. Gentlemen of the Sixty-fifth Congress, I present the President of the United States. [Applause.]

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 1.)

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Congress, I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion and of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a warfare against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within

the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission [applause] and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut at the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States [applause]; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. [Applause.]

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany [applause], and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits [applause], in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. [Applause.] It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men [applause], who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service [applause], and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we must keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. [Applause.] They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-second of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world [applause] as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. [Applause.] Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirabe where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. [Applause.] We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. [Applause.] We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. [Applause.] We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue [applause] to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no man has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. [Applause.] No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? [Applause.] Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. [Applause.] Here is a fit partner for a League of Honour.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies [applause] and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. [Applause.] Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the

selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. [Applause.] We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. [Applause.] Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. [Applause.] They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression [applause]; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other. [Applause.]

At 9 o'clock and 11 minutes p. m. the President retired from the Hall of the House;

Whereupon the Vice President and the Members of the Senate returned to their Chamber.

CONSIDERATION OF APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves to suspend the rules and pass the resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 20.

Resolved, That at any time within 10 days after the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move to suspend the rules and pass the following bills:

H. R. 11, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12, making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior years, and for other purposes;

H. R. 13, making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 14, making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. MANN. I demand a second.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second may be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] 20 minutes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this resolution is to enable the House within the next 10 days to pass, under suspension of the rules, the four appropriation bills mentioned—the sundry civil bill, the general deficiency bill, the Military Academy bill, and the Army bill—which passed the House in the last session but failed to become laws.

These bills have been introduced in the form in which the last House passed them, and the purpose is to ask the House to pass them under suspension of the rules in the form in which they passed that House.

Mr. AUSTIN. May I ask the gentleman from New York a question?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. AUSTIN. Why does not the gentleman include the river and harbor bill?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not a general supply bill. It is not a bill that is essential for the support of the Government. It can be brought in as a privileged bill and taken up and passed. The purpose of including these four appropriation bills, however, is to enable the House to pass them in the identical form in which they passed the last House. This follows the practice adopted four years ago, in the first session of the Sixty-third Congress, when the bills that failed at the end of the Sixty-second Congress were passed under practically a similar resolution, although only a majority vote was required to pass them.

Mr. AUSTIN. The river and harbor appropriations are absolutely needed after the 1st of July.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It may be that conditions will be such that some changes may be proposed. The House may wish to consider those changes.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADDEN. I wish to ask the gentleman from New York whether, when these bills are passed under suspension of the rules and are sent to the Senate and are amended by the Senate very materially, as I presume they will be, it is the intention to consider the additions made by the Senate in the Com-

mittee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, or whether the right of consideration of any considerable additions is to be taken away from the House and the additions so made considered only in conference?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, so far as the two bills which were reported from the Committee on Appropriations are concerned, I wish to say to the gentleman that if the Senate should amend them in any material respect I should expect the House to have an opportunity to consider such amendments. The gentleman is aware that the bills can not go to conference without consideration in the Committee of the Whole except by unanimous consent.

Mr. MADDEN. I realize that; but I wish to inquire whether there will be any effort to send them to conference without giving the House an opportunity to consider any important additions to the bills?

Mr. FITZGERALD. If there should be amendments of any importance, the desire will be to have the House consider them before action is taken. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I did not listen to the reading of the resolution or the motion offered by the gentleman from New York. I just glanced at it. It is not, as I understand, the same motion of which the gentleman submitted a draft to me several days ago. It now provides the right to suspend the rules and pass the various appropriation bills. The proposition now before the House is identically the same as that which I discussed at the Republican meeting Saturday night. It could not be taken partisan advantage of. It proposes to give the right to suspend the rules for 10 days to pass these four appropriation bills which belong to the last Congress. A motion to suspend the rules requires a two-thirds vote in order that it shall prevail; so that by agreeing to this resolution this side of the House will not give to the other side of the House any partisan advantage of passing a bill by a majority vote. Whether these bills will be passed in the identical form that we passed them in the last House, or whether the Committee on Military Affairs will recommend to the House the passage of the bill which increases the appropriations for the Army up to a war footing I do not know; but, at any rate, I think this side of the House is safe to vote for the resolution as it was included in the motion that was made this afternoon in regard to the rules for which we have already voted.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL].

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to appear critical, but I think at least one or two observations ought to be made on this resolution. Primarily, I wish to say to the membership that it does not include the river and harbor bill. Gentlemen who are appreciative of the economic and commercial interests of the country will understand that that bill is of sufficient importance to deserve and receive the consideration of this House at all times. It is not an orphan as an appropriation bill. If there shall be an interim of one year without a river and harbor bill, it will mean a loss of several million dollars to the Federal Government. There will be a deterioration in the plants owned by the Government, dredging and other plants; there will be a disorganization of the forces; there will be a deterioration of works of construction under improvement. The economic or commercial interests of the country demand that a river and harbor bill shall be passed at this extraordinary session of the Congress.

I merely desired to bring this to the attention of the Congress and to Members who are interested in the maintenance of river and harbor improvement and the further construction of necessary improvements. It is a privileged bill, and if it shall meet the pleasure of the House the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, at least speaking the will of this Member, will at a future time ask the House to consider this important bill with a view to avoid an interim of one year and a loss of millions of dollars to the great works of improvement now under construction in different sections of the country.

It seemed to me that this was of sufficient importance—while this resolution is brought to the attention of the House at what I think is an unseemly hour and might have been left over until to-morrow——

Mr. FITZGERALD. It would not be in order to-morrow; it would not be in order until two weeks from to-day.

Mr. SMALL. We have a Committee on Rules that could have made it in order at any time. I do not desire to be unduly critical in that respect, but I do think that it is a matter to be inquired into why the river and harbor bill was omitted from this resolution on appropriation bills to be submitted to the House for consideration under suspension of rules?

Mr. BURNETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMALL. Yes.

Mr. BURNETT. Does not the gentleman think that the public-buildings bill should be included?

Mr. SMALL. Let that bill stand on its own merits.

Mr. BURNETT. It has more merit than many others.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution.

The question was taken; and two-thirds having voted in favor thereof, the rules were suspended and the resolution was agreed to.

DEATH OF THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE CYRUS ADAMS SULLOWAY.

Mr. WASON. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my distressing duty at this time to announce to the House the sudden death of my colleague from New Hampshire, Hon. CYRUS ADAMS SULLOWAY, which occurred in the city of Washington on the morning of March 11 last. It is not my purpose at this time to utter words of eulogy consistent with his life and character and his many years of membership in this House. At some future day I shall ask the House to designate a time when the membership of the House can attend to that solemn duty. At this time I move the adoption of the following resolutions, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 21.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. CYRUS ADAMS SULLOWAY, a Representative from the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect this House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly, in conformance with the resolution (at 9 o'clock and 32 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 3, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MONTAGUE: A bill (H. R. 1) for the relief of the people of France; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2) for the relief of the people of France; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 3) to establish a department of aeronautics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4) to appropriate $500,000 for the improvement of East River, N. Y., with a view to securing a 35-foot channel from the Upper Bay through Hell Gate to Long Island Sound; thus giving two means of ingress and egress from the navy yard, and enabling the largest ships of the Navy and commerce to enter and leave at all stages of the tide, and with a view to securing suitable approaches to the docks and piers; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 5) to create a commission to prepare and recommend legislation for the taking over by the Federal Government of the control of food supplies; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 6) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide capital for agricultural development; to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage; to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans; to furnish a market for United States bonds; to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1916; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 7) to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8) to amend the act entitled "An act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes," approved February 9, 1909, as amended by an act approved January 17, 1914; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9) to amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for

other purposes," approved August 24, 1912, relating to publications admitted to the second class of mail matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10) to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: A bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 15) authorizing and directing the Public Printer to provide a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print paper for the Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a bill (H. R. 16) to provide for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 17) to include certain lands in the counties of Modoc and Siskiyou, Cal., in the Modoc National Forest, Cal., and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18) to encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. CALDWELL: A bill (H. R. 19) to provide for the military and naval training and service of citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 20) to provide that commissioned chiefs of the United States Navy now on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall, as an equitable reward for said service, receive rank and pay of lieutenant of the United States Navy, retired; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 21) to increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 22) to provide for the reorganization of the General Land Office; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 23) to amend the regulations relative to safety appliances under the so-called seamen's act so as to include life-preserver suits among the safety appliances provided for; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 24) for the inclusion of certain lands in the Wyoming National Forest, Wyo.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 25) for an equestrian statue of William Frederick Cody, "Buffalo Bill"; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 26) authorizing the Northern Arapahoe Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 27) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Wheatland, in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 28) to provide for the erection of a public building at Newcastle, in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 29) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Green River, in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 30) for granting certain lands to Converse County, Wyo., for a public park; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 31) for the construction of a system of trails and bridle paths in the Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. ROUSE: A bill (H. R. 32) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Falmouth, Ky.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 33) for the purpose of expending the unexpended balances and surplus postal revenues on rural post roads; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 34) for the relief of the Kentucky drafted men; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 35) to provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. CALDWELL: A bill (H. R. 36) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 37) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Far Rockaway, Long Island, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MONTAGUE: A bill (H. R. 38) to provide that the heads of the executive departments may occupy seats on the floor of the Senate and the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 39) relating to the maintenance of actions for death on the high seas and other navigable waters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 40) for the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 41) to amend section 51, chapter 4, of Thirty-sixth Statutes at Large, relating to venue in civil suits; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 42) to increase the efficiency of the United States Military and the United States Naval Academies, and to increase the number of graduates therefrom by the immediate establishment of a one-year united service school near Fort Crook or Bellevue, Nebr.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 43) to provide for paving with a proper material the Fort Crook Military Boulevard from Fort Crook Military Reservation to the south city limits of Omaha, Nebr., so as to perfect a continuous paved highway from Fort Crook Military Reservation to Fort Omaha Military Reservation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 44) to protect the public against false pretenses in merchandising, under trade-mark or special brand, of articles of standard quality; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 45) to provide for the use of public-school buildings in the District of Columbia as community forums, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SWITZER: A bill (H. R. 46) to provide an exclusive remedy and compensation for accidental injuries, resulting in disability or death, to employees of common carriers by railroad, and of express companies, engaged in interstate or foreign commerce, or in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 47) for beginning of construction of an irrigation system for the irrigation of the ceded and allotted Indian lands of the Shoshone or Wind River Reservation, Wyo.; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 48) providing for State selections in lieu of certain lands granted for educational purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 49) providing for an investigation of the power possibilities and opportunities for the manufacture of nitrogen products on the Shoshone River in the vicinity of the Shoshone Dam of the Shoshone Reclamation Project and on the Platte River in the vicinity of the Pathfinder Dam of the North Platte Reclamation Project in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 50) authorizing the State of Wyoming to select lands in lieu of lands heretofore selected by said State under various grants by the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 51) prohibiting the importation of foreign meats which have not been inspected and passed in conformity with the provisions of the meat-inspection acts; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 52) to establish a mining-experiment station at Lander, in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 53) to provide for appeals from decisions of the Secretary of the Interior to the district courts of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 54) for the restoration, under certain conditions, of lands included in power-site withdrawals; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 55) providing for the sale of grazing lands; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 56) granting locations and rights of way for purposes of irrigation and other beneficial use of water through the public lands and reservations of the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 57) giving a new right of homestead entry to former homesteaders; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 58) dedicating 25 per cent of the proceeds of public lands to the construction and improvement of public roads; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 59) providing for an appropriation for the preservation of the grasses on the public domain by the extermination of prairie dogs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 60) to provide for the building of roads on the Devils Tower National Monument, Wyo., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 61) granting indefinite leave of absence to superannuated employees of the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 62) providing for the payment to Fremont County, Wyo., in lieu of taxes, of certain sums received on coal leases; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 63) providing for the payment to the State of Wyoming of one-half of the royalties collected from the Owl Creek Coal Co.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 64) for marking the site of old Fort Phil Kearny and the Wagon Box Fight; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 65) authorizing a survey of Bay Ridge Channel, New York Harbor; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 66) to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. STEELE: A bill (H. R. 67) to amend section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 68) to make October 12 of each and every year a legal public holiday in the District of Columbia, to be known as Columbus Day; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 69) to authorize the payment of indemnities to the Governments of Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Turkey for injuries inflicted on their nationals during riots occurring in South Omaha, Nebr., Feburuary 21, 1909; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 70) to provide for appeals from decisions of the Secretary of the Interior to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KEATING: A bill (H. R. 71) to provide for the erection of a public building at Canon City, Colo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 72) providing for the payment of pensions monthly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRIEST: A bill (H. R. 73) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Grand Army post of Columbia, Pa., two bronze or brass cannon or field pieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 74) for the establishment of a fish-cultural station in the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 75) providing an appropriation of $200,000 for the intensive study of infantile paralysis; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 76) to restrict the franking privilege; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 77) to establish an agricultural experiment station in Lancaster County, Pa.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STEENERSON: A bill (H. R. 78) to validate certain public-land entries; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 79) for the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain in Minnesota; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: A bill (H. R. 80) to provide for the enlargement, extension, and remodeling of the Federal building at Boston, Mass.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 81) providing for a site and public building for Federal purposes at Boston, Mass.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 82) for erecting a suitable memorial to John Patrick Holland; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 83) to purchase an oil painting entitled "Our Glory—the Battleship *Oregon*"; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 84) to provide care and treatment for citizens of the United States afflicted with tuberculosis; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 85) to repeal the literacy test; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 86) to reimburse the city of New York for expenses incurred in the maintenance and support of a marine school, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 87) granting two weeks' sick leave to letter carriers in the City Free Delivery Service and to post-office clerks in first and second class post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 88) for the appointment of a commission to supervise the food supplied to the military forces of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 89) to prevent and punish the desecration of the United States flag; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 90) to create two additional judges in the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 91) to make the "Star-Spangled Banner" the national anthem of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KAHN: A bill (H. R. 92) for providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 93) to extend the pneumatic mail-tube service and improve the efficiency of the postal system in New York City; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 94) to reduce the unnecessary amount of overtime required of letter carriers in the City Delivery Service and post-office clerks in first and second class post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 95) granting indefinite leave of absence to superannuated employees of the Treasury Department; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 96) to improve the efficiency of the postal system in New York City; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 97) for the purchase of certain lands in the District of Columbia for a public park; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 98) for the improvement of East Potomac Park as a public recreation ground; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 99) to provide for the construction of an intracoastal waterway; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

Also, a bill (H. R. 100) prohibiting construction of bridges and construction of additional tracks upon existing bridges over any navigable stream in the city of New York unless the elevation of said bridge at mean high water shall be sufficient to permit the free movement of such vessels as are ordinarily operated upon such navigable stream; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 101) to appropriate $510,000 for the improvement of Newton Creek, N. Y., including Dutch Kills, Maspeth Creek, and English Kills; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 102) authorizing a survey of Harlem River, New York City; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 103) to appropriate $250,000 for the further improvement of Harlem River, N. Y, with a view to continuing improvement thereof; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 104) for the improvement of the Harlem River, N. Y., with a view of straightening the channel at the curve near the Johnson Iron Works authorized by the river and harbor act of March 3, 1909; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 105) to appropriate $300,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, N. Y., with a view to securing additional width in Bay Ridge and Red Hook Channels; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 106) to appropriate $250,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, New York Upper Bay, with a view to improving channel opposite anchorage grounds; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 107) to appropriate $30,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor N. Y., with a view to the removal of Craven Shoal; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 108) to appropriate $700,000 for the improvement of New York Harbor, N. Y., with a view to securing a suitable depth of channel to the navy yard; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 109) to appropriate $600,000 for the improvement of the North or Hudson River, N. Y., with a view to securing an increase of depth to 40 feet and suitable width in the North or Hudson River channel from deep water in the Upper Bay as far north as Spuyten Duyvil; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 110) for the improvement of the harbor of New York City; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. EMERSON: A bill (H. R. 111) to provide universal military training for students; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HEATON: A bill (H. R. 112) for the remodeling of the United States Federal building at Pottsville, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 113) to amend the public-building act approved March 4, 1913, authorizing the acquisition of a suitable site for a public building at Tamaqua, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. NEELY: A bill (H. R. 114) for the purchase of a site for a public building at Chester, Hancock County, W. Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 115) granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers, and officers who served in the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 116) granting pensions to Army teamsters of the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 117) to extend aid to the several States in the building of public highways by authorizing the working of certain Federal convicts thereon or in the preparation of road materials; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 118) to provide for the erection of a public building at Mannington, W. Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 119) to provide for the erection of a public building at New Martinsville, W. Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 120) giving the consent of the United States for the bringing of certain suits in the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 121) providing for the appointment and recommission as officers on the active list of the United States Army persons who were formerly officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: A bill (H. R. 122) making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. KEATING: A bill (H. R. 123) to prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 124) to provide for a commission on relations between the United States and the Orient; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 125) authorizing the construction and equipment of munitions factories, the selection of sites, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 126) to grant the right of appeal to employees in the Federal classified civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 127) to establish a fish-cultural station near Rye, Colo.; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 128) to provide for the closing of barber shops in the District of Columbia on Sunday; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 129) to provide for the establishment, operation, and management of a bureau, to be known as the farm woman's bureau, in the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 130) prescribing certain duties for carriers subject to the act to regulate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 131) granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DRUKKER: A bill (H. R. 132) to erect a post-office building in the city of Passaic, N. J.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 133) to provide a commission to determine and fix the valuation of property confiscated, destroyed, and made valueless by reason of prohibition and to report the result to Congress; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DALE of New York: A bill (H. R. 134) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at the city of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, near the plaza at the east end of the Williamsburg Bridge; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 135) to regulate the payment of salaries of clerks in the sea-post service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 136) to pension widows and minor and helpless children of officers and enlisted men who served during the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection or in China between April 21, 1898, and July 4, 1902; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 137) granting pensions to certain soldiers, sailors, and officers who served in the Civil War and the war with Mexico; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 138) to establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Oklahoma, Texas, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and Washington; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 139) granting to the State of Oklahoma 210,000 acres of unappropriated nonmineral land for the benefit of its agricultural and mechanical colleges, according to the provisions of the acts of July 2, 1862, and July 23, 1862, and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the Secretary of the Interior certifying the number of acres available, and that there are not sufficient lands in the State of Oklahoma to comply with the provisions of this act, to pay to the State of Oklahoma in lieu thereof the sum of $1.25 per acre for the number of acres due said State; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. SCULLY: A bill (H. R. 140) appropriating $10,000 to aid in the erection of a monument in memory of the late President James A. Garfield at Long Branch, N. J.; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 141) making provision for the construction of a canal across the State of New Jersey to connect the Delaware River with New York Harbor; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 142) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 143) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Elk City, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 144) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Clinton, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 145) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Mangum, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 146) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Frederick, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 147) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Hobart, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 148) to amend an act approved February 4, 1887, known as the interstate-commerce act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WASON: A bill (H. R. 149) to provide revenue for the Government by increasing the duty on granite, freestone, etc., imported into the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RANDALL: A bill (H. R. 150) to exclude intoxicating liquors from national parks; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 151) divesting intoxicating liquors of their interstate character; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NOLAN: A bill (H. R. 152) to fix the compensation of certain employees of the United States; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 153) to provide for the establishment of a national employment bureau in the Department of Labor; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 154) to establish postal savings banks, to enable the Government to borrow money directly from the people, and to market its bonds directly to the people in small and varying denominations through the medium of the post office, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. BLACKMON: A bill (H. R. 155) to establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Alabama; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MILLER of Minnesota: A bill (H. R. 156) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant leases or licenses for the use of surplus water at the United States Government dams at Lake Winnibigoshish and at Lake Pokegama, in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 157) to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in cold-storage food products; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 158) providing for the payment of assessments on Indian allotments benefited by the construction of State rural highways in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 159) to create a bureau for the deaf and dumb in the Department of Labor, and prescribing the duties thereof; to the Committee on Education.

Also, a bill (H. R. 160) providing for taxation of and fixing the rate of taxation on inheritances, devises, bequests, legacies, and gifts in the District of Columbia, and providing for the manner of payment as well as the manner of enforcing payment thereof; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 161) to provide for the purchase of a site and erection thereon of a public building at Two Harbors, Minn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 162) to amend paragraph A of section 4 of the act approved June 25, 1910; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 163) to create a United States Naval Reserve; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 164) authorizing the selection, under certain circumstances, of commissioned officers of the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary to fill vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 165) for the relief of the Pillager Bands of Chippewa Indians of Minnesota, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 166) to limit the area of land which may be acquired by any person under all the agricultural public-land laws; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 167) providing that all persons employed by the United States Government or by the District of Columbia shall be citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. SIEGEL: A bill (H. R. 168) to declare Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 169) authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the board of county commissioners, Logan County, Colo., four condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages and a suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also a bill (H. R. 170) authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the city of Longmont, Colo., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages and a suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 171) to repeal the last proviso of section 4 of an act to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park, in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes, approved January 26, 1915; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 172) to provide for the purchase of additional land and for the erection thereon of an addition to the post-office building at Boulder, Colo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 173) to provide revenue for the Government and to promote the production of tungsten ores and manufactures thereof in the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 174) to amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved September 8, 1916, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 175) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and for prior years, and for other purposes;" to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 176) to provide for an authorization of money to be used in the construction of a public building at Sterling, Colo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 177) to authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building thereon at Lees Summit, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 178) to amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIEGEL: A bill (H. R. 179) making the 12th day of October in each year a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 180) to discontinue the use of the Fahrenheit thermometer scale in Government publications; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 181) to establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Washington; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 182) to punish espionage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIEGEL: A bill (H. R. 183) for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 184) making a crime the disclosure of grand jury proceedings by a grand jury; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 185) making a crime the disclosure of the finding of an indictment previous to the accused person being taken into custody; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 186) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to audit and adjust certain claims of the city of New York; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 187) making a crime the disclosure of grand-jury minutes by a stenographer or any other person; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 188) to amend an act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes, approved June 25, 1910, as amended in section 1 by the act of Congress approved January 23, 1913; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 189) to enlarge and extend the post-office building at Williamsport, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 190) permitting minors of the age of 18 years or over to make homestead entry of the public lands of the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 191) providing for the abandonment of the Vashon Island Military Reservation, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 192) authorizing the Secretary of War to sell the timber on the Three Tree Point Military Reservation, in Wahkiakum County, in the State of Washington; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 193) authorizing the construction of a wagon bridge across the Moclips River in Grays Harbor County, State of Washington, and appropriating $8,000 therefor; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 194) to authorize certain changes in homestead allotments of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 195) providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNING: A bill (H. R. 196) to provide for the erection of a public building at Salem, N. J.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 197) amending section 1 of the act of May 11, 1912, relating to pension of Civil War soldiers and sailors; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 198) appropriating $39,770 for the improvement of Raccoon Creek, N. J.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 199) providing for the improvement of the Delaware River at Camden, N. J.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. FISHER: A bill (H. R. 200) to regulate promotions in the Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 201) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Bolivar, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SULLIVAN: A bill (H. R. 202) making the 12th day of October in each year a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURRY of California: A bill (H. R. 203) providing for the construction and equipment of an ammunition manufacturing plant at Benicia Arsenal, State of California; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 204) to provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento, Cal., for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 205) providing for the construction and equipment of a storehouse at Benicia Arsenal, State of California; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 206) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Texarkana, Ark., two cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 207) for the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ELSTON: A bill (H. R. 208) to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 209) to provide for the erection of a public building at Van Buren, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 210) to fix Christmas Day a legal holiday for rural letter carriers of the United States; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. CRAGO: A bill (H. R. 211) to improve and maintain certain public roads and parts thereof included within the limits of the National park at Gettysburg, as defined by the act of Congress entitled "An act to establish a national military park at Gettysburg, Pa.," approved February 11, 1895, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 212) to protect the public against dishonest advertising and false pretenses in merchandising; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GLASS: A bill (H. R. 213) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914, August 15, 1914, March 3, 1915, and September 7, 1916; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CRAGO: A bill (H. R. 214) to authorize and direct the Secretary of War to acquire, by purchase, certain lands embraced within the battle field of Gettysburg, and making appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBERTS: A bill (H. R. 215) to encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 216) legalizing certain conveyances heretofore made by the Central Pacific Railroad Co. and others within the State of Nevada; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 217) to authorize the acquisition of a site and the erection of a Federal building at Elko, Nev.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 218) to provide for increasing the rates of pension of totally disabled, needy, and helpless soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil and Mexican Wars; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 219) to pension the survivors of the War with Spain and the Philippine insurrection; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 220) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to increase the pension of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War,' approved April 19, 1908, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRITTEN: A bill (H. R. 221) for the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 222) for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Kansas City, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 223) to provide for the construction of sanitary dwellings for wage earners in the District of Columbia, and for their rental and sale, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 224) authorizing the Cowlitz Tribe of Indians residing in the State of Washington to submit claims to the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 225) to provide for the revenue of the Government and to protect and maintain the cedar shingle industry of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 226) to restore to the public domain certain lands heretofore reserved for a bird reservation in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, Cal., and Klamath County, Oreg., and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 227) to equip the United States penitentiaries at Atlanta, Ga.; Leavenworth, Kans.; and at McNeil Island, Wash., for the manufacture of supplies for the use of the Government, for the compensation of the prisoners for their labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 228) for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts except in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 229) to amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910, as amended by an act approved January 23, 1913; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 230) making an appropriation for the investigation of underground currents and artesian wells in California; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 231) to amend section 260 of the Judicial Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 232) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make final and detailed survey of the lower Pit River and adjacent irrigable territory in Shasta County, Cal., to determine the feasibility and completed estimates of cost of the irrigation project thereon, known as the "Lower Pit River Project," and to make appropriation for such surveys and estimates; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 233) making appropriation to carry out the provisions of an act entitled "An act to create the California Débris Commission and regulate hydraulic mining in the State of California," approved March 1, 1893; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 234) making an appropriation to enforce the provisions of an act to regulate the sale of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products and to regulate interstate traffic in said articles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 235) making an appropriation directing and empowering the purchase, preparation, and disposition free of cost of antirabic virus to be used in the treatment of persons exposed to rabies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 236) for the protection and improvement of the Lassen Volcanic National Park, Cal., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 237) making an appropriation for a series of thorough and elaborate investigations and experiments for the purpose of devising and perfecting a system of frost prevention in the citrus and deciduous fruit regions, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 238) to make accessible to all the people the valuable scientific and other research work conducted by the United States through establishment of a national school of correspondence; to the Committee on Education.

Also, a bill (H. R. 239) to provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 240) to establish a standard box for apples, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 241) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish postal-savings depositories for depositing savings at interest with security of the Government for the repayment thereof, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 242) to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and for Members of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a bill (H. R. 243) to prohibit the coming of Asiatic laborers into the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 244) to create a bureau for the deaf and dumb in the Department of Labor, and prescribing the duties thereof; to the Committee on Education.

Also, a bill (H. R. 245) providing for the labeling, marking, and tagging of all fabrics and leather goods hereinafter designated and providing for the fumigation of the same; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 246) making an appropriation to purchase land for homeless Indians in California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 247) to make April 13 of each and every year a public holiday in the District of Columbia, to be known as Jefferson Day; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 248) for improvement of Sacramento River between Chico Landing and Red Bluff, Cal.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 249) to authorize the Secretary having jurisdiction of the same to set aside certain public lands to be used as national sanitariums by fraternal or benevolent organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 250) to authorize entry of the public lands by school districts for schoolhouse site and ground; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 251) to provide for summer residence homesteads, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 252) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and settle certain accounts under the reclamation acts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 253) to authorize the construction of the Southern Lassen Reservoir in Nevada and California for impounding the waters of the Little Truckee River and Long Valley Creek and their tributaries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 254) to provide for the inspection of any parcel sent by mail which contains fruit, plants, trees, shrubs, nursery stock, grafts, scions, peach, plum, almond, or the pits of other fruits, cottonseed, or vegetables, at point of delivery in any post office of the United States that requests such inspection and where the requisite inspectors are provided by the States to perform such service; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 255) to establish, equip, and maintain an agricultural experiment station near the town of Dorris, Siskiyou County, Cal., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 256) making an appropriation for the destruction of animals affected with rabies or other animal diseases dangerous to the health of human beings as well as domestic animals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 257) making an appropriation for use in destroying coyotes, squirrels, and other animals injurious to agriculture and animal industry, for use in the destruction of ground squirrels in the national forests and the public domain in California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 258) making an appropriation for the investigation, study, and testing of sagebrush and greasewood which may be used for producing rubber, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 259) to create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 260) to acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road extending from Los Angeles, Cal., through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake, past the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pit River on water grades to connect with the California State Highway at Redding, Cal.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 261) transferring the control and jurisdiction of Alcatraz Island and buildings, machinery, and improvements thereon from the Department of War to the Department of Labor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 262) to amend an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1913; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 263) to amend an act entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," approved October 3, 1913; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas: A bill (H. R. 264) restoring the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims in certain claims in certain cases; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 265) to establish the National Chamber of Agriculture for the purpose of promoting the equitable distribution of farm products; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 266) to create two additional associate justices of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia and two additional associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 267) authorizing a report upon the feasibility of constructing the Colorado River Indian irrigation project; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 268) to authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 269) to authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 270) to authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a bridge across the Salt River on the Salt River Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 271) to authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a diversion dam with a bridge superstructure across the Gila River on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 272) authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of construction or operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 273) to extend the time for cutting timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 274) to relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the service of the United States as officers or enlisted men of the Organized Militia or National Guard from performing assessment work during the term of such service; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 275) making an appropriation for the construction of roads within the Petrified Forest National Monument, Ariz.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 276) for the purchase of a site for a public building at Bisbee, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 277) for the purchase of a site for a public building at Flagstaff, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 278) for the purchase of a site for a public building at Kingman, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 279) for the purchase of a site for a public building at Yuma, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 280) to provide for the erection of a public building at Grand Canyon, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 281) to increase the cost of the public building at Globe, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 282) amending the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a public building at Nogales, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 283) to establish a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 284) to prohibit the issuance of licenses, permits, revenue stamps, or receipts for special taxes authorizing, licensing, or permitting the sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors in certain cases; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 285) to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 286) providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 287) to prohibit the shipment of intoxicating liquors in interstate commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 288) making appropriation for expenses incurred under the treaty of Washington; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CROSSER: A bill (H. R. 289) to provide for the acquisition, ownership, and operation by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of all the street railroads located in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MILLER of Minnesota: A bill (H. R. 290) for the survey and construction of a public highway through the Superior National Forest, Minn.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WEBB: A bill (H. R. 291) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 292) to provide for the uniform selection and purchase of fuel to be used in the United States; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 293) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to collect and publish statistics on the production, manufacture, and marketing of crude petroleum; to the Committee on Mines and Mining .

By Mr. IGOE: A bill (H. R. 294) to provide for the appointment of an additional judge of the district court of the United States for the eastern district of Missouri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 295) to amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated," and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the several States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 296) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make investigations of lignite coals to determine the practicability of their utilization in producing benzol and other commercial products; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 297) giving the right to make homestead entry to persons who have made and perfected homestead entries; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 298) granting 200,000 acres of land to the State of North Dakota for the use of the State normal school located at Dickinson, N. Dak., and for the use of the State normal school located at Minot, N. Dak.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 299) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon in the city of Crosby, State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 300) providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Ada, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 301) providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Coalgate, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 302) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Duncan, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 303) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Waurika, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. COOPER of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 304) to amend an act to incorporate the National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association, approved March 4, 1911; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 305) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Anadarko, State of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DILL: A bill (H. R. 306) authorizing second homestead entries in certain cases; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 307) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation, at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 308) providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Sapulpa, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. STEENERSON: Resolution (H. Res. 2) to amend Rule X of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LOBECK: Resolution (H. Res. 4) authorizing the printing as a House document decision of Supreme Court on the Adamson eight-hour law; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. HULBERT: Resolution (H. Res. 5) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress as to the advisability of establishing transshipment ports, etc.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, resolution (H. Res. 6) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress as to the advisability of establishing free ports, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FLOOD: Resolution (H. Res. 7) providing for the notification of the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives is assembled, has elected certain officers, and is ready for business; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Resolution (H. Res. 8) expressing the sense of the American Congress that there can be no permanent peace except upon the principle that Governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GALLAGHER: Resolution (H. Res. 9) expressing the hope that the Austro-Hungarian Government will delay the execution of 16 Serbs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Resolution (H. Res. 10) for the establishment of a bureau of information in the main corridor of the House wing of the Capitol; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. BORLAND: Resolution (H. Res. 11) directing that there shall be printed as a House document 1,600 copies of the soil survey of Jackson County, Mo.; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. RAKER: Resolution (H. Res. 12) amending the rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Resolution (H. Res. 13) to create a committee on woman suffrage; to the Committee on Rules.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 14) authorizing the codification of the laws relating to Indian Affairs; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RANDALL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution for national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Miss RANKIN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 3) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONDELL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 4) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 5) authorizing and validating certain exchanges of land between the United States and the several States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HULBERT: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 6) authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a memorial to Jeanne D'Arc; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, joint resolution (H. J. Res. 7) proposing an amendment to section 7, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States, relative to the Executive veto of separate items in bills passed by Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEATING: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 8) authorizing the President to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of child poverty and suggest remedies therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GARDNER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 9) declaring war between the German Empire and the United States of America; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KEATING: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 10) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 11) extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCULLY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 12) authorizing the purchase of Shadow Lawn, with all its furnishings complete, for the purpose of presenting the same to the United States Government; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 13) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that the President and Vice President of the United States shall be nominated and elected by direct vote of the people of the several States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BORLAND: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 14) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. SIEGEL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 15) authorizing the printing of 5,000 copies of the Flags of Maritime Nations; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 16) asking the President to designate June 14, 1917, being the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the birth of our flag, as a day for the holding of patriotic meetings throughout the country; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAKER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 17) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 18) proposing an amendment to Article XI of the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 19) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 20) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting traffic in intoxicating liquors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 21) directing the Secretary of War to investigate the claims of American citizens for damages suffered within American territory and growing out of the insurrection in Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 22) authorizing the appointment of a committee to investigate the street railway strike in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. FOSTER: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 23) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to make an investigation and report upon the advisability of establishing and maintaining Government fuel yard or yards in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. FLOOD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 24) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 1) congratulating the people of Russia on the establishment of a popular Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 3) authorizing the printing of 5,000 copies of Handbook of American Indians; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. LONDON: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 4) calling upon the President to initiate peace negotiations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BRODBECK: Papers to accompany bill for relief to Joseph W. Severne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany bill for relief of Barbara Boyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BROWNING: Petition of 140 employees of the Keystone Co., of Camden, N. J., favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Ladies' Auxiliary of the German-American Alliance of Camden, N. J., opposing declaration of war with Germany until all efforts to avoid hostilities have been exhausted; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. COADY: Memorials of Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland in favor of military training, and other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CRAGO: Memorial of the Universal Service Committee of Veteran National Guard and Naval Militia of New York, favoring universal military training and service under Federal control; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of National Guard Association of the United States, favoring the organization of the National Guard as a Federal force; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Southern Society of New York, favoring universal training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of sundry citizens against various bills embodying prohibition legislation; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, memorial of Steinway School, of Long Island City, N. Y., favoring the migratory bird treaty act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of National Labor Council, of Brooklyn, and the Brotherhood of Metal Workers of New York, favoring a constitutional amendment to take away the veto power of the Supreme Court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Aurora Benevolent Society, of Brooklyn, N. Y., in re high cost of living; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorials of universal service committee of Veterans Hamilton Club, of Chicago; the New Hampshire committee of public safety; the Pennsylvania State College Association of New York; the New York Southern Society; board of directors of the American Institute of Mining Engineers; Tavern Club, of Boston; the National Arts Club of New York in re foreign situation and state of preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Bronx Board of Trade; Edwin P. Gleasons Son, of New York; S. S. Blaad, of New York; the City Club, of New York City; the Union Club, of Boston; the Harvard Club, of Boston; and the Robert Emmet Memorial Committee, of Buffalo, N. Y., in re foreign situation and state of preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FLYNN: Memorial of Tavern Club, of Boston, and American Institute of Mining Engineers in re foreign situation and state of preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Ebenezer German Presbyterian Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y., in re foreign situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Memorial of Hugh J. McGrath Camp No. 4, of Milwaukee, Wis., pledging loyalty to the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: Memorial of Yale Club of New York, pledging loyalty to the President in re foreign situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GRIEST: Petition of citizens of Lancaster County, Pa., favoring a referendum on peace or war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of citizens of Lancaster, Pa., protesting against any action that involves the United States in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Pennsylvania State College Association of New York, advocating universal military training and service and pledging support to the President in measures bearing upon the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of John J. Evans and sundry citizens of Lancaster, Pa., urging action necessary to uphold the dignity of the United States in the present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of bishops of Lancaster (Pa.) Mennonite Conference, protesting against compulsory military training or service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HILL (by request): Petition of certain citizens of New Haven, Conn., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KEATING: Petition of citizens of Florence, Colo., on Chamberlain bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McFADDEN: Petition from residents of Carley Brook, Honesdale, Girdland, Torrey, and Smith Hill, Pa., favoring an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as shall suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government; of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Savior and Ruler of Nations, and of His revealed will as the supreme standard to decide moral issues in national life, and thus declare the Nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and reliance upon His grace, and thereby place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of the Government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

My Mr. MOTT: Memorial of Tavern Club, of Boston, Mass., in support of President Wilson on the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Union College Faculty, indorsing action of President on the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of National Arts Club, of New York, indorsing the President's stand on the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Union Club, of Boston, Mass., indorsing the President's action on the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Harvard Club, of Boston, Mass., indorsing stand of President Wilson on the foreign situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of South Rutland (N. Y.) Grange, indorsing action of the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of American Institute of Mechanical Engineers, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Merchants' Association of Watertown, N. Y., for support of President on foreign relations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Yale Club of New York, indorsing the President's stand on German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Jefferson County Automobile Club, of Watertown, N. Y., supporting the position of the President on foreign affairs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROBERTS: Memorial of Thomas H. Barry Camp No. 7, United Spanish War Veterans, of Reno, Nev., favoring universal and compulsory military training under proper United States Army officers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of Union Club of Boston in re foreign situation and state of preparedness; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of citizens' meeting of Englewood, N. J.; Board of Commissioners of the city of Trenton, N. J.; the New Hampshire Committee of Public Safety; American Institute of Mining Engineers; Local Federation of German Catholic Societies of New York; Tavern Club of Boston; and New York Southern Society in reference to international situation and state of preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Protest of Louis Relithaler and 17 citizens of Battle Creek against entering European war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: Petition of various residents of Utica, N. Y., favoring the enactment of a compulsory military measure; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of East Schuyler (N. Y.) Grange, indorsing the action of the President relative to the situation with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of various church gatherings in the thirty-third district of New York, favoring the abolition of polygamy in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: Petition of Ludwig Gunz and 26 citizens of Goodrich, N. Dak., protesting against war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Gottlieb Bonnult and 74 citizens of Lincoln Valley, N. Dak., protesting against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 24 citizens of Cooperstown, N. Dak., urging referendum on question of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *April 3, 1917.*

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

O Thou God of all grace, we stretch forth our hands unto Thee. May our steps this day be ordered by the Lord. Grant, O Lord God, to lead us in a plain path this day. We have reached the serious point in our international relations which we have neither sought nor desired, but which we have with amazing patience sought to avert. We put our trust in Thy mighty arm.

Our fathers trusted Thee and rejoiced in Thy abounding mercies. Thou hast given us peace and freedom and prosperity. Thou hast delivered us from the perils of the past and preserved the unity of our great Republic. Thou hast been our refuge and portion through all the years. Leave us not, neither forsake us, O Thou God of our salvation. May we continue to realize the source whence cometh our help, and lest we forget may we now humble ourselves under Thy mighty hand, and may we find our exaltation in Thy power and grace.

Through the critical stages of this day guide Thy servants in Congress. Lead them in the way that Thou shalt choose. May they hear the voice of Him who spake as never man spake, and at Thy bidding may they go forth to do Thy righteous will.

We pray that Thou wouldst strengthen the hands of our President in meeting the great responsibilities that are laid upon him, and may he have the unlimited support of our great Nation.

O Thou God of nations, hear our prayer in this momentous hour, and grant that the issues of this day may have the seal of the divine sanction and be upheld by Thy almighty power. In the name of Jesus Christ our Savior we make our plea. Amen.

ASLE J. GRONNA, a Senator from the State of North Dakota, and WILLIAM HUGHES, a Senator from the State of New Jersey, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. MARTIN and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MANUFACTURE OF PRISON-MADE GOODS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, supplementary to a communication of January 9, 1917, a further report from the American consul at Cartagena, Colombia, relative to the extent to which prisoners, paupers, or detained persons are utilized in the production or manufacture of articles sold in the commerce of the various countries, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Printing.

RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS (S. DOC. NO. 3).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the estimates and plans for works of river and harbor improvements that will best provide adequate facilities for operations of the fleet for defense of the harbors on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

FINDINGS OF THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a certified copy of the findings of fact and conclusion filed by the court in the cause of Caroline L. King, widow of William T. King, deceased, *v.* The United States (S. Doc. No. 1), which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a certified copy of the order of the court dismissing the cause of Jacob Harris, son of Samuel J. Harris, deceased, *v.* The United States (S. Doc. No. 2), which was referred to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a list of cases dismissed by the court for want of sufficient evidence (S. Doc. No. 4), which was referred to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

DEATH OF ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication, which will be read.

The Secretary read the communication, as follows:

1601 K STREET.

Hon. THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL, Vice President,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Will you express to the Senate my profound thanks for the honor they did the memory of my husband,

George Dewey, the Admiral of the Navy, in passing resolutions of regret and in appointing a committee to attend the services at the Capitol?

Very truly, yours, MILDRED MCLEAN DEWEY.

FEBRUARY 26, 1917.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I send to the desk a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, and I ask that the Secretary may read it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

[State of Connecticut, office of the secretary. General assembly, January session, A. D. 1917.]

Senate joint resolution 100, regarding universal military service.

Resolved by this assembly:

Whereas the laws of the United States impose on all citizens the duty of performing military service in time of war; and

Whereas the volunteer system imposes the burden of that duty upon the few who are patriotic enough to recognize their obligations and enables many others to evade a duty equally incumbent upon them:

Resolved, That this general assembly urge upon the Federal Congress the passage of such legislation as will distribute equally among all citizens able to perform it the burden of military service.

Passed senate March 30, 1917.

Passed house of representatives March 30, 1917.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
Office of the Secretary, ss:

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of record in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said State at Hartford this 30th day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] R. J. DWYER,
Deputy Secretary.

Mr. THOMPSON. I present resolutions adopted at different meetings in the State of Kansas regarding the pending crisis. They are short, and I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Atchison, Kans., March 29, 1917.

Be it resolved by this popular assemblage of the citizens of the city of Atchison and vicinity, That we view with satisfaction the severance of diplomatic relations with any foreign sovereignty whose lust for world power jeopardizes those sacred liberties for which our forefathers so valiantly fought, and should such action result in an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword, we know that our country, asylum as it is for the downtrodden and oppressed of all nations, will put on a new nationalism and, as it has ever done in the past, stand forth as the valiant champion of liberty and freedom on sea and on land; and be it further

Resolved, That the reversion to barbarism, evidenced by relentless and indiscriminate submarine warfare, clearly demonstrates that the price of peace, liberty, and civilization is the ability to defend them else they perish from the earth; and be it further

Resolved, That irrespective of race, creed, or party we unqualifiedly indorse the action of President Woodrow Wilson in severing relations with Germany and arming American vessels for defense against unlawful attacks and calling Congress together in extraordinary session, and we express the fervent hope that when Congress convenes it will realize that the priceless heritage of all our people is the privilege of supporting their own Government in its hour of need, and that this patriotic privilege and duty should be exercised by all who enjoy its blessings: And therefore be it

Resolved, That we respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress that, as soon as it shall assemble, it shall do all things necessary or expedient to protect the honor, dignity, and safety of our country; that it provide by law for universal military training, with obligation of service in time of war; that it provide, as promptly as possible, an Army, a Navy, coast defense, military and naval equipment sufficient in all things to enable the United States to defend itself against any force which Germany or any other sovereignty may send against us; and that in this crisis no time be lost, effort or expense spared in the mobilization of the military, naval, and industrial strength of the Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

J. M. CHALLISS.
W. S. WASHER.
LEO. NUSBAUM.

—

Resolutions adopted at assembly of 25,000 representative citizens of Kansas and Missouri at Convention Hall, Kansas City, Mo., Saturday, March 24, 1917.

Be it resolved by this assembly in Convention Hall, Kansas City, Mo., of 25,000 representative citizens of Missouri and Kansas, That it is our plain duty as citizens of the United States, without regard to nativity or political conviction, to consecrate, and we do hereby consecrate, our persons and property to the service of our Government in the protection and defense of our homes, of our right to continue to enjoy the blessings of a democratic form of government, established and maintained by the people for the people, and of the rights secured to us by the laws of nations upon the high seas.

And we pledge to the President, the Congress, and Government our support in the accomplishment of these sacred purposes; and be it further

Resolved, That we do hereby approve the action of President Wilson in severing relations with Germany and arming American vessels for their defense against unlawful attack and in calling Congress together in extraordinary session.

We respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress that as soon as it shall assemble it shall do all things necessary or expedient to protect the honor, dignity, and safety of our country; that it provide by law for universal military training with obligation of service in time of war; that it provide, as promptly as possible, an Army, a Navy, coast defense, military and naval equipment sufficient in all things to enable the United States to defend itself against any force which Germany or any other sovereignty may send against us; and that in this crisis no time be lost, effort or expense spared, in the mobilization of the military, naval, and industrial strength of the Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That in the line of our duty to ourselves and to the Government we will aid and encourage the immediate organization of complete and efficient local military and naval units and maintain such organizations so long as the Government needs them.

—

Telegram from the Commercial Club, Douglas, Kans.

DOUGLAS, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

W. H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

The people of this great oil-producing county of Butler ask you to give the President loyal support in dealing with the crisis now confronting the American people. We deplore war, but the rights of humanity must prevail. The time has come to act.

DOUGLAS COMMERCIAL CLUB,
By J. A. CLAY, *Secretary.*

—

Resolutions adopted at meeting of Kansas Democratic State Committee at Topeka, Kans., March 31, 1917.

Resolved by the Democratic State Committee in meeting assembled, That we heartily indorse the policy and administration of our great President, Woodrow Wilson, and especially his policy with reference to foreign relations. We approve his action in severing diplomatic relations with Germany and feel that in this crisis of our Nation all citizens, irrespective of party, should uphold his action. We urge our Representatives in Congress, in special session assembled April 2, to sustain and uphold any course and policy which he requests or may call upon for adoption to the end of upholding the honor and glory of our country.

Mr. HUSTING. I present a telegram embodying a resolution, and I ask that it may be read.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

MADISON, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator PAUL HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

Fifteen thousand citizens of Madison marched this day in a grand loyalty parade, and in a mass meeting which followed these resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Since the declarations of war in Europe two and a half years ago the United States of America has seen the danger of being drawn into the war grow constantly more imminent. The Nation has hoped not to be forced into this wicked, wanton, and wasteful conflict; it has tried to be neutral, but more and more the impossibility of such a position became obvious. With a patience that has been subjected to criticism the President of the United States has tolerated insult to our flag and intrigue against our peace. Our Government has suffered deliberate attacks. Upon the loss of American lives we have been forced to break off all semblance of friendly relations with the German Government. We have withdrawn our ambassador from Berlin, and we have returned to Germany her diplomatic representatives at Washington. We have been confronted with a formal declaration by the imperial power of Germany that she will attack and sink without warning any American vessel which pursues its lawful calling upon the high seas without German consent. The time has passed when we are called upon to consider only what are our commercial rights. The time has come when we are forced to consider what is our duty to ourselves, to humanity, and to the future of the world. The struggle is between autocracy and democracy. The destiny of mankind lies in the balance. Autocracy shall not rule the world: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, citizens of Madison, Wis., stand unitedly with the President of the United States, by the Government of the United States, and for the perpetuation of the democracy which was bequeathed to us by the brave builders of our Nation.

Resolved further, That we, citizens of Madison, Wis., the capital of a great American Commonwealth, stand unitedly with American citizens everywhere for the triumph of a liberal constitutional form of government in the Eastern as in the Western Hemisphere.

Resolved further, That we stand committed as American citizens to universal military training as the only means of safeguarding and permanently establishing that democracy in the world which will make possible peace and safety for all nations great and small.

Resolved further, That we pledge our consecrated devotion to the cause of world-wide democracy and to the destruction of military autocracy, believing this the only path to permanent peace.

Resolved further, That it is the sense of this meeting that the people of the United States, rejoicing in the triumph of democracy in Russia, should aid and encourage her in every possible way to preserve and develop liberal institutions, recognizing as we do that this revolution is a great advance toward the time when all the Governments of Europe shall be of the people, by the people, and for the people. Be it further

Resolved, That whatever measures Congress and the President may find necessary to adopt to maintain the rights, dignity, honor, and liberties of this country we as American citizens hereby pledge our undivided and loyal support March 31, 1917.

JOHN M. OLIN,
ROBT. G. SIEBECKER,
A. E. PROUDFIT,
RICHARD LLOYD JONES,
RASMUS B. ANDERSON,
R. R. KROPF,
A. G. ZIMMERMAN,
W. W. GILL,
BURR W. JONES,
Committee on Resolutions.

MAGNUS SWENSON,
CARL A. JOHNSON,
W. N. PARKER,
Executive Committee.

Mr. HUSTING. I present resolutions adopted by several thousand citizens of Janesville, Wis., expressing loyalty to the Government and pledging support.

I also present a petition adopted at a mass meeting, consisting of over 4,000 people, held at Fond du Lac, Wis., expressing loyalty and pledging support to the Government.

I further present a petition signed by 17 citizens of Racine, Wis., expressing loyalty and pledging support to the Government.

I also present a telegram in the nature of a petition from citizens of Reedsburg, Wis., expressing loyalty and pledging support to the Government.

I further present a resolution adopted by the Bar Association of Marathon County, Wis., pledging support and expressing loyalty to the Government.

I also present a telegram signed by 451 women of the city of Milwaukee, Wis., expressing loyalty and pledging support to the Government to the extent of their ability.

I further present petitions signed by several hundred citizens of Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, and Campbellsport, Wis., praying for peace. I ask that these several telegrams, petitions, and resolutions be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams, petitions, and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOYALTY MEETING, JANESVILLE, WIS.

Our Nation is facing a crisis. War looms dark on the horizon and threatens our peace. Not since Lincoln called the country to arms in defense of its integrity and unity has there been such a critical time for our Government.

Our President has borne great burdens. He has carried himself with fine poise and remarkable self-control. His patience has been sublime. We have the highest admiration for his character and unswerving faith in his ability, his patriotism, and his consecration to the welfare of mankind. We are here to pledge to him our united and enthusiastic loyalty.

We do this as a citizenship of many types and sprung from many lands. In days of national stress like the present, when defenseless American citizens on the high seas are asking our Government and the American people for protection, we should declare our allegiance to our country. We invite all, from the humblest citizen to the highest official, emphatically and publicly to declare their American patriotism and their loyalty to the Stars and Stripes: Wherefore be it

Resolved by the people of Janesville, Wis., in patriotic mass meeting assembled on the 30th day of March, 1917, That we unanimously tender our unqualified services and our unstinted resources to the President and his advisers and to the Congress of our country in their efforts to protect the lives and property of our citizens on land and sea, to maintain unsullied our national integrity, to preserve the sacred liberties of our people, and to protect the heritage of our children.

Resolved further, That we dedicate ourselves to the common welfare, to the accomplishment of our high hopes for humanity, and to the alleviation of the suffering of the innocent; that we proclaim our intention of uniting with all loyal citizens in defense of the flag and our unfaltering faith in the God of nations.

Resolved further, That these resolutions be published in the press; that they be forwarded to the President, to the United States Senate, and to the House of Representatives.

Janesville, Wis., March 30, 1917.

ALEXANDER E. MATHESON,
GEORGE S. PARKER,
JUNIUS T. HOOPER,
IRA F. WORTENDYKE,
MARSHALL P. RICHARDSON,
Committee on Resolutions.

Unanimously adopted by rising vote.

JOHN M. WHITEHEAD, *Chairman.*

FOND DU LAC, WIS., LOYALTY RESOLUTIONS.

Resolutions offered and adopted by the patriotic mass meeting at the armory Thursday evening.

We are assembled as Americans. We are opposed to war except when necessary to defend ourselves or as a last resort. We deeply sympathize with all of the world's suffering millions. We realize that we have been fortunate, and we believe that much of our good fortune is due to our form of government, under which we choose and change our rulers instead of being subject to rulers claiming authority by divine right.

We realize that the liberties and blessings of freedom which the people of this country have enjoyed were purchased for us by the blood of our forefathers and sanctified to our use by their patriotic devotion. Those blessings have come down through the generations to us a sacred trust, and we are most solemnly bound to preserve that trust and to pass it on to future generations.

We have welcomed and given sanctuary to the oppressed of all the world without reference to rank, race, or creed. We have been, and we should be, impartial as between those born here and those coming to us. We have welcomed all, and we have shared equally with all. The duty then lies upon all to share equally in the burdens of holding our soil, defending our homes, and protecting our people.

We have chosen representatives from among us, and we have vested them with authority. Those representatives clothed with the authority which we have given them, constitute our Government. The official decisions of those representatives are our laws. All loyal citizens obey the laws. We have a right to debate and to oppose any and every proposed decision until it has been made. After decisions have been made, and while they are in force, our duty is to obey. Our Congress has sole power to declare war. Our President is the executive head of our Government. When acting as such, we are bound to support and obey him, and we are bound to support and obey all subordinate executive officials.

We all trace our ancestry to nations involved in this war, and, as between those nations, our sympathies are naturally colored by the lines of our ancestry. We are not, here and now, concerned in questions as between other nations, but we are most deeply concerned with all questions between our Nation and every other nation.

Our Government has been and is unable to peaceably secure the rights of our people. We deeply regret that, despite all efforts to avoid it, there is imminent danger of war between the United States of America and the central powers of Europe.

At the time of this dire crisis in our national life, unwarranted question seems to have arisen as to loyalty among Wisconsin citizens. In answer to all such questions, we, the people of Wisconsin, in Fond du Lac and vicinity, assembled in mass meeting, on this 29th day of March, 1917, invite attention to the record for loyalty to the United States shown by the citizens of Wisconsin in every war and through every crisis. Race lines have never divided us in our loyalty to the United States of America, and race lines do not divide that loyalty now. The sons of Wisconsin still stand as one man against any nation at war with the United States of America. We say to our President, when need comes, call for us men of Wisconsin; we will live up to our record.

We reaffirm our undivided allegiance to our country, to our President, and to our flag. We assert our readiness to undertake any duty required of us.

We earnestly urge that the work toward preparedness be continued with the most diligent energy until we are adequately equipped to defend against war with any nation.

We feel that we should be so prepared that we may protect ourselves from aggression and be strong enough to influence for the good of humanity the conferences of the nations.

We recommend the adoption of a plan for universal and compulsory military training and service.

We are resolved and we pledge ourselves to stand as united and loyal citizens. With "malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," we will serve our country; we will follow our flag.

H. E. SWETT.
T. L. DOYLE.
A. J. KREMER.

RACINE, WIS., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Bryan's telegram to the Members of the Senate and House and the propagandas of the Emergency Peace Federation and other pacifists do not voice the sentiment of those who voted for President Wilson.

The President was reelected because he could be depended upon to do the right thing at the proper time, and that right thing now is a call upon Congress to destroy the menace of Prussianism.

Universal military training, war with Germany, an alliance with and financial aid to France and her allies are the desire of a large majority of the citizens of Racine.

Very truly, yours,

J. C. Oliver, 1312 Main Street; U. J. Washburn, 2029 Carmel Avenue; C. A. Paine, jr., 1303 Main; H. D. Mitchell, 1540 Main; F. E. Tracy; Charles G. Miller, 1540 Main; G. W. Dellacleft, 1324 Main; Thos. V. Maguire, 1606 Park Avenue; S. M. Rood, 259 Harrison Street; William J. Gaiser, 1658 North Main Street; Lewis J. Bezucha, 1443 Douglas Avenue; Roy A. Johnson, 2029 Carmel Avenue; Art. J. Norgaard, 1119 Geneva Street; Aage Larsen, 1222 Blaine Avenue; L. B. Nelson, 1309 Herrick Avenue; Harry J. Norgaard, 2008 Asylum Avenue; Joseph Holub, 1651 Frederick Street; O. W. McClung, 1303 Main Street.

Copies mailed to President Wilson, Senator R. M. LA FOLLETTE, Congressman H. A. COOPER, Congressman I. L. LENROOT, American Defense Society, National Security League.

REEDSBURG, WIS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of Reedsburg, hereby indorse patriotic resolutions adopted at Madison Saturday. We believe in adequate preparedness for defense in any event, and for offense if necessary.

C. A. Clark, James H. Stone, W. E. Smith, J. M. Fix, Peter J. Horkan, Chas. Aton, W. F. Winchester, Wm. Doyle, Leo M. Darrenougue, Henry Sorge, W. L. Burdick, W. R. Harper, G. C. Howland, T. C. Ninniman, J. H. Meppam, Scott Huntley, J. A. Lund, J. H. Claridge, C. P. Kerrigan, M. Hickey, T. E. Walters, James Thompson, W. A. Wyse, C. C. Christenson, H. B. Quimby, H. N. Winchester, N. T. Gill, W. H. Hahn, J. G. Heaton, Ed Thom, C. E. Phillips, R. P. Perry, G. T. Morse, John Andrews, A. B. Olson, Geo. Sherwood, Ed Clement, F. D. Hulburt, W. H. Babcock, Riley Stone, L. Rudd, S. Collins, J. K. White, Frank Darrenougue.

WAUSAU, WIS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Marathon County Bar Association this afternoon unanimously adopted the following declaration in this time of national crisis:

"We, the members of the Marathon County bar, hereby declare that we are in favor of peace if it can be maintained with honor to our Nation and with protection to the rights of our citizens, but we will unqualifiedly support the Government in using all its resources to maintain the honor of the Nation and the rights of its citizens under international law."

FRANKLIN E. BUMP, *President.*
BRAYTON E. SMITH, *Secretary.*

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator PAUL O. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

As American women loyal to the traditions of our country no matter what the sacrifice may be, we ask you to support the President to the fullest in upholding these traditions against any and all foes. We are for preparedness, and if necessary to preserve American life and honor and to secure a permanent peace for war.

Miss HELEN PRATT
(And 450 others).

GRAND RAPIDS, WIS., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator HUSTING.

DEAREST SIR: Nine out of every ten citizens in Wisconsin are against war. Wisconsin will never thank those who voted to bring the ravages and bloodshed of a war upon our country. We, the undersigned, citizens of Grand Rapids, Wis., beg you to be not deceived about the sentiment in Wisconsin, and to vote against a declaration of war.

M. C. WHITROCK
(And 71 others).

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

We, the undersigned, firmly believe that the difficulties between our country and foreign powers can be settled amicably and honorably without resort to war, and we want to go on record as patriotic citizens firmly opposed to war.

Further, we want to go on record as loyal citizens prepared to do or die for our country when war is the only alternative.

We voice the sentiment of our fellow citizens and neighbors, and ask that you use your best influence in opposition to any movement to stampede us into a useless war.

BENJAMIN F. SPRINGER
(And 30 others).

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, take this opportunity to write you, and plead that you do all in your power to avert our country plunging into an unnecessary war.

Respectfully,

CHAS. L. GESKE
(And 20 others).

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and
Senator PAUL O. HUSTING
Washington, D. C.:

HONORABLE SIRS: This is to advise you that in our opinion we would consider it very disastrous for our country to be involved in any war. We are positively against any action against any foreign country and we do not want war.

Please do your utmost to prevent this calamity to our country.

We are all employees of one concern, and this is the reason why our signature has been placed jointly below this petition.

ALBERT VOLK
(And 22 others).

—

ARPIN, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. Senator HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We are citizens, to our very heart loyal to our dear country. We believe that loyalty to this our dear country to-day consists in agitating peace. We do not care to shed our blood nor the blood of our boys for Morgan & Co., Wall Street, and private interests. We want peace with honor, rather than war with dishonor. In the name of humanity we want peace. Should any foreign power threaten to invade our dear country, then we are willing to war to the last drop of blood, but under no circumstance to save the millions of the abovementioned. The press of to-day does not express our sentiment. We are told by the press that our honorable President wants the sentiment of the people. We hereby express ours. We implore the Almighty for peace.

Very respectfully, yours,

JOHN F. LOSCHBY
(And 15 others).

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned citizens of the United States and resident of the fifth congressional district of Wisconsin, do hereby appeal to you to use all your influence and power to keep our beloved country out of the European conflict. We believe in the appeal just sent to Congress by William J. Bryan and that this country should not be plunged into the most horrible war for the reasons that have so far existed.

ROBT. A. TAMMS
(And 12 others).

—

CAMPBELLSPORT, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States and residents of the sixth congressional district of Wisconsin, do earnestly appeal to you to use all the influence and power at your command to keep our beloved country out of the European war.

We are prompted to make this appeal because we consider it our most sacred duty so to do. Moreover, the appeal just sent to Congress by the Hon. William J. Bryan is so plain and so thoroughly American as to leave no room for doubt in the minds of our honorable Senators and Congressmen.

Let no man be guilty of aiding or causing this peaceful country to be plunged into that most horrible war for no greater reasons than have so far existed.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM C. ZENK
(And 20 others).

—

CAMPBELLSPORT, WIS., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States and residents of the sixth congressional district of Wisconsin, do earnestly appeal to you to use all the influence and power at your command to keep our beloved country out of the European war.

We are prompted to make this appeal because we consider it our most sacred duty so to do. Moreover, the appeal just sent to Congress by the Hon. William J. Bryan is so plain and so thoroughly American as to leave no room for doubt in the minds of our honorable Senators and Congressmen.

Let no man be guilty of aiding or causing this peaceful country to be plunged into that most horrible war for no greater reasons than have so far existed.

Respectfully,

WM. POOL
(And 9 others).

Mr. HUSTING subsequently said: Mr. President, in order to avoid any misapprehension, I desire to say that I have received a great many letters and telegrams from individuals, societies, and committees in my State in favor of supporting the President. I have also received a large number of letters and telegrams from individuals, societies, and committees in my State praying for peace, and urging that war may be averted. I make this statement in order to supplement the introduction of the resolutions that I have presented this morning.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have received thousands of letters and telegrams touching upon the question of peace and war. I have selected only a few of them, which I present and ask to have read. I present two telegrams, one from Mr. A. C. Townley, national president Nonpartisan League, and the other embodying a resolution adopted by the Farmers' Nonpartisan Political League of North Dakota, which I ask may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the telegrams, as follows:

FARGO, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

As president of the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota and the National Nonpartisan League I wish to assure you that the members of this association are patriotic and loyal and will stand by the Nation with their lives and property in case of war; but it is my duty to inform you that the members are unanimous in believing that war can be avoided, and I respectfully petition you and Congress to use every honorable means in accordance with Washington's policy to keep this Nation out of foreign entanglements. The farmers of the Nonpartisan League and the farmers generally throughout the Northwest desire that their Government observe the strictest neutrality and act without favor or prejudice toward any of the unfortunate belligerents in Europe. "Kept us out of war" was a determining factor in the last campaign. The people have not changed their minds while the press of the country may have.

A. C. TOWNLEY,
National President Nonpartisan League.

—

FARGO, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions below were passed by a vote of members of the Farmers' Nonpartisan Political League of North Dakota, assembled in mass meeting at Grand Forks. The vote of the meeting was 2,000 to 2. Passed amid tremendous enthusiasm, crowd arising. Expressed almost unanimous stand of North Dakota farmers.

Memorial to the President and Congress of the United States.

"Whereas it now appears likely that the United States of America may be forced in defense of the lives, property, and honor of her people to meet force with force; and

"Whereas citizens in all walks of life owe it to our Nation to give it support in such a crisis, even to the giving of life itself; and

"Whereas vast amounts of property and money must be used by our Government to prosecute such defense effectually in the hope of forever preventing the necessity of recourse to arms in the future:

"Now, therefore, we do hereby declare it to be our firm and unalterable purpose to support our Government in case of war with our lives and our property as far as need be, and, being mindful of the principles of equity, justice, and freedom, upon which this our Government is founded, do most earnestly recommend and request that the Congress of the United States immediately pass an act to compel those having property useful to the Government for the carrying on of war to surrender the same to the Government of the United States to be used during the war, such property to include factories, shipyards, munitions plants, armor-plate mills, flour mills, arms factories, packing plants, supplies and equipment, cloth factories, steel mills, and iron mines, and such other property and money as the Government may require, to the end that all our citizens, regardless of social position or economic advantage, shall contribute equally and fully to the common need and common defense of our common humanity and that citizens of wealth may thus be enabled to contribute of individual sacrifice to the common welfare of their country on the same terms as the enlisted soldier and sailor give of their lives, such law to contain provisions that no payment shall be rendered to anyone for the use of property necessary to the carrying on of said war, the residue, however, thereof to be returned to such individual owners at the close of the war without compensation of any kind for the use or taking except the national recognition of their having contributed to the defense of human liberty and the country's honor and security.

"We do therefore most earnestly urge that such legislation be enacted to be automatically put in force upon a declaration of war, to the end that justice, equality, and fraternity shall be fostered and upheld as between our own people in the conduct of the defense of our common honor, lives, and property."

Done this 30th day of March, 1917.

A. C. TOWNLEY,
President Nonpartisan League.

Kindly confer with Senator LA FOLLETTE.

Mr. GRONNA. I also present a telegram, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, hereby protest against the shipping of foodstuffs to the warring nations of Europe, against the arming of our merchant vessels on the high seas, and that instead we urgently request that our Navy be employed to convoy foodstuffs to the neutral nations first.

P. M. WALKER, M. D.,
St. Thomas, N. Dak.
JOHN A. DUNN,
Park River, N. Dak.
JOHN B. MOONEY,
Langdon, N. Dak.

We approve your stand. The people want peace and are opposed to the administration's prowar policy.

Mr. GRONNA. I have also received a number of telegrams and letters praying for peace, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams and letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LANGDON, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR GRONNA: This letter anticipates that at the call of the President you will be on hand at Washington for the duties that fall upon you. It is a serious time, but a time for coolness and self-possession.

I am certain that the same courage that prompted you to stand with the minority in resisting the "armed-neutrality" proposition will still enable you to permit the future years of the country determine your present actions.

This letter, which not only represents my own personal feelings but also the majority of my congregation, and also not a few among the other citizens of Langdon, is written to encourage every possible move that can prevent war. We all know that Germany has wronged us. We have a just, deep grievance; but the argument from the Dark Ages and from the jungle that this is to be interpreted as a just cause for declaring war ought to find our Nation firmly rejecting. The Savior's significant utterance, "All that take the sword shall perish with the sword," should cause our patriotism to move us to denounce and reject the argument of armaments which has proved an implement of suicide to the past nations that have resorted to its power.

I trust that America will have the patience and good sense to wait until the war passion of the world has subsided, when calmer justice will be possible, when an agreeable compensation for the wrong we have suffered can be better effected. To declare war upon Germany, or even to declare that a state of war exists, will but add dignity to Germany's wrong. The world sentiment of justice and equity can best be awakened as the force armaments are withheld.

If these suggestions seem reasonable to you, and you have any suggestions to make as to how in a small way I may be helpful to carrying them out, I shall be happy for the opportunity to do so.

Yours for a patriotism that will not bring the hazards of war, I am,
Sincerely,

GEO. C. LEE.

—

WILMER, ALA., *March 28, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Please use your influence to keep the country out of war. Demand that the people be allowed to say by referendum whether they shall have war or not, for the people do not want war. Also demand that there be an embargo put on all munitions of war to all belligerent nations, and that there also be an embargo placed on all foodstuffs, for we need the food at home. Feed America and Americans first, and forbid Americans and American ships from going into the war zone except at their own risk.

Yours, truly,
A. S. BROWN.

P. S.—Please send me any speeches you may make or may have made.

A. S. B.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

This administration was elected upon a peace platform. Therefore we must now be true to the people and not precipitate war before ascertaining by a referendum vote whether or not the people want war, otherwise no belligerent act of any European nation could be compared in the injury done our country with this dishonor and betrayal of our Republic. We must not betray the people's trust; for if we do, this Nation's blood will be upon our hands. By all means demand that the Nation shall have a referendum vote.

EARL BROS.

—

CHICAGO, *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Last night we sent the inclosed copy of telegram to the President. In this telegram you will note that you and every other Member of Congress were included. We now take this means of making the same appeal to you personally.

Yours, truly,
EARL BROS.

CHICAGO, *March 30, 1917.*

President WILSON,
Washington, D. C.:

We hope that you, as President, together with Congress, as representatives of this God-given Republic, will see to it that such a Republic is not forced, contrary to its wishes, into a mercenary war, nor compelled to go down in history with such a stigma attached.

EARL BROS.

WHY WE SHOULD NOT HAVE WAR.

This is a time when we should be calm and weigh everything with the greatest of thought and care, and not be swayed by speeches from those who would lead us, if they could, into what most all of Europe is passing through at the present time.

The first thing to consider and study, in going to war, is the food problem—whether we are well provided to feed our soldiers and also the poor of our country. Are we?

Our cold storages and warehouses are short of most everything in the food line, compared with a year ago. This is due to short crops and a big export demand brought about by the European war, which has forced prices so high that the people are complaining bitterly of the high cost of living, and the extremely poor are barely existing.

How would it be if we went to war? Would not the situation be much worse than it is now?

Would we not draw men from the farms, thereby curtailing farm labor and creating a still greater shortage of food products? Would not this create still higher prices than exist to-day?

If war were declared, would we not be compelled to feed the allies, in a large way, whether we could spare it or not? Would not this also create a higher cost of living?

How could the wives and children of soldiers drawn into the Army live on about $4 per week paid to them by the Government? This is not even half of what a servant girl is getting.

Would not all this bring on misery and discontent to say nothing of the poor soldiers who would lose their lives?

Our present trouble has been brought about by the loss of lives of those who were previously warned not to take any chances in the war zone on English ships or forbidden lane and by the sinking of three of our ships. This, of course, is a great wrong, but as the German fleet is bottled up would it not be wise to just thoroughly arm our merchant ships and let the allies do the same? Would not this place us in a position to cope with the submarines if they made an attack? Why not give it a trial before plunging ourselves into this terrible war unprepared?

We should go on preparing so if any foreign power should invade our shores we would be in position to protect ourselves.

They have brought on this uncivilized war, why not let them finish it? The cost would be too great for us to get mixed up in it, besides everything points to an early close among themselves.

If we can evade war it should be a peace lesson never to be forgotten by foreign powers.

It is better to be called a coward with judgment than a rash fighter.

GEO. CRAPSER,
Member Boston Fruit & Produce Exchange.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 12, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Complying with a motion unanimously passed by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly (the central labor organization of this city representing close to 100 labor unions with a membership of 18,000), I was instructed to commend you for your noble stand for peace and against war in the interest of the great common people of this Nation, in the face of the opposition of the "prostitute press," the munition manufacturers, and profit patriots that dominate Congress.

L. SINTON,
Secretary of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly.

—

CHICAGO, *March 31, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I do not believe the newspapers of the United States convey the general sentiment of the big majority of the American people.

I think the United States can well afford to keep out of that war zone in Europe. I believe in preparing for war, but I do not believe in doing it on such a reckless, extravagant, and gigantic scale and rushing pell-mell into it without any regard to expenses and consequences.

There are many real good reasons why the United States should not get into war with Germany, unless there is more cause than there is now. Just because there are many nations in war is no good reason why the United States must get into the business of doing bloody murder.

I would like to know if you think this country should help the allies whip Germany and send some of our best young men more than 3,000 miles to help the allies win a victory when we have more than enough for all of our men to do at home. If they really must fight, they can practice up on Mexico.

My father was in the Civil War, and in several battles, and he was sick for a year after he was sent home, because the Army surgeon said that on account of a bullet wound in one of his lungs and another one in one of his legs he could not live very long. I heard him tell about the horrors of war several times before he died.

I know that it is not necessary for the United States at this time to get into war with Germany. I would rather my boys would be out on some good farms and be thoroughly alive than be dead heroes on the battle fields of war. If the men and women generally insist upon going to war with Germany, Congress and the President might insist upon the fellows who are selling the ammunition and war supplies enlisting first. If the United States must go to war with Germany, I suggest that they do it independently of any other nation.

Supposing our ships keep out of that war zone and let the European war dogs fight it out among themselves.

I believe in going right along and preparing for war, but not at a breakneck speed, without any consideration of what the outcome will be at this time.

We dropped the argument with Germany some time ago, and she will be making some new offers. I think we lost a big part of our prestige abroad soon after the war began. We should have been more aggressive and we should have commenced preparing for war before the *Lusitania* was sunk.

We have no business to loan the allies money without interest. Our business should be firm and businesslike and we should remain a dignified neutral.

I believe in the freedom of the seas for all nations, of course, and England should have no more right to the seas than we or Germany.

We can arm and remain neutral and keep out of war, and thus keep far ahead of the nations now at war. We should warn our people of

the horrors of war instead of rushing them in now, when we have nothing to go to war about.

If we must have war, I am willing to serve in a regular army, but many of our young men and middle-aged men and their families should be out on some good, productive farms producing the necessities with which to maintain life and keep up a large standing army.

If we want to bring down the high cost of living, we should urge good men and women to get on to good farms and stay there and raise wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, beans, onions, potatoes, beef, mutton, pork, ham and eggs, butter and cheese. It is highly important that we have many more food producers than to try and get every able-bodied man to get into war.

Yours, very truly,

WM. H. BROWN.

—

IONE, WASH., *March 19, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, citizens of Ione, Wash., commend your action and voting on the question of arming the American merchant ships.

It is to be regretted by all patriotic Americans that we can not have more than 12 or 13 real men in each House of Congress.

Yours, very respectfully,

John E. Anderson, Frank D. Griffin, Guy A. Love, Mary L. Love, Cora Griffin, C. Binsman, J. L. Rice, and P. G. Derker.

—

COURTENAY, N. DAK., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. A. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

RESPECTED SIR: In the name of my two congregations at Courtenay and Wimbledon, N. Dak., numbering some 200 souls, I wish to communicate to you the following:

1. Not a single man, wife, or child of my congregations wants our beloved country to enter the present world war.

2. We see no warrant for our declaring war against Germany without taking like action against England, because both are guilty of violations of American rights under international law.

3. We insist upon that a way out of the present crisis be found without loss of honor and without perpetrating what would be an act of unneutrality and injustice.

4. We will stand by you now and always in resisting any usurpation of what the Constitution makes the sole right of Congress, the making and declaring of war.

I might add that for weeks I have tried to fathom the sentiment of our community, and I must say that there is absolutely no clamor for war; on the contrary, everybody desires peace.

Knowing the great difficulties besetting our Congressmen in this national emergency, we pray to God to give you moral courage and wisdom to do and act for the welfare, honor, and glory of our beloved Nation and the advancement of true humanity.

Last, but not least, I wish to express my admiration and gratitude for the stand you took recently against armed neutrality.

Very respectfully,

Rev. C. H. LUEKER, Jr.

—

JAMESTOWN, N. DAK., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: As a Democrat, I want to hold up your hands in your noble stand regarding the war proposition. Your stand is noble, high, and lofty, and even if you fail you have won. Principle is what pays; not what others do. What you believe in your own heart should be your standard of doing business and voting. Success.

Yours, very truly,

REDMOND A. BOLTON.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, in reply to what seems to be the spirit of some of the communications read to the Senate, I beg leave, without taking up the time of the Senate to read them, to have inserted in the RECORD the telegrams and resolutions which I hold in my hand, expressing confidence in the President of the United States and encouraging America to defend herself against German aggression.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CARRIERE, MISS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

We believe that the point where forbearance is no longer a virtue has been reached in the German imbroglio. Our flag has been insulted and our people foully murdered. If we fail to resent these outrages, we shall deserve the contempt of the world.

J. W. Turner, Horne Smith, Cox Lee Plunkette, Penton Dozier, Beekman Neusom, Mayfield Miller, Penton Russ, Stockstill Boykin, Simmons Weaver, Martin Jordan, Baker McGhee, Moody Powell Stovall.

—

PASS CHRISTIAN, MISS., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

The time for peace talk has passed. Germany is now making war upon the citizens of the United States. We urge you to stand with our President in the present crisis for America free and efficient and for real war against the enemy of all mankind, to the end that Prussian militarism be once and for all wiped out.

Elmer Northrup, A. R. Robertson, John Bell, Stroub J. White, Geo. L. Cronovich, B. L. Knost, L. L. Lazar, W. J. Hursey, Guy Northrup, B. Chotard, Frank Farrell, H. B. Spence, S. L. Engman, L. H. Barksdale, Alonzo B. Hayden, Robt. W. Strong, W. C. Soia, J. B. Adams, B. J. Hatkinson, H. W. Smith, Owen Farrell, C. H. Lindsey, C. F. O'Connor, W. E. Champlin.

HACKENSACK, N. J., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Realizing that every Member of Congress has our destines in his hands, we call on you to protect our patriotism from taints of weakness. The governmental terrors of the world are all opposing democracy. Our prompt acceptance of their challenge will discourage them, will hearten our allies, and shorten the war.

MILTON DEMAREST,
Mayor of Hackensack, N. J.

—

NEW AUGUSTA, MISS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

I find people of Mississippi commend you for the noble stand you have taken in this solemn hour. Lead on!

J. F. MCKAY.

—

GREENWOOD, MISS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Please convey to the President the following resolutions of Greenwood Elks:

"Whereas Germany has repeatedly since the outbreak of the present European conflict committed acts of war against the United States by ruthless destruction of the property and lives of American citizens on the high seas in violation of international law and the principles of humanity; and

"Whereas Germany has recently in insolent defiance of the United States notified them that these illegal outrages will be continued deliberately and systematically unless American citizens and merchant ships are altogether kept off certain large designated areas of the high seas, and has since such notice without any provocation attacked and destroyed at least five such ships, thereby causing the death of a number of American citizens, showing that she fully purposes to follow up the word with the deed; and

"Whereas Germany has in various other ways committed acts of hostility against the United States, notably by the Zimmerman note, which sought to involve the United States in war with the friendly powers of Mexico and Japan with a view to the actual territorial dismemberment of the United States; and

"Whereas these acts of Germany are derogatory to the dignity and honor of the United States, destructive of the dearest rights of American citizens, and are in a high degree insulting to the American people and fraught with peril to their vital interests and safety: Therefore be it

"Resolved unanimously by Lodge No. 854, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, That it is the sense of the lodge that the United States should at once meet this illegal and insulting and aggressive warlike course of Germany with appropriate aggressive action by a declaration of war against Germany and the speedy and vigorous prosecution of the war with every resource at their command, and that to this end a complete and comprehensive scheme of preparedness shall be accomplished as quickly as practicable, one feature of which shall be the adoption of a system of universal compulsory military training along the lines recommended by the General Staff of the Army of the United States; and that the United States shall cooperate with France and her allies in the manner most practicable to the end that the complete military defeat of Germany may be brought about, the vital interest and safety of the American Nation so requiring. In this the lodge pledges to the President and Congress their sympathy, loyalty, and active support."

G. A. WILSON, Jr.,
Exalted Ruler.
E. J. COX, *Secretary.*

—

Resolutions adopted by the Tavern Club of Boston, Mass., at a special meeting held on Thursday, March 29, 1917.

Whereas Germany has destroyed our ships, killed our citizens, conducted an illegal submarine warfare against our commerce, and attempted to arouse against us the friendly powers, Japan and Mexico, in a plot to dismember our Nation; and

Whereas by this and other acts Germany is now virtually making war with the United States:

Resolved, That we support the President in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, in arming our vessels, and in calling Congress in extra session;

Resolved, That we call upon our Government for prompt leadership in mobilizing our national strength and increasing the Army and Navy for the adequate protection of our rights and our lives on land and sea;

Resolved, That we urge Congress to enact at once a universal military service bill;

Resolved, That the Congress immediately declare war on Germany, whose attacks on our noncombatant citizens, repeated now during nearly two years, have proved her hostile purpose toward this country; and who, if unchecked, might destroy our national existence.

HENRY L. HIGGINSON, *President.*
H. ABBOTT, *Secretary.*

—

MERIDIAN, MISS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Sentiment here unanimous for President and his policies. Believe he will do right thing at right time. Our organization of 50 business men ready to render any service possible. We indorse universal military service. We ask you to support President to the limit.

MERIDIAN RIFLE CLUB,
H. L. J. BARNES, *Secretary.*

—

COLUMBIA, MISS., *April 1, 1917.*

United States Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Eight hundred citizens of Marion County assembled send you our greetings and take this method to thank you for the splendid way in which you have supported President Wilson. Having passed the best years of your life in the service of Mississippi, you, more than anyone

bearing her commission in Washington, can interpret and speak the sentiment of our people. Say to the world that Mississippians look upon Woodrow Wilson as their trusted leader and with unfaltering step will follow wherever he leads.

Adopted without a dissenting vote and ordered sent by

J. Q. LANGSTON, *Mayor*.

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 2, 1917*.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Capitol, Washington, D. C.:

Keep up the good work of standing by the President.

A. S. HACKETT.

—

NATCHEZ, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

We want peace, but peace with honor. Germany is warring upon us, and we must strike in self-defense.

LEMUEL P. CONNER.

—

LAUREL, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We ask that you, as our representative, stand behind our President in all things to uphold the honor and dignity of our country.

MERCHANTS OF BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
By W. T. SCOTT, *President*.

—

LUMBERTON, MISS., *April 3, 1917*.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We urge you to support President in present crisis.

JNO. A. YEAGER
(And 30 voters).

—

LAUREL, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Hon. J. S. WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

We wish to declare ourselves as heartily in favor of our Government standing on her rights and steadfastly opposing the encroachment of Germany or any other foreign power on said rights unless the ruthless submarine warfare is immediately discontinued by the Teutons. We earnestly desire our Nation to take steps necessary to protect lives and property of our citizens at home and on the high seas. We stand squarely behind you and our beloved President.

LAUREL COMMERCIAL CLUB.

—

SANFORD, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Your course in Congress in the present grave crisis is admired and indorsed by a great majority, if not all, of your constituents in this section.

E. L. O'DONNEL.

—

JACKSON, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

It is not necessary at this time to ask you to stand by the President. You are man enough to do that regardless of the traitors in Mississippi. I feel safe in saying that 95 per cent of the people are with him.

L. R. GANNON.

—

JACKSON, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

The Young Men's Business Club, 1,000 strong, and voicing the sentiment of the people of Jackson, to-night passed resolutions most heartily indorsing the stand taken by President Wilson and will back you in supporting him.

YOUNG MEN'S BUSINESS CLUB,
W. P. BRIDGES, *Secretary*.

—

LAUREL, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

In consequence of the many acts of war committed by Germany against this country Congress should at once declare war against that country and place at the disposal of the President unlimited resources to carry on the war and to immediately assist the allies in their effort to destroy German militarism.

GEO. S. GARDINER.
WALLACE B. ROGERS.
CHARLES GREEN.
H. M. ROGERS.

—

GREENVILLE, MISS., *April 2, 1917*.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

At one of the largest gatherings of taxpayers held in the Washington County courthouse for years the resolutions below was adopted unanimously by a rising vote:

"Resolved by the citizens of Washington County, Miss., in mass meeting assembled, That though deeply impressed with the gravity of the step we believe that the hour has struck for a declaration of war on the part of this Nation with Germany and the prosecution of it with every available resource in the way of men, material, and money at the command of this Nation.

"Resolved, That the secretary of this meeting telegraph this resolution to the congressional delegation from this State in Congress."

N. GOLDSTEIN, *Chairman*.
L. PINK SMITH, *Secretary*.

NEW YORK, *April 2, 1917*.

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Have watched admiringly your firmness during these critical days. May you go on with increasing strength in the fight for liberty.

EDITH D. MARSDEN.

Mr. FLETCHER. I present a telegram from the mayor of Ocala, Fla., and resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in Jacksonville, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the telegram and resolutions were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OCALA, FLA., *April 2, 1917*.

Senator FLETCHER, *Washington, D. C.:*

Whereas the sinking of American vessels without warning, causing the loss of American life, constitutes under the law of nations acts of war levied against the United States, to which there can be but one reply in honor, in dignity, and in sacred duty to civilization; and

Whereas the President of the United States has called Congress to meet in extraordinary session to deliberate upon and determine what action should be taken to put an end to the outrages committed against American citizens by the German Empire: Be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Ocala, Fla., urge Congress to prompt action, and recognizing our full duty to God and country, hereby offer our entire support to President Wilson in whatever course Congress may direct him for the protection of American rights. Further, that copies of these resolutions be telegraphed to President Wilson and to our delegation in Congress.

J. E. CHASE,
Mayor, Chairman Citizens' Mass Meeting.

—

[From the Sunday Times-Union, Jacksonville, Fla., Apr. 1, 1917.]

MASS MEETING OF THE CITY'S BEST CITIZENS VOTED TO ACCEPT GAGE OF BATTLE THROWN DOWN BY GERMANY—1,800 PEOPLE CHEER PATRIOTIC SPEECHES TO ECHO IN COUNTY ARMORY—PLEDGE UNITED SUPPORT TO PRESIDENT WILSON—DEMAND PASSAGE BY CONGRESS OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING BILL AT ONCE.

By unanimous vote the citizens of Jacksonville who attended the big patriotic mass meeting in the armory last evening voted to accept Germany's gage of battle and resist all aggression until a victorious peace is secured. The vote was taken upon the adoption of a resolution calling upon Congress to pass a universal military training bill. The entire meeting was one of the most enthusiastic ever held in the city. Nearly one-half of the audience was composed of women, and they were the most enthusiastic.

The meeting was called to order by Mayor J. E. T. Bowden. He stated the purpose of the meeting and informed the audience that similar mass meetings were being held all over the country. He then introduced John E. Hartridge as the presiding officer of the evening. Mr. Hartridge declared that he could think of nothing better to say than to paraphrase the speech of Patrick Henry, which was delivered before the Virginia House of Delegates in 1775.

MR. HARTRIDGE'S SPEECH.

Mr. Hartridge spoke as follows:

"The question before us is one of awful moment to this country. And what have we to oppose to Germany? Shall we try argument? We have been trying that for the last two and one-half years. Have we anything new to offer on the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable, but it has been all in vain.

"Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, deceive ourselves longer. We have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on.

"We have reasoned; we have remonstrated; we have argued; we have humbled ourselves. All have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our arguments and appeals have been disregarded, and we have been spurned with contempt. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope.

"If we wish to continue, if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have fought; if we mean not basely to abandon our rights, surrender the principles upon which our Government is founded and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, we must fight. I repeat it, we must fight. An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us.

"They tell us that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed and when a German guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

"We are not weak, if we make a proper use of the means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. One hundred millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, we shall not fight our battles alone.

"There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who has raised up friends to fight our battles with us. The battle is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave.

"Besides, we have no election.

"If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest.

"There is no retreat but in submission and degradation. Our chains are being forged.

"Their clanking may be heard upon the sounding sea, and the justness of our cause seen in sinking ships, destroyed property, smoking industries, and murdered citizens. The war is inevitable, and let it come. I repeat it, let it come.

"It is in vain to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the sea will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field.

"Why stand we here idle? What is it that the people wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God.

"'I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.'"

ADDRESS BY BISHOP CURLEY.

The Right Rev. M. J. Curley, D. D., bishop of St. Augustine, was the first speaker introduced by Mr. Hartridge. He delivered a most masterful and eloquent address, appealing to the patriotism of the people.

He spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, I stand on this platform to-night as an American citizen, knowing but one land—America—loving and ready to serve but one flag—the Stars and Stripes. I spurn every accusation of divided allegiance. This land of freedom has it all, and it is offered to-night to him whose hand is steady on the rudder of the ship of state, Woodrow Wilson. May the God of the nations guide him.

"For now over 30 long months we have watched being waged on European fields the greatest war the world has ever known; we have seen nation after nation hurl itself into the fray; we have seen the god of war twist peoples out of shape, ruin commerce, level cities, sweeping away as by torrent force great works of art; we have seen innocent men and women made homeless, sent adrift as exiles; we have seen millions wear the garb of mourners, tearful wives and mothers, fatherless babes; we have seen the gaunt specter of famines stalk through once wealthy nations, and, worst of all, we have seen the flower of Europe's manhood laid low, mangled, shattered, unrecognizable, consumed by flame, riddled by shot and shell, hurled and huddled by tens of thousands into graves far from their loved ones. We have seen it all—stunned, shocked, thrilled, unable to grasp the conflict's extent. Neutrality was proclaimed and preserved under conditions the most trying ever experienced by this Nation. There were critics abroad. There were men who cried aloud, "To-morrow we shall be involved," and there were men who were heard proclaiming that, come what may, we must not enter into the conflict—the professional pacifists. God save the Nation from them.

"America remembered what her first President said about entangling alliances. There was no question of her taking sides. She stood independent and apart, and she did stand so even though men said she swayed now one way and now another. Looking back in clear perspective, we see her one and apart—America and America only. She made overtures to the blood-mad combatants; she sent relief wherever she could to the poor and famished victims of strife. She was patient at times under dire provocation now from one party to the fray, now from another. But whilst patient her voice rang clear asserting American rights and whenever America fights for American rights, the world will know that America is right, the world will know why and for what America fights.

FIGHT OR SURRENDER.

"Years have gone by. The tension has become greater. American lives have been lost, American commerce crippled. To-day we stand face to face with the great question 'What shall we do; fight or surrender right?' Surrender? Never!

"Monday shall witness the coming together of the Nation's Representatives in solemn council. The Nation shall hear the voice of its head, and the Nation shall obey. We await that decision. Meantime, we must prepare! It is no time to prepare or discuss preparation when we are being throttled. If we sit down idly and wait till then we shall be given an opportunity to do one thing only—to beg for our lives. Need I say that the preparation should have been made long ago? Now, at least, there is still time—time for national salvation which must be worked out by national preparation.

"We are citizens of a great Republic, and as such we are blessed with many and glorious privileges. But we have duties as well as privileges. We may enjoy our privileges, but no American has a right to enjoy American privileges if he is not prepared to do his duty to this American Republic. This duty we are bound to do by every law of God and man. It follows logically and no man dare deny the conclusion that we must be prepared to do our duty. That duty is one of fighting and if need be dying for America. This preparation calls for training. To-morrow did the call for volunteers go forth, millions would rush to arms, but in spite of their best intentions, these men would not be prepared to take their place in organized, systematic defense. That calls for practically blind obedience, for highly developed discipline, for a knowledge of arms and strategic maneuvers. It calls for training. It took one great nation months running into years to make her men ready. Be prepared therefore before the enemy is at our gates. Locking the stable when the horse is gone is a bad policy in any affair, but particularly so in national affairs, when so much is at stake. I respectfully submit therefore that there is one and only one solution—universal training—universal service. This is preparedness in fact. Had we such, to-morrow not 350,000 men but millions of men could take the field and do so efficiently. There would be no need to await the whipping into shape of eager, willing, but unprepared and inexperienced men, even though we grant that the American volunteer is calculated to prove efficient as an apt pupil in a short time. In the present war, the nation that had to call for volunteers and await their being trained paid the price—and a dear one it was—of voluntary service in the sacrifice of thousands of lives of brave men who looked and cried during the war's early stages for reinforcements—only to hear the answer 'They are not ready yet.'

COMPLETE PREPAREDNESS.

"Let me quote from a recent article on preparedness: 'Only complete preparedness will avail against the nations now ranking as the enemies of democracy; the only democratic means of defense of the democratic ideal lies in universal military service. Not only is it the only democratic means, it is the only means. No defense short of it will defend. Hired armies, half-way armies, are not big enough. Only a nation in arms has a fighting chance against a nation in arms. The United States so armed would have nothing to fear; and, having no imperial aims to gratify, could sit forever at its own fireside intent only upon its real mission, which is to work out within its own borders a better democracy for its own people.'

"This was the spirit actuating the founders of our Nation, and it finds expression in the militia act of May 8, 1792.

"The principle of universal service is nothing new; it is as old as our Government; the principle is there. Whether it be carried into effect under State or Federal supervision is a matter of policy. On this point great men differ.

"We are asked to support a resolution calling on Congress to pass a law making universal service compulsory. That means we are asked to approve action making ourselves ready to do our duty at our country's call when it calls. We are asked to favor legislative action which will enrich, prepare, and build up the young manhood of America, fit it to take its place and to defend American rights and liberties. No man who admits his duty to the Republic can logically object to being prepared to do it. I told that without universal military service and training we can not be prepared. America has a right to expect every man to do his duty. It follows that America has a duty to prepare every man to do it.

SWITZERLAND'S PREPARATION.

"Switzerland has such universal service. With an area of only 15,976 square miles and a population of only three and three-fourths millions she can put on the field to-morrow 539,109. America, with over 100,000,000 people, could send out in our defense to-morrow but 350,000 men. True, in a year she could put a million men in the field. But what might happen to an unprepared nation in a year of warfare? There are 20,000,000 men in the United States of military age—from 18 to 45. If we make the years run from 18 to 32, we have 10,000,000 men; if from 18 to 23, we have 5,000,000 men; and about 1,000,000 young men reach military age every year. Give these men a chance, a fighting chance, and I make bold to predict that America shall never have a war.

"'But,' some one objects, 'this is advocating militarism with a vengeance. That means training a nation of soldiers.' It does mean a nation with sons ready to defend it; but it does not mean militarism. Let us listen to the words of our President, when he defines the difference between militarism and preparedness:

"'I should say it was not inconsistent with the traditions of the country that the people should know how to take care of themselves; but it is inconsistent with the traditions of the country that their knowledge of arms should be used by a governmental organization which would make and organize a great army subject to orders to do what a particular set of men might at the time think it was best to have it do. That is the militarism of Europe, where a few persons can determine what an armed nation is to do. That is what I understand militarism to be.

NOT MILITARISM.

"'But a nation acquainted with arms is not a militaristic nation unless there is somebody who can by an order determine what they shall all do with that force. I think we ought to be very careful not to let these different things seem as if they were the same.'

"Let us stand, every man, in favor of the resolution to be submitted to us to-night asking for universal military service.

"The second resolution calls for a conference of nations after the war with a view to coming to international agreement regarding lasting and, if possible, perpetual peace.

"Let this Republic be the first to take steps to bring peace and happiness to a war-worn world. The heart of humanity cries out for peace. I believe that the very men in the trenches long for it. The saddened wives and mothers, the little ones, lonely and fatherless, crave it. Must nations continue to block the wheels of the world's progress by rivers of blood? Must a very hell be let loose at intervals to deluge men and women in hate? To set nations back centuries? To wipe out the fruits of ages of toil? To destroy the world's manhood?

"I believe that this great Republic, resting solid on the rights of men, has a golden opportunity after the present war. Let us bring pressure to bear on the nations that will be found resting after this conflict, tired, depleted, worn out, in order that they may come together in a great world conference to discuss lasting peace. Let us endeavor to find some way of settling international disputes without sword, fire, poisonous gas, and human sacrifice.

"I ask you, lovers of America, to-night to stand for the real preparedness that will mean real peace."

AMERICA A UNITED COUNTRY.

Former Secretary of the Navy Hilary A. Herbert, who served in the Cabinet of the late President Cleveland, made a short speech. He said that he was a Confederate veteran, and knew what war meant. The former Secretary declared that Germany was now at war with this country, and that this was no time for temporizing. He declared that when the imperial chancellor declared that Germany had done nothing to cause war with America that the voice of W. J. Bryan was heard in the land declaring that America would not go to war.

The veteran declared that on June 6 the Confederate veterans would parade down historic Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's capital, cheered by the thousands of veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, and that this would show the world that America would face the foe with a united front and would be victor in the end.

TOOMER URGED PREPARATION.

W. M. Toomer urged the country to prepare for eventualities. He said that this country should stand ready to protect its honor and its citizens at all times, and that with proper training the manhood of the Nation would be found ready and able for the task.

Rev. J. B. French was the last speaker before the introduction of the resolutions. He painted the horrible picture of war, and deplored the fact that the civilized nations found it necessary at this late date to appeal to arms to settle their difficulties. However, he declared that if war was made upon this country the people should answer the call to the colors and defend the country against the attacks of the alien enemy.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

Every speaker of the evening was frequently interrupted by vociferous applause. When Maj. St. Clair-Abrams was explaining the resolutions he introduced, calling upon Congress to pass a bill for compulsory universal military training, he brought the audience to its feet with his eloquence. He declared that after reading the resolutions adopted in South Carolina, Virginia, and other States he felt that the resolution he had drawn was too tame, but inasmuch as he had not had time to draft another he would read it as he had written it. The resolution, which was unanimously adopted, reads as follows:

"Whereas the existing situation demands complete preparedness by the United States to meet present and future aggression by the central powers of Europe on the people and rights of this Republic; and

"Whereas the sinking of American vessels without warning, with the resulting loss of American lives, constitutes acts of war levied against the United States to which there can be but one response compatible with the honor, dignity, and glory of the Republic; Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That the people of Florida heartily approve and indorse the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the German Empire and pledge themselves to sustain and support the President of the United States and Congress in their every act looking to the vindication of this Republic and to the maintenance of its rights; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the people of Florida heartily and enthusiastically advocate compulsory military service, and urge the Congress of the United States to immediately pass what is known as the Chamberlain bill for universal military training, so that this country may be prepared for any eventuality that may arise; be it further

"*Resolved*, That this meeting considers it the duty of Congress, immediately on its assembling and organizing, to declare that a state of war exists between the United States and the German Empire, and to adopt such measures as will enable this Republic to sustain and maintain itself against any possible attack coming from any quarter; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we deprecate and denounce any and all efforts looking to further submission to the illegal acts of the German Imperial Government, and declare it our conviction that but one course is now possible, consistent with the courage, honor, and prestige of the Republic, namely, to accept the gage of battle thrown down before us and forcibly resist all aggression until we have secured a victorious peace."

WORLD PEACE DESIRED.

A resolution by Frank Wideman calling upon the nations to provide for world peace after the present war was unanimously adopted as follows:

"Whereas the President of the United States has stated that this Nation is ready after this war to join with other nations in forming a league of nations, the purpose of which shall be restraining as far as may be possible such wars in the future; and

"Whereas the period of our political isolation is past, and while we shall never enter the tangled maze of so-called European diplomacy, and have no desire to form any alliance for the ordinary purposes of such arrangements, it is obvious that we have reached the period when, whether we would have it so or not, we have a direct interest in every considerable difference between nations large and small, and can not, by pleading a desire to be let alone, escape the effects of war waged anywhere on this globe; and

"Whereas the President's recent declaration is a prophecy of the Monroe doctrine written large—applied by all the powers to all the peoples of the earth; and

"Whereas the existing program of civilization has obviously reached the limits of its usefulness and a peace after the war which does not include fundamental changes in international relations will not be permanent; and

"Whereas our own Government may well be taken as a model which the nations should study in forming an association of nations, being itself the product of the voluntary act of the people in 13 sovereign States: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we publicly express our confidence in and applaud the President for his prophetic utterance; we approve his desire for a better understanding between the nations after this war, and we will support any movement loooking toward a discussion of the formation of an association of nations to insure permanent peace after the present war is ended; that at that time we favor the establishment, under proper guaranties and with adequate sanctions, of an association of the civilized nations to secure the submission of all questions and controversies arising between them in the future to suitable tribunals prior to a resort to arms, and we believe that the extension of the principles of the Monroe doctrine to the whole world, as suggested by the President of the United States in his address to the Senate on January 22, will be to the great advantage not only of the American Continent but of all nations; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That in the present crisis we declare our unqualified approval of the President's program in dealing with Germany; that we do not countenance the compromise of a single inch in dealing with those who destroy American lives and property without warrant of concience or of law; that we are American citizens, and if the Congress about to assemble decides that the hour has struck to vindicate by force of arms the traditions of America and Americans we will back up that decision with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The resolution presented by Ernest Metcalf was unanimously adopted. It reads as follows:

"Whereas we believe in the long-established and well-defended American doctrine of the freedom of the seas, which means the free and unrestricted passage of the vessels of all nations between the ports of all countries; and

"Whereas we believe that all blockades to be effective should be maintained according to the well-established principles of international law as such principles have been laid down and agreed to by the civilized nations of the earth in The Hague conferences and other conventions of the powers; and

"Whereas we recognize the right of nations at war to seek out and capture or destroy the supplies of their enemies, but do not approve of their so doing without first giving the crews and passengers of vessels of commerce ample opportunity to find places of safety, especially in the case of women and children; and

"Whereas we condemn in the strongest terms the destruction of property within the confines of the borders of neutral States by the agents, spies, or hirelings of a belligerent nation: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the people of Jacksonville, in mass meeting assembled, heartily indorse the steps taken by the President of the United States for the purpose of preventing such destruction of life and property by the arming of American merchant vessels and otherwise; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we pledge our unqualified support to the President and Government of the United States for the upholding of the ancient traditions of the Republic and the honor of the country, and to this end, in the language of our forefathers, 'we pledge our lives, our property, and our sacred honor.'"

Mr. FLETCHER. I also present a petition of sundry citizens of St. Augustine and a telegram from the legislative committee of Painters' Local Union No. 164, of Jacksonville, Fla., relating to compulsory military training, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition and telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. D. U. FLETCHER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned citizens of St. Augustine, do hereby urge you to do everything possible to secure the prompt passage of a bill adequately providing for universal compulsory military training and service.

We believe that this is the quickest and most effective way of providing an army for the defense of the country, and that it will be of the utmost service to our youth in promoting their physical and moral welfare and instilling into them the true spirit of patriotism and respect for and obedience to the law.

J. D. BUSH
(And others).

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. D. U. FLETCHER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We most earnestly request of you to work for the defeat of the Chamberlain bill entitled "Universal military training," Calendar No. 924. Actual count of people attending mass meeting held in armory March 31 was 342 men, 127 women, fully one-half not voting on resolution.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE PAINTERS' LOCAL UNION NO. 164,
L. C. MICHELI, *Secretary.*

Mr. HARDWICK. I present a telegram embodying resolutions adopted at a called meeting of Augusta Lodge, No. 205, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the telegram was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUSTA, GA., *April 1, 1917.*

THOMAS W. HARDWICK,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a called meeting of Augusta Lodge, No. 205, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, to-night the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is a patriotic American organization, and it is proper and desirable that the President and Congress should be assured of the attitude of the whole people of the United States in the present international crisis: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*—

"First. That the Augusta Lodge, No. 205, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in formal meeting assembled, strongly indorses the steps taken by the President to preserve the national honor and protect the lives and property of American citizens from unlawful attack, while it holds up his hands in whatever further action he deems wise and needful.

"Second. That the gathering of Elks understands that a state of war now exists between the United States and Germany, and Congress will have our hearty approval in immediately providing the President with whatever means he desires for the vigorous prosecution of war.

"Third. That equal rights and interests entail equal duties and responsibilities upon every American citizen, and accordingly Congress will meet the wishes of this body by immediately putting into effect universal service and by providing for universal military training as a permanent policy of this Government.

"Fourth. That copies of these resolutions under the seal of the lodge be sent to the President of the United States, each of the United States Senators from Georgia, and the Congressman from the tenth district of Georgia in the United States House of Representatives, as well as to the Congressmen from the first district of Georgia and the second district of South Carolina, inasmuch as a large portion of their respective constituencies reside within the fraternal jurisdiction of this lodge, which has many members in both of these districts."

J. FRANK CARSWELL,
Exalted Ruler.
J. S. FARR, *Secretary.*

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I present a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire in favor of universal military and naval training. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

The concurrent resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To all to whom these present shall come, greeting:

I, Edwin C. Bean, secretary of state of the State of New Hampshire, do hereby certify that the following and hereto attached is a true copy of a concurrent resolution unanimously adopted by the senate and house of representatives on March 22, 1917, the original of which is on file in this office and in my custody as secretary of state.

In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand and cause to be affixed the seal of the State, at Concord, this 23d day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] EDWIN C. BEAN,
Secretary of State.

Concurrent resolution.

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That we favor universal military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted under the seal of this State to our Senators and Representatives in Washington, to be presented to the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the senate.
Attest:

EARLE C. GORDON, *Clerk.*

Adopted by the house of representatives.
Attest:

HARRIE M. YOUNG, *Clerk.*

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I have a telegram from the president of Dartmouth College, signed by himself and 47 other members of the Dartmouth faculty. The president of Dartmouth College states that they are now on a vacation and only about one-half the faculty have signed the telegram. He expresses the opinion that had the entire faculty been present it would have been practically a unanimous matter.

This telegram declares that in the judgment of the president and faculty of Dartmouth College we are in a state of war, and asks me to sustain the President in any endeavor that he may make to protect the honor and integrity of our Nation. I respond heartily to that request. I ask that the telegram be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANOVER, N. H., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution has been signed, besides myself, by President Emeritus Tucker and 47 other members of the Dartmouth faculty. As Dartmouth is now on vacation only about half the faculty could be reached. I believe in term time the number of signatures would be nearly doubled.

"*Resolved*, That the undersigned members of the faculty of Dartmouth College record our emphatic conviction that a state of war exists by repeated acts of Germany, and that our national duty to humanity and civilization demand that a declaration to this effect be made at once, to be followed by immediate and wholehearted support of the allied cause on both sea and land."

ERNEST M. HOPKINS,
President Dartmouth College.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have also, Mr. President, a telegram from a committee of one hundred on public safety appointed by Gov. Keyes, of New Hampshire. That great organization met and passed a resolution along the same line, which I submit and ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONCORD, N. H., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The committee of one hundred on public safety appointed by Gov. Keyes, met to-day and organized as follows: Executive committee, chairman, John B. Jameson, Antrim; vice chairman, Rolland H. Spalding, Rochester; secretary, Robert Jackson, Concord; treasurer, H. H. Dudley, Concord; Frank S. Streeter, Concord; Arthur M. Heard, Manchester; A. B. Jenks, Manchester; Winthrop L. Carter, Nashua; Harlow S. Person, Hanover; Clarence E. Carr, Andover; Roy D. Hunter, Clarement; and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas a state of war now exists between the United States and Germany; and

"Whereas this condition has been forced upon us in spite of our utmost endeavors to avoid it by all honorable means; and

"Whereas in the prosecution of this war, and while professing friendship for us, the Government of Germany has ignored its treaties, repeatedly broken its pledges, instigated and encouraged sedition in our land, murdered our citizen upon the high seas, and conspired to bring conflict between us and nations with which we are now at peace: Be it

"*Resolved by the New Hampshire committee*, That we recognize that a state of war exists and urge immediate action in maintaining our honor and safeguarding our interests and pledging to our Government our full loyalty and support.

"Second. That we urge upon our Congress soon to assemble the imperative necessity for the immediate enactment of such legislation as shall make it possible to preserve our rights as a nation in any contingency.

"Third, That we also urge upon Congress the necessity of retaining in positions of national trust and responsibility only those men known to be loyal, that precedents in either committee chairmanships or otherwise, and that all partisanship be submerged in patriotic appreciation of the needs of the hour.

"Fourth. That we urge upon the people of our State a serious realization of conditions that confront us and quick action in preparing for the most effective maintenance of our rights and honor.

"Fifth. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from New Hampshire."

JOHN B. JAMESON,
Chairman Executive Committee.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present also a telegram from the Concord Branch of the National Security League, asking me to support the President in any effort that he may make under the laws and Constitution of the Government to protect the honor of our country. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONCORD, N. H., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following telegram has this night been sent to the President of the United States:

"The Concord (N. H.) Branch of the National Security League, resenting the un-American propaganda circulated by the Emergency Peace Federation and believing that the present crisis calls for aggressive action, hereby pledges its support in any steps you may take to defend the national honor."

CONCORD (N. H.) BRANCH NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have also, Mr. President, a telegram from a committee in the city of Portsmouth, N. H., signed by the mayor and various other leading citizens, covering the same ground. I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

It becomes my duty, as chairman of the preparedness day committee, to express the will and wish of the people of the city of Portsmouth, as expressed by them on Thursday, the 29th day of March, a day set aside by proclamation of the mayor of the city of Portsmouth, Samuel T. Ladd. This proclamation met with such hearty patriotic response and force that it was deemed wise that the unbounded patriotism displayed by our people be expressed to you that you take action to uphold and support the dignity of our country and flag on the 2d day of April, when Congress convenes, and that you may be assured of their hearty support in your effort to uphold the honor of our country.

LUKE ASHWORTH,
Chairman of the Preparedness Day Committee.
SAMUEL T. LADD,
Mayor of the City of Portsmouth.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask to have printed in the RECORD two letters from members of the faculty of Dartmouth College, who were not permitted to sign the telegram which I have submitted.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE,
Hanover, N. H., March 30, 1917.

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As a citizen of this town and one of your constituents, I venture to express to you at this critical period in our national life my opinion, which has been deliberately formed, especially as it now appears to be shared by nearly all of your constituents whom I have recently met, that Congress immediately upon it assembling ought to declare war against the German Empire, or declare that a state of war already exists between the United States and that Empire, and that it ought then to proceed to empower the President to use our land and naval forces to carry on such war with the utmost vigor.

The willful, persistent, and cumulating violations of the rights of our citizens upon the high seas by Germany, her discovered plots to disturb our internal peace and provoke invasion of our territory, and her outrageous infractions of solemn treaties and many international usages, which heretofore have bound the family of nations, in my judgment, now leave the United States no possible alternative remedy except the ultimate remedy of war if we are to preserve those rights and perpetuate our national independence and honor.

If any additional reason for our entrance into the war be judged necessary, it exists in the menace which a triumphant Germany at the end of the present European struggle would constitute to civil liberty and republican institutions, even on this side of the Atlantic.

Adequate preparation for present war, as well as insurance for the stability of our republican form of government, seems to me to require the immediate adoption by Congress of a national system of universal compulsory military and naval training and service. What concerns all to preserve, as well as to enjoy—free institutions—ought to have the support of all.

Hoping that your way may be plain in the discharge of the solemn duty that now devolves upon you as a Member of Congress, I am

Respectfully, yours,

JAMES F. COLBY.

—

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE,
Hanover, N. H., March 29, 1917.

MY DEAR SENATOR GALLINGER: The recent attitude of the president of Dartmouth, and the recent vote of its faculty providing for military training (passed unanimously), and the vote for giving credit toward a degree for time given to the service of the United States by students as volunteers represents, I believe, the attitude of your fellow citizens in Hanover in favor of entering into war with Germany, based upon prompt declaration of war by Congress.

Much as I have loved peace and hated the inevitable barbarity of war, I am convinced that a just peace and the honor of our country and the rights of mankind and the preservation of democracy can, in face of the German record, be secured only by a vigorous war pursued with all our resources. I believe you will be in accord with that view, and I trust your long experience will tell to that end in congressional action.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

HERBERT D. FOSTER,
Professor and Head of Department of History.

Mr. GALLINGER. I also submit a letter from the Men's Club of Durham, N. H., asking that the President shall be supported in all steps necessary to uphold the honor and integrity of our country. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MEN'S CLUB OF DURHAM,
Durham, N. H., March 31, 1917.

Hon. JABOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The Men's Club of Durham, N. H., with 110 members present, unanimously voted its willingness and desire to stand back of President Wilson and the National and State Government in all steps it becomes necessary to take to uphold the honor and integrity of our country in this time of our national crisis. This action receives added strength when it is remembered that Durham is a town of less than 900 inhabitants and is the seat of New Hampshire College of Agriculture

and the Mechanic Arts. Students in college were not included in the above, but all other classes of the community were fairly and fully represented.

The Men's Club wishes to learn how it can be of the greatest service at this time and awaits direction in the matter.

Respectfully, yours,

C. J. HAM, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, it is proper that I should say that I am also in receipt of a considerable number of letters from citizens of New Hampshire, protesting against war; but manifestly the predominant and overwhelming sentiment of the people of the State demands that the aggressions of the German Government shall be resisted at all hazards.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I have received copies of the same telegrams which my colleague [Mr. GRONNA] has presented. I also have one from the governor of the State of North Dakota, and another from the Lutheran Young People's Society of Great Bend, N. Dak., which I ask to have read.

There being no objection, the telegrams were read, as follows:

FARGO, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. P. J. MCCUMBER,
Washington, D. C.:

The people of North Dakota are patriotic and loyal to the National Government, yet they favor armed neutrality rather than war, and pray that all honorable means may be used to avoid further trouble.

LYNN J. FRAZIER, *Governor.*

—

GREAT BEND, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator P. J. MCCUMBER,
Washington, D. C.:

In meeting assembled we unanimously expressed the opinion that there is no sufficient cause for war, and we therefore earnestly appeal to you to do your utmost to preserve peace. We also protest that our Government give any of the belligerents financial or any other aid.

LUTHERAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY.

Mr. COLT. I present a telegram, signed by the governor of Rhode Island, and other State officers, which I desire to have read. I ask that the signatures be omitted in the reading, but that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator LEBARON B. COLT,
Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned citizens of Rhode Island, representing the overwhelming conviction of men and women of this State, believe that the wanton and brutal attacks upon the rights and liberties of the United States constitute an undeniable state of war. We therefore urge upon the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives the duty and immediate necessity of waging aggressive war in defense of the safety and honor of the American Nation and in whole-hearted support of liberty and democracy throughout the world.

R. Livingston Beekman, governor of Rhode Island; Charles Dean Kimball, ex-governor of Rhode Island; James H. Higgins, ex-governor of Rhode Island; James De Wolf Perry, Jess H. Metcalf, G. A. Blumer, Michael J. Houlihan, Henry D. Sharpe, R. H. I. Goddard, Michael J. Lynch, Stephen O. Metcalf, Benj. P. Moulton, Wm. L. Hodgman, Joseph Samuels, J. O. Ames, Henry A. Carpenter, Lauriston Hazard, Harald W. Ostby, Joseph Balch, Richard B. Comstock, John B. Branch, G. L. Crooker, John A. Gammons, Rush Sturges, James G. Blaine, jr., Frank W. Matteson, Wm. Wurtz White, J. R. Rathom, John S. Murdock, George H. Webb, Frederick S. Sibley, George L. Keyes, Ralph C. Watrous, Merwin White, John A. Cave, A. B. Hathaway, James B. Barrett, H. Fulford, Wm. S. Stone, Martin S. Fanning, Edward F. Ely, Richard S. Aldrich, G. Edward Buxton, jr., Herman J. Waterhouse, Prescott O. Clarke, Benjamin M. MacDougall, Benjamin Thurston, Berton E. Kile, William G. Roelker, George C. Hinckley, Thos. H. West, jr., Harold Congdon, T. F. I. McDonnell, Howard Knight, Charles F. Stearss, Walter Hidden, Robert W. Taft.

Mr. LODGE. I present telegrams and resolutions from citizens of Massachusetts and also from sundry organizations in my State, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK.

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

Representing Groton School, wish to assure you of support of masters, boys, and graduates in your effort to place this Nation on footing of cooperation with allies in determination to establish freedom and justice in the world. Please wire, collect to Groton, informing me if we can do anything to help now.

ENDICOTT PEABODY.

—

SOMERSET CLUB,
Boston, Mass., March 30, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of the Somerset Club of Boston, held March 30, 1917, it was unanimously—

Resolved, That we, members of the Somerset Club of Boston, mindful of the consequences of our action, but conscious of the duty of every lover of his country, and believing that the principles of humanity demand instant and vigorous action, do hereby pledge to the President of the United States our loyal support in all measures which he shall take in the defense of our country's honor and the protection of the rights of its citizens; and believing that a democracy which asserts the right of manhood suffrage should insist upon the corresponding duty of manhood service, we earnestly urge upon the President and Congress the immediate enactment of laws providing for obligatory national military service; and believing that American principles and traditions admit of nothing less, we express the confident expectation that this Nation will, with all its resources, make common cause with the entente allies in the defense of human liberty and the ideal of modern civilization.

It was further unanimously voted that a copy of the foregoing be sent to the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet, and the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Massachusetts.

—

BOSTON, MASS., *March 26, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Weston, Mass., assembled in our annual town meeting, at this time of grave national crisis declare our allegiance to our country and our unhesitating support of the President of the United States and all other constituted authorities in any forward step to protect American lives, American rights, and American honor. No ship that flies our flag is too small, no American life is too humble to be denied the protection of our Government. We urge upon Congress the imperative duty of enacting at the coming session a bill for compulsory military training of the youth of our land as a safeguard of liberty. Our country needs and demands leadership; and we call upon our President and the Congress, and upon our governor, to take immediate and effective action to resist aggression, that unashamed we may transmit to our descendants those principles of freedom and duty for which our ancestors were proud to shed their blood.

Unanimously adopted by rising vote.

ANDREW FISK, *Moderator.*
ALFRED L. CUTTING,
B. LORING YOUNG,
HERBERT E. TYLER,
Selectmen.

—

THE FRAMINGHAM BOARD OF TRADE,
Framingham, Mass., March 29, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a regular meeting of the Framingham Board of Trade held Tuesday evening, March 27, it was unanimously voted to go on record as favoring universal military training, and the secretary be instructed to write to the Senators from Massachusetts and the Representative from this district concerning this action of the board, and requesing their favorable action on this question.

Very truly, yours,

EDGAR POTTER, *Secretary.*

—

UNION CLUB OF BOSTON.

At a special meeting held at Boston in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on Saturday, March 24, 1917, the club unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas Germany's declaration of war and her violation of Belgium were a declaration of war against civilization and a violation of the rights of all mankind; and

"Whereas her conduct of the war, her barbarous treatment of civilians in the countries she overran, and her efforts to terrify her enemies by bombarding peaceful villages and by killing women and children soon made it manifest that she would not scruple to violate the rights of neutrals whenever she might hope to gain military advantage thereby; and

"Whereas the plots, conspiracies, and perfidy of her diplomatic agents, her destruction of American lives and American property, and finally her illegal and brutal use of the submarine have led to a severance of diplomatic relations between her and the United States; and

"Whereas now, after this menace of war has been hanging over us for two years and a half, we are as unprepared to assert the rights of our citizens or to defend ourselves against invasion as we were when the war began; and

"Whereas our duty and our honor as well as our interest demand that we should make strenuous efforts to atone for the blindness and apathy which we have exhibited hitherto, and should repair so far as possible the manifold omissions of which we have been guilty; and

"Whereas this club was founded in the days of the Civil War for 'the encouragement and dissemination of patriotic sentiment and opinion,' and the spirit which animated its founders has not wholly ceased to glow in the breasts of its members: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we heartily approve and commend the action taken by President Wilson in severing diplomatic relations with Germany; that if our merchant vessels are being armed by the Government to defend themselves against the German submarines, we heartily approve and commend the President's action in that respect; that we deplore the fact that our people have been content to do nothing in the way of preparation when, in the period which has elapsed since the war began, an army and navy adequate for the protection of the country and the enforcement of her rights might have been organized, drilled, and equipped; that we respectfully urge the President and the Congress to recognize the present emergency and to take resolute and energetic measures to meet the same; that we particularly urge upon them the necessity for universal military training and service as the only democratic and the only effective method of obtaining a sufficient military force; that we pledge to the Government true allegiance and our hearty support in all measures it may take to regain for our country such a position among nations as its population, wealth, and territory entitle it to occupy and such a position as its duty, traditions, and fair fame demand that it shall assume; that, in our opinion, we can neither be true to ourselves nor escape being false to those who are pouring out their blood and treasure in a cause which is now beyond doubt or cavil our cause as well as theirs, unless war against Germany be declared forthwith; and that in prosecuting the war the Government of the United States ought to cooperate in every practicable way with the Governments of the entente powers in order to bring about the defeat of Germany; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of the foregoing resolutions be sent by the Secretary to President Wilson and to all Members of the Congress of the United States."

JOHN LOWELL, *President.*
R. D. WESTON, *Secretary.*

HARVARD CLUB OF BOSTON,
374 Commonwealth Avenue, March 27, 1917.

DEAR SIR: At the annual meeting, held March 21, 1917, of the Harvard Club of Boston, Mass., an organization of 4,500 members, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Respectfully, yours,

P. W. THOMSON, *Secretary.*

Resolved, That the recent severance of diplomatic relations with the German Empire by the Government of the United States of America was fully justified by the events which preceded and have succeeded it.

That the United States of America, in fidelity to their traditions and the principles of human freedom which they represent, of right and in duty ought to be from now henceforward in active and loyal cooperation with the nations leagued against the common enemy, and that the military, naval, industrial, and financial resources of the people of the United States of America should be promptly and vigorously organized, mobilized, and used to that end.

That the Harvard Club of Boston pledges its steadfast and loyal support to the President of the United States of America in his leadership of the people to assert their rights on land and sea and to uphold national honor and international justice.

Further resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the members of his Cabinet, to the Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, to the secretary of the Associated Harvard Clubs, and to the secretaries of all the Harvard clubs in the world.

—

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS,
WARE COUNCIL, No. 183.

Resolutions adopted at the regular meeting of the Ware Council, No. 183, Knights of Columbus, held at the council rooms in the town of Ware, on Thursday evening, March 1, 1917.

Whereas the present crisis in our country's international relations are such that we may at any time be precipitated into war; and

Whereas we deem it the duty of every loyal American citizen to uphold our Government in its attempt to guard American rights, wherever they may be: It is

Resolved by the Ware Council, No. 183, Knight of Columbus, of the town of Ware, Mass., That we commend the stand of our President in the present crisis and pledge to him our loyal support: And it is further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be mailed to his Excellency Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; to the Hons. HENRY CABOT LODGE and JOHN W. WEEKS, United States Senators: and to the Hon. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, Representative of the second Massachusetts district.

Dated at Ware, Mass., March 1, 1917.

JOHN W. CLARK, *Chairman.*
JOHN J. KIDGELL,
WILLAIM E. MCGUIGAN,
Committee.

Attest:

JOHN E. GLEASON, *Grand Knight.*

—

DEDHAM GRANGE, No. 336, P. OF H.,
Dedham, Mass., March 19, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the last meeting of Dedham Grange, Monday evening, March 12, the following resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote:

"*Be it resolved*, That Dedham Grange, No. 336, heartily commends President Wilson and loyally pledges to him its support in his efforts to justify and honorably defend the honor and protect the rights of the American people.

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to President Wilson, Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE, and Representative RICHARD OLNEY, 2d."

Yours, very truly and fraternally,

Mrs. EMMA E. BESTWICK,
Secretary.

—

CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE FRANCO-AMERICAINE,
DE NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

Resolved, That the Franco-Americaine Chambre de Commerce of New Bedford, Mass., does hereby heartily and unreservedly indorse and approve the policy of the President of the United States as set forth in the bill to authorize the President to arm the merchant ships of the United States.

That the chambre de commerce does hereby commend and indorse the stand of Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE and Congressman JOSEPH WALSH, of Massachusetts, for their patriotic support of the President in said policy, and authority having been delegated to them to speak for us in the halls of Congress in such a vital matter, we believe that our Representatives will continue to labor courageously in the cause of humanity and for what we are firmly convinced are the best interests of the Nation, and trust they shall always be found with those who will lead the United States of America along the path of duty and honor.

ELZÉAR H. CHOQUETTE,
President.
ARTHUR L. BOUVIER,
Secretary.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., *March 15, 1917.*

—

WELLESLEY, MASS., *March 24, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D C.

MY DEAR SENATOR LODGE: I am inclosing a resolution which is signed by 88 members of the faculty of Wellesley College. Although I personally have signed the resolution and am heartily in favor of it, it should be clearly understood that it is not the corporate action of the faculty, but is a resolution signed by 88 people who happen to be members of our official staff.

I am, most truly, yours,

ELLEN F. PENDLETON.

Suggested draft of resolution suitable for adoption by civic, religious, commercial, and other organizations.

We the undersigned members of the faculty of Wellesley College adopt the following minute:

After exhausting the resources of diplomacy in an effort to avert war, the President has now taken the only course consistent with national self-respect.

War with Germany will not ensue unless the Imperial German Government knowingly violates well settled principles of international law and violates them with intent definitely hostile to the United States. In that event war will inevitably follow, not by our own act, but through the deliberate aggression of another nation.

If any honest doubt exists respecting the cause of war in Europe, the awful responsibility for extending it to this hemisphere will rest upon Germany, and upon Germany alone.

It may be that the Imperial German Government is misinformed respecting the temper of the people of the United States, just as that Government is supposed to have misconceived the sentiment of the British Empire at the outbreak of the European war. If so, and before fatal action based upon so grave a mistake is taken, Germany should be made aware of the essential unity of our people and of their loyal determination to make all sacrifices necessary to protect our liberty and to maintain our honor. To this end we call upon all bodies similar to ours throughout the country and upon all groups of citizens organized for whatever purpose, to meet without delay and express themselves with no uncertain voice respecting the course that they will be prepared to follow.

We urge all such groups of citizens, secular and religious, large and small, societies, clubs, and institutions of every sort, to unite with us in giving immediate public expression to such convictions as those which we now solemnly record:

First. That the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany is one to be approved and commended by all who have the best interests of the United States at heart.

Second. That the German declaration of January 31, 1917, represents an unjustified and unjustifiable attempt to destroy the freedom of the sea and to abridge the commercial liberty guaranteed to us by established law and custom; and that if the Government of the United States were to acquiesce therein such action would be resented by all good citizens as in the highest degree pusillanimous and as altogether inconsistent with the spirit and traditions of a free people.

Third. That the President will be justified in recommending to Congress the most extreme measures that may be deemed necessary to protect life, liberty, and property; and that it is our duty and that of all loyal citizens to tender immediately to the Government all the service of which we severally and collectively are capable.

Fourth. That while all should stand ready to volunteer if voluntary service is called for, yet Congress, in providing for our common safety, should not adopt emergency measures merely, but should definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service. To the end, therefore, that the burden of safeguarding the country should no longer be cast exclusively upon the loyal National Guard and upon other patriotic military and naval volunteers, Congress should be urged to exercise its constitutional power "to raise and support armies" by establishing immediately a permanent and democratic system of defense based upon universal service and training under direct and exclusive Federal control.

A copy of this minute is ordered to be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of War and other members of the Cabinet, and to the Members of both congressional Committees on Military Affairs.

Ellen F. Pendleton, President of Wellesley College; Alice V. Waite, Dean of Wellesley College; Edith S. Tufts, Registrar of Wellesley College; Alice V. V. Brown, Professor of Art; Hamilton C. Macdougall, Professor of Music; Ellen L. Burrell, Professor of Mathematics, Emeritus; Margaret H. Jackson, Professor of Italian; Arthur O. Norton, Professor of Education; Helen A. Merrill, Professor of Mathematics; Sophie C. Hart, Professor of English; Alice Walton, Professor of Latin and Archaeology; Amy M. Howard, Professor of Hygiene; Anne J. McKeeg, Professor of Education; Louise S. McDowell, Professor of Physics; Alice Robertson, Professor of Zoology; Alfred D. Sheffield; William Sparstrow; Effie Jane Buell; Roxana H. Vivian; Caroline R. Fletcher; Charlotte A. Bragg; Julia E. Moody; Sarah Russell Davis; Evelyn A. Munroe; Annie A. Stedman; Bertha K. Straight; Myrtilla Avery; Minnie A. Graham; Mary A. Beaumont; A. Bertha Miller; Louise Hortense Snowam; Caroline Burling Thompson; Elizabeth Wheeler Manerary; Louise S. Waite; Jessie R. Adams; Mary B. Jenkins, Alumni General Secretary; Paul J. Sachs; Mary Frazer Smith; Leah B. Allen; Frances Lowater; Edwin A. Pottnel; Louis Perdriary; Katharine B. Duncan; Marian Milne; Emma C. Gibbons; Henry H. Austin; Emily J. Hurd; Florence L. Ellery; Lilla Weed; Katharine Lee Bates, Professor of English Literature; Margaret P. Sherwood, Professor of English Literature; Martha Hale Shackford, Associate Professor of English Literature; Charles Lowell Young, Associate Professor of English Literature; Martha Pike Conant, Associate Professor of English Literature: John C. Duncan, Professor of Astronomy; Lincoln W. Riddle, Associate Professor of Botany; Ella B. Lucas; Laura E. Lockwood, Associate Professor of English; Bertha L. Coswell; Mary L. Courtney; Mary E. Killeen; Elizabeth F. Fisher, Professor of Geology and Geography; Eva Chandler, Professor of Mathematics; Celia H. Hersey; Jean Rankin; Katharine Harris; Angie C. Chapin, Professor of Greek; Eliza J. Newkirk; Helen Moore Laws; Olive Davis, Divider of Halls of Residence; Alice Varney Ward; Ethel Dane Roberts; Martha F. Clarke; Helen W. Lyman; Nellie Fosdick; Grace L. Bissell; Laura M. Dwight; Mabel E. Hodder, History; Eva F. Swift; Melvina M. Bennett; Mary S. Case; Margaret Heatley; Helen I. Davis; Ruth F. Allen; Hetty Shepard Wheeler; Katherine K. Davis; Katharine M. Edwards; Edward E. Bancroft.

BAY STATE AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION,
Boston, March 21, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of this association held last evening at which we had as guests representatives from various automobile clubs throughout New England, the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That the Bay State Association pledges its unqualified support to the governor of Massachusetts and to the President of the United States in the present emergency in national affairs."

We desire to be placed on record with the National Government as expressing our readiness to do whatever work may be assigned to us.

It will interest you to know that a very flattering reference to yourself was made in the address of the Hon. George B. Chandler, president of the Automobile Club of Hartford, Conn., and needless to say the result was unqualified enthusiasm on the part of our members.

Very truly, yours,

ARTHUR P. TEELE.

—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
TOWN OF NEEDHAM.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, *Senator.*

DEAR MR. SENATOR: At the annual meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Needham held on the 26th day of March, A. D. 1917, the following resolutions were voted unanimously, viz:

"Whereas the German Imperial Government has forbidden the citizens of the United States the exercise of their lawful rights on the high seas, and has without cause sacrificed American lives thereon; and

"Whereas the President has severed diplomatic relations with that Government and called Congress to take further action thereon: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the citizens of Needham, Mass., in annual town meeting assembled*—

"First. That we commend the President for his action in severing diplomatic relations and in the further steps he has taken for the protection and preservation of American lives on land and sea.

"Second. That we assure the President and our Representatives in Congress of our unqualified support in any measures that they may deem necessary for the preservation of life and the vindication of national honor.

"Third. That a committee of 15 be appointed by the honorable board of selectmen, to be a committee on public safety to cooperate with the State committee on public safety in furtherance of the principles of freedom and humanity. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be spread upon the town records and a copy thereof forwarded to the President, Woodrow Wilson, and the Senators and Congressmen of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Attest:
[SEAL.] THOMAS SUTTON, *Town Clerk.*

—

OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK,
Plymouth, Mass., March 27, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure of informing you that at a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, Mass., the following vote was passed:

On motion of Rev. Arthur B. Whitney it was unanimously voted that the order of business be suspended for the presentation of a resolution, and the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved by the citizens of the town of Plymouth, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in town meeting assembled, this 24th day of March, 1917*—

"First. That the necessity be urged upon the President and Congress of the United States of making immediate and adequate preparations to meet the contingencies of war and for the protection of the lives of American citizens on land or sea.

"Second. That we pledge to the President our loyal, resolute, and united support in every measure requisite to the enforcement and maintenance of our national rights and our national duties."

And that a copy of this resolve be sent, under the seal of the town of Plymouth, to President Woodrow Wilson, the Senators in Congress from Massachusetts, and to the Representative in Congress from Massachusetts in this district.

Very respectfully, yours,

[SEAL.] GEORGE B. HOWLAND,
Clerk of the Town of Plymouth.

—

FRAMINGHAM, MASS., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The citizens of Framingham, assembled in crowded mass meeting Monday, March 26, 1917, voted unanimously to forward at once to their Representative in Congress, to the United States Senators from Massachusetts, and to the President this expression of their approbation of the measures recently taken for meeting the present international crisis, the call to Congress to meet in extraordinary session, the order to enroll the National Guard in United States service, the increase of the naval forces of the Nation; also to assure the President of unhesitating support, without partisan division, of such vigorous policy as he may recommend, to protect our shipping, to safeguard the rights of our people, and to maintain our basic principles of democratic government against the aggressive military policy waged by the Government of Germany.

A true copy.
Attest:

EDGAR A. BOWERS,
Secretary of the Meeting.

—

CANTON, MASS., *March 12, 1917.*

At the adjourned annual town meeting of the town of Canton, held at Memorial Hall in said town on Monday, March 12, 1917, the following resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote:

"*Be it resolved by the citizens of the town of Canton, Mass., in town meeting assembled, this 12th day of March, 1917:*

"*Resolved*, That we approve the action of the President of the United States for his uncompromising stand in upholding the honor of the American people;

"*Resolved*, That we approve the action of the President for his efforts to protect American citizens and American ships;

"*Resolved*, That, while we desire peace, we desire peace only with honor, and approve the President's action toward preparedness;

"*Resolved*, That, while we pray for the continuance of the peace of America with the whole world, if forced to war we stand united behind our President, Woodrow Wilson; and be it

"*Resolved*, That copies be sent to the President of the United States, the two Senators from this Commonwealth, and the Congressman from this district; and a committee of five be appointed by the moderator to transmit them with an appropriate letter."

The following appointment of a committee was made by the moderator: John J. Haverty, Joseph A. Murphy, John C. Davis, Edward H. R. Revere, and Herbert L. Fenno.

WALTER AMES, *Town Clerk.*

—

BROOKLINE, MASS., *March 24, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a copy of the resolutions adopted by the town meeting members of the town of Brookline at the annual meeting held Wednesday, March 21, 1917.

Respectfully,

EDWARD W. BAKER,
Town Clerk of Brookline, Mass.

The original of the resolutions referred to has been sent to the President.

At a meeting of the town meeting members of the town of Brookline, assembled in town meeting at the town hall on Wednesday, the 21st day of March, 1917, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted by a rising vote:

"Whereas the German Imperial Government has, as President Wilson has said, forbidden to our people the exercise of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas, and in consequence the President has severed diplomatic relations with Germany and has taken steps to protect American citizens and American ships in their acknowledged rights on the high seas: Be it

Resolved by the town meeting members of Brookline, assembled this 21st day of March, 1917:

First. That they commend the President for his uncompromising position in the relations of the United States with Germany and in insisting that the acknowledged rights of American citizens on land and sea be respected.

Second. That while they have desired peace, they now recognize that a state of war practically exists, and believing that any effective resistance to Germany must necessarily involve cooperation with Great Britain, France, and their allies, they urge upon the President and Congress the immediate consideration of such action.

Third. That they pledge to the President and Congress their unqualified loyalty and support in this crisis of our Nation's history.

A true copy.
Attest:
[SEAL.] EDWARD W. BAKER,
Town Clerk of Brookline.

—

[The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, town of Wakefield, annual town meeting, Mar. 19, 1917.]

Resolutions.

In a time of stress it is the duty of every citizen to subordinate his personal interest and ambition to the welfare of the Nation and to lift politics to the level of statesmanship: Therefore

Resolved, That we, the voters of the town of Wakefield, in annual town meeting assembled, desire to place on the records of the town our appreciation of the patriotic manner in which the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE and the Hon JOHN W. WEEKS, Senators to the Congress from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to the Hon. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER, Representative to the Congress from the eighth congressional district, have discharged their duties and have supported the President of the United States in the performance of the onerous and painful tasks which have been thrust upon him by the outrageous and inhuman acts of the German Empire, with whom we have hitherto been at peace and between whom and its enemies the Unites States has maintained the strictest neutrality in accordance with the well-established principles of international law. To their great learning, experience, courage, and devotion the whole Nation is deeply indebted.

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the town and that a copy hereof, certified by the clerk under the seal of the town, be forwarded to Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, to Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS, and to Hon FREDERICK W. DALLINGER.

SAMUEL K. HAMILTON,
HARRIS M. DOLBEARE,
MICHAEL LOW,
MAYNARD E. S. CLEMONS,
EDEN K. BOWSER,
Committee.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of resolutions unanimously adopted at a town meeting of the town of Wakefield held March 19, 1917.

Attest:
[SEAL.] FREDERICK HARTSHORNE,
Town Clerk.

Mr. WEEKS. I present resolutions from citizens and organizations in the State of Massachusetts. I do not wish to have them read, but I should like to have them incorporated in the RECORD unless they are duplicates of those which have just been offered by my colleague [Mr. LODGE].

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

Resolutions adopted by the New England Leather and Shoe Finders' Association at its annual convention held at the Quincy House, Boston, Mass., March 8, 1917.

Whereas the very life of our country is endangered by the international crisis with which it is confronted, our commerce is injured, and our rights upon the high seas ignored; and

Whereas our country is menaced by the unfriendly acts and intrigues of a hitherto friendly nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the New England Leather and Shoe Finders' Association, in convention assembled, hereby heartily indorse the action of the President in this crisis and pledge to him its loyal support.

It earnestly commends those Senators and Congressmen who supported the President in his efforts to secure protective legislation, but it condemns in unmeasured terms the outrageous, un-American, and unpatriotic action of those 12 Senators who endeavored to prevent legislation so vital to the protection of our land: And be it further

Resolved, That our association pledge its hearty cooperation to the governors and legislatures of each of our New England States and to the Massachusetts committee on public safety, and will earnestly support and assist them as far as able in any measure which they deem necessary and advisable to take for the preservation of our liberty and rights, for the safeguarding of our flag and country, and for the protection of our people and the Republic.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President, to the New England Senators and Congressmen at Washington, to each of the New England governors, and to the chairman of the Massachusetts committee on public safety.

NEW ENGLAND LEATHER AND SHOE FINDERS' ASSOCIATION,
By JOHN B. MITCHELL, *President*.
STEPHEN R. NICHOLS, *Secretary*,
14 Albany Street, Boston, Mass.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COUNCIL,
UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA,
Springfield, Mass., March 8, 1917.

Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: By action of the convention of the Massachusetts State Council United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held in Worcester, Mass., February 19–22, 1917, I am directed to send you a copy of the following resolution, which was adopted by that body:

"Whereas the present living conditions have reached a point where it is impossible for the wage earners of this country to live except under conditions that amount to almost starvation; and

"Whereas these conditions are brought about by the sordid and selfish interests of unscrupulous speculators in foodstuffs and other necessities of life; and

"Whereas we believe that the power of President Wilson and Congress should be used to conserve humane living conditions for the people of this country: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this convention assembled demand that President Wilson and Congress enforce such laws as will protect the people and prevent the continuation of unscrupulous food speculators from further starving the working men and women of this country. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be printed in the proceedings of this convention, a copy at once to be sent to President Wilson, Congress, and Attorney General; also one to each of the Congressmen and Senators from this State; also given to the press."

Very truly,
A. JAY BROMLEY, *Secretary*.

CARPENTERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL,
Newton, Mass., March 12, 1917.

Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS,
Senator from Massachusetts, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of this council held March 8 the following resolutions were adopted, and I was instructed to forward a copy of the same to you.

Respectfully, yours, EVERETT A. MCASSEY, *Secretary*.
NEWTON, MASS., *March 8, 1917.*

Whereas the present prices of food have soared beyond the reach of the workingmen of this country; and

Whereas the manipulators of the foodstuffs in this country seem to have cornered the market so that there is no relief in sight; and

Whereas the citizens of this country deem it time that some drastic action be taken to stop this procedure at once: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this Carpenters' District Council of Newton, Mass., demand that you, as a representative of the people of the United States, put in force such laws that this state of affairs will stop at once, now, and for all time; and also be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, one to the governor of Massachusetts, one to the mayor of our city, one to the Attorney General of the United States, one to each of our 2 Senators, and one to each of our 16 Representatives in Congress, and also be spread on the records of this meeting.

ALEX. G. NICOLSON,
GEORGE SOBIESKI,
E. MURPHY,
Committee on Resolutions.

LANESVILLE, MASS., *March 28, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: At a mass meeting of about 200 persons, held at 1097 Washington Street, Lanesville, Mass., on March 24, 1917, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"We, citizens of Lanesville, members of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts and citizens of the United States, who support the Socialist Party in its demand for peace, do hereby register our opposition against every effort to thrust this country into war. We demand that our Representatives in Congress oppose the declaration of war against any nation."

JOHN PELTA, *Chairman*.
JOHN HEINANEN, *Secretary*.

Resolution adopted unanimously by an audience of 1,500 citizens, Sunday, March 25, 1917, at Brockton, Mass.

Whereas we believe that the evidence is overwhelming that the traffickers in foodstuffs and munitions with Europe, professional militarists at home, and great financial interests are active in trying to involve this country in war:

Resolved, That we do not believe that the sinking of foodstuffs en route or the destruction of munitions in transit to Europe constitute any reason for spending the lives of American citizens by plunging into war; that we urge all citizens to join in protest against the sinister exploiting interests that seek to lead us to the shambles: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, citizens assembled in Clark Hall, Brockton, Mass., on Sunday, March 25, 1917, do solemnly call upon our President and upon Congress to use every means in their power to preserve peace; and be it further

Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting forward to our President, our Senators, and Members of Congress a copy of this resolution.

Hon. JOHN WINGATE WEEKS,
West Newton, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I, Preston B. Churchill, town clerk of the town of Winthrop, hereby certify that the following is a true copy from the records of the town of Winthrop of resolutions passed by an unanimous vote of said town at the annual meeting held March 12, 1917:

Resolutions.

As the descendants of those patriots who, in the early days of the Republic, sent out armed ships to defend American rights on the high seas, and as the freemen of one of the governmental divisions of the 100,000,000 people of the United States, whose prosperity and hopes for the future were purchased by the blood of those whose names are enrolled on the soldiers' monuments erected in every hamlet of our free land, it is hereby

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the town of Winthrop, Mass., in town meeting assembled, indorse the action of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government.

Resolved, That we pledge our fidelity, our confidence, and our constant, devoted, and unwavering loyalty and support to the President in his purpose to protect and defend American rights, American lives, and American honor on the high seas.

Resolved, That the town clerk be and is hereby directed to spread a copy of these resolutions upon the records, and to send a copy thereof to the President of the United States, and to each Senator and Congressman from Massachusetts.

A true copy. Attest.
[SEAL.] PRESTON B. CHURCHILL,
Town Clerk.

HINGHAM, MASS., *March 15, 1917.*

To the Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Hingham, Mass., held on the 12th instant, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of the town of Hingham, in annual meeting assembled, pledge their support to all measures which the President may take in upholding the honor of the United States and protecting the lives and property of its citizens.

"And it is directed that a copy of this resolution will be sent to the President and to the Senators from Massachusetts and to the Congressman from this district."

Respectfully, yours,
ARTHUR W. BURR,
Town Clerk of Hingham.

FALL RIVER CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
FALL RIVER, MASS., *March 4, 1917.*

Whereas the Imperial German Government, by proclaiming a barred zone about the coasts of the British Isles, France, and the coasts of Europe and Africa bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, into which all vessels enter at peril of destruction, contrary to all recognized international rights; and

Whereas American ships have been destroyed and are now imperiled by the activities of submarine commanders under direction of the Imperial German Government, without right and without justification; and

Whereas the lives of American citizens have been sacrificed by the acts of the commanders of submarines acting under instructions of the Imperial German Government, which disclaims liability or blame, contrary to all law and morality: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Central Labor Union of Fall River, Mass., representing the body of organized labor in the city, does here and now pledge its support to the President of the United States in the measures that are made necessary by the aggressions of the Imperial German Government; and be it further

Resolved, That the extent of this support be not limited to the simple arming of merchant vessels and their convoyance by ships of war, but shall extend to the use of other instrumentalities that may be demanded by the exigencies of the situation; and be it further

Resolved, That the said Central Labor Union do hereby call upon Senator WEEKS and Senator LODGE and Congressman WILLIAM S. GREENE to support the President of the United States to the extent of their powers in maintaining the sovereign right of freedom to traverse the oceans without let or hindrance by the shipping of the United States of America.

To this end, therefore, witness our hands and the seal of the Fall River Central Labor Union this 4th day of March, A. D. 1917.

WRIGHT TURNER, *President*.

Attest:

Sheet Metal Workers' Union; Granite Cutters' Union; Steam Firemen's Union; Barbers' Union; Molders' Union; Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers' Union; Doffers' Union; Electrical Workers' Union; Mule Spinners' Association; City Employees' Union; Brewery Workers' Union; Street Railway Employees' Union; Painters' Union; Typographical Union; Paving Cutters' Union; Cigar Makers' Union; Carpenters' Union No. 223; Carpenters' Union No. 1305; Clerks' Protective Association; Plumbers' Union; Musicians' Union; Machinists' Union; Moving Picture Operators' Union; Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' Union; Bartenders' Association; Bleachers, Dyers, and Finishers' Union No. 1033; Steam Engineers' Union; Folders' Union.

HAMILTON, MASS., *March 13, 1917.*

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Hamilton, indorse the action of the President of the United States in dismissing the German ambassador, and in issuing orders to arm the merchant ships of this country against the German submarines;

Resolved, That we urge the use of the full power of the Nation in defense of American rights, American lives, and American honor on the high seas;

Resolved, That we pledge our loyalty and our support to the President for this purpose.

Voted: That these resolutions be adopted, and that the moderator now appoint a committee of three to transmit them, with an appropriate letter, to the President, the two Senators from Massachusetts, and the Congressman from this district, and to the senator and representative of this district in the Massachusetts Legislature.

—

ABINGTON, MASS., *March 16, 1917.*

I hereby certify that at the annual meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Abington, held March 5, 1917, it was voted to adopt the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the voters of the town of Abington, Mass., in town meeting assembled, affirm our trust and confidence in President Wilson and stand behind him in his efforts to protect American lives and American honor, and stand ready, now, as always, to support whatsoever action he may take to preserve the dignity, honor, and safety of our country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by the town clerk of Abington to the President of the United States, to Senators HENRY CABOT LODGE and JOHN W. WEEKS, and to Congressman RICHARD OLNEY, 2D."

A unanimous vote.

Attest: DANIEL R. COUGHLAN,
Town Clerk.

Mr. WEEKS presented resolutions adopted at meetings of sundry citizens of Boston, Wakefield, Canton, Framingham, Ware, Weston, Plymouth, and Brookline, all in the State of Massachusetts, indorsing the action of the President in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany and offering their support to the Government, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I present a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of New Jersey, favoring military training, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[State of New Jersey, one hundred and forty-first session of the legislature.]

Concurrent resolution introduced in the house of assembly by the Hon. Arthur N. Pierson, of Union County, and adopted March 19, 1917; concurred in by the senate March 20, 1917.

Resolved by the house of assembly (the senate concurring), That we favor military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted, under the seal of the State, to our Senators and Representatives in Washington, to be presented to the Congress of the United States.

EDWARD SCHOEN,
Speaker of the House of Assembly.

Attest:
[SEAL.]

UPTON S. JEFFERYS,
Clerk of the House of Assembly.

—

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

I, Thomas F. Martin, secretary of state of the State of New Jersey, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of concurrent resolution introduced in the house of assembly by the Hon. Arthur N. Pierson, of Union County, and adopted March 19, 1917, and concurred in by the senate March 20, 1917, as the same is taken from and compared with the original now remaining on file and of record in my office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at Trenton this 31st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] THOMAS F. MARTIN,
Secretary of State.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I also present a communication from the governor of New Jersey, which I ask may be read.

There being no objection, the communication was read, as follows:

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
March 26, 1917.

To the CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

SIRS: I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of an act passed by the Legislature of New Jersey and approved by me as governor. As will be seen, this law tenders the resources of New Jersey, without limitation, to the Government of the United States in the impending crisis.

Very respectfully, WALTER E. EDGE,
Governor.

[Senate, No. 308, State of New Jersey; introduced Mar. 12, 1917, by Mr. McCran; referred to committee on judiciary.]

An act directing the governor to assist the Government of the United States in the present crisis and authorizing him to provide for the public safety.

Be it enacted by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. The governor is hereby directed to render to the Government of the United States in the present crisis, and to provide for the public safety, any assistance within the power of the State, and to that end he is authorized to organize and employ any and all resources within the State, whether of men, properties, or instrumentalities, and to exercise any and all power convenient or necessary in his judgment to render such assistance.

2. It shall be the duty of every public official in the State to furnish the governor whatever information and assistance he may require in the execution of this act.

3. This act shall take effect immediately.

Approved, March 26, 1917.

WALTER E. EDGE.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN presented memorials of sundry citizens of New Jersey, remonstrating against the United States becoming involved in the European war, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of New Jersey, indorsing the foreign policy of the President, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of 2,500 citizens of Newark, N. J., favoring a closer union of nations to make war impossible, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of New Jersey, praying for universal compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. STERLING. I present a telegram signed by the president and 51 members of the faculty and staff of the University of South Dakota, which I ask to have read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

VERMILION, S. DAK., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS STERLING,
Senator, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned, members of the faculty and staff of the University of South Dakota, wish to assure you that we will loyally support any measures, however vigorous, which the Government may take in defense and vindication of American rights.

Robert L. Slagle, president; Robert W. Jones, Freman Ward, Ernest F. Canaday, A. L. Haines, E. R. Robinson, Raynor G. Wellington, E. J. Baldwin, Guy F. Frary, Thomas E. McKinney, J. B. Shouse, Edward LaGrave, Clarence E. Lyon, B. Richardson, W. H. Basom, S. C. A. Ring, J. H. Howard, F. J. Nicola, A. L. Wilson, R. D. Elliott, M. W. Davidson, J. H. Julian, W. Franklin Jones, W. M. Willey, H. W. Vannemann, A. M. Peisch, Jason Payne, G. R. Albertson, J. M. Maugs Brown, G. E. Burgess, Rossitor Howard Parry, F. Hadley, Ralph B. Waite, V. Elliott, C. I. Vaughn, N. Nichols, A. L. Ortmayer, M. K. Richardson, N. Wagner, Eli Boyd, J. C. Egan, E. W. Grabill, G. J. Blair, C. P. Lommen, W. R. Colton, C. M. Grabill, W. H. Overblaine, McKusick Craig, S. Thoms, Edwin V. Mitchell, Marshall McKusick, R. M. Merrill.

Mr. STERLING. I present a joint resolution of the Legislature of South Dakota, memorializing Congress to develop the water powers of the Missouri River through the Reclamation Service. I ask that the resolution be printed in the RECORD without reading and referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Reclamation and Irrigation of Arid Lands and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Certificate.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA,
SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

I, Frank M. Rood, secretary of state, do hereby certify that the annexed house joint resolution No. 3 was duly passed by the 1917 session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota, and that the same is now in full force and effect.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of South Dakota, at the city of Pierre, February 28, 1917.

[SEAL.] FRANK M. ROOD,
Secretary of State.

A joint resolution memorializing Congress to develop the water powers on the Missouri River through the Reclamation Service.

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota, the Senate concurring—

Whereas, in the opinion of engineers, at the Big Bend and the Little Bend, and perhaps at other points in this State, the great flood of the Missouri River may be employed to develop great power plants for the generation of electric current which may be used for pumping water for irrigation of agricultural lands, and for other purposes: Therefore

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to make provisions for the development of such water powers through the use of the revolving fund of the Reclamation Service provided for such purposes.

A. C. ROBERTS,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:
CHAS. M. GARDNER,
Chief Clerk.

W. H. MCMASTER,
President of the Senate.

Attest:
W. N. VAN CAMP,
Secretary of the Senate.

I hereby certify that the within act originated in the house and was known in the house files as House joint resolution No. 3.

CHAS. M. GARDNER,
Chief Clerk.

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA,
Office of Secretary of State, ss:

Filed February 27, 1917, at 6.05 o'clock p. m.

FRANK M. ROOD,
Secretary of State.
By GEO. F. SAYERS,
Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. CURTIS presented memorials of sundry citizens of Kansas, remonstrating against the United States becoming involved in the European war, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Pittsburg, Kans., praying for universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Eleventh District Rotary Clubs, asssembled at Tulsa, Okla., offering support in the event of war, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Kingman and Cleveland, in the State of Kansas, praying for a further investigation of sisal-fiber conditions, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, the General Assembly of Vermont is now in session. In anticipation of the crisis which is upon us as a Nation that body has already appropriated a million dollars to enable the governor to meet any requisition which the General Government may make on that State for military service. In connection with that work the governor has appointed a committee of public safety, himself making the selections, consisting of 50 of the leading men of the State. That committee met on Friday last and adopted resolutions, which I send to the desk and desire to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the conviction of the Vermont committee of public safety that the present crisis calls for stern, vigorous, and immediate action by the National Government, and that this committee pledges to the President and Congress its zealous and constant support; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this committee forward a copy of this resolution to the President and each member of the Vermont delegation in Congress.

Very respectfully,

FRED H. HOWLAND,
Secretary of the Vermont Committee of Public Safety.

Mr. JAMES. I present various telegrams from citizens of Kentucky, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CATLETTSBURG, KY., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.:

War with Germany being apparently inevitable, it is now declared by Catlettsburg (Ky.) Lodge of Elks in meeting assembled that we indorse the President's course in dealing with said nation, and we stand as a lodge and individually behind every movement deemed wise by him to protect our country in this crisis; that the Nation should speedily get ready and act decisively in resentment of the hostile acts and intrigues of the German Government against the United States. We favor universal military training.

C. C. MAGANN, *Exalted Ruler.*

—

LOUISVILLE, KY., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE JAMES,
Washington, D. C.:

We believe that this country needs the immediate passage of a universal military service bill such as the Chamberlain bill.

RALPH BRISTOL.
WARWICK M. ANDERSON.
J. HARDIN WARD.
OSSIAN P. WARD.
EVERETT BEDINGER.
J. H. SKINNER.
HENRY C. COLGAN.
M. G. CRAIG.
H. BAIRDESON.
PAUL & SEMONIN.

—

LOUISVILLE, KY., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE JAMES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

As an American and believing in our institutions and desiring to assist in every way possible those in charge of the affairs of this country at this time, I feel that it may serve you to know that the country is back of the President in maintaining its dignity and to settle for all time to come that American lives and property can not be wantonly taken and destroyed by any nation without bringing upon such a nation a declaration of war by the United States of America.

Sincerely, yours,

C. C. MENGEL.

—

LOUISVILLE, KY., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE JAMES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

I have sent the President the following message which represents my views and those of practically all my friends and associates:

"WOODROW WILSON, *President, Washington, D. C.:*

"With profound respect for you and the dignity of your great office, without prejudice or the influence of any selfish personal interests, and having only at heart the safety and honor of our country, believing that the fundamentals of democracy are at stake, involving the life and ideals of our own Nation, I urge you and Congress to enter the war promptly, on the side of liberty, democracy, and ultimate and early peace, with all the power and vigor we can command. Do not, I beg you, permit us to be further deceived and misled by the continued tergiversations of German diplomacy. The Nation can not in my judgment afford to take the smallest risk of a possible German triumph."

LEWIS R. ATWOOD.

LOUISVILLE, KY., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Believing that we represent the sentiment of all patriotic Kentuckians we ask you, as our representative, to support or initiate immediate action in Congress against Germany.

S. S. McDonald, jr., R. A. Robinson, Henry O. Gray, A. E. Richards, Chas. T. Wolfe, J. B. Minnigerode, Chas. G. Middleton, Avery Robinson, Geo. W. Babcock, J. Temple Robinson, H. Hamilton Lewis, Warwick M. Anderson, Samuel H. Moon, W. G. Osborne, C. R. Barnes, I. M. Harcourt.

Mr. ROBINSON. I present a number of telegrams and letters from citizens of Arkansas, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams and letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREGORY, ARK., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Since Congress is to decide the question of war or peace with Germany, we would respectfully draw your attention to the fact that the common people of this country are almost unanimously opposed to war; also to consider the orphans, widows, and maimed of Germany caused by our exportation of ammunition and war supplies.

We hope sincerely Congress will not offer for slaughter the youth of our land.

Sincerely, yours,

C. F. HUENEFELD.

—

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., *March 28, 1917.*

Senator JOSEPH ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: It seems that our country is going to plunge into war.

Dear Senator, your people do not wish war at all. Do all in your power to prevent it. I am a voter here. I vote the Democratic ticket, too. We don't want any war at all.

Yours,

J. H. REED.

—

NASHVILLE, ARK., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Please do all within your power to help President Wilson keep us out of that awful war.

Your friend, ——— ———.

—

CABIN CREEK, ARK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We urgently request you to use every effort to keep our beloved country out of war. We have a constitutional right to voice our sentiment, and we want peace, not war.

LUTHERAN CONGREGATION,
Lutherville, Ark.
W. F. KAUFFIELD, *Secretary.*

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.:

We heartily indorse Pinchot plan as safe, sane, loyal, just method of distributing burdens and costs of war. In behalf of patriotic Christian Americans in all sections, who are loyal to the Government, the Christian Herald appeals to you in this crisis to stand fast for this high ideal.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD.

—

SILOAM SPRINGS, ARK., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator JOSEPH ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Outside large towns, belief almost unanimous war can be honorably averted. Urge your best effort against declaration.

D. M. GREER.

—

FORT SMITH, ARK., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: As an old citizen of Sebastian County, Ark., I beg of you to do all you can to prevent our dear country getting into the war. As I see it, we have nothing to gain and much to lose. Our laws and rights have been violated by both sides, and we should show no partiality to any foreign nation, neither should we align ourselves with either side or assist them with money, which we and our children will have to repay in war taxes. So I hope you will safeguard the real interest of your people.

Yours, very truly,

AUGUST HARDER.

—

YOCANA, ARK., *March 26, 1917.*

In meeting assembled the following resolutions were adopted by the undersigned:

"Whereas our Government, the United States of America, by means of the persistent activity of some of our citizens who desire to profit by trade in war supplies with belligerent countries, is being drawn into relations threatening war; and

"Whereas on account of said trade our food supply is being diminished and consequent prices are so high that many of our citizens are unable to secure sufficient of the necessaries of life, even to the point of suffering: Therefore we, citizens of the United States of America, offer the following:

"*Resolved*, First, that we favor all means of keeping our country from war (except in case of actual, unprovoked invasion of our territory), even to the point of declaring an embargo on the shipment of supplies from our country to belligerent countries (which embargo we favor); and

"*Resolved*, Second, that in order to more efficiently distribute the necessaries of life and reduce the cost of living our Government should take over, own, and operate the railroads at cost of operation, in the interest of the whole people. Be it

"*Resolved further*, That we approve Senator KIRBY and others' attitude in regard to arming merchant vessels, and that a copy of these resolutions be furnished our Congressman and each of our United States Senators."

W. L. LUNSFORD.
I. PERRY.
FRANK CHAMBERS.
GEORGE W. CHAMBERS.
JAMES H. BRANN.
JOHN M. LACKEY.

—

CROSSETT, *March 30, 1917.*

Senator JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thinking that you ought to know the views of your constituents in regard to the questions which will come up before the next extra session of Congress, I hereby respectfully state that I fully indorse the resolutions of the Emergency Peace Association adopted at the last meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York, and published in last Sunday's Arkansas Gazette.

W. J. Bryan, for whom I voted three times in as many presidential elections, is to me still the peerless leader of democracy, who still keeps up, undaunted, the fight of the people against the powers of our uncrowned kings of high finance, to whom others have surrendered.

He is our present great commoner, who would rather be right than Secretary of State.

I think that each person ought not to act along the line of least resistance, but according to his conscience.

Yours, very respectfully,

OTTO HILDEBRAND,
Box 443, Crossett, Ark.

—

WARREN, ARK., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator JOE T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: Very few people in Arkansas want war, our section strong against same. I am writing this so you can get an idea of Bradley County. They think United States can take care of herself if walled around and no exports or imports—for a good time, at least.

Best personal regards.

Yours,

G. A. JOYNER.

—

MENA, ARK., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: I am addressing you this letter as a friend and adherent. First I want to compliment you upon your firm stand in upholding the President. Germany has been doing violence to every sense of justice and right, as far as the United States is concerned, and we certainly ought to at once either declare war against her or that a state of war exists; then I hope to see you, as one of our foremost Senators, introduce a resolution into the Senate declaring that inasmuch as Germany has many times most flagrantly violated the so-called old treaties, made over a century ago, that the said treaties have thus been nullified by her action. Our country wants to be entirely free of any treaty obligations with such an inhuman nation, so as to forever close the door upon her, as far as the "most favored nation clause" of treaties is concerned, then the United States would be in a position to take possession of the many German ships in our ports, and thus be enabled to pay indemnities to relatives of our citizens that Germany ruthlessly destroyed when she sank the *Lusitania*. I certainly hope that you can see your way clear to introduce the resolution to declare those old treaties null and void, because of Germany not holding to them; it is not right for one nation to hold to it when the other violates it so often, as she has done.

With assurances of regard and best wishes, I remain,

Yours, truly,

J. W. GARDNER.

—

HACKENSACK, N. J., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Realizing that every Member of Congress has our destinies in his hands, we call on you to protect our patriotism from taints of weakness. The governmental terrors of the world are all opposing democracy. Our prompt acceptance of their challenge will discourage them, will hearten our allies, and shorten the war.

MILTON DEMAREST,
Mayor of Hackensack.

—

PARIS, ARK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the United States of America has become the innocent bystander in the great conflict now raging among so many of the nations of the earth;

Whereas war seems imminent despite all the heroic efforts of our honored President: Therefore be it

Resolved by the citizens of Paris assembled, That we pledge our loyalty, our lives, and our substance and our prayers to our country, our President; that we commend our Congressmen for their unwavering fidelity to the greatest of Presidents, Woodrow Wilson, the noblest Roman of them all.

HENRY STROUPE, *Chairman.*
J. T. PURVIS, *Secretary.*

—

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: The propositions of the administration forces at Washington to protect a part of our commerce that is doing nothing but raising prices and making conditions almost intolerable for a salaried man, to float a loan for a fight in which the average American can not be interested, it does not seem to me could be called peace measures, and peace is what we want, at least most of us.

I would appreciate your voting against any of these things that can not do anything but work harm for the country at large. There is little sentiment for war outside of high circles and the newspapers.

Yours, truly,

ALBERT AHRENS.

—

FORT SMITH, ARK., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JOE T. ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: War is hell! The awful decision will be placed into your hands with all its stupendous responsibility. By any means do not damn America to favor a foreign nation or our uncrowned ammunition kings! Bryan is taking the view of the people. There is a strong sentiment for peace here despite the inflammatory tory press.

Yours for an honorable peace,

H. W. BARTELS.

Mr. ROBINSON. I also present a petition signed by 28 citizens of Arkansas, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD together with the signatures.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CORNING, ARK., *March 29, 1917.*

HONORABLE DEAR SIR: We, citizens of the United States, do urge, command you to cast your vote against war with Germany. The war clamor of the press is not the general sentiment of the people of the United States. We do not want war! We absolutely see no necessity for it. Gentlemen, give us peace! We will stand by you in resisting any usurpation of what the Constitution makes the sole right of Congress, the making and declaring of war.

No enemy from abroad has invaded our country. Why should we assist any foreign nation?

Yours, in the cry for peace,

Rev. C. J. Steyer, J. W. Hendricks, Andy Allmandinger, Wm. F. Becker, L. Allmandinger, Otto Ahrent, C. Bauschlicher, Wm. Bauschlicher, Chris Alimandinger, E. Hartwig, Fritz Hartwig, Frank Wilson, J. M. Smiley, Melvin Matsinger, Herman Pisch, George Pisch, I. C. Wofford, Karl Hartwig, Charles Brown, John Borchers, Mike Hemmerlin, Oscar McKee, S. W. King, Wm. Ahrent, S. P. Simberg, Ned Steinberg, J. Steinberg, F. Wilkins.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, without having them read, I desire to present a telegram embodying resolutions passed by Georgians, expressing their appreciation of the course of the President to preserve the national honor and protect the lives and property of American citizens. They express the opinion that a state of war already exists between the United States and Germany, and pledge their hearty support of any action which may be taken by Congress placing the power of the Nation behind the President in the struggle. I ask that the telegram be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUSTA, GA., *April 1, 1917.*

HOKE SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a called meeting of Augusta Lodge, No. 205, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, to-night, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is a patriotic American organization, and it is proper and desirable that the President and Congress should be assured of the attitude of the whole people of the United States in the present international crisis: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*—

"First, That the Augusta Lodge, No. 205, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in formal meeting assembled strongly indorses the steps taken by the President to preserve the national honor and protect the lives and property of American citizens from unlawful attack, while it will hold up his hands in whatever further action he deems wise and needful.

"Second. That this gathering of Elks understands that a state of war now exists between the United States and Germany, and Congress will have our hearty approval in immediately providing the President with whatever means he desires for the vigorous prosecution of war.

"Third. That equal rights and interest entail equal duties and responsibilities upon every American citizen, and, accordingly, Congress will meet the wishes of this body by immediately putting into effect universal service and by providing for universal military training as a permanent policy of this Government.

"Fourth. That copies of these resolutions under the seal of the lodge be sent to the President of the United States, each of the United States Senators from Georgia, and the Congressman from the tenth district of Georgia in the United States House of Representatives, as well as to the Congressmen from the first district of Georgia and the second district of South Carolina, inasmuch as a large portion of their respective constituencies reside within the fraternal jurisdiction of this lodge, which has many members in both of these districts."

J. FRANK CARSWELL,
Exalted Ruler.
J. S. FARR,
Secretary.

Mr. SHERMAN. I present a resolution adopted by the Union League Club of Chicago, Ill., at its annual meeting, expressing loyalty to the administration and approving its conduct. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNION LEAGUE CLUB, *Chicago, March 30, 1917.*

HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At its annual meeting held in the clubhouse on March 27, 1917, the Union League Club of Chicago stated its stand on the present crisis and the manner of meeting it in the following resolution:

"Whereas with a desire to avoid armed conflict, the Government of the United States has for many months patiently endeavored by diplomatic negotiations to protect its citizens in their lives and property from intolerable attacks by Germany, and to secure trustworthy promise of security for the future, and all such efforts have failed, so that, against its will, this Nation is now on the verge of war; and

"Whereas the time has come when this country must defend its rights and vindicate its honor decisively and by all means necessary to those ends; and

"Whereas the present crisis shows that the United States must be prepared at all times to defend itself, and to protect the rights of its citizens; and

"Whereas, subject only to such conditions as Congress may prescribe, all able-bodied men between 18 and 45 years of age are liable under Federal law to perform military duty in the service of the United States; and

"Whereas a system of universal military training will not only prepare the citizen for service in war but will develop in him a sense of democracy, of discipline, and of responsibility to duty, and will add a dignity to the defensive military service of the country, which is most justly its due: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Union League Club of Chicago places itself on record as supporting the President of the United States in severing of diplomatic relations with Germany and in all efforts made and to be made by him, even to the extent of war, to protect American lives and property and defend our national rights, and calls upon Congress to give to the President the fullest support; and further places itself on record as favoring the principles of universal military service in this emergency and for the future defense of the Nation; and also calls upon Congress to provide by the law for universal and compulsory military training and service in the United States, and to enact all laws that may be necessary to the end that the Government of the United States may prepare in the fullest measure to uphold the dignity and honor of this country."

Very truly, yours, HOWARD G. HETZLER,
President.

Attest:

WARREN GORRELL,
Secretary.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I present a telegram setting forth resolutions pertaining to the present war, adopted at a mass meeting called in Lincoln, Nebr., by the mothers of that city.

I also present a memorial adopted by the House of Representatives of the Nebraska Legislature, and I also present an open letter in the shape of a memorial directed to the Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives by Mr. Bryan. I ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram, memorial, and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LINCOLN, NEBR., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. G. W. NORRIS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted this afternoon by 1,200 citizens of Lincoln, Nebr., called together in mass meeting by over 100 patriotic mothers of the city. The meeting was eloquently and patriotically addressed by Dr. A. L. Bixby, Rev. P. H. Harmon, and Rev. A. L. Weatherby. The resolutions as adopted:

"The Nation stands to-day on the brink of war. It has been brought to this crisis by the criminal aggressions of a maddened belligerent across the water, supplemented by long-continued militaristic propoganda at home and the desire of Americans holding billions of the paper of foreign Governments to bring their investments to par. We have confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the President and Congress at this time of great responsibility, and if their verdict be for war, we are with them, ready to do our part in a just cause with all the personal sacrifice that it entails and with naught of pecuniary reward; but we would have the President and Congress continue to realize that the great heart of the Nation is still for peace and not for war, unless refraining from war means submitting to evils greater, if that be possible, than war itself. And if it be possible by any means short of war to cause Germany to refrain from destruction of American lives, even though she continue to destroy the property of American citizens, we urge that war be avoided and the adjustment of such property questions be deferred, as we are properly doing in the case of England, until after the war. Particularly do we urge that the bill proposing universal military training be defeated. Its bayonets have supported every autocracy in Europe. It has been the resort of every ruler who has sought to stem the rising tide of democracy and to keep the laborers and producers of the world from entering into their inheritage. In this fateful hour, when such autocracies are crumbling to their fall, it is no time for the United States to grasp the weapon they have so long wielded and marshal our young men in times of peace into armed camps, particularly when to do so is to renounce the ideals we have cherished as a Nation from its birth. Confident of the justice of the American cause in the present crisis, grateful to Congress and the President for the patience hitherto displayed in the handling of our foreign affairs, the prayers of the mothers of men, upon whom the sacrifices of war will fall, are with our national administration to-day that it shall do straight thinking, keep its head cool and its heart warm to the desires and the aspirations, though unspoken, of the great masses of our people, and above all that it shall be true to the highest ideals for which our beloved Nation stands, wherever that course shall lead.

Mesdames G. H. Harfield, Grant Martin, C. F. Clayton, W. R. Kimball, Grant Watkins, E. E. Gustin, H. J. Schnoff, Cora Coffman, E. T. Harley, Caroline Phillips, F. F. A. Williams, M. M. Claflin, E. M. Mitchell, W. C. Frampton, A. O. Taylor, G. W. A. Luckry, C. L. Hall, C. W. Little, S. A. Foster, W. M. Poynter, H. K. Wolfe, H. W. Caldwell, J. R. Roberts, Henry T. Larke, W. S. Jay, W. M. Rainey, Ira Atkinson, Geo. Waite, W. H. England, J. P. Anderson, Benton Dales, Jacob Singer, F. D. Hart, L. C. Supp, Lina Frappia, Hattie Carson, Julia R. Frazier, Hattie O. Ames, C. P. Russel, F. W. Sharpp, J. H. Hyatt, Mariel Gere, Ella P. Matthewsson, Minnie Higgins, Mary S. Jewksbury, A. L. Bixby, Abbie Stone, F. M. Seymour, Josephine Thompson, L. H. Abott, A. L. Weatherly, Ellen Gere, Mary A. Hart, Belle Whittmer, Pearl Sharpe, H. H. Harmon, W. L. Locke, D. E. Bixby, G. W. Riseley, C. F. H. Miller, G. A. Loveland, Daniel Kelley, F. M. Brigham, C. W. Childs, Lillian Stephens, C. C. Jerome, L. B. Tuckerman, Hattie Harvey, H. T. Wilson, Henry Gund, L. O. Jones, P. K. Slaymaker, B. A. Wyman, A. L. Candy, A. E. Metcalf, Allie M. Jackson, G. W. Woods, A. G. Warner, Emma Adams, M. Caldwell, R. Stanhope, Mary C. Foster, B. M. Long, William F. Dann, L. A. Felton, E. A. Gray, L. W. Pomerene, J. D. Weeks, E. W. Miskell, E. L. Janes, Logan A. Rogers, A. Hanneman, B. A. Wyman, J. B. Ferguson, W. B. Comstock, J. D. Baker, N. Z. Snell, Marie Fedtnitz, G. B. Cooper, F. V. Halverstat, Malah B. Philbrick, J. A. Gee, E. A. Rogers, C. W. Robinson, A. C. Brightenburg, L. E. Aylesworth, B. E. Moore, E. H. Batty, J. W. Skinner, Thos. Boston, O. W. Low, Charles Baarf, Jacob Nelson, A. Jackson, E. M. Field, Owsley Wilson.

—

LINCOLN, NEBR., *March 31, 1917.*

HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following motion has been adopted in the House of Representatives of the State of Nebraska March 31, 1917:

"I beg leave to move the assurance to our great President of our unswerving loyalty to him in anything he may undertake to protect the honor and dignity of the United States in the present world crisis, but we believe the President expresses the true sentiment of the American people when on February 3, 1917, before Congress, he said:

"'We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.'

"We honor the President for up to this time keeping America out of war and its attendant consequences, and as representatives of the people of the State of Nebraska we earnestly hope that he will continue to do so.

"We feel that war would only increase the loss of life and property, and that it is the duty of America to prevent suffering, not to join in the work of further destruction. We fear that war would not quench but feed the fires of militarism. If we become belligerents, we cease to be neutrals and become engulfed in European politics.

"We believe that a course by our Government which will defer settlement of grievances until the present war is over will give the United States the opportunity to be the leader in the great international peace movement crying to be born. To stay out of war demands more courage, more patriotism, and more self-sacrifice than going to war; but it will give America the moral leadership for all time to come.

"I ask the foregoing as the sentiment of this house on the great question agitating the Nation.

"I move that a copy hereof be sent to our Congressmen and Senators at Washington."

"J. J. MCALLISTER."

Mr. McAllister moved the adoption of the motion, which was carried.

G. W. POTTS,
Chief Clerk.
GEORGE JACKSON,
Speaker.

—

MIAMI, FLA., *March 28, 1917.*

To the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Exercising the citizen's right of petition, I appeal to you. The dispute with Germany has passed beyond the domain of diplomacy and some advise settlement by the sword. The metropolitan press, which tried to prevent the reelection of the President and failed, undismayed by a popular verdict of more than one-half million, now seeks to lash the country into a fury and urges the Government to take part in the European conflict.

To you, and to you only, is given constitutional authority to declare war—war which, in this case, may mean the signing of the death warrant of thousands, even millions, of your countrymen and the laying of grievous burdens upon future generations. Before you take this blood upon your hands consider, I pray you, first, that the wrongs which you would punish, cruel and unjustifiable as they are, are not intended primarily against this country, but are acts of desperation directed against other nations with which the offenders are at war. Second, that our land is not threatened with invasion, but that we are asked to go 3,000 miles for a chance to fight. Third, that we have not the excuse for going to war that the European nations had. They had no machinery for peace; we have a peace plan offered by this Nation to the world and now embodied in 30 treaties with three-quarters of the population of the globe. The plan has the indorsement of the President, the commendation of the Senate, and the approval of the people at the polls. It provides for investigation of all disputes by an international tribunal before resort to war.

Fortunately these treaties compel us to employ the plan with Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia before going to war with them. Germany formally approved the plan, although no treaty has yet been concluded with her. Shall we repudiate our own plan the first time we have an opportunity to employ it?

If, as the President recently declared, the American people do not want war, is it not worth while to try the peace plan before bringing upon the people the horrors of war? Until an attempt is made and fails no one is able to say that it would be impossible to secure the suspension of "ruthless" submarine warfare during the investigation for which the plan provides. Shall we deny to ourselves the credit of trying to settle the dispute with the treaty plan?

And is it not worth while to do our part in trying to avoid injury? Would it not be better as well as cheaper for the Government to carry on its own vessels such Americans as must go to Europe rather than engage in war to vindicate the right of citizens to disregard all risks and ride upon belligerent ships?

Is it not worth while to separate passengers from contraband cargoes, so that the captains of passenger ships can give their entire attention to the safety of the passengers? Our Nation is the world's foremost advocate of peace; if we go to war, it should be for a cause which history will justify.

If you reach the conclusion that nothing but war will satisfy the Nation's honor, is it too much to ask that, by a referendum, you consult the wishes of those who must, in case of war, defend the Nation's honor with their lives?

As one who expects to live up to a citizen's duties if war comes, I plead with you to use all honorable means to preserve peace before you take the responsibility of plunging our beloved land into this unprecedented struggle, begun without any sufficient cause and conducted by both sides in utter disregard of the well-settled rights of neutrals.

Very truly, yours,

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Mr. FERNALD. At a meeting of the public safety committee of 100 appointed by the governor of Maine, there was adopted the following resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

There being no objection, the resolution was read, as follows:

PORTLAND, ME., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. BERT M. FERNALD,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the public safety committee of one hundred of Maine the following resolution was unanimously adopted and copies were ordered sent to Maine Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Very sincerely,

HAROLD M. SEWELL,
Chairman.
D. W. HOEGG, Jr.,
Secretary.

Whereas the Federal Government of the United States of America has since the beginning of the European war exercised a patience and forbearance toward the Imperial German Government such as no great nation ever before accorded to another under similar conditions; and

Whereas by this evidence of our great desire for peace this Nation has acquired an unenviable reputation wholly at variance with the character of our people; and

Whereas the German Government has by repeated acts of insolence, violence, treachery, and ruthlessness made it no longer possible to submit and retain our commercial rights, protect our citizens, uphold national honor, or act for humanity and the future of civilization. Be it

Resolved, That we hereby urge Maine Senators and Representatives to act and vote in the next Congress with all possible promptness in declaring that war exists and to aid in using the power of this Nation against the German forces.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I present sundry resolutions and petitions from citizens of my State for and against war with Germany and for and against military training. I ask that the resolutions be printed in the RECORD without the signatures, but stating after each resolution the number of signers.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

We, your petitioners, Americans, constitutionists, most earnestly protest against the enactment of the so-called Chamberlain bill making compulsory military service, with a prison sentence unless there is consent to serve, as being un-American and unwarranted, and we as earnestly petition you, as our representative in the enacting of laws to govern our country and ourselves, to use your utmost efforts to defeat the Chamberlain bill and all other bills that may be introduced for the purpose of compelling unwilling military service by the enforcement of penalties so drastic.

A. A. LANCE
(And 28 others).

—

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

We, your petitioners, Americans, constitutionists, most earnestly protest against the enactment of the so-called Chamberlain bill making compulsory military service, with a prison sentence unless consent to serve, as being un-American and unwarranted, and we as earnestly petition you, as our representative in the enacting of laws to govern our country and ourselves, to use your utmost efforts to defeat the Chamberlain bill and all other bills that may be introduced for the purpose of compelling unwilling military service by the enforcement of penalties so drastic.

ERWIN E. MCMILLEN
(And 105 others).

—

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned citizens and taxpayers of Battle Creek, Mich., firmly believe that it is the duty of our Representatives in Congress to use every honorable means to keep our country out of the European war. We therefore respectfully pray that you kindly use your official influence in every way possible to accomplish the foregoing results.

LOUIS REHTHALER
(And 16 others).

The Honorable SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, in behalf of our country, most earnestly petition your honorable body to vote against war.

O. LUEBKE,
Lutheran Pastor, Petersburg, Mich.
(And 18 others).

—

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States and of Ann Arbor, Mich, irrespective of party, earnestly urge that you support a declaration of a state of war with Germany and close cooperation with the allies as the only effective means of defense in the war now being waged by Germany against the United States.

C. A. VAN TYNE
(And 31 other citizens).

—

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned citizens of the German Benevolent Association of Battle Creek, Mich., firmly believe that it is the duty of our Representatives in Congress to use every honorable means to keep our country out of the European war.

We therefore respectfully pray that you kindly use your official influence in every way possible to accomplish the foregoing results.

JOHN BODKE, *President,*
64 Colvin Avenue
(And 85 members of the German Benevolent Association).

—

HUDSONVILLE, MICH., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: We, the undersigned voters in the fifth congressional district of Michigan, are absolutely opposed to entering the world war. We would settle the entire question by arbitration, as the United States has settled so many disputes with foreign nations in the past.

JACOB NYENHUIS
(And 19 others).

—

LUDINGTON, MICH., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: We earnestly urge that you represent on the floor of Congress that your constituents look with disapproval on any suggestions that this Nation go to war over the injury of, or death to, any American who persists in jeopardizing the peace of the United States by traveling as passenger or seaman on American or neutral ship carrying contraband of war or traveling on a ship of belligerent-nation registry, and that you voice our protest against any use of the United States Army and Navy for the protection of Americans who persist in this dangerous travel; and we ask that you vote against any proposal to go to war or to so use our Army and Navy.

OTTO LOSSNER
(And 127 others).

—

PORTLAND, MICH., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: We who sign below are farmers, men of families, men opposed to compulsory universal military training, and men who demand of you, as our representative, your best efforts against the enactment of legislation instituting such training, and against a declaration of war.

Respectfully,

JAMES W. SOUTHWELL
(And 7 others).

—

DETROIT, MICH., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senator from Michigan, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Citizens' League, No. 12, exercising its right of petition appeals to you to vote against war. Among the many valid reasons sent to you in other appeals and protests, we wish to call your attention to the fact that the American Nation is composed of citizens coming either directly or by extraction from the very nations now engaged in the European war. For this very reason we are opposed to war with any of the principal nations now at war, conducted by both in disregard of established rights of neutrals.

The wrongs which you would punish with war are not intended against this country. We appeal to you not to take this blood on your hands and conscience. We are actuated by love for our country—America—convinced it is best for the interest, present and future welfare of our country, not to declare war. The local press, with possibly one exception, urges fanatically the Government to take part in the conflict. Be not misled. Do not believe this to be the sentiment of the people. The Citizens' League No. 12 represents 500 families, with as many and more voters. We adopted resolutions requesting you to vote against war and to acquaint you with our sentiments. As citizens we find our duty regarding our country laid down in the Constitution of our country, the laws of the land, and last but not least in Holy Writ, Romans 13, 1–4: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," etc. Our loyalty should not be questioned. In conformity with this, we petition you to vote against war.

THE CITIZENS' LEAGUE NO. 12,
G. CLAUS.
OTTO SCHIPANSKY, *Secretary,*
1008 Twenty-third Street, Detroit.
WM. TIEDEMAN, *President.*

—

DETROIT, MICH., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR AND HONORABLE SIR: We have prayed for peace, we have voted for peace, we have and do now petition for peace. You have publicly stated that this European war is a shame and a blot to modern civilization; will you help blot the pages of American history with its blood?

We are not Socialists, but we know that many seats in the congressional halls of Washington, D. C., will be taken by Socialists in a few years, if Congress indorses and declares "a state of war."

Very sincerely, yours,

WM. T. GRUENEWALD
(And 38 others).

Respectfully submitted to Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND, United States Senate, by the American Citizens' League, of Blumfield, Saginaw County, Mich.:

We as citizens of the United States do hereby protest against drawing this country into a war with Germany, for the following reasons:

1. Both England and Germany have violated our rights under international law.

2. England has made itself guilty of violations of our American rights under international law no less serious than those committed by Germany, e. g., mining of the illegal war zone, which resulted in the destruction of five American ships with loss of American lives.

3. We deem it a flagrant injustice to acquiesce in England's blockade and to punish Germany for her war-zone decree. What is right toward England ought to be proper toward Germany.

4. We want our Government to uphold American rights and protect American commerce foursquare against all the world, but since we have waived our rights to one group of belligerents we consider it unjust, unneutral, and incompatible with the honesty of the Nation to uphold them against another group of belligerents.

We are opposed to one-man power, and stand by you in resisting any usurpation of what the Constitution makes the sole right of Congress, the making and declaring of war.

As citizens of the United States we look upon it as our patriotic duty to inform you as to our sentiment.

F. C. MOLL
(And 97 others).

DETROIT, MICH., *March 30, 1917.*

To the Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned citizens of the United States do beg you to use your influence to prevent war against Germany.

The facts ascertained through good authority are these:

1. England has made itself guilty of violations of our American rights under international law no less serious than those committed by Germany, e. g., mining of the illegal war zone, resulting in the destruction of five American ships with loss of American lives.

2. Germany was willing to abide by the declaration of London; to abandon unlawful submarine warfare against merchant vessels if her enemies could and would be brought to abide by international law; to meet her adversaries in peace council, as suggested by President Wilson, and lay her terms upon the table. England, on the other hand, rendered all overtures null and void.

3. Prominent Members of Congress hold that war could and should be avoided. We beg that you be one of these.

Respectfully,

Rev. J. M. GUGEL
(And 27 others).

Resolution.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Whereas the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate (S. Rept. 4253, pt. 1, 59th Cong.) shows that the Mormon Church teaches polygamy as a divinely ordained system of marriage, and that many of the ruling authorities of said church live in polygamy: Now, therefore,

We do respectfully urge upon the Congress the speedy adoption of a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution as follows:

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"SECTION 1. Polygamy and polygamous cohabitation shall not exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Adopted by public meeting, Detroit, Mich., March 27, 1917.

FREDERICK M. WHITE,
President.
ALFRED N. SAFFORD,
Secretary.

Copy of petition original of which has been mailed to Hon. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, United States Senator.

MARCH 29, 1917.

To our United States Senators, Hon. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH and Hon. CHARLES S. TOWNSEND, and our Congressman, Hon. PATRICK H. KELLEY:

Inasmuch as President Wilson has summoned Congress to meet in extra session on April 2, 1917, to consider "questions of grave international policy," and in view of the strenuous efforts now being made throughout the East to secure action that will send our American boys into the European trenches, we, the undersigned citizens, thinking only of America, desire to express our most earnest disapproval of any such policy. If this Nation is attacked we should "fight until the last man is dead" in defense of our sacred soil, but we are opposed to any policy that will send American soldiers to kill and die on a European battlefield in the present European war.

L. E. LARSON
(And 149 others).

Copy of petition original of which has been mailed to Hon. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, United States Senator.

MARCH 29, 1917.

To our United States Senators, Hon. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH and Hon. CHARLES S. TOWNSEND, and our Congressman, Hon. PATRICK H. KELLEY:

Inasmuch as President Wilson has summoned Congress to convene in extra session on April 2, 1917, to consider "questions of grave international policy," and in view of the strenuous efforts now being made throughout the East to secure action that will send our American boys into the European trenches, we, the undersigned citizens, thinking only of America, desire to express our most earnest disapproval of any such policy. If this Nation is attacked we should "fight until the last man is dead" in defense of our sacred soil, but we are opposed to any policy that will send American soldiers to kill and die on a European battle field in the present European war.

A. BENSON
(And 122 others).

Hon. CHARLES TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned, citizens of this country and residing at Springwells, Mich., urgently request you to do all in your power to keep us out of war. We see no reason why we should declare war on Germany, since England has given us just as much offense. We believe in being neutral and fair.

H. METZGER
(And 38 others).

Resolutions passed by the University Club of Ann Arbor, Mich., March 27, 1917.

Whereas the country is now virtually in a state of war and everywhere recognized to be without adequate land and naval forces for its defense; and

Whereas the General Staff of the Army, the National Guard, all patriotic and defense organizations, and military experts generally appear to be in agreement that some form of compulsory military service is imperative if the life of the Nation is to be safeguarded: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the University Club at the University of Michigan urge upon the Congress of the United States the enaction into law at the earliest possible moment of the Chamberlain bill for universal training as the necessary first step in this direction; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the United States Senators from Michigan, and to our Representatives in Congress.

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

We, your petitioners, Americans, constitutionists, most earnestly protest against the enactment of the so-called Chamberlain bill making compulsory military service, with a prison sentence unless consent to serve is given, as being un-American, unwarranted; and we as earnestly petition you as our representative in the enacting of laws to govern our country and ourselves, to use your utmost efforts to defeat the Chamberlain bill and all other bills that may be introduced for the purpose of compelling unwilling military service by the enforcement of penalties so drastic.

M. VIRGINIA DICKINSON
(And 16 others).

The following resolutions were adopted at a mass meeting held in Detroit Monday evening, March 26, 1917:

"Whereas a jingo propaganda, led and encouraged by Lord Northcliffe's American newspapers, munition manufacturers, the Shipping Trust, the Morgan syndicate, and the holders of war securities, seeks to plunge this peaceful and happy Nation into the vortex of war by a prolonged shriek for war, amid declarations of patriotism; and

"Whereas neutrality and peace—America's contribution to the laws of the world and equally as sacred as the American flag—are now and have for over two years been demanded by a great majority of our American people; and

"Whereas the President of the United States has by his public declarations—that the United States can no longer tread the path its founders marked out for it—has by the interposing of his hand and head between the belligerents departed from the past policy of the United States, thus substituting for the Monroe doctrine a new one—the Wilson doctrine; and

"Whereas the power of changing our condition from peace to war is vested in Congress and can never be surrendered or intrusted to the "one-man" power of the President without grave dangers arising for our American institutions and liberties; and

"Whereas in the abandonment of our traditional policy of separation from the politics and affairs of Europe the United States is taking a step momentous, which not only means abandoning our utter aloofness from the complications of European politics, but includes the absolute surrender of the position which we have maintained against all comers with regard to the American Republics south of our border; and

"Whereas the taxpaying people, already overburdened by the high cost of living, and not the President and his Cabinet, can change the character of this Government, and this people should be consulted as to the propriety and necessity of a war urged on us at this time by this new Wilson doctrine; and

"Whereas we, the delegates of the amalgamated German-American, Austro-American, and Hungarian-American societies, together with many patriotic sympathizers, representing over 50,000 citizens, have in public meeting assembled and discussed the dangers threatening our American liberties and institutions and find the course of our country at this time serious and un-American: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we demand of our representatives—the honorable Senators from the State of Michigan and the Congressmen from the two congressional districts of Detroit—earnestly to guard the sacred rights delegated to them by the sovereign people by offering stout resistance to the jingo war propaganda.

"*Resolved*, That we demand of our representatives to stand in harmony with the founders of our country—firmly for American doctrine of neutrality, firmly for peace, firmly for the Monroe doctrine.

"*Resolved*, That we, in keeping with the admonitions contained in George Washington's Farewell Address, urge upon our representatives the necessity of keeping each department of the Government strictly within its constitutional limitations: 'The President of the United States must not invite, initiate, or declare a war, and any and every encroachment, no matter under what colorable authority, must be rejected.'

"*Resolved*, That we, in harmony with all true Americans, beginning with George Washington, declare a departure from the Monroe doctrine and the substitution of this new Wilson doctrine, without the consent of the governed, to be un-American and dangerous.

"*Resolved*, That we declare a war caused by our intervention in European affairs an unjust war, which, for reasons of patriotism and conscience, we can not sanction.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President and to the Michigan delegation in both Houses of the Congress."

Signed by August Marxhausen, Dr. Charles H. Ruesskamp, Dr. Emil Rosinger, Henry Andries, Wilhelm F. Thiemt, Jacob Mack, Edward J. Messerich, Jacob Duschinsky, Carl Bauer, Henry Pfeiffer, and Gustav Misch.

—

To Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Whereas the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate (S. Rept. 4253, pt. 1, 59th Cong.) shows that the Mormon Church teaches polygamy as a divinely ordained system of marriage, and that many of the ruling authorities of said church live in polygamy: Now, therefore,

We do respectfully urge upon the Congress the speedy adoption of a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution as follows:

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"SECTION 1. Polygamy and polygamous cohabitation shall not exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Adopted by public meeting Northville, Mich., March 25, 1917.

J. O. KNAPP, *President.*
CHAS. A. PONSFORD, *Secretary.*

—

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Whereas the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate (S. Rept. 4253, pt. 1, 59th Cong.) shows that the Mormon Church teaches polygamy as a divinely ordained system of marriage, and that many of the ruling authorities of said church live in polygamy: Now, therefore,

We do respectfully urge upon the Congress the speedy adoption of a resolution to amend the Federal Constitution as follows:

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"SECTION 1. Polygamy and polygamous cohabitation shall not exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Adopted by the churches of Ypsilanti, Mich., March 25, 1917.

M. H. PETTIT, *President.*
O. LLOYD MORRIS, *Secretary.*

—

BLISSFIELD, MICH., *March 27, 1917.*

Hon. C. E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR FRIEND TOWNSEND: We believe you are in a position to assist the American people to retain the freedom of the American citizenship of the United States, and we believe you are interested in the welfare of every citizen of our country, "The land of the free and the home of the brave." Therefore we ask you to work and vote against the bill that "provides that American citizens between the ages of 19 and 26 be compelled to submit to compulsory military drill or pay a fine of $1,000 or serve a year in prison, or both." We believe this is against us as a people of the United States; and we believe it is a bill in favor of the rich, as they could easily pay the $1,000 fine; and it will bring disgrace upon thousands of our American homes, as this very thing has worked havoc in Prussia.

We thank you for your help to keep us as our forefathers intended—"The land of the free and the home of the brave."

Yours, truly,

J. E. EDWARDS.

—

This is to certify that we, the undersigned American citizens of the United States, do petition against the passing of the Chamberlain bill, which provides that "American citizens between the ages of 19 and 26 be compelled to submit to compulsory military drill or pay a fine of $1,000 or serve a year in prison, or both."

We oppose the passage of this bill.

J. E. EDWARDS
(And 32 others).

—

DETROIT, *March 27, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND.

DEAR SIR: Being fully convinced that neither the honor nor the safety of our country necessitates a declaration of war against Germany and that such declaration and its consequences would be a dire calamity for our Nation;

Knowing, furthermore, by the testimony of trustworthy persons that prominent Members of Congress hold that this war could and should be avoided,

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, ask you very urgently to use your utmost influence to keep our beloved country out of this war.

Allow us also to remind you that the responsibility is yours, for our Constitution gives the right to declare war to Congress only.

Thanking you for your endeavors, we remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM STEPHAN
(And 18 others).

—

DETROIT, MICH., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We, the undersigned citizens of Detroit, your constituents, insist that a way out of the present crisis can be found without loss of honor and without committing an act of unneutrality and injustice. Both parties in the European struggle have violated international law. Five of our ships were sunk because England illegally mined certain zones, causing loss of American lives. Why then should we declare war against one side alone? You know that Germany was willing to abide by the declaration of London, to abandon submarine warfare against merchant vessels if her enemies could and would be brought to abide by the rules of international law. She was willing to meet her adversaries in peace council as submitted by President Wilson. It was England, however, who rendered all overtures null and void. Under these circumstances we do not want war. Since you are our representative in Congress we urge you to vote against a declaration of war. You certainly are aware that Germany is not waging war against us, but against England. We did not interfere when England blockaded Germany. If we had, there would have been trouble and, probably, bloodshed. Why should we wear a chip on our shoulder now when Germany blockades England? We Americans boast of our love of fair play. Why should we not let them fight it out amongst themselves? If our financiers are trembling for their money loaned to the entente, that is their business. We are not under obligations to have our boys killed in order to save England. Let us stick to the Monroe doctrine and beware of the new Wilson doctrine.

Yours, for justice and peace,

L. LIST
(And 127 others).

Mr. SHEPPARD. I present, and ask to have inserted in the RECORD, telegrams from sundry citizens of Texas, expressing practically unanimous support of the President.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 31, 1917.*

United States Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

True American citizens and Texans look to our able Senators to stand in our behalf for absolute loyalty to our great President and the administration.

H. E. ELDRIDGE, *Gainesville, Tex.*

—

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Press reports state pacifists' element will stage big demonstration at Washington Monday to influence public opinion. I wish to assure you that the people of this section of Texas are squarely behind the President in his stand to protect American rights, and I am sure that all true and loyal Texans desire that you support the President in any recommendations that he may make to Congress.

ROY MILLER, *Mayor.*

—

TERRELL, TEX., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

Result of actual referendum vote from 195 firms and individuals, members in good standing, as follows: One hundred and thirty-seven unequivocally indorse President Wilson's policy, 46 out of reach at time of sending this wire, 4 conditionally indorse the President, and 8 oppose. Texas always ready to do her duty.

TERRELL COMMERCIAL CLUB,
Per BEN F. STOLLENWERCK,
Secretary.

—

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

That an overwhelming majority of American citizens are in sympathy with President Wilson and the administration there is no shadow of doubt, and as a loyal citizen I appeal to you to stand by the President, which I feel sure you will do.

E. W. MCGLASSON, *Gainesville, Tex.*

—

HOUSTON, TEX., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We believe, with a great many others, in the passage of the universal service bill or its equivalent.

MIKE HOGG.
RAYMOND DICKSON.

Mr. PHELAN. I present sundry telegrams from associations in the State of California on the subject of war and peace, and ask that they be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

The following telegram has this date been sent to the President of the United States:

"This message to you, the President of the United States, conveys the profound conviction of the American League of California that the present conditions call for a declaration that a state of war exists with Germany and a full union with the allies in money, men, and munitions. Our honor, the peace that is to come, our dignity in the future councils of the nations, our weight as a champion for the rights of neutrals, our reputation for sincerity, the call of humanity, as well as our own future, all demand that we proceed to armed defense and attack. It seems a God-given moment when, as a nation, fresh and unexhausted, with men, money, and food without limit, we are now also compelled by self-respect and duty as well as the national welfare, to lend unstinted help to the cause of civilization and democracy now in imminent danger. Let us devote ourselves fully to this cause, for it is the cause for which this Nation was brought into this world, and no longer can the peace loving find excuse for hesitation. Our safety at the close of the war also compels us to join the allies, so that we may not be left alone to fight Germany. No protestation can any longer be made in good faith by a courageous nation that our cause is not the cause of the allies, who are fighting for the small nations, and the neutral nations, and for democracy against ferocity, vandalism, and self-aggrandizement. We can not sit idle any longer. France and England, and now the Russian freemen, are fighting generously for each other without count of cost. Are we to be found adding and subtracting the total of our losses and gains? Mercy for all mankind and for

the German people calls for a vigorous and aggressive, far, and complete union with the allies, that the war may come quickly to an end."

The American League of California, by its central committee, Dr. Ray Lyman, Wilbur Osgood Putnam, Prof. G. M. Gayley, Guy C. Earl, W. B. Bourn, Archbishop Hanna, Bishop Wm. Ford Nichols, Rev. Walter H. Cambridge, Benjamin Dibble, Hon. W. W. Morrow, Capt. John Barneson, Louis F. Monteagle, Dr. H. M. Sherman, W. H. Crocker, George W. Starr, Justice Harry William Henshaw, J. B. Landfield, John A. Britton, F. B. Anderson, J. D. Grant, Thos. E. Hayden, Elliott McAllister, Dr. Geo. B. Somers, F. W. Bradley, R. M. Tobin, Carter P. Pomeroy, Arthur Goodall, Robert Hooker, C. P. Eells, Warren Olney, jr., F. S. Moody, Dr. Thos. W. Huntington, S. P. Eastman, A. H. Payson, H. A. Williams, Mark L. Gerstle, J. Henry Meyer, Wm. Babcock, Mortimer Fleishhacker, Bruce Porter, A. Crawford Greene, E. L. Eyre, Porter Garnett, Mark L. Requa, Charles H. Bentley, W. Mayo Newhall, J. C. Nowell, Edward W. Putnam, Bruce Cornwall, Perry Eyre, Ferd Reiss, jr., Cutler Bolestell, J. K. Lynch, Herbert Fleishhacker.

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully urge upon you in this hour of stress what we believe is the true conviction of many women of California, and in meeting assembled to-day we join the American League of California and indorse their telegram sent to you yesterday especially urging that our entry into the war is the one thing needed to throw the balance of warlike force not only on the side of righteousness, liberty, and honor, but especially on the side of mercy and humanity, and to bring quick relief to the misguided and suffering German people and to the heroes and sufferers in all the contending nations.

Mrs. Beverly MacMonagle, Mrs. H. C. Benson, Mary Eyre, Mrs. Perry Eyre, Elena Eyre, Mrs. G. M. Pinckard, Jennie M. Hooker, Mrs. Cyrus Walker, Mrs. Ira Pierce, Mrs. J. R. Nuttall, Mrs. S. W. Rosenstock, Mrs. J. L. Moody, Mrs. J. Leroy Nickel, Mrs. F. S. Moody, Mrs. Warren B. Clark, Mrs. Frank B. Anderson, Miss Anna W. Beaver, Mrs. J. R. Hamilton, Mrs. Paul Bancroft, Mrs. Ashton Potter, May Bourne Tucker, Margaret Casserly, Ethel Hooper, Eleanor Wilcox Morgan, Mary E. Botsford, M. D.; Louisa Breeze, Elizabeth Gerberding, Catherine Loeser, Elizabeth S. Newhall, Bessie Hooker Lent, Mrs. Richard Girvin, Mrs. Eyre Pickard, Mrs. W. F. McNutt, Miss I. H. Bourn, Mrs. John Stanley, Mrs. A. C. Kains, Mrs. Wm. F. Breeze, Mrs. Wm. Babcock, Miss Alice Griffith, Mrs. Harry Sherman, Mrs. James Otis, Mrs. Chas. Eels, Mrs. Francis Carolyn, Laura Livingston McKinstry, Mrs. John B. Casserley, Miss Cecily Casserley, Mrs. Grant Selfridge, Mrs. R. J. Woods, Mrs. Stephen Brodie.

—

PASADENA, CAL., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned, whom you represent, hope every possible honorable means will be used to keep our country out of war. We respectfully urge that conference of neutral nations be called by President to define and champion rights of neutrals on the seas.

Mesdames J. S. Sartori, Geo. Wright, Ella S. Miller, Seward Simons, Henrietta Brigs, Will Marshall Stimson, J. L. Harris, C. T. Pepper, F. T. Allen, S. M. Jackson, E. J. Cannon, Jacob Baruch, F. G. Bauer, Maria M. Clairy, O. P. Conaway, A. M. Low, Miss Margaret Hamilton, K. F. Bukham, Sarah F. Ward, Annabel Keep, Charles H. Baker, Anna Kuhn, Edith Low, B. A. Chapman, Rena Beck, Faith Chevallier, Richard Gird, Bertha Starkweather, Mary Whitten, Albert H. Gates, J. H. Aley, C. C. Wright, R. P. Smith, Helen Roys, Frederic W. Miner, Clara Packard, Chas. G. Stivers, W. H. Fleet, J. B. Patterson, Kate B. Ayers, Mary C. Sherman, U. C. Peterson, T. W. Brown, Charles H. Smith, Arthur C. Wier, Frank Garrett, Martha C. Mohr, Harry W. Dennis, Charles Grassley, Ella H. Durley, G. H. Jones, J. H. Dickey, J. Bohen, Richard Schow, H. M. Snodgrass, Charles Wearin, E. P. Bosbyshell, Florence Enderle, L. M. Hills, Ela Calin, James Scott, Alma Calkins, Anna W. Beardsley.

—

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of Los Angeles, Cal., beg of you to do all in your power to avoid war. We believe war should only be declared by referendum.

Harry Ralff, Louis Mollenhauser, H. A. Bainbridge, Charles Kolls, M. P. Murray, E. W. Nelson, James H. Smith, M. H. Wilson, Elizabeth Mork, Lillie McFee, William Wilson, May Aquinn, T. F. Russell, Florence Dubois, J. E. McCarron, L. S. Taylor, E. M. Glaser, B. C. Beach, Adda Hirst, Rose Fenton, J. Foughty, M. Morrow, E. Middendorf, Mrs. Pierce, Mrs. E. O. Hooker, Mrs. H. B. Snead, Mrs. N. Douglas, C. Hoerner, Jessie D. Newhan, Mrs. Dora Burk, Mrs. S. E. Davis, P. C. Kenyon, E. Lennon.

—

PALO ALTO, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned members of the faculty of Stanford University, support the President of the United States in demanding recognition of a state of war between this county and Germany, and urge prompt, unqualified, and energetic support of the allies with all the industrial and military resources the Nation can command.

Wilbur Willis, Mitchell H. Brown, Huston Fairclugh, Briggs Bassett, Campbell Burke, Terman Cubberly, Mosher Cathcart, Whitaker Moreno, Clark McFarland, Rogers Folsom, Staniford Clevenger, Alden Wildman, Stuart Green, Ross Johnson, Carver Branner, Snyder Show, Eldred Foster, Burlingame Martin, Manning Sionaker, J. Brown Elmere, Blychfeit Adams, Bingham Price, Coover Ryan, Townley Cross, John A. Sellards.

—

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned United States citizens and business people in the engineering profession, are firmly of the opinion that our country's interest and welfare can best be promoted through peace; that we are not upholding our dignity by precipitating this country into war; and that one evil can not be remedied by another. Therefore we beg you to use all your influence and power to prevent our beloved country from being engulfed in a costly and cruel conflict.

George H. Horne, P. S. Huntington, B. E. Crocker, C. H. Weiskopf, Edw. Hoykendorf, K. E. Voorhes, O. H. Van Rensselaer, George F. Warner, H. Wieden, F. Kelley, E. Allis, A. P. Knight, A. E. Gies, J. Wieden, E. Zoellner, F. B. Church, and A. F. Frey.

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

Representing 1,500 musicians favor enforcement honorable peace by combined neutrals or peace commission. All are opposed to declaration of war or participation. Personal views are that President as last resort have full power with power of Navy.

CLARENCE H. KING,
Secretary-Treasurer.
WALTER A. WEBER,
President Musicians' Union, 68 Haight Strect.

—

STOCKTON, CAL., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

Herrman's Sons, Eintracht Ladies' Aid Society, Turnverein Sewing Circle, Eintracht Frauenvereiniga Aid Association. At a meeting held in this city it was unanimously decided by the delegates of 10 local associations, representing more than 2,000 citizens of Stockton, to implore you to use your efforts to prevent war, since we believe the war spirit is artificially developed by interested parties. We are firmly convinced that an overwhelming majority of the citizens in this community are in their hearts opposed to war. If war seems inevitable, we beseech you to use your influence to first submit the question to a referendum by the people.

FORESTERS OF AMERICA.
DUIDS G.-A. VERBAND.

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN.
Washington, D. C.:

The Gymnastic Union of the Pacific Coast, an organization of American citizens for the advancement of physical training, founded 70 years ago, appeals to you to make every effort to prevent the entrance of our country into the European war. We believe in the referendum on this vital question.

JOHN SIMMEN, *President.*

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

We again appeal to you to keep this country out of war, or at least submit this question to a referendum vote of the people. Do not force our innocent sons to die slaughtered. Let them have their rights as American citizens to cast their votes in this hour of danger.

JOHN HERMAN,
President German-American League of California.

—

POMONA, CAL., *March 31, 1917.*

JAMES D. PHELAN,
Senator, Washington, D. C.:

The Chamber of Commerce of Pomona, Cal., respectfully urges that you exert your best efforts in Congress to pass a law inaugurating the system of universal military training.

POMONA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By D. C. CROOKSHANK, *President.*
W. H. SCHUREMAN, *Secretary.*

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

I urge upon you, as a duty you owe the Nation and the American people, to demand legislation that will provide compulsory military service and training. No more monstrous iniquity could be perpetrated upon a people than to permit enthusiastic patriotic and liberty-loving citizens to volunteer, while slackers, cowards, and pacifists remain at home reaping benefits that justly belong to those who die upon the field of battle. Half-way measures are worse than useless, tending, as they do, to lull our citizens into a sense of false security. We must be either completely prepared or we had better squarely face the issue, renounce our liberty, and become the vassals of some foreign country. There can be no middle course, and if we are to maintain our liberty it can only be with the assistance of men in your position, who will see to it that proper legislation will be forthcoming.

M. L. REQUA.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The executive committee of the San Francisco section of American Institute of Mining Engineers asks you to use your best efforts for immediate introduction of system of compulsory military training. We think such training is an essential part of preparedness and influential for peace.

C. E. GRUNSKY, Jr., *Secretary.*

—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

As a member of Military Training Camps Association and having attended four training camps, I wish to go on record that it is my unqualified belief that universal military service is the only solution of our present and future problems and the method of increasing the physical condition and patriotism of the youth of this country.

JOS. S. EASTLAND.

—

SAN MATEO, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

The Ladies' Auxiliary, Ancient Order of Hibernians, of San Mateo, are willing to give their husbands, sons, and brothers in war where their blood will be shed in the United States, but we ask you, for God's sake, to prevent war that will send them to the European slaughterhouse.

Mrs. J. P. LYNCH,
President Ladies' Auxiliary of San Mateo.

—

SAN MATEO, CAL., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

One hundred members of Ancient Order of Hibernians of San Mateo stand by Woodrow Wilson in the event of war, but we ask you to exhaust every honorable means to prevent war. We reelected Woodrow Wilson because he kept us out of war. We advocate the fullest measure of preparedness.

JOHN DOLLARD,
President Ancient Order of Hibernians.

—

SANTA BARBARA, CAL., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator J. D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the hour has come when it is no longer possible for the American people to ignore the stern reality that our civilization has been challenged, our neutral rights attacked, our flag subjected to derision, our ships driven from the seas or sunk in violation of long-established laws, our safety menaced by the plottings of a militaristic caste, our citizens murdered while following legitimate pursuits; and

Whereas our Government, after many useless protests and after exhausting infinite patience, while hoping for a cessation of these hostile demonstrations against the common welfare of our people only to find an aggravation of the offenses, has considered it imperative to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire; and

Whereas the grave warning of our serious resolve has been met by further and more violent depredations, leaving no middle ground for a self-respecting nation but rather opening the one course that we may pursue: Be it therefore

Resolved by the people of Santa Barbara, Cal., in assembly on this 2d day of April, 1917, That we solemnly pledge to our President and to the Congress our unqualified and undivided support in any action that by these authorities may be deemed necessary to sustain national dignity and honor, and to protect our people wherever they may be on lawful errands, and to uphold the flag wherever it may rightfully flow as an emblem of liberty and enlightenment; and be it further

Resolved, That in support of this firm determination we urge upon Congress the prompt adoption of the policy of universal military training, believing it the only adequate assurance against aggression; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be telegraphed to the President and copies sent to Senators JAMES D. PHELAN and HIRAM W. JOHNSON and Representative E. A. HAYES.

WILLIS M. SLOSSON, *Mayor.*

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I am in receipt of many telegrams and petitions touching upon the form which the senders feel the military legislation should take. I ask permission of the Senate to send those petitions and telegrams to the Committee on Military Affairs without encumbering the RECORD with them, and without further motion to the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection?

Mr. PHELAN. I object.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I think the Senator has that right without the consent of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair supposes that the Senator can send anything he desires to the Committee on Military Affairs without permission of the Senate.

Mr. PHELAN subsequently said: Mr. President, when I made objection to the request of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] I was under the impression that his request covered all the telegrams and memorials which have been submitted this morning, in order to relieve the RECORD. I learn that the Senator made the request only with respect to telegrams and memorials received by him from his own State. I desire, therefore, to withdraw my objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The objection is withdrawn.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I desire to say that I have received a great many telegrams on both sides of the question that is now before the American people. I have not felt that it was necessary to present them for printing in the RECORD, because I thought they were intended for my advice. They are along the lines of some that have been read into the RECORD already. I merely state the fact that both sides to the controversy have been telegraphing me on the subject.

Mr. NELSON. I present a resolution adopted by the Legislature of Minnesota, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That the senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby heartily and unreservedly indorse the policy of the President of the United States as set forth in the bill to authorize the President to arm the merchant ships of the United States for the purpose of protecting American lives and commerce, for the defense of American rights and to uphold the dignity and honor of this Nation.

That the senate does hereby also indorse the action of the President in calling a special session of the Congress of the United States for the purpose of enacting said bill into law, and for the purpose of passing such other measures as may be necessary for the security of the Nation in its present crisis.

That the senate does hereby commend, approve, and indorse the Hon. KNUTE NELSON and the Hon. FRANK B. KELLOGG, United States Senators, and each of the Members of the House of Representatives who voted in favor of said armed neutrality bill for their strong patriotic support of the President.

That the secretary of the senate is hereby instructed to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to Senators KNUTE NELSON, FRANK B. KELLOGG, and to each of the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States from Minnesota.

STATE OF MINNESOTA, SENATE CHAMBER.

I, George W. Peachey, secretary of the senate, in and for the State of Minnesota, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the senate unanimously on the 16th day of March, 1917.

Dated this 17th day of March, 1917.

GEO. W. PEACHEY,
Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. NELSON presented petitions of Local Lodge No. 1, Native Sons of America, of St. Paul, and of the Young Men's Club, St. Mark's Church, of Minneapolis, in the State of Minnesota, favoring the foreign policy of the President, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I wish to state that I have received a great many telegrams both for and against the resolution declaring war. Those telegrams I thought were intended for my information, and therefore I did not bring them to the Senate Chamber this morning. I make this statement in order that the people who sent them may understand why they do not appear in the RECORD. I have received a number of telegrams from persons living in towns in favor of war, and I have received a great many more letters from people living in the country protesting against war and hoping that it may be averted. I simply desire to make this statement.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, like my colleagues, I have received numerous telegrams and petitions from hundreds of good citizens of Michigan protesting against war and urging a peaceful settlement of our international disputes, and many telegrams and letters urging support of the President. I desire to read one which I have just received from Detroit, Mich. It is addressed to me, and is as follows:

One hundred thousand persons in the city of Detroit have within the past two weeks signed the following declaration:

"To the President of the United States: As an American faithful to American ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity and confident that the Government has exerted its most earnest efforts to keep us at peace with the world, I hereby declare my absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States and pledge my support to you in protecting American rights against unlawful violence upon land and sea, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international rights"—

Signed by the Citizens Committee on National Defense, Edwin Denby, chairman.

I have just received the following telegram from Ann Arbor, Mich., which I should like to read. It is addressed to me, and is as follows:

Whereas our Government, in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, gave notice that further overt acts of war would be forcibly resisted; and

Whereas such overt acts have been committed in the sinking of the *Laconia*, the *City of Memphis*, the *Illinois*, the *Vigilancia*, and other vessels, with the loss of American lives: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we hold the time has now come when it is the duty of this Nation to take part in the common task of defending civilization and human liberty against German military aggression, and we call upon the Congress to take such action as may be necessary in the premises.

That is signed by some of the faculty of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

There is one more telegram which has just been handed to me, and from Saginaw, Mich., which I desire to read.

It is addressed to me, as follows:

It is impossible to remain neutral. If we do, we will deserve the contempt both of friend and foe. Life and honor, wealth and blood, everything for our country. Stand by the President.

Signed by the Polish Falcons' Alliance of Michigan by its respective officers.

I will not detain the Senate at this time with other evidences of the great interest and earnest solicitude upon the part of the people of Michigan in the present national crisis, but shall take the liberty of presenting these petitions, resolutions, and telegrams to my colleagues of the Committee on Foreign Relations and to the Committee on Military Affairs. The present situation is most regrettable. I wish our differences could be composed without the sacrifice of our national honor or the impairment of our prestige; but the President has spoken for our country, and we must address ourselves dispassionately to a most difficult and disagreeable duty.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I have received a number of telegrams from citizens of Montana in regard to our foreign relations and the prospects of war. I have selected one from all of the number received, because it embodies and expresses my sentiments. I send it to the desk and ask that it be read. It is signed by a committee of several gentlemen of prominence and high standing. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD with the names of the signers; and I want to say in this connection that I am unqualifiedly in accord with the sentiments expressed in the telegram and give them my hearty approval. They express a true spirit of patriotism.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

KALISPELL, MONT., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator HENRY MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

At the biggest mass meeting ever held in Kalispell, filling two of the largest halls in the city to overflowing, resolutions were unanimously adopted directing this committee to ask you to stand by the President and the country in the unqualified assertion of our rights on the high seas and everywhere, even though such a course involve the country in war to the last ditch. This is our answer to the peace-at-any-price manifesto now being published throughout the West. Kalispell now has two companies of soldiers ready for any eventuality, and more to follow if necessary.

J. E. ERICKSON.
ANDREW SWANEY.
W. J. BRENNEN.
GEO. H. GRUBB.
SIDNEY M. LOGAN.

Mr. McKELLAR. I present a telegram from the chairman of a mass meeting of citizens of Chattanooga, Tenn., in reference to war, and ask that it may be read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator K. D. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the citizens of Chattanooga, in mass meeting assembled, recognizing the perilous condition that confronts our Nation at present, do hereby pledge our support to the national administration, pledging our aid and service in any plan that may be devised or adopted, in the wisdom of the administration, to the end that the lives of our people may be protected on the high seas and the honor and integrity of the Republic and the manhood of its citizens may be sustained and defended, whether at home or abroad. We believe that the volunteer system of raising an army is not justified in theory or in fact. We further believe that the only safeguard of our present and our future consists in the adoption of universal military training, a system calculated to engender the highest order of patriotism among the people of a democracy and at the same time preserve peace at home and protection for our citizens abroad. We renew our allegiance to the Stars and Stripes and we patriotically offer to our Government whatever might be required by it for the purpose of obtaining full recognition of our rights. From now on there can be but two classes of people in this country—Americans and traitors.

FOSTER V. BROWN,
Chairman of Meeting.

Mr. McKELLAR. I also present telegrams from citizens of Memphis and Chattanooga, in my State, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

The members of the National League for Woman's Service, Chattanooga branch, in official and individual capacity, urge active cooperation with allies, unqualified protection of American rights, and universal military training in the United States, and request that pacifist propaganda and demonstrations be branded as traitorous and destructive to public welfare.

Mrs. DWIGHT MONTAGUE.

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CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

We, undersigned citizens Chattanooga, of different political affiliations, urge your unqualified support of all necessary measures to the limit of our national power and resources for preservation of American rights and obligations. We believe universal military training and universal national service essential to the welfare and security of our country.

C. G. Milligan, Sam J. McAllister, P. G. Smallwood, Clarence T. Jones, R. G. Stewart, Jas. St. Pierre, W. T. Gregory, Chas. W. Hogan, W. M. Elliott, L. S. Flemister, W. Caulkins, jr., Alfred W. Burke, J. S. Greever, N. M. Gager, J. D. Gabagan, G. McKenny, Robert Schwartz, L. T. Dickinson, L. P. Hammond, F. W. Edwards, O. K. Lebron, W. T. Greer, jr., G. P. Campbell, H. J. Powell, Chas. Hardie, W. D. Caudle, W. M. Thorpe, H. B. Potts, K. H. Raine, Alexander Scott, E. S. Davidson, Floyd Barker, T. E. Pickens, J. R. Martin, John D. Key, C. H. Howell, G. M. Whiteside, T. H. Payne, W. G. Davies, A. J. Dodds, C. C. Richmond, John A. McGili, James M. Shaw, W. A. Meyer, L. H. Wilcox, O. M. Magill, F. D. Landis, Tom Dewees, C. M. Dewees, M. C. Morrison, Bruce I. Crabtree, M. L. Hogshead, C. H. Harris, Jo Anderson, Wm. R. Read, E. B. Anderson, Henry Rose, R. L. Gibbins, Lee Head, A. Geismar, J. M. Camp, H. Geismar, H. L. Debardelaben, T. C. Thompson, E. T. Edwards, G. J. Cooke, Lewis M. Coleman, sr., Z. C. Patten, sr., A. L. Key, R. W. Barr, K. T. Johnston, Geo. E. McGee, Chas. E. Bearden, Gaston Raroul, L. L. Fischer, R. C. Richard, K. W. Love, F. D. Stafford, J. H. Wilson, H. L. Probasco, S. C. Hutchinson, Jo C. Guild, jr., Burkett Miller, J. D. Norton, Lucas Warfield, W. A. Henson, A. C. Ragsdale, H. C. Adler, H. F. Vandusen, Frank Spurlock, R. M. Watkins, J. T. Lupton, R. H. Williams, N. Thayer Montague, John G. Martin, W. H. Pryor, K. P. Hoskins, C. A. Raht, J. W. Bishop, G. T. Hunter, Richard Hardy, Wm. Allison, O. E. Deppen, E. B. Thomasson, W. M. Lasley, H. T. Walton, H. B. Finley, K. M. McGaughy, J. Read Voigt, James F. Finlay, Jesse M. Littleton, Floyd Estill, L. M. Pindell, Dr. B. F. Travis, Max Milligan, J. L. Alsup, Clarenre T. Stone, A. W. Lawson, George Killian, D. L. Grayson, E. M. Jones, J. M. Lanier, Dr. O. J. O'Neal, Walter H. Cohn, W. H. Sears, M. O. Cate, E. E. Betts, T. H. Lasley, H. P. Mertz, I. W. Merrill, Fred Layfield, K. N. Dicks, George H. Cushman, J. R. Mayberry, W. G. M. Thomas, Fred A. Noll, Samuel G. Smith, L. S. Collier, Dr. K. L. D. McPheeters, J. W. Thompson, C. W. Lusk, Dr. J. B. Steele, M. P. Kenney, B. Gager, C. S. Coffey, R. F. Sauls, Richard G. Deakin, Wm. J. Morrow, Wm. H. Herter, Frank W. Payne, H. W. Spencer, W. A. Sadd, Bartow Strang, N. H. Grady, Dr. R. Wallace, Leonard Trenholm, John B. Hyde, I. G. Phillips, T. R. Preston, Silas Williams, J. Cohn, Harry B. Green, W. C. Bright, A. A. Ott, C. P. Brelsford, E. B. Carter, Wm. E. Eckenrod, A. K. Ware, Phil Shugart, C. K. George, Stanley Snyder, J. M. Payne, J. C. Hibbits, A. Gimble, S. P. McDonnell, P. G. Burch, D. P. Botter, S. K. Rutherford, V. A. Ellis, E. M. Pratt, Jesse F. Phillips, W. E. Nichols, Clyde W. Garrett, Robert Hardin, E. S. Newbill, H. H. Mason, D. A. Rice, W. E. Manning.

—

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

Twenty-seven of our thirty-three employees have signed asking you to support the President's war measures.

N. O. NELSON CO.

Mr. KNOX presented petitions of sundry citizens of Munhall and Uniontown, in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for universal compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Wayne County, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation to found the Government of the United States on Christianity, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, I have received a great many telegrams from all sections of my State. Most of them have strongly indorsed the position of the President. I have not brought them with me, and shall not undertake to have them inserted in the RECORD. It seems to me that there will be enough in the RECORD without them. I feel, however, that I am justified in saying that in no State of the Union are the people more heartily and patriotically behind the President in this crisis than in the State of Kentucky; and I believe that the admirable address which the President delivered to Congress last night will meet practically the unanimous indorsement and approval of the people of the State of Kentucky.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present a petition from sundry citizens of the city of Everett, in the State of Washington, requesting a Federal investigation of certain labor troubles which have disturbed that portion of the State for some time, and which finally culminated in certain acts of violence and the death of a number of people. I ask that the petition be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and I sincerely trust that that committee will give it real consideration, because it is a serious problem which ought to be dealt with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I also present a telegram embodying a resolution adopted by the faculty of the University of Washington relative to the action of the President and to military preparedness, sustaining the action of the President, and in

favor of universal compulsory military training; together with resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of the city of Spokane, and also resolutions from an overflow mass meeting of citizens of Spokane, who were not able to obtain admission to the building, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a called meeting of the faculty of the University of Washington you were requested to favor the passage of the provisions similar to those contained in House bill 11970 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, relative to the promotion of officers, and to oppose any curtailment of the number of officers authorized in the national-defense act; and further the faculty declared itself in favor of compulsory universal military training for all able-bodied male citizens of the United States of suitable military age; and, moreover, the faculty desires to express its loyalty and support in whatever action the Government of the United States may see fit to take in upholding the honor and dignity of our country.

HENRY SUZZALLO, *President.*

SPOKANE, WASH., *March 26, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a mass meeting called by representatives of 50 patriotic and civic organizations, 5,000 citizens of Spokane met at the State armory Sunday afternoon to express their devotion to their country, and their earnest desire to uphold the hands of the President in this crisis in the life of the Nation; the following resolution was adopted by a standing vote:

"We are a peace-desiring and justice-loving Nation, averse to war and craving the friendship of our world neighbors.

"But enduring world peace and international fraternity must be founded on certain definite principles. Among these are the freedom and safety of the seas, respect for international law, regard for the territorial and other rights of small nations, nonsecret diplomacy, and the abolition of oppression.

"These and other fundamental principles have been challenged, and with that challenge we have seen our citizens killed at sea, our commerce sunk, our domestic safety and tranquility endangered by deeds of violence.

"In the rightful performance of his constitutional duties President Wilson has patiently protested against these wrongs, but his protests have gone unheeded.

"To deal with that deplorable situation the President has called Congress to assemble in special session, and the purpose of this gathering of the citizenship of Spokane is to express its cordial approval of the President's action. To furtherance of that purpose we hereby pledge our patriotic support of the President and Congress in the performance of their constitutional powers and duties.

"We publicly affirm full and complete loyalty to our beloved country.

"We pledge our support to the President of the United States, the constitutional leader of the Nation.

"We assert our belief in the patriotism of the individual citizen, of whatever birth or former nationality.

"We believe that a spirit of patriotism, not surpassed in fervor of intensity at any time in our national history, lives in the hearts of the entire American people, which only awaits the call of the Nation's leader.

"In this hour of crisis we are Americans without division, loving our country, its institutions and its flag, and ready and willing to give them our material support and our patriotic service."

Thousands were unable to gain admission to the armory and an overflow meeting of 3,000 was held on the outside. It was addressed by a number of citizens, and the following resolution was adopted without a dissenting voice:

"Whereas a crisis in international affairs exists between the United States and Germany: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we approve in all respects the stand taken by President Wilson in his international dealings with Germany; and

"*Resolved further*, That we favor full adequate preparedness and universal military training for the defense of American rights on land and sea."

I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

N. W. DURHAM, *Chairman.*

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I have just been handed a telegram from the Commercial Club of the city of Kimball, in my State, relating to the war situation of our Government, which I ask to have read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

KIMBALL, S. DAK., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ED. JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C.:

The people of this vicinity, and we believe of South Dakota, favor an active policy in the present crisis. We therefore urge you as our representative in Congress to stand by the President in his efforts to uphold the dignity and honor of the Nation.

KIMBALL COMMERCIAL CLUB,
DR. H. GALBRAITH,
President.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I also have received a telegram from the faculty of the university at Vermilion, S. Dak., which I would be much pleased to have made a matter of record, but as my colleague [Mr. STERLING] has presented a similar telegram I shall not ask to have it printed in the RECORD, although I desire to state that I feel very proud of the public-spirited expressions of these gentlemen.

I also present telegrams from Rev. W. H. Buenning, of Emery; A. P. Brown, of Canton; Rev. Jacob M. Tischetter, of Huron; and B. J. Brown, of Parkston, all of whom are among the most prominent and respected citizens of the State of South Dakota. I ask that the telegrams be printed in the RECORD, and that the views expressed in them may be given serious consideration by the Senate.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMERY, S. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. EDWIN S. JOHNSON,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We of the German Baptist Church, Plum Creek, 75 loyal citizens of the United States, do urgently entreat you to do all within your power to avert war.

W. H. BUENNING, *Pastor.*

CANTON, S. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator E. S. JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C.:

As your constituents we respectfully urge you to use all your influence in Congress to save our Nation from the horrors of an unnecessary war. Strong sentiment in this section against warlike measures. A petition signed by some 400 patriotic citizens being forwarded to Senator JOHNSON.

ARTHUR P. BROWN.
H. F. ELLIS.

HURON, S. DAK., *March 17, 1917.*

Senator ED. S. JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: One hundred members of the Krimmer Menonite Brethren Church, of Milford Township, Beadle County, S. Dak., hereby ask you to do all you possibly can to prevent the United States from declaring war on Germany.

KRIMMER MENONITE BRETHREN CHURCH,
By Rev. JACOB M. TISCHETTER.

PARKSTON, S. DAK., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. EDWIN S. JOHNSON,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

In accordance with the overwhelming sentiment of your congressional district, we, your constituents and members of three local mutual benevolent associations of this vicinity to the number of 400, unanimously beg you as our representative in Congress to use all your influence and power to preserve our beloved country from being plunged into war, with the necessary awful results of bringing to a now happy and prosperous people indescribable misery, horror, sorrow, and death.

B. J. BROWN,
Vice President Holy Cross.
N. N. MEYER,
Secretary St. Leo.
A. J. GORMAN,
Secretary, Grand Knight, Knights of Columbus of America.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I have received a very large number of telegrams from Oklahoma, most of them standing strongly for the protection of the rights of the United States by whatever means are necessary, and expressing confidence in the President of the United States. A few were to the contrary effect, indicating that some of the people desire to avoid war and would go to almost any length to prevent it, but the overwhelming majority of the people of Oklahoma, according to these telegrams, are in favor of the course outlined by the President of the United States.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I have received a number of telegrams indorsing the President's message, and I have received a few urging that strong efforts be made by Congress for peace.

The Legislature of the State of Nevada, when in session—it has now adjourned—expressed the sentiments of the people of my State, I believe, most accurately in a joint resolution with regard to the message of the President on February 3, on the occasion of the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany. The statement of the legislature at that time expresses the sentiments of the people of the State at the present time, and I therefore ask that it be again read, so that it may be before the Senate at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested. The Chair hears no objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

CARSON, NEV., *February 5, 6.30 p. m.*

Hon. KEY PITTMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Legislature of Nevada in joint session assembled this day adopted the following resolution and it is signed by Emmit D. Boyle, governor; Maurice J. Sullivan, president of the senate; and Ben. D. Luce, speaker of the assembly:

"Nevada Senate and Assembly joint resolution approving the policies of the President of the United States in the matter of maintaining the rights of American citizens in travel and commerce.

"Whereas the President of the United States has decided that it is necessary to suspend diplomatic relations with a great nation toward whom our friendship has been shown by our long-continued patience and to advise and warn all nations that the rights of our citizens to travel and trade upon the high seas must be respected and will be maintained by the American people; and

"Whereas it is the solemn duty of every American, regardless of party or faith or family origin, to sustain and uphold our National Government at all times and particularly when our national honor and the principles of humanity and justice to which our Government is dedicated have been assailed: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the people of the State of Nevada, represented by the senate and assembly in joint session, do approve the policies of the President of the United States as stated in his address to the Congress of the United States on February 3, 1917, and with the hope as expressed by him that our Nation 'will not be challenged to defend our rights to liberty, justice, and unmolested life,' and do pledge the State of Nevada to the limit of its resources toward the maintenance of the honor of our Nation and the support of our President and the National Government; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution signed by the governor of the State of Nevada, the president of the senate, and the speaker of the assembly be transmitted by telegraph to the President of the United States and that an engrossed copy hereof certified under the great seal of the State of Nevada be transmitted by mail to the President of the United States."

EMMIT D. BOYLE, *Governor*.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Out of order I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill to provide for the military and naval training and service of citizens of the United States, which I ask may be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. The bill is substantially one that was introduced at the last session of Congress, known as Senate bill 1695, and reported upon favorably by the Committee on Military Affairs, too late to be acted on before Congress adjourned.

The bill (S. 1) to provide for the military and naval training and service of citizens of the United States was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE.

Mr. CULBERSON. Out of order I introduce a bill and ask its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a list of assignments which were accorded to the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] by his associates on this side of the Chamber, the same having been submitted to him for his approval, and also to the other side of the Chamber for record. I ask unanimous consent that this be declared the list of committees on which the junior Senator from California will serve.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proposed order.

The SECRETARY. Mr. JOHNSON of California is assigned to the following committees of the Senate:

On Civil Service and Retrenchment.
On Coast and Insular Survey.
On Commerce.
On Fisheries.
On Immigration.
On Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.
On the Philippines.
On Woman Suffrage.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there further petitions or memorials? If not, reports of committees are in order.

WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, from the Committee on Foreign Relations I present a report (S. Rept. No. 1) on Senate joint resolution 1, with certain amendments, and ask to have the report read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the report.

The Secretary read as follows:

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred Senate joint resolution No. 1, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, having had the same under consideration, report the said joint resolution with the recommendation that it pass with the following amendments:

In the preamble strike out the words "the recent acts of"; strike out the word "are" after the words "Imperial German Government" and insert in lieu thereof the words "has committed repeated"; and after the words "United States" insert the words "of America," so that the clause will read as follows:

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it."

Strike out all following the words "directed to," in line 7, and substitute therefor the following: "employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States," so that the joint resolution as amended reads as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, by direction of the Committee on Foreign Relations I now request unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I ask that the joint resolution go over for the day under the rule. I object to the request for unanimous consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is objection.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President——

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, before any motion for adjournment is made I hope it will be possible to go on with morning business.

Mr. MARTIN. I was not contemplating making a motion to adjourn at this moment. I do contemplate making such a motion in a very few moments.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Will the Senator from Virginia yield to me?

Mr. MARTIN. I will.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is possible that the Senator from Wisconsin objected to the present consideration of the joint resolution because the Senate has not yet before it a printed copy of the joint resolution as reported. If that is the reason why the Senator objects, I will say to him that within five minutes a printed copy will be on the desk of each Senator.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I object to the present consideration of the joint resolution, which under the rule, requires it to go over for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There being an objection——

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, of course it is in the power of the Senator from Wisconsin to carry this joint resolution over until to-morrow. I am sure he has had too much experience to make it necessary for me to allude to the momentous consequences which are involved——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I do not think it is quite in conformity with the practice of the Senate to lecture a Senator who asks for one day's time on a joint resolution of this importance. I ask for the regular order, Mr. President.

Mr. MARTIN. The Senator is not at all justified in the remark he has made about my undertaking to lecture a Senator. Nothing was further from my mind. I had no idea of delivering a lecture to him or anybody else. I have a right, Mr. President, to call the attention of the Senate and of the Senator himself to the momentous consequences involved in this joint resolution——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, it is quite unnecessary for the Senator to call my attention to the momentous consequences of this joint resolution. I think I realize them quite as fully as he does. I ask for the regular order, Mr. President.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution must go over under the rule.

Mr. MARTIN. The joint resolution, of course, goes over, Mr. President, but I have a right to make some comments on this situation.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I have asked for the regular order, and I ask for a ruling upon that request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There are no comments permissible now.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. They may be made later, but not now. Are there further reports of committees?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, right here I desire to say that I do not believe the Senate ought to proceed to the consideration of any other matter until this momentous question is disposed of, and I therefore move that the Senate adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. McCUMBER. I hope the Senator will allow me——

Mr. MARTIN. I hope the Senator will excuse me; I can not yield for any business to come before the Senate.

Mr. McCUMBER. It is not business to come before the Senate. It is the introduction——

Mr. WILLIAMS. A motion to adjourn is pending.

Mr. MARTIN. I object to the presentation of business of any sort until the joint resolution declaring war is disposed of. I move that the Senate adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire will state it.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have no doubt that the Chair, as is his uniform custom, will exert his influence to preserve order in the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is what the Chair is about to comment upon.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am very glad to know that fact.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Before the motion to adjourn is put, the Chair will state that there is a rule of the Senate

which prevents manifestations of either approval or disapproval by the occupants of the galleries. The Chair assumes that the doorkeepers notified all who came into the galleries this morning that they must not manifest approval or disapproval. The rules of the Senate must be obeyed. If the doorkeepers will not discharge their duty, they must be removed and somebody put there who will; and if they discharge their duty from this time on the galleries will be cleared the moment there is an infraction of the rule.

The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia that the Senate adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 4, 1917, at 10 o'clock a. m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *April 3, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Profoundly grateful, our Father in heaven, that we are citizens of the United States of America with its vast resources, varied industries, its phenomenal growth in all that makes a Nation great; its sacred institutions conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal; its history which challenges the admiration of the world; help us to realize that with every great privilege comes a great responsibility. We have met with courage and fortitude all the responsibilities of the past. We stand face to face with a new and grave responsibility, which shall test our courage and strength. And we pray most fervently that Thou wilt give us the strength and courage commensurate with the task before us. Grant that we may think wisely, act nobly, and put our trust in Thee, O God our Father, Author of right and truth and justice. And Thy name be praised forevermore. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask for indefinite leave of absence for Mr. HELGESEN, of North Dakota, on account of illness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent for an indefinite leave of absence for Mr. HELGESEN on account of sickness. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Journal as read will be approved.

There was no objection.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask for 10 days' leave of absence for my colleague [Mr. MEEKER] on account of sickness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks for 10 days leave of absence for Mr. MEEKER on account of illness. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague [Mr. LEE] be granted indefinite leave of absence on account of sickness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent that his colleague [Mr. LEE] be granted an indefinite leave of absence on account of illness. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SWEARING IN OF A DELEGATE ELECT.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the Hon. CHARLES A. SULZER, Delegate elect from Alaska, is present and desires to take the oath of office.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has the credentials of Mr. SULZER and they are regular in form. They are signed by the governor, the surveyor general, and the collector of customs, who seem to constitute the canvassing board.

Hon. CHARLES A. SULZER, Delegate elect from Alaska, appeared before the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD in the form of a brief resolution from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the pay of officers and enlisted men of the naval and military service.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman to extend his remarks in the RECORD? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a joint resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont relating to Federal and State taxation of incomes and inheritances.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, either the Speaker will have to repeat what gentlemen want or they will have to speak so the House can understand them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will make this remark to the House. Everybody seems to have fallen into the habit of talking in a very feeble way. The Chair wishes they would lift up their voices so that people can hear them, because it contributes to keeping good order. The gentleman desires to print some resolution of the Vermont General Assembly.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection, but we must have some method of knowing what the subject matter is which it is proposed to extend in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is entirely correct. Without objection, the request will be granted. [After a pause.] The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing certain resolutions which are signed by the members of the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce and others connected with this organization, and also resolutions passed in reference to military training and our position in this war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing some resolutions of the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce on various subjects. Is there objection?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia objects.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for an indefinite leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. CAPSTICK, on account of serious illness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent for an indefinite leave of absence of his colleague [Mr. CAPSTICK]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent for one minute to read an important telegram.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to address the House for a minute. Is there objection?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, on what subject?

Mr. SNYDER. This is a telegram from the farmers of the State of New York.

Mr. HOWARD. On what subject?

Mr. SNYDER. On a patriotic subject.

Mr. HOWARD. I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The following is the telegram referred to:

UTICA, N. Y., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. HOMER P. SNYDER,
Congressional Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

The farmers of this State were in hopes that war might be honorably avoided, that peace might prevail. They, however, emphatically resent the infringements of the rights of their country, the ruthless submarine warfare, and disregard of international law on the part of Germany. We are solidly behind the President and Congress and any action or measures adopted or taken to uphold and maintain the honor and dignity of our country and the rights of our citizens. We shall endeavor to increase the production of our farms in the interest of all. We are ready to respond to any call.

F. W. SESSIONS,
President New York State Agricultural Society.

COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 22):

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] offers a privileged resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. MANN moves the election of the following-named Members to the following-named committees:

APPROPRIATIONS.

Frederick H. Gillett, of Massachusetts.
James W. Good, of Iowa.
Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.
Charles R. Davis, of Minnesota.
William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania.
Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois.
William H. Stafford, of Wisconsin.
C. Bascom Slemp, of Virginia.

JUDICIARY.

Andrew J. Volstead, of Minnesota.
John M. Nelson, of Wisconsin.
Dick T. Morgan, of Oklahoma.
George S. Graham, of Pennsylvania
Walter M. Chandler, of New York.
Leonidas C. Dyer, of Missouri.
Joseph Walsh, of Massachusetts.

THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES.

William S. Greene, of Massachusetts.
George W. Edmonds, of Pennsylvania.
William A. Rodenberg, of Illinois.
Lindley H. Hadley, of Washington.
Frederick W. Rowe, of New York.
George M. Bowers, of West Virginia.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Henry A. Cooper, of Wisconsin.
Stephen G. Porter, of Pennsylvania.
John Jacob Rogers, of Massachusetts.
Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania.
George Edmund Foss, of Illinois.
Clarence B. Miller, of Minnesota.
Luther W. Mott, of New York.
Ambrose Kennedy, of Rhode Island.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Julius Kahn, of California.
Daniel R. Anthony, jr., of Kansas.
John C. McKenzie, of Illinois.
Frank L. Greene, of Vermont.
John M. Morin, of Pennsylvania.
John Q. Tilson, of Connecticut.
Thomas S. Crago, of Pennsylvania.
Harry E. Hull, of Iowa.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Thomas S. Butler, of Pennsylvania.
William J. Browning, of New Jersey.
John R. Farr, of Pennsylvania.
Fred A. Britten, of Illinois.
Patrick H. Kelley, of Michigan.
Sydney E. Mudd, of Maryland.

RULES.

Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas.
Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin.

ACCOUNTS.

Rollin B. Sanford, of New York.
Robert D. Heaton, of Pennsylvania.
Frederick C. Hicks, of New York.

MILEAGE.

John A. Elston, of California.

PRINTING.

Edgar R. Kiess, of Pennsylvania.

ENROLLED BILLS.

William R. Wood, of Indiana.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, it is proper that I should explain to the Republican side of the House the resolution which has been made. The Republican committee on committees, making this recommendation to the House for the election on various committees which may be called upon to act soon, were the Republican members of those committees in the last House, leaving vacancies on all the other committees, which will be filled later and in some cases appointing now upon some of the committees members who will probably desire to go off those committees if they secure other committee assignments which they may wish. And the election to-day of those Members on those committees is not to be taken as final decision as to the committees upon which they will appear as permanent members.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. How soon will the committees be filled?

Mr. MANN. I can not say how soon the committee will be able to report a full committee list. This will give Republican representation on these committees and will give the committee on committees time, I hope, to consider and learn the wishes of all the Republican Members as to committee assignments, so that the recommendations may be made with more intelligence and care than it would be possible to make them to-day. But there are certain measures upon which action will be taken very speedily, either with or without the Republican representation, and we thought it desirable to put back on those committees the Members who would undoubtedly be placed upon the committees, and in some cases put back on those committees some Members who may wish to go off those committees in order to be transferred to other committees.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I am glad the opportunity has come for this side to show to the House and to the country its magnanimity and generosity and its superiority to my friends on the other side. Yesterday when we offered as committee assignments the best and most patriotic Members of this body the gentlemen on that side voted almost unanimously against them, and now I am going to ask this side to vote unanimously for all the committee assignments which have been suggested by the gentleman from Illinois. [Applause.] I want to say to this side that they have suggested the very best that they can do, and the very best they have, and I hope every gentleman will vote for them.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] are facetious but not very generous. Yesterday there was a contest as to who would have the selection of a majority of the members of the committees—a perfectly legitimate contest.

Now, in a lighter vein, permit me to suggest to the House how much better the action of the Republican committee on committees is than was the action of the Democratic committee on committees. They succeeded by a bare majority. We will have the unanimous support of the House. [Applause and laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

The resolution was agreed to.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following:

Mr. KEATING requests permission to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, papers in connection with the following bills, no adverse report having been made thereon:

H. R. 11901. Granting a pension to Charles O. Bitters;
H. R. 13311. Granting a pension to Dicie J. Sullivan;
H. R. 7875. Granting a pension to Charles A. Vanatta;
H. R. 7876. Granting a pension to Jeddo Q. McNatt;
H. R. 16337. Granting a pension to William D. Galligher;
H. R. 17909. Granting a pension to Leon B. Huff;
H. R. 18279. Granting a pension to William H. Hopkins;
H. R. 19034. Granting a pension to Edward Dooley;
H. R. 19974. Granting a pension to Mrs. George E. McCartey;
H. R. 20099. Granting a pension to Mrs. Etta M. Browning;
H. R. 20585. Granting a pension to A. M. Coville;
H. R. 20584. Granting an increase of pension to D. G. Scott;
H. R. 19973. Granting an increase of pension to John L. Grimes;
H. R. 19374. Granting an increase of pension to James F. Bellew;
H. R. 18630. Granting an increase of pension to Maurice J. Gordon;
H. R. 18278. Granting an increase of pension to William C. McKelvy;
H. R. 17908. Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Watson;
H. R. 16839. Granting an increase of pension to Milton H. Pounsavell;
H. R. 7879. Granting an increase of pension to Julia B. Potter;
H. R. 5246. Granting an increase of pension to Esther M. Eggleston; and
H. R. 18277. Granting an increase of pension to Christopher Hummel.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the request will be granted.

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

Mr. MANN. What is the purpose of this request?

Mr. KEATING. To avoid producing the same testimony again.

Mr. MANN. Well, these papers are now in the files. The files are subject to be called for by the committee that has jurisdiction of the subject. The gentleman does not have to withdraw these papers in order to get them before the committee if he reintroduces a bill. It would be a very bad practice to start in——

Mr. KEATING. Then I withdraw the request, Mr. Speaker. I understood I had to do that.

Mr. MANN. No. The committee gets them.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado withdraws the request.

PRINTING AND BINDING FOR COMMITTEES.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution No. 27.

Resolved, That each standing committee of the House of Representatives is hereby authorized to have such printing and binding done as may be actually necessary in the transaction of its official business during the Sixty-fifth Congress.

The SPEAKER. Without objection——

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, is this resolution similar to the resolution that was passed in the last Congress?

Mr. BARNHART. It is the same.

Mr. MANN. The same?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; of course.

Mr. MANN. To obviate the old practice of each chairman asking for it?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; that is the purpose of it.

Mr. HULBERT. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Printing what, if any, action has been made respecting the printing and dissemination of the speech delivered by the President last evening?

Mr. BARNHART. The chairman of the Committee on Printing has been advised—not officially, however—that the Senate has authorized the publication of a large number of copies of that address, and they have allotted to the House something like 20,000 copies that are now available, or soon will be, in the document room. Further than that we have no information, and until the committee ascertains what number has been sent to the document room, I think it would be well to let the matter rest.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARNHART. I yield.

Mr. MANN. How can the Senate send any of these documents to the House document room?

Mr. BARNHART. That was a question to me, but the information came from the clerk of the Committee on Printing indirectly.

Mr. MANN. Well, the Joint Committee on Printing has a secretary who frequently falls over. The Senate has no power to pass a Senate resolution to put a lot of these documents in the House document room. All we would get would be the usual number. Of course, they can pass a concurrent resolution. But we can print a very large number of copies of this message under the $500 limit without a concurrent resolution. Does not the gentleman think it would be wise to print some?

Mr. BARNHART. Indeed we would be perfectly willing to do it, but the committee would like to have the opportunity to investigate the information that has just come to us.

Mr. MANN. I hope the gentleman will ascertain within the next hour or so, so that he can bring the matter before the House.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Indiana yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. BARNHART. Certainly.

Mr. FERRIS. I want to remind the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the fact that as yet there are no copies of the Field Regulations available to patriotic organizations throughout the country who are organizing and writing in here for them. Anyone appealing to the War Department will be told that there are none there for distribution, and anyone calling upon the Public Printing Office will receive a reply to the effect that they did have these regulations for sale there, but there are none there now. I want to call attention to the fact that the American boys who are organizing and trying to show their patriotism and do something effective ought to be furnished with these regulations, and it is up to this country to educate them in so far as may be practicable by affording the necessary information. There are no copies of the Field Regulations available at this time.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Oklahoma will reintroduce his resolution, which it was impossible to get through in the last Congress, I feel quite sure that the Committee on Printing will give it very prompt consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SABATH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Does the gentleman's resolution apply to all the committees?

Mr. BARNHART. To all the standing committees.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I did not quite catch the reply which the gentleman from Indiana made to the gentleman from Oklahoma as to the report on the Drill Regulations.

Mr. BARNHART. He said to the gentleman from Oklahoma that if that gentleman would reintroduce his resolution it would be presented to the House in the regular way. But the Committee on Printing, up to the present moment, has not had any resolution presented to it, because it has not yet organized. As soon as the resolution comes to it the gentleman was informed that it would be given prompt consideration, although the gentleman from Indiana is only one member of that committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Reserving the right to object, could not the committee take judicial notice of this very great exigency that exists? I know from my own experience in this regard that it is impossible for us to secure these printed regulations anywhere for love or money.

Mr. FERRIS. That is absolutely true.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I have been following this thing up, and find it has been possible to get a few from the superintendent of documents, but he did not have very many, and these are now exhausted, so the only way we can get relief is from the Committee on Printing. I should think that in view of what has recently occurred they would to-day order the printing of a large number of copies of these regulations, in order that not only patriotic organizations but companies already existing may have copies of them.

Mr. BARNHART. The gentleman from Minnesota seems to misunderstand the situation. The Committee on Printing has no authority to order any printing done except reprints.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. They can introduce a resolution.

Mr. BARNHART. It is up to the House to order printing done; but if this resolution is introduced and comes to the Committee on Printing, all the chairman of that committee can say is that it will have very prompt and, I believe, favorable consideration, and will be reported to the House.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. What is there to prevent the gentleman's committee from presenting to the House immediately a resolution coming from the committee?

Mr. BARNHART. The committee has not the necessary data required by law as to the cost of the printing, and so forth.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Neither has any one of us, nor can we get those statistics; but the committee can get them.

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; the committee can get them, and it will if the resolution comes to it. If it is introduced to-day and comes to the committee to-morrow we will consider the resolution and report it promptly, and then if we can get the recognition of the Chair the House can pass it.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. With that assurance of the gentleman, I will see that the resolution is put in the basket to-day.

Mr. BARNHART. Very well.

Mr. NORTON. Such resolutions were introduced during the last session, were they not?

Mr. BARNHART. There was one introduced.

Mr. NORTON. It was not favorably reported, was it?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; it was favorably reported, but we could not get it through because of rush of business in the last hours of the session and difficulties in another branch of the Congress.

Mr. MADDEN. I should like to suggest that when the committee does report such a resolution it provide for sending the documents to the folding room, so that each Member of the House will be able to get some, and not send them to the document room, where one man can get them all.

Mr. BARNHART. Yes; that is always done unless there is a special provision in the bill.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman can put it in proper form in the committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

CONFERENCE MINORITY.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of another resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Cleak read as follows:

House resolution 28.

Resolved, That the chairman of the Committee on Conference of Minority be authorized to have such printing and binding done as may be necessary for official business.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

GENERAL DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and discharge the Committee on Appropriations from further consideration of House bill 12, making appropriations to

supply deficiencies for the fiscal year 1917 and prior years, which bill I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves to suspend the rules and discharge the Committee on Appropriations from further consideration of House bill 12 and pass the same. The Clerk will read it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. With the amendments.

Mr. MANN. If the bill is to pass with amendments, I will ask to have it read as introduced, and then to have the amendments read separately, so that everyone will know what the amendments are.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill as it is printed and then afterwards read the amendments.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise apprpriated, to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, namely:

EXECUTIVE.

For contingent expenses of the Executive Office, including stationery, record books, telegrams, telephones, books for library, furniture and carpets for offices, automobiles, expenses of garage, including labor, and miscellaneous items, to be expended in the discretion of the President, $2,500.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

For the system of international exchanges between the United States and foreign countries, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including necessary employees and purchase of necessary books and periodicals, $3,500.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

For compensation, travel expense, and per diem in lieu of subsistence at the rate of $4, of such special attorneys, special experts, special examiners, special agents, clerks, and other employees as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying on the work of said commission; no salary shall be paid hereunder exceeding the rate of $5,000 per annum; $50,000.

The accounting officers of the Treasury Department are authorized and directed to credit in the accounts of George Johannes, special disbursing agent, Federal Trade Commission, the sum of $94.65, representing amounts paid by him for subscriptions to periodicals and publications of the nature of books of reference disallowed by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department.

COMMISSION ON STANDARD WORKDAY OF RAILROAD EMPLOYEES.

For additional expenses of the Eight-Hour Commission, created by the act of September 3 and 5, 1916, to complete the work of the commission and to enable it to make the report called for by the said act, $35,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

BUREAU OF EFFICIENCY.

To enable the Bureau of Efficiency to make the investigations required by the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918, $20,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918: *Provided*, That no person shall be employed hereunder at a compensation exceeding $4,000 per annum.

Not less than 5,000 square feet of the space now occupied by, and to be made vacant by the removal of, the Federal Trade Commission from the building rented for the use of the Department of Commerce, is transferred to, and for the accommodation of, the Bureau of Efficiency.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

For the relief, protection, and transportation of American citizens, in connection with or growing out of the existing political disturbance in Europe, $250,000, to be expended at the discretion of the President and to be available during the fiscal year 1918: *Provided*, That American citizens to whom relief is extended or transportation is furnished hereunder shall pay to or reimburse the United States all reasonable expenses so incurred, respectively, on their account, if financially able to do so.

A detailed statement of all expenditures hereunder and of all amounts reimbursed to the United States of such expenditures shall be made to Congress on or before the beginning of its next regular session.

Second Pan American Scientific Congress: The amount which may be expended for salaries from the appropriation of $42,000 for preparation and printing of the reports, proceedings, and papers of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, contained in the general deficiency appropriation act approved September 8, 1916, is increased from $3,300 to $5,000.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For stationery for the Treasury Department and its several bureaus and offices, $30,000.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to refund money covered into the Treasury as internal-revenue collections, under the provisions of the act approved May 27, 1908, $75,000.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, may make allowance for or redeem stamps, issued under authority of the act approved October 22, 1914, entitled "An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes," and the joint resolution approved December 17, 1915, entitled "Joint resolution extending the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes,' approved October 22, 1914, to December 31, 1916," to denote the payment of internal revenue tax, and which have not been used, if presented prior to January 1, 1918.

Income tax, excess-profits tax, etc.: For expenses of the assessment and collection of the taxes provided by the act approved March 3, 1917, entitled "An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes," and by the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, including the employment of agents, inspectors, attorneys, deputy collectors, experts, clerks, messengers, and janitors, to be appointed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and for supplies, equipment, mechanical devices, telegraph and telephone service, and rent of quarters in the District of Columbia, and the several collection districts, fiscal year 1918, $1,500,000: *Provided*, That not more than $125,000 of this sum may be used for personal services, supplies, equipment, and mechanical devices in the District of Columbia: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $10,000 (which shall be available immediately) may be used for rent of quarters in the District of Columbia for such bureaus or divisions of the Treasury Department as the Secretary may determine to move out of the Treasury Building to accommodate the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

For payment to W. H. Baldwin for damages done to his automobile while it was being used by officers of the Internal-Revenue Service in raiding illicit distilleries, $500.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

Independent Treasury: Packages of coin and currency hereafter shall be admitted to the mails and transported under the penalty privilege governing their transportation prior to the passage of the act of May 18, 1916.

Recoinage of minor coins: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to continue the recoinage of worn and uncurrent minor coins of the United States now in the Treasury or hereafter received, and to reimburse the Treasurer of the United States for the difference between the nominal or face value of such coin and the amount the same will produce in new coin, $5,000.

Distinctive paper for United States securities: For distinctive paper for United States securities, 21,900,000 sheets, including transportation, traveling, mill, and other necessary expenses, salaries of not exceeding one register, two assistant registers, five counters, five watchmen, and one skilled laborer, and expenses of officer detailed from the Treasury, $96,579.

For payment to John Brodie, of San Francisco, Cal., in accordance with private act No. 168, approved February 8, 1917, on account of personal injuries received by him while loading the United States Army transport *Sherman*, $1,000.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

New Haven, Conn., post office: For completion under limit of cost established in the act approved March 4, 1913, $200,000, or so much thereof, together with the sum of $100,000 appropriated in the act approved July 1, 1916, as may be realized from the sale of the old post office and customhouse building and the site thereof.

Tampa Bay, Fla., quarantine station: For removal of old ballast dock at the United States quarantine station, Tampa Bay, Fla., $416: *Provided*, That the work shall be performed under the supervision and direction of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury.

Woodstock, Ill., post office: For continuation (site), $5,000.

Operating supplies: For operating supplies for public buildings, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $50,000.

COAST GUARD.

For every expenditure requisite for and incident to the authorized work of the Coast Guard, as follows:

For outfits, ship chandlery, and engineers' stores for the same, $40,000;

For actual traveling expenses or mileage, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, for officers, and actual traveling expenses for other persons traveling on duty under orders from the Treasury Department, $5,000;

For compensation for special services, $1,800;

For contingent expenses, including supplies and provisions for houses of refuge and for shipwrecked persons succored by the Coast Guard, wharfage, towage, freight, storage, repairs to station apparatus, advertising, surveys, medals, stationery, labor, newspapers and periodicals for statistical purposes, and all other necessary expenses which are not included under any other heading, $15,000;

In all, $61,800.

For repairs to Coast Guard cutters, $25,000.

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

The limitation in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917 as to the number of delivered sheets of United States currency to be executed is increased from 90,000,000 to 98,000,000 and of internal-revenue stamps from 84,909,166 to 88,909,166.

For salaries of all necessary employees other than plate printers and plate printers' assistants, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $60,500.

For wages of plate printers, at piece rates to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, not to exceed the rates usually paid for such work, including the wages of printers' assistants, when employed, $183,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

For engravers' and printers' materials and other materials except distinctive paper, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $208,000.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

For fuel, light, and water, $5,000.

For purveying depot, purchase of medical, surgical, and hospital supplies, $6,000.

For maintenance of marine hospitals, including subsistence, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses which are not included under special heads, $20,000.

For medical examinations, care of seamen, care and treatment of all other persons entitled to relief, and miscellaneous expenses other than marine hospitals which are not included under special heads, $15,000.

Quarantine Service: For maintenance and ordinary expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $15,000.

Hereafter the cost of fumigation and disinfection shall be charged vessels from foreign ports at rates to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

MINTS AND ASSAY OFFICES.

New Orleans, La., Mint: For incidental and contingent expenses, $500.

New York assay office: For wages of workmen and other employees, $12,000.

For incidentals and contingent expenses, including new machinery and repairs, wastage in the melting and refining department, and loss on sale of sweeps arising from the treatment of bullion, $25,000.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

District Building: For fuel, light, power, repairs, laundry, mechanics, and labor, not to exceed $3,500, and miscellaneous supplies, $6,000.

Assessor's office: Assistant assessors, fiscal year 1914, $250.

Coroner's office: To pay the deputy coroner during the absence of the coroner, $110.

Public Utilities Commission: For incidental and all other general necessary expenses authorized by law, including the employment of expert services where necessary, $10,000.

Public Library: For maintenance, repairs, fuel, lighting, fitting up buildings, lunch-room equipment; purchase, exchange, and maintenance of bicycles and motor delivery vehicles; and other contingent expenses, $1,430.

Contingent and miscellaneous expenses: For printing, checks, books, law books, books of reference, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $750.

For an additional amount for maintenance, care, and repair of automobiles, motorcycles, and motor trucks acquired for the District of Columbia that are not otherwise provided for in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, including such personal services in connection therewith not otherwise authorized in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917 as the commissioners shall in writing specially order, $2,645.

For purchase of enamel metal or other metal identification number tags for horse-drawn vehicles used for business purposes and motor vehicles in the District of Columbia, $775.

For the employment of field party and incidental expenses in making survey and computation relative to vault privileges, $2,000.

Benning Road and viaduct: For an additional amount for the objects set forth in the appropriation contained in the District of Columbia appropritaion act for the fiscal year 1915 for constructing a suitable viaduct and bridge to carry Benning Road over the tracks of the Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington Railroad Co., $35,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

The appropriation for Benning Road viaduct and bridge, contained in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1915, is continued available until the end of the fiscal year 1918.

Bridges: The sum of $11,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the appropriation for the replacement of two trusses and floor of the M Street Bridge across Rock Creek, fiscal year 1917, is made available for repairs to the east abutment, the placing of new handrails, and the renewal of the wood flooring of said bridge.

Electrical department: For an additional amount for the purchase and installation of 10 fire-alarm boxes, and purchase and erection of necessary poles, cross arms, insulators, pins, braces, wire, cable, conduit connections, posts, extra labor, and other necessary items, $500.

Public schools: For allowance to principals, including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,000.

For longevity pay, including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $115.28.

For fuel, gas, and electric light and power, $64,608.50.

For additional amount for the construction of an 8-room addition, including assembly hall, to the Petworth School, $15,000.

For additional amount for the construction and equipment of a foundry at the McKinley Manual Training School, $5,000.

Columbia Institution for the Deaf: For expenses attending the instruction of deaf and dumb persons admitted to the Columbia Institution for the Deaf from the District of Columbia, under section 4864 of the Revised Statutes, and as provided for in the act approved March 1, 1901, and under a contract to be entered into with the said institution by the commissioners, $2,175, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Metropolitan Police, Harbor Patrol: For fuel, construction, maintenance, repairs, and incidentals, $550.

Fire department: For fuel, $4,625.

Health department: The limitation on the amount to be expended for personal services from the appropriation for preventing the spread of contagious diseases for the fiscal year 1917 is increased from $12,000 to $17,000.

For additional amount for maintenance of one motor vehicle for the sanitary and food-inspection service, $150.

Police court: For miscellaneous expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $715.

Municipal court: For expenses of moving from present quarters and for complete equipment of new quarters, including furniture and fixtures, and for such other expenses as may be authorized by the judges of the court and approved by the commissioners, $4,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

Court fines: The sum of $24,300.76, representing fines in United States cases collected on judgments of the criminal division of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, during the period from July 1, 1878, to September 30, 1908, inclusive, and deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the District of Columbia, shall be transferred from the credit of the District of Columbia to the United States.

The sum of $211,450.12, representing fines in United States cases collected on judgments of the police court of the District of Columbia, during the period from July 1, 1878, to January 1, 1902, inclusive, and deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the District of Columbia, shall be transferred from the credit of the District of Columbia to the United States.

Support of convicts: For support of convicts, including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $35,000.

Washington Asylum and Jail: For provisions, fuel, forage, harness, and vehicles, and repairs to same, gas, ice, shoes, clothing, dry goods, tailoring, drugs and medical supplies, furniture and bedding, kitchen utensils, and other necessary items, $5,500.

For maintenance of jail prisoners of the District of Columbia at the Washington Asylum and Jail, including pay of guards and all other necessary personal services, and for support of prisoners therein, $3,250.50.

Home for Aged and Infirm: For provisions, fuel, forage, harness and vehicles, and repairs to same, ice, shoes, clothing, dry goods, tailoring, drugs and medical supplies, furniture and bedding, kitchen utensils, and other necessary items, including maintenance of motor truck, $2,000.

National Training School for Girls: For groceries, provisions, light, fuel, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $2,500.

Garfield Hospital: For isolating ward for minor contagious diseases at Garfield Hospital, maintenance, $15,000.

Columbia Hospital for Women and Lying-in Asylum: For care and treatment of indigent patients, under a contract to be made with Columbia Hospital for Women and Lying-in Asylum by the Board of Charities, fiscal year 1916, $684.40.

Central Dispensary and Emergency Hospital: For emergency care and treatment of, and free dispensary service to, indigent patients under a contract or agreement to be made with Central Dispensary and Emergency Hospital by the Board of Charities, $6,000.

Eastern Dispensary: For emergency care and treatment of, and free dispensary service to, indigent patients under a contract or agreement to be made with Eastern Dispensary by the Board of Charities, $1,500.

Tuberculosis Hospital: For provisions, fuel, forage, harness, and vehicles and repairs to same, gas, ice, shoes, clothing, dry goods, tailoring, drugs, and medical supplies, furniture and bedding, kitchen utensils, and other necessary items, $2,000.

Board of Children's Guardians: For maintenance of feeble-minded children (white and colored), $4,300.

For board and care of all children committed to the guardianship of said board by the courts of the District, and for temporary care of children pending investigation or while being transferred from place to place, $23,000.

Authority is granted to pay, in addition to the sum of $1,500, heretofore authorized, a further sum not to exceed $3,600 to institutions adjudged to be under sectarian control, fiscal year 1917.

Industrial Home School for Colored Children: For maintenance, including purchase and care of horses, wagons, and harness, $1,500.

Industrial Home School: For maintenance, including purchase and care of horse, wagon, and harness, $3,080.

Hospital for the Insane: For support of indigent insane of the District of Columbia in St. Elizabeths Hospital, as provided by law, $40,000.

Writs of lunacy: For writs of lunacy, including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $2,500.

Workhouse: For maintenance, including superintendence, custody, clothing, guarding, care, and support of prisoners, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $8,600.

Small parks: For the condemnation of small park areas at the intersection of streets outside the limits of the original city of Washington, fiscal year 1914, $8.60.

Temporary services: The limitation on the amount to be expended for personal services authorized by section 2 of the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917 is increased from $74,000 to $78,500.

Reformatory: For construction of roads, grading of sites, and other development work, fiscal year 1916, $20.75.

Judgments: For payment of judgments, including costs, against the District of Columbia, set forth in House Document No. 2029 of this session, except the judgments with interest and costs in favor of Samuel T. Kalbfus and Edward S. Wood, $6,877.95, together with a further sum to pay the interest at not exceeding 4 per cent on said judgments, as provided by law, from the date the same became due until the date of payment.

One-half of the foregoing amounts to meet deficiencies in the appropriations on account of the District of Columbia shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia and one-half from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Washington Aqueduct: For operation, including salaries of all necessary employees, maintenance, and repair of the Washington Aqueduct and its accessories, including the same objects specified under this head in the District of Columbia appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $10,000, to be paid out of the revenues of the Water Department.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For purchase of professional and scientific books, law books, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $10,000.

For stationery for the department and its bureaus and offices, $7,500.

NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.

Gettysburg National Park: For building and properly preparing a roadway or avenue from the Confederate Avenue around the Virginia Memorial within the limits of the Gettysburg National Park, $927.

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.

For refund of rentals to certain lessees of land and water power on the Muskingum River, Ohio, in accordance with the provisions of the sundry civil appropriation act, approved August 1, 1914, $653.72.

For extinguishing adverse private claims of title in and to squares 612 and 613, so called, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, $6,060, one-half to be paid out of the revenues of the District of Columbia and one-half out of the United States Treasury: *Provided*, That the amount paid for any one lot shall not exceed the proportion of the whole amount that the area of said lot bears to the whole area of said squares: *Provided further*, That the lands acquired hereunder shall become a part of the park system of the District of Columbia and be under the control of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army.

RIVER AND HARBOR WORK.

To pay the claims adjusted and settled under section 4 of the river and harbor appropriation act approved June 25, 1910, and certified to Congress in House Document No. 2040 at the present session, $363.70.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT,

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

For pay of the Army, including the same objects, except mileage, specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $647,833.33.

For mileage to commissioned officers, including officers of the National Guard, contract surgeons, and expert accountant, Inspector General's Department, when authorized by law, $150,000.

Subsistence: For subsistence of the Army, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,735,500.

Regular supplies: For regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $3,061,149.68.

Incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps: For incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $739,520.96.

Transportation: For transportation of the Army and its supplies, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $11,415,770.75.

Clothing and camp and garrison equipage: For clothing and camp and garrison equipage, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $13,057,972.

Barracks and quarters: For barracks and quarters, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,295,000.

Water and sewers at military posts: For water and sewers at military posts, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $107,000.

Provided, That all the money hereinbefore appropriated under the titles "Subsistence of the Army," "Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps," "Incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps," "Transportation of the Army and its supplies," "Water and sewers at military posts," and "Clothing and camp and garrison equipage," shall be disbursed and accounted for by officers and agents of the Quartermaster Corps as "Supplies, services, and transportation, Quartermaster Corps," and for that purpose shall constitute one fund.

For the support of dependent families of enlisted men, including the same objects and under the same limitations specified in the appropriations for this purpose in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917 as amended by section 901 of the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, $2,000,000: *Provided*, That the provision in the act of August 29, 1916, as amended by section 901 of the act of September 8, 1916, for the Federal support of families of enlisted men shall, with respect to enlisted men belonging to organizations of the Organized Militia or National Guard which entered the service of the United States under the calls of the President of May 9, 1916, and June 18, 1916, and enlisted men of the Regular Army who by the provisions of acts above cited are beneficiaries thereof only during the time the Organized Militia or National Guard continue in the service of the United States under said calls, apply only to applications stated in the form prescribed by the Secretary of War which are received in the office of the Depot Quartermaster, Washington, D. C., on or before June 30, 1917.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Ordnance service: For the current expenses of the Ordnance Department, including the same objects specified under this head in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $28,000.

Ordnance stores and supplies: For overhauling, cleaning, repairing, and preserving ordnance and ordnance stores in the hands of troops and at the arsenals, posts, and depots; for purchase and manufacture of ordnance stores to fill requisitions of troops; for Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery equipments, including horse equipments for Cavalry and Artillery, $1,000,000.

NATIONAL GUARD.

To provide for the procurement of forage, bedding, shoeing, veterinary service, and supplies for horses and mules that may be owned by or issued to organizations of the National Guard, $455,000.

To provide for the compensation of competent help for the care of matériel, animals, and equipment thereof, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe: *Provided*, That the men to be compensated, not to exceed five for each battery, troop, or company, shall be duly enlisted therein and shall be detailed by the battery, troop, or company commander under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and shall be paid by the United States disbursing officer in each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, $306,790.

For providing arms, ordnance stores, quartermaster stores, camp equipage, and all other military supplies for issue to the National Guard; for the promotion of rifle practice, including the acquisition, construction, maintenance, and equipment of shooting galleries and suitable target ranges; for the hire of horses and draft animals for the use of mounted troops, batteries, and wagons; for forage for the same; and for such other incidental expenses in connection with lawfully authorized encampments, maneuvers, and field instruction as the Secretary of War may deem necessary; and for such other expenses pertaining to the National Guard as are now or may hereafter be authorized by law, $1,000,000.

For travel of Federal officers in carrying out the provisions of section 93 of the act of June 3, 1916, $20,000.

For travel of inspector instructors and sergeant instructors, joining at State stations for duty and returning to duty with regiments, $10,000.

For travel of inspector instructors in making visits of instruction to armories, $20,000: *Provided*, That said inspector instructors traveling shall not receive more than their actual expenses out of these appropriations.

For transportation of supplies (including transportation of animals bought for the use of Cavalry, Field Artillery, Signal companies, Engineer companies, ambulance companies, and other mounted units) of the National Guard, $50,000.

For expenses of sergeant instructors on duty with the National Guard, including quarters, fuel, light, medicines, and medical attendance, $30,000: *Provided*, That whenever practicable inspector instructors shall use the State armories for offices.

All the money hereinbefore appropriated for arming, equipping, and training the National Guard shall be disbursed and accounted for as such, and for that purpose shall constitute one fund.

Arms, uniforms, equipment, etc., National Guard: To procure by purchase or manufacture and issue from time to time to the National Guard upon requisition of the governors of the several States and Territories, or the commanding general, National Guard of the District of Columbia, such number of United States service arms with all accessories, Field Artillery and Coast Artillery matériel, engineer, signal, and sanitary matériel, accouterments, field uniforms, clothing, equipage, publications and military stores of all kinds, including public animals, as are necessary to arm, uniform, and equip for field service the National Guard in the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, $1,000,000.

NATIONAL HOME FOR DISABLED VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS.

Central Branch, Dayton, Ohio: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $40,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $2,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,000;

Northwestern Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $8,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,000;

Southern Branch, Hampton, Va.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $35,000;

Western Branch, Leavenworth, Kans.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $22,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $8,000;

Pacific Branch, Santa Monica, Cal.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $35,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $17,000;

Marion Branch, Marion, Ind.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $15,000;

Danville Branch, Danville, Ill.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $5,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,000;

Mountain Branch, Johnson City, Tenn.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,000;

Battle Mountain Sanitarium, Hot Springs, S. Dak.: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,500.

Clothing for all branches: For clothing for all branches, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $35,000;

In all, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, $248,500.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE.

The appropriations for contingent and miscellaneous expenses, Hydrographic Office, for the fiscal years 1916, 1917, and 1918 are made available for the purchase of equipment for the storage of plates used in making charts and for the storage of Hydrographic Office charts and publications, and the appropriations for the fiscal year 1916 is made available for the payment of whatever outstanding contracts there may be for such equipment.

BRUEAU OF YARDS AND DOCKS.

The limitations specified in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation acts for the fiscal years 1917 and 1918 on expenditures for skilled draftsmen and other technical services from appropriations and allotments under the Bureau of Yards and Docks are increased by the sums of $70,000 and $75,000, respectively.

CLAIMS FOR DAMAGES.

For the payment of the claim adjusted and settled in accordance with naval appropriation act, approved June 24, 1910 (36 Stats., p. 607), and certified to Congress at the present session in House Document No. 2404, $128.18.

NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.

PAY, MISCELLANEOUS.

For pay, miscellaneous, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $124,180.73.

BUREAU OF NAVIGATION.

Naval Home, Philadelphia, Pa.: For maintenance, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $5,000, which sum shall be paid out of the income from the naval pension fund.

BUREAU OF ORDNANCE.

For ordnance and ordnance stores, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $315,000; and the limitation specified in said act on expenditures from the appropriation "Ordnance and ordnance stores" for pay of chemists, clerical, drafting, inspection, watchmen, and messenger service in navy yards, naval stations, and naval magazines is increased by the sum of $25,000.

BUREAU OF YARDS AND DOCKS.

Maintenance: For general maintenance of yards and docks, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $432,000.

Repairs and preservation at navy yards and stations: For repairs and preservation at navy yards and stations, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $314,000.

BUREAU OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Medical Department: For surgeons' necessaries for vessels in commission, navy yards, naval stations, Marine Corps, and for the civil establishment at the several naval hospitals, navy yards, naval medical supply depots, Naval Medical School, Washington, and Naval Academy, fiscal year 1915, $7,011.91.

Transportation of remains: For transportation of remains, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1915, $686.28.

Contingent, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery: For contingent, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $35,000.

BUREAU OF SUPPLIES AND ACCOUNTS.

Pay of the Navy: For pay of the Navy, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act of the fiscal year 1916, $1,621,475.04.

Provisions, Navy: For provisions and commuted rations, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $624,861.25.

Maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts: The limitation specified in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, on expenditures from the appropriation "Maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts," for pay of chemists and clerical, inspection, storeman, store laborer, and messenger service in the general storehouses, paymasters' offices, and accounting offices of the navy yards and naval stations and disbursing offices, is increased by the sum of $50,000.

Freight, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts: For freight, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $264,908.37.

Fuel and transportation: For fuel and transportation, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $934,059.40.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF ADVANCES.

To reimburse "General account of advances" created by the act of June 19, 1878 (20 Stat. L., p. 167), for amounts advanced therefrom and expended on account of the several appropriations named hereunder in excess of the sums appropriated therefor for the fiscal year given, found to be due the "General account" on adjustment by the accounting officers, the accounting officers of the Treasury are authorized and directed to credit by transfer from unexpended balances of appropriations for the Naval Establishment for the fiscal years 1915 and 1916 amounts as follows:

Pay, miscellaneous, 1914, $1,871.99;
Naval training station, Rhode Island, 1915, $81.31;
Maintenance, Bureau of Yards and Docks, 1914, $28.46;
Medical Department, 1915, $420.70;
Pay of the Navy, 1915, $103,303.88;
Provisions, Navy, 1914 to 1915, $6,862.45;
Coal and transportation, 1914, $4,327.38;
In all, general account of advances, $116,896.17.

BUREAU OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR.

Construction and repair of vessels: For construction and repair of vessels, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,715,000.

BUREAU OF STEAM ENGINEERING.

Engineering: For engineering, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,668,840; and the limitation specified in said act on expenditures from the appropriation "Engineering" for pay of clerical, drafting, inspection, and messenger service in navy yards, naval stations, and offices of United States inspectors of machinery and engineering material, is increased by the sum of $56,210.

NAVAL ACADEMY.

Current and miscellaneous expenses: For current and miscellaneous expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $5,200.

MARINE CORPS.

For pay, Marine Corps, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1916, $70,000.

For clothing, Marine Corps, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $676,318.

Contingent: For contingent expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the naval appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $100,000.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Capitol Building: For work at the Capitol and for general repairs thereof, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $1,800.

Interior Department Building (new): Assistant superintendent, $2,000; foreman of laborers, $1,000; two assistant foremen of laborers, at $900 each; laborers—27 at $660 each, 17 at $600 each, 14 at $540 each, 1 $480; 6 female laborers at $400 each; 2 assistant engineers, at $1,000 each; 7 firemen, at $720 each; general machinist, $1,500; 2 wiremen, at $1,000 each; 2 electricians' helpers, at $720 each; painter, $1,000; plumber, $1,400; 2 assistant plumbers, at $1,000 each; 2 plumbers' helpers, at $840 each; 13 elevator conductors, at $720 each; 18 watchmen, at $720 each; in all, $83,640 for the fiscal year 1918.

For electrical power, electric light, gas, window washing, and telephone service, fuel, telephones, window shades, awnings, and other materials and supplies as in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior may be required for general maintenance and operation of the building, $152,545.75;

For labor, equipment, and materials required for the laboratories of the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines; for steel and wood filing furniture, including bookcase sections, transfer storage boxes, and card-index sections; for special steel and wood furniture, including map cases, specimen cases, and drafting tables; for office furniture, including desks, chairs, tables, wardrobes, rugs, mirrors, and clocks; and for such other furniture and furnishings as in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior may be required for the use and accommodation of the several bureaus and offices in the building, $100,000;

For every expenditure, including personal services of mechanics and laborers, requisite for and incident to the removal of the furniture, equipment, effects, the taking down, removal, and fixing in place of printing, lithographic, and other presses, photographic and laboratory equipment, and other machinery of all kinds, of the various bureaus and offices of the Interior Department, Washington, D. C., from their present locations to the new Interior Department offices, including readjustment of files and records of the Patent Office, Pension Office, and Bureau of Education, $40,500;

In all, $293,045.75, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

General Land Office Building: For dismantling and rebuilding wooden shelving for the storage of patents, including necessary labor and material, $5,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

Courthouse, Washington, D. C.: For an additional amount to provide temporary quarters by rental or otherwise for the courts, judges, and officials connected therewith, and for other offices, officials, and employees of the courthouse, Washington, D. C., pending the reconstruction of the said courthouse, fiscal year 1918, $6,000, to be expended under the direction of the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, one-half to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States and one-half out of the revenues of the District of Columbia.

Court of Claims Building: For labor, materials, furniture, and for general repairs, to be expended under the direction of the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, $15,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For stationery, including tags, labels, index cards, cloth-lined wrappers, and specimen bags, printed in the course of manufacture, and such printed envelopes as are not supplied under contracts made by the Postmaster General for the department and its several bureaus and offices, including offices in the field service under the General Land Office and the Office of Indian Affairs, $40,150.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Of the unexpended balance of the current appropriation of $700,000 for surveying the public lands there is made available to and including June 30, 1917, not to exceed the sum of $12,500 for the hire of clerks to bring up the arrears of office work in surveyors general offices upon returns of surveys filed therein, and not to exceed the further sum of $10,000 for the salaries of employees of the field surveying service temporarily detailed to the General Land Office.

The unexpended balance on June 30, 1917, remaining to the credit of the appropriation of $2,055.67, authorized in the deficiency appropriation act approved September 8, 1916, for the completion during the fiscal year 1917 of the examination and classification of lands within the limits of the Northern Pacific grant under the act of July 2, 1864 (13 Stats., p. 365), is made available until expended, to meet the expenses pertaining to such examination and classification as may be incurred after June 30, 1917.

For compensation of George Watkin Evans for services as surveyor for the inspection of mineral deposits in Alaska from July 15 to 21, 1915, and September 21 to 25, 1915, at $8.50 per day, $102; and from September 26 to 30, 1915, at the rate of $175 per month, $29.17; in all, $131.17.

To enable the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the Secretary of Agriculture, or otherwise, to continue the classification of lands involved in the Oregon and California Railroad forfeiture suit, as authorized and directed by the act of June 9, 1916, $90,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

Contingent expenses of land offices: For clerk hire, rent, and other incidental expenses of the district land offices, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $25,000.

For an amount supplemental and additional to the amount heretofore appropriated to pay the certified claims on account of labor, supplies, material furnished and used in the construction of the Corbett tunnel and spillway, $3,556.96.

TERRITORY OF ALASKA.

That until June 30, 1918, not to exceed 50 per cent of the moneys received from the sale of lots or tracts within any town site or town sites heretofore or hereafter sold pursuant to the provisions of the act of March 12, 1914, entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be set apart and expended within the respective town sites in which such lots or tracts are sold, for the purpose of preparing the land for occupancy, the construction, installation, and maintenance of public utilities and improvements, and the construction of public school buildings, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, and the moneys so set apart and designated are appropriated for the purpose of carrying these provisions into effect: *Provided*, That such moneys as may have been heretofore or may hereafter be expended for such purposes under and by authority of the Alaskan Engineering Commission from the funds at its disposal, shall be reimbursed from the amount designated for the purposes herein provided: *Provided further*, That a report of the expenditures hereunder shall be made to Congress at the beginning of each regular session.

ST. ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL.

Rental for a system of telephones connecting the superintendent's, physicians', and employees' quarters at the hospital with other locations on the hospital grounds may be paid hereafter from the appropriations for the support of the hospital; and the accounting officers of the Treasury are authorized and directed to credit in the accounts of the disbursing agent the amounts of payments made by him for this purpose during the fiscal year 1917.

PENSIONS.

Army and Navy pensions, as follows: For invalids, widows, minor children, and dependent relatives, Army nurses, and all other pensioners who are now borne on the rolls, or who may hereafter be placed thereon, under the provisions of any and all acts of Congress, $5,000,000: *Provided*, That the appropriation aforesaid for Navy pensions shall be paid from the income of the Navy pension fund, so far as the same shall be sufficient for that purpose: *Provided further*, That the amount expended under each of the above items shall be accounted for separately.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For furniture and repairs, including carpets, file holders, and cases, $3,000.

For purchase of library stacks, $7,000.

Opinions of the Attorneys General: To enable the Attorney General to employ, at his discretion and irrespective of the provisions of section 1765, Revised Statutes, and the provisions of section 6 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act of May 10, 1916, such competent person or persons as will in his judgment best perform the service, to edit and prepare for publication and superintend the printing of volume 30 of the Opinions of the Attorney General, the printing of said volume to be done in accordance with the provisions of section 383, Revised Statutes, $500.

Detection and prosecution of crimes: For the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the

fiscal year 1917, and including not to exceed $2,000 additional for necessary employees at the seat of government, $50,000.

Authority is granted for the payment of $660 from the appropriation "Detection and prosecution of crimes," fiscal year 1917, to Robert S. Judge, special agent of the Department of Justice, for services rendered while on leave from the military service of the United States.

JUDICIAL.

UNITED STATES COURTS.

For salaries, fees, and expenses of United States marshals and their deputies, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $255,000.

For such miscellaneous expenses as may be authorized by the Attorney General, for the United States courts and their officers, including so much as may be necessary in the discretion of the Attorney General for such expenses in the District of Alaska, $50,000.

For supplies, including exchange of typewriting and adding machines for the United States courts and judicial officers, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $7,500.

For support of United States prisoners, including necessary clothing and medical aid, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $50,000.

Leavenworth, Kans., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $30,000.

For clothing, transportation, and traveling expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $15,000.

For hospital supplies, medicines, medical and surgical supplies, and all other articles for the care and treatment of sick prisoners; and for expenses of interment of deceased prisoners on the penitentiary reservation, $1,500.

The use for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles of not exceeding $125 of the amount appropriated for this institution under the head "Miscellaneous expenditures" in the sundry civil appropriation act of July 1, 1916, is authorized.

The accounting officers of the Treasury are authorized to give credit to Thomas W. Morgan, warden and special disbursing officer, United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kans., under the appropriation "Clothing and transportation" for said institution for the fiscal year 1916 in the amount of $228.38, covering expenses attempting to transport prisoner Frederick McGuire from Leavenworth, Kans., to Portland, Oreg., in pursuance of a warrant of removal issued by the United States District Court for the District of Oregon.

Atlanta, Ga., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $10,000.

For clothing, transportation, and traveling expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $10,000.

For miscellaneous expenditures, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $10,000.

McNeil Island, Wash., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, and for supplies for guards, $2,000.

For clothing, transportation, and traveling expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $2,500.

For miscellaneous expenditures, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $6,000.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For miscellaneous items, including purchase, exchange, and repair of typewriters, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $6,500.

For the purchase of window shades, shelving, and racks, lumber, automatic platform scales, interior telephones, clocks, and the miscellaneous equipment necessary to equip and furnish the new Post Office Department equipment shops, Fifth and W Streets NE, Washington, D. C., including the construction of a railroad siding, and for the expense of removal thereto of offices, equipment, machinery, material, and other property of the Post Office Department from the leased buildings at First and K Streets NE, Washington, D. C., $15,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

POSTAL SERVICE.

OUT OF THE POSTAL REVENUES—OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For payment of rewards for the detection, arrest, and conviction of post-office burglars, robbers, and highway mail robbers, fiscal year 1915, $5,175.12.

OFFICE OF FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For temporary and auxiliary clerk hire and for substitute clerk hire for clerks and employees absent with pay at first and second class post offices and temporary and auxiliary clerk hire at summer and winter resort post offices, $150,000.

For mail messenger service, $60,000.

OFFICE OF SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For inland transportation by star routes in Alaska, $16,000.

For inland transportation by railroad routes, $2,500,000.

OFFICE OF THIRD ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For manufacture of adhesive postage stamps, special-delivery stamps, books of stamps, and for coiling of stamps, $120,000.

For manufacture of stamped envelopes and newspaper wrappers, $350,000.

For manufacture of postal cards, $80,000.

For payment of limited indemnity for the loss of pieces of domestic registered matter, insured, and collect-on-delivery mail, fiscal year 1916, $16,000.

OFFICE OF FOURTH ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL.

For stationery for the Postal Service, including blanks, books, printed and engraved matter, binding and carbon paper, and other miscellaneous items for the money-order and registry systems; also the preparation, publication, and free distribution by postmasters to the public of pamphlet containing general postal information, $65,000.

For facing slips, plain and printed, card slide labels, intaglio seals, tags, linen labels, blanks, and books of an urgent nature, $35,000.

For wrapping paper, $8,000.

For postmarking, rating, money-order stamps, and electrotype plates and repairs to same, metal, rubber, and combination type, dates and figures, type holders, ink and pads for canceling and stamping purposes, $20,000.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

LIGHTHOUSE SERVICE.

Lighthouse vessels: For salaries and wages of officers and crews of light vessels and lighthouse tenders, including temporary employment when necessary, $23,000.

Claims for damages: To pay the claims for damages which have been considered, adjusted, and determined to be due to the claimants by the Commissioner of Lighthouses, under authority of the provisions of section 4 of the act of June 17, 1910 (36 Stats., 537), on account of damages occasioned by collision for which vessels of the Lighthouse Service have been found responsible, certified to Congress at its present session in House Document No. 1770, $56.88.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

Office expenses: For office expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $6,097.

Charts: For materials, supplies, and equipment for printing charts, including the employment in the District of Columbia of such personal services, other than clerical, as may be needed for the additional work required and to operate the printing plant on one night shift, $25,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

Vessels: For repairs and maintenance of the complement of vessels, including traveling expenses of persons inspecting the repairs, and exclusive of engineer's supplies and other ship chandlery, $3,000.

For furniture and other equipment in the outfitting of the steamer *Surveyor*, $7,356.

BUREAU OF FISHERIES.

For necessary and urgent repairs to the steamer *Albatross*, $10,000.

STEAMBOAT-INSPECTION SERVICE.

Contingent expenses: For contingent expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $15,000.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

Contingent expenses: For contingent and miscellaneous expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $4,400.

For rent of buildings and parts of buildings in the District of Columbia for the use of the Department of Labor, $4,000.

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION.

For additional expenses for the enforcement of the laws regulating immigration of aliens into the United States made necessary by the act of February 5, 1917, entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States," $400,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918: *Provided further*, That no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be expended for the maintenance at any United States immigrant station of any of the privileges now disposed of after public competition as provided by the act of February 5, 1917, entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States."

Ellis Island, N. Y., Immigration Station: For completion of repairs to the immigration station at Ellis Island, rendered necessary by explosions on July 30, 1916, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918, $246,995.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

Child Labor Division: To enable the Secretary of Labor to carry into effect the provisions of the act of September 1, 1916, entitled "An act to prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes," in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, including a preliminary survey, for which purpose the sum of $50,000 shall be made immediately available, traveling expenses, per diem in lieu of subsistence at not exceeding $4, telegraph and telephone service, express and freight charges, contingent and miscellaneous expenses, and personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, fiscal year 1918, $150,000: *Provided*, That no salary shall be paid hereunder at a rate exceeding $3,000 per annum.

LEGISLATIVE.

House Office Building: For maintenance, including miscellaneous items, and for all necessary services, $3,000.

Capitol power plant: For lighting the Capitol, Senate and House Office Buildings, and Congressional Library Building, and the grounds about the same, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $8,000.

For fuel, oil, and cotton waste, and advertising for the power plant which furnishes heat and light for the Capitol and congressional buildings, $24,900. This and the two foregoing appropriations shall be expended by the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds under the supervision and direction of the commission in control of the House Office Building, appointed under the act approved March 4, 1907, and without reference to section 4 of the act approved June 17, 1910, concerning purchases for executive departments.

The unexpended balance of the appropriation for the Capitol power plant for the fiscal year 1916 is reappropriated and made available during the fiscal year 1917.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

To pay the widow of Michael F. Conry, late a Representative from the State of New York, $7,500.

To pay the widow of David E. Finley, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina, $7,500.

To pay the widow of Samuel J. Tribble, late a Representative from the State of Georgia, $7,500.

To pay the widow of Luis Munoz Rivera, late a Resident Commissioner from Porto Rico, $7,500.

For allowance to the following contestants and contestees for expenses incurred by them in contested-election cases, audited and recommended by the Committees on Elections No. 1, 2, and 3:

C. William Beales, $1,055.07;
Lathrop Brown, $2,000;
Jacob A. Cantor, $2,000;
Frederick C. Hicks, $2,000;
Isaac Siegel, $2,000;
E. J. Hill, $2,000;
Jeremiah Donovan, $2,000;
Richard S. Whaley, $536;
Aaron P. Prioleau, $100;
William R. Gaylord, $2,000;
In all, $15,691.07.

For procurement of an oil portrait of JOSEPH G. CANNON, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, to be paid on the approval of JAMES L. SLAYDEN, chairman of the Committee on the Library in the Sixty-fourth Congress, $2,000.

To pay South Trimble, Clerk of the House of Representatives, the amount due for services in compiling, arranging for the printer, reading proof, indexing of testimony, stenography and typewriting, supervising the work, and expenses incurred in the contested-election cases of the Sixty-fourth Congress (eight in number), as authorized by an act entitled "An act relating to contested elections," approved March 2, 1887, the sum of $1,723.12; and an additional sum of $1,120 to such persons as were actually engaged in the work designated by the said South Trimble and in such proportions as he may deem just for assistance rendered in the work; in all, $2,843.12.

Contingent expenses: For miscellaneous items and expenses of special and select committees, exclusive of salaries and labor, unless specifically ordered by the House of Representatives, $75,000.

For wrapping paper, pasteboard, paste, twine, newspaper wrappers, and other necessary materials for folding, for use of Members, the Clerk's office, and folding room, not including envelopes, writing paper, and other paper and materials to be printed and furnished by the Public Printer, upon requisitions from the Clerk of the House, under provisions of the act approved January 12, 1895, $1,000.

For an additional amount for driving, maintenance, and operation of automobile for the Speaker, $300.

For additional compensation to the enrolling clerk of the House of Representatives, in accordance with House Resolution No. 501 of the present session, from March 4, 1917, to June 30, 1918, inclusive, $1,325.

To continue the employment of nine messengers, at $100 per month each, in the post office of the House of Representatives, from April 1 to November 30, inclusive, 1917, $7,200.

That after March 4, 1917, the members of the Committee on the District of Columbia who are Members elect of the Sixty-fifth Congress, or a subcommittee thereof appointed by the present chairman of said committee, be, and are hereby, authorized to continue the investigation directed by House Resolution No. 229 of the Sixty-fourth Congress and to expend for the purpose and as provided in House Resolution No. 256 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, out of the contingent fund of the House, a sum not exceeding $7,500, in addition to the unexpended balance of the amount heretofore authorized.

For folding speeches and pamphlets, at a rate not exceeding $1 per thousand, $3,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

For the purchase, maintenance, and repair of a motor truck for the use of the folding room, $2,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918; and the appropriation of $1,200 for hire of horses and wagons and repairs of same for the office of the Doorkeeper for the fiscal year 1918, is repealed.

To reimburse the Official Reporters of Debates $350 each, and the Official Stenographers to Committees $400 each, for moneys actually and necessarily expended by them to March 4, 1917, $3,700.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Holidays: To enable the Public Printer to comply with the provisions of the law granting holidays and the Executive order granting half holidays with pay to the employees of the Government Printing Office, $40,267.93.

To pay Samuel Robinson, William Madden, and Joseph De Fontes, messengers on night duty during the present session of Congress, for extra services, $700 each; in all $2,100.

PRINTING AND BINDING.

For public printing, public binding, and for paper for public printing and binding, etc., including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $520,937.05.

For printing and binding for the War Department, $150,000.
For printing and binding for the Navy Department, $30,000.
For printing and binding for the Interior Department, $15,000.

Patent Office: For printing the weekly issue of patents, designs, trademarks, and labels, exclusive of illustrations, and for printing, engraving illustrations, and binding the Official Gazette, including weekly, monthly, bimonthly, and annual indices, $40,000.

Indian Service: For printing and binding, including loose-leaf binders, necessary to test and install a new system of bookkeeping and accounting for the Indian Service prepared by the Bureau of Efficiency in accordance with section 28 of the Indian appropriation act approved May 18, 1916, $10,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

For printing and binding for the Department of Labor, $15,978.

JUDGMENTS, COURT OF CLAIMS.

For the payment of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims, reported to Congress at its present session in House Document No. 2031, namely:

Under the War Department, $18,810.71;
Under the Navy Department, $49,931.04;
Under the Post Office Department, $12,036.88;
In all, $80,778.63.

JUDGMENTS IN INDIAN DEPREDATION CLAIMS.

For payment of judgments rendered by the Court of Claims in Indian depredation cases, certified to Congress in House Document No. 2030 at its present session, $24,927.50; said judgments to be paid after the deductions required to be made under the provisions of section 6 of the act approved March 3, 1891, entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," shall have been ascertained and duly certified by the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of the Treasury, which certification shall be made as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, and such deductions shall be made according to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, having due regard to the educational and other necessary requirements of the tribe or tribes affected; and the amounts paid shall be reimbursed to the United States at such times and in such proportions as the Secretary of the Interior may decide to be for the interests of the Indian Service: *Provided*, That no one of said judgments provided in this paragraph shall be paid until the Attorney General shall have certified to the Secretary of the Treasury that there exists no grounds sufficient, in his opinion, to support a motion for a new trial or an appeal of said cause.

None of the judgments contained in this act shall be paid until the right of appeal shall have expired.

AUDITED CLAIMS.

SEC. 2. That for the payment of the following claims, certified to be due by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874, and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1914 and other years, unless otherwise stated, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884, as fully set forth in House Document No. 2028, reported to Congress at its present session, there is appropriated as follows:

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

For collecting the revenues from customs, $6.81.
For contingent expenses, Independent Treasury, $527.66.
For freight, transportation, etc., Public Health Service, 45 cents.
For preventing the spread of epidemic diseases, Public Health Service, $6.30.
For refunding internal-revenue collections, $50.
For refunding taxes illegally collected, $232,556.16.
For redemption of stamps, $137.50.
For allowance or drawback, internal revenue, $18.81.
For payment of judgments against internal-revenue officers, $41,265.27.
For pay of crews, miscellaneous expenses, etc., Life-Saving Service, $26.78.
For contingent expenses, mint at New Orleans, 1916, $58.14.
For wages of workmen, assay office at New York, $19.44.
For operating supplies for public buildings, $18.53.
For fuel, lights, and water for public buildings, $2.72.
For furniture and repairs of same for public buildings, $106.08.
For general expenses of public buildings, $1.18.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

For pay, etc., of the Army, $7,632.48.
For extra-duty pay to enlisted men as clerks, etc., at Army Division and Department Headquarters, $1,886.05.
For Signal Service of the Army, $43.43.
For encampment and maneuvers, Organized Militia, $140.
For subsistence of the Army, $21.37.
For regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps, $29.69.
For incidental expenses, Quartermaster Department, $3,056.35.
For transportation of the Army and its supplies, $2,754.18.
For water and sewers at military posts, $22.22.
For clothing and camp and garrison equipage, $11.23.
For medical and hospital department, $3.58.
For headstones for graves of soldiers, $11.67.
For disposition of remains of officers, soldiers, and civil employees, $69.50.
For expenses, California Débris Commission, 13 cents.
For improvement and care of public grounds, District of Columbia, $10.50.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

For pay, miscellaneous, 1916, $327.89.
For pay, miscellaneous, $61.20.
For pay, Marine Corps, $1,018.68.
For transportation and recruiting, Marine Corps, $130.
For contingent, Marine Corps, $94.46.
For pay, Naval Academy, $5.
For transportation, Bureau of Navigation, $205.74.
For outfits on first enlistment, Bureau of Navigation, $10.72.
For maintenance of naval auxiliaries, Bureau of Navigation, $5.75.
For ocean and lake surveys, Bureau of Navigation, $19.67.
For ordnance and ordnance stores, Bureau of Ordnance, $549.60.
For equipment of vessels, Bureau of Equipment, $6.50.
For bringing home remains of officers, etc., Navy Department, 1915 to 1916, $46.78.
For pay of the Navy, $4,954.99.
For maintenance, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, $10.
For freight, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, 1916, $90,762.39.
For freight, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, $77.66.
For coal and transportation, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, $991.13.
For construction and repair, Bureau of Construction and Repair, $307.60.
For steam machinery, Bureau of Steam Engineering, $349.72.
For indemnity for lost property, Naval Service, $2,551.77.
For destruction of clothing and bedding for sanitary reasons, $37.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

For education of natives of Alaska, $5.
For investigation of school and home gardening, Bureau of Education, 1916, $24.38.
For surveying the public lands, $8.81.
For Geological Survey, $900.
For investigating mine accidents, $3.95.
For fees of examining surgeons, pensions, $15.
For relieving distress and prevention, etc., of diseases among Indians, $46.94.
For Indian schools, support, $1,234.86.
For Indian school buildings, $169.
For Indian school and agency buildings, 1915, $1,860.02.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, 1916, $52,398.30.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, 1915, $525.67.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, $552.23.
For buildings at agencies and repairs, $39.
For pay of Indian police, 60 cents.
For pay of judges, Indian courts, $7.18.
For general expenses, Indian Service, $2.
For support of Indians in Arizona and New Mexico, $726.92.
For support of Indians in California, 1916, $14.44.
For Indian school, Fort Bidwell, Cal., repairs and improvements, 1916, $257.38.
For Indian school, Greenville, Cal., $9.92.
For Indian school, Lawrence, Kans., repairs and improvements, 1916, $24.20.

For incidentals in Montana, $7.
For Indian school, Albuquerque, N. Mex., repairs and improvements, 1916, $14.11.
For support of Indians of Fort Berthold Agency, N. Dak., 18 cents.
Indian school, Fort Totten, N. Dak., 1916, $46.21.
For support of Sioux of different tribes, subsistence and civilization, South Dakota, $3,981.91.
For support of Indians of Colville and Puyallup Agencies and Joseph's Band of Nez Perces, Washington, 53 cents.
For Indian school, Hayward, Wis., repairs and improvements, 1915, $14.58.
For indemnity to certain Chickasaw Indians for losses, treaty of June 22, 1855, $8,660.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE STATE AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

For salaries of vice consuls (act of Feb. 5, 1915), 1915, $79.59.
For salaries, Consular Service, $116.38.
For contingent expenses, United States consulates, $191.
For preservation of collections, National Museum, $13.51.
For support of convicts, District of Columbia, 1916, $9,352.93.
For pay of bailiffs, Supreme Court, District of Columbia, 1916, $58.80.
For library, Department of Agriculture, $52.28.
For general expenses, Weather Bureau, $362.99.
For general expenses, Bureau of Plant Industry, $33.09.
For general expenses, Forest Service, $63.33.
For enforcement of the food and drugs act, $22.44.
For preventing spread of moths, Bureau of Entomology, $379.98.
For drainage investigations, 25 cents.
For International Dry-land Congress at Lethbridge, Canada, 1913, $6.30.
For contingent expenses, Department of Commerce, 92 cents.
For contingent expenses, Steamboat-Inspection Service, $4.50.
For general expenses, Bureau of Standards, $2.30.
For party expenses, Coast and Geodetic Survey, 45 cents.
For general expenses, Lighthouse Service, $220.50.
For tender for inspector, Eighth Lighthouse District, $2.16.
For Oconto Harbor lights, Wisconsin, $70.01.
For contingent expenses, Department of Labor, $9.80.
For contingent expenses, Department of Commerce and Labor, $18.23.
For expenses of regulating immigration, $20.45.
For naturalization of aliens, 32 cents.
For enforcement of the Chinese-exclusion act, $56.
For contingent expenses, Department of Justice, books for department library, 1916, $10.
For contingent expenses, Department of Justice, books for department library, 1915, $15.
For contingent expenses, Department of Justice, miscellaneous items, $25.82.
For defending suits in claims against the United States, $17.40.
For detection and prosecution of crimes, $5.45.
For salaries, fees, and expenses of marshals, United States courts, $50.50.
For pay of special assistant attorneys, United States courts, $1,556.88.
For fees of clerks, United States courts, $710.
For fees of commissioners, United States courts, 1915, $273.95.
For fees of commissioners, United States courts, $241.80.
For fees of jurors, United States courts, $12.40.
For fees of witnesses, United States courts, $109.80.
For miscellaneous expenses, United States courts, $14.
For supplies for United States courts, 38 cents.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

For indemnities, international registered mail, $320.28.
For parcel-post insurance, $3.40.
For freight on stamped paper and mail bags, 65 cents.
For shipment of supplies, $66.63.
For star-route service, $6.51.
For compensation to postmasters, $879.95.
For compensation to assistant postmasters, $350.
For clerks, first and second class post offices, $188.56.
For clerks, third-class post offices, $104.12.
For temporary and auxiliary clerks in post offices, $33.34.
For separating mails, third and fourth class post offices, $332.
For clerks, contract stations, $37.94.
For Railway Mail Service, salaries, $93.33.
For Rural Delivery Service, carriers, $14.78.
For rent, light, and fuel, $298.74.
For office appliances, $3.60.
For canceling machines, $29.78.
For miscellaneous items, first and second class post offices services and purchases, $61.16.

During the reading of the foregoing,

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MOON. Whether under the rule adopted for the passage of these bills it is in order to make a point of order on a section of the bill that contains new law, in violation of the rules of the House?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks not.

The Clerk resumed and completed the reading of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by the committee:
Page 55, after line 7, insert the following:
"To pay H. Belle Sulloway, daughter of Cyrus Adams Sulloway, late a Representative from the State of New Hampshire, $7,500."

Mr. MANN. As I understand, some gentleman asks unanimous consent that this amendment be considered as a part of the motion.

Mr. SHERLEY. That is correct.

Mr. BORLAND. I move that amendment.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman can not present it in that way. The gentleman, as I understand, asks unanimous consent that that amendment be incorporated in the bill as a part of the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD].

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this amendment be incorporated in the bill as a part of the motion originally made.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that the amendment just read be incorporated in the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. And the same thing as to the other amendments which will be read?

Mr. MANN. No; they are included in the motion of the gentleman from New York.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the other amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 57, in line 8, strike out the word "present" and insert the words "Sixty-fourth Congress, second," so that the lines as amended will read:
"For additional compensation to the enrolling clerk of the House of Representatives, in accordance with House resolution No. 501 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, from March 4, 1917, to June 30, 1918, inclusive, $1,325."
Page 57, line 15, strike out the words "March 4, 1917," and insert the words "the passage of this act," so that the lines as amended will read:
"That after the passage of this act the members of the Committee on the District of Columbia,"
On page 57, line 17, strike out the words "who are Members elect of the Sixty-fourth Congress."

Mr. MANN. Does the gentleman want to strike out the word "present" in line 18?

Mr. SHERLEY. It is not necessary. It means the same thing.

Mr. MANN. That is true.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. CANNON. I demand a second.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York has 20 minutes and the gentleman from Illinois 20 minutes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, this bill is in the identical form in which it passed the House in the last Congress, with the exception of three amendments. The first is on page 55 and provides the usual appropriation for the daughter of the late Representative Sulloway, of New Hampshire. The other two amendments are on page 57, the first in line 8 striking out the words "the present session," which would mean this session, and providing that the payment be made under a resolution of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The other amendment is in connection with the authorization of the District of Columbia Committee to continue certain investigation of District accounts. The provision in the bill as passed in the last Congress authorized the members of the District of Columbia Committee of the Sixty-fourth Congress, who were Members-elect of the Sixty-fifth Congress, to continue the investigation, while this amendment authorizes the District Committee which has already been organized to make it.

The bill carries, Mr. Speaker, $62,610,464.81. The importance of passing it speedily is due to the fact that some of the items are imperatively necessary for the various services of the Government. Thirty-eight million dollars of this sum is for the War Department. Many of those who are supplying subsistence for men and animals under contract with the War Department have not received very considerable sums which are and have been due for some time and have been greatly embarrassed because of their inability to obtain the money. Other items of very considerable importance are the amounts to enable the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to continue the work of carrying on the delivery of notes to the Comptroller of the Currency and the Treasurer at the rate necessary in order to permit them to supply the banks with necessary notes to conduct the business of the country.

There are a number of items for the District of Columbia, for the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, and for practically all the departments of the Government. It will be necessary, of course, Mr. Speaker, within a very short time to consider estimates for additional deficiencies and to report additional deficiency bills to the House for its consideration. It is believed desirable, however, to pass as quickly as possible this particular bill, so that these sums which are now essential for the proper conduct of the Government shall be made available for the various services immediately. Unless some gentleman desires further information, I will reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], and being somewhat familiar with the bill, being one of the minority members that prepared it originally in the last session of the last Congress, I concur in the statement that the gentleman has made. I believe that the bill ought to be passed, and passed under a suspension of the rules under this motion. I yield such time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] as he may desire.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, it is a very unusual procedure to pass a bill under suspension of the rules. I speak now more particularly to the new Members of the House. The appropriations for the running of the Government are very carefully considered in the House of Representatives. Of course, an appropriation act has to go through the Senate, but the real examination of items of appropriations of money is usually made by the House of Representatives, and the House is quite jealous of its prerogatives in this direction; so that it is against the custom of the House to pass appropriations without an opportunity to consider every item in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, where the bill is subject to amendment. There have been a few cases where in the closing days of the Congress the deficiency appropriation bill was passed under suspension of the rules, but it is an unusual practice. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] now moves to suspend the rules and pass this appropriation bill, which is a deficiency bill. In the last Congress this bill passed in identically the same form in which it is proposed to pass it now, with the exception of a verbal amendment or so and the addition of the appropriation for Miss Sulloway. This bill was very carefully considered in the last Congress. It was under consideration for several days. Every item in it was under consideration and a great many of them were under discussion, so that I think that we are warranted now, without waiting to consider the bill in the usual manner, when it would be open to discussion as to the various items and open to amendment, in voting for a suspension of the rules and the passage of the bill, particularly in view of the fact that it was so considered in the prior Congress, and the further fact that these deficiency appropriations ought to be available at the earliest practicable moment. It is not to be understood that by voting for this motion a Member concedes that he is in fact in favor of every item in the bill. There may be some items which Members would like to vote against, but, after all, it is the part of wisdom, it seems to me, for us upon this side of the House to vote for the motion to pass the bill.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND].

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, this bill I will say to the House is a deficiency appropriation bill designed to meet expenses which overran the ordinary appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917. By reason of extraordinary circumstances it failed to pass in the last Congress. These items would not have been proposed or reported by the committee or passed by the former Congress if the evidence had not shown they were imperatively needed to round up the work and the duties of the various departments of the Government.

There is one to which I want especially to call attention, and that is the item in regard to the expenses of the Army on the border. Doubtless many of the Members have had requests for information similar to those that have been coming to me, in regard to the supplies that are being furnished or are to be furnished to the Army under various contracts. There was no money to pay for those supplies, and this deficiency bill carries about $38,000,000 altogether for the deficiency of the military branch of the service. Many contractors who were under obligation to furnish supplies, such as hay, oats, and other quartermasters' supplies, found themselves unable to get their warrants, and yet under obligation to continue to furnish the supplies. Additional calls were made upon them under their contracts by the War Department, and their capital was tied up in supplies already furnished and not paid for by the Government. Those bills would have been paid by these appropriations, had they been made at the last session of the last Congress, and will be paid now by these appropriations when they pass the present Congress. I know there have been cases where the whole credit of the contractor is exhausted and the credit of his bank is exhausted in carrying him for the furnishing of supplies to the Government. As the House will readily see, that constitutes a very serious situation in some sections of the country, and with some classes of business men, and especially with a certain branch of the Government this provides as to this particular deficiency bill an extraordinary reason why the House desires promptly to put it through.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BORLAND. Yes.

Mr. AUSTIN. In view of the fact that the gentleman is on the Committee on Appropriations and has information in reference to the cost of maintaining the Army on the border, is he able to tell us what the expedition to Vera Cruz cost the Government, and what the Army and the National Guard has cost us on the border, including the expenses of Gen. Pershing's command that went into Mexico?

Mr. BORLAND. I would not undertake to do that. The items are open to the gentleman.

Mr. AUSTIN. Has the Committee on Appropriations definite information so that the American people can know definitely what the Mexican situation has cost us to date?

Mr. BORLAND. All of the items have passed the House thus far, and they are open to the gentleman.

Mr. AUSTIN. I do not care for all of the items, but I have asked the Committee on Appropriations for a year to tell us how much this Mexican affair has cost us; but up to this good hour I have never received a definite answer.

Mr. BORLAND. I think the gentleman can find it. It is accessible. It is in the RECORD.

Mr. ANTHONY. Does not the gentleman from Tennessee think that perhaps it is the policy of the majority of the committee to cover up those useless and wasteful expenses?

Mr. BORLAND. Let me say to the gentleman that the committee could not cover them up. They are matters of record, and this House has passed upon them all. If I am not mistaken, both the gentleman from Kansas and the gentleman from Tennessee voted for them.

Mr. ANTHONY. They are not itemized at all, and it is absolutely impossible for any Member of this House to tell what the total military expenses of the country have been in the last two years or the last year.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Oh, anybody with any industry or any intelligence which ought to be possessed by an ordinary Member of Congress can ascertain that information for himself if he will take the trouble to do so.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman has that information, why does he not give it to us?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have never been asked to give it.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman does not come under the description he has given.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the gentleman from Illinois if I may have a minute or two?

Mr. CANNON. I yield a minute—I yield him two minutes.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I understood the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations upon taking his seat to state that he had never been asked for the information as to how much the Mexican affair had cost us. My recollection is absolutely certain that I have propounded that question to him upon a previous occasion.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Oh, I think the gentleman is under a misapprehension. He may have asked somebody else, but he never asked me.

Mr. AUSTIN. Oh, I will appeal to the RECORD and show it to the gentleman.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That may be possible.

Mr. AUSTIN. I will ask the gentleman now.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not going to take the time to answer now.

Mr. AUSTIN. The gentleman can answer in my two minutes, and if that is not sufficient I will get an extension from my friend from Illinois.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is not pertinent at this time.

Mr. MANN. He could not state it in four months.

Mr. AUSTIN. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] state it correctly in saying that the gentleman could not give it in four months?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Oh, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] so seldom makes a correct statement that it is idle to attempt to characterize this one.

Mr. AUSTIN. Does not the gentleman recognize that that is information we ought to have regardless of how much time it will consume?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will take a little of my time when I am not busy——

Mr. AUSTIN. But I am glad to yield now to the gentleman from the time which my generous friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has yielded me.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will take a little time when I am not busy with public business from my work which the ordinary Member has to perform, and will gather together all of this information, will take the gentleman from Tennessee apart from

the rest, and will give all the time necessary to inform him as to this very important matter.

Mr. AUSTIN. But I desire the gentleman should give the American people the benefit of that information as well as myself. Let us hear it upon the floor of the House.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman will be able to do that. The gentleman loves to talk.

Mr. AUSTIN. I want to request the chairman of the committee—the proper and authorized head of the great Committee on Appropriations, which receives this information and deals with it in reporting on appropriations—to impart the information to the House and the American people.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman from Tennessee knows, of course, that the appropriations for the military branches of the Government are not made by the Committee on Appropriations. We merely incidentally supply deficiencies. If the gentleman wants this laborious work undertaken and is not willing to do it himself I suggest that he inquire either of the Committee on Military Affairs or the Committee on Naval Affairs, or both, and not try to make me do everybody's work for his enlightenment.

Mr. AUSTIN. Well, that suggestion is all right, and the gentleman has very generously promised me that he would get that information, and why should I do it when he has so kindly and generously offered to do it for me?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will keep my promise, no matter what the sacrifice will be.

Mr. LITTLE. Will the gentleman yield for a question? If the gentleman does not care to give the details, can the gentleman suggest, in a general way, whether it was a good investment or not?

Mr. FITZGERALD. As to the money invested, whether it was a good investment?

Mr. LITTLE. Whether that was a good investment of the money spent in sending our troops there?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Of course, Mr. Speaker, people look upon investments from various standpoints. Some men with whom I have been slightly acquainted for a brief period in life imagined that when they visited certain cities of the country and invested good money in what is known as gold bricks or green goods they had made a good investment, whereas others——

Mr. MANN. Is not that the case here?

Mr. FITZGERALD. And others when they purchased things of real value imagined they had made a good investment.

Mr. AUSTIN. Was not this a gold-brick investment on the part of the administration?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman does not need any help from the gentleman from Tennessee. Gentlemen must be more specific and not make me indulge in this modern mind reading to determine exactly what they mean by their question. Now, from my standpoint, everything for the dignity, the safety, or the protection of the American people is a good investment, in spite of what anybody else may say. [Applause.] Having finished everyone else, Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, just a word; I think I have a little time remaining. I fancy that it could not be told accurately without much investigation what the various wars that we have had with Mexico in the last year or two did cost from the standpoint of dollars, to say nothing about life, future pensions, and everything else. It can not be told possibly in a decade or two decades. As near as I can get it, and I do not give it from investigation, but I have seen it stated that the cost, as nearly as it can be estimated, of the Mexican situation to the Treasury approximates $160,000,000. But I am not under existing conditions inclined to talk much about the Mexican situation. I do not think you care to talk much about it. That is behind us, and when the clouds roll away and when history is to be written, then the historian will properly criticize the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and the record of the Democratic Party for the past four years coupled with what its record may be in the coming four years. I have no desire to discuss it now; as I said before, that is behind us and there are serious matters in the present immediate future before us to deal with. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question was taken; and two-thirds having voted in favor thereof, the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

LEAVE TO SIT DURING SESSIONS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 31.

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, or such subcommittees as it may designate, shall have leave to sit during sessions of the House during the Sixty-fifth Congress and during the recesses of that Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken, and the resolution was passed.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 4, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 309) to enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of November 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 310) to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOUSTON: A bill (H. R. 311) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Lewisburg, in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 312) authorizing the erection of a Federal building at Provincetown, Mass.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 313) for reduction of postage on first-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 314) authorizing the erection of a building for the housing and accommodation of Government-owned automobiles on the Federal building site at Plymouth, Mass.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 315) to further amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 316) to extend the provisions of the pension acts of June 27, 1890, and of February 6, 1907, to the Enrolled Missouri Militia and other militia organizations of the State of Missouri that cooperated with the military or naval forces of the United States in suppressing the War of the Rebellion; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 317) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to make an examination of certain claims of the State of Missouri; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 318) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at the city of Cameron, in the State of Missouri; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 319) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at the city of Richmond, in the State of Missouri; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ESCH: A bill (H. R. 320) to establish an agricultural plant, shrub, fruit and ornamental tree, berry, and vegetable experimental station at or near the city of Mauston, Juneau County, in the State of Wisconsin, on reclaimed swamp land; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 321) to establish a fish hatchery in the seventh congressional district in the State of Wisconsin; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 322) to amend an act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, approved June 29, 1906, as amended in section 4 by the act approved June 25, 1910; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 323) to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by requiring the use of the block system and automatic train-control devices by common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 324) to promote the safety of employees and passengers on railroads engaged in interstate or foreign

commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 325) to provide for the appointment of a district judge in the middle and eastern judicial districts in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 326) providing for the organization of an arm of Infantry service to be known and designated as the United States Volunteer Sharpshooters; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 327) to provide for a tax upon all persons, firms, and corporations engaged in interstate mail-order business, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ESCH: A bill (H. R. 328) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 329) referring certain claims against the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians to the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. KALANIANAOLE: A bill (H. R. 330) for the construction of a breakwater at Nawiliwili Harbor, island of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. FREAR: A bill (H. R. 331) providing for a public-building board; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 332) creating a national waterway board; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: A bill (H. R. 333) to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings; to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings; to authorize the erection and completion of certain public buildings; to authorize the purchase of sites for certain public buildings; to abolish the office of Supervising Architect of the Treasury and to create and organize in the Treasury Department a bureau of public buildings and define its duties, powers, and jurisdiction; to create and establish the office of commissioner of public buildings; to fix the salary and prescribe the duties and powers of the said commissioner of public buildings; to create a board of estimates and prescribe its duties and powers; to provide for the standardization of certain classes of public buildings, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CARAWAY: A bill (H. R. 334) to authorize the payment of 50 per cent of the proceeds arising from the sale of timber from the national forest reserves in the State of Arkansas to the promotion of agriculture, domestic economy, animal husbandry, and dairying within the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 335) authorizing the establishment of rural routes in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 336) to amend the practice and procedure in Federal courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 337) to aid in the protection of the banks of White River at three points in the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 338) to amend section 3279 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 339) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for cooperative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States receiving the benefits of an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and of acts supplementary thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture"; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 340) to make eligible for appointment ex-soldiers of the Union and Confederate Armies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 341) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Blytheville, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 342) to provide for appointment to places under the government of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SMITH of New York: A bill (H. R. 343) to amend the provision regarding newspapers in clause (b) of section 25 of an act entitled "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyrights," approved March 4, 1909, as amended by an act approved August 24, 1912, and also to amend section 40 of said act; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 344) for the regulation of salaries in the custodian service of the Treasury Department; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department.

By Mr. LA GUARDIA: A bill (H. R. 345) making the fraudulent sale of war materials a felony punishable by imprisonment in time of peace and by death in time of war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 346) to prevent the pollution of navigable rivers or other bodies of water under the control of the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: A bill (H. R. 347) making an appropriation for the improvement of the Pawtucket River, R. I.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 348) providing for a survey of Pawtucket River in the State of Rhode Island; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HAMILL: A bill (H. R. 349) to provide an extension to the post office at Jersey City, N. J.; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 350) to provide for the retirement of employees in the civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 351) providing a limitation upon the time for presentation and payment of claims against the Cherokee Nation authorized to be paid under existing law; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 352) providing for the appointment of three commissions to the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma to examine and report the names of those adult restricted Indians from whom restrictions should be removed; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 353) providing for an additional judge for the eastern district of Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 354) to amend section 9 of an act entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions from part of the lands of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes, and for other purposes," approved May 27, 1908, conferring jurisdiction upon district courts to partition lands belonging to full-blood heirs of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 355) to extend the franking privilege to officers of the National Guard and Naval Militia; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MASON: A bill (H. R. 356) authorizing the President to create a commission to adjust the differences between this Government and the belligerent nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 357) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 358) for completion of Federal building at Muskogee, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 359) to establish a fish-cultural station at some point in the State of Oklahoma; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 360) providing for a survey of Arkansas River, in the State of Oklahoma, with a view to making the same navigable; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 361) granting permission to Lieut. Col. John P. Finley to accept and wear a decoration presented by the Sultan of Turkey; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 362) for the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 363) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," approved August 5, 1909; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 364) to protect owners of trade-marks, labels, and similar property; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 365) to amend the copyright law passed March 4, 1909; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 366) to regulate the sale of stocks, bonds, and other securities in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 367) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, as amended by an act approved February 5, 1903, and as further amended by an act approved June 15, 1906, and an act approved June 25, 1910; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 368) to pension the National Guards of East Tennessee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 369) to provide for the erection of a building for the Supervising Architect of the Treasury; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 370) for the establishment of a fish-cultural station in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 371) to provide for the collection, transcription, and publication of material relating to the history of the United States; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 372) to protect honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines employed under the civil service who are rated as "good" from discharge or reduction from said service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 373) to establish a fresh-water mussel hatchery on the banks of the Clinch River, in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 374) providing for the marking and protection of the battle field known as Fort Sanders, in Knox County, Tenn., and for the erection of a monument thereon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 375) to provide for the erection of a statue or monument to the memory of Gen. John Sevier; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 376) for erecting a suitable memorial to Admiral David Glasgow Farragut; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 377) to create a board to correct military records; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 378) to pension widows and minor children of officers or enlisted men who served in the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 379) to provide for the construction, maintenance, and improvement of post roads and rural delivery routes through the cooperation and joint action of the National Government and the several States in which such post roads or rural delivery routes may be established; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 380) to amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes, to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 381) to authorize the Postmaster General to establish a station, substation, or branch post office in certain communities; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 382) to establish a fish hatchery and biological station on the Little River, in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 383) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Rockwood, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 384) to prohibit interstate carriers from transporting products of any factory or mine in which convicts are worked; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 385) to incorporate the Colored Association of Railway Employees; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 386) extending the benefits of the acts of June 27, 1890; May 9, 1900; and February 6, 1907, to the officers and enlisted men of Capt. David Beaty's company of independent scouts, Civil War, and to their widows and minor children; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 387) for reduction of postage on first-class mail matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 388) authorizing the establishment of a plant at or near Knoxville, Tenn., for the manufacture of munitions and implements of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 389) to levy a tax upon the issuance of coupons, prize tickets, and other devices, and on the redemption, payment, purchase, or exchange of coupons, prize tickets, tags, bands, or other articles, things, or parts of articles or things that shall have been attached to or packed in or with or formed a part of, or encircling or given with any manufactured goods, merchandise, or wares; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 390) authorizing the Tennessee Hydro Electric Co., its successors and assigns, to build, maintain, and operate dams across Clinch and Powell Rivers, in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 391) to reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 392) making an appropriation for the erection of a statue to Robert Love Taylor; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 393) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay interest and expenses incurred to and by the owners of lots, pieces, or parcels of land acquired by the United States for the enlargement of the Capitol Grounds; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 394) to provide a commission to secure site, plans, and design for a school to train negro soldiers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 395) to provide for the erection of an Army and Navy hospital at Knoxville, Tenn.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 396) requiring the flag of the United States to be displayed at educational institutions to which officers of Army or Navy are assigned, at agricultural colleges or experiment stations receiving Government aid, and at ambassadors', ministers', consuls', and consular agents' offices; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 397) to create in the War and Navy Departments, respectively, a roll to be known as the "Civil War officers' annuity honor roll," to authorize placing thereon with pay certain surviving officers who served in the Volunteer or Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and who are not now on the retired list of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 398) for the relief of the survivors of the shipwreck of the steamboat *Sultana;* to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 399) to do justice to the Home Guards of Scott County, Tenn., and grant honorable discharges and pensions under existing pension laws; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 400) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make monthly settlements to certain persons borne on the pension rolls; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 401) to apply a portion of the proceeds of the sales of public lands to the endowment of schools or departments of mines and mining, and to regulate the expenditure thereof; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 402) making an appropriation for the payment of certain claims growing out of the Civil War; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 403) for increasing the salaries and for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 404) making an appropriation to construct a national home for aged and infirm colored people and working girls, and for other purposes; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 405) for increasing the salaries and for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 406) to supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON: Resolution (H. Res. 23) authorizing the Postmaster of the House of Representatives to appoint 18 messengers; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: Resolution (H. Res. 24) amending Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 25) amending Rule XXIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 26) amending Rule XXVII of the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SMITH of New York: Resolution (H. Res. 29) making it the duty of standing and subcommittees of the House to prepare and preserve records of all meetings of such committees or subcommittees, and said records or minutes shall be open to public inspection; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HASTINGS: Resolution (H. Res. 30) authorizing the printing as a House document the report of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. MOTT: Resolution (H. Res. 32) creating a committee of the House of Representatives on rights and welfare of women and children; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TALBOTT: Resolution (H. Res. 33) allowing a clerk and a messenger to the Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. AUSTIN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 25) providing for a gift by the United States to the Mount Vernon Association of certain relics, souvenirs, etc., of ex-President George Washington; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 26) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 27) making the 12th day of February in each year a legal holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 28) providing for the purchase of the home of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, Va.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HAMILL: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 29) providing for the appointment of a joint committee to investigate and report on the subject of the involuntary retirement of superannuated civil-service employees; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HASTINGS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 30) for the erection of a monument to Thomas Jefferson within the Louisiana Purchase, and in the State of Oklahoma, on the proposed international Jefferson highway; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. AUSTIN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 31) authorizing the Secretary of War to award the congressional medal of honor to certain members of the National Guard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FERRIS: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 5) authorizing the printing of 46,000 copies each of the Infantry Drill Regulations and Field Service Regulations; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. BACHARACH: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNING: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, urging the passage by Congress of bills to protect migratory birds; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, urging the enactment of certain amendments to the national-defense act; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAMILL: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DRUKKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, favoring a survey of the military resources of the United States, preparation for mobilization of resources in case of war, and provision for universal training in military science or callings necessary for military proficiency; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, favoring Senate bill 7604, authorizing the appointment of J. Benjamin Hayes a first lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 407) granting a pension to Charles A. Wilkerson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 408) granting a pension to Lorens Stoser; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 409) granting a pension to Frank Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 410) granting a pension to James Rupe; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 411) granting a pension to Mary E. Bacon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 412) granting a pension to Bertrand Cook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 413) granting a pension to James Boyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 414) granting a pension to Eliza J. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 415) granting a pension to Arminda J. Osborn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 416) granting a pension to Barton Ellison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 417) granting a pension to Bradford H. Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 418) granting a pension to Richard Truex; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 419) granting a pension to Rachel O. Noah; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 420) granting a pension to Eri Bentin Mullin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 421) granting a pension to Henry C. Poe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 422) granting a pension to George Baxter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 423) granting a pension to Jonas Cook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 424) granting a pension to Catharine J. Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 425) granting a pension to Elizabeth Morrison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 426) granting a pension to Rebecca Schofield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 427) granting a pension to Thomas T. Pratt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 428) granting a pension to Jeremiah R. Whitsell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 429) granting a pension to Ambrose Giseburt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 430) granting a pension to Wilburn Munkers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 431) granting a pension to Phillip Gentry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 432) granting a pension to Martha J. Jackson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 433) granting a pension to Sabina Pierce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 434) granting a pension to Archibald Groom; to the Committitee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 435) granting a pension to George W. Drake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 436) granting a pension to Fannie Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 437) granting a pension to John Crump; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 438) granting a pension to Nathan G. Dillen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 439) granting a pension to Susan Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 440) granting a pension to James R. Storms; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 441) granting a pension to Hugh Kesterson; to the Committitee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 442) granting a pension to William Kier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 443) granting a pension to Nancy Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 444) granting a pension to Eliza Sturdevant; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 445) granting a pension to James W. Tippett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 446) granting a pension to Caroline E. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 447) granting a pension to Barbara F. Hicks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 448) granting a pension to James R. Thornton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 449) granting a pension to William B. Hampshire; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 450) granting a pension to Elizabeth Jenkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 451) granting a pension to Willis Arnold; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 452) granting an increase of pension to Chester Heiner, alias Justus Hahner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 453) granting an increase of pension to Richard P. Wardell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 454) granting an increase of pension to John H. Woodruff; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 455) granting an increase of pension to Jefferson Cherry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 456) granting an increase of pension to Wesley B. Calder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 457) granting an increase of pension to George W. Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 458) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Middaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 459) granting an increase of pension to John J. Bradford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 460) granting an increase of pension to William H. Corbin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 461) granting an increase of pension to Doris Schroeder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 462) granting an increase of pension to J. A. Neff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 463) granting an increase of pension to William A. Graham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 464) granting an increase of pension to Alice A. Meeker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 465) granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. De Witt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 466) granting an increase of pension to Levi Slinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 467) granting an increase of pension to William Bayne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 468) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Brewer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 469) granting an increase of pension to J. M. Dunham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 470) granting an increase of pension to George Duff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 471) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Trent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 472) granting an increase of pension to Hepsiba Fisk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 473) granting an increase of pension to David W. Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 474) granting an increase of pension to George W. Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 475) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Overman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 476) granting an increase of pension to Ella R. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 477) granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Haskins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 478) for the relief of James F. Alexander; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 479) for the relief of Allen Place; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 480) for the relief of Christopher L. Smith; to the committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 481) for the relief of James B. Norman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 482) for the relief of Robert Griffin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 483) for the relief of William M. Critten; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 484) for the relief of Jesse Lee; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 485) for the relief of George W. Drake; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 486) for the relief of John Benson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 487) for the relief of Vincent Rust; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 488) for the relief of the trustees of the Christian Church at Missouri City, Clay County, Mo.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 489) for the relief of William Roney; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 490) for the relief of the heirs of John G. W. Brooks; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 491) for the relief of the heirs of Thomas Estes; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 492) for the relief of Reuben McKroskie; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 493) for the relief of James W. Murray, jr.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 494) for the relief of the trustees of the Christian Church at Missouri City, Clay County, Mo.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 495) to correct the military record of the officers and enlisted men of the Enrolled Missouri Militia and all other militia organizations of the State of Missouri that cooperated with the military forces of the United States in suppressing the War of the Rebellion; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 496) to correct the military record of William Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 497) to correct the military record of Edwin Collar; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 498) to correct the military record of Anderson Creason; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 499) to correct the military record of Benjamin Munkers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 500) to correct the military record of John B. Hutchings; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 501) to correct the military record of Harrison R. Crecelius; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 502) to muster in and muster out Bradford H. Bennett; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 503) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to examine and adjust the accounts of William R. Little, or his heirs, with the Sac and Fox Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 504) to reimburse certain fire insurance companies the amounts paid by them for property destroyed by fire in suppressing the bubonic plague in the Territory of Hawaii in the years 1899 and 1900; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 505) granting a pension to Alfred L. Fann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 506) granting an increase of pension to Andrew P. Grubaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 507) granting an increase of pension to George Butterbaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 508) granting an increase of pension to John Erwin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 509) granting an increase of pension to Charles Bishop; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 510) granting an increase of pension to George W. Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 511) granting an increase of pension to James K. Jennings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 512) granting an increase of pension to Florence Marquis; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 513) granting a pension to Fred Tish; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 514) granting a pension to Edward Wilkinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 515) granting a pension to Frank Logsdon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 516) granting an increase of pension to Isaac B. Hawke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 517) granting an increase of pension to Albert Helms; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 518) granting an increase of pension to James H. Woods; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 519) granting an increase of pension to David W. Shaffer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 520) granting an increase of pension to Homer Schrack; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASWELL: A bill (H. R. 521) granting an increase of pension to George Butterbaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 522) granting an increase of pension to William Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 523) granting an increase of pension to Alfred M. Roach; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 524) granting an increase of pension to Jehu N. Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 525) granting an increase of pension to William D. Hudgens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 526) granting a pension to William H. Thomas; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 527) granting a pension to James M. Thompson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 528) granting a pension to Mary Callaway; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 529) granting a pension to Samuel C. Braden; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 530) granting a pension to James F. Romines; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 531) granting a pension to Matthew Wright; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 532) granting a pension to George A. Boring; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 533) granting a pension to Thomas M. Michael; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 534) granting a pension to George B. Robinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 535) granting a pension to William Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 536) granting a pension to Jane Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 537) granting a pension to James C. Lynch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 538) granting a pension to Daniel Best; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 539) granting a pension to David M. Bates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 540) granting a pension to Ada G. Northern; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 541) granting a pension to Charles N. Peters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 542) granting a pension to James F. Pryor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 543) granting a pension to Masina Goodman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 544) granting a pension to Jane Turner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 545) granting a pension to Jane Gentry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 546) granting a pension to Daniel Burkett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 547) granting a pension to Lemiel A. Ragan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 548) granting an increase of pension to George R. Weight; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 549) granting an increase of pension to Jerome B. Hendricks; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 550) granting an increase of pension to Thomas D. Bearden; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 551) granting an increase of pension to Rufus F. Gibbs; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 552) granting an increase of pension to James C. Claxton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 553) granting an increase of pension to Judge B. Cecil; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 554) granting an increase of pension to William Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 555) granting an increase of pension to T. S. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 556) granting an increase of pension to John C. Carroll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 557) granting an increase of pension to James Jeffers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 558) granting an increase of pension to William M. Pace; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 559) granting an increase of pension to Adam Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 560) granting an increase of pension to William H. Kidd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 561) granting an increase of pension to John H. Cross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 562) granting an increase of pension to John A. Prosise; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 563) granting an increase of pension to Hugh L. Cox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 564) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Goddard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 565) for the relief of the estate of Richard J. Jarnagin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 566) for the relief of George T. Larkin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 567) for the relief of Marion B. Patterson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 568) for the relief of George T. Larkin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 569) for the relief of Alice Evelyn Mabry Hazen, Lawrence C. Mabry, Herbert S. Mabry, Churchwell Mabry, and William Deaderick; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 570) for the relief of heirs of Dr. Hervey Baker, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 571) authorizing the promotion of J. H. McCall; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 572) granting an honorable discharge to William C. Chandler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 573) to correct the military record of James H. Beal; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 574) to remove the charge of desertion against Creed F. Casteel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BOOHER: A bill (H. R. 575) granting an increase of pension to David H. Hatfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 576) granting an increase of pension to Zaphnath Stephens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 577) granting an increase of pension to William H. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 578) granting an increase of pension to Nathan L. Nims; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 579) granting an increase of pension to James G. Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 580) granting an increase of pension to Ida Noblitt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 581) granting an increase of pension to John R. Ward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 582) granting an increase of pension to Jennie Furman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 583) granting an increase of pension to Peter F. Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 584) granting an increase of pension to Armilda Hays; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 585) granting an increase of pension to Cynthia A. Henderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 586) granting a pension to John W. McKissick; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 587) granting a pension to Rowena Kabrick; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 588) granting a pension to Charles Devault; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 589) granting a pension to Commodore H. Steele; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 590) granting a pension to William A. Evans; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 591) granting a pension to William L. Dines; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 592) granting a pension to Nancy C. Vickrey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 593) granting a pension to Alexander Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 594) granting a pension to John S. Mott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 595) granting a pension to George C. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 596) granting a pension to Ella C. Squires; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 597) granting an increase of pension to Walter B. Kelley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 598) granting an increase of pension to Caroline A. Starbuck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 599) granting an increase of pension to Ellen Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 600) granting an increase of pension to Frances White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 601) granting an increase of pension to Emily Whitney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 602) granting an increase of pension to Josephine M. Walker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 603) granting an increase of pension to Rebekah L. Madeira; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 604) granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Peers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 605) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Alice Knight; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 606) granting an increase of pension to William S. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 607) granting an increase of pension to Oscar G. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 608) granting an increase of pension to Alfred Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 609) granting an increase of pension to Rosaline R. Fulmer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 610) granting an increase of pension to Frank A. James; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 611) granting an increase of pension to Ralph E. Truman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 612) granting an increase of pension to Edward A. Headley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 613) granting an increase of pension to Priscilla M. Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 614) granting an increase of pension to Jane Barnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 615) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Carter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 616) granting an increase of pension to Jane A. Routh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 617) granting an increase of pension to Sarah C. Stokely; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 618) granting an increase of pension to Nannie C. Sheets; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 619) granting an increase of pension to Verlinda Rinehart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 620) granting an increase of pension to Mary Risser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 621) granting an increase of pension to Charlotte Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 622) granting an increase of pension to Martha Portwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 623) granting an increase of pension to Susan A. McVey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 624) granting an increase of pension to Martha L. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 625) granting an increase of pension to Alice Klesius; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 626) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. John; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 627) granting an increase of pension to Nellie Hampson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 628) granting an increase of pension to Frances A. Hervey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 629) granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Gordon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 630) granting an increase of pension to Lida E. Colville; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 631) for the relief of Blue Springs (Mo.) Baptist Church; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 632) for the relief of Denny Costello; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRODBECK: A bill (H. R. 633) granting a pension to James M. Danner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 634) granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Snave; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 635) granting an increase of pension to Barbara Boyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 636) to correct the military record of Charles P. Kibler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNING: A bill (H. R. 637) for the relief of Eugene Fazzi; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 638) for the relief of Pamelia A. Haines; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CALDWELL: A bill (H. R. 639) granting a pension to Joseph A. George; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 640) granting a pension to Louisa Donnelly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 641) granting a pension to Lizzie Yorker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 642) granting a pension to George V. Deacon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 643) granting a pension to Mary Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 644) granting a pension to Henry C. Lichten; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 645) for the relief of Thomas Campbell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 646) for the relief of Mrs. Nancy E. Mullins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CARAWAY: A bill (H. R. 647) granting a pension to Leon C. Johnston; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 648) granting a pension to Clara J. Shoemaker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 649) granting an increase of pension to William Maberry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 650) granting an increase of pension to Agnes Mick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 651) granting an increase of pension to James W. Sparks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 652) for the relief of the estate of E. A. Mays, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 653) for the relief of Henry P. Grant, of Phillips County, Ark.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 654) to authorize the appointment and commission of Frank W. Gee as chaplain in the Regular Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CONNELLY of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 655) granting an increase of pension to John J. McElhenney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 656) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 657) granting an increase of pension to Joseph McArmstrong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 658) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Robertson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 659) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Choat; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 660) to correct the military record of John Minster; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CRAGO: A bill (H. R. 661) granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Whaley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 662) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 663) granting a pension to Anna May Lucas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 664) granting a pension to Frederick A. Ebling; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 665) granting a pension to Edwin J. Cholewa; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 666) granting a pension to Robert E. Griffith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 667) for the relief of Jeremiah Stover; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 668) granting an increase of pension to Velma Lehr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 669) granting an increase of pension to Kate Low; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 670) granting an increase of pension to John C. D. Lower; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 671) granting an increase of pension to John W. Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 672) granting an increase of pension to John H. Leeper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 673) granting an increase of pension to Mercy K. Monroe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 674) granting an increase of pension to David Mitzel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 675) granting an increase of pension to Maggie A. Meals; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 676) granting an increase of pension to William H. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 677) granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Stoner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CURRY of California: A bill (H. R. 678) granting a pension to Charles Hughes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 679) for the relief of W. L. Rose; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CRAMTON: A bill (H. R. 680) granting a pension to George W. Bellaw; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 681) granting a pension to Edith L. Morgan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 682) granting a pension to George Barber; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 683) granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Thodey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 684) granting an increase of pension to John M. Sheldon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 685) granting an increase of pension to Smith Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 686) granting an increase of pension to Julius Joles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 687) granting an increase of pension to William I. Hicks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 688) granting an increase of pension to David Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 689) granting an increase of pension to Perry A. Crandall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 690) granting an increase of pension to Elijah Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 691) granting an increase of pension to Hattie J. Beecher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DALE of New York: A bill (H. R. 692) granting a pension to John Coffey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 693) granting a pension to Arthur R. Rennhack; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 694) granting a pension to Adolf Hartman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 695) granting a pension to Charles Montgomery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 696) granting a pension to Christopher P. Crumiell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 697) granting an increase of pension to Recarda L. Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 698) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Simonson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 699) granting an increase of pension to John Montenes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 700) for the relief of Luke O'Brien; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 701) granting a pension to Andrew Heuser; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 702) granting a pension to Milton K. Jenkinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 703) granting a pension to Emma C. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 704) granting a pension to Mrs. Helen Fleming Peck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 705) granting a pension to Amelia Woodward Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 706) granting a pension to George W. Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 707) granting an increase of pension to Harriet K. Baillie; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 708) granting an increase of pension to Lida B. Elkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 709) granting an increase of pension to Jane M. Crowell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 710) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Kelly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 711) granting an increase of pension to Philip Richards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 712) granting an increase of pension to Philip Liebrick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 713) granting an honorable discharge to Patrick William O'Donnell; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 714) for the relief of John Flaherty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 715) for the relief of James W. Mullin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 716) for the relief of the legal representatives of Donnelly & Egan, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. DEWALT: A bill (H. R. 717) granting a pension to Ida M. Sell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 718) granting a pension to Florence G. Beaman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 719) granting a pension to William H. Trautman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 720) granting a pension to George W. Rathman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 721) granting a pension to Irwin R. Troxell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 722) granting a pension to Thomas H. Shaw; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 723) granting a pension to William F. Mohr; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 724) granting a pension to Henry J. Seiders; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 725) granting a pension to Helena I. Troxell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 726) granting a pension to Emma C. Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 727) granting a pension to Mary H. Anthony; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 728) granting a pension to Elizabeth Hollenback; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 729) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Bachman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 730) granting a pension to Kate Hafer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 731) granting an increase of pension to Joel S. Stump; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 732) granting an increase of pension to Amelia Grosscup; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 733) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Rowland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 734) for the relief of Capt. Joseph H. Lawrence; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 735) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Joseph Hauser; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DILL: A bill (H. R. 736) for the relief of the Pateros Transfer Co., D. J. Garrison, secretary, Pateros, Wash.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DILLON: A bill (H. R. 737) granting a pension to Hazel McGrath; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 738) granting an increase of pension to Jay P. Eddy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 739) granting an increase of pension to Patrick McDonnell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 740) granting an increase of pension to Nancy L. Mason; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 741) granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Stanley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 742) Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Luke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 743) granting an increase of pension to Lemuel Cross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 744) for the relief of Wilson M. Dent; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 745) for the relief of George H. Grace; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 746) for the relief of F. W. Schultz; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 747) granting a pension to Charles W. Coleman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 748) granting a pension to Walter H. Denis; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 749) granting a pension to Alice P. Knapp; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 750) granting a pension to Alexander C. Easter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 751) granting an increase of pension to Robert G. Newton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 752) granting an increase of pension to Clifford Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 753) granting an increase of pension to James Park; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 754) granting an increase of pension to Mary S. Barkley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 755) granting an increase of pension to James Heaston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 756) granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Reigenold; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 757) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 758) granting an increase of pension to James W. Swartz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 759) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth York; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 760) granting an increase of pension to Amanda J. Yockey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 761) granting an increase of pension to Louis Auguste Zurcher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 762) for the relief of Herman Bredemeier; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 763) for the relief of Archibald Craig; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 764) for the relief of Hiram B. Calvert; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 765) for the relief of William Grimsley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 766) for the relief of James R. Gristy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DOWELL: A bill (H. R. 767) granting an increase of pension to Chloe A. Sherard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 768) granting an increase of pension to Moses McCleary; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 769) granting an increase of pension to Lewis H. Bradshaw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 770) granting an increase of pension to David Bellnap; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 771) granting an increase of pension to William Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DRUKKER: A bill (H. R. 772) granting a pension to Mildred F. Keiller; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 773) granting a pension to George M. Dunning; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 774) granting a pension to Joseph L. Herron; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 775) granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Munson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 776) for the relief of Emily Davison; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. EAGAN: A bill (H. R. 777) granting a pension to Ella Frances Landis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 778) granting an increase of pension to Elsden B. Stephens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 779) granting an increase of pension to Alfred A. Chaplin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 780) granting an increase of pension to Frank Drewes, sr.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 781) granting an increase of pension to Jane Grace; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 782) granting an increase of pension to Timothy Weir; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ESCH: A bill (H. R. 783) granting a pension to Marcia J. Dewey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 784) granting a pension to Jennie M. Nichols; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 785) granting a pension to Hiram C. Barrows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 786) granting a pension to Lilla J. Darling; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 787) granting a pension to Mary E. Jenks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 788) granting a pension to Arabella Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 789) granting a pension to Betsey J. Truman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 790) granting an increase of pension to Gustavus W. Berg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 791) granting an increase of pension to Elijah A. Hearn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 792) granting an increase of pension to William B. Hazeltine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 793) granting an increase of pension to Edwin D. Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 794) granting an increase of pension to Jesse Mather; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 795) granting an increase of pension to George K. Redmond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 796) granting an increase of pension to Silas D. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 797) granting an increase of pension to Liston B. Waller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 798) granting an increase of pension to Abram Towson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 799) for the relief of H. A. M. Steen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ESTOPINAL: A bill (H. R. 800) for the relief of the heirs of Myra Clarke Gaines, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FISHER: A bill (H. R. 801) granting a pension to David R. Locke; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 802) granting a pension to G. F. Hudson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 803) granting a pension to Walter L. Jewell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 804) for the relief of W. K. Ellis; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 805) to relinquish, release, and quitclaim to the trustees of the Hatchie Coon Hunting and Fishing Club title to certain lands in Poinsett County, Ark.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: A bill (H. R. 806) granting an increase of pension to Frances E. C. Horton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 807) for the relief of David F. Turnbull, alias David Turnbull; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 808) to correct the military record of Edwin H. Trulan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 809) to correct the naval record of Joseph A. Cross; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 810) for the relief of Augustus G. Reynolds; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GARLAND: A bill (H. R. 811) granting an increase of pension to George N. Welsh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 812) granting an increase of pension to Edward Warren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 813) granting an increase of pension to Ellen K. Weaver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 814) granting an increase of pension to Eliza Wagner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 815) granting an increase of pension to George C. Worley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 816) granting an increase of pension to William Toot; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 817) granting an increase of pension to Emma Wilhelm; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOOD: A bill (H. R. 818) granting an increase of pension to Herman L. Wick; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 819) granting an increase of pension to Otis H. Shurtliff; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 820) granting an increase of pension to Roy Jackman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 821) granting an increase of pension to John F. Hemsted; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 822) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Rudisill; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 823) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Lyons; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 824) granting an increase of pension to James L. Doris; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 825) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth R. Wunderlich; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 826) granting an increase of pension to Norris C. Richmond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 827) granting an increase of pension to Minnie O'Connor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 828) granting an increase of pension to Thomas McLarnan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 829) granting an increase of pension to Lewis B. Lewis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 830) granting an increase of pension to Nancy S. Kibler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 831) granting an increase of pension to John J. Jackson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 832) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Grow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 833) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Foust; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 834) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Franz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 835) granting an increase of pension to Mary S. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 836) granting an increase of pension to A. M. Stanger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 837) granting an increase of pension to Martha Tibbitts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 838) granting an increase of pension to Orrel Tucker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 839) granting an increase of pension to Edward B. Ward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 840) granting an increase of pension to William T. Slocum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 841) for the relief of John Dauberman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 842) granting a pension to Joseph F. Zbanek; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 843) for the reimbursement of Parnell M. Cameron; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 844) to remove the charge of desertion against Wilson Certain; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 845) granting an increase of pension to Mariah L. Guthrie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas: A bill (H. R. 846) granting a pension to Mart Bradshaw; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 847) granting a pension to A. J. Pope; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 848) granting a pension to Charles L. Thornton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 849) granting a pension to Thomas R. Beasley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 850) granting an increase of pension to George C. Rimes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 851) for the relief of William C. Barnes; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 852) for the relief of T. M. Francis; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 853) for the relief of legal representatives of Dr. W. D. Barnett, deceased, late of Cleveland County, Ark.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 854) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to enroll Mrs. L. F. Burke as a Choctaw Indian; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 855) for the relief of Harriet Fisher; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GREEN of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 856) granting a pension to Isaac D. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 857) granting a pension to Sidney G. Sidner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 858) granting a pension to John W. Wymore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 859) granting a pension to John Sanders; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 860) granting a pension to Belle Harbert; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 861) granting a pension to Willard L. Anthony; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 862) granting a pension to Carolina Dollen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 863) granting an increase of pension to Robert M. Lafferty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 864) granting an increase of pension to George M. Estes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 865) granting an increase of pension to George H. J. Little; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 866) granting an increase of pension to Arthur R. Pratt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 867) granting an increase of pension to Farmer P. Oldfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 868) for the relief of Lyman Bryant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 869) granting a pension to William Sewing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 870) granting a pension to John Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GREENE of Vermont: A bill (H. R. 871) for the relief of the State of Vermont; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 872) for the relief of D. M. Carman, representing the estate of Luis R. Yangco, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 873) for the relief of John Lawton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRIEST: A bill (H. R. 874) granting a pension to Annie Garner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 875) granting a pension to John Paster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 876) granting a pension to Milton Inners; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 877) granting an increase of pension to Adam Allwein; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 878) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth P. Bickhart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 879) for the relief of Eleazer Briggs, alias Alonzo Welsh; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 880) for the relief of John S. Rhoads; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 881) for the relief of the estate of David B. Landis, deceased, and the estate of Jacob F. Sheaffer, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 882) to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the matter of the claim of the Columbia National Bank, of Columbia, Pa.; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 883) granting an increase of pension to James Daly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 884) granting an increase of pension to Frederick W. Mellor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 885) granting an increase of pension to Walter Thorn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 886) granting an increase of pension to Julia Doran; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 887) for the relief of Philip A. Hertz; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 888) to waive the age limit and the disqualification of being married in the appointment of John J. Byron as a second lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 889) to waive the age limit and the disqualification of being married in the appointment of J. P. D. Shiebler as a first lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 890) reinstating William S. Barriger to his former rank and grade in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 891) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Annie Stolliker, widow of James E. Stolliker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAMILL: A bill (H. R. 892) to compensate the Taylor Dredging Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 893) granting a pension to James O. Carroll; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 894) granting a pension to Joseph S. Morton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 895) granting an increase of pension to Neppie Downing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 896) granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 897) granting an increase of pension to Joshua Gague; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 898) granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Shine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 899) granting an increase of pension to William Watson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 900) granting an increase of pension to Joseph B. Antoine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 901) for the relief of Daniel D. Stocton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 902) to correct the military record of Charles M. Lewallen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 903) to correct the military record of Hulbert Bean; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 904) to correct the military record of William C. Pearson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 905) making an appropriation to Clarence W. Turner and William B. Hord in payment of services rendered by them to the Creek Nation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 906) making an appropriation to Stuart, Lewis, Gordon & Rutherford, in payment of legal services rendered by them to the Creek Nation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 907) making an appropriation to compensate James M. Moore for damages sustained while in the service of the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 908) granting pensions to certain Indian soldiers who served in the First Arizona Infantry during the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 909) granting an increase of pension to Marshall Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 910) for the relief of Frank S. Ingalls; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 911) for the relief of Frank Pinkley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 912) for the relief of M. C. Wall; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 913) for the relief of Annie E. White; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 914) for the relief of William Wooster; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 915) for the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Brickwood, deceased, Edward Gaynor, Theodore Gebler, Lee W. Mix, Arthur L. Peck, Thomas D. Casanega, Joseph de Lusignan, and Joseph H. Berger; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 916) for the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Mrs. Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara L. Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edward Adams; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 917) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay Eli Sears $480 for property destroyed by the Pima Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 918) for the relief of William E. Johnson; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 919) for the relief of Joseph P. Terrell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 920) granting an increase of pension to John J. Moll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 921) granting a pension to James P. Merrifield; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HEATON: A bill (H. R. 922) granting a pension to Harry E. Snyder; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 923) granting a pension to William H. Brenner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 924) granting an increase of pension to Susanna Rose; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 925) for the relief of Thomas J. Rose; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 926) for the relief of Elizabeth Bachman; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 927) for the relief of Christian Reichert; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 928) for the relief of James Boyd, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 929) for the relief of Alfred Trainer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENSLEY: A bill (H. R. 930) granting an increase of pension to Alexander J. Souden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 931) granting an increase of pension to Albert T. Crow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 932) granting an increase of pension to Mary Reilley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 933) granting an increase of pension to George C. Whitener; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 934) granting an increase of pension to Frederick Schwartz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 935) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Umfleet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 936) granting an increase of pension to Robert Hill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 937) granting an increase of pension to Lewis J. Cundiff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 938) granting an increase of pension to James M. Bridwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 939) granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOUSTON: A bill (H. R. 940) granting a pension to William Frye; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 941) granting a pension to Mary E. Ferrell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 942) granting a pension to Albert G. Jenkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 943) granting a pension to George Morris Shaw; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 944) granting an increase of pension to John M. Gilbert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 945) for the relief of the estate of James D. Hays; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 946) to correct the military record of E. D. Judkins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 947) granting a pension to Bertha Gibbs; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 948) granting a pension to Loretta A. Bradley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 949) granting a pension to Thomas P. McSherry; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 950) granting a pension to Mary Slater; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 951) granting an increase of pension to William McKean; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 952) granting an increase of pension to Mary V. Harrimann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 953) for the relief of John J. Flynn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 954) for the relief of Emma H. Ridley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 955) granting a pension to Axel O. Olson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 956) granting a pension to Peter Thomassen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 957) granting a pension to Edmund S. Auld, alias Storey E. Auld; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 958) granting a pension to Timothy O'Neill; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 959) granting a pension to Patrick Boland; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 960) granting a pension to George Maylood; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 961) granting a pension to Jane Mathilda McDonald; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 962) granting a pension to Calvin Shults; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 963) granting a pension to Aurelia E. Wilkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 964) granting a pension to Titus Z. Andrews; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 965) granting an increase of pension to Ellen A. Cortright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 966) granting an increase of pension to Ione D. Bradley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 967) granting an increase of pension to Helen E. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 968) granting an increase of pension to Alvin U. Persing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 969) granting an increase of pension to Riley A. Reeves; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 970) granting an increase of pension to William H. Beardsley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 971) granting an increase of pension to Charles Ford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 972) granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 973) granting an increase of pension to George Brumbaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 974) for the relief of the heirs of Robert Laird McCormick, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 975) for the relief of William McCutcheon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 976) for the relief of Jorgen Well, alias George Wilson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 977) for the relief of Thomas Harlan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 978) for the relief of James S. Huntington; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 979) for the relief of Lon Lewis, alias Alonzo E. Schneider; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 980) for the relief of Thomas J. K. Looney; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 981) for the relief of Augustus Sipple; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 982) for the relief of John Pitkanen; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 983) for the relief of C. A. Homan; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 984) for the relief of the State of Washington; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 985) for the relief of George F. Weaver; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 986) authorizing the examination of T. R. McCarron for appointment as a second lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KEATING: A bill (H. R. 987) granting a pension to William W. Gillette; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 988) granting a pension to Floyd A. Blanchard; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 989) granting a pension to A. M. Coville; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 990) granting a pension to Mrs. Etta M. Browning; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 991) granting a pension to Mrs. George E. McCartey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 992) granting a pension to Edward Dooley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 993) granting a pension to William H. Hopkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 994) granting a pension to Leon B. Huff; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 995) granting a pension to William D. Galligher; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 996) granting a pension to Jeddo Q. McNatt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 997) granting a pension to Charles A. Vanatta; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 998) granting a pension to Charles O. Bitters; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 999) granting a pension to Mrs. Dicie J. Sullivan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1000) granting an increase of pension to Maurice J. Gordon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1001) granting an increase of pension to D. G. Scott; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1002) granting an increase of pension to Edward D. Lashley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1003) granting an increase of pension to Jacob F. Weiford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1004) granting an increase of pension to Michael Caten; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1005) granting an increase of pension to Christopher Hummel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1006) granting an increase of pension to Esther M. Eggleston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1007) granting an increase of pension to Julia B. Potter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1008) granting an increase of pension to Milton H. Rounsavell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1009) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Watson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1010) granting an increase of pension to William C. McKelvy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1011) granting an increase of pension to James F. Bellew; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1012) granting an increase of pension to John L. Grimes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1013) removing the charge of desertion from the name of George A. McKenzie, alias William A. Williams; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1014) providing for the reimbursement of Manuel A. Sanchez on account of certain expenditures in connection with the last illness of his father, a veteran of the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: A bill (H. R. 1015) granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Collins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1016) granting an increase of pension to Ella E. Kenney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1017) granting an increase of pension to Etta F. Mountain; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 1018) granting a pension to Hannah L. Carson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1019) granting a pension to John Yoder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1020) granting a pension to Melinda Rogers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1021) granting a pension to Matilda M. Howard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1022) granting a pension to Sirquet Grosjean; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1023) granting a pension to Mary E. Fulmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1024) granting a pension to Francis G. Babcock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1025) granting a pension to Lottie E. Beisser; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1026) granting a pension to Ambrose R. Kinley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1027) granting an increase of pension to Maria W. Antes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1028) granting an increase of pension to Isaac F. Wheeland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1029) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1030) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Low; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1031) granting an increase of pension to James H. Goodrich; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1032) granting an increase of pension to George H. Bostwick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1033) granting an increase of pension to John T. Bridgens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1034) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan B. Rhodes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1035) for the relief of William S. Rote; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1036) for the relief of Peter J. Hill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1037) for the relief of Ephriam M. Beach; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1038) for the relief of Ashley H. Short; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1039) for the relief of Bernhard Steuber; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1040) for the relief of Frederick Salzman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1041) for the relief of Hiram Wilson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1042) to correct the military record of George O. Pratt; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1043) to correct the military record of Edward Hilsher, alias Edward Holmes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1044) to correct the military record of Alfred Coffin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1045) to correct the military records of the United States Army as to muster-in service of John A. Brimmer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 1046) granting an increase of pension to Joseph F. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1047) granting an increase of pension to Sarah B. Greene; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1048) granting a pension to Alvah H. Mitchell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1049) granting a pension to Cyrus R. Tibbetts; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1050) granting a pension to Agnes Perry Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1051) granting a pension to Cyrus R. Tibbetts; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1052) granting a pension to Lily Danforth Bothwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1053) granting a pension to George Tillapaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1054) granting an increase of pension to James O'Brien; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1055) granting an increase of pension to John McDonald; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1056) granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Penland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1057) for the relief of George R. Rogers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1058) for the relief of William L. Claberg; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1059) for the relief of Arthur J. Burdick; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1060) for the relief of Alfred Hardy; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1061) for the relief of John R. Monteith; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1062) for the relief of David C. McGee; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1063) to reimburse the Southern Pacific Co. the amounts expended by it from December 1, 1906, to November 30, 1907, in closing and controlling the break in the Colorado River; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 1064) granting a pension to Grace M. Michel; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1065) granting a pension to Henry J. Hopkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1066) granting a pension to Jesse M. Gilliland; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1067) granting a pension to Ethan H. Allen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1068) granting a pension to Sarah Katharine Dodge (incompetent); to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1069) granting a pension to Jacob Opp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1070) granting a pension to Miss Margaret E. Lape, helpless and dependent child of William Lape; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1071) granting an increase of pension to Silas J. Shumaker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1072) granting an increase of pension to Eber B. Priest; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1073) granting an increase of pension to James P. Rush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1074) granting an increase of pension to George W. Shreckengaust; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1075) granting an increase of pension to Francis S. Layton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1076) granting an increase of pension to Cephas P. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1077) granting an increase of pension to Lycurgus Willoughby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1078) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Worthington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1079) granting an increase of pension to Israel Walterhouse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1080) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Ward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1081) granting an increase of pension to Arthur Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1082) granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Bliss; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1083) granting an increase of pension to Henry Bilsing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1084) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Gatchell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1085) granting an increase of pension to William M. Hickman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1086) granting an increase of pension to John J. Holland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1087) granting an increase of pension to John Herndon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1088) granting an increase of pension to John J. Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1089) granting an increase of pension to Robert L. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1090) granting an increase of pension to John Midlam; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1091) granting an increase of pension to George W. Ovens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1092) granting an increase of pension to Anna Eschbach; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1093) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Fields; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1094) granting an increase of pension to Simon E. Foust; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1095) granting an increase of pension to Adam Exline; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1096) granting an increase of pension to William Gibson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1097) granting an increase of pension to William Goodin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1098) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Erow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1099) granting an increase of pension to Marion E. Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1100) granting an increase of pension to Simon C. Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1101) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Blackburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1102) granting an increase of pension to John Blackburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1103) granting an increase of pension to David H. McFadden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1104) granting an increase of pension to Charles Coppler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1105) granting an increase of pension to Sanford U. Early; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1106) granting an increase of pension to Sampson Sherwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1107) granting an increase of pension to Bateman Zoll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1108) granting an increase of pension to Edward Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1109) granting an increase of pension to William Hill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1110) granting an increase of pension to Philander Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1111) granting an increase of pension to Merritt Hauver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1112) granting an increase of pension to Isaac T. McLain; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1113) granting an increase of pension to Jacob C. Utz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1114) granting an increase of pension to Lewis Bloom; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1115) granting an increase of pension to William Brady; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1116) granting an increase of pension to Elisha W. Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1117) granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Reese; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1118) granting an increase of pension to David E. Rench; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1119) for the relief of Theodore (or Thomas) F. Cook; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1120) for the relief of Robert W. Pool; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1121) to correct the military record of Washington Wineland; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1122) to correct the military record of Charles Beach; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1123) to correct the military record of Thomas S. Fleming; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1124) to correct the military record of John Cole; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1125) to correct the military record of Lewis Corfman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1126) to correct the military record of John Bassler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1127) to remove the charge of desertion and grant an honorable discharge to Samuel Bordner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1128) to remove the charge of desertion and grant an honorable discharge to Isaac Messick or Merrick; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1129) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William Earl; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1130) to revoke the order dismissing Lieut. Lanson Zane, Tenth Independent Battery Ohio Light Artillery, from the service and to grant him an honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KREIDER: A bill (H. R. 1131) granting an increase of pension to Emanuel Lash; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1132) granting an increase of pension to Henry N. Yocum; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1133) granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Wolf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1134) granting an increase of pension to Jane M. Spidel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1135) granting an increase of pension to Samuel D. Mowery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1136) granting an increase of pension to Sibby L. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 1137) granting a pension to Robert McCarty; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1138) granting a pension to Dillard Pliman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1139) granting a pension to David C. Stephens; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1140) granting a pension to Noah Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1141) granting a pension to Fess Whitaker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1142) granting a pension to Isaac Daniel Gibson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1143) granting a pension to Byron W. Kash; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1144) granting a pension to Sheridan Bailey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1145) granting a pension to John P. Hazlett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1146) granting an increase of pension to Jackson Cornett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1147) granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Farmer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1148) granting an increase of pension to Robert McDowell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1149) granting an increase of pension to Barzell F. Elliott; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1150) granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Morris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1151) granting an increase of pension to William Patrick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1152) granting an increase of pension to Jesse Roark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1153) granting an increase of pension to John P. Simer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1154) granting an increase of pension to John Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1155) granting an increase of pension to Joseph K. Dixon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1156) granting an increase of pension to John P. Mead; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1157) granting an increase of pension to Martin V. Barker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1158) granting an increase of pension to Peyton Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1159) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1160) granting an increase of pension to Woolery Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1161) granting an increase of pension to Abraham Rhinehart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1162) granting an increase of pension to William Billeter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1163) granting an increase of pension to David Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1164) granting an increase of pension to Milton Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1165) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1166) granting an increase of pension to Elijah C. Duff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1167) for the relief of the heirs of Lemuel J. Draper; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1168) for the relief of James Clay Colson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1169) to correct the military record of John F. Rudd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1170) to correct the military record of Benjamin F. States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1171) to correct the military record of William Vanover; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1172) to correct the military record of Sylvester B. Miller; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1173) to correct the military record of Quincey Christian; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1174) to correct the military record of William Andover; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LAZARO: A bill (H. R. 1175) granting an increase of pension to Charles Bishop; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1176) granting an increase of pension to Andrew P. Grubaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1177) granting an increase of pension to John Erwin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 1178) granting a pension to George J. Jarchow; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1179) granting a pension to Anna Gewinner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1180) granting a pension to Mary J. Krone; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1181) granting a pension to Alfred G. J. Peterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1182) granting a pension to Roy L. Dunn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1183) granting a pension to Hortense Cremer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1184) granting a pension to Alexander Culton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1185) granting an increase of pension to Philip Winckler; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1186) granting an increase of pension to John Q. Goss; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1187) granting an increase of pension to Oren N. Dibble; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1188) granting an increase of pension to James Doyle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1189) for the relief of Lavern Walker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1190) for the relief of Cudahy Packing Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 1191) granting a pension to Mary R. Adair; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 1192) granting a pension to J. William Lambright; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1193) granting a pension to Hoyl N. Higdon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1194) granting a pension to James R. Hays; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1195) granting an increase of pension to Emanuel Reichart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1196) granting an increase of pension to John A. Quick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1197) granting an increase of pension to Elias Cleveland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1198) for the relief of David H. Mull; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1199) for the relief of Lucius Osterhout; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1200) for the relief of the legal representatives of the estates of A. B. Maxwell and B. C. Maxwell; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1201) for the relief of the estate of Alexander Gardner; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1202) for the relief of the heirs of W. R. McGuire; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. McFADDEN: A bill (H. R. 1203) granting a pension to Benjamin C. Read; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1204) granting a pension to Wealthy J. Larrabee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1205) granting an increase of pension to G. W. Gleason; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1206) granting an increase of pension to Andrew W. Seward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1207) granting an increase of pension to Ezra McIntyre; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1208) granting an increase of pension to Katherine H. Califf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1209) granting an increase of pension to John F. Bass; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1210) granting an increase of pension to Henry L. Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1211) for the relief of Loyal F. Russell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1212) for the relief of David Leonard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1213) for the relief of John F. Kingsley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1214) for the relief of the widow of Lemuel L. Moody; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1215) for the relief of the heirs at law of L. L. Bosworth; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAGEE: A bill (H. R. 1216) granting a pension to Agnes A. Brady; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1217) for the relief of George Le Clear; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1218) for the relief of Alfred E. Lewis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of Minnesota: A bill (H. R. 1219) for the relief of Alfred B. Andrews; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MONDELL: A bill (H. R. 1220) granting a pension to Chesley Goldsby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1221) granting a pension to Albert O. Henley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1222) granting an increase of pension to James Rafferty; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1223) granting an increase of pension to Joseph D. Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1224) granting an increase of pension to George Edward Blackmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1225) for the relief of Charles E. Henson; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1226) for the relief of Ivor Christensen; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1227) for the relief of Henry Altman; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1228) for the relief of Oliver Bates; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MORIN: A bill (H. R. 1229) granting an increase of pension to John J. McKenna; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1230) granting an increase of pension to Harvey Bartley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1231) granting an increase of pension to William H. Beltz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1232) granting an increase of pension to John S. Bell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1233) for the relief of Julius Zanone; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1234) for the relief of William Devlin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1235) for the relief of Revilow N. Spohn; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 1236) to amend the military record of James P. Kirby; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1237) granting a pension to Annie Neate; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1238) granting a pension to Sarah J. Casler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY: A bill (H. R. 1239) granting a pension to Brent S. Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1240) granting a pension to Charles Anderson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1241) granting a pension to George R. Robinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1242) granting a pension to Hugh T. Roberts; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1243) granting a pension to Miller Kincaid; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1244) granting a pension to William L. Snider; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1245) granting a pension to Samuel M. Rogers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1246) granting a pension to Mathias Kennedy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1247) granting a pension to Francis A. Keelan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1248) granting a pension to Sturgis G. Grim; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1249) granting a pension to Thurman L. Anglemyer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1250) granting a pension to Mary C. Wykoff; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1251) granting a pension to William A. Zinn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1252) granting a pension to Lloyd Shaver; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1253) granting a pension to Carrie E. Nevill; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1254) granting a pension to Walter Zogg; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1255) granting a pension to Alfred Rivers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1256) granting a pension to Andrew B. Erb; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1257) granting a pension to Howard Shaver; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1258) granting a pension to Charles H. Payne; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1259) granting a pension to Mary C. Herrington; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1260) granting a pension to Lloyd Newell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1261) granting a pension to Sarah M. J. Bertram; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1262) granting a pension to John R. Crayton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1263) granting a pension to Harry Cook; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1264) granting a pension to Joseph E. Blackwell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1265) granting a pension to Robert Campbell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1266) granting a pension to Samuel S. Callihan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1267) granting a pension to Richard Glover; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1268) granting a pension to John E. Schilling; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1269) granting pensions to Zelia Barker, Eva G. Barker, Stellia Barker, Gertrude Barker, Dora Barker, Edna Barker, and Annie W. Barker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1270) granting a pension to A. S. Radford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1271) granting a pension to Richard McNeely; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1272) granting a pension to Nancy A. B. Easton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1273) granting a pension to John P. Fox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1274) granting a pension to Alsinda Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1275) granting a pension to Anna Hall Richmond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1276) granting a pension to Joseph Miley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1277) granting a pension to Carey Nation; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1278) granting a pension to Emiline Hartley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1279) granting a pension to Belle Satterfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1280) granting a pension to Elizabeth Kirkman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1281) granting a pension to Sarah M. Foster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1282) granting a pension to Minerva E. Layman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1283) granting a pension to Pauline K. Boden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1284) granting a pension to Josephine Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1285) granting a pension to Rebecca J. Free; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1286) granting a pension to Elizabeth Barnhart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1287) granting a pension to Eliza Peel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1288) granting a pension to Mary C. Bartlebaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1289) granting a pension to Sarah K. Arnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1290) granting a pension to Nancy J. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1291) granting a pension to Ephriam D. Conner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1292) granting a pension to Josephine Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1293) granting a pension to Elizabeth Kirkman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1294) granting an increase of pension to Nelson Virgin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1295) granting an increase of pension to Frank Shaver; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1296) granting an increase of pension to George W. Shrader; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1297) granting an increase of pension to Walter Griffith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1298) granting an increase of pension to John W. Oldfield; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1299) granting an increase of pension to Frank L. Youst; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1300) granting an increase of pension to William G. Camp; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1301) granting an increase of pension to George W. Crawford; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1302) granting an increase of pension to John T. Whetzal; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1303) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Keffer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1304) granting an increase of pension to John Hazlett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1305) granting an increase of pension to Marian A. Jaques; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1306) granting an increase of pension to Silas M. Starkey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1307) granting an increase of pension to Minnie Schrader; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1308) granting an increase of pension to John Trenter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1309) granting an increase of pension to James E. Merrifield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1310) granting an increase of pension to George A. Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1311) granting an increase of pension to John J. West; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1312) granting an increase of pension to James N. McHenry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1313) granting an increase of pension to Charles Shaffer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1314) granting an increase of pension to Stewart Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1315) granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1316) granting an increase of pension to William H. Atwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1317) granting an increase of pension to Asbery Mayfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1318) granting an increase of pension to George W. Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1319) granting an increase of pension to William E. Cornwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1320) granting an increase of pension to Amelia D. Grove; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1321) granting an increase of pension to Lyda Hawkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1322) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Gatrell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1323) granting an increase of pension to J. H. Bowman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1324) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Gaskins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1325) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Tomlinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1326) granting an increase of pension to Stephen Higgins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1327) granting an increase of pension to Franklin Manning; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1328) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Hoskins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1329) granting an increase of pension to John R. Bungard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1330) granting an increase of pension to Jerry A. Fitzgerald; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1331) granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Scroggins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1332) granting an increase of pension to Robert W. McWilliams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1333) granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Bogard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1334) granting an increase of pension to Sidney Merifield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1335) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Hine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1336) granting an increase of pension to George Keck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1337) granting an increase of pension to Beckwith A. McNemar; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1338) granting an increase of pension to Fannie R. Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1339) granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Guseman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1340) granting an increase of pension to J. W. Vandine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1341) granting an increase of pension to John Douglass; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1342) granting an increase of pension to Cornelius Dorsey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1343) granting an increase of pension to John T. Downey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1344) granting an increase of pension to James Flanagan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1345) granting an increase of pension to Jesse R. Mercer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1346) granting an increase of pension to Charles White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1347) granting an increase of pension to William L. Faucett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1348) granting an increase of pension to James L. T. Sharp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1349) granting an increase of pension to Elias Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1350) granting an increase of pension to Joshua Markley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1351) granting an increase of pension to Anthony Headley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1352) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Peck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1353) granting an increase of pension to Josiah Vanscyoe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1354) granting an increase of pension to Macey Wykert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1355) granting an increase of pension to Seymour Norman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1356) granting an increase of pension to Oliver Brier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1357) granting an increase of pension to William J. Shreve; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1358) granting an increase of pension to Pheba J. Hawkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1359) granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Patterson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1360) granting an increase of pension to Theodore M. Reynolds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1361) granting an increase of pension to George W. Linn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1362) granting an increase of pension to Michael P. Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1363) granting an increase of pension to Nancy A. Heiskell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1364) granting an increase of pension to Malinda Tuttle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1365) granting an increase of pension to William H. Fulkineer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1366) granting an increase of pension to Mary Ryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1367) granting an increase of pension to John C. McKinney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1368) granting an increase of pension to George W. Sullivan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1369) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Aplin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1370) granting an increase of pension to Levi Morris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1371) granting an increase of pension to John C. Lazier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1372) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Atherton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1373) granting an increase of pension to William L. Alley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1374) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Barnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1375) granting an increase of pension to Martha J. Bumgardner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1376) granting an increase of pension to Jacob W. Burge; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1377) granting an increase of pension to John C. Briggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1378) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1379) granting an increase of pension to Lucinda A. Perine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1380) granting an increase of pension to Andrew King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1381) granting an increase of pension to George M. Warner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1382) granting an increase of pension to Lafayette Crouser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1383) granting an increase of pension to Lewis Sycks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1384) granting an increase of pension to John Reid; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1385) granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Parrell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1386) granting an increase of pension to Oliver Brier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1387) granting an increase of pension to James H. Bowman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1388) granting an increase of pension to Perry Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1389) granting an increase of pension to Henry Clay Chaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1390) granting an increase of pension to Levi Brock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1391) granting an increase of pension to James W. Brumage; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1392) granting an increase of pension to George Bowery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1393) granting an increase of pension to John C. Briggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1394) granting an increase of pension to William S. Snodgrass; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1395) granting an increase of pension to Tyler M. Shroyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1396) granting an increase of pension to Eleam Welch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1397) granting an increase of pension to William H. Snowden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1398) granting an increase of pension to John T. Roseberry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1399) granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Roe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1400) granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Powell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1401) granting an increase of pension to Mary Ryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1402) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin A. Reeder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1403) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Lipscomb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1404) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Cunningham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1405) granting an increase of pension to James Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1406) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Barnett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1407) reinstating Creedy S. Sheppard in the Coast Artillery Corps of the United States Army, with the rank of captain; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1408) to amend and correct the military record of Henry H. Willis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1409) for the relief of Charles Lee Baker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1410) for the relief of Thurman R. Ingram; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1411) for the relief of James H. McGill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1412) for the relief of William P. McKinley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1413) for the relief of Henry Borman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1414) for the relief of Daniel M. Main; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1415) for the relief of H. E. Street; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1416) for the relief of John E. James; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1417) to reimburse Lee Champion for documentary stamps of the series of 1898 which have not been used; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1418) to reimburse L. W. Dragoo, formerly postmaster at Smithfield, Wetzel County, W. Va., for money, money orders, and postage stamps stolen; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1419) for the relief of Oakaley Randall; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NORTON: A bill (H. R. 1420) granting an increase of pension to Alexander S. Nobles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 1421) for the relief of Stephen B. Fowler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1422) for the relief of William B. Fowler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1423) for the relief of Alexander F. McCollam; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1424) for the relief of Stonewall Jackson Harris; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1425) for the relief of Thomas A. Winn; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1426) for the relief of Maurice B. Browne; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1427) for the relief of Evelyn Browne; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1428) for the relief of Maude Browne Matkins, formerly Maude Browne; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1429) authorizing an exchange of lands between the United States and the heirs of S. G. Little; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1430) to correct the military record of James M. Wiley; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1431) to correct the military record of George F. Reid; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1432) granting a pension to George W. Keenan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1433) granting a pension to Margaret L. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1434) granting a pension to Francis A. Baxter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1435) granting a pension to Mary A. Blair; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1436) granting an increase of pension to Edward S. Atkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1437) granting an increase of pension to Randall M. Bates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1438) for the relief of Andrew M. Dunlop; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1439) for the relief of Bert Harris; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1440) for the relief of John C. Howard; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1441) for the relief of Robert T. Legge; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1442) for the relief of the estate of P. A. Clute; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1443) for the relief of James Diamond for horse lost while hired by the United States Forest Service; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1444) for the relief of W. F. Peck and M. B. Gott; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1445) for the relief of J. A. Perry; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1446) for the relief of Mrs. Annie M. Lepley, as postmaster at Plymouth, Amador County, Cal., for money, postal money orders, and postage stamps stolen; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1447) granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBERTS: A bill (H. R. 1448) granting a pension to Florence A. Drake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1449) granting a pension to Emma V. Heller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1450) granting an increase of pension to William B. Peppard; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1451) granting an increase of pension to Alpheus W. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1452) granting an increase of pension to Arthur Herrmann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1453) for the relief of Thurman A. Poe; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1454) for the relief of Fred E. Jackson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROUSE: A bill (H. R. 1455) granting a pension to Rivoleete Francis De Moisey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1456) granting a pension to Elizabeth Redman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1457) granting an increase of pension to D. B. Finnell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1458) granting an increase of pension to Norval L. Bennett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1459) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Regan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1460) granting an increase of pension to James A. Lloyd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1461) granting an increase of pension to Emma E. Stouder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1462) granting an increase of pension to W. S. Hardin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1463) granting an increase of pension to Coleman Reynolds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1464) granting an increase of pension to William H. Edmondson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1465) granting an increase of pension to John W. Burroughs, sr.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1466) granting an increase of pension to Alpheus L. Woodard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1467) granting an increase of pension to William H. Hindman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1468) for the relief of Marion Banta; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RUSSELL: A bill (H. R. 1469) granting an increase of pension to Edmond Melton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1470) granting an increase of pension to George W. Mayden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1471) granting an increase of pension to James Chewning; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1472) granting an increase of pension to William A. Swearingin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1473) granting an increase of pension to Elijah Pew; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1474) granting an increase of pension to Bird C. Guffey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1475) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Schafler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1476) granting an increase of pension to William B. Rogers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1477) granting an increase of pension to Oberon Payne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1478) granting an increase of pension to Henry Cutbirth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1479) granting an increase of pension to Archibald W. Mayden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1480) granting an increase of pension to William T. Stone; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1481) granting an increase of pension to William R. Boren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1482) granting an increase of pension to Alexander McGahon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1483) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1484) granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. McClosky; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1485) granting an increase of pension to George M. Mays; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1486) granting an increase of pension to James W. Hill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1487) granting an increase of pension to Elory P. Willett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1488) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Arnold; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1489) granting an increase of pension to John A. Keltner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1490) granting an increase of pension to James C. Sims; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1491) granting an increase of pension to John W. Abbott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1492) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Creek; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1493) granting an increase of pension to Zacariah T. Waller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1494) granting an increase of pension to Christ Stein; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1495) granting an increase of pension to Washington Richardson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 1496) granting an increase of pension to Levina M. Heilman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1497) granting an increase of pension to Alice A. Croll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1498) granting an increase of pension to William A. Gibbs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1499) granting an increase of pension to George Horn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1500) granting an increase of pension to Howard F. Hartzell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1501) granting an increase of pension to William Riddle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1502) granting an increase of pension to William A. Ruth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1503) granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1504) granting an increase of pension to Albert Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCULLY: A bill (H. R. 1505) granting an increase of pension to Cecelia B. Chauncey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SEARS: A bill (H. R. 1506) granting a pension to Martha Tyler; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1507) granting a pension to Robert E. Lee; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1508) granting an increase of pension to Enos R. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1509) granting an increase of pension to William P. Lynch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1510) granting an increase of pension to Stephen J. Coleman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1511) granting an increase of pension to Johanna Covert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SIEGEL: A bill (H. R. 1512) for the relief of Patrick Doonan; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1513) granting a pension to Ida Cohen; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 1514) granting an increase of pension to Luther W. Holmes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1515) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Holbrook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1516) granting an increase of pension to Charles Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of New York: A bill (H. R. 1517) for the relief of James G. Hill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1518) granting a pension to Edward Vetter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1519) granting a pension to George Wolf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1520) granting a pension to Christine Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1521) granting a pension to Eva L. Phillips; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1522) granting a pension to Wilhelmina Rohe; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1523) granting a pension to Joseph J. Margott; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1524) granting an increase of pension to Jerome W. Russell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1525) granting an increase of pension to Hattie A. Grant; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1526) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Quinn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1527) for the relief of Alfred C. Scheu as attorney for the Jacob Scheu estate; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1528) for the relief of Albert E. Keily; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1529) for the relief of John Rooney; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1530) for the relief of George Deitz; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1531) for the relief of Sidney G. Sherwood; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1532) for the relief of the Lackawanna Steel Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1533) for the relief of the Mutual Transit Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1534) for the relief of the American Express Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. STEELE: A bill (H. R. 1535) granting an increase of pension to Charles J. Somers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1536) granting an increase of pension to Archelius Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1537) granting an increase of pension to Frank B. Carey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1538) granting an increase of pension to Simeon Flory; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1539) granting an increase of pension to James Riley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1540) granting a pension to Ella Afflerbach; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEENERSON: A bill (H. R. 1541) granting a pension to Fanny Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1542) granting a pension to James W. Grant; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1543) granting an increase of pension to Susan I. Keene; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1544) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Andrist; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1545) granting an increase of pension to Patrick Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1546) granting an increase of pension to Charles Thompson, alias George W. Bailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1547) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of William Denham; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SWEET: A bill (H. R. 1548) granting an increase of pension to Darius F. Bell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1549) granting an increase of pension to Michael J. Breyfogel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1550) granting an increase of pension to Ervilla L. Blenis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1551) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie S. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1552) granting an increase of pension to Walter A. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1553) granting an increase of pension to Hiram S. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1554) granting an increase of pension to Albert Lincoln; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1555) granting an increase of pension to Josiah W. Lamb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1556) granting an increase of pension to George H. Frush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1557) granting an increase of pension to Alvin Eck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1558) granting an increase of pension to George L. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1559) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth C. Van Gundy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1560) granting an increase of pension to Luther S. Pitcher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1561) granting an increase of pension to Amanda Adams Hammond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1562) granting a pension to Ephraim James Hopkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1563) granting a pension to Samuel C. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1564) granting a pension to Elizabeth Blake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 1565) granting a pension to William C. Schwoerke; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1566) granting a pension to J. L. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1567) granting a pension to John Flynn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1568) granting a pension to James H. Johns; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1569) granting a pension to Thomas W. Boggs; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1570) granting a pension to O. F. Doolittle; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1571) granting a pension to Elliott C. Howe; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1572) granting a pension to Louis Winbray; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1573) granting a pension to Louis Schrader; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1574) granting a pension to William C. Reininga; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1575) granting a pension to Franklin A. Peters; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1576) granting a pension to Frederick Noyes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1577) granting a pension to Joseph W. Mitcham; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1578) granting an increase of pension to Abner D. Bell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1579) granting a pension to Edward A. Ward; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1580) granting a pension to Anna P. McCrosky, widow of Charles McCrosky; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1581) granting an increase of pension to Isaac R. Raines; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1582) granting an increase of pension to Jay W. Perkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1583) granting an increase of pension to Frank Rupert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1584) granting an increase of pension to Silas G. Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1585) granting an increase of pension to Dabner D. Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1586) granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel H. Guthery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1587) granting an increase of pension to Aaron Fagin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1588) granting an increase of pension to Michael Eaton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1589) granting an increase of pension to George W. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 1590) granting an increase of pension to William Henry Jenkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1591) granting an increase of pension to Hamilton L. Karr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1592) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin B. Cravens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1593) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Ambrosier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1594) granting a pension to William Poland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1595) granting an increase of pension to Jacob A. Buffington; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1596) granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Chaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 1597) granting a pension to Josephine G. Linn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1598) granting a pension to Leroy E. Cuckow; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1599) granting a pension to Chester E. Green; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1600) granting an increase of pension to Ray W. Burkdoll; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1601) granting an increase of pension to Mary R. Bacon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1602) granting an increase of pension to John M. Curtis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1603) granting an increase of pension to Virginia O. Riley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1604) granting an increase of pension to James H. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1605) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Vitteto; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1606) granting an increase of pension to Albert B. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1607) for the relief of David E. Gray; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1608) for the relief of Elmer Howe; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1609) for the relief of Michael Curran; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1610) for the relief of Frank Ferrin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1611) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to John Zimmerman for certain lands in the Colorado National Forest upon the surrender of other lands of an equal acreage also located in the Colorado National Forest, Colo.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. VARE: A bill (H. R. 1612) granting a pension to Margaret I. Barrett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1613) granting a pension to Thomas J. Harris; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1614) granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Olewiler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1615) granting an increase of pension to Frederick Wagner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1616) granting an increase of pension to William M. Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1617) granting an increase of pension to Henrietta C. Ilgenfritz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1618) granting an increase of pension to Christian Boll; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1619) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Bose; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1620) granting an increase of pension to Emma R. Arnold; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1621) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Yoh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1622) granting an increase of pension to Caroline Rively; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1623) granting the sum of $549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as a result of an accident at the Philadelphia Navy Yard; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1624) for the relief of Richard Sheehan; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1625) for the relief of Henry Borrowes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1626) to correct the lineal and relative rank of First Lieut. Thomas J. Leary, Medical Corps, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 1627) granting a pension to Charles H. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1628) granting a pension to Sylvester O. Phinney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1629) granting a pension to Albert Krick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1630) granting a pension to Carrie C. Washburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1631) granting an increase of pension to George C. Peterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1632) granting an increase of pension to Albert Damon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1633) granting an increase of pension to William G. Sadler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1634) for the relief of E. W. Rohmeling; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1635) for the relief of William Befuhs, alias Charles Cameron, Company B, Twenty-eighth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WARD: A bill (H. R. 1636) granting an increase of pension to Adaline B. Hopkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WASON: A bill (H. R. 1637) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Foster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1638) granting an increase of pension to John H. Nutter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1639) for the relief of the legal representatives of George W. Soule; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 1640) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin M. Curtis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1641) granting an increase of pension to Albert T. Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1642) granting an increase of pension to George D. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1643) granting an increase of pension to James W. Stine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1644) granting an increase of pension to Richard H. Hughes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1645) granting a pension to Robert G. Medlin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1646) granting a pension to George W. Oblisk; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1647) granting a pension to John Sawicki; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1648) granting a pension to Mose Attaway; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1649) granting a pension to William McCann; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1650) for the relief of W. T. Dingler; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1651) to correct the military record of Thomas Lee; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee: Memorial of pharmacists of Nashville, Tenn., urging amendments to patent laws; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Petition of J. D. Bush and many other citizens of the State of Florida, favoring universal compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petitions of municipal engineers of city of New York and National Guard of State of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of German-American Commerce of New York, against the British blockade, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. EAGAN: Memorial of New Hampshire Committee of Public Safety, relative to Government recognizing that a state of war now exists; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Hamilton Club of Chicago and Universal Service Committee of Veterans of National Guard and Naval Militia of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of R. M. Forbes, of Milton, Mass., against universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Memorial of Hamilton Club of Chicago and Universal Service Committee of Veterans of National Guard and Naval Militia of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of 60 Milwaukee citizens favoring thorough naval and military preparation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Wisconsin against this country in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Wisconsin against section 10 of House bill 19810, relative to increase of postal rates by zones; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Dorchester, Wis., against Roman Catholic hierarchy bringing about a state of war between the United States and Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FLYNN: Petition of Aurora Benevolent Society, of Brooklyn, N. Y., favoring embargo on foodstuffs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HASTINGS: Petitions of G. H. Avery and others, of Muskogee, Okla., against this country in war with Germany; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of John M. Taylor, of Claremore, Okla., relative to standing by the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH: Memorial of D. A. Burt, L. S. Thompson, and 13 others, of La Belle Iron Works, Steubenville, Ohio, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Friends Peace Committee of Winona; Friends Society of Adena, Ohio; Yearly Meeting of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.; and many other members of Friends' societies, against war and compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: Memorial of New York Southern Society, of New York City, supporting the President and favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWE: Memorial of citizens of Englewood, N. J., and Harvard Club, of Boston, Mass., pledging support to the President of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Union Club, of Boston; Men's Bible Class of the Bethany Presbyterian Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; The Bronx Board of Trade; board of trustees of the City Club, of New York; Hamilton Club, of Chicago; and American Institute of Mining Engineers, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHOUSE: Petition of mothers of Great Bend and Ellinwood, Kans., against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of citizens of the State of Kansas, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of churches of Gray County, Kans., against compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Petition of John Bodke and 85 citizens of Battle Creek, Mich., against entering European war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: Petitions of New York State Agricultural Society and Utica (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, supporting the President and Congress in present situation with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 600 employees of the Library Bureau, Ilion, N. Y., to sustain the honor of the Nation in the present situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WARD: Petition of J. L. D. Smith and others of Hudson, N. Y., relative to establishment of a Federal motion-picture commission; to the Committee on Education.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *April 4, 1917.*

The Senate met at 10 o'clock a. m.

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

O God, our heavenly Father, at this time of great concern in our national life, let us understand that we need more and more to lean upon Thy strong arm. We not only need Thee in any conflict that may be forced upon us by a foreign power, but we need Thee at this time in the establishment of policies that shall be fair, and just, and right in the sight of God and man.

Forbid that any selfish or unworthy motive should enter our minds. Though we may be dealing with a Government that seems to ignore our rights and scorn our country's power, yet may we deal in a manner that shall be in harmony with Thy laws and shall win the approbation of our own enlightened consciences.

In the midst of the excited world of to-day, give us calm composure and sober thought. Thy servants upon whom rests the great responsibility of the issues involved need the use of their best thought and unclouded judgment. O God, grant that these men, appointed in Thy providence to serve their country, may act wisely to-day in considering the principles and details of every resolution that may be presented. May they be guarded safely against all errors and reach the highest point of efficiency, so that their conclusions may win the approval of the great Ruler over all the worlds and result in bringing an early and permanent peace, with real blessings, to every nation under the sun. May the Prince of Peace speedily permeate the thought of all mankind. We ask it in the name of Jesus, our Lord and Savior. Amen.

WARREN G. HARDING, a Senator from the State of Ohio, and PARK TRAMMELL, a Senator from the State of Florida, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of the Hon. CYRUS A. SULLOWAY, late a Representative from the State of New Hampshire, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present a telegram from Richard M. Faulkner, of Keene, N. H., who, in behalf of the Harvard Club of Keene, strongly urges the immediate passage of a bill for universal military training and service. I move that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present a telegram embodying a resolution adopted at a meeting of citizens of the State of Washington, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 31, 1917.*

WASHINGTON DELEGATION IN CONGRESS,
Care Senator Miles Poindexter, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully submit herewith the following resolution:

"Whereas full page advertisements have appeared in the Seattle papers to-day requesting the people of the West to appeal to President Wilson and the Members of the Sixty-fifth Congress to refrain from any acts of reprisal against the Imperial German Government: Now therefore be it

"*Resolved by a mass meeting called in the city of Renton, Wash., March 30, 1917,* as follows:

"First. We pledge to the President of the United States and to the Federal Government our united support, the active service of every man of military age, and every dollar of our resources in support of the position taken and to be taken by the United States of America.

"Second. We urge upon the President and upon Congress the early passage of an adequate universal military-training bill.

"Third. We urge upon the President and upon Congress the righteousness of an immediate declaration of war upon the Imperial German Government in protest against the violation of the rights of American citizens upon the high seas.

"Fourth. We urge upon the President and upon Congress the active participation of the armed forces of the United States, both Army and Navy, in aid of the destruction of Prussian militarism.

"Fifth. That a copy hereof should be immediately transmitted to the President of the United States and to the Members of Congress from the State of Washington."

Passed March 30, 1917.

THOMAS DOBSON, *Chairman*,
PAUL W. HOUSER, *Secretary*,
Renton, Wash.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to present to the Senate a resolution which I have just received, passed at a mass meeting of citizens of Colorado in the city of Denver on March 31, 1917, and request that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We, citizens of Denver, and others resident in Colorado, in mass meeting assembled on March 31, 1917, make the following declarations:

In the present national crisis we pledge our loyalty in defense of the honor, rights, and just interests of our country, believing that Congress, and the administration will take quick, decisive, efficient, and adequate action to meet all possible emergencies, present and future.

We hold that in the present condition of the world thorough preparedness is necessary to give force to the ideals of human rights and of universal peace for which this country stands. Not only our rights, but our place in the council of nations, our civilization, and our hopes of permanent world peace are at stake, and this country in its united strength should stand ready to enforce its appeals.

Every citizen of a democracy should be prepared and ready at all times to do his part in upholding free institutions and in protecting the country against invasion or aggression of any kind. We therefore urge the immediate enactment of a bill for universal military training, thus providing for a permanent national defense based upon the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals.

Acts of the German Government in the present conflict disclose principles of national conduct which are inconsistent with the principles, the purposes, and aspirations of this Republic and of all free peoples. It has committed acts of war against the United States. In violation of the fundamentals of international law and the dictates of humanity it has forbidden us our rights in the use of the high seas, attempted to enforce its edicts by unlawful submarine warfare, destroyed our ships, and murdered our citizens. It would offer a portion of our territory, including a part of the State of Colorado, as a bribe to induce Mexico and Japan to join in war against us. Therefore we declare our deep conviction that the time has come to adopt the most vigorous and comprehensive measures and means for the national defense and the defense of civilization, and we urge upon Congress to give full support to every step that may be taken by the administration to vindicate the national honor and the national right.

JAMES H. BAKER,
T. J. O'DONNELL,
WILLIAM H. GABBERT,
N. WALTER DIXON,
RICHARD CRAWFORD CAMPBELL,
LUCIUS HALLETT,
Committee on Resolutions.

Unanimously indorsed by the general committee.

General committee: James H. Baker, Frank D. Baldwin, W. J. Barker, Harry E. Bellamy, W. N. W. Blayney, I. I. Boak, James C. Bulger, Dewey C. Bailey, Richard Crawford Campbell, Mrs. L. E. Campbell, Newcomb Cleveland, Harry C. Davis, N. Walter Dixon, W. D. Downs, Livingston Ferrand, William E. Fisher, Rabbi William S. Friedman, William H. Gabbert, Dr. Thomas J. Gallaher, Adjt. Gen. H. P. Gamble, J. B. Grant, Mrs. J. B. Grant, Gov. Julius C. Gunter, James F. Hadley, Lucius Hallett, Mrs. Lucius Hallett, Arthur C. Hamm, Horace N. Hawkins, W. A. Hover, Gerald Hughes, Thomas W. Jaycox, Bishop Irving P. Johnson, W. Harry Leonard, Charles Loughridge, A. D. Lewis, Hume Lewis, Rev. Charles H. Marshall, Rev. Charles L. Mead, Rev. Hugh L. McMenamin, Edward Monash, Dr. R. B. Moore, C. S. Morey, Ernest Morris, J. K. Mullin, Sanford S. Murphey, T. J. O'Donnell, Canton O'Donnell, James A. Pulliam, Harry Ruffner, Forrest Rutherford, Herbert S. Sands, Ralph W. Smith, Thomas B. Stearns, F. F. Struby, Frank M. Taylor, William C. Thornton, L. F. Twitchell, Philip Van Cise, Robert F. Weitbrec, Frank E. Wheeler, Jesse M. Wheelock, S. Harrison White, E. E. Whitted, and F. A. Williams.

RALPH W. SMITH,
Executive Chairman.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I present sundry telegrams, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EL PASO, TEX., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Rebecca Stoddard Chapter, Daughters American Revolution, of El Paso, Tex., heartily indorse President Woodrow Wilson in his platform of preparedness and patriotism.

MRS. L. L. ROBINSON,
Regent.
MRS. M. U. STRONG,
Corresponding Secretary.

JACKSONVILLE, TEX., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of Jacksonville, Tex., in mass meeting assembled adopted resolutions unanimously indorsing the action already taken by the President in meeting the present crisis and will indorse any means he and the Congress may adopt in the future for the protection of American rights, lives, and property.

D. B. DASHIELL,
C. H. MARTIN,
O. D. JONES,
Committee.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

Our organization, representing a large, active, and representative body of our citizenship, unanimously passed resolutions advocating the passage of the universal-service bill. We urge you to lend your hearty support to the President in these trying times.

SALESMANSHIP CLUB OF SAN ANTONIO.

YOAKUM, TEX., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Yoakum Commercial Club, 300 strong, earnestly request that you cooperate with and support our President in carrying out his policy as expressed in his personal message to Congress.

HENRY S. PAULS,
Chairman Committee.
J. K. ELKINS,
C. E. GILBERT,

SHERMAN, TEX., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

The faculty of Austin College urge that you give your support to following recommendations: (1) As to military service, that we as a Nation continue the plan of Regular Army, militia, and volunteers; (2) in case of war we desire Congress to declare for an aggressive form of war.

T. S. CLYCE, *President.*

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Austin lodge to-night unanimously passed strong resolution indorsing President's course and pledging practical support in peace or war. Resolution follows by mail.

E. R. CORNWELL, *Secretary.*

Mr. SHEPPARD. I also present a communication from the Manufacturers' Club, of San Antonio, Tex., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *March 29, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Manufacturers' Club of San Antonio, Tex., held the 27th day of March, 1917, it was unanimously agreed that the following resolution be communicated to the President of the United States, and that this also be sent to the Secretary of War, the Senators for Texas, the Representative in Congress from this district, and to the commanding general of this department at Fort Sam Houston:

"Moved by the dictates of patriotism and a profound sense of the obligation incumbent upon all citizens to uphold our Government in times of crisis, the members of the Manufacturers' Club of San Antonio, Tex., pledge their support and that of the club, as an organization, to the President of the United States in maintaining the dignity and honor of our country and in the solution of the problems which may present themselves in connection therewith, and, as a means to that end, unreservedly proffer the cooperation of the industrial plants represented by the members of the Manufacturers' Club to the President and Government of the United States."

We have the honor to be, sir,

Faithfully, yours,

MANUFACTURERS' CLUB OF SAN ANTONIO.
G. G. GEYER, *President*,
CHAS. LEEL, *Secretary*.
D. J. STRAUS,
ALBERT STEVES, Jr.,
THOS. G. HAY,
Committee.

Mr. McLEAN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Danbury and Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, praying that the United States remain at peace, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of the Men's League of the First Congregational Church of Waterbury; of the Eaton Guard Veteran Association, of Meriden; and of sundry citizens of Granby, Hartford, and New Haven, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for universal compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FRANCE presented a petition of the Independent Citizens' Union, of Maryland, declaring faith and allegiance to the United States and favoring universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented resolutions adopted by Local Union No. 2819, United Mine Workers of America, of Frostburg, Md., favoring free speech, free press, and free assemblage, and remonstrating against universal military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. COLT presented a memorial of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, remonstrating against the violation of Belgium by the Germans, indorsing the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with the German Government, pledging support to the President in preparedness, and urging universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. WATSON presented a petition of 4,000 citizens of Indianapolis, Ind., favoring an immediate declaration of war on Germany and praying for the adoption of universal military training, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I present an article which recently appeared in the Kansas City Star expressing the views of a German-born American, Mr. P. W. Goebel, on the pending question. Mr. Goebel resides in my home city and is a man of the highest character. It would be well for every foreign-born American citizen to carefully study his attitude and to emulate his patriotic example. I desire to have the article printed in the RECORD without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that action will be taken.

The article referred to is as follows:

DUTY FIRST TO THIS COUNTRY—PLEA FOR PATRIOTISM MADE BY P. W. GOEBEL, BORN IN GERMANY.

P. W. Goebel, of the Kansas side, president of the American Bankers' Association, told the Rotary Club at luncheon to-day at the Hotel Baltimore that the United States is better prepared financially for war than any country ever has been in the history of the world.

Mr. Goebel is convinced, after a trip through the East, that the Army and Navy are not in a bad condition. In case of war, he said, this country would be able to handle itself well.

"My interest in the outcome of war," Mr. Goebel said, "is that the honor and dignity of the United States shall be maintained and that the flag of America shall be unstained. I shall give my best brains and financial ability to my adopted country, and my sons will fight to maintain the rights of the American people. That should be the duty of every man in America.

"I was born in Germany. Everything I have I owe to the unrestricted opportunities afforded in America to the man who will work. What I have is at the disposal of my country. Its liberty allowed me to progress, and what I have will be devoted to maintaining that liberty.

"Talking to eastern bankers, I was saddened by their apparent apprehension of the effect war would have on their business. We must all place the Nation's need above our personal and business interests."

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 3) to establish a department of health, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine.

A bill (S. 4) to establish a United States court of patent appeals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

A bill (S. 5) to provide for public education upon political questions and for the dissemination of information upon political issues and matters of a political nature of public interest by an authorized publicity pamphlet;

A bill (S. 6) to secure to women the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States of America; and

A bill (S. 7) to revise, amend, and codify the laws relating to publicity of contributions and disbursements at elections at which candidates for the offices of United States Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States are nominated and elected, regulating and limiting the purposes and the amounts for which contributions and disbursements may be made, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

A bill (S. 8) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914, August 15, 1914, March 3, 1915, and September 7, 1916; and

A bill (S. 9) to indemnify depositors in "member banks," as defined by the Federal reserve act, against loss in the event of the failure or suspension of business of such bank; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 10) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States;

A bill (S. 11) to amend the general deficiency appropriation act of June 30, 1906, and the act of Congress of March 4, 1909, regarding payment of judgment of Court of Claims in favor of Cherokee Nation;

A bill (S. 12) providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Oklahoma;

A bill (S. 13) to pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903; and

A bill (S. 14) to provide for carrying into effect the agreement between the United States and the Muskogee (Creek) Nation of Indians ratified by act of Congress approved March 1, 1901, and supplemental agreement of June 30, 1902, and other laws and treaties with said tribe of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 15) for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 16) to prohibit concerted control of fire insurance rates in the District of Columbia; and

A bill (S. 17) for the protection of officers of the United States in the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, authorizing the search for and seizure of liquors introduced into the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, and making the possession of such liquors prima facie evidence of an unlawful introduction, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 18) to create the department of education; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill (S. 19) to establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 20) granting a pension to Edward Shaw (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

A bill (S. 21) to amend an act entitled "An act extending the homestead laws and providing for right of way for railroads in the District of Alaska, and for other purposes"; and

A bill (S. 22) to establish a commission form of government in the administration of national affairs in Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Territories.

A bill (S. 23) granting to the State of Nevada 7,000,000 acres of land in said State for the use and benefit of the public schools of Nevada and the State University of the State of Nevada;

A bill (S. 24) to add certain lands to the Toiyabe National Forest, Nev., and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 25) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States," approved March 3, 1877;

A bill (S. 26) authorizing the cutting of timber for mining purposes by corporations organized in one State and conducting mining operations in another; and

A bill (S. 27) to encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 28) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey title to certain lands in the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 29) to reimburse W. B. Graham, late postmaster at Ely, Nev., for money expended for clerical assistance; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 30) to provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 31) to regulate the interstate use of automobiles and all self-propelled vehicles which use the public highways in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 32) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David D. Sharp; and

A bill (S. 33) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David H. Hartson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 34) for the relief of J. I. Earl; and

A bill (S. 35) for the relief of John B. O'Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 36) granting a pension to William C. Black; and

A bill (S. 37) granting a pension to James Golden; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 38) to reimburse the county of Lewis and Clark, State of Montana, for expenses incurred by it for the construction of a public highway through the Helena National Forest; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 39) to interdict commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign country which shall unlawfully interfere with the foreign trade thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 40) to preserve the rights of homestead entrymen who are members of the National Guard or Volunteer forces of the United States while in actual service;

A bill (S. 41) to authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel purposes;

A bill (S. 42) for the relief of Torger Olson;

A bill (S. 43) to provide for the leasing of oil and gas lands withdrawn from entry;

A bill (S. 44) granting additional rights to settlers on reclamation projects (with accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 45) to encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, and sodium on the public domain; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 46) to cancel the allotment of Little Bear, deceased Indian of the Crow Reservation, Mont.;

A bill (S. 47) for the relief of certain nations or tribes of Indians in Montana;

A bill (S. 48) modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.;

A bill (S. 49) providing for the equalization of the cost of the irrigation systems on the Blackfeet, Flathead, and Fort Peck Indian Reservations, in the State of Montana, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 50) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain Indian lands necessary for reservoir purposes in connection with the Blackfeet Indian reclamation project (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 51) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to prorate tribal funds of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 52) to provide for the erection of a public building at Glasgow, Mont.;

A bill (S. 53) to enlarge, extend, remodel, etc., public building at Helena, Mont.; and

A bill (S. 54) to increase the limit of cost for the Federal building and site therefor at Billings, Mont., and to authorize the provision of quarters for United States courts in said building; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 55) for the relief of Lars T. Rykken;

A bill (S. 56) for the relief of John T. Eaton;

A bill (S. 57) for the relief of Kate Canniff (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 58) for the relief of J. D. Savage;

A bill (S. 59) for the relief of John E. Woods (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 60) for the relief of Benjamin Musselman;

A bill (S. 61) for the relief of H. Frank Adkins;

A bill (S. 62) for the relief of Patrick Rafferty; and

A bill (S. 63) to reimburse Hill County, State of Montana, for money expended for the support of the Rocky Boy Band of Chippewa Indians; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 64) for the relief of Thomas W. Williams;

A bill (S. 65) for the relief of Edward T. Moran; and

A bill (S. 66) for the relief of Levi B. Rouse; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 67) to enlarge the jurisdiction of the municipal court of the District of Columbia and to regulate appeals from the judgments of said court, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 68) to amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary;"

A bill (S. 69) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 3 of the act of Congress of May 1, 1888, and extend the provisions of section 2301 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to certain lands in the State of Montana embraced within the provisions of said act, and for other purposes" (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 70) providing for an additional judge for the district of Montana (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 71) amending section 140 of the act approved March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States;" and

A bill (S. 72) concerning actions on account of death or personal injury within places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 73) granting a pension to Abel H. Hall;

A bill (S. 74) granting a pension to Mary E. King;

A bill (S. 75) granting a pension to Justus W. King;

A bill (S. 76) granting a pension to James Farrell;

A bill (S. 77) granting a pension to Mary E. Hover; and

A bill (S. 78) granting a pension to Kathryn C. Sterling; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 79) relating to the naturalization of married women; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 80) to establish a department of aeronautics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SAULSBURY:

A bill (S. 81) to supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD:

A bill (S. 82) to transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 83) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 84) to provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a military aviation academy within the State of Utah, and making an appropriation therefor;

A bill (S. 85) providing for the erection of a Government munition factory within the State of Utah;

A bill (S. 86) to authorize the Secretary of War to permit the use of a right of way over and across the Fort Douglas Military Reservation for the construction and operation of a standard-gauge railway spur connecting with local or transcontinental railroads;

A bill (S. 87) granting to the State of Utah the Fort Duchesne Reservation for its use as a branch agricultural college;

A bill (S. 88) authorizing and empowering the Secretary of War to grant a revocable permit to the University of Utah to lay pipe lines, construct a storage reservoir on the Fort Douglas (Utah) Military Reservation, and to use the surplus water of the reservation;

A bill (S. 89) for the relief of Henry N. Bird;

A bill (S. 90) for the relief of John H. Kidd; and

A bill (S. 91) for the relief of Almond S. Root; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 92) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to E. D. Partridge;

A bill (S. 93) to consolidate national-forest lands;

A bill (S. 94) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., p. 1133);

A bill (S. 95) to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska;

A bill (S. 96) granting to the State of Utah 1,000,000 acres of lands to aid in the construction and maintenance of public roads in the State of Utah;

A bill (S. 97) authorizing the exchange of certain lands in the State of Utah for the protection of the water supply of Salt Lake City;

A bill (S. 98) giving the right to an additional homestead to all persons who have exhausted or who shall exhaust their original right of entry through the purchase of Uintah Indian Reservation lands;

A bill (S. 99) providing for the acquisition by a State, under certain conditions, of any lands therein which are or may become chiefly valuable for the development of water power;

A bill (S. 100) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to Cyrena E. Young;

A bill (S. 101) to authorize the consolidation of Government lands and of privately owned lands, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 102) relating to the temporary filling of vacancies occurring in the offices of register and receiver of district land offices; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 103) to apply a portion of the proceeds of the sales of public lands to the endowment of schools or departments of mines and mining, and to regulate the expenditure thereof; and

A bill (S. 104) to provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

A bill (S. 105) to reimburse George Heiner, postmaster at Morgan, Utah, for loss of postage stamps;

A bill (S. 106) for the relief of Nathan A. Stone; and

A bill (S. 107) for the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 108) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to use, at his discretion, surplus moneys in the Treasury in the purchase or redemption of the outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States;

A bill (S. 109) to provide for the refunding of certain moneys illegally assessed and collected in the district of Utah; and

A bill (S. 110) for the relief of the Eldredge Bros. Live Stock Co., a corporation; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 111) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain department publications, and to provide for crediting the department's printing allotment with the proceeds; to the Committee on Printing.

A bill (S. 112) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Bingham Canyon, in

the State of Utah; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 113) providing for acquiring a site and erecting a national memorial to irrigation at Salt Lake City, Utah; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 114) to provide for an increased annual appropriation for agricultural experiment stations, to be used in researches and experiments in home economics, and regulating the expenditure thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 115) for the relief of Hannah Nelson Lundegren;

A bill (S. 116) for the relief of Jacob E. Michael; and

A bill (S. 117) for the relief of George E. Yeadon; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 118) granting a pension to Caroline A. Davis;

A bill (S. 119) granting a pension to Richard A. Norris; and

A bill (S. 120) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Liddle; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 121) to prevent the desecrating of the flag of the United States and to provide punishment therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 122) for the relief of the heirs of James N. Ward, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 123) granting an increase of pension to Alada Thurston Paddock Mills; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 124) to provide for the naturalization of certain aliens; to the Committee on Immigration.

A bill (S. 125) to appoint Roy K. Carson a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 126) to provide for the investigation of controversies affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 127) for the adjudication and determination of the claims arising under joint resolution of July 14, 1870, authorizing the Postmaster General to continue in use in the Postal Service Marcus P. Norton's combined postmarking and stamp-canceling hand-stamp patents, or otherwise; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 128) for the relief of the heirs of George C. Lull, deceased; and

A bill (S. 129) for the relief of the heirs of George C. Lull, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 130) to create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer-officers' retired list"; to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 131) to authorize the President of the United States to appoint certain officers to the Medical Corps of the Army;

A bill (S. 132) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Wallace O. Glazier;

A bill (S. 133) to correct the military record of Clark G. Russell;

A bill (S. 134) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Isaac Terwilliger; and

A bill (S. 135) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to muster Dr. John A. Bobb, deceased, a brigade surgeon with rank of major from assistant surgeon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 136) granting a pension to Melvina Coquillard (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 137) granting a pension to George Zederbaum;

A bill (S. 138) granting a pension to Fidelia E. Betts;

A bill (S. 139) granting a pension to Frankie Esselstyn;

A bill (S. 140) for the relief of Emma M. Gordon;

A bill (S. 141) granting a pension to Lorenzo J. McEvoy;

A bill (S. 142) granting a pension to Nirenia S. Savage;

A bill (S. 143) granting a pension to Ellen Fyanes;

A bill (S. 144) granting an increase of pension to Bert E. Gray;

A bill (S. 145) granting an increase of pension to James K. Brooks;

A bill (S. 146) granting a pension to Lucy A. Palmer;

A bill (S. 147) for the relief of Melissa Gurin;

A bill (S. 148) granting an increase of pension to David A. Kooker;

A bill (S. 149) granting a pension to Mary E. Weeks;

A bill (S. 150) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Rogers;

A bill (S. 151) granting a pension to Dewitt C. Bush;

A bill (S. 152) granting an increase of pension to D. J. Hammond;

A bill (S. 153) granting a pension to Ambrose A. Link;

A bill (S. 154) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McKimmy; and

A bill (S. 155) granting a pension to Henry F. Baldwin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 156) to grant Saturday afternoon as a holiday to all Government employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 157) to provide for the retirement of employees in the civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

A bill (S. 158) to determine what obligation, if any, exists under the treaty with Spain, of 1819, to relieve the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 159) to provide for the acquisition of additional land adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 160) to permit the redistillation of whisky in bond on distillery premises; and

A bill (S. 161) to define the true intent and meaning of section 48 of the act of August 28, 1894, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 162) to provide a suitable memorial to the memory of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, Pa.; and

A bill (S. 163) to provide for the erection of a pedestal and base for a monument to William Procter, jr., in the Smithsonian Grounds, at Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 164) for the relief of Adolph F. Hitchler;

A bill (S. 165) granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War;

A bill (S. 166) for the relief of William Mattson;

A bill (S. 167) for the relief of the survivors of McLean's Pennsylvania Regiment and their widows and children;

A bill (S. 168) to grant an honorable discharge to John W. Jester;

A bill (S. 169) to grant an honorable discharge to Samuel Fogle;

A bill (S. 170) to correct the military record of John Brown; and

A bill (S. 171) for the relief of Thomas W. Miller; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 172) for the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter;

A bill (S. 173) providing for the trial of charges against employees in the classified civil-service list;

A bill (S. 174) providing for extended leave of absence to superannuated employees in the Postal Service;

A bill (S. 175) to reclassify the salaries of employees above the clerical grades in post offices of the first and second class; and

A bill (S. 176) to reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 177) for the relief of retired commissioned warrant officers detailed on active duty;

A bill (S. 178) to provide that commissioned chiefs of the United States Navy now on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall, as an equitable reward for said service, receive the rank and pay of lieutenant of the United States Navy, retired;

A bill (S. 179) to correct the naval record of Fred C. Konrad; and

A bill (S. 180) granting an honorable discharge to Owen S. Willey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 181) granting the sum of $549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent foster parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as result of an accident at Philadelphia Navy Yard;

A bill (S. 182) for the relief of Morris Busch;

A bill (S. 183) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Kate Reaney Zeiss, administratrix of William B. Reaney, survivor of Thomas Reaney and Samuel Archbold, against the United States;

A bill (S. 184) for the relief of Alice M. Lissak;

A bill (S. 185) for the relief of Sylvester Bonnaffon, jr.; and

A bill (S. 186) for the relief of Cecilia Barr; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 187) to pension widows and minor children of officers or enlisted men who served in the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection;

A bill (S. 188) to increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Mexico or the Civil War;

A bill (S. 189) granting pensions to soldiers confined in so-called Confederate prisons;

A bill (S. 190) to pension certain soldiers and nonenlisted men who served in the War of the Rebellion;

A bill (S. 191) extending the benefits of the general pension laws to the members of the Eighth, Twentieth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, and Thirty-third Regiments, the several batteries of Artillery, the several troops of Cavalry, and the several independent companies which comprised the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, otherwise known as the "emergency men," who were called into service by the President of the United States of America, officered by United States officers, and sworn into the service of the United States for an indefinite period, the same as if they had been in the service of the United States for a period of 90 days or more;

A bill (S. 192) granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Adams;

A bill (S. 193) granting an increase of pension to Maria W. Antes;

A bill (S. 194) granting a pension to Mary A. Adams;

A bill (S. 195) granting a pension to Erastus J. Bierbower;

A bill (S. 196) granting a pension to Charlotte Bloom;

A bill (S. 197) granting a pension to Samuel Breitigan;

A bill (S. 198) granting an increase of pension to Jesse Brown;

A bill (S. 199) granting a pension to John Cary;

A bill (S. 200) granting a pension to William Carrell;

A bill (S. 201) granting a pension to Charles F. Cavenaugh;

A bill (S. 202) granting a pension to John B. Chandler;

A bill (S. 203) granting a pension to Kate L. Clear;

A bill (S. 204) granting an increase of pension to William Colpetzer;

A bill (S. 205) granting an increase of pension to Caroline W. Congdon;

A bill (S. 206) granting an increase of pension to David Craft;

A bill (S. 207) granting a pension to Ella E. Crouch;

A bill (S. 208) granting an increase of pension to Martin S. Crull;

A bill (S. 209) granting a pension to Caroline Decker;

A bill (S. 210) granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Dixson;

A bill (S. 211) granting a pension to Clarissa F. Dye;

A bill (S. 212) granting a pension to William Eckert;

A bill (S. 213) granting an increase of pension to Josiah H. H. Feather;

A bill (S. 214) granting a pension to Michael P. Foley;

A bill (S. 215) granting a pension to Harry H. Gaither;

A bill (S. 216) granting a pension to Oscar L. Geer;

A bill (S. 217) granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Hill;

A bill (S. 218) granting a pension to Christian Graf;

A bill (S. 219) granting a pension to Gottlieb Long;

A bill (S. 220) granting an increase of pension to John S. McGinness;

A bill (S. 221) granting an increase of pension to Daniel C. McGregor;

A bill (S. 222) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. McPherran;

A bill (S. 223) granting a pension to Elmer Harry Martin;

A bill (S. 224) granting a pension to Charles G. Meyer;

A bill (S. 225) granting a pension to N. E. Millender;

A bill (S. 226) granting a pension to Jesse Murphy;

A bill (S. 227) granting a pension to Harry Hines, alias Harry Hinton;

A bill (S. 228) granting a pension to Jennie T. Hamilton;

A bill (S. 229) granting an increase of pension to U. P. Getz;

A bill (S. 230) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Parker;

A bill (S. 231) to increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States;

A bill (S. 232) for the better payment of pensioners;

A bill (S. 233) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Reese;

A bill (S. 234) granting an increase of pension to William Sheads;

A bill (S. 235) granting a pension to Charles L. C. Sherwin;

A bill (S. 236) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca M. Smith;

A bill (S. 237) granting a pension to J. K. Gleeson;

A bill (S. 238) granting a pension to Kathryn B. Steiner;

A bill (S. 239) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Stewart;

A bill (S. 240) granting a pension to Ed Sweeney;

A bill (S. 241) granting a pension to Leonardo S. Twesten;

A bill (S. 242) granting a pension to Mary A. Walker;

A bill (S. 243) granting an increase of pension to Henry Wenzel;

A bill (S. 244) granting an increase of pension to Marion L. Wilson;

A bill (S. 245) granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Wilson;

A bill (S. 246) granting a pension to Josiah Huber;

A bill (S. 247) granting a pension to Caroline Kelly;

A bill (S. 248) granting a pension to Daniel Kennelley;

A bill (S. 249) granting a pension to Patrick Kinny;

A bill (S. 250) granting an increase of pension to Robert Kinkead;

A bill (S. 251) granting an increase of pension to Christian W. Klare;

A bill (S. 252) granting an increase of pension to Mary Elizabeth Lambert;

A bill (S. 253) granting an increase of pension to George Leadbeater;

A bill (S. 254) granting a pension to Milton M. Lile;

A bill (S. 255) granting an increase of pension to George W. Lodge;

A bill (S. 256) granting a pension to Agnes A. Gray;

A bill (S. 257) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Pierson;

A bill (S. 258) granting a pension to Lemuel W. Dobbins;

A bill (S. 259) granting a pension to Horatio P. Connell;

A bill (S. 260) granting a pension to Philip B. Depp;

A bill (S. 261) granting an increase of pension to Emma Taylor;

A bill (S. 262) granting a pension to Alonzo G. Williamson;

A bill (S. 263) granting a pension to John S. Whittaker (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 264) granting a pension to Almira E. Sheldrake (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 265) granting a pension to Bernard Closkey (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 266) granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Brooks (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRADY:

A bill (S. 267) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Blackfoot, Idaho; and

A bill (S. 268) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Payette, Idaho; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 269) for the relief of Aaron Kibler;

A bill (S. 270) for the relief of John J. Muehleisen; and

A bill (S. 271) for the relief of Washington Kellogg; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 272) for the relief of Elizabeth Overholtz; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 273) granting a pension to George W. Bass;

A bill (S. 274) granting a pension to Philip Hutchinson;

A bill (S. 275) granting a pension to Daniel A. Williams; and

A bill (S. 276) granting an increase of pension to Leonard E. Griffith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STERLING:

A bill (S. 277) for the relief of Thomas E. Philips; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 278) to amend section 1 of an act approved March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L., 751), entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions on alienation of lands of allottees of the Quapaw Agency, Okla., and the sale of all tribal lands, school, agency, or other lands on any of the reservations within the jurisdiction of such agency, and for other purposes"; and

A bill (S. 279) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in certain cases to missionary or religious organizations; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 280) for the relief of Alfred Sjostrom; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A bill (S. 281) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

A bill (S. 282) making an appropriation of $200,000 for the acquisition of a tract of land known as Great Piece Meadows, N. J., for a target range and camp ground;

A bill (S. 283) making appropriation for the support of the families and dependents of members of the National Guard drafted into service of the United States; and

A bill (S. 284) to provide for an increase in the pay of enlisted men in the time of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 285) for the relief of David E. Gray; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 286) to prohibit interstate shipments or transportation of certain food products; to define and to prohibit transportation and sale of adulterated or misbranded food products; to regulate traffic therein; to define and regulate cold storage; to regulate dealing in cold-storage food products; and to fix penalties for violation, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 287) to amend an act entitled "An act relating to navigation of vessels, bills of lading, and to certain obligations, duties, and rights in connection with the carriage of property," approved February 13, 1893; and

A bill (S. 288) regulating shipments of freight to foreign ports and prohibiting discrimination in the receipt and shipment of such freight; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 289) regulating trials by jury; and

A bill (S. 290) to establish a new judicial circuit of the United States with a circuit court of appeals, hereafter to be called the tenth circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 291) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Murfreesboro, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls; and

A bill (S. 292) to establish and maintain military training colleges in the several States of the Union, in Alaska, and in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 293) for the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 294) to reduce the tax on oleomargarine; and

A bill (S. 295) to raise revenue by taxing certain articles of food held in cold storage; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 296) for the relief of W. K. Ellis; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 297) granting a pension to Walter L. Jewell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 298) authorizing the appropriation of $50,000 to reimburse the city of Renton, in the State of Washington, for damages done in the destruction of the outlet of the sewerage of that city; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 299) amending archives building act; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 300) providing free passage through the Panama Canal for American ships; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

(By request.) A bill (S. 301) to provide for the organization of the unemployed into an industrial army of the United States and the maintenance of same; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill (S. 302) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to make donation of condemned naval guns and cannon balls to the John Wannebo Camp, No. 9, United Spanish War Veterans, Everett, Wash., to be placed in public parks; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 303) providing for the election of a Delegate to the House of Representatives from the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

A bill (S. 304) for the relief of Peter McKay;

A bill (S. 305) for the relief of C. P. Zent;

A bill (S. 306) for the relief of L. H. Phipps;

A bill (S. 307) for the relief of Gertrude M. Woodson; and

A bill (S. 308) for the relief of Albert J. Weber; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 309) authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles certain lands;

A bill (S. 310) providing for second homestead and desert-land entries;

A bill (S. 311) for the relief of Napoleon Le Clerc; and

A bill (S. 312) to establish the Mount Baker National Park in the State of Washington; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 313) to amend section 4 of the act to regulate commerce passed February 4, 1887, and subsequent amendments thereof; and

A bill (S. 314) to amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 315) to punish the storing of foodstuffs for the purpose of cornering the market, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 316) authorizing the President to appoint J. Benjamin Hayes a first lieutenant in the Regular Army;

A bill (S. 317) for the relief of John Morrow;

A bill (S. 318) authorizing the President to appoint John K. Hume a first lieutenant of Cavalry, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 319) for the relief of Wellington F. Larabee;

A bill (S. 320) for the relief of James Gloster;

A bill (S. 321) authorizing the President to appoint Charles F. Smith a first lieutenant of the Regular Army, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 322) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands, to be designated by the Secretary of War, and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed;

A bill (S. 323) authorizing the Secretary of War, upon the request of the governor of a State, to designate one or more commissioned officers of the United States Army to cooperate with the school authorities of the State in the establishment and proper conduct in any of the public schools of the State of the so-called Wyoming plan of military and physical training according to the system prepared by Lieut. E. Z. Steever, United States Army, and recommended by the War College Division of the General Staff Corps, United States Army; and

A bill (S. 324) authorizing the President to appoint Frank B. Lawson a first lieutenant in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 325) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Wilcox;

A bill (S. 326) granting an increase of pension to John Barker;

A bill (S. 327) granting a pension to Amme A. Wilson;

A bill (S. 328) granting an increase of pension to William H. Phelps;

A bill (S. 329) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Mullen;

A bill (S. 330) granting a pension to Jack Sommer;

A bill (S. 331) granting a pension to Arthur Rose;

A bill (S. 332) granting a pension to John Leonard;

A bill (S. 333) granting an increase of pension to Adam Eckert;

A bill (S. 334) granting an increase of pension to Anthony W. Presley;

A bill (S. 335) granting an increase of pension to Albert H. Boon;

A bill (S. 336) granting a pension to Charles A. Bushey;

A bill (S. 337) granting an increase of pension to Bridget McDaniels;

A bill (S. 338) granting a pension to Rolla King;

A bill (S. 339) granting a pension to Sarah Compton;

A bill (S. 340) granting a pension to Mahalath Leonard;

A bill (S. 341) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Higby;

A bill (S. 342) granting an increase of pension to Simeon L. Coen;

A bill (S. 343) granting a pension to Mary A. Cummings;

A bill (S. 344) granting an increase of pension to Hugh L. Eyler (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 345) granting an increase of pension to Chase Cummins (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 346) to increase the area of the United States Botanic Garden in the city of Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. MARTIN:

A bill (S. 347) to provide for recognizing the value of the services of such citizens of the United States not officers of the Army, Navy, or Public Health Service, who were employed by the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Co., and who served as such officials or employees of the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Co. for a period of three years or more during the construction of said canal, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

A bill (S. 348) to amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, as amended by an act approved May 15, 1916; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 349) for the restoration of Alonzo Burke, chief carpenter, United States Navy (retired), to the active list of the Navy; and

A bill (S. 350) providing for the promotion of Chief Boatswain Patrick Deery, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 351) to reimburse the estate of Gen. George Washington for certain lands of his in the State of Ohio, lost by conflicting grants made under the authority of the United States; to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

A bill (S. 352) granting pensions to certain members of the former Life-Saving Service; and

A bill (S. 353) to amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 354) providing for the improvement of the roadway from the railroad depot at Fredericksburg, Va., to the National Cemetery near Fredericksburg; and

A bill (S. 355) to establish the Fredericksburg and Adjacent National Battlefields Memorial Park, in the State of Virginia; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 356) to aid in the erection of a monument to Pocahontas at Jamestown, Va.;

A bill (S. 357) providing for the construction of an iron picket fence around the monument at Jamestown, Va.;

A bill (S. 358) for the erection of a statue to John Marshall; and

A bill (S. 359) for the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. William Campbell; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 360) to provide for the adjudication of claims of trust companies and other claimants for refund of taxes illegally collected;

A bill (S. 361) to execute the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the heirs of William Pollock, deceased;

A bill (S. 362) for the relief of E. Scott Arrington;

A bill (S. 363) for the relief of Ida Banks;

A bill (S. 364) to provide for the payment of certain moneys advanced by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States Government to be applied toward erecting public buildings for the Federal Government in the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 365) for the relief of W. T. Brogdon;

A bill (S. 366) for the relief of William Allman and others; and

A bill (S. 367) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Edward I. Gallagher, administrator of Charles Gallagher, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 368) granting an increase of pension to Sophie M. Walker;

A bill (S. 369) granting a pension to Pyrrhus Williams;

A bill (S. 370) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Rebecca (Taylor) Jones;

A bill (S. 371) granting a pension to James W. Ruffin;

A bill (S. 372) granting a pension to James Mickian;

A bill (S. 373) granting an increase of pension to Oliver J. Johnson;

A bill (S. 374) granting a pension to Joseph H. Mayo;

A bill (S. 375) granting a pension to R. H. Catlett;

A bill (S. 376) granting a pension to Elmer E. Dickey;

A bill (S. 377) granting a pension to Roland B. Horsley;

A bill (S. 378) granting a pension to George E. Harrison;

A bill (S. 379) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Turner;

A bill (S. 380) granting an increase of pension to Susan Riley; and

A bill (S. 381) granting an increase of pension to Grace Boggs; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON (by request):

A bill (S. 382) for providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CULBERSON:

A bill (S. 383) to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DILLINGHAM:

A bill (S. 384) granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Greene (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 385) to authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations;

A bill (S. 386) to authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations;

A bill (S. 387) for the relief of John Flanigan; and

A bill (S. 388) for the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Mrs. Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara L. Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edward Adams; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 389) to extend the time for cutting timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz.; and

A bill (S. 390) to establish the Grand Canyon National Park in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 391) amending section 4 of the public-building act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a building for post office and customhouse at Nogales, Ariz.; and

A bill (S. 392) to provide for the erection of a public building at Prescott, in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 393) granting a pension to Martin T. Knapp; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 394) granting an increase of pension to John Burns (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LANE:

A bill (S. 395) to provide old-age pensions; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 396) to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and Members of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A bill (S. 397) to regulate control over all navigable waters and estuaries thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 398) authorizing issuance of land patent to Lewis Montgomery; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 399) to amend paragraph 207 of the act approved October 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Finance.

(By request.) A bill (S. 400) to encourage private enterprise and capital in upbuilding the merchant marine of the United States and to promote commerce between the United States and foreign nations; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 401) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Corvallis, in the State of Oregon; and

A bill (S. 402) to provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Hood River, Oreg.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 403) for the relief of Joe Davis;

A bill (S. 404) for the relief of Emmett W. Entriken;

A bill (S. 405) making an appropriation to construct a national home for aged and infirm colored people and colored working girls, and to establish industrial farms to aid in the maintenance of the same;

A bill (S. 406) making an appropriation for the payment of certain claims growing out of the Civil War; and

A bill (S. 407) for the relief of James D. Watts; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 408) to authorize the establishment of fish-cultural stations on the Columbia River or its tributaries in the State of Oregon or the State of Washington;

A bill (S. 409) for the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 410) to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 411) for the relief of the Crow Indians in Montana;

A bill (S. 412) for the relief of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma;

A bill (S. 413) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from the Treasury a certain sum of the permanent fund of the Chippewas of Minnesota now on deposit therein to their credit;

A bill (S. 414) to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians; to provide penalties therefor; to amend chapter 109 of volume 29, United States Statutes at Large, the same being an act of Congress approved January 30, 1897;

A bill (S. 415) for the abolishment of the Indian Bureau, the closing out of Indian tribal organizations, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 416) authorizing any nation, tribe, or band of Indians to submit claims against the United States to the Court of Claims, with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; and

A bill (S. 417) to reimburse the heirs of Chief Heavy Runner on account of his death and for property taken from him at the time of the Baker massacre; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAMS:

A bill (S. 418) for the relief of the estate of Francis Mayerhoff;

A bill (S. 419) for the relief of heirs or estate of Benjamin Garrett, deceased;

A bill (S. 420) for the relief of the estate of J. M. Fortenberry, deceased;

A bill (S. 421) for the relief of Mrs. P. A. Eskridge;

A bill (S. 422) for the relief of Clarissa Duncan and Charles E. Duncan;

A bill (S. 423) for the relief of the estate of Mary Dean, deceased;

A bill (S. 424) for the relief of the estate of Enos Davis, deceased;

A bill (S. 425) for the relief of heirs or estate of E. C. Cornelius, deceased;

A bill (S. 426) for the relief of the heirs of J. B. Clark;

A bill (S. 427) for the relief of the heirs of Louis Cato, deceased;

A bill (S. 428) for the relief of heirs of Winston Morris, deceased;

A bill (S. 429) for the relief of Maria Elizabeth Burnett;

A bill (S. 430) for the relief of the estate of R. C. Bumpass, deceased;

A bill (S. 431) to authorize the Postmaster General to settle the accounts of Capt. J. H. Estes;

A bill (S. 432) for the relief of the heirs of J. L. W. Bullock, deceased;

A bill (S. 433) for the relief of the heirs of U. H. Buck, deceased;

A bill (S. 434) for the relief of the estate of Capt. John Belino, deceased;

A bill (S. 435) for the relief of Louis T. Barnes;

A bill (S. 436) for the relief of heirs of James Porter, deceased;

A bill (S. 437) for the relief of the estate of William Richards, deceased;

A bill (S. 438) for the relief of the estate of Joseph S. Rogers, deceased;

A bill (S. 439) for the relief of James K. Hamblen;

A bill (S. 440) for the relief of Mrs. E. A. Lanier and estate of N. B. Lanier, deceased;

A bill (S. 441) for the relief of the heirs of Jacob Kuykendall;

A bill (S. 442) for the relief of the estate of Phereby R. Sheppard;

A bill (S. 443) for the relief of heirs or estate of Eunice Hurdle, deceased;

A bill (S. 444) for the relief of Harry P. Lee, John M. Lee, and the heirs of Nathaniel W. Lee, deceased;

A bill (S. 445) for the relief of heirs or estate of Jesse Mabry, deceased;

A bill (S. 446) for the relief of the heirs, devisees, and legatees of Willis Lowe, deceased;

A bill (S. 447) for the relief of Thomas H. Jett;

A bill (S. 448) for the relief of M. T. Sigrest;

A bill (S. 449) for the relief of heirs or estate of John Mills, deceased;

A bill (S. 450) for the relief of Alice Petrie Watkins, Charles Petrie, and the heirs of Eva Petrie Hamilton, or their personal representatives;

A bill (S. 451) for the relief of the trustees of Evergreen Lodge, No. 77, Free and Accepted Masons, of Decatur, Miss.;

A bill (S. 452) for the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Decatur, Miss.;

A bill (S. 453) for the relief of the trustees of the Sageville Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Sageville, Lauderdale County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 454) for the relief of the estate of Gladney, Gardner & Co.;

A bill (S. 455) for the relief of the estate of Julia A. Reece, deceased;

A bill (S. 456) for the relief of the estate of William Roberts, deceased;

A bill (S. 457) for the relief of the heirs of Franklin Perin, deceased;

A bill (S. 458) for the relief of the estate of Minerva Newman;

A bill (S. 459) for the relief of the legal representatives of James M. Brabston and Roche H. Brabston;

A bill (S. 460) for the relief of Maria Elizabeth Burnett;

A bill (S. 461) for the relief of the legal representatives of Gustavus Colhoun, late of Adams County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 462) for the relief of the estate of Franklin S. Whitney, deceased;

A bill (S. 463) for the relief of the heirs of Joshua Nicholls;

A bill (S. 464) for the relief of William H. C. Whiting and others;

A bill (S. 465) for the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Sageville, Lauderdale County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 466) for the relief of the estate of Nevin Phares;

A bill (S. 467) for the relief of W. W. Warren, administrator of the estate of Jackson Warren, deceased;

A bill (S. 468) for the relief of heirs or estate of Louis Summers, deceased;

A bill (S. 469) for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased;

A bill (S. 470) for the relief of the estate of William Penn, deceased;

A bill (S. 471) for the relief of heirs or estate of W. R. Smith, deceased;

A bill (S. 472) for the relief of Sargeant Prentiss Knut, administrator of the estate of Haller Nutt, deceased;

A bill (S. 473) for the relief of the heirs of Charles F. McLean; and

A bill (S. 474) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to readjudicate the cases of Mattie W. Jackson, widow, and others against The United States, and Mattie E. Hughes against The United States; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 475) for the relief of Brooke Gwathmey Bird; and

A bill (S. 476) for the relief of Edward L. Keyes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 477) granting a pension to Lucy K. Kellogg;

A bill (S. 478) granting a pension to Fannie E. Hilton;

A bill (S. 479) granting a pension to Robert Webb Banks;

A bill (S. 480) granting an increase of pension to Ellen G. Taylor;

A bill (S. 481) granting a pension to Edward M. Riley;

A bill (S. 482) granting a pension to John E. Hall;

A bill (S. 483) granting an increase of pension to Elie Jones Quinby;

A bill (S. 484) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Brooks;

A bill (S. 485) granting an increase of pension to David W. Herriman;

A bill (S. 486) granting a pension to Elvis R. Street;

A bill (S. 487) granting a pension to Eva A. Trager;

A bill (S. 488) granting a pension to Susan A. Strickler; and

A bill (S. 489) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. McElroy; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEAN:

A bill (S. 490) granting an increase of pension to Catherine A. Payne;

A bill (S. 491) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Morris;

A bill (S. 492) granting an increase of pension to Edward P. Morgan;

A bill (S. 493) granting an increase of pension to Patrick J. Moran;

A bill (S. 494) granting an increase of pension to Rosanna Miller;

A bill (S. 495) granting an increase of pension to Delia J. McKeon;

A bill (S. 496) granting an increase of pension to Robert Liddell;

A bill (S. 497) granting an increase of pension to Laura H. Lathrop;

A bill (S. 498) granting a pension to Mary D. Lauder;

A bill (S. 499) granting an increase of pension to Ralph Kent, jr.;

A bill (S. 500) granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Judd;

A bill (S. 501) granting a pension to Olive Hazard;

A bill (S. 502) granting an increase of pension to Don Pedro Griswold;

A bill (S. 503) granting an increase of pension to George W. Garthwaite;

A bill (S. 504) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Eddy;

A bill (S. 505) granting an increase of pension to Josephine M. Downes;

A bill (S. 506) granting an increase of pension to Amos Dickinson;

A bill (S. 507) granting an increase of pension to Sherman E. Deming;
A bill (S. 508) granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Dayton;
A bill (S. 509) granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Chappell;
A bill (S. 510) granting an increase of pension to David Burns;
A bill (S. 511) granting an increase of pension to William Brant;
A bill (S. 512) granting a pension to Elizabeth Blake;
A bill (S. 513) granting an increase of pension to Theodore C. Bates;
A bill (S. 514) granting a pension to Louise R. Baglin;
A bill (S. 515) granting an increase of pension to George I. Babcock;
A bill (S. 516) granting an increase of pension to Eva D. Peck;
A bill (S. 517) granting a pension to Joseph Povencher, jr.;
A bill (S. 518) granting an increase of pension to Curtis B. Ralph;
A bill (S. 519) granting an increase of pension to Ellen J. Raymond;
A bill (S. 520) granting a pension to Mary L. Tucket Spittle;
A bill (S. 521) granting a pension to Frances M. Swift;
A bill (S. 522) granting an increase of pension to William Thomas;
A bill (S. 523) granting a pension to Laura Tisdale;
A bill (S. 524) granting a pension to Harriet L. Whiton; and
A bill (S. 525) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Winter; to the Committee on Pensions.
A bill (S. 526) for the relief of Mrs. Jarvis M. Williams;
A bill (S. 527) for the relief of the estate of Philip Halsey Remington;
A bill (S. 528) for the relief of the heirs of Paul Noyes;
A bill (S. 529) for the relief of Alice H. Morse;
A bill (S. 530) for the relief of James Gilfillan;
A bill (S. 531) for the relief of Charles J. Fuller;
A bill (S. 532) for the relief of Joshua A. Fessenden and others;
A bill (S. 533) authorizing the payment to the widow of Dorence Atwater of compensation for services rendered the United States of America; and
A bill (S. 534) for the relief of the heirs of Adam and Noah Brown; to the Committee on Claims.
A bill (S. 535) to amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels; and
A bill (S. 536) for the improvement of navigation of the Connecticut River and authorizing the Connecticut River Co. to relocate and construct a dam in said river above the village of Windsor Locks, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Commerce.
A bill (S. 537) for the relief of Joseph Wygant;
A bill (S. 538) for the relief of Henry E. Williams;
A bill (S. 539) for the relief of John M. Squire;
A bill (S. 540) for the relief of Edward Shannon;
A bill (S. 541) for the relief of Lester A. Rockwell;
A bill (S. 542) to grant medals to survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party;
A bill (S. 543) to correct the military record of Walter H. Hutchinson; and
A bill (S. 544) to correct the military record of Charles K. Bond, alias Kimball W. Rollins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
A bill (S. 545) authorizing the Secretary of War to erect a monument at Valparaiso, Chile; to the Committee on the Library.
A bill (S. 546) regulating the use of names by fraternal orders; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.
By Mr. SUTHERLAND:
A bill (S. 547) to authorize the erection of a monument at Fort Seybert, W. Va., to commemorate the capture and massacre of Capt. Seybert and a number of men and women at that point and in the South Fork and South Branch Valleys of the Potomac by the noted Indian chief Kill Buck and his band of Indian warriors in the year 1758; to the Committee on the Library.
A bill (S. 548) to reimburse S. S. Buzzerd, postmaster of Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for cash stolen; and
A bill (S. 549) to reimburse Isaiah Stephens, postmaster of McMechen, Marshall County, W. Va., for money and postage stamps stolen; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.
A bill (S. 550) for the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Adkins, deceased;
A bill (S. 551) for the relief of Jasper Newton Gibson;
A bill (S. 552) for the relief of Thomas J. Lloyd;
A bill (S. 553) for the relief of R. A. McCutcheon;
A bill (S. 554) for the relief of Mrs. Sarah L. Nuzum, widow of Joel D. Nuzum, deceased; and
A bill (S. 555) for the relief of the estates of Aaron Van Camp and Virginius P. Chapin; to the Committee on Claims.
A bill (S. 556) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Solomon M. Bennett;
A bill (S. 557) for the relief of John W. Berry;
A bill (S. 558) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John B. Connolly;
A bill (S. 559) for the relief of John W. May;
A bill (S. 560) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Murphy;
A bill (S. 561) for the relief of Theophilus Nuzum;
A bill (S. 562) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Thomas Simmons; and
A bill (S. 563) for the relief of George B. Todd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
A bill (S. 564) granting an increase of pension to General Taylor Garrison;
A bill (S. 565) granting an increase of pension to Oscar N. Greer;
A bill (S. 566) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Bartlett;
A bill (S. 567) granting an increase of pension to Ann Bates;
A bill (S. 568) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Beorn;
A bill (S. 569) granting an increase of pension to Luke P. Brooks;
A bill (S. 570) granting a pension to Charles B. Cundiff;
A bill (S. 571) granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Cokeley;
A bill (S. 572) granting a pension to Anderson Crum;
A bill (S. 573) granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Clark;
A bill (S. 574) granting an increase of pension to William A. Cale;
A bill (S. 575) granting an increase of pension to George B. Douglass;
A bill (S. 576) granting a pension to Ida M. Goodwin;
A bill (S. 577) for the relief of West Virginia State troops;
A bill (S. 578) granting a pension to Edwin T. Jones;
A bill (S. 579) granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Lee;
A bill (S. 580) granting an increase of pension to George A. Liston;
A bill (S. 581) granting an increase of pension to Samuel McAtee;
A bill (S. 582) granting a pension to W. H. Mallow;
A bill (S. 583) granting an increase of pension to John W. Marks;
A bill (S. 584) granting an increase of pension to Levi Morris;
A bill (S. 585) granting an increase of pension to Joshua C. Ogden;
A bill (S. 586) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Reed;
A bill (S. 587) granting an increase of pension to Enoch Roberts;
A bill (S. 588) granting a pension to William P. Robinson;
A bill (S. 589) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin N. Satterfield;
A bill (590) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Smith;
A bill (S. 591) granting a pension to Solomon P. Stalnaker;
A bill (S. 592) granting a pension to Joseph Stevens;
A bill (S. 593) granting pensions to the officers and soldiers who served in the West Virginia State troops in the late Civil War;
A bill (S. 594) granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Civil War;
A bill (S. 595) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Taylor;
A bill (S. 596) granting an increase of pension to James W. Toothman;
A bill (S. 597) granting a pension to Edgar Travis;
A bill (S. 598) granting a pension to Cale Trippett;
A bill (S. 599) granting a pension to Henry Washington;
A bill (S. 600) granting an increase of pension to Ellsworth E. Welch;
A bill (S. 601) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Welsh;

A bill (S. 602) granting a pension to Lula C. Winans;
A bill (S. 603) granting an increase of pension to Gordon H. Williams;
A bill (S. 604) granting an increase of pension to David D. Arnold;
A bill (S. 605) granting a pension to Asa W. Coplin;
A bill (S. 606) granting an increase of pension to Henry Arthur;
A bill (S. 607) granting an increase of pension to America Postelwait;
A bill (S. 608) granting an increase of pension to John B. Raines;
A bill (S. 609) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Jordan;
A bill (S. 610) granting an increase of pension to Jethrow Davis;
A bill (S. 611) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Harman;
A bill (S. 612) granting an increase of pension to C. C. Stemple;
A bill (S. 613) granting an increase of pension to Leander N. Thornberry, now known as Frank H. Reynolds;
A bill (S. 614) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Boyce;
A bill (S. 615) granting an increase of pension to Edward D. Hamrick;
A bill (S. 616) granting an increase of pension to Fannie I. Cooper;
A bill (S. 617) granting an increase of pension to William L. Swiger;
A bill (S. 618) granting an increase of pension to Littleton T. Morgan;
A bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to William J. Grimm; and
A bill (S. 620) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Ebert; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. POMERENE:

A bill (S. 621) to provide for the promotion of Americanization of immigrants through education, and to appropriate money therefor; to the Committee on Immigration.
A bill (S. 622) to amend section 985 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
A bill (S. 623) to provide for the erection of a monument to Gen. William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States; to the Committee on the Library.
A bill (S. 624) providing an additional appropriation for the Federal building at Steubenville, Ohio;
A bill (S. 625) for the purchase of a post-office site at Bucyrus, Ohio;
A bill (S. 626) providing for the purchase of a site for the purpose of erecting a Federal building thereon in the city of Troy, county of Miami, State of Ohio, and appropriating the money therefor; and
A bill (S. 627) to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to contract for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, and improvement of the present Federal building in Youngstown, Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.
A bill (S. 628) to increase the efficiency of the United States Military and the United States Naval Academies, and to increase the number of graduates therefrom by the immediate establishment of a one-year united service school in the Middle West;
A bill (S. 629) to authorize the President to reinstate Guy H. B. Smith, formerly captain, Fourth United States Infantry, in the Army;
A bill (S. 630) to amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries;
A bill (S. 631) to authorize the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint George L. Morrison captain of Cavalry, to take rank as such next after Capt. James A. Mars; and
A bill (S. 632) for the relief of Col. Selden Allen Day; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
A bill (S. 633) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.
A bill (S. 634) to promote export trade, and for other purposes;
A bill (S. 635) to amend section 21 of "An act relating to bills of lading in interstate and foreign commerce," approved August 29, 1916; and
A bill (S. 636) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.
A bill (S. 637) regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia;
A bill (S. 638) authorizing the Post Office Department to acquire and extend the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; and to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be postally conducted;
A bill (S. 639) regulating itinerant vendors in the District of Columbia; and
A bill (S. 640) for the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SHERMAN:

A bill (S. 641) for the relief of Mary C. Mayers; and
A bill (S. 642) for the relief of Edward N. McCarty; to the Committee on Claims.
A bill (S. 643) for the relief of Clark W. Cottrell;
A bill (S. 644) for the relief of Luther Cline;
A bill (S. 645) for the relief of Caleb T. Holland; and
A bill (S. 646) for the relief of James Orange; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
A bill (S. 647) granting a pension to Amanda B. Birch;
A bill (S. 648) granting a pension to Margaret Boudreaux;
A bill (S. 649) granting a pension to Mary E. Bradshaw;
A bill (S. 650) granting a pension to John August Bohman;
A bill (S. 651) granting a pension to Monroe Cole;
A bill (S. 652) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Creed;
A bill (S. 653) granting a pension to Cora Conzet;
A bill (S. 654) granting an increase of pension to John W. Chapman;
A bill (S. 655) granting a pension to Ellen Hammond Clark;
A bill (S. 656) granting a pension to Rebecca F. Cullison;
A bill (S. 657) granting an increase of pension to Celia J. Crawford;
A bill (S. 658) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Denny;
A bill (S. 659) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Dalzell;
A bill (S. 660) granting an increase of pension to Aaron N. Elliott;
A bill (S. 661) granting a pension to Hector C. Fairfowl;
A bill (S. 662) granting a pension to John A. Foster;
A bill (S. 663) granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Fletcher;
A bill (S. 664) granting an increase of pension to Zeba D. French;
A bill (S. 665) granting a pension to John W. Ferris;
A bill (S. 666) granting an increase of pension to Edward L. Frabe;
A bill (S. 667) granting an increase of pension to Emma S. Gere;
A bill (S. 668) granting a pension to Frank M. Gilmore;
A bill (S. 669) granting a pension to Jane Goodman;
A bill (S. 670) granting an increase of pension to John S. Goodyear;
A bill (S. 671) granting a pension to Thomas S. Gher;
A bill (S. 672) granting an increase of pension to George W. Grigg;
A bill (S. 673) granting an increase of pension to William Hix;
A bill (S. 674) granting a pension to Jacob Hefler;
A bill (S. 675) granting a pension to William D. Harrington;
A bill (S. 676) granting a pension to Eliza Hiser;
A bill (S. 677) granting an increase of pension to Frances L. Hay;
A bill (S. 678) granting a pension to George W. Irvin;
A bill (S. 679) granting a pension to Mary W. James;
A bill (S. 680) granting a pension to James T. Johnson;
A bill (S. 681) granting a pension to William E. Johnson;
A bill (S. 682) granting a pension to Margaret Jeffrey;
A bill (S. 683) granting an increase of pension to William L. V. Kite;
A bill (S. 684) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Lemora;
A bill (S. 685) granting a pension to Sarah Morton;
A bill (S. 686) granting a pension to Sarah E. Murray;
A bill (S. 687) granting a pension to Fannie H. Maffitt;
A bill (S. 688) granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Mills;
A bill (S. 689) granting a pension to Fred Muff;

A bill (S. 690) granting an increase of pension to William O'Callaghan;

A bill (S. 691) granting an increase of pension to Chester C. Overturf;

A bill (S. 692) granting a pension to Henry A. Rowley;

A bill (S. 693) granting an increase of pension to Madison O. Rose;

A bill (S. 694) granting an increase of pension to Warren B. Rich;

A bill (S. 695) granting a pension to Elizabeth Rigg;

A bill (S. 696) granting a pension to Clarinda Stoner;

A bill (S. 697) granting an increase of pension to Iva O. Shepardson;

A bill (S. 698) granting a pension to Elizabeth F. Skeen;

A bill (S. 699) granting a pension to Mary E. Sargent;

A bill (S. 700) granting a pension to Gustav J. Tichy;

A bill (S. 701) granting an increase of pension to Felix M. Wheat;

A bill (S. 702) granting a pension to Frank H. Wright;

A bill (S. 703) granting an increase of pension to John Wones;

A bill (S. 704) granting a pension to John Zilkie; and

A bill (S. 705) granting an increase of pension to Ella Conner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUGHES:

A bill (S. 706) for the relief of George Wingate; and

A bill (S. 707) for the relief of Daniel Delhagen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 708) to provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith; and

A bill (S. 709) to regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 710) to reinstate Elwin Carlton Taylor as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy; and

A bill (S. 711) to place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 712) for the relief of Bayard T. Garrabrant; and

A bill (S. 713) for the relief of the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 714) providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 715) to establish a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 716) to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 717) authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of construction or operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 718) making an appropriation for the construction of roads within the Petrified Forest National Monument, Ariz.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 719) to authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a diversion dam with a bridge superstructure across the Gila River on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, Ariz.;

A bill (S. 720) authorizing a report upon the feasibility of constructing the Colorado River Indian irrigation project; and

A bill (S. 721) to authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a bridge across the Salt River on the Salt River Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 3) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 4) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. OWEN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 5) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 6) relating to the transmission through the mails of publicity pamphlets; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 7) relating to the constitutionality of acts of Congress; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 8) proposing a method of amending the Constitution of the United States by establishing constitutional majority rule; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 9) looking toward an international peace conference at The Hague immediately after the close of the present war in Europe; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 10) creating offices of congressional examiners; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 11) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 12) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the electoral college, establishing their term of office from the third Tuesday of January following their election, and fixing the time when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 13) extending the time within which the "joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River" shall remain in effect; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 14) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 15) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 16) providing that the Congress of the United States shall participate in the celebration of the "golden wedding" of the first transcontinental lines of railway in the United States; to the Committee on Industrial Expositions.

NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I present several bills for reading and reference, but I wish to call attention to one in particular. I am informed that there are in this country thousands of German aliens who have neglected through carelessness to take out their naturalization papers, although they have been in the United States many years. They have been and are law-abiding residents of our country, but at this time they realize, as they have never realized before, that they have neglected the opportunity which has been accorded them to become citizens of a country which they love and with which their highest welfare is aligned. They are now recorded or will be recorded as aliens, and the finger of suspicion will be pointed at them. I am advised that they are very anxious to become citizens of the United States at once.

I introduce this bill providing for naturalizing those citizens, without making the declaration of intentions, who comply with the law of the land in regard to naturalization in other respects and who have been here for five years or more. I move that the bill be referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The bill (S. 124) to provide for the naturalization of certain aliens was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage. This joint resolution is identical with one introduced in several previous Congresses and generally known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment. I have been requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and others to introduce this joint resolution in such order as would cause it to bear number "1" as in previous Congresses. I had planned this course, but the exigencies of this extraordinary session of Congress have not made this purpose practicable or advisable, owing to the tremendous importance of the joint resolution introduced on Monday night. I know that the supporters of this joint resolution are quite willing that it shall bear a subsequent number. I therefore introduce the joint resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask may be read at length. It is short.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 17) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes are hereby prohibited.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation, and nothing in this article shall deprive the several States of their power to enact and enforce laws prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. JONES of Washington submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $4,000 to pay John W. Keener for compiling and indexing the Public Land Statutes of the United States, printed as Senate document No. 547, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill (H. R. 12), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. HUGHES submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $1,200 to pay Dennis M. Kerr for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill (H. R. 12), which was referred to the Committee on Pensions and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. HUGHES. I desire to give notice that on to-morrow I shall submit a proposed amendment to the rules of the Senate, to read as follows:

I hereby give notice of intention to propose an amendment to the rules of the Senate, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That after a bill or joint resolution shall have been reported to the Senate from the Committee of the Whole no Senator shall, without unanimous consent, speak for more than one hour on the bill nor for more than 10 minutes on any amendment, and that all such debate shall be pertinent and relevant to the subject under discussion."

FEDERAL ANTITRUST DECISIONS.

Mr. McLEAN submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 1), which was read and referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound 3,000 copies of the Federal antitrust decisions, 1911 to 1917, to be compiled by the direction of the Department of Justice, 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate and 2,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives.

ALICE CANNING.

Mr. HUGHES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 22), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay, from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Alice Canning, widow of Thomas A. Canning, late conductor of elevator in the employ of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. HUGHES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 23), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Whereas differences have arisen between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. (a street railway corporation in the District of Columbia, created and existing by virtue of the act of Congress approved June 5, 1900) and certain of its employees, by reason of which said employees declared a strike or "walkout" on Monday, March 12, 1917, and withdrew from the service if the company; and

Whereas the failure of the said street railway company and its employees to settle and adjust their differences has caused and is causing great public inconvenience and loss; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the public safety and welfare that the causes of the existing differences between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and its employees should be ascertained and a means devised, if possible, whereby the same may be justly accommodated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate, who are hereby given full authority to investigate the cause or causes which have occasioned the present strike by the said employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and to report the result of its investigations, with such recommendations as it may deem proper to make, to the Senate at the earliest possible day, and the said committee or subcommittee thereof is hereby given power and authority to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony under oath as to all matters and things covered by this resolution and to employ such clerical and stenographic assistance as may be necessary in the premises, the expenses of said committee to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. OWEN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 24), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That Rules I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXVI, and XL be amended to read as follows:

"RULE I.

"APPOINTMENT OF A SENATOR TO THE CHAIR.

"First. In the absence of the Vice President the Senate shall choose a President pro tempore. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"Second. In the absence of the Vice President, and pending the election of a President pro tempore, the Secretary of the Senate, or in his absence the Chief Clerk, shall perform the duties of the Chair. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"That it is competent for the Senate to elect a President pro tempore, who shall hold the office during the pleasure of the Senate and until another is elected, and shall execute the duties thereof during all future absences of the Vice President until the Senate otherwise order.

"Third. The President pro tempore shall have the right to name in open Senate, or, if absent, in writing, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment, except by unanimous consent. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"Fourth. In event of a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, or whenever the powers and duties of the President shall devolve on the Vice President, the President pro tempore shall have the right to name, in writing, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair during his absence, and the Senator so named shall have the right to name in open session, or in writing, if absent, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond adjournment, except by unanimous consent. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"Fifth. That whenever a Senator shall be designated by the President pro tempore to perform the duties of the Chair during his temporary absence he shall be empowered to sign, as acting President pro tempore, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions coming from the House of Representatives for presentation to the President of the United States.

"A Senator occupying the chair temporarily in the absence of those presiding officers who may occupy it under the rule is authorized to sign bills and joint resolutions as set forth in this clause.

"RULE III.

"COMMENCEMENT OF DAILY SESSIONS.

"First. The Presiding Officer having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the Journal of the preceding day shall be read, and any mistake made in the entries corrected. The reading of the Journal shall not be suspended unless by unanimous consent, and when any motion shall be made to amend or correct the same it shall be deemed a privileged question and proceeded with until disposed of. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. VI, XLIX.)

"QUORUM.

"Second. A quorum shall consist of a majority of the Senators duly chosen and sworn. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. VI.)

"RULE IV.

"JOURNAL.

"First. The proceedings of the Senate shall be briefly and accurately stated on the Journal. Messages of the President in full; titles of bills and joint resolutions, and such parts as shall be affected by proposed amendments; every vote, and a brief statement of the contents of each petition, memorial, or paper presented to the Senate shall be entered. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLIX.)

"Second. The legislative, the executive, the confidential legislative proceedings, and the proceedings when sitting as a Court of Impeachment shall each be recorded in a separate book. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLIX.)

"RULE V.

"QUORUM—ABSENT SENATORS MAY BE SENT FOR.

"First. No Senator shall absent himself from the service of the Senate without leave. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. VIII.)

"Second. If, at any time during the daily sessions of the Senate, a question shall be raised by any Senator as to the presence of a quorum, the presiding officer shall forthwith direct the Secretary to call the roll and shall announce the result, and these proceedings shall be without debate, but a second call for a quorum shall not be had until business, other than debate, has been presented or has intervened. A Senator shall not be required to yield the floor to another Senator for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum without his consent.

"Third. Whenever upon such roll call it shall be ascertained that a quorum is not present, a majority of the Senators present may direct the Sergeant at Arms to request and, when necessary, to compel the attendance of the absent Senators, by issuing a warrant signed by the temporary occupant of the chair in the absence of the Vice President, the President pro tempore, or the Senator designated to preside during the day by the foregoing officers, and who is also hereby authorized to sign said warrant, which shall be attested by the Secretary with the seal of the Senate attached, which order shall be determined without debate; and pending its execution, and until a quorum shall be present, no debate nor motion, except to adjourn, shall be in order. The same powers are given to the majority of Senators present to request and, when necessary, to compel the attendance of absent Senators when a quorum is present, without debate.

"Fourth. If necessary, when a Senator is present, even if paired, and does not answer to the roll call, he shall be counted as present to make a quorum.

"RULE VI.

"PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS.

"First. The presentation of the credentials of Senators elect or appointed and other questions of privilege shall always be in order, except during the reading and correction of the Journal, while a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing; and all questions and motions arising or made upon the presentation of such credentials shall be proceeded with until disposed of.

"Second. The Secretary shall keep a record of the certificates of election or appointment of Senators by entering in a well-bound book kept for that purpose the date of the election, the name of the person elected and the vote given at the election, the date of the certifi-

cate, the name of the governor and the secretary of state signing and countersigning the same, and the State from which such Senator is elected.

"RULE VII.

"MORNING BUSINESS.

"First. After the Journal is read the Presiding Officer shall lay before the Senate messages from the President, reports and communications from the heads of departments, and other communications addressed to the Senate, and such bills, joint resolutions, and other messages from the House of Representatives as may remain upon his table from any previous day's session undisposed of. The Presiding Officer shall then call for, in the following order:

"The presentation of petitions and memorials.

"Reports of standing and select committees.

"The introduction of bills and joint resolutions.

"Concurrent and other resolutions.

"Resolutions coming over from a previous day.

"All of which shall be received and disposed of in such order, unless unanimous consent shall be otherwise given, except resolutions coming over from a previous day, which may be considered until disposed of on that day or until the expiration of the morning hour, and if not disposed of shall go to the calendar.

"Second. Senators having petitions, memorials, or bills during or after the morning hour may deliver them to the Secretary of the Senate, indorsing upon them their names and the reference or disposition to be made thereof, and said petitions, memorials, and bills shall, with the approval of the Presiding Officer, be entered on the Journal with the names of the Senators presenting them as having been read twice and referred to the appropriate committees; and the Secretary of the Senate shall furnish a transcript of such entries to the official reporter of debates for publication in the RECORD.

"It shall not be in order to interrupt a Senator having the floor for the purpose of introducing any memorial, petition, report of a committee, resolution or bill. It shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce this rule without any point of order hereunder being made by a Senator.

"Third. Until the morning business shall have been concluded and so announced from the Chair, which may be before the hour of 1 o'clock, but if not concluded until the hour of 1 o'clock has arrived no motion to proceed to the consideration of any bill, resolution, report of a committee, or other subject upon the calendar shall be entertained by the Presiding Officer unless by unanimous consent; and if such consent be given the motion shall not be subject to amendment, and shall be decided without debate upon the merits of the subject proposed to be taken up. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"Fourth. Every petition or memorial shall be referred without putting the question unless objection to such reference is made, in which case all motions for the reception or reference of such petition, memorial, or other paper shall be put in the order in which the same shall be made, and shall not be open to amendment except to add instructions. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIX.)

"Fifth. Every petition or memorial shall be signed by the petitioner or memorialist and have indorsed thereon a brief statement of its contents, and shall be presented and referred without debate. But no petition or memorial or other paper signed by citizens or subjects of a foreign power shall be received unless the same be transmitted to the Senate by the President. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIX.)

"Sixth. That when petitions and memorials are ordered printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the order shall be deemed to apply to the body of the petition only, and the names attached to said petition or memorial shall not be printed unless specially ordered by the Senate.

"Seventh. The presiding officer may at any time lay, and it shall be in order at any time for a Senator to move to lay, before the Senate any bill or other matter sent to the Senate by the President or the House of Representatives, and any question pending at that time shall be suspended for this purpose. Any motion so made shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"RULE VIII.

"ORDER OF BUSINESS.

"At the conclusion of the morning business for each day, unless upon motion the Senate shall at any time otherwise order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the Calendar of Bills and Resolutions and continue such consideration until 2 o'clock; and bills and resolutions that are not objected to shall be taken up in their order, and each Senator shall be entitled to speak once and for five minutes only upon any question; and the objection may be interposed at any stage of the proceedings, but upon motion the Senate may continue such consideration; and this order shall commence immediately after the call for 'concurrent and other resolutions' and shall take precedence of the unfinished business and other special orders. But if the Senate shall proceed with the consideration of any matter notwithstanding an objection, the foregoing provisions touching debate shall not apply. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"Unless otherwise ordered, the morning hour shall terminate at the expiration of two hours after the meeting of the Senate.

"All motions made before 2 o'clock to proceed to the consideration of any matter shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"RULE IX.

"ORDER OF BUSINESS (CONTINUED).

"Immediately after the consideration of cases not objected to upon the calendar is completed, and not later than 2 o'clock, if there shall be no special orders for that time, the Calendar of General Orders shall be taken up and proceeded with in its order, beginning with the first subject on the calendar which has been objected to in proceeding with the calendar; and in such case the following motions shall be in order at any time as privileged motions, save as against a motion to adjourn, or to proceed to the consideration of executive business, or questions of privilege, to wit:

"First. A motion to proceed to the consideration of an appropriation or revenue bill.

"Second. A motion to proceed to the consideration of any other bill on the calendar, which motion shall not be open to amendment.

"Third. A motion to pass over the pending subject, which, if carried, shall have the effect to leave such subject without prejudice in its place on the calendar.

"Fourth. A motion to place such subject at the foot of the calendar.

"Each of the foregoing motions shall be decided without debate and shall have precedence in the order above named, and may be submitted as in the nature and with all the rights of questions of order. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XIV, XXXIII.)

"RULE X.

"SPECIAL ORDERS.

"First. Any subject may, by a vote of a majority of the Senators present, be made a special order; and when the time so fixed for its consideration arrives the Presiding Officer shall lay it before the Senate, unless there be unfinished business of the preceding day, and if it is not finally disposed of on that day it shall take its place on the Calendar of Special Orders in the order of time at which it was made special, and shall, at 1 o'clock each day, be laid before the Senate until disposed of, unless it shall become by adjournment the unfinished business. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVIII, XXXIII.)

"Second. When two or more special orders have been made for the same time, they shall have precedence according to the order in which they were severally assigned, and that order shall only be changed by direction of the Senate.

"And all motions to change such order, or to proceed to the consideration of other business, shall be decided without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVIII, XXXIII.)

"RULE XII.

"VOTING, ETC.

"First. When the yeas and nays are ordered, the names of Senators shall be called alphabetically; and each Senator shall, without debate, declare his assent or dissent to the question, unless excused by the Senate; and no Senator shall be permitted to vote after the decision shall have been announced by the Presiding Officer, but may for sufficient reasons, after the roll call and before announcement of the result, with unanimous consent, change or withdraw his vote. No motion to suspend this rule shall be in order, nor shall the presiding officer entertain any request to suspend it by unanimous consent. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLI.)

"Second. When a Senator declines to vote on call of his name he shall be required to assign his reasons therefor, and, having assigned them, the Presiding Officer shall submit the question to the Senate: 'Shall the Senator, for the reasons assigned by him, be excused from voting?' which shall be decided without debate; and these proceedings shall be had after the roll call and before the result is announced; and any further proceedings in reference thereto shall be after such announcement. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVII, XLI.)

"Third. No request by a Senator for unanimous consent for the taking of a final vote on a specified date upon the passage of a bill or joint resolution shall be submitted to the Senate for agreement thereto until, upon a roll call ordered for the purpose by the Presiding Officer, it shall be disclosed that a quorum of the Senate is present; and when a unanimous consent is thus given the same shall operate as the order of the Senate, but any unanimous consent may be revoked by another unanimous consent granted in the manner prescribed above upon one day's notice.

"RULE XVI.

"AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

"First. All general appropriation bills shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, except the following bills, which shall be severally referred as herein indicated, namely: The bill making appropriations for rivers and harbors, to the Committee on Commerce; the Agricultural bill, to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry; the Army and the Military Academy bills, to the Committee on Military Affairs; the Indian bill, to the Committee on Indian Affairs; the naval bill, to the Committee on Naval Affairs; the pension bill, to the Committee on Pensions; the Post Office bill, to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; and no amendments shall be received to any general appropriation bill the effect of which will be to increase an appropriation already contained in the bill, or to add a new item of appropriation, unless it be made to carry out the provisions of some existing law, or treaty stipulation, or act, or resolution previously passed by the Senate during that session, or unless the same be moved by direction of a standing or select committee of the Senate or proposed in pursuance of an estimate of the head of some one of the departments. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"Second. All amendments to general appropriation bills moved by direction of a standing or select committee of the Senate, proposing to increase an appropriation already contained in the bill or to add new items of appropriation, shall, at least one day before they are considered, be referred to the committee having jurisdiction thereof, and when actually proposed to the bill no amendment proposing to increase the amount stated in such amendment shall be received; in like manner amendments proposing new items of appropriation to river and harbor bills shall before being considered be referred to the Committee on Commerce. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"Third. No amendment which proposes general legislation shall be received to any general appropriation bill, nor shall any amendment not germane or relevant to the subject matter contained in the bill be received; nor shall any amendment to any item or clause of such bill be received which does not directly relate thereto; and all questions of relevancy of amendments under this rule, when raised, shall be submitted to the Senate and be decided without debate; and any amendment to a general appropriation bill may be laid on the table without prejudice to the bill. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"Fourth. No amendment the object of which is to provide for a private claim shall be received to any general appropriation bill, unless it be to carry out the provisions of an existing law or a treaty stipulation, which shall be cited on the face of the amendment. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"RULE XVIII.

"AMENDMENTS—DIVISION OF A QUESTION.

"If the question in debate contains several propositions, any Senator may have the same divided, except a motion to strike out and insert, which shall not be divided; but the rejection of a motion to strike out and insert one proposition shall not prevent a motion to strike out and insert a different proposition; nor shall it prevent a motion simply to strike out; nor shall the rejection of a motion to strike out prevent a motion to strike out and insert. But pending a motion to strike out and insert, the part to be stricken out and the part to be inserted shall each be regarded for the purpose of amendment as an original question and not an amendment in the first degree; and motions to amend the part to be stricken out shall have precedence. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XXXV, XXXVI.)

"RULE XIX.

"DEBATE.

"First. When a Senator desires to speak he shall rise and address the Presiding Officer, and shall not proceed until he is recognized, and the Presiding Officer shall recognize the Senator who shall first address

him. No Senator shall interrupt another Senator in debate without his consent, except for a question, unless by unanimous consent, and to obtain such consent he shall first address the Presiding Officer; and no Senator shall speak more than twice nor for more than one hour upon any one question in debate on the same day without leave of the Senate, which shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVII, XXXIX.)

"Second. No Senator in debate shall, directly or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XVII.)

"Third. No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any State of the Union.

"Fourth. If any Senator, in speaking or otherwise, transgress the rules of the Senate, the Presiding Officer shall, or any Senator may, call him to order; and when a Senator shall be called to order he shall sit down and not proceed without leave of the Senate, which, if granted, shall be upon motion that he be allowed to proceed in order, which motion shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XVII.)

"Fifth. If a Senator be called to order for words spoken in debate, upon the demand of the Senator or of any other Senator, the exceptionable words shall be taken down in writing and read at the table for the information of the Senate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XVII.)

"Sixth. Whenever confusion arises in the Chamber or the galleries, or demonstrations of approval or disapproval are indulged in by the occupants of the galleries, it shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce order on his own initiative and without any point of order being made by a Senator.

"RULE XX.

"QUESTIONS OF ORDER.

"First. A question of order may be raised at any stage of the proceedings, except when the Senate is dividing, and, unless submitted to the Senate, shall be decided by the presiding officer without debate, subject to an appeal to the Senate. The Chair may permit debate for his own information, and each Senator may be entitled to speak once and for not exceeding five minutes on the question of order until the presiding officer announces that he is ready to rule on the point of order. When an appeal is taken, any subsequent question of order which may arise before the decision of such appeal shall be decided by the Presiding Officer without debate; and every appeal therefrom shall be decided at once, and without debate; and any appeal may be laid on the table without prejudice to the pending proposition, and thereupon shall be held as affirming the decision of the Presiding Officer. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXIII.)

"Second. The Presiding Officer may submit any quqestion of order for the decision of the Senate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXIII.)

"RULE XXII.

"PRECEDENCE OF MOTIONS.

"When a question is pending, no motion shall be received but—

"To adjourn.

"To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn it shall be to a day certain.

"To take a recess.

"To proceed to the consideration of executive business.

"To lay on the table.

"To postpone indefinitely.

"To postpone to a day certain.

"To commit.

"To amend.

Which several motions shall have precedence as they stand arranged; and the motions relating to adjournment, to take a recess, to proceed to the consideration of executive business, to lay on the table, shall be decided without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXIII.)

"*Provided, however,* That any Senator may move that the debate should be brought to a close, the Chair shall, without permitting any debate thereon, put the question to the Senate—

"'Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate should be brought to a close?'

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative, then it shall be in order to the exclusion of all other questions and business for any Senator to move to limit debate on the pending bill or resolution and all amendments thereto, and the said motion shall be decided without debate. And thereafter, the motion being carried, no Senator shall be entitled to speak more than one hour in all on the bill, the amendments thereto, and any motion affecting the same.

"No dilatory motion shall be in order, and it shall be the duty of the Presiding Officer to declare such motion out of order when the question of order is raised by a Senator, or to immediately submit the question without debate to the Senate.

"RULE XXVIII.

"MESSAGES AND EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

"First. Messages from the President of the United States or from the House of Representatives may be received at any stage of proceedings, except while the Senate is dividing, or while the Journal is being read, or while a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLVII.)

"Second. Messages shall be sent to the House of Representatives by the Secretary, who shall previously certify the determination of the Senate upon all bills, joint resolutions, and other resolutions which may be communicated to the House, or in which its concurrence may be requested; and the Secretary shall also certify and deliver to the President of the United States all resolutions and other communications which may be directed to him by the Senate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLVII.)

"No communications from heads of departments, commissioners, chiefs of bureaus, or other executive officers, except when authorized or required by law, or when made in response to a resolution of the Senate, will be received by the Senate unless such communications shall be transmitted to the Senate by the President.

"RULE XXIX.

"PRINTING OF PAPERS, ETC.

"First. Every motion to print documents, reports, and other matter transmitted by either of the executive departments, or to print memorials, petitions, accompanying documents, or any other paper, except bills of the Senate or House of Representatives, resolutions submitted by a Senator, communications from the legislatures or conventions, lawfully called, of the respective States, and motions to print by order of the standing or select committees of the Senate, shall, unless the Senate otherwise order, be referred to the Committee on Printing. When a motion is made to commit with instructions it shall be in order to add thereto a motion to print.

"Second. Motions to print additional numbers shall also be referred to the Committee on Printing; and when the committee shall report favorably the report shall be accompanied by an estimate of the probable cost thereof; and when the cost of printing such additional numbers shall exceed the sum of $500 the concurrence of the House of Representatives shall be necessary for an order to print the same.

"RULE XXXVI.

"EXECUTIVE SESSIONS.

"First. When the President of the United States shall meet the Senate in the Senate Chamber for the consideration of executive business, he shall have a seat on the right of the Presiding Officer. When the Senate shall be convened by the President of the United States to any other place, the Presiding Officer of the Senate and the Senators shall attend at the place appointed, with the necessary officers of the Senate.

"Second. When acting upon confidential or executive business, unless the same shall be considered in open executive session, the Senate Chamber shall be cleared of all persons except the Secretary, the Chief Clerk, the Principal Legislative Clerk, the Executive Clerk, the minute and Journal clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Assistant Doorkeeper, and such other officers as the Presiding Officer shall think necessary; and all such officers shall be sworn to secrecy.

"Third. All confidential communications made by the President of the United States to the Senate shall be by the Senators and the officers of the Senate kept secret; and all treaties which may be laid before the Senate, and all remarks, votes, and proceedings thereon shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall, by their resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy, or unless the same shall be considered in open executive session.

"The injunction of secrecy is extended to each step in the consideration of treaties, including the fact of ratification. (Senate Journal, p. 571. Appendix.)

"Fourth. Whenever the injunction of secrecy shall be removed from any part of the proceedings of the Senate in executive session, or secret legislative session, the order of the Senate removing the same shall be entered by the Secretary of the Legislative Journal as well as in the executive journal, and shall be published in the RECORD. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. LII.)

"RULE XL.

"SUSPENSION AND AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

"No motion to suspend, modify, or amend any rule, or any part thereof, shall be in order, except on one-day's notice, in writing, specifying precisely the rule or part proposed to be suspended, modified, or amended, and the purpose thereof. Any rule may be suspended without notice by the unanimous consent of the Senate, except as otherwise provided in clause 1, Rule XII, or by a two-thirds vote, without debate."

WAR WITH GERMANY.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and lays before the Senate the joint resolution.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The amendment is, on page 1, line 7, after the words "directed to," to strike out the words "take immediate steps not only to put the country in a thorough state of defense, but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination," and insert "employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States," so as to make the joint resolution read:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful determination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, what I shall say in support of the joint resolution will be short. The time for action has arrived. The time for discussion has passed. The President of the United States has already stated more clearly, more conclusively, and more effectively than I can the reasons which make this great step now to be taken necessary.

The joint resolution provides for war against the Imperial German Government. It is framed on the lines of other war

declarations of Congress, in that it directs the President to employ the military and naval forces of the country to carry the war to a successful termination. It also conforms to the precedents of other declarations when Congress has entered upon the solemn business of war by declaring that a state of war already exists. It places the responsibility of this war squarely upon the shoulders of the Imperial German Government, which is charged with having committed repeated acts of war against the United States. Over and above all this, however, the measure is unquestionably also a declaration of war.

Mr. President, in presenting the joint resolution I am impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. Some may be filled with joy at the prospect of war. To me it is depressing and dreadful. The enormous cost which the people must pay, the great increased cost of living which they must meet, the enormous burden of taxes which they must bear, and the still greater heritage of debt which they must incur stagger my mind. The awful sacrifice of life that must follow sickens my heart. I am sure other Senators have the same feeling. I am sure the great body of the American people have it also.

Our country has nothing material to gain by victory. We want no more territory; we demand no indemnity. We have no historic grudges to settle and no racial antipathies to gratify.

In these respects, Mr. President, we differ from other countries already involved in this awful struggle. Pan-Slavism struggles with pan-Germanism. Italy fights to get back the Trentino. France is resolved to recover her lost provinces. Great Britain has almost within her grasp German commerce and German colonies. Russia fights to win Constantinople. Germany not only wants her place in the sun but she wants to dominate central Europe, while Austria, Bulgaria, and Roumania all seek to extend their borders.

We alone of all the nations, Mr. President, will spend our treasure and sacrifice our lives without possibility of material gain. We are going to war, Mr. President, to vindicate our honor and to maintain our independence as a great nation. We are going to war, as the President has stated, in defense of humanity. Such quarrel as we have with the Imperial Government of Germany was not of our seeking. It was forced upon us. We did much to avoid it.

For nearly three years of this struggle our country has steadily held to its purpose to avoid war if possible. This has been true not only of the President but of Congress; and it has been true of the American people. One desperate act of the Imperial German Government after another has added to the provocation. I do not mean to say, Mr. President, that Germany has desired war with us; I do not believe it; but the German Government has been desperate and has taken desperate chances.

The invasion of Belgium shocked the sense of justice of the whole civilized world and subjected American neutrality to its first great strain. The sinking of the *Lusitania*, with hundreds of innocent passengers, men, women, and children, many of them Americans, sent a thrill of horror through America, and would have produced war had it not been for the moderation of President Wilson and his success finally in securing from the German Government an agreement to modify its methods and conform them to the rules of international law and to the dictates of humanity.

It is customary, Mr. President, to say that this agreement was violated by Germany, but it is more just and more correct to say that Germany had reserved the right to revoke it under certain conditions and exercised that right by revoking it on February first of this year. This also was an act of desperation. It was not intended to provoke war with us, but it was followed by acts of war upon us. They were not made for the deliberate purpose of injuring us, but rather to starve the English people. The effect on us, however, was the same. We were ordered off the high seas. We then dissolved diplomatic relations with Germany. We might then have gone to war. We could not submit; no great nation could remain great and independent if it did so. No great nation could maintain its place in history if it permitted another to order it off the seas; if it permitted another to bottle up its commerce; if it permitted another to dictate to it as to the exercise of its unquestioned right and to impose the penalty of murder of its citizens in case of refusal.

The President stated in his address that we were confronted with the alternative of resistance or submission; and, Mr. President, we should remember that even then this people did not declare for war and our great President did not recommend war. He proposed the only other alternative there was, and recommended to Congress that this country assume a position of armed neutrality, so that it might assert and defend upon the high seas its rights and the privileges of its people without actually going to war. When the President made that recommendation a little more than a month ago the country received it practically with unanimity; Congress received it practically with unanimity. The resolution authorizing it passed the House of Representatives almost unanimously. That resolution would have passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote if it had not been for a filibuster in the closing days of the session, which made it impossible for nine-tenths of the Senate to cast the vote that it was ready to cast in support of the President's position. Nevertheless as far as he could the President placed the country in a position of armed neutrality. So the people of the country, the Congress of the country, and the President of the country have taken one step after another, have adopted one policy after another, in the hope of avoiding this terrible last alternative with which we are now confronted.

Mr. President, I think that armed neutrality might have succeeded. I thought when I stood here and advocated the armed neutrality bill that if Congress with practical unanimity stood behind the President in authorizing armed neutrality, Germany might yield. Germany might have seen that the position of the United States was definite and unmistakable as well as honorable, and Germany might have ceased to continue the invasion of our rights upon the high seas. Unfortunately, however, the opposition raised to that measure, the filibuster successfully conducted upon the floor of the Senate, resulted in a technical refusal of Congress to adopt the President's recommendation. It went out to the world officially that the different branches of the United States Government were at loggerheads. The result has been that our neutral rights have been more imposed upon since that time than they were before. Five or six, possibly seven, American vessels upon innocent errands of commerce upon the high seas have been sunk. Some of them were not even upon the way to a belligerent port, but were returning to the United States in ballast, and in three of the cases at least the lives of American citizens have been lost. Nearly a hundred lives of Americans have been lost since we stood here a month ago discussing armed neutrality, and the time has passed, unfortunately, when we can longer consider armed neutrality as an expedient short of war.

The American people, Mr. President, have clung to the hope through all these months that the dread alternative might be avoided. Like the Savior of man in the garden of Gethsemane, they have prayed that the bitter cup of sacrifice might pass from them. They have prayed that it might not be necessary to make the sacrifice for the protection of humanity and the vindication of national honor. All has been in vain. All patience, all moderation, and all long-suffering have apparently been in vain—not entirely in vain, though, Mr. President, because we have avoided the horrors of war for two years or more; but the time has now come when further delay is impossible.

Mr. President, I have opposed war; I have been bitterly opposed to it. What influence I have had in my State and in this body has been exerted against it. As long as there was any hope to avoid it I used my legitimate influence for that purpose. I supported armed neutrality here with the fervor that I did because I thought it offered an escape from war with honor, and I even hoped to avoid war up to the eleventh hour. Yes, Mr. President, when I knew that the people of the United States were calling for war, when I knew that a majority of the Congress of the United States was overwhelmingly for war, and upon the proper occasion would vote for war—even when I knew that, Mr. President, I sought out the President of the United States and begged him if possible to cling yet longer to armed neutrality as an expedient to avoid war; but it was vain. The President was in possession of such information as made it impossible for him to listen longer to the arguments of those who sought to avoid war. He has spoken to the Congress. The country is ready, and the Congress is ready. While the vote has not yet been recorded, the decision has, as we all know, been reached. It is war.

I can not at this moment cast my vote against war without doing a vain and foolish thing. My act would only serve to weaken my country in the face of the enemy and in the face of inevitable war. Therefore, Mr. President, I have obeyed the instructions of the Committee on Foreign Relations and made this report to the Senate, and I am now ready to take my place with those who will back to the utmost the President of the United States in prosecuting this war for the honor of the country and in the interest of humanity.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, the President of the United States in an address to Congress has forcibly recited the many grievances which we have against the Imperial Government of Germany, the many outrages perpetrated upon our citizens by that Government, and its many affronts to our flag and sovereignty. He has shown that the German Government has re-

peatedly and grossly violated its treaty obligations to us and wantonly broken most solemn assurances given our Government to respect our international rights. He has proven that, by the lawless destruction of ships bearing and claiming the protection of our flag, without notice and without provocation, by German submarines acting under positive directions from the German Government, that Government has proceeded to wage war upon this Nation. He asks authority from Congress to use the Army and Navy to defend our rights, protect our citizens and their legitimate commerce, and to give him the means efficiently to wage this war violently precipitated by Germany.

The question presented to us for determination is whether we shall promptly and generously respond to the brave and patriotic appeal of the President to defend our rights and redress our wrongs, or whether we shall cowardly submit to these and further outrages, and through craven fear relinquish important rights which are vital to us as a great and aspiring Nation. The issue is not peace or war. War has already been wantonly and lawlessly prosecuted against us. The issue is whether we shall accept war or abject and cowardly submission. Before the recent outrages, had we not already submitted at the hands of the Imperial Government of Germany to all that could be expected of a brave and self-respecting people? Have we not seen since the beginning of this war German officials in the United States engaged in many improper activities in violation of the laws of the United States and of their obligations as officials in a neutral country? Has it not been proven beyond contradiction that the military and naval attachés of the German Embassy in this country by their many and varied activities sought to use this country as a base for military operations against nations with which we were at peace? The Federal authorities have clearly proven that a scheme was financed and directed from this country to incite a rebellion in India against the British Government, with which we are upon terms of peace and amity. Have not officers of interned German warships violated their word of honor and escaped? German officials duly accredited to his Government have been detected in issuing fraudulent passports to enable spies to enter and operate in foreign countries at peace with us. American passports, fraudulent and counterfeited, have been found on German agents. Persons have been tried and convicted and sentenced in this country for using our territory as a base for providing German warships with coal and other supplies, in violation of the statutes of the United States and our neutrality.

It has been disclosed that our territory has been used by German officials to organize efforts to wreck bridges and destroy important industries in Canada, our northern neighbor. Bombs have been prepared and sought to be placed upon allied ships lying in our harbors. German officials, in violation of our laws, have sought to control the employment in the munitions industries, and thus cripple or destroy these. For several years we have known of German activities in Mexico prejudicial to our interests and seeking to embroil us in trouble with that distracted country. The extent and dangerous character of these activities, though suspected, were not fully known until the recent publication of the Zimmermann letter, which proved the efforts being made in Mexico by the German Government to incite that nation to war against us. This letter reached the lowest depths of national turpitude. The German ambassador, while enjoying our hospitality, was informed of a contemplated breaking of a solemn assurance which he himself had given to our Government, promising to respect our international rights upon the sea, and was told that if we did not tamely submit to this broken pledge and gross invasion of our rights, then he should endeavor to combine Mexico and Japan with Germany in warfare against the United States, pledging the German Government to despoil us of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, which should be given to Mexico. The absurdity of the scheme does not lessen its shameless enormity. The fact that the wicked proposal fell upon unwilling ears does not lessen our belief in the willingness of the German Government, when opportunity presents, to do us serious mischief and harm. This note could not have been suddenly precipitated without previous careful consideration and possibly prior intrigue. Large national interests and combinations are not thus hastily determined.

We have long suspected a disposition on the part of Germany to dispute with us the great Monroe doctrine when opportunity favorably presented, and to seek to extend to the Western Hemisphere her territorial spoliations. The Zimmermann letter proves that this suspicion is well founded, and that we must rely upon our naval and military strength to defend this great doctrine from invasion. The letter indicates a state of mind and a purpose on the part of Germany which demand serious consideration and prompt action on our part. It indicates an enmity which if not boldly resented by us portends greater troubles for the future. Now is the time for us to teach this mischief-making Government that our territorial integrity can not be made the subject of war bargaining; that though we are a patient and peace-loving people, we will never become graduates of the school of cowardly submission of this character. This infamous letter itself constitutes a sufficient cause for a declaration of war on our part against Germany. In the light of these recent transactions we can understand now the occasion of the presence of the German fleet at Manila and its persistence in interfering with the plans of Dewey, and convinces us now of the truth of what we then suspected, that its purpose was, if opportunity offered, to seize and hold the fruits of our victory.

Mr. President, it would seem to me that these wrongs and outrages are sufficient to call for the strong resentment of any brave and high-spirited people. But, sir, the advocates of peace now would place upon this Nation the shame of a still greater submission. They would endure still greater affronts and surrender still more important rights. What is the contention between the President of the United States and the Emperor of Germany over the settlement of which war with all of its far-reaching effects impends? On February 4, 1915, the chief of the admiral staff of the German Navy, acting under direction of the Imperial Government, issued the following proclamation:

1. The waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared to be war zone. On and after the 18th of February, 1915, every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account.

2. Even neutral ships are exposed to danger in the war zone, as in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered on January 31 by the British Government and of the accidents of naval war it can not always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships.

The purpose of this proclamation was to permit submarines to destroy merchant ships without being compelled to visit and search them and provide for the safety of the crews as required by international law before the ships should be destroyed and sunk. This proclamation was communicated to the American Government on February 6, and to which the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, promptly replied on February 10, 1915. In stating the position of our Government he said:

To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible.

Later in his letter, in discussing the possible destruction of an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, Mr. Bryan writes:

If such a deplorable situation should arise the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

Further in his reply he expresses—

the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

Thus this communication of our Secretary of State, in substance, clearly stated American rights under acknowledged international law, boldly informed the Imperial German Government that if these rights were violated it would be held to strict accountability and that the rights of American citizens on the high seas would be vigorously defended, and diplomatically demanded assurances from the German Government that these rights would be respected and not violated. The issues he then presented are those with which we are to-day contending with the German Government. Further communications to that Government are but a greater amplification of the positions then taken.

Did we mean what we so bravely said in this note, or were we simply indulging in empty verbiage? Was our warning the mere bluff of a bully or the solemn voice of a resolute and determined people? No, Mr. President, our then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, in this great state paper forcibly and eloquently gave expression to the convictions of this great Republic and voiced the firm will of a brave and high-spirited people. Sir, I am satisfied that Congress will not by cowardly action upon the pending measure declare that diplomatically we roar with the voice of a lion and then when rebuffed strike with the gentle hand of a woman. Sir, as a great and true people we will square our actions with our words. Having been brave in word, we will be equally vigorous in action. The blood of pioneer ancestors who dared all dangers and perils yet tingles in our veins, and we have

not yet learned the arts of the braggart nor been schooled in the language of subterfuge and dissimulation.

On the 16th of February, 1915, the German minister for foreign affairs replied to the note of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, stating:

The German Government announce merely the destruction of enemy merchant vessels found within the area of maritime war and not the destruction of all merchant vessels, as the American Government appear to have erroneously understood.

Thus the note, while disclaiming any intention of destroying neutral vessels, failed to further state what the intentions of the German Government were in extending to enemies' merchant vessels the right of visit and search and the safety of crews and passengers before destroying or sinking them. This was the situation of our diplomatic relations with the German Government when, on the 7th of May, 1915, the British steamship *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine in the prohibited war zone without warning, and by which over one hundred American citizens lost their lives. This act was in direct contravention of the solemn warnings previously given by our Government. It was as cruel and shameless an act of murder as was ever perpetrated. It exceeded piracy in its worst and most revolting forms. No buccaneer that ever roved the sea could boast of a more fiendish act. This cruel deed was preceded on March 28 by a German submarine sinking the British passenger steamer *Falaba*, through which an American citizen was drowned; also by an attack on March 28 on the American vessel *Cushing* by a German airplane, and the torpedoing on May 1 of the American vessel *Gulflight* by a German submarine, as a result of which two American citizens met their death. These continuing and accumulated atrocities were such that on the 13th of May, 1915, Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, dispatched to the Imperial German Government a note in which he stated:

The Government of the United States was loath to believe—it can not now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great Government.

Further in this note the then Secretary states:

This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it can not admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on ships of belligerent nationalities; and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights.

* * * * * * *

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

This note closed with the bold declaration:

The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

In clear presentation of American rights, in bold assertion of a determination vigorously to maintain them, and in solemn warning of what might be expected if the German Imperial Government continued to violate these rights and did not give prompt assurance that these rights would be respected, the last note of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, far exceeded the former one. On May 28, 1915, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, replying to this note of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, stated:

With regard, firstly, to cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, the American Embassy has already been informed that it is far from the German Government to have any intention of ordering attacks by submarines or fliers on neutral vessels in the zone which have not been guilty of any hostile act. On the contrary, the most explicit instructions have been repeatedly given the German armed forces to avoid attacking such vessels.

This note failed to make any satisfactory explanation of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with great loss of American life, or to give any future assurances regarding the further sinking and destruction of such vessels. On June 9, 1915, the Secretary of State ad interim, Mr. Lansing, addressed a note to the German Government, again calling attention to the *Lusitania* incident, reiterating American claims and rights, insisting upon a satisfactory adjustment of the affair, and demanding assurances that American rights would be respected in the future. On July 21, 1915, the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, again addressed a note to the Imperial Government of Germany, stating that its notes regarding the sinking of the *Lusitania* were unsatisfactory, and further insisting upon the rights of American citizens as previously stated. In this note, discussing the freedom of the seas, Mr. Lansing declared:

The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost.

He closed his note with this solemn warning:

Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

On August 19, 1915, the British ship *Arabic* was torpedoed by a German submarine without warning, and three American lives were lost. This illegal act greatly intensified the differences remaining unsettled between our Government and the German Government concerning the *Lusitania*. Continuously and urgently pressed by our Government for assurances regarding the use of the submarine against merchant vessels according to international law and for settlement of the *Lusitania* incident, finally, on the 1st of September, 1915, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States, in a letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, informed him that he had received instructions from the German Government, in its reply to the Secretary's last *Lusitania* note, containing the following passage:

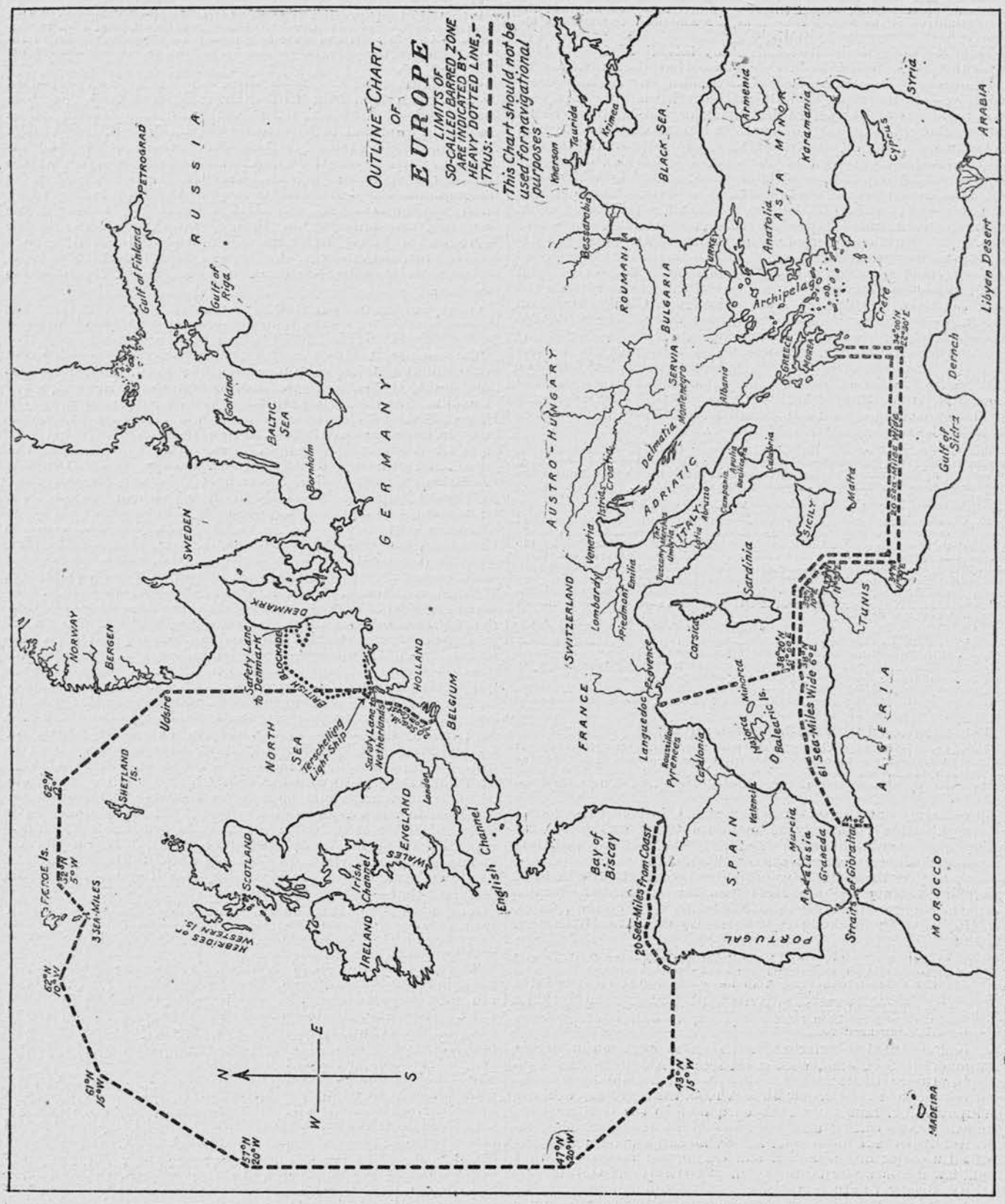
Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

Thus finally the German Government conceded the justice of our contention as far as liners were concerned, that they could not be sunk by submarines without first visit and search and providing for the safety of the crew and passengers. The United States Government believed that this assurance was given in good faith and would be strictly adhered to by the German Government. Yet, despite the solemn assurance thus given, on December 30, 1915, without warning, the British ship *Persia* was believed to have been torpedoed and two American lives were lost. On November 9, 1915, without warning, the Italian ship *Ancona* was torpedoed by a submarine and seven American citizens were lost. On March 24, 1916, the unarmed French steamer *Sussex*, engaged in the regular passenger service, was torpedoed by a German submarine without notice and sunk, through which many American lives were lost. On March 27, 1916, the British ship *Englishman* was torpedoed by a submarine and six Americans were lost. On December 14, 1916, the British ship *Russian* was torpedoed without warning and 17 Americans were lost. The German Government, with its submarines, torpedoed and destroyed many other merchant vessels than these enumerated contrary to the positive assurance given this Government by Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador. A more faithless performance of positive promises made by one government to another can not be found anywhere than that exhibited by the German Government in these dealings with the United States. All of its assurances have been regarded as mere "scraps of paper," to be utterly disregarded when German interests or desires demanded. But all of these violations of our rights, gross and flagrant as they are, pale into insignificance in comparison with the recent injuries inflicted upon us by the action of the German Imperial Government which precipitated the present crisis. On January 31, 1917, the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, presented to the Secretary of State a communication from the Imperial German Government declaring that—

From February 1, 1917, all sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in the following blockade zones around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean.

This proclamation in marking the barred zone makes it impossible for an American ship of any kind whatsoever, bent upon any purpose whatsoever, to sail to or from any parts of the British Isles, any parts of Belgium, France, or Italy. After entering the Mediterranean Sea and passing the coast of Spain and her possessions in Africa, American and other neutral vessels are only permitted to navigate this sea within a 20-mile lane leading to Greece. All other parts of the Mediterranean Sea with its vast commerce are prohibited to American and other neutral vessels for all purposes whatsoever. The proscribed zones in the proclamation are so fixed that American and other neutral vessels can approach only the northern shores of Spain in a 20-mile limit around her coast. Our own and other neutral vessels can only trade with Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden by sailing very far north, being required to go above 62° north latitude, and then approaching these countries through narrow sea lanes skirting their coast. The barred or war zone in the Atlantic extends from 5° east longitude to 20° west longi-

MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN BARRED WAR ZONE.



The heavy dotted lines in this map indicate the barred war zone made by the proclamation of the Imperial German Government of January 31, 1917.

tude, and from about 43° north latitude to about 62° north latitude. Thus the German Imperial Government has by this proclamation appropriated absolutely to itself an area in the Atlantic Ocean about 1,400 miles in length and 1,000 miles in breadth. It extends in the Atlantic Ocean about 500 miles west from the western shores of Ireland. The German Government practically assumes ownership and control of the entire Mediterranean Sea. In this large sea area, including the proscribed zones in the Atlantic and Mediterranean, passes almost three-fourths of the world's vast foreign commerce.

Imagination is powerless to picture the great inconvenience to navigation, the immense dislocation of trade and commerce which would be occasioned if the world should submit to Germany's arrogant assumption of control and ownership of these seas. It is an act of tyranny and arrogance unprecedented in the world's history. If an American vessel sails from one of our ports containing only foodstuffs and not an article of contraband for the neutral ports of Holland, Denmark, or other neutral country, with no intention of entering the ports of any of the belligerents, and dares to cross any part of this barred zone, it becomes under this German decree a proscribed outlaw, divested of all rights of international law, all considerations of humanity, and is doomed to instant destruction by German submarines. It is the most arrogant, far-reaching, and destructive attack upon the freedom of the seas ever attempted by any nation. It gives us some faint conception of the ruthless tyranny, the fearful burdens upon navigation, the frightful depredations and spoliations that would be committed by the German Government if it should ever attain supremacy of the seas.

If Germany has a right to designate a barred war zone 500 miles from the western coast of Ireland and prohibit all vessels from entering it, she has an equal right to extend this zone farther westward, even within 20 miles of our own shores, and prohibit all vessels from entering within the zone thus enlarged. She has defiantly done this on the northern coast of Spain, a neutral country, only permitting vessels to approach and depart from these shores within a narrow sea lane of 20 miles skirting the coast. We can not shirk the issue. The conflict is on for the freedom of the seas. We are forced to a decision whether we will wage war to maintain the freedom of the seas as a common heritage for all the nations or whether we will cowardly submit to the tyrannical decree and proclamation of the German Government appropriating unto itself for its own use vast areas.

No nation is more vitally concerned in the freedom of the seas than the United States. Our foreign commerce far exceeds that of any other nation, and its continuance and its growth are indispensable to our prosperity and progress as a people. Hamper by restrictions or destroy our vast foreign commerce, and bankruptcy and ruin will overshadow alike mine, farm, and factory. The future greatness of this Nation is inseparably interwoven with the freedom of the seas. They are one and inseparable. When we wage war for this we are contending for the most vital of all American rights. If we now surrender to Germany the freedom of the seas and permit this infringement upon this common heritage, our posterity will never forgive us for the ignominy of that cowardly submission. With strong arms and brave hearts let us accept the challenge and valiantly defend our most cherished rights. While thus battling for our own most vital interests we are also contending for the rights of humanity and civilization. Do those who now counsel peace and submission to Germany fully realize the present great distress to which they invite us? Last year our total exports amounted to $5,481,000,000. Out of this, $3,382,000,000 was exported to the allied belligerent countries, with which Germany now prohibits us from having any commercial intercourse whatsoever. In other words, if we acquiesce, as many suggest, in this illegal and tyrannical proclamation and decree of the German Government, about three-fifths of our entire export business will cease at once. It would mean that at once we would be precipitated from great prosperity to acute financial and industrial distress. The great profits of mine and manufactory would immediately disappear. Present busy and thriving centers of industry would be overcrowded with the unemployed. Of our agricultural exports, two-thirds of our wheat, five-sixths of our hog products, six-sevenths of our cotton, seven-eighths of our beef, and three-fifths of our tobacco last year were exported to these allied belligerent countries. To acquiesce in Germany's prohibition of the exportation of these agricultural products to these countries would mean bankruptcy and ruin to all these great and varied agricultural interests. Sirs, submission means greater loss, greater distress than war itself. Honor, humanity, and self-interest alike demand that we should uphold to the fullest extent these important rights. The Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, in a note to the German Government on the 21st of July, 1915, in discussing the freedom of the seas, as I have previously stated, informed the German Government that—

> The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom from whatever quarter violated, without compromise, and at any cost.

Are we prepared to make good this bold declaration, or are we cowardly going to run as soon as this right is violated? When robbers approach to deprive us of our rights and possessions are we going to stand up and manfully contend with them or cowardly skulk to the cellar? Are our diplomatic demands to be enforced when made, and respected by the nations of the world, or are they to be considered mere vaporings to be abandoned when challenged by a first-class power? Are we to become a reproach in the great family of nations, noted for long-suffering and abject submission, or are we proudly to hold our head high and fearlessly enforce our demands and bravely maintain our rights? Sirs, the history of the world teaches one sure lesson: That national timidity and cowardice more than everything else are the breeders of war.

Sirs, in long national life the pathway of peace is the pathway of firmness, courage, and resolution. Prudence and foresight are wise counselors, ever to be listened to and followed, but cowardice and timidity are the worst advisers that ever poured their whisperings into the national ear. Sirs, honor, wisdom, and self-interest demand that, in the language of our Secretary of State, we should defend our rights upon the seas from whatever quarter violated, without compromise, and at any cost. The President of the United States appeals to Congress to give him the authority and the means efficiently to do this. Mr. President, the proclamation of Germany issued on the 31st of January, 1917, is not only opposed to every principle of international law and the dictates of humanity, but it is in direct contravention of her many assurances given to us during the pendency of this world-wide war, and also of her solemn treaty obligations.

In more than half a dozen notes received from the Imperial German Government on this question our Government has been assured that American and other neutral ships would not be interfered with in the war zone without visit and search and unless they carried contraband contrary to the laws of nations. This assurance since the 1st of February has been continuously and repeatedly violated. The destruction of American ships in this war zone is in direct contravention of a treaty made between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia in 1828, extending provisions contained in the treaty of 1799, and which the German Government has recognized as valid and binding in its recent correspondence with our Government. It settled the *Frye* case satisfactorily with this Government on account of the provisions contained in this treaty. Its proclamation of January 31 disregards the rights conferred in this treaty to the United States, and according to the German practice it is treated as a mere "scrap of paper." The proclamation of the Imperial German Government of January 31, 1917, making all of the eastern Mediterranean, or practically this entire sea, a barred or war zone, and prohibiting all vessels from entering this sea, and thus preventing the use by any vessel of neutrals of the Suez Canal, is in clear violation of the treaty entered into by Germany with the other European powers at Constantinople in 1888. Article 1 of this treaty provides:

> The Suez maritime canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag.
>
> Consequently the high contracting parties agree not in any way to interfere with the free use of the canal in time of war as in time of peace.
>
> The canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade.

By this treaty Germany solemnly pledged herself in peace or war to do nothing to prevent the free passage of vessels through this great international sea highway. Yet she has issued a proclamation declaring that any ship traversing the sea in order to reach the Suez Canal shall be destroyed. She has clearly violated her pledge not to block this canal. This treaty becomes to Germany a mere "scrap of paper," utterly to be disregarded. The extent to which this proclamation would injure the commerce of the world if submitted to may be realized when we reflect that during 1914 the tonnage of vessels passing through the Suez Canal amounted to 17,108,000 tons, and the entire tonnage of the world's shipping at that time was 49,089,000 tons. If the tyrannical German decree is obeyed, more than one-third of the world's tonnage of shipping would be interfered with and the trade and commerce of the world to that extent dislocated and hampered. This will result in a serious injury to us. It is amazing the extent to which German tyranny and arrogance will go in injuring the commerce of the world contrary to its

express promises and obligations in order to serve its own selfish interests or desires of revenge. International law is to be violated, solemn treaties disregarded, humanity ignored, the commerce of the world hampered and destroyed in order that German submarines, which have become the murderous assassins of the sea, may more easily operate in their destructive purposes. Everything that is right and humane, all law, plighted faith, and honor itself thus are surrendered to the more efficient use of this murderous weapon. This new murderous weapon must not conform itself to international law and the principles of humanity and to obligations of treaties, but all of these must yield and be obliterated in order to give increased potency to this instrument of destruction.

Mr. President, these numerous affronts, wrongs, broken pledges, and flagrant violations of our vital rights and interests were such as to compel the President of the United States to sever all diplomatic relations with Germany and to give the German ambassador his passports and to recall our ambassador from Berlin. Unless we should have promptly declared war there was no other course left for a self-respecting nation to follow. It was hoped that this would be a sufficient warning to Germany to induce her to make proper redress for our grievances and give us assurances that there would be no future infraction of our rights and to abandon her lawless order of January 31, 1917, but all of these hopes have been shattered. We have almost forgotten the wrongs of the past in amazement at the outrages of the present. Germany has shown a fixed determination to enforce by ruthless warfare the infamous purposes indicated in her proclamation of January 31. On March 16 last the American steamer *Vigilancia*, bearing the American flag, having a cargo consisting of dried fruit, straw, and other merchandise, sailing from New York for Havre, was torpedoed and sunk by a submarine without warning, and 15 American citizens were lost. The ship was flying a United States flag and so marked that there could be no doubt of her nationality. On March 17 last, 44 miles off the Irish coast, the American steamer *City of Memphis*, flying the American flag and sailing from Cardiff to New York in ballast, was torpedoed by a submarine and sunk, the crew escaping in their own small boats and enduring great hardships and suffering before they were landed ashore. The *City of Memphis* was unarmed and did not use wireless. She was on her way to New York, contained no contraband or illegal cargo, and could not have been considered in any way as aiding Germany's enemies.

The nationality of this boat could not have been mistaken. On March 17 last the American tanker *Illinois*, flying the American flag and sailing from London to Port Arthur, Tex., was torpedoed by a submarine and sunk within 20 miles north of Alderney. This ship was shelled by the submarine without warning and one of the crew wounded. No measures were taken by the submarine for the safety of the crew. The crew were for more than six hours in small boats and encountered much danger and suffering. As this ship was returning from London to its home port in America in ballast, it could not have been considered in the remotest degree rendering any assistance to any enemy of Germany. There could have been no doubt as to the nationality of the ship. On March 21 last, 25 miles north of the Netherlands coast, the American oil ship *Healdton*, sailing from Philadelphia for Rotterdam, a neutral port of Holland, and flying the American flag, was twice torpedoed by a submarine without warning, no opportunity being given between first and second torpedoes for men to take the boats, and was sunk, and 21 of her crew were lost, including many American citizens. The suffering endured by the survivors after more than 17 hours' exposure in small boats in a cold wind, choppy sea, and snow flurries were terrible, and two died of exposure. This American ship was sailing from America to a neutral port, and, it is claimed, was within the zone of safety indicated in the German proclamation of January 31. The submarine could not have failed to have known the nationality of this ship.

None of these four American ships offered any resistance to the submarine or attempted to escape. None of them were armed. In destroying these vessels in no case did the submarine make any provisions for the safety of the crew or make any efforts to aid them. None of them were conveying munitions of war or contraband to the enemies of Germany. They were engaged in peaceful and lawful commerce. The only offense committed by these four American vessels was that in the prosecution of their legitimate business they sailed upon open seas, the free and common heritage of all nations, but which the German Imperial Government by its decree of January 31 last had forbidden them to use, and for this, and this alone, they encountered ruthless destruction at the hands of German submarines. All of these vessels were of American registry, flying the American flag, and entitled to all the protection that the Stars and Stripes can give. But, sirs, more than this: Before they ventured upon these seas their Government had given them solemn assurance that in so doing they would be fully protected in their rights.

In discussing the possible destruction of an American vessel by Germany, in his letter of January 10, 1915, to the German Government, Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, as I have previously stated, used the following language:

> If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

In the note of July 21, 1915, to the German Government, as previously stated, the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, in protesting against any infringement of the freedom of the seas by orders proscribing vessels entering certain limits, pledged this Government to defend the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter attacked, without compromise and at any cost.

Mr. President, our citizens owning vessels and navigating them had a right to rely upon these official promises and assurances. Shall we now keep faith with them or cowardly fail them when a real test comes? Shall we use all the vast power possessed by this great Government to protect them, as we have officially and solemnly pledged, or cravenly leave their wrongs unredressed and unavenged? Shall we permit our flag, the emblem of our honor, our power, and our aspirations, to be lawlessly and deliberately assaulted upon the high seas, and then not strike with all the force possessed by us the arrogant assailant? If we do not vigorously do this, then indeed has "Old Glory," the most cherished object of our pride and affection, sunk to low depths of shame and humiliation; we are no longer worthy sons of worthy sires. The heritage of courage, fortitude, and honor bequeathed to us will have indeed been foully forfeited. The American flag will no longer be, as it was made by our brave and worthy forefathers, the shield and protection of American citizens in every part of the world. The stars of our statehood and Union will no longer gleam from unsullied skies. Their radiance will be dimmed by clouds of doubt, timidity, and fear. But, sirs, if we will meet the present emergency with our accustomed firmness, resolution, and energy, with a union of hearts and a union of purpose, and boldly assert and maintain our rights to the fullest extent of our power, then our flag will attain a richer and a deeper majesty, a brighter and a greater glory.

Mr. President, as I have previously stated, the issue presented to us for decision is not one of mere peace or war. In the attack just enumerated upon four American vessels flying the American flag, without provocation, by her naval boats Germany is herself waging relentless and persistent warfare against us. These repeated acts constitute warfare in its worst and most despicable form. What else can Germany do to wage war against us except with her submarines to attack our ships and commerce and assault our flag? She has already invited Mexico and Japan to join in warfare against us. How much further must she go in order to satisfy some of our hesitating citizens that she is directing warfare against us? Do we need further insults, affronts, and injuries to move our indignation? Sirs, these have become so numerous and flagrant that in self-respect we have been compelled to sever all diplomatic relations with her. Can a greater injury be done a nation than a wanton attack upon its flag? Sirs, Germany has heaped upon us every insult, conspired against our internal and external peace, spat and trampled upon our flag, foully murdered 319 of our citizens, and perpetrated wanton acts of war upon us. She has inflicted every injury upon us except an actual invasion of our territory. Are there any among us cowardly or foolish enough to desire to be quiescent until this is done? Does anyone doubt that if the German fleet was released from blockade by the British fleet and free to do so, it would not already be upon our shores endeavoring to do its work of devastation and ruin? Is anyone foolish enough to imagine that, if Germany was free from European troubles and had a large army that she could safely land here, she would not do so and endeavor to conquer us and obtain lodgment and territory in the Western Hemisphere?

No, Mr. President, since the 1st of February last Germany has defiantly ignored our warnings not to infringe upon our rights upon the high seas and has been waging warfare against us with every instrumentality available for use by her. The question for us is, Shall we accept the war which she is now waging, or submit to her demands and injuries? There are some who seek to avert the direct issue by advocating the following of the policy known as armed neutrality. This policy

was wise before Germany had commenced warfare by attacking and destroying four American ships. This policy would have been an additional warning to her that if she attacked our ships and flag she must expect at our hands prompt and efficient warfare. Prior to the commencement of hostilities by Germany, armed neutrality would have been our wise and proper course. It might have averted war, but Congress failed to give its approval to this policy as recommended by the President. The failure to venture even so far as armed neutrality to redress our wrongs and defend our rights encouraged Germany to further insult and injury and made her believe that we could not under any circumstances be forced into war. Moved by this conviction, she has deliberately attacked and destroyed four American ships. Armed neutrality after these occurrences would be a cowardly makeshift unworthy of this great Republic. It would simply mean that after Germany has clearly evinced her deliberate purpose to destroy all American ships found in the barred war zone we would foolishly send our merchant ships there relying only upon their own powers of defense. We would be sending our peaceful vessels of commerce to be attacked by the public war vessels of Germany, and at the same time withholding from our vessels the assistance of our own naval forces. Sirs, one of the chief reasons we incurred the vast expenditure in creating a Navy was through it to extend protection to our trade and commerce. No, sir. Armed neutrality, whatever might have been its benefits heretofore, would be but a miserable failure, encouraging Germany to further aggression and injuries. If we send our merchant vessels in this proscribed zone, they should go there with the positive assurance that they will receive all the protection that the power of this Government can give. To do otherwise would be but an invitation to Germany to attack them knowing that they must depend upon themselves for defense and could not rely for any assistance upon the naval and military forces of this Government.

Mr. President, we can not avoid it. The only wise, manly, and honorable course for us to pursue is to accept the conditions of warfare precipitated by Germany, declare the existing state of war between Germany and the United States, give authority to the President to use the Army and Navy of this country to wage the war thus unjustly brought on us, augment our Army and Navy, and use every resource possessed by us to wage this war efficiently and successfully. We are not waging war against the German people, but against its military and autocratic Government, which, we believe, contrary to the wishes of the German people, has inflicted these many injuries upon us and severed the ties of friendship which have for more than a century bound us to the German people. We believe that when the war-mad and military autocracy which now rules Germany has been chastened or overthrown the ties of friendship now severed will be reunited and become firmer and stronger. In waging this war we will be aiding the free, liberal, and democratic nations to overthrow in Germany the last refuge of autocracy and militarism.

Mr. President, in making this decision for war we are fully aware of the perils that may lie in our pathway. We are fully conscious of the many difficulties which we must meet and must overcome. We fully realize the many sacrifices that we must make to achieve victory in order to redress our wrongs and maintain our rights. We are not enamored of the pomp and glory of war, and only accept it because impelled to do so by national honor and national vital interests. Having entered this pathway, however, protracted and tiresome the journey may be, we will follow it to the end. Having crossed the Rubicon, boldly and bravely we will march to Rome. With brave heart and resolute will we will bend every energy of mind and body to the successful prosecution of this war. Every resource at our command will be dedicated to the cause of our country. If misfortunes should come we will not be discouraged, but they will but serve to stimulate us to greater endeavor. We know full well that if the 100,000,000 people constituting this great Republic act in unison of mind and heart for service of country we can successfully meet all perils, difficulties, and dangers which may befall us, and emerge from this conflict stronger, better, greater.

At this critical time let us have a revival of the patriotic fervor and love of country which so strongly pulsated in the hearts of our forefathers. Let us feel as they felt, that public honor is private honor, that public disgrace is private disgrace, that public failure is private failure, that public success is private success. These were the principles and sentiments that animated the founders of this Republic and made possible its greatness and glory. Let us feel, as our fathers felt, that the bugle call to battle and duty is far more pleasing to the ear than the dinner gong inviting to feast and revelry. Let us cultivate the stronger and sterner virtues which must now bear the burdens of national difficulties. The clock of national patriotism now strikes for each of us our hour of work and responsibility. The voices which speak to us from the past, the inspiration which springs from the present, the possibilities that crown the future should awaken in each of us a fervid and lofty patriotism and confirm the resolve of each of us in this hour of storm and stress valiantly to serve this Republic, and with strong arms and brave hearts defend her against every enemy that may assail her, and thus in the end enable this great people to advance along the pathway of justice, liberty, and peace.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, no one is more conscious than I that this is a moment for action and not for debate. But, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and having taken part in framing this resolution, I wish briefly to state why I support it with the greatest earnestness of which I am capable.

The most momentous power entrusted to Congress by the Constitution is the authority to declare war, and never has Congress been called to a more solemn exercise of this great function than at this moment. We have submitted to wrongs and outrages from the central powers of Europe—wrongs which involve not only injury to property but the destruction of American lives—with a long patience. We have borne and foreborne to the very limit of endurance. Now the inevitable end is here and we are about to declare war against Germany.

Speaking for myself and, I hope, for my associates generally on this side of the Chamber, I desire to say that in this crisis, and when the country is at war, party lines will disappear, and this disappearance of the party line will, I am confident, not be confined to the minority. Both Democrats and Republicans must forget party in the presence of the common danger. This is not, and can not be, a party war. It is a war in which all Americans must be united, and no one must ask a loyal citizen, high or low, who seeks to serve his country in the field or in civil life to what party he belongs, any more than it would be possible to ask his religion or his race. As Americans we shall all, I am sure, be prepared to give to the Executive money, men, and all the necessary powers for waging war with energy and driving it forward to a successful conclusion. The President has made recommendations as to the action which he hopes Congress will take, with which I for one am in most thorough accord.

We have only a very small Army and we must proceed at once as rapidly as possible to build up a large one fit to defend the country in any emergency. We must provide for the future and for the supply of men for the Army by a system of universal military training. I agree with the President that this new Army should be chosen upon the "principle of universal liability to service." Our Navy is strong in certain branches and very weak in others. It must be our business to supply the deficiencies as rapidly as possible. Fortunately those deficiencies are of the kind which can be most quickly supplied. It is our duty to see to it that all the money and all the legislation necessary for both the Army and Navy are given at once.

The President has said that war "will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs." I am not only in full agreement with this policy advised by the President, but it seems to me that nothing is more important than to follow it out. I am as thorough a believer as ever in the general policy laid down by Washington when he advised the people of the United States not to enter into permanent alliances; but the man who won the American Revolution through the alliance with France would have been the last to lay down a hard and fast rule that under no circumstances and for no purposes were we ever to ally ourselves with other nations. He covers this point completely in the Farewell Address, where he says:

> Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Farseeing and wise, he knew very well that dangers might come which would make a temporary alliance or agreement with foreign nations imperative. That time has arrived. It would be madness for us to attempt to make war alone upon Germany, and find ourselves, perhaps, at the end left isolated, at war with that power, when all the other nations had made peace, because we had not associated ourselves with them. The allies of the entente, as they are called, are fighting a common foe, and their foe is now ours. We can not send a great army across the ocean, for we have no army to send. Yet I should be glad for one if we could send now 10,000 men of our Regular troops, so that the flag of the United States might at least be unfurled in the fields of France. I believe that the mere sight

of that flag in that region made so desolate by war would stimulate the courage and help the success of those who have the same aim which we have and who seek the same victory. We can also help the allies, as the President recommends, with large credits and with those supplies which we can furnish and which they lack. We can not do more in any direction to bring this war to a speedy end than to give those credits and furnish those supplies.

The President has told us that German spies "were here even before the war began, and it is, unhappily, not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States." I believe myself that the overwhelming mass of our citizens of German descent are just as loyal to the United States as any citizens could possibly be. But there is this class of agents of the Imperial German Government who are ready to engage in plots and crimes to the injury of the people of this country. "Disloyalty," if I may again borrow the words of the President, "must be put down with a firm hand."

The purpose of the German submarine campaign is the destruction of the world's mercantile tonnage. In the old days, in previous wars, the ships of warring nations were captured, frequently in large numbers, as was the case when our privateers ranged the English Channel in the War of 1812. But it must not be forgotten that, with few exceptions, these merchant vessels, when captured, were sent into port, condemned as prizes, and again put afloat. The total tonnage of the world was not materially reduced. But the German submarine war, ruthlessly carried on, is directed toward the destruction of the tonnage of the whole world. Forced into war, as we now are, our first action should be to repair in some measure this loss to our own tonnage and to that of the world by seizing the ships of Germany now in our ports and putting that additional tonnage into the world's service.

Mr. President, we have never been a military Nation; we are not prepared for war in the modern sense; but we have vast resources and unbounded energies, and the day when war is declared we should devote ourselves to calling out those resources and organizing those energies so that they can be used with the utmost effect in hastening the complete victory. The worst of all wars is a feeble war. War is too awful to be entered upon half-heartedly. If we fight at all, we must fight for all we are worth. It must be no weak, hesitating war. The most merciful war is that which is most vigorously waged and which comes most quickly to an end.

Mr. President, no one feels the horrors of war more than I. It is with no light heart, but with profound sadness, although with hope and courage, that I see my country compelled to enter the great field of conflict. But there are, in my opinion, some things worse for a nation than war. National degeneracy is worse; national cowardice is worse. The division of our people into race groups, striving to direct the course of the United States in the interest of some other country when we should have but one allegiance, one hope, and one tradition is far worse. All these dangers have been gathering about us and darkening the horizon during the last three years. Whatever suffering and misery war may bring it will at least sweep these foul things away. Instead of division into race groups, it will unify us into one Nation, and national degeneracy and national cowardice will slink back into the darkness from which they should never have emerged.

I also believe that on our entrance into this war, under the conditions which it has assumed, our future peace, our independence as a proud and high-spirited Nation, our very security are at stake. There is no other way, as I see it, except by war to save these things without which national existence is a mockery and a sham. But there is a still higher purpose here as I look upon it. The President has said with great justice that Germany is making war on all nations. We do not enter upon this war to secure victory for one nation as against another. We enter this war to unite with those who are fighting the common foe in order to preserve human freedom, democracy, and modern civilization. They are all in grievous peril; they are all threatened. This war is a war, as I see it, against barbarism, not the anarchical barbarism of what are known as the Dark Ages, but organized barbarism panoplied in all the devices for the destruction of human life which science, beneficent science, can bring forth. We are resisting an effort to thrust mankind back to forms of government, to political creeds and methods of conquest which we had hoped had disappeared forever from the world. We are fighting against a nation which, in the fashion of centuries ago, drags the inhabitants of conquered lands into slavery; which carries off women and girls for even worse purposes; which in its mad desire to conquer mankind and trample them under foot has stopped at no wrong, has regarded no treaty. The work which we are called upon to do when we enter this war is to preserve the principles of human liberty, the principles of democracy, and the light of modern civilization; all that we most love, all that we hold dearer than life itself. In such a battle we can not fail to win. I am glad that my country is to share in this preservation of human freedom. I wish to see my country gathered with the other nations who are fighting for the same end when the time for peace comes. We seek no conquests, we desire no territory and no new dominions. We wish simply to preserve our own peace and our own security, to uphold the great doctrine which guards the American hemisphere, and to see the disappearance of all wars or rumors of wars from the East, if any dangers there exist. What we want most of all by this victory which we shall help to win is to secure the world's peace, broad-based on freedom and democracy, a world not controlled by a Prussian military autocracy, by Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, but by the will of the free people of the earth. We shall achieve this result, and when we achieve it we shall be able to say that we have helped to confer great blessings upon mankind, and that we have not fought in vain. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. Did the doorkeepers distribute the cards to the people who entered the galleries? [A pause.] The doorkeepers will remove all persons whom they can identify as interfering with the rules of the Senate. They have had fair warning.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, the elements of genuine greatness in the statesman show themselves in the hour of stress, when through the mists of passion he is able to see clearly the path of duty and, in "spite of the stare of the wise and the world's derision," dares to follow it undismayed.

The atmosphere enveloping this Capitol has been for the past year surcharged with the spirit of prejudice, of hate, love, and all the bad and good passions that grow out of the ravages of war to such an extent that men have lost their bearings and discarded for the time that poise and power of deliberation which usually characterizes their conduct. All order festers to their abnormal vision, and everything seems out of joint.

Of all the times in the history of this Nation when Congressmen and the people generally should hold themselves in due bounds and keep their heads, now is the time. As the little chunks, water-sogged, having found their proper place in the bottom of the lake will rise to the surface when the waters are lashed by the fury of the storm, so may we expect small men to come to the front and be heard for their much talking and little thinking in this moment of national disorder and desperate tragedy. But after the war is over and order shall be restored these verbal patriots, in obedience to the rule which finally determines the eternal fitness of things, will return again to their former places from which they were lifted by the influences of this world-wide cataclasm.

There are two classes of men who will attract public attention in this tragic hour. The first will be the heroic group of determined men who in performing their proper part in the affairs of the country will not consider the cost or measure the dangers involved to *themselves* since they will bear the responsibilities and *suffer* all the *consequences* of their *own acts* and utterances. The other is the large group of men known for their much verbigerations and mock heroism, paucity of ideas, and plasticity of conscience who are comfortably ensconced in a bombproof position far from the unerring shot of the enemy. This *large group of little men* with the flame of vaunted patriotism burning on *their insincere tongues* will *not* hesitate to count the *cost* in *sorrow* and *death* which *others are to suffer* as the result of their foolish immaturely considered acts. Intolerance, bigotry, self-assumed superiority are qualities of mind which should excite contempt rather than admiration. They are the attributes of little minds and dwarfed souls and stamp the one afflicted with them as incompetent for leadership, rather than being accomplishments fitting him to participate in directing the affairs of a great Nation at a critical moment of its history.

Much depends upon what this Congress may do. The present is pregnant with momentous issues; the provocations are great and the tide of passion runs high. Each Senator and Representative should remember that by his vote he is making history to-day. He may possibly be signing the death warrant of hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens, bringing sorrow and distress to hundreds of now happy homes, and burdening posterity with a debt which will sap the moral and mental natures

and weaken the physical fiber of the generations yet to come, and thereby destroy the virility of the race by its crushing burden. He should also remember that the Republic is on trial. Democratic principles in government, so dear to the fathers, are being subjected to the acid test. Crimination and recrimination, partisanship, and personal politics are as much out of place in the deliberations of this body to-day as unregenerate sin in the realm of infinite morality.

Mr. President, there comes a time in the life of every man when the performance of duty imposes a painful process. To move along the lines of least resistance, to drift with the tide, to keep step with the thoughtless gang is the natural impulse of the human heart. I find myself in a position this morning where I wish my sense of obligation to the people I have the honor in part to immediately represent in this Chamber particularly, and the American people generally, would permit me to vote as I am sure a large majority of my colleagues will vote on the pending question. Their patriotism I do not question, and the wisdom of their course will be determined by time alone.

I only wish I could believe that the thing the Senate is about to do will redound to the interests of the American people, but for the life of me I can not bring myself to believe it will contribute to the welfare of the great mass of American people and to the happiness of the world, and elevate and render more permanent the civilization of mankind.

I do not in any way condone the crimes which Germany has committed against the American people and the commerce of the world. I do not deny that the law has been violated and that we have a legal right to declare war. Many things have occurred which are shocking to my every idea of humanity. Such acts of brutality can be excused or accounted for only upon the theory that the perpetrators were frenzied with hate and engaged in a life-and-death struggle. But the crimes committed in this war can not all be charged to one nation.

The allies have also violated international law, sunk our ships, killed our citizens, and committed other crimes which I know were only incidental to the prosecution of cruel warfare. Yes, they all have done things that in the calmer and saner moments would have caused them to shudder with horror and hang their heads in shame. The warring forces of Mexico have also manifested the brutalizing influence of war. They have outraged innocent women, murdered little children, atrociously killed our men, and destroyed millions upon millions of dollars' worth of property. But these, I repeat, were all, or most of them, incidental; they grew out of war's brutalities—cruel, criminal, foolish war. It only shows to what depths men will fall when engaged in the commerce of the beast, and furnishes another reason also why America should keep out of this slaughter pen. It will not be forgotten that notwithstanding the unlawful and brutal conduct of Mexico the American voter at the polls last fall approved the Wilson administration and continued it in power as a reward for keeping us out of war. Don't forget that. Men talk of civilized warfare. There is no such thing. In its mildest and least objectionable form it is what Sherman said it was, "It is hell." If our joining in this war in Europe would relieve the world of this burning, devouring, devastating social cancer that is destroying the world body politic, there might be some justification for the adoption of this resolution. I do not believe that we will relieve the situation by becoming a party to the horrors and brutalities of the conflict, but, on the contrary, I believe our entrance into it will only serve to postpone the day of an amicable settlement. I was impressed with the President's suggestion in his message to Congress Monday night that permanent world peace will come only by the dethronement of kings and establishing in their stead throughout the nations of the earth governments by the people.

The President also suggested that if the people who are now engaged in this war in Europe had been consulted there would have been no war. If I may be permitted to indulge in a little speculation I will say, Mr. President, that if the people of the United States—I mean the plain, honest people, the masses who are to bear the burden of taxation and fight the Nation's battles, were consulted—the United States would not make a declaration of war against Germany to-day. If the women and children, who are the greatest sufferers in time of war, were consulted, the voice would come back in thunderous tones as it gathered volume from the tenement houses of the great cities, the factories, the farm homes, and all along through the humbler walks of life, on its way to Washington, directing the President and Congress to find some other way, if possible, to settle it rather than by the arbitrament of the sword. The great moral sentiment of the world would approve such a course—such a course would be unusual, but the uniqueness of the thing would challenge the admiration of mankind and lift humanity from the brutal bog in which it has wallowed since the dark days of the beginning. America is great enough to set a precedent in a great world-serving, man-saving, moral movement of that character. Nothing will be settled by the United States entering into this war except the question of superiority of strength.

The President hopes that by sacrificing millions of Americans, spending a few billion dollars, taken from the products of the toiling masses of this country, we may be able to "organize the parliament of man," and bring about "the federation of the world." It is a big price to pay, but probably the consummation will be worth the sacrifice. It is a fine, big idea the President has for the salvation of the world. I wish him Godspeed in his good efforts in that direction. But the world will not take his big ideas by force of arms. He can not "draw down this new Republic held in air and make for it a foundation on the earth" by using the methods of the brute. Moral reform must come by virtue of inherent merit and not by the force of standing armies. A hired professional soldiery is inconsistent with free institutions. Love of country is the saving, conserving influence in republics—it is the very soul of our system of government. It ought to be a glorious privilege for a patriotic citizen to give his life in defense of his country. It ought to be a highly prized opportunity in the hour of trial, such as we are passing through to-day, for a citizen of this Republic to offer his services in defense of his flag. For a righteous cause I am sure that 10,000,000 American men would rush to the colors and hesitate not to consider the consequences. They would come christened with the tears of loving mothers, devoted wives, and loyal sisters, and with hearts afire with unquenchable patriotism they would keep "Old Glory" unstained and triumphant in the air. Compulsory military service is at this time an affront to the patriotism of the better class of our people. It should be resorted to only when we are down to the dregs for men. But, Mr. President, I do not feel like sacrificing a million men—I can not afford to break the hearts of loving mothers, becloud the lives of devoted wives, and shadow the souls of orphaned children with ineffable sorrow, in order to liberate Germany from the cruel domination of kings, without first consulting the people who are to be sacrificed for the deliverance. I have the right to give my own life for such a cause, but I have no right to give the life of any loving mother's son or the husband of a devoted wife or the father of little children who are probably dependent for bread upon his daily toil.

We are told that the masses of the people of Europe were not consulted about the war flagrant there to-day. Their consent was not obtained before the war was started and they will not be permitted to determine the time of its ending. And that is true. If they had been consulted, the differences between the warring Governments would have been honestly and fairly settled by arbitration rather than by wage of battles involving the sacrifice of human lives. The ruling classes are alone responsible for the disgraceful condition in Europe to-day, a condition which stamps their pretended faith in the Prince of Peace as a bloody lie. The meek and lowly Nazarene is held up as a disciple of Mars, and hate has taken the place of love in our religion. Now, if the ruling classes of Europe are responsible for that war, if they brought it on without consulting the people, how can we, the Members of Congress and the Executive, the governing head of this great Rupublic, how can we justify involving this country in a war which will necessarily result in the slaughter of millions of men and the squandering of billions of dollars—I repeat, how can we explain to our constituents why we had plunged them into this vortex of murder and plunder without consulting them and getting their consent? If it is wrong for a king to plunge his subjects into the vortex of war without their consent, it can not be less reprehensible for the President of the United States and the Congress to involve their constituents in a war without their consent. There is no necessity for haste in this matter. It were better to suspend commerce for a while, lose a little money or profits, if you please, and save from slaughter a few hundred thousand of the bravest and best men beneath the stars. But I apprehend that some one may say, we have not time to wait, our honor is at stake. That matter I prefer to let the people determine. If they want war, if they are willing to pay the price of war, if they feel that the offense justifies war, since they must pay the price in blood and treasure, in the name of God let them settle that question for themselves.

Mr. President, I am not going to vote for this resolution. I do not believe that it is necessary to go to war in order to bring about a settlement of this desperate trouble with honor to America, but I am not going to interfere with or delay in any way the final consideration of the resolution. I want Congress to act upon it, and act upon it right now. I have no doubt about

its passage, and for that reason I am overwhelmed with a sense of anxiety, not for myself, not for any individual, but for the welfare of all the people, and especially the great toiling masses of America, upon whom will fall the larger part of the burden. When the resolution shall pass, we will be in a state of war with Germany. Every American citizen will then be called upon to go to the defense of the flag, and I trust he will respond promptly to the demands of the hour, and if need be, give his life and his all to uphold the Nation's cause. I shall vote to give the President men and money to the last citizen able to bear arms, and every dollar that shall be necessary to meet the expenses of the war. I shall do more. My own services shall be offered to do whatever may be necessary within my power in support of my country's cause. I trust there will be no break in the ranks, no hesitating, no question, but that all Americans may present a solid, invincible front to the common enemy. I have hoped, I repeat, that the question might be settled peaceably by negotiations, but when the Congress decides that only by the arbitrament of the sword it shall be settled, then to that task we will devote our hands, our heads, our hearts, and the products of our toil. May the God of nations in His infinite wisdom lead the Congress and the American people safely through the dark and perilous valley which our country is called upon at this time to pass.

I do love
My country's good with a respect more tender,
More holy and profound than my own life.

And to her service I hereby dedicate my life and all that I possess.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I listened to the greater part of the speeches made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I shall not attempt to answer those speeches, although it seems to me answer would be easy.

In the circumstances of this fateful hour I think it best not now to enter into the domain of controversy. I wish merely to put this much in the RECORD in the interest of historical accuracy. The Senators adverted to certain facts to justify their arguments, but adverted only to a part of the facts, and in numerous instances neglected to state the whole truth of the facts to which they did advert. But that sort of thing has been from time immemorial done by advocates who seek to justify before the people the wisdom and the justice of what they do. However, it is certain that impartial history will record the whole truth, and so far as I am concerned I will let controversy go for this immediate day and time.

Mr. President, I fear that the Congress is about to involve the United States in this European war, and when you do that my belief is that you will commit the greatest national blunder of history. I shall vote against this mistake, to prevent which, God helping me, I would gladly lay down my life.

Until the Congress shall otherwise command, I shall stand as I have stood from the beginning, and even now I lift my voice in solemn warning against this blunder. But if the constituted powers of my Government, the powers constitutionally authorized to speak for the people on this momentous issue, shall decide for war, and we go into war, then I shall cast all doubts and forebodings to the winds, and my eyes thenceforth will be blind to everything but the flag of my country borne by American boys through the storm of war, and my ears deaf to every call save that of my country in its hour of peril. If Congress unfurls the battle flag, however profound my sorrow, I will at once stand in salute to that flag, dutifully willing and ready to perform any service or make any sacrifice necessary to bring the cause we espouse to a successful issue.

To my countrymen everywhere I say that while we may differ as we do about the policy of entering this war, once in it all differences must cease. In war there can be no divided patriotism. In war the eyes of an American can behold but one flag. In a time of stress like that all gaps must be closed and our front become as solid as a wall.

If we declare for war there must be no halting; we must make war in earnest. We know what that means. But when war is declared, if it is declared, honor and patriotism alike demand that we shrink not to enter, if need be, into the very mouth of hell.

Mr. President, if your decision be for war, there is nothing that any sane, patriotic, honorable American could do that I will not do to make that war a success. I will stand ready instantly to take my full share of the responsibility and the burden.

Mr. President, I have finished.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I offer the following substitute for the joint resolution before the Senate. I ask that the Secretary may read it. I simply desire to preface the reading by the statement that I have formulated a concurrent rather than a joint resolution, because I have a conviction that Congress alone has the power to either make or refuse war, and that it does not need the signature of the President as a joint resolution would need it. I ask the Secretary to read the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. SAULSBURY). The Secretary will read the concurrent resolution.

The Secretary read as follows:

Concurrent resolution asserting certain of the duties imposed upon belligerents by international law in the maintenance of a blockade, defining certain of the inalienable and vital rights of American vessels and American citizens on the high seas, and declaring that a willful violation of these rights by any belligerent will be regarded and accepted as an act and declaration of war against the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Government of the United States recognizes the right of any belligerent engaged in the present European war to establish and maintain a blockade of the ports of its enemies against the imports of contraband goods, and that such blockade may be effectuated through the employment of any type of marine war craft: *Provided*, That well recognized rules of international law are followed; that in the enforcement of such blockade the belligerent power may exercise the right of search and seizure for the purpose of determining whether any neutral vessel passing through the blockaded zone is destined to a neutral port or is engaged in carrying contraband of war to her enemy, and may detain a neutral vessel for such time as may be reasonably necessary to ascertain that fact, but that in the exercise of that right the merchant vessel of a neutral must first be summoned to submit to such visitation and can not be lawfully fired upon unless she attempts to escape after receiving such summons.

If contraband is found upon such neutral vessel and it is impossible or impracticable to take it into port and subject it to the investigation of a prize court, the right to destroy such contraband cargo by the blockading power is acknowledged by this country, but that the question of the contraband character of the cargo of such vessel must be determined before such vessel or cargo is sunk or destroyed, and that such vessel can not be sunk without notice and without being first summoned to submit to an examination; and in no case can such vessel be sunk unless and until all passengers and crew shall have been removed therefrom and assured safe conduct into some port where they may find shelter and food.

That if under the conditions and limitations of submarine capacity and power passengers and crew can only be accorded the safety of their lifeboats they can be turned adrift only under such conditions as to make it certain that with reasonable diligence and care on their part they can be landed safely in such port. If the condition of the sea or the distance from land is such that said crew and passengers would be subjected to great danger if left to their own lifeboats the right of the belligerent must be limited to the destruction of the contraband cargo on such vessel, leaving the vessel in the hands of the crew to reach a port of safety.

That no belligerent has a right to prohibit any neutral vessel from traveling upon any part of the high seas in carrying on commerce with another neutral in goods not intended for belligerent destination, and no right to exercise any interference except such as may be reasonably necessary to determine the character of the cargo and the destination of the vessel.

That the Government of the United States hereby declares that the firing upon or sinking of any vessel of American registry without notice by any belligerent, or the destruction of such vessel without first providing for the safety of the passengers and crew thereon, or the willful detention of such vessel engaged in trade with other neutral countries, except in so far as such detention may be reasonably necessary to determine the character of the cargo or the destination of the vessel, or any other willful violation of the rights of American ships and American citizens, as herein declared, is an act of war against this country, and will be accepted and regarded as an act of war against the United States by the country so offending; and, thereupon, without further declaration or notice, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the offending country; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, in presenting this resolution I am following a course consistent with my attitude and purpose since the very beginning of this European war. That purpose has been to maintain our neutrality and avoid being drawn into this conflict if it could be done without the surrender of vital American rights or national honor.

We have reached a point to-day where we must either surrender vital American rights, and I think American honor as well, or Germany must surrender her present method of ruthless and indiscriminate submarine warfare against American vessels and American citizens. I am pausing on the brink of this war long enough to allow Germany to withdraw her declaration of unrestricted warfare on neutral ships and neutral citizens. I am allowing her the opportunity to retreat. Without condoning a single past act, I am chalking the deadline and leaving it to her whether she will again cross that line. She can answer by word or act. If she immediately ceases her unlawful assaults upon our vessels and citizens, she can avoid war with us. If she oversteps that line again, she will do so after having measured the consequences, and the war will be of her own choosing. In the meantime we will be continuing our preparation and will lose no point of vantage by a few days' delay in declaring or initiating war.

Mr. President, I have recognized that in a great war like that now raging across the ocean no neutral country could expect to exercise without hindrance or inconvenience every commercial right it enjoyed in times of peace; that nations in the throes of a life and death struggle would on many occasions overstep recognized belligerent rights and infringe upon the rights of neutrals; that there can be no great war without upsetting to a considerable extent the course of trade and other commercial and financial relations of neutrals; and that in the light of the history of all wars we ought to exercise a great degree of charitableness toward these war-maddened nations of Europe.

I have therefore sought on all occasions to keep this country neutral in spirit as well as in conduct. When this war began and the press of the country seemed united in a campaign of denunciation of the whole German people, indicting them as Huns, as savage and remorseless murderers, I felt it my duty to defend them against this wholesale charge of brutality in an address made before the Senate. While I could not condone many of the acts committed, like the shooting to death of a nurse girl, the levying of tribute upon the conquered Belgians, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the ruthless sinking of hospital ships, or wanton destruction of homes and household effects of noncombatants, I preferred to place the blame where it rightly belonged, on the shoulders of the officers commanding, rather than upon the German people in whom I had always found a sprit of mildness and sympathy.

I have, rather, charged these things to that false dogma of Prussian militarism inculcated by every commander from the Kaiser down, that militarism must of necessity be austere and merciless, devoid of sympathy or humanity, and governed by the single unswerving purpose to accomplish results, whether such results be achieved by shattering the ranks of an enemy soldiery or striking terror into the hearts of an enemy populace. I have believed, and still believe, that the German soldier who executes these merciless commands has no more heart in the work assigned to him than the executioner who carries out the death sentence of a court; that the relentless spirit of militarism above him, ever bearing upon its banner the edict of immediate death to him who hesitates to obey, has forced every repugnant or heartless deed.

Mr. President, when this war broke out I proposed and supported a measure prohibiting the shipment of arms and ammunition to either belligerent. While recognizing that there were two sides to this great question on its merits, I did not agree with the majority in the Senate that such an embargo would be a breach of either neutrality or of our treaties, and that while the withholding of arms from a weaker or unprepared nation as against a stronger or well prepared country might well be considered an unneutral act, I felt that there was no such disparity in the matter of preparedness or ability to prepare between the great countries engaged in this conflict as to create a moral duty on our part to supply either with the means to destroy the other.

When the differences between this country and Germany on the use of submarines in warfare became acute I was compelled through conviction to disagree with the President and a majority in the Senate in the assertion that the submarine could not under international law be used at all against enemy merchant ships. Although I was but one of a small minority holding this view, and for which I was subjected to no little criticism, I believe that view has since been practically acquiesced in by this country.

So, too, I stood with the few against the many in the Senate in insisting that while the controversy between this country and Germany on the subject of the use of submarines against belligerent vessels was under diplomatic discussion, it was the duty of the American citizens to waive their right to travel on a belligerent war vessel, and that this country should request its citizens to refrain from travel on such belligerent vessels during such negotiations, that the possibility of reaching an agreement might not be jeopardized by any needless act of an American citizen.

Mr. President, I have followed this course and advocated these positions not only because of my conviction that they were sound and right but also because I wished, first, to keep this country at peace with all the warring nations and, second, to maintain an attitude so clearly and unmistakably neutral that she could exert a potent influence in checking this slaughter and be a powerful factor in maintaining the future peace of the world. If I have seemed overlenient or forbearing in case of wanton wrong it has sprung from an earnest desire that this country might remain at peace and that only the gravest and most aggravating cause should lead us from our neutral purpose.

I am not unmindful of, nor do I slight the great and grave provocations which seem to come with ever-increasing frequency and aggravation in the sinking of American vessels not engaged in trade with any belligerent, but carrying on commerce between neutral nations only, without notice, warning, or investigation. So unprovoked have been some of these acts of destruction, in some instances so wanton, like the sinking of our merchant vessels trading only with other neutrals, that I find it difficult to believe that the German people, if they fully understood the circumstances, would uphold the officials of their Government in such reckless assault upon commerce between peaceful and neutral countries. On what ground the German Government can claim that vessels trading only between this country and Holland, Denmark, Sweden, or Norway in goods not intended, directly or indirectly, for the use of a belligerent should be treated as enemy vessels is beyond my comprehension.

There seem to be but two possible explanations of this conduct: Either that official Germany, exasperated at the world sentiment against her, has become so reckless as to look upon all the commercial powers as her enemies or that, being unable to secure from this country that which other belligerents are securing by reason of their ability to command at least the surface of the seas, she believes that with her undersea craft she can better carry out her purpose to isolate Great Britain and cut off her food supply by striking her commerce with this country at its source, and is, therefore, in reality inviting rather than avoiding a war with this country, assuring herself that we have not the equipment to land or support an army in Europe and that in a state of war, and freed from the restraints of neutrality, she can sink American vessels either at our ports or on the high seas and thereby better accomplish her purpose of eliminating Great Britain from the contest by cutting off her food supply. Whatever may be her purposes or motives, it is certain she is sinking our ships which are not engaged in commerce with her enemy. She may feel justified in sinking without notice or warning any belligerent merchant vessel, but I can not understand how she can justify herself in sinking without warning neutral vessels engaged in neutral trade with neutral nations. I can not believe that her own people, if they understood the real situation, would ever back up such an assertion of right, such a wholesale assault upon the commerce of the world.

Now, Mr. President, there can be no such thing as both parties to a war being right. Notwithstanding the fact that the people of each nation may consider their cause just, one or the other must be wrong. If we are right we ought to make the people of the other country—not merely the heads of government, not merely the military caste, but the great people themselves—understand that their cause can not be just. The assertion that "he is thrice armed whose cause is just" loses much of its force if it so happen that his opponent conscientiously believes that cause to be grossly unjust.

I believe the German people—the common people—do not understand our attitude. I want them to understand it. I believe they are laboring under a false conviction that as a Nation we are claiming rights which we do not claim; that they are imbued with a false notion that we as a Nation are insisting upon the right of our merchant ships to deliver without molestation or interference contraband of war to their enemies. I want this country to dispel that false conviction.

Mr. President, I want the fairness and righteousness of our position to be presented to the German people before we either declare war or commit an act which will, in fact, constitute war. I want to put the onus of that war on the other country. If, in connection with what we concede to be belligerent rights, we send this declaration of our own unquestioned international rights to Germany, we put it up to her to decide whether she wishes to make an unjust war on us. Under this resolution we need not even wait for a reply. One single act on her part in defiance of these sacred rights of this neutral country will be answer sufficient for us.

I have an abiding hope that if we pass this resolution in this form there will never be another American vessel sunk without notice, and never another American vessel engaged in trade with neutrals sunk either with or without notice; and that we shall secure a recognition of these, our vital rights, without plunging into the vortex of this conflict.

But it is said we have already not only asserted these rights but declared we would hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability in case of her violation of them, and she has answered by a still more reckless disregard of them. We are compelled to admit this is true. But, Mr. President, the previous assertion of these American rights in defense of which war would be justifiable has been so associated and bound up with assertions of other rights, for the breach of which we would not go to war, and our course has been so uncertain that not only our own people but the people of other countries might

well believe that we have waived some of them, and I therefore think we ought to redeclare in unmistakable language not all of our neutral rights but only those we hold to be so vital and their violation such an assault upon the honor of our country that we will back them with the blood and treasure of the Nation. I want the dead line between peace and war to be laid with precision.

I admit, Mr. President, that some of the acts committed by the central powers upon American vessels and American citizens can not be differentiated from war, and we may properly and justly accept them as war, but I can not agree that war actually exists between this country and any belligerent to-day. It takes two parties to make war, and so far we have not made it. I will also admit that the promulgation of an order by the German Government declaring a vast section of the open sea to be a war zone, and that she would destroy any vessel, neutral or belligerent, passing through or into such zone, without notice and without reference to its destination, operates in its effect as a blockade of our own ports, and thereby treats us as a belligerent, and, so treated, we may with perfect propriety and justice, so far as the other country is concerned, accept the belligerency which she has enforced upon us.

But, Mr. President, I am considering the sentiment of this country. If we are to get into this war, I should prefer to have back of it the sentiment of 100 per cent rather than of 80 per cent of its people. If we declare war against Germany to-day, we shall run counter to the sentiment and wishes of a very considerable portion of our people, as is evidenced by the vast number of antiwar telegrams, resolutions, and petitions. If, on the other hand, we declare the dead line between peace and war—which we have not yet done—if we declare that the first attempt to now destroy an American vessel without notice, or the willful destruction of an American life on such vessel, in violation of our somewhat revised declarations, will visit upon the head of the offending nation the might of our war power, and Germany then deliberately steps across that line, and by so doing declares her purpose to force us into the conflict, the American pacifist will then not have a single leg to stand on, and we shall have back of our war a united, aggressive American spirit.

But, suppose we should pass this resolution and Germany should answer, "I shall in the future, so far as American vessels and citizens are concerned, conduct my submarine warfare in accordance with your views," would we then proceed to declare war? And, if we do not, would we insist that we have had a war with Germany? I know that there are a great many of our citizens who believe that we should make common cause with the entente powers, without regard to any specific act of Germany against us; that the allies are fighting the battle of humanity and progress; that it is the final struggle between merciless militarism and freedom, and that we ought not to stand idly by while other nations of the world are pouring out their blood in lavish currents to free Europe and the world from the ever-impending danger of annihilation by the demon of war. But, however this may appeal to many, I am satisfied, Mr. President, that the vast majority of the people of this country are not impressed with the idea that such a situation in reality confronts our people or the world, and that, therefore, they will justify our entering into this war only upon the grounds that it is imposed upon us by the German Government, and we are compelled to enter it in defense of vital American rights.

Mr. President, I have assured the people of my State that, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, I would do everything in my power compatible with the honor of our country to keep our people out of this most savage and bloody conflict. In presenting this resolution I am making a final effort, or, perhaps, I might better say, giving the great central powers the opportunity to avoid a war with us. I believe that if we should pass this resolution, or one similar to it, the answer might be peace. If not, then Germany has preferred war with us and must take the consequences.

But this country can not stand and will not stand for a continuance of present conditions. While we have committed no act of war against any belligerent, the declaration of a belligerent that she will sink any American ship within a certain zone without notice and without any attempt to ascertain either its cargo or its destination, operates as a blockade of our ports even against trade with neutral countries. And her acts in destroying the lives of American citizens on American ships without notice or investigation are acts of war against us; and if I am compelled to vote on that issue my vote must record the truth, that war is being made on us. But, Mr. President, I feel that it is for our own interest that we now draw the line between peace and war and leave it to Germany to cross that line.

Mr. President, if this last effort of mine to avoid conflict shall fail, if the majority of Congress feel that acts already committed demand an immediate appeal to arms, I shall acquiesce in that judgment and support my Government in its every war need; and, reluctant as I am to get into this conflict, if the decision of this country shall be for war, I shall never vote to sheathe the sword until peace, honorable and just, shall be restored to her throne of tranquillity, and her sovereignty guarded and assured in the future by all the great nations of the world, by the very armies that have razed her temples and ravished her realms.

I shall, Mr. President, submit this resolution for a vote of the Senate. I have little hope that it will pass, as I understand very well the present sentiment of this body. The fact that it may not pass, however, does not change my conviction that it ought to pass. If it does not, there is but one thing left for me to do, and that is to vote in favor of the resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I shall do that rather than for a single moment to allow the present conditions to remain unchallenged and unacted upon.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, while I am most emphatically and sincerely opposed to taking any step that will force our country into the useless and senseless war now being waged in Europe, yet if this resolution passes I shall not permit my feeling of opposition to its passage to interfere in any way with my duty either as a Senator or as a citizen in bringing success and victory to American arms. I am bitterly opposed to my country entering the war, but if, notwithstanding my opposition, we do enter it, all of my energy and all of my power will be behind our flag in carrying it on to victory.

The resolution now before the Senate is a declaration of war. Before taking this momentous step, and while standing on the brink of this terrible vortex, we ought to pause and calmly and judiciously consider the terrible consequences of the step we are about to take. We ought to consider likewise the route we have recently traveled and ascertain whether we have reached our present position in a way that is compatible with the neutral position which we claimed to occupy at the beginning and through the various stages of this unholy and unrighteous war.

No close student of recent history will deny that both Great Britain and Germany have, on numerous occasions since the beginning of the war, flagrantly violated in the most serious manner the rights of neutral vessels and neutral nations under existing international law as recognized up to the beginning of this war by the civilized world.

The reason given by the President in asking Congress to declare war against Germany is that the German Government has declared certain war zones, within which, by the use of submarines, she sinks, without notice, American ships and destroys American lives.

Let us trace briefly the origin and history of these so-called war zones. The first war zone was declared by Great Britain. She gave us and the world notice of it on the 4th day of November, 1914. The zone became effective November 5, 1914, the next day after the notice was given. This zone so declared by Great Britain covered the whole of the North Sea. The order establishing it sought to close the north of Scotland route around the British Isles to Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic Sea. The decree of establishment drew an arbitrary line from the Hebrides Islands along the Scottish coast to Iceland, and warned neutral shipping that it would cross those lines at its peril, and ordered that ships might go to Holland and other neutral nations by taking the English Channel route through the Strait of Dover.

The first German war zone was declared on the 4th day of February, 1915, just three months after the British war zone was declared. Germany gave 15 days' notice of the establishment of her zone, which became effective on the 18th day of February, 1915. The German war zone covered the English Channel and the high sea waters around the British Isles. It sought to close the English Channel route around the British Isles to Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Baltic Sea. The German war zone decreed that neutral vessels would be exposed to danger in the English Channel route, but that the route around the north of Scotland and in the eastern part of the North Sea, in a strip 30 miles wide along the Dutch coast, would be free from danger.

It will thus be seen that the British Government declared the north of Scotland route into the Baltic Sea as dangerous and the English Channel route into the Baltic Sea as safe.

The German Government in its order did exactly the reverse. It declared the north of Scotland route into the Baltic Sea as

safe and the English Channel route into the Baltic Sea as dangerous.

The order of the British Government declaring the North Sea as a war zone used the following language:

The British Admiralty gives notice that the waters of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft, and other vessels will be exposed to the gravest danger from mines it has been necessary to lay.

The German Government, by its order declaring its war zone around the south of England, declared that the order would be made effective by the use of submarines.

Thus we have the two declarations of the two Governments, each declaring a military zone and warning neutral shipping from going into the prohibited area. England sought to make her order effective by the use of submerged mines. Germany sought to make her order effective by the use of submarines. Both of these orders were illegal and contrary to all international law as well as the principles of humanity. Under international law no belligerent Government has the right to place submerged mines in the high seas. Neither has it any right to take human life without notice by the use of submarines. If there is any difference on the ground of humanity between these two instrumentalities, it is certainly in favor of the submarines. The submarine can exercise some degree of discretion and judgment. The submerged mine always destroys without notice, friend and foe alike, guilty and innocent the same. In carrying out these two policies, both Great Britain and Germany have sunk American ships and destroyed American lives without provocation and without notice. There have been more ships sunk and more American lives lost from the action of submarines than from English mines in the North Sea; for the simple reason that we finally acquiesced in the British war zone and kept our ships out of it, while in the German war zone we have refused to recognize its legality and have not kept either our ships or our citizens out of its area. If American ships had gone into the British war zone in defiance of Great Britain's order, as they have gone into the German war zone in defiance of the German Government's order, there would have been many more American lives lost and many more American ships sunk by the instrumentality of the mines than the instrumentality of the submarines.

We have in the main complied with the demands made by Great Britain. Our ships have followed the instructions of the British Government in going not only to England but to the neutral nations of the world, and in thus complying with the British order American ships going to Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have been taken by British officials into British ports, and their cargoes inspected and examined. All the mails we have carried even to neutral countries have been opened and censored, and oftentimes the entire cargo confiscated by the Government. Nothing has been permitted to pass to even the most neutral nations except after examination and with the permission of the officials of the British Government.

I have outlined the beginning of the controversy. I have given in substance the orders of both of these great Governments that constituted the beginning of our controversy with each. There have been other orders made by both Governments subsequent to the ones I have given that interfered with our rights as a neutral Nation, but these two that I have outlined constitute the origin of practically the entire difficulty, and subsequent orders have only been modifications and reproductions of those I have already mentioned. It is unnecessary to cite authority to show that both of these orders declaring military zones were illegal and contrary to international law. It is sufficient to say that our Government has officially declared both of them to be illegal and has officially protested against both of them.

The only difference is that in the case of Germany we have persisted in our protest, while in the case of England we have submitted. What was our duty as a Government and what were our rights when we were confronted with these extraordinary orders declaring these military zones? First, we could have defied both of them and could have gone to war against both of these nations for this violation of international law and interference with our neutral rights. Second, we had the technical right to defy one and to acquiesce in the other. Third, we could, while denouncing them both as illegal, have acquiesced in them both and thus remained neutral with both sides, although not agreeing with either as to the righteousness of their respective orders. We could have said to American shipowners that, while these orders are both contrary to international law and are both unjust, we do not believe that the provocation is sufficient to cause us to go to war for the defense of our rights as a neutral nation, and, therefore, American ships and American citizens will go into these zones at their own peril and risk. Fourth, we might have declared an embargo against the shipping from American ports of any merchandise to either one of these Governments that persisted in maintaining its military zone. We might have refused to permit the sailing of any ship from any American port to either of these military zones. In my judgment, if we had pursued this course, the zones would have been of short duration. England would have been compelled to take her mines out of the North Sea in order to get any supplies from our country. When her mines were taken out of the North Sea then the German ports upon the North Sea would have been accessible to American shipping and Germany would have been compelled to cease her submarine warfare in order to get any supplies from our Nation into German North Sea ports.

There are a great many American citizens who feel that we owe it as a duty to humanity to take part in this war. Many instances of cruelty and inhumanity can be found on both sides. Men are often biased in their judgment on account of their sympathy and their interests. To my mind, what we ought to have maintained from the beginning was the strictest neutrality. If we had done this I do not believe we would have been on the verge of war at the present time. We had a right as a nation, if we desired, to cease at any time to be neutral. We had a technical right to respect the English war zone and to disregard the German war zone, but we could not do that and be neutral. I have no quarrel to find with the man who does not desire our country to remain neutral. While many such people are moved by selfish motives and hopes of gain, I have no doubt but that in a great many instances, through what I believe to be a misunderstanding of the real condition, there are many honest, patriotic citizens who think we ought to engage in this war and who are behind the President in his demand that we should declare war against Germany. I think such people err in judgment and to a great extent have been misled as to the real history and the true facts by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war. We have loaned many hundreds of millions of dollars to the allies in this controversy. While such action was legal and countenanced by international law, there is no doubt in my mind but the enormous amount of money loaned to the allies in this country has been instrumental in bringing about a public sentiment in favor of our country taking a course that would make every bond worth a hundred cents on the dollar and making the payment of every debt certain and sure. Through this instrumentality and also through the instrumentality of others who have not only made millions out of the war in the manufacture of munitions, etc., and who would expect to make millions more if our country can be drawn into the catastrophe, a large number of the great newspapers and news agencies of the country have been controlled and enlisted in the greatest propaganda that the world has ever known, to manufacture sentiment in favor of war. It is now demanded that the American citizens shall be used as insurance policies to guarantee the safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munition manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further increased by our entrance into the war. This has brought us to the present moment, when Congress, urged by the President and backed by the artificial sentiment, is about to declare war and engulf our country in the greatest holocaust that the world has ever known.

In showing the position of the bondholder and the stockbroker I desire to read an extract from a letter written by a member of the New York Stock Exchange to his customers. This writer says:

Regarding the war as inevitable, Wall Street believes that it would be preferable to this uncertainty about the actual date of its commencement. Canada and Japan are at war, and are more prosperous than ever before. The popular view is that stocks would have a quick, clear, sharp reaction immediately upon outbreak of hostilities, and that then they would enjoy an old-fashioned bull market such as followed the outbreak of war with Spain in 1898. The advent of peace would force a readjustment of commodity prices and would probably mean a postponement of new enterprises. As peace negotiations would be long drawn out, the period of waiting and uncertainty for business would be long. If the United States does not go to war it is nevertheless good opinion that the preparedness program will compensate in good measure for the loss of the stimulus of actual war.

Here we have the Wall Street view. Here we have the man representing the class of people who will be made prosperous should we become entangled in the present war, who have already made millions of dollars, and who will make many hundreds of millions more if we get into the war. Here we have the cold-blooded proposition that war brings prosperity to that class of people who are within the viewpoint of this writer. He expresses the view, undoubtedly, of Wall Street, and of thousands

of men elsewhere, who see only dollars coming to them through the handling of stocks and bonds that will be necessary in case of war. "Canada and Japan," he says, "are at war, and are more prosperous than ever before."

To whom does war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier who for the munificent compensation of $16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the broken-hearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy; not to the little children who shiver with cold; not to the babe who suffers from hunger; nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. War brings no prosperity to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who toil and those who already must strain every effort to keep soul and body together. War brings prosperity to the stock gambler on Wall Street—to those who are already in possession of more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed. Again this writer says that if we can not get war, "it is nevertheless good opinion that the preparedness program will compensate in good measure for the loss of the stimulus of actual war." That is, if we can not get war, let us go as far in that direction as possible. If we can not get war, let us cry for additional ships, additional guns, additional munitions, and everything else that will have a tendency to bring us as near as possible to the verge of war. And if war comes do such men as these shoulder the musket and go into the trenches?

Their object in having war and in preparing for war is to make money. Human suffering and the sacrifice of human life are necessary, but Wall Street considers only the dollars and the cents. The men who do the fighting, the people who make the sacrifices, are the ones who will not be counted in the measure of this great prosperity that he depicts. The stock brokers would not, of course, go to war, because the very object they have in bringing on the war is profit, and therefore they must remain in their Wall Street offices in order to share in that great prosperity which they say war will bring. The volunteer officer, even the drafting officer, will not find them. They will be concealed in their palatial offices on Wall Street, sitting behind mahogany desks, covered up with clipped coupons—coupons soiled with the sweat of honest toil, coupons stained with mothers' tears, coupons dyed in the lifeblood of their fellow men.

We are taking a step to-day that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money. And even if we do not cross the Atlantic and go into the trenches, we are going to pile up a debt that the toiling masses that shall come many generations after us will have to pay. Unborn millions will bend their backs in toil in order to pay for the terrible step we are now about to take. We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate. By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NORRIS. I will say to the Senator that I prefer not to yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. Of course I can not interrupt under those circumstances.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I know that I am powerless to stop it. I know that this war madness has taken possession of the financial and political powers of our country. I know that nothing I can say will stay the blow that is soon to fall. I feel that we are committing a sin against humanity and against our countrymen. I would like to say to this war god, You shall not coin into gold the lifeblood of my brethren. I would like to prevent this terrible catastrophe from falling upon my people. I would be willing to surrender my own life if I could cause this awful cup to pass. I charge no man here with a wrong motive, but it seems to me that this war craze has robbed us of our judgment. I wish we might delay our action until reason could again be enthroned in the brain of man. I feel that we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

I have no sympathy with the military spirit that dominates the Kaiser and his advisers. I do not believe that they represent the heart of the great German people. I have no more sympathy with the submarine policy of Germany than I have with the mine-laying policy of England. I have heard with rejoicing of the overthrow of the Czar of Russia and the movement in that great country toward the establishment of a government where the common people will have their rights, liberty, and freedom respected. I hope and pray that a similar revolution may take place in Germany, that the Kaiser may be overthrown, and that on the ruins of his military despotism may be established a German republic, where the great German people may work out their world destiny. The working out of that problem is not an American burden. We ought to remember the advice of the Father of our Country and keep out of entangling alliances. Let Europe solve her problems as we have solved ours. Let Europe bear her burdens as we have borne ours. In the greatest war of our history and at the time it occurred, the greatest war in the world's history, we were engaged in solving an American problem. We settled the question of human slavery and washed our flag clean by the sacrifice of human blood. It was a great problem and a great burden, but we solved it ourselves. Never once did we think of asking Europe to take part in its solution. Never once did any European nation undertake to settle the great question. We solved it, and history has rendered a unanimous verdict that we solved it right. The troubles of Europe ought to be settled by Europe, and wherever our sympathies may lie, disagreeing as we do, we ought to remain absolutely neutral and permit them to settle their questions without our interference. We are now the greatest neutral nation. Upon the passage of this resolution we will have joined Europe in the great catastrophe and taken America into entanglements that will not end with this war, but will live and bring their evil influences upon many generations yet unborn.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the substitute offered by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER].

Mr. GRONNA obtained the floor.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. I understood I have the floor unless we were going to vote.

Mr. GRONNA. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator if he wishes to speak now.

Mr. REED. It will take me just a moment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota yields to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I hope the junior Senator from Nebraska will not leave the Chamber.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	Martin	Shields
Borah	Harding	Myers	Simmons
Brady	Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.
Brandegee	Husting	New	Smith, Ga.
Broussard	James	Norris	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Johnson, Cal.	Overman	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Smoot
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Penrose	Stone
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Phelan	Sutherland
Curtis	Kellogg	Pittman	Swanson
Dillingham	Kendrick	Poindexter	Tillman
Fall	Kenyon	Pomerene	Underwood
Fernald	Kirby	Ransdell	Vardaman
Fletcher	Knox	Reed	Wadsworth
France	Lane	Robinson	Warren
Frelinghuysen	Lewis	Saulsbury	Watson
Gallinger	McCumber	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	Williams
Gronna	McLean	Sherman	Wolcott

Mr. PITTMAN. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] is unavoidably detained from the Senate on account of busniess and other matters.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of illness.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained at home by serious illness in his family.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I wish to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. GOFF], who is unavoidably detained on account of illness.

Mr. REED. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE]. He is confined to his home by illness, as he has been for a number of weeks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-six Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, it has been no part of my purpose to participate in this debate, but a statement or series of statements made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] seem to me to demand instant repudiation. I need not say to that Senator or to the Members of this body that I hold the Senator from Nebraska in the very highest personal regard and esteem, and because of that regard and esteem I shall not permit myself to characterize his speech as I believe it ought to be characterized. There are men in this world of high intelligence who become so obsessed by certain ideas that they permit them to color all other objects coming within their mental vision. The Senator from Nebraska, I fear, is so obsessed with a fear of "money" and of "profits" and of "fortunes" that all that it is necessary to suggest is that some wealthy concern may have an interest, remote, contingent, or direct, in the subject matter under consideration in order to confuse his mental vision. So we find the Senator here to-day reading a letter which he says comes from some unnamed Wall Street man. The letter purports to be nothing save a business man's view as to the business outcome in the event of possible hostilities. Because of that letter the Senator makes the statements which I propose to challenge. He said:

We are taking a step to-day that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money.

Mr. President, that is an indictment of the President of the United States. That is an indictment of the Congress of the United States. That is an indictment of the American people. That is an indictment of truth, and it is not the truth. The Senator continues:

By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

Mr. President, that is another indictment of the President of the United States, of the Congress of the United States, of the American people, and of truth and fact. The Senator continues:

I know that I am powerless to stop it. I know that this war madness has taken possession of the financial and political powers of our country.

And he continues:

I would like to say to this war god, "You shall not coin into gold the lifeblood of my brethren."

Then he adds:

I feel we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

Ah, Mr. President, I am sorry from my heart that such a statement should have been made at this time by an American citizen in the highest body of the American Congress. If that be not giving aid and comfort to the enemy on the very eve of the opening of hostilities then I do not know what would bring comfort to the heart of a Hapsburg or a Hohenzollern. If that be not treason it takes on a character and guise that is so near to treason that the enemies of America will gain from it much consolation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If it be not treason it grazes the edge of treason.

Mr. REED. As the Senator from Mississippi says with his usual terseness, if it be not treason it grazes the edge of treason.

Sir, this war is not being waged over dollars. It is not being waged over commerce. It is not being waged over profits and losses. It is a war for the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the American Republic and for the preservation of American dignity in the councils of the nations of the earth.

There was a time when Great Britain sought to levy a little tax on tea. The tax amounted to nothing from the dollar-and-cent standpoint. There were men then in old Boston town who said they would not pay that tax. If my friend had been there then I have no doubt he would have said to the Boston tea party, "You are waging war to save a few paltry dollars; you should not wage war for money; you would sacrifice human life to save a little tax." But there were patriots in that day who knew that a great principle was involved. They knew it was not a question of dollars. They knew that liberty was involved. They knew that back of the taxgatherer stood the power of a great country, that proposed to lay its heavy hand upon the liberties of this people; and so those Boston men went forth not to resist the tax, but to resist tyranny; not to save money, but to pour out their lifeblood that liberty might live on this side of the Atlantic.

And to-day, as the President of the United States calls our country to arms, he does not do so because of the loss of a few paltry dollars. He calls us to arms because the life of this Republic, its honor and its integrity, have been assailed. He calls us to arms in order that the rights of the American Nation upon the high seas shall not be sacrificed. He calls us to arms to the end that neutral nations, great and small, shall not be crushed beneath the iron heel of that military despotism which to-day threatens not alone the civilization of Europe but of the world at large.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I doubt very much whether anything from me is necessary in reply to what the Senator from Missouri has said. I want to say just a few words, however.

In the first place, I want to deny most emphatically that there is anything in the remarks which I made that by any construction of the English language can be construed as an attack or reflection upon the President of the United States. What I have said will be printed, I presume, as I said it, and I will invite any man to make any examination and find anything in it anywhere that can be considered as a reflection upon the President or anybody else.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska whether he did or did not say he feared we were about to put the dollar mark upon the flag?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir; I said that. Is that any reflection on the President? That is what I believe. I believe it.

Mr. JAMES. It is a reflection on the country.

Mr. NORRIS. No; it is not a reflection on the country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator say that the remark is no reflection on the President or Congress or the people of the United States, charging them with baseness, paltryness, and selfishness and meanness? Does he stand here and say he meant nothing by it?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I meant what I said. I am not apologizing for what I did say.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. Just wait a minute now. The Senators ought to realize that when they map out a course that to them seems proper, if somebody else disagrees with it and expresses himself in regard to it he has the same right to his judgment and the same right to his opinion that every other Senator has.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment I will yield.

Mr. JAMES. Let me ask the Senator a question.

Mr. NORRIS. Just a minute.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska declines to yield for the present.

Mr. NORRIS. Just let me finish now. I believe myself that we would not be on the verge of war now if it were not for the influence of money, and that is the idea I expressed. I expressly said that I did not question any man's motive. I believe that the country is war mad now. I said then, and I repeat it now, that notwithstanding the fact that I am opposed to this resolution, when it is passed and war is declared there will be no man here who will go further or sacrifice more to carry our flag to victory than I.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. You will have the dollar mark also.

Mr. NORRIS. It may be that I will. There are a good many influences, I will say to the Senator, that I have heard him speak of, and every other Senator here. Wealth has had its influence. It is the greatest power in the world, and I believe that it is almost unamimous in favor of war. That does not mean that because a man is wealthy he is not patriotic; and I never expressed such an idea. I never intended to say and I did not say anything of that kind; but the great power of wealth has done more to bring us to our present position than any other; and men may be influenced by it unconsciously, I realize.

Mr. JAMES. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. NORRIS. I will first yield to the Senator from Missouri, if he wants to ask me a question.

Mr. REED. The Senator used the expression:

I feel that we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

I read from the Senator's manuscript, as I also read the other statements purporting to come from him from his manuscript.

Mr. NORRIS. I have not denied making that statement. I did make it, and I do say that I feel that way.

Mr. REED. The Senator, of course, means by that that by entering this war we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator will just wait a moment. The Senator must not ask me a question and then put the answer in my mouth.

Mr. REED. No; I do not desire to do that.

Mr. NORRIS. Then he must not undertake to do it. I said I believed we were about to put the dollar sign on the American flag.

Mr. REED. By entering this war. That is what you meant.

Mr. NORRIS. No.

Mr. REED. What did you mean, then?

Mr. NORRIS. No; by the passage of the resolution.

Mr. REED. That is entering the war.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; you can put it that way.

Mr. REED. That is what I said.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator can not put a construction on it to mean that when we get into the war it would not be my duty and every other man's duty to do everything we could to bring it to a successful result.

Mr. REED. If by entering the war we are about to put the dollar sign on the American flag and the President directs us to enter the war, does he not thereby direct us to put the dollar sign on the American flag, and does the Senator regard that kind of a statement as complimentary to the President and not as grossly insulting the President?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, of course the President or anybody else can put what construction he pleases on it. I do not believe in the ordinary construction of the English language he has a right to put any such construction on it.

Mr. JAMES. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. NORRIS. Just let me finish and then I will yield. I do not cast any reflection, in my judgment, upon any person. I did not charge anyone with being unpatriotic. I believed, and I do believe now and I repeat it, that there is a war craze; that men have lost their judgment, and that we are going into war without reason. Now, I have a right to that opinion. I have a right to express it. If my language is not as beautiful as some others and some one wants to put a misconstruction on it that is his privilege.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I concede the Senator's right, and I have always conceded the right of any Senator to say that he wants to escape this war. I concede his right to vote against it. What I am challenging is a statement being sent out to the world that this war is being waged for cold dollars.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

Mr. REED. I say the Senator owes it to himself, to his State, to his country to make his language so clear at this moment that a doubt can not exist.

Mr. NORRIS. I have made my statement as clear, Mr. President——

Mr. REED. Anything else is dishonorable to the Senate.

Mr. NORRIS. When American lives were lost or American ships sunk by English mines or German submarines it was done in an effort to make money. I am not complaining of the men who wanted to take the risk; that was their privilege; but, Mr. President, it was always commercial. Everything connected with it was commercial.

Mr. REED. Do you think that the woman and babe who were drowned going to the father and husband were there for the purpose of making money?

Mr. NORRIS. No; there was not a mother and babe drowned on an American ship.

Mr. REED. There were an American woman and an American babe drowned, according to my information.

Mr. NORRIS. If we had done like the English colonies we would not permit American women and American babies to sail on ships of any nationality into the war zone. That is the rule that Canada has, and one that she enforces.

Mr. JAMES. I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. NORRIS. All right; I yield.

Mr. JAMES. The Senator says——

Mr. WILLIAMS. Canada and the other colonies are engaged in the war.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator interrupts to say something when I had yielded to the Senator from Kentucky. Of course, that is contrary to the rules of the Senate but it is all right for the Senator from Mississippi to do it. As I understand it, Canada will not permit Canadian women and Canadian children to sail even on English vessels from a Canadian port to an English port at this time.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator a question. He says that the action that is about to be taken here by the United States Congress would place the dollar mark upon the American flag, and yet he asserts that that is no reflection upon the President, the Congress, or the country. What would the Senator think if I should say to him that those who battle with him against the passage of this resolution were seeking to place the picture of the Kaiser upon the American flag? Would the Senator think that that was any reflection upon him and those associated with him?

Mr. NORRIS. I would, of course, know it was wrong.

Mr. JAMES. Certainly the Senator would.

Mr. NORRIS. And if the Senator said it I would not pay any attention to it. [Laughter in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Just one moment. The Senator will suspend. Occupants of the galleries must preserve order. Otherwise the Chair will be compelled to have the galleries cleared.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. I trust that the rule will be strictly enforced that Senators must address the Chair and obtain permission from the Chair to interrupt.

The PRESIDENT per tempore. The Chair has endeavored to enforce the rule——

Mr. GALLINGER. I hope the rule will be enforced——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. And the Chair will insist on its enforcement hereafter.

Mr. GALLINGER. Otherwise we shall have a town meeting here.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, if the Senator from New Hampshire is referring to me, I will enlighten him by saying that I did request and, after several trials, got permission through the Chair to interrupt.

The Senator from Nebraska says that he would not pay any attention had I said what I have just suggested, but I will say to the Senator that, while he would not pay any attention to it, his statement which has been made here and his speech which he has just delivered will be paid attention to by the American people, and particularly by the people of Nebraska, whom he pretends to represent.

Mr. NORRIS. I do hope the people of Nebraska will pay attention to what I have said. Let me again now repeat that what I have said stands for itself, in my judgment. I have not said anything that will compare with what the Senator from Missouri has said in regard to me.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Missouri quoted you.

Mr. NORRIS. I have not, I know, intended to cast any reflection upon any living being. I do not believe that anything which I have said will be so construed; but if it is, I can not help it. Reflections, however, have been cast here to-day upon me which are ten million times greater than anything I have said. I am not going to take them seriously, because I believe, as I have said, that there is at this time a feeling controlling not only the country, but Members of this body, by which men are not in full possession of all their reasoning faculties. The Senator from Missouri has said something that at some time he will regret, I believe.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. I am not going to resent it; I am not going to say anything in regard to it, because I have too high a regard for the Senator, and I have too high a regard for the Members of this body to bring it in here and now. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska has just stated that the Members of the Senate have lost their reasoning powers, or rather that they were affected——

Mr. WILLIAMS. All except him.

Mr. POMERENE. Up to date about three hundred American men, women, and children have lost their lives as the result of Germany's submarine warfare.

Mr. NORRIS. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask the Senator——

Mr. NORRIS. All right.

Mr. POMERENE. How many more American lives must be lost before he shall be willing to vote that there is a state of war in existence, or vote to take measures for the defense of our people?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I am glad to answer the Senator's question. I outlined in my remarks what I believed would have brought about a complete avoidance of the present difficulty, and if the Senator from Ohio had done me the honor to remain in the Chamber while I was speaking he would have found what my ideas were. I believe the Senator said there were 300 American lives lost. Mr. President, if any Government were seeking out Americans with the intention of killing them because they were American citizens, I should be willing to go to war, if necessary, when the first one was killed. That has not been the case as to a single American life lost, either by British

mines or German submarine. Neither one of them was hunting Americans; neither one of them desired to kill American citizens; neither one desired to destroy American property; but they did it because it was incidental to what they conceived to be their right or what they claimed to be their right against their enemy.

In Mexico we have had more than 300 people killed, not incidentally in a war or quarrel with somebody else, but because they were Americans. They were hunted down and killed because they were Americans.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. NORRIS. I again yield for a question.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if I may answer the last suggestion of the Senator I shall be glad to ask the Senator a further question.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, if the Senator wants to do that, and I shall not lose the floor by yielding, I have no objection to his doing so.

Mr. POMERENE. If I may do so, I will say the Senator ought to be content to settle our difficulties with Germany first.

Mr. NORRIS. I am.

Mr. POMERENE. And later on we shall take up the other proposition. I think Senators can differentiate between the acts of a responsible Government like Germany and the acts of an irresponsible mob in Mexico. I believe I can, even if I have in part lost my reasoning powers.

Mr. NORRIS. And so can I, even though I do not have the same mental ability which the Senator from Ohio has.

Mr. POMERENE. Oh——

Mr. NORRIS. But the Senator——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair understands the Senator from Nebraska yielded to the Senator from Ohio, and he must not interrupt him and allow him to remain on the floor. If the Senator from Nebraska objects to yielding further to the Senator from Ohio, the Chair will withhold that privilege.

Mr. NORRIS. I have no objection to yielding to the Senator from Ohio, but I do not want to lose the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Then the Senator from Nebraska will kindly address the Chair before he interferes with the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I want to make a suggestion in reference to the manner in which these Americans have been killed. The Senator from Nebraska says that these Americans were not willfully killed. Herr Zimmermann the other day said that they were incidentally killed. Whether that be true or not it is not necessary to discuss; I will assume that they were incidentally killed; but it was in violation of the law of the seas. Some of these men lost their lives after Germany had declared that all ships within a proscribed zone would be sunk. The Senator from Nebraska is a lawyer, and he knows quite well that if I should purposely shoot at him with malice aforethought and incidentally killed somebody else in his vicinity it would be murder. Just so it is when it comes to this mode of submarine warfare.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They killed them premeditatedly and purposely and declared the intention to do so beforehand.

Mr. POMERENE. Certainly. If they had aimed to kill a British officer and had, in the performance of an act which was itself illegal, incidentally killed an American, it would have been an offense against us; but Germany has declared that she will sink any vessel that goes into the proscribed zone whether it be belligerent or neutral. Now, does the Senator from Nebraska feel that we must thus submit to this outlaw on the high seas?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator has at last propounded his question. It is the same one which he previously asked, and I give the same answer. If the Senator had honored me with his presence in the Chamber when I was making my remarks he would have heard my answer to his question. I gave then my ideas, and I do not intend to now repeat them.

I want to refer to what the Senator says about shooting at one man and killing another. It is true, if the first act was done without right and was illegal, and they killed the wrong person, they are guilty of a crime; but it is a different crime in that case. The Senator from Ohio smiles at that, but if he will take the statutes of his own State and read the difference between manslaughter and the various degrees of murder he will find that the elements which constitute the difference are specifically defined and were defined under the common law of England. There always has been a difference. It must be said in favor of both England and Germany that they were not hunting out Americans to kill them. I think Senators who do not agree with me have the right to their opinions. Both England and Germany would have been glad if they could have destroyed their enemy or the ship or cargo they were about to destroy without injury to Americans. But, Mr. President, another thing the Senator assumes is that I am defending that action. Again, if the Senator had been here when I made my remarks he would have found out that I nowhere, at no time, defended it. I have denounced it as illegal and contrary to international law.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator if he desires to interrupt me again.

Mr. POMERENE. I do not mean to say the Senator is defending that act, but I do mean to say that he is assaulting the American people.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, I regret, Mr. President, very gravely that the Senator should have that opinion. I regret more than I can say that he should have that opinion of me. As I view it, it is absolutely unfounded. I have said nothing that is an assault on the American people, and I do not intend to say anything that is an assault on them. I think as much of the American people as does the Senator from Ohio. It seems to me it is only an illustration that applies to me and to the Senator from Ohio and to all of us, just as it does to all the people, that the excitement of the day has probably led us astray in our judgment from where we would have been if there had been nothing but calmness.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator from Ohio smiles at that. He does not realize, of course, that he is prejudiced or that he is biased or that all of this great cry for war has had any influence on him; but I believe it has, and I mean no reflection on him when I say that. He thinks it has had some effect on me. I hope he does not intend to reflect on me because I do not agree with him in his view of the proposition. I hope it has not come to this, that a man in a legislative body must absolutely, because the majority is so very great against him, bow his head in silence and obey every mandate that majority wants to put across without a word or without any objection. It may be, and probably would be in most cases, that the majority would be right; it is a good thing for the majority to rule, and I want it to rule; but there are some rights that even ordinary people who do not belong to the majority have, and they ought to be respected in maintaining those rights. I do not believe that there has been any justification for the insinuations made by the various Senators here on what I have said.

I now yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator a question for historical information. Of course, the Senator thinks that Senators have insinuated things against him, but he does not think he has insinuated anything against us when he has charged that we have been influenced by dollars and wealth in what we are about to do. But the question I want to ask the Senator for historical information is this: He has carefully and solicitously coupled England with Germany in connection with the murder of American citizens. Now, historically speaking, I have no recollection of any American who has lost his life by the act of Great Britain—that is, by the direction of the Government of Great Britain, at any rate—while those American citizens who have lost their lives by the action of Germany have lost them by the direction of the Government of Germany. When and where has such a thing occurred, and what is the name of any American citizen that England has murdered?

Mr. NORRIS. Let me answer the question. Mr. President, in the first place, there might be some ground for argument, but I am not going to contradict the Senator that when a life is lost by a submarine it is the act of a Government, and that the Government commands it. A Government, of course, is responsible for all the acts of its commanders, whether it has issued a direct command or not.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator will pardon me one moment right there, does the Senator deny that the German Government issued orders to its officers of submarines to kill and sink without warning even American ships in that zone?

Mr. NORRIS. I do not deny that; I not only do not deny it but I condemn it. Now, the Senator must realize that when a Government places a submerged mine in the open sea and a ship is destroyed by running against that mine in the open sea, then it is the act of the Government.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, what American citizen has lost his life in that way?

Mr. NORRIS. There were two American ships——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have never heard of them.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not know but that there were more, but I remember the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*, both sunk in the North Sea, both American ships, both sunk by English submerged mines, and on both of which vessels American citizens lost their lives.

Mr. JAMES. How does the Senator know that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; how does the Senator know that? I never heard of it.

Mr. NORRIS. I will tell the Senators how I know that. If they will read the minority report, they will get some evidence which they will probably respect more than my word. I refer to the minority report of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House in the last Congress on the so-called armed neutrality bill. They will find a report made there by Mr. SHACKLEFORD, of Missouri.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know that statement was made, and I know that the Senator is repeating it now, but what I am doing is challenging the statement.

Mr. NORRIS. Does the Senator deny it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Absolutely.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator, I think, is entirely wrong.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator has no proof of it.

Mr. NORRIS. I read it in the paper at the time it was done.

Mr. JAMES. Oh, Lord!

Mr. NORRIS. Why, Mr. President, the facts of the destruction of the *Carib* and the *Evelyn* were of common knowledge when they were destroyed. There was an official report made by an American consul and sent to the Secretary of State, I understand, in which he told of the destruction at least of one of those vessels, and I suppose there is a report in regard to the other.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And where were they destroyed?

Mr. NORRIS. In the North Sea.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the North Sea?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In what part of the North Sea?

Mr. NORRIS. Near the southern part.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And close to the German shore?

Mr. NORRIS. Does the Senator want to say that the Germans destroyed them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I say the Senator does not know by whom that mine was planted, and neither does anybody else know by whom it was planted.

Mr. NORRIS. Why, Mr. President, let me tell the Senator with what those ships were loaded. They were both loaded with cotton and both bound to a German port. With Germany dying for cotton, it would have been a great how-do-you-do for Germany to destroy ships with her submarines coming into her own ports, loaded with something that she needed in carrying on the war.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator——

Mr. NORRIS. I have never heard it disputed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Senators must address the Chair before interrupting.

Mr. NORRIS. I have never heard it disputed before that both these vessels were destroyed by English mines in the North Sea.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But if Germany had planted mines to defend her own ports and her own shipping against Great Britain we would not have thought that Germany was guilty of exactly the same crime when that mine did blow up those ships that she is guilty of when she deliberately gives us notice beforehand of a premeditated intent to destroy our men, women, and children and our ships whenever they come into a part of the ocean which she insultingly, insolently, and sovereignly reserves for her Government.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, Mr. President, she might have done all that in planting mines in the North Sea, in the open sea. It seems to me no man can dispute that that was contrary to international law, absolutely inhuman and wrong; but because it was done by England should we forget it, should we acquiesce in the order? I concede we had the right to do that, but we did not have the right to do it and remain neutral. I have no fault to find with a man who says "I want to go to war with the allies against Germany; I want to acquiesce in the British orders; I want to acquiesce in the orders which England has made in regard to all our ships, which have absolutely controlled American shipping to all neutral countries and to England herself." We have a right to believe that if we want to do so, but I do not believe we ought to do it. I think we ought to remain neutral; and we can not be neutral if we allow one Government without protest to put submarine mines in the open sea and condemn another Government because in another part of the open sea she uses submarines. I think they ought to be condemned alike, for they are both wrong.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then we should go to war with both of them.

Mr. NORRIS. We would have a right to do that if we wanted to do so, of course; but I would not go to war with one of them on account of it without also going to war with the other. I do not think it was necessary to go to war with either one of them. I think we had the power in our hands by which we could have avoided trouble with both of them and let them fight out their own battles.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, just a word. The Senator from Nebraska, in reply to questions by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], said that he had already stated what he thought the remedy is or ought to be. I listened to the Senator's speech, but I did not hear him suggest a remedy. I have read the Senator's manuscript, and I do not find in it any suggestion of a remedy. I find that he complains that we have suffered wrongs at the hands of England and that we also have suffered wrongs at the hands of Germany. He states that we had several alternatives presented to us, but he does not state which of these alternatives he would have accepted. If there is anywhere in the four corners of these several sheets of the Senator's manuscript that I hold in my hand a suggestion as to how the United States was to keep out of this difficulty, I do not find it. This was one of the reasons I rose in the first instance. I hoped that the Senator from Nebraska could be induced to see that when he charged that our Government was entering upon war in the interest of dollars he was making a statement which, if true, places our Government in the most unworthy and contemptible attitude any Government could assume. I hoped the Senator would not send to the courts of Germany and Austria a statement conveying the charge that America is waging war for such base and unjustifiable purposes. But the Senator adheres to his language. I am sorry he does not withdraw it. More than this, the Senator pleads extenuation of the murder of American citizens upon the high seas that it was only "incidental."

Mr. President, the best that can be said for the slaughter upon the high seas is that it has been indiscriminate; that the men who acted under the orders of the Kaiser indiscriminately sent to their graves the soldier wearing the uniform of the enemy and the babe in the arms of a mother whose home and allegiance were in another country and to another flag.

The Senator tells us there is an alternative and a remedy, but he has not defined it. What is the remedy? Germany has mapped out of the sea, as was stated by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] this morning, a strip a thousand miles wide, and has said "Keep off that portion of the sea." She has mapped the entire Mediterranean, except a little narrow neck 20 miles wide, and has said, "Keep off the Mediterranean Sea." She has surrounded Europe with her lines arbitrarily drawn, and has said to the great American Nation and to other neutral powers, "Keep off the sea." Our alternative is as poltroons to obey the mandate of a master and to keep off the sea or as brave men to stay on the sea and fight for our rights. That, sir, is the issue. It is not an issue of dollars and cents; it is an issue of principles and of men; and this country will soon determine who are the men whether they are inside or outside of this Chamber.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, to change the course of the debate, not verbosely but necessarily, I address myself to a different phase of this subject.

Mr. President, the President, in his noble address on last Monday, made it very clear that the people of the United States are not going to declare war against the German people, but against the Hohenzollern dynasty. I quote from his address:

> We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies or set the course of intrigues to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression carried, it may be, from generation to generation can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the Nation's affairs.
>
> * * * Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.
>
> * * * We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people.

The President has repeatedly emphasized the idea that the German people have had nothing to do with this war upon which we are now forced to enter. The Kaiser and his slavish under-

lings, aiders, and abettors alone are responsible. The Hohenzollerns indeed have compelled us to fight for our dearest rights. The German people, having been educated for more than a generation to bow down and worship that dynasty, have become indifferent to their own liberties and rights, because they never had any. I want to pick out the Hohenzollerns and specify that we are warring alone with them and not with the German people. The Russian people have settled with the Romanoffs, and we ought by every means to encourage the Germans to settle with the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs.

If the legal status did not require the use of the words "Imperial German Government" in this resolution, I would gladly substitute "Hohenzollern dynasty, its aiders and abettors." But, as we can not thus word the resolution declaring war, I am taking this opportunity to call attention to the fact, repeatedly voiced by the President in emphasizing that the American people have no quarrel with the German people, but we have a quarrel to the death with autocracy.

The Senator from Virginia has in most eloquent words this morning pointed out how infamous, outrageous, all-embracing, and treacherous is the action of the German Government in the submarine warfare they are making on the freedom of the seas. We would be untrue to every instinct of our natures, recreant to every idea of freedom in government and the liberty for which our fathers fought and suffered so much if we do not accept the challenge of autocracy and all its vile brood and never cease to battle until they are conquered.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I am one of those who have been strongly opposed to our engaging in this war, and earnestly wish there were some honorable way in which it could be avoided. Matters have now reached a crisis. Regardless of how brought about, we have drifted into conditions where it seems impossible longer to keep from this terrible conflict, however much we may desire to do so.

In the present solemn time no one can claim that the great Republic has been impatient. Patience has its limitations, and the limit seems to have been reached. The war in which we are about to engage is not of our choosing. The Government of another nation with which we have been in harmonious relation through all the years is now waging war upon us. Uncle Sam, the patient giant, with a spirit of charity, has done his best for peace. Destiny seems to decree otherwise. The people will back the President and Congress with men, money, and loyalty. There will be no difficulty in finding recruits if in the mind of the people there is the conclusion that this is a struggle to help save the democracy of the world or to maintain the honor of the United States.

I have been a firm believer that there was a Divine Providence guiding the destiny of individuals and of nations. Difficult, indeed, has it been to see such Providence in this war, but if out of this turmoil and strife and suffering and bloodshed the self-assumptive, divine right of kings and kaisers and czars shall be overthrown; if thrones shall totter and fall and in their places great governments of the people arise, then the hand of Providence may be apparent.

I regret that when the war started there was not some method of compelling the Czar and the Kaiser and their kind to enter the first battle on the firing line. That would have lessened its duration. Crowned heads seem to have done none of the dying.

It is time now that all voice of partisanship should be stilled. The hour of action is here. It is no time to talk about mistakes; no time for criticism of the President, of the Cabinet, of Congress. They are all doing their duty. It is no time to waste energy censuring and criticizing one another; no time to denounce those who have been earnestly contending for peace and who are fully as patriotic as those who have been more vocal. It is no time for divided allegiance. It is a time for 100 per cent Americanism.

The people of this Nation should stand as one man, realizing the solemnity of the step about to be taken. The great Republic must accept the challenge of autocracy and go forth to help in the battle for the world's democracy. Our hand is now to the gun. We must prepare, and prepare well. When we hit, we must hit hard. The roll of honor of the American Republic in every war in which it has engaged evidences no lack of patriotism when the Nation's welfare and honor are involved.

In such a time the spirit of selfishness in our Nation must be dethroned. "No one for himself and everyone for his country" should be our motto. Let us forget for a while the making of money. Let us realize that everyone must bear a part of the sacrifice and burden. Those who in this time of national emergency will try to make excessive profit, either in the manufacture of those things which the Government must have to carry on war or by combinations to raise the prices of the things the people must have to live, are just as guilty of treason as those who give aid and comfort to the enemy. They should be treated as enemies of the Republic.

We do not go to war with any spirit of hatred toward the German people. If the people of Germany controlled their Government, there would be no war. The action of the American Congress to-day rings the bell for the falling of the curtain on the house of Hohenzollern. Germany as a republic, freed of this bloody dynasty, will know no limitation in the progress and development of her people.

Mr. President, peace is a passion with me. I am not, however, one of those who believe in peace at any price. Some things are worse than war—dishonor infinitely so. I can not close my eyes to present conditions—to attacks upon our flag, to the killing of our people, to plots against our Nation. Nor can I in imagination close my eyes to future scenes—battle fields, sacrifices, bloodshed—that probably will be brought about by our action here to-day. I wish this cup could pass from us. It can not. We can not flinch in the performance of our duty. The American people must approach this crisis in a spirit of solemnity. It is a weighty hour to the Republic. This war will not be fought with speeches at banquets, nor by applause in Senate galleries, nor amid the Havana-laden atmosphere of luxurious clubs.

Gen. Sherman declared that war was hell; but modern war is worse than hell, for no devilish ingenuity could equal modern methods of injury and torture in war.

At this hour, when it is certain that war is upon us, there should be the least division of counsel that it is possible to have. Outside of any other reason I would vote for this resolution on that ground. It must strengthen our cause if the world believes we are fairly united.

If this resolution committed our Nation to any foreign alliance I could not support it. I do not so construe it. Cooperation with foreign nations will, of course, be necessary; but any question of alliance must of necessity come again before Congress. The question of sending our Army, or any portion thereof, to the battle fields of Europe is a question, as far as I am concerned, that is not settled by a vote for this resolution.

Any foreign alliance would utterly change the policy and traditions of our country for over 100 years. We had better, before that happens, take counsel of the Father of his Country. He warned the Nation against such alliances in that memorable Farewell Address. Let us think well before we enter into that field. The Nation will meet this question when it fairly arises.

Not with hope of reward does the Republic draw the sword; not with lust for power; not for the conquest of territory, but solely, as in the Spanish War, for humanity and the preservation of its ideals. When peace comes—which God grant may be soon—when the peoples of Europe may be freed from the tyranny of crowns and scepters and come from the darkness of bondage into the light of freedom, as are now the people of Russia, the giant Republic of the West will have no apologies for the part it has played under the providence and guidance of the Almighty.

The words of Paul to the Corinthians might well be our watchword at this time:

> Stand fast in the faith; quit you like men; be strong.

Our strength is the unselfishness of our purpose; our faith the God of nations. With such strength and such faith we will quit ourselves like men.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I had intended to take some time in calling to the attention of the Senate and the country some of the things which happened during the closing hours of the last Congress, and also, with reference to the European war, some of the facts which I believe have been overlooked or which have not been disclosed so far as I know. But after listening to the speeches of some of my colleagues, and especially to the wise and patriotic words of the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], I have concluded to occupy only a few minutes, because I agree with what the Senator from Missouri has said—that we ought not at this time to enter into any controversy among ourselves. I shall, therefore, waste neither time nor words; but the question of peace or war is so momentous a question and so serious that I feel that I would not do my full duty should I remain silent. This resolution declaring war is too grave a question to be decided passionately.

Senators, we are intrusted with and are holding the power vested in 100,000,000 of American people. I would, therefore, agree that we proceed to argue this question impassionately, in a friendly spirit; not in a light spirit, nor with minds clouded by passion.

The members of this Congress and the President of the United States are holding in their hands the destiny of 100,000,000 of people. May God give us wisdom and strength to dis-

charge the responsibility with which we have been intrusted, in obedience to Christian principles, right, and justice.

Senators, I do not presume to point out to any one of you the course you should pursue. Each one of us must take this momentous problem into the judgment chamber of our own hearts and decide it according to our own judgment and the dictation of our own conscience. Those of you who have made up your minds to plunge this country into a bloody war have no right to criticize any one who sincerely and patriotically believes in peace. Those of you who believe that the only way in which we can protect our national honor is to declare war, and in that way manifest your patriotism, I ask you in all sincerity, Have you reckoned the cost of the dreadful conflict that will ensue?

I shall not now argue whether the majority of the American people desire war. No man knows, without first submitting it to a vote of the American people, what their decision might be. The American people will not have that opportunity. But while I believe that the majority of the American people are for peace, I can not with any certainty assert that it is so. I do know, however, the sentiment of the people of my own State, and I do assert that a very small minority are in favor of war. We criticize European monarchies for forcing their subjects into war against their will, but we refuse to ascertain by a referendum vote of the American people whether they desire peace or war.

Mr. President, this is a fateful hour, and the Senate is about to decide one of the most momentous problems in the history of our country. Let me remind the Senate that we are not the Government; let me remind you that Congress is not the Government; let me remind you that the President of the United States is not the Government; but the 100,000,000 of people are the sovereign power of this country. Why do we refuse to submit for their decision a question so important to the future welfare of our people? Why do we ignore their petitions, which we have by the hundreds of thousands, asking us to avert war? Why do we ignore the pleadings and the petitions of the millions of mothers of this country, whose hearts are bleeding in sadness and whose minds are disturbed over the possible loss of lives dear to them and the future welfare of their beloved ones?

Mr. President, I have before me the petitions of thousands of patriotic American citizens asking me to oppose a declaration of war with any of the nations of Europe. Shall I regard their pleading prayers as noisy clamor, or shall I respect their constitutional right of petition? This question will not be decided until it is decided right. It will not meet with the approval of the American people unless it is based upon the principles of right, justice, and equality.

Mr. President, the European countries are to-day regretting that they precipitated a war. Their people are sick to death and are wishing that they could find a way to end it. Selfishness was the cause of beginning this cruel and bloody war in Europe; false national pride prevents the ending of it.

Mr. President, speaking for the people whom I in part represent, we are as jealous of our national honor as any loyal American can possibly be. We are as devoted to the flag and would as quickly resent any insult as would those who are now clamoring for war. But we believe, sir, that there is a possibility of averting war without the killing of the millions of our youth and the sacrifice of our national honor.

I shall therefore vote against this resolution declaring war against the Imperial Government of Germany. I would under similar circumstances vote against war with any of the nations of Europe. I shall vote against war becuse I believe it would have been possible to maintain an honorable peace with all the nations of the earth. While I believe it will be a tremendous mistake and an unpardonable blunder and error to plunge our country into war at a time when we ought to be at peace with all the nations of the earth, if war shall be declared—as I fear it will be—there will be but one course for every loyal American citizen to pursue, and that course will be to do our full duty in defense of our flag.

Mr. President, I am opposed to war because war means destruction, misery, and poverty to the toiling millions of our country for generations to come; but if it shall come I shall do my full duty.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I want to say a few words on the resolution. It seems to me that I am bound to do so.

I have felt from the beginning that the policy we had adopted and were pursuing would result in war, as it now appears it will. On that account I opposed and did not approve of certain acts of the administration. Because of that I was against what was called the armed-neutrality bill, and that has been denounced here to-day by its friends as but a subterfuge, or in any event a remedy that was altogether inefficient and futile, and could not result in benefit to the Government or the protection of our people. I have feared that war would come, and war is here; and, Mr. President, I want to say but a few words defining my attitude.

I have not believed it was necessary that this war should come. I have not believed that a majority of the people of the United States felt that it must come. But it has come.

I have seen the war sentiment cultured. I have seen it manipulated. I have seen the people's sentiment lashed into fury by the eastern papers yonder. I have seen the war propaganda and the National Security League sending eminent speakers throughout these United States—what for? To cultivate a sentiment of peace? No! I have seen an ex-President of the United States of America traveling through the southern part of our country, ostensibly in the interests of a league of peace, and declaring, as though by authority, that the United States would be at war by a formal declaration in less than 10 days. That is the way in which the sentiment of this country has been developed, if there is a sentiment now that demands that we shall go to war; and if we must go, why, and what for?

What have we? It was a masterly address that the President delivered, pointing to a great ideal, a glorious ideal for mankind, where democracy might triumph over all the autocratic forces of the world; but I had never until then even supposed that it would be laid down as a policy to be pursued by a Government and enforced by the sword. The Master of men has set up exalted ideals, that we might develop on toward them in our thought, in our course of life, in our civilization; but the President has laid it down now as a policy to be enforced by the sword by the American people that world democracy shall triumph over autocratic power.

Let us see just a little bit further. Our people's lives have been destroyed and our commerce upon the open sea. We are not going into world war to establish a democracy for the nations of the earth. Oh, no; but chiefly to protect the lives of our people on the open sea and our commerce.

We talk about our commerce being impeded, obstructed, and destroyed, that we are $92,000,000 of exports short in February, that the German people are interfering with our business, that they are imposing hardships on American citizens and it is time that that was prevented. I say to you now, gentlemen—or Senators, as you prefer to be called—that I believe it is as much the duty of the American people to protect our rights of one kind as of another. I say if our rights are infringed to such an extent that it is necessary to go to war, we ought to go to war even if it be for the protection of our commerce, if that is what this war is for.

I can not see it otherwise, Senators. I have looked upon it here and there and yonder. We have read the sentiments expressed in the eastern newspapers. We have heard it reechoed in the smaller papers. We have heard it exaggerated in some quarters and we have heard it encouraged in others. Our officials are representing only that sentiment as it comes to us. We have not heard from the people who are going to do the fighting except from this man and that man and the other who says what the sentiment is. I do not believe the majority of the people of the United States ought to have been forced into war under existing conditions. I am satisfied and clear on that point, but I am of course for my country, as I said in my first speech, "My country right or wrong."

That is the condition I find myself in here and the very first suggestion that is made is a departure from the traditions of the past. It is a departure from all the policies of the Government heretofore—traditions and policies that have placed our Nation in the first place in the foremost line of the nations of the earth.

I have always heard and believed heretofore that we should not have entangling alliances with any other nation, and to-day I hear it talked in the United States Senate that we must put the power of the Government of the United States in the trenches yonder with the allies of Europe, and that we should furnish unlimited means and credit to the allies on the other side of the world, that that would be the first duty of America. I am not for that; never will be. American power and prowess is sufficient for the protection of American rights and must be used for that purpose only.

Then what next?

We have denounced and decried Prussianism and militarism, and what do we find ourselves recommending this very day?

I have thought that in a Republic like ours, where the public sentiment was supposed to control, a cause for war must be so plain and so just and so necessary that the people would rise as one man and volunteer their lives to support the cause. Do you find any such proposition suggested in the United States Senate or in this Congress to-day? No! We must, in

order to raise and arm troops, adopt this same militarism that we have denounced and decried. In order to raise an army we must make compulsory universal military service. That is the only way you can get an army in this war. I say, as far as I am concerned, there is one thing right about that. There is a statement in our Constitution, and believed in, that all men are created free and equal. All men are created equal. It is a fallacy in many respects, but it was intended to be true in that they should stand equal before the law.

That is all it was ever intended to be. That is all it could possibly mean. So far as I am concerned, if universal military service be required, if you are going to have an army, there is no good reason why one man who is more patriotic and has higher ideals and a greater love of country should offer his life than that others should do so. I say let it be known to every man that he must offer his service to his country like every other man, and when the Government requires it by law we will all think more soberly of the causes for war.

Now, I am in this attitude: I have not believed that war was necessary. I have seen the conditions. I know American lives have been lost. I know our commerce has suffered from submarine warfare. I understand that condition; but it seemed to me if we administer the Government with a view to the greatest good to the greatest number we should delay and suffer a few more of these obstructions of our commerce rather than send our whole Nation to war and put two or three million of our people in armed camps, where we might have a million of them killed.

We have swung so far out from our old traditions that God only knows where we will land when we have gone into the world war.

I say to you frankly my heart bleeds to-day for my country. I have had an awful battle with myself as to what I should do under existing conditions, believing, as I do, the things are true as I have outlined them, but I have finally concluded that I am not going to vote against this resolution. I have finally concluded that there is no good to be accomplished by my voting against it. I have finally concluded that since the great majority is going to pass the resolution—and I believe in a majority rule—on that account I am not going to resist it further. But if there was the slightest chance on God's earth that my vote against it would defeat it, I would stand here and vote a thousand years if it might be that we do not go to war. Under the conditions as they are I know the Senate is going to pass the resolution by an overwhelming majority; and if we must go to war, then, so far as I am concerned, I will vote for the resolution, that it may appear that we are going along together. I shall do what I can when war is commenced to bring it to a successful conclusion. I am one of those men who believe that when we declare war somebody must be whipped before the war is ended. I am going to enter upon that sort of a proposition. I do not believe in some of the theories that have been suggested. I do believe in my country, right or wrong, and I am going to stand by it.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, the supreme hour has struck and we must stand up and be counted. We can not shirk nor evade.

No man has ever striven more nobly for peace than has Woodrow Wilson. He tried diplomacy, moral suasion, argument. He expostulated, he exhibited patience beyond that of any man I have ever known. He resorted to every ingenuity, every subtlety, every lawful device to preserve peace, but all in vain.

The United States is great not simply and solely because of her vast area, but because she never seeks revenge—she simply demands justice. Our Governmept came into life not only as the fulfillment of the bright dream of liberty-loving persons, but as the fulfillment of a task as well. Our free States are not mere abstract longings for justice and peace, for when the States were formed these abstractions and longings were galvanized into life and translated into communities seeking concrete justice and liberty.

Civil liberty on this continent was a worthy but denied and baffled sentiment until it became articulate in our Declaration of Independence. The declaration itself would have been nothing more than an eloquent and accurate recital of the philosophy of liberty except that its principles were vivified and enforced by the American patriots. Liberty can not survive if it does no more than parade around in nightgown and slippers looking for comfort, safety, luxury, and ease. When democracy is attacked it must repel force with force. Democracy will not survive if in times of danger it does no more than preach the doctrine of philosophical nonresistance, simper sentimental regret over a deadly wound it receives, and with lustrous, soft-expressioned eyes view with pensive melancholy decisive action aimed for its destruction.

If we are to keep our Nation powerful for good in the affairs of men and continue to work out the altruistic problems to which our country was dedicated, we must present to other nations an unweakened fiber, a courage both moral and physical, a mind free from trash and slush, flexed muscles and thews that have not been debilitated or degenerated by sensuality, security, and luxury.

Our governmental system is and was intended to be one which shall be nourished by the individual instead of one which shall nourish the individual. The individual should give strength and sustenance to the State, not receive strength and sustenance from the State. It is easy and pleasing to indulge in smug complacency and self-deception and thus evade the unwelcome thought of national defeat or degradation, but it is neither wise, judicious, nor statesmanlike to do so. It is wiser and safer to be on guard and preclude all possibility of danger than to hide our fears of danger in the secret recesses of our closets.

We are living in a day of wonders. Gigantic events are coming so rapidly that they tread upon each others' heels, and among the lessons being taught is the fact that men may be heroes, but unless they are drilled their heroism will end only in unavailing martyrdom. Our mountains are filled with copper and iron ore, but these can not instantly be converted into battle craft. Preparation and vigilance only can work the necessary changes. Men do not ascend to eminence, strength, and power by a single leap or by growth overnight. It is only by steady tread that a man moves up the rough and rugged path to success. Those who reach eminence and distinction are they who subject their lives to the fires of intellectual and physical endeavor. Success and efficiency, in war and in peace, come only after many years of anxious striving and long sustained effort. He who expects something for nothing has already begun to decay. There is nothing worth possessing that we get without effort. To compensate the world for what we use is the profound law of all life. Liberty, security, peace, health, and happiness must be paid for. We must face problems as they are presented, not as we should like to have them presented.

So it is with a nation. It holds its place and preserves its liberty only by never becoming careless and by never despising nor underrating nor running from an opponent. Ever since the days of the children of Noah men have sought to build them a tower which they might ascend in a day of trouble and thus escape the hardships and the clash and din of this world. But such can not be; under nature's harsh yet profound laws we must meet and overcome dangers and perform duties; we can not build a tower lofty enough to take us above and beyond the trials and duties of this life.

In the annals of every nation it has frequently been necessary to protect innocence and peace by vigorous action. Persons who think with any degree of accuracy are bound to know that this is not a world of automatic righteousness and self-acting justice. Innocence alone is not sufficient to protect the innocent.

No man making a pretense toward statesmanship would for a moment assert that it would be moral or righteous for us inertly and supinely to sit by and twiddle melting notes on a harp of peace, the while our progress, spiritual and material, our liberties—the most cherished deposits confided to human hands—the blessing of our industry, the fruits of our toil and self-denial, were being subverted or annihilated. It is honorable and righteous to oppose with force those who forcibly attempt to subvert and destroy any of the attributes which adorn and elevate humanity.

A government designed to make life pleasant for its people is frequently obliged to take some immediate measures to insure the survival of its people. Sometimes in a nation's history it is required to be fearless as well as careful.

Surely no one could quarrel with those luminous souls who advocate peace at any price. I respect them, but I am not of them. In their hearts repose sentiments of love for all mankind. They believe that Mars is dead instead of red. They think they perceive this earth to be a beautiful temple within which are walled peace, contentment, and plenty; a temple domed with rosy hues; a temple within which turmoil, strife, and struggle are blackballed, and from which all crime, vice, cupidity, hate, envy, rage, and revenge are banished till time itself shall be no more. They see, however, a vision of heaven, not of earth. Evil things constantly assail man on this mundane sphere. Envy, deceit, fraud, force, foaming revenge, livid fires of malice and hate, bigotry, cupidity, greed, lust for world

power, and kindred evil passions inveterately attack the human heart and must be combated, not surrendered to. The liberties of our citizens—yea, our very security in the future—will be preserved by public servants who have their eyes to the sea, not by those who have their ears to the ground.

If our country is to retain, as I believe she will, her historic position as the leader and noble pioneer in the vanguard of progress and human liberty; if she is to remain the beautiful examplar, we must keep her, in senate, in court, in camp, in field, and in home, true to the principles upon which she was founded.

What shall it profit a nation if, by keeping an unpunctured skin, it rots its heart? What shall it profit a nation to keep a full pocket and lose its soul? America must not only rear temples, build cities, conquer deserts, enchain the bolts of Olympian Jove, hew down mountains, and harness waters that pour destructive floods, she must also heal sore wounds, crush bigotry and race hatred, struggle for liberty, endow the youth of the land with standards of courageous patriotism, and constantly pour forth her long-enduring strength for the vindication of American rights and the preservation of human justice on these shores.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I know that the joint resolution has been sufficiently debated, and I suppose the debate upon it is probably drawing to a close, but I am not satisfied to give it my vote alone; I want to give it my voice and support as well as my vote. I want to take a few minutes to say that I am very heartily in favor of the joint resolution.

I believe the President is right in his attitude in this most momentous matter. I believe he has ample justification and extreme provocation for it. I believe he can not honorably take any other position, and I intend to stand by him and support him in his stand for the honor and integrity of our dearly beloved country. I believe the President has been, in matters pertaining to our foreign relations, a man of wonderfully long-suffering and marvelous patience. He has patiently and calmly submitted to many things which were amply sufficient in themselves to call for a declaration of war against Germany; submitted, pleading, arguing, hoping Germany would take warning and abandon uncivilized, illegal warfare and trespass on our rights.

In fact, the only fault I have to find with the President, if any, is that he has been perhaps too patient in these matters; but I suppose that in matters of such tremendous gravity it is well to be deliberately long-suffering and patient rather than to take any chance of being too hasty. His patience has been the wonder of those who know only a small part of what he knows of his provocations, vexations, and anxieties; who know only a small part of the indignities heaped on our beloved America by a desperate and war-mad nation. He has been reviled, criticized, and called in contempt a pacifist by those who wanted less delay. Yet he waited and waited, matters all the while growing worse, until there was nothing to do but resort to war, as did Washington and Lincoln before him, or submit to dishonor. Woodrow Wilson is a man of peace, but he realizes that sometimes peace is worse than war.

I am a believer in peace. I am, I always have been, and always will be a lover of peace and an advocate of peace so long as it is consistent with our national honor and the preservation of our national rights, but no longer. The President in his address to Congress has said that we can maintain peace no longer consistently with our honor and the preservation of our rights, and I think he has abundant authority for saying so. I heartily concur with him, and when that point comes, and it having been reached, only one of two courses can be followed—that is, to submit to a deprivation of our rights or to use force to protect and defend them, as did our forefathers. I can see no alternative; I can see no middle ground; I can see nothing that we could do now except to submit or go to war. I believe we have to take our choice between those two courses; and as for submission, it is intolerable. Perish the thought! I do not believe that there is any American citizen who realizes the situation, who realizes that it is submission or fight, who would be in favor of submission, which would mean taking orders from a foreign Government.

Germany has ordered this Government to keep its ships, its commerce, and its citizens off the high seas, at least off of a certain prescribed portion of the high seas, the highway which belongs to all nations and to all the peoples of the earth. The question is, Shall we take orders from a foreign Government? Are we so debased, so degenerate as to think of that? Does any American favor that? Are we ready to do that? Is our Nation going to put itself in that humiliating and dastardly attitude before the world? No, no! a hundred times.

I have been highly pleased that heretofore, and for so long, the President of this country has rendered such great service in keeping this country out of war, and I have been ever ready to give him a high degree of praise for doing so. I believe that in the past he has rendered the people of this country inestimable service in keeping us out of war as long as he could, and I am glad that he did so. I was with him in it, but I believe that he has gotten to the point and that we have gotten to the point where that may no longer be done consistently with the preservation of our honor and of our rights on the seas.

I will not undertake to enumerate the long series of gross outrages to which Germany in her desperation has subjected the people of this country and our Nation as a nation. They are well known to all of you; they have been detailed in the President's message; they have been repeated on the floor of this Chamber to-day. They have been numerous; and I say that the fact that they are committed on the high seas, where we have the right to be, makes them no less offensive than if committed on the land. I do not believe that Germany has any more right to violate our national rights on the high seas than on the land. I believe that one is no less an offense and no less serious than the other. The fact that we are assaulted and murdered on the seas makes it no less wrong than if on land. I do not believe that Germany has any more right to sink with her submarines our unarmed or our armed merchant vessels on the high seas, those vessels being engaged in legitimate commerce, than she would have to send a war fleet to the shores of this country and bombard and demolish the city of New York.

If we are not equally quick to assert and defend our national rights on land and on sea, then we deserve and we shall receive the merited contempt of all the civilized nations of the world. If the United States is to maintain its position as one of the great powers of this world—one not only great in material matters, in material power, but in principle, in integrity, in honor, in pride, in all that goes to make a nation great in the hearts of its citizens and in the esteem of the world—the time has come for us to stand up for our rights, to protect the lives of our citizens, to protect their property, and protect their rights on the seas as well as on the land. The hour is here. No one denies that German submarines have unlawfully murdered our citizens, sunk our ships, destroyed our property. It is admitted by all international lawyers, students, experts, statesmen that these things are unlawful. What will we do about it? Will it be to submit further or fight? Which?

Shall we sit still longer and see our rights ravished? Shall we not strike back to protect our cherished rights? Germany says she will continue to do these things. She is doing them. Are we helpless? The time has come to say. If we do not in our national capacity accept the challenge which Germany has defiantly thrown down to us, then, indeed, in my opinion, the men who fought at Bunker Hill, the men who suffered with Washington at Valley Forge, the brave men who crossed the Delaware with Washington, the men who prevailed over Cornwallis at Yorktown, suffered and fought in vain; for, if that should be the case, they established a Nation which is too cowardly and too degenerate to protect the rights of its citizens which it wrested from control across the seas after eight years of long and deadly war. If we are not now ready to accept the challenge of Germany to stay off the seas; if we are to be driven like curs off the seas, driven like craven cowards to safe retreats; if we are to lock ourselves up in our homes and show that we are afraid to go where we have a God-given right to go, then, indeed, the valiant Union soldiers who shed their blood on the battle fields of Gettysburg, Chancellorsville, Antietam, the Wilderness, Seven Pines, Manassas, Chickamauga, and a hundred other hard-fought battle fields during the Civil War, shed their blood in vain, because they preserved a Nation which will not protect the rights and the lives of its citizens, of their sons and daughters whom they fought to protect in their precious rights. If so, they made a mistaken fight and they died in that event believing that they were preserving a Union which would maintain the liberty and the rights of democracy for all time to come, so soon to be supinely surrendered at the command of a foreign nation. Can your blood stand the thought?

If we are not going to accept the challenge of Germany, who defies us to sustain our rights, then the torn and tattered, war-worn and battle-stained veterans of the gray, 8,000 of them, starved and bedraggled, who surrendered with Lee at Appomattox, indeed, surrendered in vain, because they surrendered to a Government which, after their surrender, will not protect them in the rights which were guaranteed to them when they surrendered, and when they were told they were cementing by their surrender the greatest Republic that had ever existed or ever would exist on the face of the earth.

We have more than our rights at stake in this war—far more. The democracy, the civilization, the Christianization of the world are at stake; and I believe that America should be proud of the opportunity to engage in a world-wide fight of democracy against autocracy as a token of appreciation of the valued rights which she wrested in 1776 from monarchical rule and which she has enjoyed ever since.

This country has been specially favored by Providence; it has been made a beacon light, a guiding star to those who look forward to the time when the rule of the people shall be world-wide. It has had the privilege of setting the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World in New York Harbor, bespeaking to all the world democracy, liberty, enlightenment in self-rule. If we do not respond to this challenge to the democracy, not only of our own country but to the democracy of all the world; if we are not ready to defend our own liberty, then we would better take down the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, which we have erected in New York Harbor, for it would be a snare and delusion.

Now, since Russia has taken her stand with the nations of the earth that believe in self-rule and stand for self-government, this terrible war is purely a battle between democracy and autocracy, and there should be no question of the attitude of this Government, or where, when challenged to enter, it should align itself. It is the democracy of the world against German Prussianism, Austrian absolutism, and the unspeakable Turk, who is a stench in the nostrils of the Christian nations of the world and ought long ago to have been driven not only out of Europe but out of the Holy Land, which he has despoiled.

To my mind, this Government has an opportunity to do great service to the world in behalf of all for which it has stood for now nearly 150 years. It has a chance to secure to the rest of the struggling, panting world some of the rights which we have been enjoying for so long to the exclusion of many other nations, and when it takes a hand in doing so we will not only be protecting our own rights but at the same time upholding the democracy of the world in waging a fight on the greatest remaining bulwark of special privilege in the world, the Prussian dynasty of Germany. We talk much of the bulwarks of special privilege. The greatest bulwark of special privilege in the world to-day is the Prussian dynasty of Germany. It is defiant, confident. It challenges us, assaults us, undertakes to drive us from the great highway of nations. Shall we respond or submit? There can be only one answer. Americans never submit to tyranny. That day passed forever in 1776. The spirit of 1776 is here. It has only been dormant. It is aroused and will be heard in tones that will reverberate around the world.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President, I agree with the remark of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] that the time for discussion has passed and the time for action has come. I also think that the most eloquent and effective speech which can be made at this time is to cast a vote in the affirmative for the resolution before the Senate in favor of war and in support of the President of the United States. At the same time I feel that I ought, at least, to say a simple word or two.

To my mind, there are three courses open in this crisis—submission, armed neutrality, or war. Submission can not be thought of for a moment when we reflect upon the honor and dignity of the United States. Armed neutrality has been tried and has proved a failure. Armed neutrality, or defensive warfare, is not adapted to the submarine. We can not have a condition of armed neutrality and defend ourselves against this monster of the sea which lies in ambush. There is, therefore, no alternative left but war.

I am not going to discuss whether we are in a state of war or not. The facts have been reviewed and are familiar to all. I regard that we are as much in a state of war as if Germany had sent a battleship and bombarded New York City and killed innocent men, women, and children—innocent noncombatants—for a merchant ship bearing the United States flag and sailing peacefully upon the ocean is a portion of the territory of the United States, and when, under the authority of a foreign Government, that ship is sunk without warning and the lives on board are sacrificed, that is an act of war.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS] has said that the battle to be fought is between autocracy and democracy. I would change that phraseology. To my mind, the battle to be fought is between democracy and Prussian militarism. It is the domination of the military power of Prussia which is a menace to the world, to civilization, and to democracy. Germany is Prussianized. The Prussian military system is a system of blood and iron. It substitutes force for law, and the battle to-day is simply—the issue is sharply defined in my own mind—the battle to-day is simply for the overthrow of Prussian militarism, and nothing else. It is Prussian militarism which threatens to destroy liberty, civilization, Christianity, and all that we hold dear as an enlightened people.

Prussian militarism is the system of the Middle Ages. The U-boat controversy is a mere incident in it. It is a system of cruelty, of outrage, of the nonrecognition of international law and of all human rights. It is a system of the use of force at any cost; a system which says that self-preservation justifies the employment of any means, however cruel and savage. It is a system which has now arrayed the civilized world against Germany.

If we are going to war upon that issue we know what our task is. That task is the destruction of the military system of Prussia which has poisoned Germany, has extended its poison to Austria-Hungary, and will poison the civilization of the world if it is allowed to conquer.

I feel, Mr. President, that that is the issue—a momentous one—and I feel in my heart where our people, our Republic, should stand in the presence of that world-wide, momentous issue. We want to stand where the President of the United States has placed us in his message. War means the overpowering of the enemy—the utter defeat of the enemy. We want to avail ourselves of every means at hand; we want to join the allies; we want to join the neutrals if they will come with us; and, presenting a solid, united body of nations and countries devoted to civilization and liberty, let us join with all and fight the good fight until victory crowns our banners.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, Congressman HELGESEN, of North Dakota, having undergone a severe surgical operation, is lying in his bed of pain in a hospital in this city. He has requested me to read on the floor of the Senate a letter which he has received from one of his constituents. Through his secretary, he has advised me that the thousands of letters and telegrams that come to him on the question that is pending before this body to-day bear to him one message of uniform protest against war.

The letter which I am requested to read this afternoon is from Mrs. H. A. Woods, who signed herself "A North Dakota Farm Woman":

FLASHER, N. DAK., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The United States, according to the newspaper reports, is on the brink of entering the European war "for the sake of humanity," against which act I emphatically protest. Did the mother of the poorer, thrifty classes, who spent many wakeful nights during the infancy of her boy, who went faint and weak, who got along without necessities in the way of clothing, who patched and stinted, in order to feed and clothe her boy, go through those sacrifices to send her boy to a slaughterhouse to be butchered? And what has that boy done to be sacrificed, to be made to suffer until he goes insane, to lose his eyesight, to lose an arm or a leg or both? Where does the humanity and the justice come in?

I am not a German or a German sympathizer, but I sympathize with the mothers and the proposed victims who are to be sacrificed on the altar of greed to enable money-making concerns who have made piles and piles of money to make still more money.

Let the United States Government confiscate the German vessels now in the harbors of the United States and hold them as hostages for property destroyed by submarines. The maudlin sympathy with women who lose their lives on the high seas these days is ridiculous. Let the women stay at home, where they belong.

I protest against compulsory military service, except, should it ever be needed, for home defense.

I protest, in the name of humanity, against the taking away of husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers to be butchered, as proposed by the proallies' paid press, from the American women and children, leaving the latter to meet financial ruin, misery, and, in some cases, death from broken hearts.

The lower middle classes, a percentage of them in the large cities, live under economic conditions which enable them to raise but one or two children to a family. Is the sinking of a few merchant vessels worth even one life brought up at the expense of so many sacrifices?

By laying the above protests before the United States Congress, you would greatly oblige,

A NORTH DAKOTA FARM WOMAN.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I had supposed until recently that it was the duty of Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote and act according to their convictions on all public matters that came before them for consideration and decision.

I.

STANDING BACK OF THE PRESIDENT.

Quite another doctrine has recently been promulgated by certain newspapers, which unfortunately seems to have found considerable support elsewhere, and that is the doctrine of "standing back of the President," without inquiring whether the President is right or wrong. For myself I have never subscribed to that doctrine and never shall. I shall support the President in the measures he proposes when I believe them to be right. I shall oppose measures proposed by the President when I believe them to be wrong. The fact that the matter which the President submits for consideration is of the greatest im-

portance is only an additional reason why we should be sure that we are right and not to be swerved from that conviction or intimidated in its expression by any influence of power whatsoever. If it is important for us to speak and vote our convictions in matters of internal policy, though we may unfortunately be in disagreement with the President, it is infinitely more important for us to speak and vote our convictions when the question is one of peace or war, certain to involve the lives and fortunes of many of our people and, it may be, the destiny of all of them and of the civilized world as well. If, unhappily, on such momentous questions the most patient research and conscientious consideration we could give to them leave us in disagreement with the President, I know of no course to take except to oppose, regretfully but not the less firmly, the demands of the Executive.

II.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

On the 2d of this month the President addressed a communication to the Senate and House in which he advised that the Congress declare war against Germany and that this Government "assert all its powers and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."

On February 26, 1917, the President addressed the Senate and the House upon the conditions existing between this Government and the German Empire, and at that time said, "I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it." * * * "I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them" against what he characterized as the unlawful attacks of German submarines.

A bill was introduced, and it was attempted to rush it through the closing hours of the last session of Congress, to give the President the powers requested, namely, to arm our merchant ships, and to place upon them guns and gunners from our Navy, to be used against German submarines, and to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as might in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such vessels. That measure did not pass.

It is common knowledge that the President, acting without authority from Congress, did arm our merchant ships with guns and gunners from our Navy, and sent them into the prohibited "war zone." At the time the President addressed us on the 2d of April there was absolutely no change in the conditions between this Government and Germany. The effect of arming merchant ships had not been tested as a defensive measure. Late press reports indicate, however, that the *Aztec*, a United States armed merchantman, has been sunk in the prohibited zone, whether with mines or a torpedo, I believe, has not been established, so the responsibility for this sinking can not, so far as I know at this time, be placed.

When the request was made by the President on February 26 for authority to arm merchant ships, the granting of such authority was opposed by certain Members of the House and by certain Senators, of which I was one. I made at that time a careful investigation of the subject, and became convinced that arming our merchant ships was wholly futile and its only purpose and effect would be to lure our merchantmen to danger, and probably result in the destruction of the vessels and in the loss of the lives of those on board. The representatives of the President on this floor then having that bill in charge saw fit, by methods I do not care to characterize, to prevent my speaking upon the measure and giving to the Senate and to the country such information as I had upon the subject.

Under the circumstances, I did the only thing that seemed practical to me, and that was to give such publicity as I was able through the press to the fact that the proposition to arm merchant ships would be wholly futile, and could only result in loss of the lives and property of our own people, without accomplishing the results intended. I regret to say that the President, according to statements in the public press purporting to emanate from him, and which have never been denied, saw fit to characterize as "willful" the conduct of the Senators who, in obedience to their consciences and their oaths of office, opposed the armed-ship bill, and to charge that in so doing they were not representing the people by whose suffrages they are here. I know of no graver charge that could be made against the official conduct of any Member of this body than that his official action was the result of a "willful"—that is, an unreasoned and perverse—purpose.

Mr. President, many of my colleagues on both sides of this floor have from day to day offered for publication in the RECORD messages and letters received from their constituents. I have received some 15,000 letters and telegrams. They have come from 44 States in the Union. They have been assorted according to whether they speak in criticism or commendation of my course in opposing war.

Assorting the 15,000 letters and telegrams by States in that way, 9 out of 10 are an unqualified indorsement of my course in opposing war with Germany on the issue presented. I offer only a few selected hastily just before I came upon the floor which especially relate to public sentiment on the question of war.

Mr. President, let me say that the city of Monroe, Wis., is the county seat of Green County, which borders on the State of Illinois. I am not able to state exactly the percentage of the nationalities of the people, but I know that the foundation stock of that little city was of New England origin. In the last 10 or 15 or 20 years a great many Swiss have come into the county.

But, Mr. President, it is a good town, typical of any town of like size in any State in the Union. They held an election there on the 2d day of April, and the following vote was polled upon the question of declaring war against Germany. The telegram reporting the vote is as follows:

Monroe election votes on referendum on war question. For peace, 954; for war, 95.

I am informed that in a Massachusetts referendum by postal card 20,000 postal cards were sent out, and the returns thus far show 66 per cent against war; 63 per cent against conscription. The following form was submitted in taking the vote in Massachusetts:

President Wilson said: "I would rather know what the people are thinking out there around their quiet firesides than to know what is going on in the cloakrooms of the Capitol."

What do you think of the two questions on the other side?

Mark your cross. We will see that your Congressman hears. Do it now and mail immediately.

EMERGENCY PEACE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
120 Bolston Street, Room 533.

Telephone Beach 6899.

MARCH 27, 1917.

REFERENDUM FOR MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSMEN.

	Yes.	No.
1. Do you believe that the interest of humanity would best be served by the United States keeping out of the European war?		
2. Do you oppose the adoption of conscription as dangerous to American democracy?		

Name_____
Street_____
Town or city_____

I received this telegram April 2 from Flint, Mich.:

Vote taken this afternoon in third precinct, first ward; question, Shall we enter war on European soil? Results—for war 26, against war 130.

L. E. LARSON.

I do not know Mr. Larson. I know little or nothing about Flint, Mich. I do not know whether it has a German population or a mixed population. The senior Senator from that State [Mr. SMITH] says that it is a mixed population.

I have this from Sheboygan, Wis. Sheboygan is a rather strong German county in the State of Wisconsin. I expected to have had here noted on the telegram the exact percentage of the German vote. I glanced at it myself in my office, but I did not have at hand the last census. The Wisconsin Bluebook, which gives the figures for 1905, shows there were then over 50,000 population and 10,000 of German birth. This telegram is dated April 3. I might say that our spring election is held in Wisconsin on the 2d day of April, when all the municipal officers in the townships and in the villages and cities are elected. It brings out a fairly representative vote:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

By referendum vote taken the last two days of the qualified electors of the city of Sheboygan on the question, Shall our country enter into the European war? 4,082 voted no and 17 voted yes. Certified to as correct.

F. VOLRATH,
O. A. BASSUENER,
ADAM TRESTER,
Canvassers.

I received also the following. A vote was taken not only in the city of Sheboygan, but in the county of Sheboygan, representing the country or farmer vote:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Since sending the last telegram, in the referendum vote taken by the qualified electors of Sheboygan County outside the city of Sheboygan 2,051 voted against our country entering into the European war. No votes were cast in favor of war. Certified to as correct by the canvassers.

OTTO A. BASSUENER.
F. VOLLRATH.
ADAM TRESTER.

The next telegram is not a report upon any election. I presume very few of them were held. It is a telegram from Melrose, Mass., sent to me by Mr. Henry W. Pinkham. I do not know him. I read it as handed to me by one of my secretaries:

MELROSE, MASS., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

The President's message explicitly and completely vindicates you in opposing armed neutrality. Stand firm against war and the future will honor you. Collective homicide can not establish human rights. For our country to enter the European war would be treason to humanity.

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

And the following:

WALLACE, IDAHO, *April 3, 1917.*

Senator LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

Mailed you to-day 400 signatures of indorsement from this district to you and colleagues on your stand of March 4.

L. SCHULLER.

RACINE, WIS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

Four thousand people assembled at the Auditorium last night; lots American sentiment; no enthusiasm for war; recruits were asked for; only seven men offered themselves for enlistment. This shows there is no war sentiment in Racine. Resolutions were spoken of, but no attempt was made to pass them. Audience was not for war. I approve your stand.

ARTHUR EHRLICK.

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 4, 1917.*

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Good work. People with you. Straw referendum signed to-day at public market, city streets, shows 31 for war declaration, 374 against. Press brazenly reporting war demand of meetings where vote is against war. If presidential election were to-morrow, you would have best chance.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG,
Member Seattle School Board.

BERKELEY, CAL., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator R. M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

Having sounded the opinions of juniors and seniors taking electrical engineering at the University of California to-day, I have foundation on which to base my statement that practically none of us enthuse at all over war. We believe the country can do most good by avoiding it. We put trust in you.

GLENN K. MORRISON.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. In addition to the foregoing telegrams, I submit the following, which has just been placed in my hands:

A wire from Chicago received this afternoon from Grace Abbott, of Hull House, says that in city council election held yesterday John Kennedy received the largest plurality of any of the city councilmen elected. His plurality was 6,157 votes in his ward. On account of his stand against war, every newspaper in Chicago opposed him bitterly throughout the campaign.

Mr. Kennedy made his campaign on the war issue, and in every speech he took occasion to declare himself as against war.

There was received in Washington to-day a petition against war with over 6,120 bona fide signers, which were secured in the city of Minneapolis in one day, and a wire late this afternoon states that 11,000 more names have been secured to that petition.

In New Ulm, Minn., at an election, according to a telegram received this afternoon, 485 votes were cast against war to 19 for war.

A telegram received from Philadelphia this afternoon expresses tersely the sentiment of the people. It reads:

President Wilson said German people were not consulted about entering the war. Were we?

(Signed) COMMON PEOPLE.

And Congressman LUNDEEN, representing the Minneapolis district, informs me that in response to letters addressed by poll lists to every voter in his district has up to this hour brought in returns from nearly 8,000 voters against declaring war on Germany to less than 800 who favor such a declaration.

Do not these messages indicate on the part of the people a deep-seated conviction that the United States should not enter the European war? The armed-ship bill meant war. Senators who opposed its being forced through Congress in the closing hours of the session were rebuked by the President. It is highly important, therefore, to note at this time that the President in his address on the 2d of this month takes the same view of arming merchant ships that was entertained by at least some of the Senators, including myself, when the armed-ship bill was before us for consideration. In his address of April 2 the President said:

It is impossible to defend ships against their (submarine) attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase on the open sea.

He says in the same address:

It [arming merchant ships] is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

I take satisfaction in noting that this is exactly what I stated in an editorial in my magazine, which was published a short time after the armed-ship bill discussion.

I will read just a paragraph or two from that editorial:

The armed ship bill was not only unconstitutional, it was, in my judgment, foolish and inadequate. It pleased the supporters of this bill to assume that it was only necessary to place guns on merchant ships in order to defend them successfully against submarine attack. There was no evidence before Congress that would warrant the conclusion that arming these ships would afford protection.

1. The available evidence points to the futility of such armament. The *Laconia* was armed, but she was torpedoed twice and sunk without a chance to fire a shot. Merchant ships of the allies are armed. Their great loss of tonnage is conclusive evidence that guns planted on merchant ships are ineffectual in warding off submarine attack. It is criminal to lure from our harbors our merchant ships with passengers, crew, and freight to embark on a voyage fraught with such imminent peril in the belief that they may resist attack.

I venture to read two or three more paragraphs:

2. The first question we should ask ourselves, before we enter on this war with our armed merchantmen or our Navy for the express purpose of maintaining our right to the seas, is: What will happen to our ships? If it is so easy to clear the trans-Atlantic lanes of submarines, why is not the British Admiralty keeping them open and free for our commerce—since our carrying trade across the Atlantic now consists of supplies for the allies—food and ammunition? From all we can learn it appears that the British Navy is not attempting this perilous task, but is keeping inside carefully guarded harbors.

What assurance have we that we can clear the German war zone with armed merchantmen or with battleships as convoys or with any of the so-called "submarine chasers"?

Manifestly it is an undertaking which the British Admiralty declines for good and sufficient reason.

The American public is being woefully deceived. We are derided for hiding behind the British Navy. Moving pictures portray our fleet firing on submarines that instantly go to the bottom. The daily papers are filled with stuff that would lead us to believe that we need only declare war, order out our fleet to scour the seas, and the war is ended and won.

It is admitted that the submarine discharges its torpedo with deadly accuracy at a range of 2 to 4 miles.

It is admitted that the submarine, with its hull submerged several feet below the surface and exposing nothing but its periscope, can discharge its torpedo with equal chance to achieve its purpose.

The periscope furnishes a target no larger than a sailor's cap for merchant and naval gunners to fire at.

I have the best authority for the statement that the chances of hitting a target of that size at the distance of 2 miles, or of damaging a submarine so submerged, would in a hundred shots be practically zero.

WAR-MAD PRESS BREEDS INTOLERANCE.

It is unfortunately true that a portion of the irresponsible and war-crazed press, feeling secure in the authority of the President's condemnation of the Senators who opposed the armed-ship bill, have published the most infamous and scurrilous libels on the honor of the Senators who opposed that bill. It was particularly unfortunate that such malicious falsehoods should fill the public press of the country at a time when every consideration for our country required that a spirit of fairness should be observed in the discussions of the momentous questions under consideration.

A member of the British Parliament is visiting in this country. He has had some opportunity to observe this new spirit of intolerance that has been bred in the press and through the press in the United States within the last few months that challenges the right of any man to utter his independent judgment on a question vital, sir, to the people of this Nation; vital to the interests of this Government. It has led him to institute some comparisons between the conditions that prevail in Great Britain, a part of that war-torn territory of Europe, and the conditions that prevail here, where we still have peace. I have this comment of his upon it. I am not permitted to use his name, though he may be within the sound of my voice.

He said:

In England we feel that the theory of democracy requires the fullest and frankest discussion of every measure. We feel that the minority has a right to a respectful hearing. This is the only way you can carry on a democracy, and keep it a democracy.

Another strange thing I find is that in America you seem to expect that when the minority is beaten it will at once capitulate, declare it has been in the wrong, and join the majority. This is not democracy either. In England during the Boer War and this war, but especially in the Boer War, there was an organized minority in Parliament—there always has been in time of war. In the Boer War this minority was led by no less a person than David Lloyd-George.

If you make it an American policy that when the majority has once spoken, the right and duty of the minority to express itself and fight for what it believes in ends, you have lost your democracy. There is no safety or wisdom in trying to suppress thought or to force men to silence.

CONSTITUTION GIVES RIGHTS TO MINORITY.

Mr. President, let me make another suggestion. It is this: That a minority in one Congress—mayhap a small minority in one Congress—protesting, exercising the rights which the Constitution confers upon a minority, may really be representing the majority opinion of the country, and if, exercising the right

that the Constitution gives them, they succeed in defeating for the time being the will of the majority, they are but carrying out what was in the mind of the framers of the Constitution; that you may have from time to time in a legislative body a majority in numbers that really does not represent the principle of democracy; and that if the question could be deferred and carried to the people it would be found that a minority was the real representative of the public opinion. So, Mr. President, it was that they wrote into the Constitution that a President—that one man—may put his judgment against the will of a majority not only in one branch of the Congress but in both branches of the Congress; that he may defeat the measure that they have agreed upon and may set his one single judgment above the majority judgment of the Congress. That seems, when you look at it nakedly, to be in violation of the principle that the majority shall rule; and so it is. Why is that power given? It is one of those checks provided by the wisdom of the fathers to prevent the majority from abusing the power that they chance to have, when they do not reflect the real judgment, the opinion, the will of the majority of the people that constitute the sovereign power of the democracy.

We have had three immigration bills passed by Congress much in the same form, varying in some particulars, which have been vetoed by President Taft and twice vetoed by President Wilson. At recurring elections the people send back the Members who have passed that bill by an overwhelming majority; and still the President, exercising that power—that one-man power—vetoes the legislation ratified by the people at the polls through the election of Members of Congress—through the election and reelection of Members of Congress with that legislation one of the paramount issues. Mr. President, that might have been characterized as the exercise of a willful disposition, but it was not.

So, too, Mr. President, we find that the framers of that great instrument wrote into it that one-fifth of the Members of either one of the two bodies of Congress might hold in check the autocratic use of power by the majority on any question whatsoever. They armed a minority of one-fifth of the body with the power to filibuster; the power to demand a roll call—not a roll call, as some of the State constitutions provide, only upon matters which carry appropriations, but a roll call on every single question upon which it pleases one-fifth of the body to demand a roll call.

SUPREME POWER IS IN THE PEOPLE.

What was the purpose of it? Not to make a record, for parliamentary legislative history shows that they had that right prior to that time, and always had it and could exercise it. No, no; it was the foresight of the makers of the Constitution of this great Government of ours desiring to perpetuate not the semblance of democracy but real democracy, and they said, "There may be times when a majority, swept either by passion or misinformation, may do a wrongful thing to this Republic, and we will arm the minority in such emergencies against the undue exercise of majority power by placing in the hands of one-fifth the right to demand a roll call on every question." Exercised in the late hours of the session of a Congress it would easily be possible for them to demand roll calls in such a way as to make an extra session necessary. But, oh, Mr. President, we have always and ever in this Republic of ours back of Congresses and statutes and back of Presidents the supreme power, the sovereign power of the people, and they can correct our errors and mistakes and our wrongdoing. They can take us out of our places, and if we abuse any power which the Constitution puts in the hands of a minority, it lies with them to call us to account; and the more important, the more profoundly and intensely important the question upon which such a power is abused by a minority, the more swift and sweeping will be the punishment by the people for the wrongful exercise of it.

We need not disturb ourselves because of what a minority may do. There is always lodged, and always will be, thank the God above us, power in the people supreme. Sometimes it sleeps, sometimes it seems the sleep of death; but, sir, the sovereign power of the people never dies. It may be suppressed for a time, it may be misled, be fooled, silenced. I think, Mr. President, that it is being denied expression now. I think there will come a day when it will have expression.

The poor, sir, who are the ones called upon to rot in the trenches, have no organized power, have no press to voice their will upon this question of peace or war; but, oh, Mr. President, at some time they will be heard. I hope and I believe they will be heard in an orderly and a peaceful way. I think they may be heard from before long. I think, sir, if we take this step, when the people to-day who are staggering under the burden of supporting families at the present prices of the necessaries of life find those prices multiplied, when they are raised a hundred per cent, or 200 per cent, as they will be quickly, aye, sir, when beyond that those who pay taxes come to have their taxes doubled and again doubled to pay the interest on the nontaxable bonds held by Morgan and his combinations, which have been issued to meet this war, there will come an awakening; they will have their day and they will be heard. It will be as certain and as inevitable as the return of the tides, and as resistless, too.

I promise my colleagues that I will not be tempted again to turn aside from the thread of my discussion as I have outlined it here, and I will hasten with all possible speed.

MAY NOT THE PRESIDENT BE WRONG AGAIN?

Now that the President has in his message to us of April 2 admitted the very charge against the armed-ship bill which we made I trust that he is fully convinced that the conduct of the Senators on the occasion in question was not unreasoned and obstinate, but that it was inspired by quite as high purposes and motives as can inspire the action of any public official.

I would not, however, have made this personal reference did not the question it suggests go to the very heart of the matter now under consideration. If the President was wrong when he proposed arming the ships; if that policy was, as he now says, "certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents," is it so certain he is right now when he demands an unqualified declaration of war against Germany? If those Members of Congress who were supporting the President then were wrong, as it appears from the President's statement now they were, should not that fact prompt them to inquire carefully whether they are right in supporting the proposed declaration of war? If the armed-ship bill involved a course of action that was hasty and ill advised, may it not well be that this proposed declaration of war, which is being so hotly pressed, is also ill advised? With that thought in mind let us, with the earnestness and the singleness of purpose which the momentous nature of the question involves, be calm enough and brave enough to examine further the President's address of April 2.

III.

"PROMISE" OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

In his address of April 2 the President says:

> Since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commands of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk, and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats.

Beside that statement I wish to place exactly what the German Government did say:

> The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.
>
> The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.
>
> But neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it is violated.
>
> Accordingly the German Government is confident that, in consequence of the new orders issued to its naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual cooperation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war as they are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915. Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision. (May 4, 1916.)

It must be perfectly apparent therefore that the promise, so called, of the German Government was conditioned upon England's being brought to obedience of international law in her naval warfare. Since no one contends that England was brought to conduct her naval operations in accordance with international law, and even the poor protests our Government has lodged against her show that she has not done so, was it quite fair to lay before the country a statement which implies that

Germany had made an unconditional promise which she has dishonorably violated?

This is a time of all times when the public mind should be calm, not inflamed; when accuracy of statement is vitally essential to presenting the issues to the Congress and to the people of the country.

IV.

GERMANY'S HUMANE PRACTICES.

In his message of April 2 the President says:

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things [referring to German submarine methods of warfare] would in fact be done by any Government that had heretofore subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the sea, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up with meager enough results indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view at least of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

The recognition by the President that Germany had always heretofore subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations is a most important statement. Does it not suggest a question as to why it is that Germany has departed from those practices in the present war? What the President had so admirably stated about international law and the painful stage by which it has been builded up is absolutely true. But in this connection would it not be well to say also that it was England, not Germany, who refused to obey the declaration of London, which represented the most humane ideas and was the best statement of the rules of international law as applied to naval warfare? Keep that in mind. Would it not have been fair to say, and to keep in mind, that Germany offered to abide by those principles and England refused; that in response to our request Germany offered to cease absolutely from the use of submarines in what we characterized an unlawful manner if England would cease from equally palpable and cruel violations of international law in her conduct of naval warfare?

V.

GERMANY'S WARFARE IS AGAINST MANKIND.

The President in his message of April 2 says:

The present German warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations.

Again referring to Germany's warfare he says:

There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind.

Is it not a little peculiar that if Germany's warfare is against all nations the United States is the only nation that regards it necessary to declare war on that account? If it is true, as the President says, that "there has been no discrimination," that Germany has treated every neutral as she has treated us, is it not peculiar that no other of the great nations of the earth seem to regard Germany's conduct in this war as a cause for entering into it? Are we the only nation jealous of our rights? Are we the only nation insisting upon the protection of our citizens? Does not the strict neutrality maintained on the part of all the other nations of the earth suggest that possibly there is a reason for their action, and that that reason is that Germany's conduct under the circumstances does not merit from any nation which is determined to preserve its neutrality a declaration of war?

Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, and all the great Republics of South America are quite as interested in this subject as we are, and yet they have refused to join with us in a combination against Germany. I venture to suggest also that the nations named, and probably others, have a somewhat better right to be heard than we, for by refusing to sell war material and munitions to any of the belligerents they have placed themselves in a position where the suspicion which attaches to us of a desire for war profits can not attach to them.

On August 4, 1914, the Republic of Brazil declared the exportation of war matériel from Brazilian ports to any of these powers at war to be strictly forbidden, whether such exports be under the Brazilian flag or that of any other country.

In that connection I note the following dispatch from Buenos Aires, appearing in the Washington papers of yesterday:

President Wilson's war address was received here with interest, but no particular enthusiasm. * * * Government officials and politicians have adopted a cold shoulder toward the United States policy—an attitude apparently based on apprehension lest South American interests suffer.

The newspaper Razon's view was illustrative of this. "Does not the United States consider this an opportune time to consolidate the imperialistic policy everywhere north of Panama?" it said.

This is the question that neutral nations the world over are asking. Are we seizing upon this war to consolidate and extend an imperialistic policy? We complain also because Mexico has turned the cold shoulder to us, and are wont to look for sinister reasons for her attitude. Is it any wonder that she should also turn the cold shoulder when she sees us unite with Great Britain, an empire founded upon her conquests and subjugation of weaker nations. There is no doubt that the sympathy of Norway, Sweden, and other countries close to the scene of war is already with Germany. It is apparent that they view with alarm the entrance into the European struggle of the stranger from across the sea. It is suggested by some that our entrance into the war will shorten it. It is my firm belief, based upon such information as I have, that our entrance into the war will not only prolong it, but that it will vastly extend its area by drawing in other nations.

VI.

NO QUARREL WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

In his message of April 2, the President said:

We have no quarrel with the German people—it was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war; it was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

Again he says:

We are, let me say again, sincere friends of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us.

At least, the German people, then, are not outlaws. What is the thing the President asks us to do to these German people of whom he speaks so highly and whose sincere friend he declares us to be?

Here is what he declares we shall do in this war. We shall undertake, he says—

The utmost practicable cooperation in council and action with the Governments now at war with Germany, and as an incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may, so far as possible, be added to theirs.

"Practicable cooperation!" Practicable cooperation with England and her allies in starving to death the old men and women, the children, the sick and the maimed of Germany. The thing we are asked to do is the thing I have stated. It is idle to talk of a war upon a government only. We are leagued in this war, or it is the President's proposition that we shall be so leagued, with the hereditary enemies of Germany. Any war with Germany, or any other country for that matter, would be bad enough, but there are not words strong enough to voice my protest against the proposed combination with the entente allies. When we cooperate with those Governments we indorse their methods, we indorse the violations of international law by Great Britain, we indorse the shameful methods of warfare against which we have again and again protested in this war; we indorse her purpose to wreak upon the German people the animosities which for years her people have been taught to cherish against Germany; finally when the end comes, whatever it may be, we find ourselves in cooperation with our ally, Great Britain, and if we can not resist now the pressure she is exerting to carry us into the war, how can we hope to resist, then, the thousandfold greater pressure she will exert to bend us to her purposes and compel compliance with her demands?

We do not know what they are. We do not know what is in the minds of those who have made the compact, but we are to subscribe to it. We are irrevocably, by our votes here, to marry ourselves to a nondivorceable proposition veiled from us now. Once enlisted, once in the copartnership, we will be carried through with the purposes, whatever they may be, of which we now know nothing.

Sir, if we are to enter upon this war in the manner the President demands, let us throw pretense to the winds, let us be honest, let us admit that this is a ruthless war against not only Germany's army and her navy but against her civilian population as well, and frankly state that the purpose of Germany's hereditary European enemies has become our purpose.

VII.

MUST SPEND OUR WHOLE FORCE TO WIN.

Again, the President says "we are about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power." That much, at least, is clear; that program is definite. The whole force and power of this Nation, if necessary, is to be used to bring victory to the entente allies, and to us as their ally in this war. Remember, that not yet has the "whole force" of one of the warring nations been used. Countless millions are suffering from want and privation; countless other millions are dead and rotting on foreign battle fields; countless other millions are crippled and maimed, blinded, and dismembered; upon all and upon their children's children for generations to come has been laid a burden of debt which must be worked out in poverty and suffering, but the "whole force" of no one of the warring nations has yet been expended; but our "whole force" shall be expended, so says the

President. We are pledged by the President, so far as he can pledge us, to make this fair, free, and happy land of ours the same shambles and bottomless pit of horror that we see in Europe to-day.

VIII.

THIS IS A WAR OF DEMOCRACY.

Just a word of comment more upon one of the points in the President's address. He says that this is a war "for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government." In many places throughout the address is this exalted sentiment given expression.

It is a sentiment peculiarly calculated to appeal to American hearts and, when accompanied by acts consistent with it, is certain to receive our support; but in this same connection, and strangely enough, the President says that we have become convinced that the German Government as it now exists—"Prussian autocracy" he calls it—can never again maintain friendly relations with us. His expression is that "Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend," and repeatedly throughout the address the suggestion is made that if the German people would overturn their Government it would probably be the way to peace. So true is this that the dispatches from London all hailed the message of the President as sounding the death knell of Germany's Government.

But the President proposes alliance with Great Britain, which, however liberty-loving its people, is a hereditary monarchy, with a hereditary ruler, with a hereditary House of Lords, with a hereditary landed system, with a limited and restricted suffrage for one class and a multiplied suffrage power for another, and with grinding industrial conditions for all the wageworkers. The President has not suggested that we make our support of Great Britain conditional to her granting home rule to Ireland, or Egypt, or India. We rejoice in the establishment of a democracy in Russia, but it will hardly be contended that if Russia was still an autocratic Government, we would not be asked to enter this alliance with her just the same. Italy and the lesser powers of Europe, Japan in the Orient; in fact, all of the countries with whom we are to enter into alliance, except France and newly revolutionized Russia, are still of the old order—and it will be generally conceded that no one of them has done as much for its people in the solution of municipal problems and in securing social and industrial reforms as Germany.

Is it not a remarkable democracy which leagues itself with allies already far overmatching in strength the German nation and holds out to such beleaguered nation the hope of peace only at the price of giving up their Government? I am not talking now of the merits or demerits of any government, but I am speaking of a profession of democracy that is linked in action with the most brutal and domineering use of autocratic power. Are the people of this country being so well represented in this war movement that we need to go abroad to give other people control of their governments? Will the President and the supporters of this war bill submit it to a vote of the people before the declaration of war goes into effect? Until we are willing to do that, it illy becomes us to offer as an excuse for our entry into the war the unsupported claim that this war was forced upon the German people by their Government "without their previous knowledge or approval."

Who has registered the knowledge or approval of the American people of the course this Congress is called upon to take in declaring war upon Germany? Submit the question to the people, you who support it. You who support it dare not do it, for you know that by a vote of more than ten to one the American people as a body would register their declaration against it.

In the sense that this war is being forced upon our people without their knowing why and without their approval, and that wars are usually forced upon all peoples in the same way, there is some truth in the statement; but I venture to say that the response which the German people have made to the demands of this war shows that it has a degree of popular support which the war upon which we are entering has not and never will have among our people. The espionage bills, the conscription bills, and other forcible military measures which we understand are being ground out of the war machine in this country is the complete proof that those responsible for this war fear that it has no popular support and that armies sufficient to satisfy the demand of the entente allies can not be recruited by voluntary enlistments.

THE EVENTS REVIEWED WHICH HAVE LED UP TO THE PRESENT SITUATION.

I desire at this point to review as briefly as possible, but with absolute accuracy and fairness, the events occurring since the commencement of the present European war, which have brought us to the very brink of war with the German Empire. I enter upon this task the more freely because every fact to which I refer is undisputed, and the events I shall relate are so fresh in the minds of every Senator that if I should err in any particular I will no doubt be quickly corrected.

1. WITH THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT WAR IN EUROPE WE HAVE NOTHING TO DO.

When in the middle of the summer of 1914 the great war broke out in Europe our relations with every one of the unfortunate countries involved were in every way friendly. It is true that many years before we had had some differences with France, but they had long since been adjusted, and we felt toward the French people and toward the Government of France, like ours Republican in form, nothing but sincere and disinterested friendship. With England the situation was a little different. We had fought two bloody wars with England—one to obtain our independence as a people, and later the War of 1812, with the causes and consequences of which we are all familiar. But the ties of race and language and long commercial association had taught us to forget much in British conduct and diplomacy which we have felt was wrong and unfair in her dealings with us and with other countries.

With Germany likewise our relations were friendly. Many hundreds of thousands of the subjects of Germany had emigrated to this country, and they and their descendants had shown themselves to be in every way most worthy and desirable citizens. The great Civil War which saved the Union was successful largely through the services rendered by Germans, both as officers and as men serving in the ranks. B. A. Gould, in a work dealing with some of the phases of the Civil War, and prepared soon after its close, among other things, presented a table of the relative number of foreign-born soldiers in the Union Army. I quote from that table as follows:

English	45,508
Canadian	53,532
Irish	144,221
German	187,858
All other foreign born	48,410

Later and more careful investigation of the statistics show that there were in reality 216,000 native Germans in the Union Army, and, besides this, more than 300,000 Union soldiers who were born of German parents.

More than one-half a million of the men who carried the musket to keep this Government of ours undivided upon the map of the world were men who are now having their patriotism and loyalty to this country questioned, with secret-service men dogging their footsteps.

Who does not remember, among the most gallant and distinguished officers in the Union Army, Schurz, Sigel, Rosecrans, and scores of others? It is well to recall also that when President Lincoln issued his call for volunteers they volunteered much more largely from the German-settled States of the Middle West than from the war-mad States of the East. Is history to repeat itself?

The German people, either in this country or in the fatherland, need no tribute from me or from anyone else. In whatever land they have lived they have left a record of courage, loyalty, honesty, and high ideals second to no people which have ever inhabited this earth since the dawn of history. If the German people are less likely to be swept off their feet in the present crisis than some other nationalities, it is due to two facts. In the first place, they have a livelier appreciation of what war means than has the average American, and, in the second place, German speaking and reading people have had an opportunity to get both sides of the present controversy, which no one could possibly have, who has depended for his information solely on papers printed in English and English publications.

I have said that with the causes of the present war we have nothing to do. That is true. We certainly are not responsible for it. It originated from causes beyond the sphere of our influence and outside the realm of our responsibility. It is not inadmissible, however, to say that no responsible narrator of the events which have led up to this greatest of all wars has failed to hold that the Government of each country engaged in it is at fault for it. For my own part, I believe that this war, like nearly all others, originated in the selfish ambition and cruel greed of a comparatively few men in each Government who saw in war an opportunity for profit and power for themselves, and who were wholly indifferent to the awful suffering they knew that war would bring to the masses. The German people had been taught to believe that sooner or later war was inevitable with England and France and probably Russia allied against her. It is unfortunately true that there was much in the secret diplomacy of the years immediately preceding the

breaking out of the war in 1914 to afford foundation for such belief. The secret treaty between France and England for the partition of Morocco, while making a public treaty with Germany, the terms of which were diametrically opposite to those of the secret treaty, did much to arouse the suspicion and hostility of the German people toward both France and England.

I doubt if the diplomatic history of any of the nations of the earth in civilized times can show so reprehensible, so dishonest, so perjured a record as the Moroccan affair brings home to the doors of those who were responsible for that Moroccan treaty, the diplomatic agents of the French and the English Governments.

Think of it, Mr. President! German citizens had acquired property as individual purchasers in the rich mineral fields of Morocco. A treaty was entered into between England, France, and Germany which protected all the interests of all those who signed the treaty. Then France and England executed a treaty, certain provisions of which were not published when the treaty was published. By the terms of these secret provisions German enterprise was to be driven out of Morocco. Mark you, it was not the people of France and England—it was not even the Governments of the respective countries—which were guilty of the great wrong committed against both Morocco and Germany, but less than a half dozen ambitious, intriguing diplomats, who made the secret plan to divide Morocco between France and Spain. Germany was to be thrown out. England backed up France and Spain in the disreputable deal and received for her part of the swag the relinquishment of France to all rights which she had theretofore claimed in Egypt. It was not until those facts came out that real hostile feeling between Germany and England began to develop. Herein history will find the real cause for this war. England would tolerate no commercial rivalry. Germany would not submit to isolation.

Of this incident Mr. W. T. Stead, in the Review of Reviews for December, 1911, had this to say:

> We were nearly involved in the stupendous catastrophe of a gigantic war with the greatest of all the world powers in order to enable France to tear up the treaty of Algeciras by taking possession of the Empire of Morocco, whose independence and integrity we were pledged to defend. It is not to our interest to make over to France a vast domain in northern Africa. * * * The fact remains that in order to put France in possession of Morocco we all but went to war with Germany. We have escaped war, but we have not escaped the natural and abiding enmity of the German people. Is it possible to frame a heavier indictment of the foreign policy of any British ministry? The secret, the open secret of the almost incredible crime against treaty faith, British interests, and the peace of the world is the unfortunate fact that Sir Edward Grey has been dominated by men at the foreign office who believe all considerations must be subordinated to the supreme duty of thwarting Germany at every turn, even if in so doing British interests, treaty faith, and the peace of the world are trampled underfoot. I speak that of which I know.

This is but one of the many instances that illustrate the character of the diplomacy which has been conducted in Europe during the last few years, and it is in this kind of diplomacy that we must become a partner also if we become a party to the war.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If it does not divert me from the course of my remarks.

Mr. KNOX. It is merely to ask a question. From whom was the Senator reading? I did not catch the name if the Senator stated it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It was from William T. Stead.

A celebrated Englishman, Sir John Fisher, as a delegate to one of the early Hague conferences, is credited with having said:

> In case of war I should have only one aim, even if I had to violate every one of the rules laid down by the peace conference—to win. The diplomats can negotiate afterwards. (See "The Inevitable War," by Francis Delaisi.)

Such were the ideals the people of Europe had been taught to hold in preparation for the great war.

2. ENGLAND'S REPUDIATION OF THE DECLARATION OF LONDON.

On August 6, 1914, and within a few days after the beginning of the war, Secretary Bryan through Ambassador Page inquired whether England would agree that the naval warfare should be conducted according to the declaration of London.

At the same time the same inquiry was addressed to the respective Governments of the warring countries through our ambassadors at St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. The inquiry addressed to Great Britain was as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 6, 1914—1 p. m.

Mr. Bryan instructs Mr. Page to inquire whether the British Government is willing to agree that the laws of naval warfare as laid down by the declaration of London of 1900 shall be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict in Europe, provided that the Governments with whom Great Britain is or may be at war also agree to such application. Mr. Bryan further instructs Mr. Page to state that the Government of the United States believes that an acceptance of these laws by the belligerents would prevent grave misunderstandings which may arise as to the relations between neutral powers and the belligerents. Mr. Bryan adds that it is earnestly hoped that this inquiry may receive favorable consideration.

Germany and Austria promptly replied that they would be bound by the declaration of London. I quote the reply of each:

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Vienna, August 13, 1914—8 p. m.

Your August 6th. Austro-Hungarian Government have instructed their forces to observe stipulations of declaration of London as applied to naval as well as land warfare during present conflict, conditional on like observance on part of the enemy.

PENFIELD.

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Berlin, August 22, 1914—12 midnight.

Mr. Gerard refers to department's August 19, 4 p. m., and says his August 20, 1 a. m., by way of Copenhagen, states that the German Government will apply the declaration of London, provided its provisions are not disregarded by other belligerents.

Russia and France waited to hear from England. Ambassador Page finally transmitted England's reply on August 27, 1914. That reply, omitting the immaterial parts, was as follows:

> I have the honor to inform your excellency that His Majesty's Government, who attach great importance to the views expressed in your excellency's note are animated by a keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries, have given this matter their most careful consideration, and have pleasure in stating that they have decided to adopt generally the rules of the declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations. A detailed explanation of these additions and modifications is contained in the inclosed memorandum.
>
> The necessary steps to carry the above decision into effect have now been taken by the issue of an order in council, of which I have the honor to inclose copies herein for your excellency's information and for transmission to your Government.

The modifications and additions quoted which Great Britain made to the declaration of London were so completely subversive of the essential principles provided by that declaration that nothing was left to do except to treat the British answer as a refusal to be bound in any material respect by the declaration of London, and accordingly on October 22, 1914, our Government replied as follows:

> Inasmuch as the British Government consider that the conditions of the present European conflict make it impossible for them to accept without modification the declaration of London, you are requested to inform His Majesty's Government that in the circumstances the Government of the United States feels obliged to withdraw its suggestion that the declaration of London be adopted as a temporary code of naval warfare to be observed by belligerents and neutrals during the present war; that therefore this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the provisions of the declaration of London; and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of His Britannic Majesty's Government.
>
> LANSING.

Thus was the first step taken in that ruthless naval warfare which has since horrified the civilized world. Thus did Great Britain initiate her naval warfare, and induce her allies to do the same, by repudiating the rules of naval warfare and the rights of neutrals upon the sea, which had been declared and agreed to by the representatives of all the great powers of the world, including our own. Of course, it is well understood that the governments had not ratified it, but their representatives had agreed to it.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I certainly do.

Mr. KNOX. In the interest only of accuracy, may I ask, do I understand the Senator to state that all of the powers had agreed to the declaration of London? Is that correct?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I stated that the representatives of all of the powers had signed and agreed to it.

Mr. KNOX. But it had not been ratified by the governments.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It had not been. I had already so stated before the Senator from Pennsylvania rose.

Mr. KNOX. Did the Senator state specifically that Great Britain had never ratified the declaration of London?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I did not; but I now state that fact.

Mr. KNOX. The Senator so understands it?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I so understand it; but I say that the representatives, the enlightened men who were sent there by their respective governments, in the calmness of the deliberations of that assembly wrote the declaration of London as the expression—the enlightened, humane expression—of the rules of warfare based upon international law, as they understood it,

and that final and formal ratification by the governments had not been consummated does not change that fact.

This case of ours in going into this war will not be tried by history upon technicalities, but upon great fundamental, underlying principles, and the declaration of London was the expression—the codification of the well-settled and accepted principles of international law on the subjects covered relating to naval warfare by the most advanced governments of the world. And the Government of Germany that is arraigned here every hour as the most bloodthirsty Government on earth, responding to the inquiry of our Government, agreed that she would suspend or wipe out her right to the use of the submarine in conformity with our suggestions provided that the rules laid down in the London declaration were adhered to by all of those who had participated in it and who were then parties to the war.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for a question.

Mr. STONE. The question is suggested by what the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] asked the Senator from Wisconsin, whether the Government of Great Britain had ever ratified the declaration of London. Did the Government of Great Britain, or any other of the governments participating in the conference, reject that declaration?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I believe they never did. I think I am entirely safe in saying that they had never rejected or disaffirmed the act of their representatives in the London conference.

For reasons which become clearer as we advance it suited England's policy to disregard the rules of civilized naval warfare as the same were codified and clearly set forth in the declaration of London and revert to that indefinite and conflicting body of precedents called international law, in which can be found authority for doing anything you have the power to do.

The declaration of London, promulgated in 1909, as I have stated, was the work of the accredited representatives of the leading nations of the world, who met in London at England's request. Among the nations represented were Germany, the United States, Austria, Russia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Holland, and other leading nations. The way had been prepared for such a great conference by the various Hague conventions and the discussions therein. The sentiment of the civilized world demanded such a conference, and the nations of the world accepted the declaration of London as being the best and most humane statement of the rules of naval warfare which could be prepared. The very first paragraph of the declaration is:

> The signatory powers are agreed in declaring that the rules contained in the following chapters correspond in substance with the generally recognized principles of international law.

Article 65 provided, "the provisions of the present declaration form an indivisable whole.

GREAT BRITAIN'S ACTION MADE RESULT INEVITABLE.

When, therefore, Great Britain made waste paper of this declaration, as she did early in the war, it ought not to have been difficult to have foreseen the inevitable result. There are a few simple propositions of international law embodied in the declaration of London to which in this connection it is important to call attention. One is that "a blockade must be limited to the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy." (See art. 1.)

That has been international law ever since we have had a body of international rules called international law, and that was expressed in the London declaration, which was joined in by the representatives of Great Britain. If that had been adhered to, no declaration taking this country into the war would be before us this afternoon.

I repeat it. One of the declarations reads as follows:

> A blockade must be limited to the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy. (See art. 1.)

Another is that a blockade in order to be binding upon anyone must be "maintained by a force sufficiently large to prevent access to the enemy coast." (See art. 2.) Not by sowing the open sea with deadly contact mines, but by a force which shall maintain the blockade of the ports. (See art. 2.)

Another is that a blockade must under no circumstances bar access to the ports or to the coasts of neutral countries.

The press of this country has attempted, from the very beginning, to show that the Government of the United States during the Civil War set up and established precedents that violated the proposition enunciated in the statement which I have just read. A decision of the Supreme Court of this country—and it is to the honor of America that it can be recited—denied to this Government, when it was fighting for its existence in the Civil War, the right to stop the shipment of goods from England up the Rio Grande to be landed on the Mexican side, but really thereafter to be transported across to Brownsville, Tex., for the benefit of the Southern Confederacy. An opinion was written by the Supreme Court that will thrill with pride every American heart. At that time, Mr. President, the court must have been under every temptation which can be made to appeal to the human heart to shave and shade its views to meet the exigencies of our Government, but against the interests of this Government and in vindication of the principle of law necessary to the maintenance of a body of international rules to protect the rights of neutral commerce and maintain peace between neutral nations and belligerents they denied the interests of this Government in that perilous hour and sustained the right of the owners of the vessel. This is the holding in the Peterhoff case (5 Wall., 28).

Another important service rendered by the declaration of London to a civilized world was the clear statement it furnished of articles which were contraband, conditional contraband, and those which under no circumstances could be declared contraband. (See arts. 22 to 27.)

Talk about making war, about hurling this Government into the bottomless pit of the European conflict to sustain the principles of international law under which we have suffered the loss of some ships and some human lives, when England, by her course in rejecting the declaration of London and in the manner of conducting her naval warfare, has wiped out the established rules of international law which had grown up through the centuries and opened the pathway and set us upon the road we have followed straight to the proceedings which engage the attention of the Senate this afternoon.

ENGLAND OVERTURNED LAW OF CONTRABAND.

The distinction between articles that are contraband and those that are conditional contraband and free is well understood. I will not trespass upon the time of the Senate to discuss it. Articles which are contraband are always liable to capture by one belligerent if shown to be destined to territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or if it was destined to the armed forces of the enemy, no matter to what particular port the contraband might be billed. Of this class, according to the declaration of London, were all kinds of arms, ammunition, projectiles powder, clothing and equipment of purely a military character, and other articles used exclusively for war. Conditional contraband was not liable to capture if bound for a neutral port, and in any case the government asserting the right to capture it, even when it was moving direct to the enemy country, was obliged to prove that it was destined for the use of the enemy armed forces and not to the civilian population. Conditional contraband, according to the declaration of London, included food of all kinds, clothing, vehicles, tools, and a vast multitude of other things enumerated which, while they might be used by the armed forces, were also susceptible of use by the civilian population. Goods on the free list could move unhindered to the enemy country in either direct or indirect trade. Among the articles on the free list, according to the declaration of London, was raw cotton, wool, substantially all other raw materials, and a great variety of other articles necessary for a civilian population. Goods from the enemy country could not be stopped, except by an effective blockade.

There is no escape from these propositions. They are to be found in every work upon international law, approved by every court that has ever passed upon the questions relating to contraband, as shown by an unbroken line of decisions.

As late as the Boer War, Lord Salisbury—now get this into your minds if your attention has not been directed to it before—when asked the position of the British Government regarding foodstuffs, which were and always had been conditional contraband, Lord Salisbury said:

> Foodstuffs with a hostile destination can be considered contraband of war only if they are supplied for the enemy's forces. It is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used; it must be shown that this was in fact their destination at the time of the seizure. (Hales' American Rights at Sea, p. 11.)

In the very first days of the war with Germany, Great Britain set aside and reversed this well-established rule announced by Lord Salisbury as to foodstuffs. Had she obeyed that rule of law Germany would have received food for her civilian population through neutral merchantmen and our neutral commerce would not have been attacked by German submarines. Now, that is the way history is going to record it, Senators. That is the undisputed fact and there is nothing else to be said about it. It has pleased those who have been conducting this campaign through the press to make a jumble of the issues, until the public sees nothing, thinks of nothing but the wrongs committed by the German submarine, and hears nothing, knows nothing of wrongdoing of England that forced Germany to take the course she has taken or submit to the unlawful starving of her civilian population.

OUR NEUTRAL RIGHTS SET ASIDE.

Now, I want to repeat: It was our absolute right as a neutral to ship food to the people of Germany. That is a position that we have fought for through all of our history. The correspondence of every Secretary of State in the history of our Government who has been called upon to deal with the rights of our neutral commerce as to foodstuffs is the position stated by Lord Salisbury, just quoted. He was in line with all of the precedents that we had originated and established for the maintenance of neutral rights upon this subject.

In the first days of the war with Germany, Great Britain set aside, so far as her own conduct was concerned, all these rules of civilized naval warfare.

According to the declaration of London, as well as the rules of international law, there could have been no interference in trade between the United States and Holland or Scandinavia and other countries, except in the case of ships which could be proven to carry absolute contraband, like arms and ammunition, with ultimate German destination. There could have been no interference with the importation into Germany of any goods on the free list, such as cotton, rubber, and hides. There could have properly been no interference with our export to Germany of anything on the conditional contraband list, like flour, grain, and provisions, unless it could be proven by England that such shipments were intended for the use of the German Army. There could be no lawful interference with foodstuffs intended for the civilian population of Germany, and if those foodstuffs were shipped to other countries to be reshipped to Germany, no question could be raised that they were not intended for the use of the civilian population.

It is well to recall at this point our rights as declared by the declaration of London and as declared without the declaration of London by settled principles of international law, for we have during the present war become so used to having Great Britain utterly disregard our rights on the high seas that we have really forgotten that we have any, as far as Great Britain and her allies are concerned.

Great Britain, by what she called her modifications of the declaration of London, shifted goods from the free list to the conditional contraband and contraband lists, reversed the presumption of destination for civilian population, and abolished the principle that a blockade to exist at all must be effective.

Edwin J. Clapp, professor of economics of the New York University, in his book, Economic Aspects of the War, describes the situation aptly. It is supported by all the authorities, but I quote from him:

> The modifications [of the declaration of London] were subversive of the principles of the declaration to which they were attached. These modifications, supplemented by an unexampled extension of the British contraband list and finally by what our Government calls an illegal blockade, have been England's method of exercising economic pressure upon Germany and, necessarily, upon all neutral nations that trade with her.

Again the same author says:

> This action stopped our direct trade with Germany. It might appear that goods on the free list could still move. Some of them did move, from free to contraband. People feared to ship the others lest they should be so listed while ships were on the ocean, and the goods made subject to seizure. Practically nothing has been shipped to Germany from this country but cotton, and it was not shipped until December. In belated response to the insistence of southern Senators and of American business interests which had found themselves gravely embarrassed by the cessation of cotton shipments, Great Britain finally made a clear statement that this particular commodity would not be considered contraband.
>
> So much for direct trade with Germany. There was still a method by which we should have been able to export our goods and discharge our neutral obligations to trade with Germany as with England. We might have carried on this trade via neutral ports like Rotterdam or Copenhagen, from which the goods might have been shipped to Germany. The declaration of London allows a belligerent to interfere with a shipment between two neutral ports only when it consists of absolute contraband for enemy territory. Conditional contraband so moving may not even be suspected. The order in council changed this. It extended the new intention of capturing conditional contraband to goods moving to Germany even through a neutral port. And, as explained, conditional contraband was seizable if destined to anyone in Germany; it was not conditional but absolute.
>
> The British action, besides stopping our trade with Germany, barring only a certain amount of indirect trade carried on with much difficulty and danger, subjected to grave peril our commerce with other neutrals. The British contraband lists were extended so rapidly that soon almost no important article of commerce with neutrals was free from seizure by England, who suspected everything on these lists as being of possible German destination. By these methods England proposed to starve the civilian population of Germany and destroy neutral trade.

3. ENGLAND AGAIN DECLINES OUR REQUEST TO CONDUCT HER NAVAL WARFARE WITH SOME RESPECT FOR NEUTRAL RIGHTS AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH MORE HUMANE PRINCIPLES, WHILE GERMANY AGAIN ACCEPTS OUR SUGGESTION.

Now, listen to the statement of facts under that proposition:

On February 20, 1915, our Government, through Secretary Bryan, addressed the following communication to the Government of Great Britain:

> DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
> *Washington, February 20, 1915.*
>
> You will please deliver to Sir Edward Grey the following identic note which we are sending England and Germany:
>
> In view of the correspondence which has passed between this Government and Great Britain and Germany, respectively, relative to the declaration of a war zone by the German Admiralty and the use of neutral flags by British merchant vessels, this Government ventures to express the hope that the two belligerent Governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents.
>
> The Government of the United States respectfully suggests that an agreement in terms like the following might be entered into. This suggestion is not to be regarded as in any sense a proposal made by this Government, for it of course fully recognizes that it is not its privilege to propose terms of agreement between Great Britain and Germany, even though the matter be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely venturing to take the liberty which it hopes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassing neither nation involved and of serving, if it may, the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Governments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world.

Now, after all that prefatory matter—which I might have omitted, I suppose, to save time—we come to the proposition:

> Germany and Great Britain to agree:
>
> 1. That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines, except within cannon range of harbors for defensive purpose only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.
>
> 2. That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search.
>
> 3. That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of disguise or ruse de guerre.
>
> Germany to agree:
>
> That all importations of food or foodstuffs from the United States (and from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be consigned to agencies to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control without interference on the part of the German Government of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to noncombatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose; and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.
>
> Great Britain to agree:
>
> That food and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list, and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the noncombatant population.
>
> In submitting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a modus vivendi based upon expediency rather than legal right and as not binding upon the United States, either in its present form or in a modified form, until accepted by this Government.
>
> BRYAN.

Without quoting at length the replies of the Governments of Germany and Great Britain, it is sufficient to say that under date of March 1, 1915, the German Government replied substantially acceding to the proposition made by the Government of the United States, and on March 15 the British Government replied substantially refusing to accede to our request. It will be noted that at this time the deadly submarines of Germany and the equally deadly mines of Great Britain had rendered the high seas dangerous to the lives of all neutrals, but the English steamship *Lusitania*, loaded with 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition destined for the English Army, had not been sunk with the consequent loss of American lives, and the damage to neutrals had not been heavy compared with that which they have since suffered. Here again the sole responsibility for continuing the unlawful naval warfare must rest upon Great Britain and her allies. Germany, knowing as the world did not then know the possibility of destruction contained in the submarine branch of her navy, and at the risk of being thought weak and anxious for peace, offered to agree if Great Britain and her allies would do the same, to those suggestions of ours which would have avoided all the acts of which we complain to-day.

ENGLAND HAS NOT YIELDED TO OUR PROTESTS.

It is not my purpose to go into detail into the violations of our neutrality by any of the belligerents. While Germany has again and again yielded to our protests, I do not recall a single instance in which a protest we have made to Great Britain has won for us the slightest consideration, except for a short time in the case of cotton. I will not stop to dwell upon the multitude of minor violations of our neutral rights, such as seizing our mails, violations of the neutral flag, seizing and

appropriating our goods without the least warrant or authority in law, and impressing, seizing, and taking possession of our vessels and putting them into her own service. I have constituents, American citizens, who organized a company and invested large sums of money in the purchase of ships to engage in foreign carrying. Several of their vessels plying between the United States and South America were captured almost in our own territorial waters, taken possession of by the British Government, practically confiscated, and put into her service or the service of her admiralty. They are there to-day, and that company is helpless. When they appealed to our Department of State they were advised that they might "file" their papers. And were given the further suggestion that they could hire an attorney and prosecute their case in the English prize court. The company did hire an attorney and sent him to England, and he is there now, and has been there for almost a year, trying to get some redress, some relief, some adjustment of those rights.

But those are individual cases. There are many others. All these violations have come from Great Britain and her allies, and are in perfect harmony with Briton's traditional policy as absolute master of the seas.

I come now, however, to one other event in the naval policy of Great Britain during this war, which to my mind is absolutely controlling upon the action we should take upon the question under consideration.

ENGLAND'S MINING OF THE NORTH SEA.

On the 2d of November, 1914, only three months after the beginning of the war, England issued a proclamation, the most ruthless and sweeping in its violation of neutral rights that up to that time had ever emanated from a civilized government engaged in prosecuting a war, announcing that on three days' notice all of the North Sea, free under international law to the trade of the world, would be entered by our merchant ships at their peril. She based her action upon an assertion that the German Government had been scattering mines in waters open to the world's commerce.

The material portions of it are as follows:

> During the last week the Germans have scattered mines indiscriminately in the open sea on the main trade route from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland.
>
> Peaceful merchant ships have already been blown up, with loss of life, by this agency. * * *
>
> In these circumstances, having regard to the great interests entrusted to the British Navy, to the safety of peaceful commerce on the high seas, and to the maintenance within the limits of international law of trade between neutral countries, the Admiralty feels it necessary to adopt exceptional measures appropriate to the novel conditions under which this war is being waged.
>
> It therefore gives notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft. * * *
>
> Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the sea; but from November 5 onward the Admiralty announces that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides through the Farne Islands to Iceland do so at their own peril.

The North Sea, a great stretch of the Atlantic Ocean, extending from Scotland to Iceland, was barred to the commerce of the world, the neutral commerce, that had the same right there that you have to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Before considering the piratical character of this document as a whole it will be noted that while it proposes to use every effort to warn neutral shipping it allows just three days for the warning.

Do you observe that the country with whom we are about to yoke ourselves issued this proclamation, unheard of before in the history of the world, mining a great area of the Atlantic Ocean with deadly contact mines, and gave to the neutral nations only three days' notice? It issued its declaration on the 2d of November, and it went into effect on the 5th of November.

Of the preliminary allegations in the note concerning the scattering of mines by Germany in the open sea around the British Isles, no proof of it has ever been furnished, so far as I am aware; and, even if it were true, it certainly would not have remedied the condition to mine a much larger portion of the sea upon which neutral ships must travel. I say this because of the high-sounding but obviously false and hypocritical assertion contained in the proclamation that Britain is taking this action in order to maintain trade between neutral countries within the limits of international law. She was, in fact, by her action absolutely destroying trade between neutral countries, and the penalties for disobeying her orders, and which operate automatically and inexorably, was the destruction by mines of all ships and passengers venturing into the prohibited portion of the sea.

UNITED STATES ACQUIESCES IN ENGLAND'S ILLEGAL ACT.

Now we come to the most unfortunate part of our record. The present administration agreed to this lawless act of Great Britain. I make this statement deliberately and fully appreciating its consequences. If we had entered into a contract with Great Britain, signed and sealed under the great seals of the respective countries, agreeing that she should commit the act of piracy involved in mining the North Sea, we would not more completely have been bound by such contract than we are bound by the conduct of the present administration. It will be recalled that when Secretary Bryan made his request of Great Britain to adhere to the declaration of London, and she refused, and he notified her that the request was withdrawn, he declared in substance that he would nevertheless hold her responsible for any violations of international law, so far as they affected our right as a neutral Nation. And from that time protest after protest was made by us; many against Germany and some against Great Britain and her allies, whenever we claimed that international law had been violated.

The fact remains, however, that from November 2, when England declared her settled purpose to mine large areas of the public sea contrary to every principle of international law, the Government through the present administration has never uttered a word of protest.

If you think you can escape the responsibility of that act and hold other belligerents to the strict requirements of international law by play upon a phrase you are mistaken. You may make this country declare war in your attempt to do it, but your war will not have the support of the people. Until the omission of this administration to uphold our rights against Great Britain is corrected we can never hope for popular support for a war waged to enforce the same right against the country at war with Great Britain.

AN ABSURD CONTENTION.

I do not need to cite authorities to show that the mining of the North Sea by Great Britain was illegal. In declaring her intention to mine the North Sea, Great Britain did not pretend that her act was legal, and attempted to justify it only on the ground of necessity. Nor am I aware that any responsible person has ever attempted to defend the legality of the act. You have but to remember that if England had a right to mine the North Sea and a large portion of the Atlantic Ocean during an indefinite period and thereby exclude all commercial shipping, then any two warring nations can mine any or all portions of the high seas as they choose and thus destroy the neutral commerce of the world so long as the war shall last. Such a claim is too absurd to merit consideration.

I will not dwell now upon the physical consequences of this act by Great Britain, for I am concerned at this time simply with the question of how this act by our Government has affected our legal relations to Germany.

You can not afford to declare war and rest the right to do so in history upon a violation of international law when we are to any extent responsible for such violation.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for a question.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator have any other evidence that we signed and sealed and delivered a contract with Great Britain by which we permitted her to violate international law than that which he has just given, namely, the assertion that we did not protest?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I have not stated that we had a signed and sealed compact.

Mr. Reed. No; you stated——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I was reading from my manuscript, and I know just what I said. The Senator misunderstood me.

Mr. REED. You stated that we had done it as effectively——

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Just as effectively as though it were a contract. I think it was just as effective by a failure to protest as though it had been a contract.

I now proceed to make that good by my argument, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. REED. And you will not permit any further interruption? Very well, if that is the premise.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is my argument, and I am proceeding to make it.

In passing, however, I desire to call attention to the fact that the lawless action of Great Britain resulted in the loss of at least two of our ships—the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*—because they ventured into the zone Great Britain had prohibited them from entering—were sunk by mines, with the loss of several Ameri-

can lives. (Minority report, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. R. 21052, 64th Cong.)

WE SUBMIT TO ENGLAND'S WAR ZONE.

The only reason why we have not suffered the sacrifice of just as many ships and just as many lives from the violation of our rights by the war zone and the submarine mines of Great Britain, as we have through the unlawful acts of Germany in making her war zone in violation of our neutral rights, is simply because we have submitted to Great Britain's dictation. If our ships had been sent into her forbidden high-sea war zone, as they have into the proscribed area Germany marked out on the high seas as a war zone, we would have had the same loss of life and property in the one case as in the other; but because we avoided doing that in the case of England, and acquiesced in her violation of law, we have not only a legal but a moral responsibility for the position in which Germany has been placed by our collusion and cooperation with Great Britain. By suspending the rule with respect to neutral rights in Great Britain's case, we have been actively aiding her in starving the civil population of Germany. We have helped to drive Germany into a corner, her back to the wall, to fight with what weapons she can lay her hands on to prevent the starving of her women and children, her old men and babes.

The flimsy claim which has sometimes been put forth that possibly the havoc in the North Sea was caused by German mines is too absurd for consideration.

I refer to the three vessels sunk in the British war zone. Why should Germany mine the North Sea, the gateway from the Atlantic to her own ports and those of Norway, Sweden, and Holland, with whom she most desired to trade and with whom her relations were and are most friendly? She doubtless placed some mines at the entrance of her harbors for purposes of protection, as she had a right to do, but it is ridiculous to suppose that she would have mined the North Sea.

Besides this the records show that up to March 10, 1915, of the floating mines that had been taken up and rendered harmless along the Dutch coast 214 were of British origin, 33 French, and only 22 German. (P. 142, Economic Aspects of the War, by Clapp.)

The same author at page 8 thus speaks of the result of the mining of the North Sea by Great Britain:

> Because of these floating mines in the North Sea literally scores of vessels were lost, mostly belonging to the Scandinavian countries or Holland. Three American vessels were included—the *Greenbriar, Carib,* and *Evelyn.* •Because of the danger of mines ocean freight and war-risk insurance rates became a very heavy burden on shippers and buyers, and in the case of some commodities became prohibitive of commerce; a policy of uncertainty and fear was thrown over the commercial world.

Days, weeks, and months went by, and still no protest came from the American Government against this unlawful act on the part of Great Britain.

GERMANY WAITED FOR US TO PROTEST.

She did this unlawful thing on the 5th day of November. Germany waited and waited, week after week, for this Government to assert its neutral rights and demand the opening of the North Sea to neutral commerce. She waited in vain for three long months for this Government to take some action, and not until the 4th day of February—that is my recollection of the date; I do not know that I have it here—did she in retaliation serve notice upon this Government of the establishment of her war zone.

Germany then did as a matter of retaliation and defense what Great Britain had done months previously purely as an offensive measure—established a war zone or war area. She included in it portions of the sea about the British islands, and gave notice that ships coming within it would be destroyed by mines or submarines, even as English mines in the North Sea destroyed the ships which entered there.

It is Germany's insistence upon her right to blindly destroy with mines and submarines in the area she has declared a war zone all ships that enter there, that causes the whole trouble existing between us and Germany to-day. It is for this, and this only, that we are urged to make war. Yet in asserting this right or in sinking the ships in the proscribed area without warning, Germany is doing only that which England is doing in her proscribed area, with our consent. Here is the parting of the ways. When England, having previously violated all neutral rights on the high seas, mined the North Sea and asserted the right to blindly destroy, and mines can only destroy blindly, all ships that traversed it, one or two courses was open to us.

We chose to acquiesce, but a singular thing transpired. I suppose all Senators have secured the published copies of the diplomatic correspondence which has been issued by the State Department.

WE HOLD GERMANY TO STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY.

I find all the correspondence about the submarines of Germany; I find them arrayed; I find the note warning Germany that she would be held to a "strict accountability" for violation of our neutral rights; but you will search in vain these volumes for a copy of the British order in council mining the North Sea.

I am talking now about principles. You can not distinguish between the principles which allowed England to mine a large area of the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea in order to shut in Germany, and the principle on which Germany by her submarines seeks to destroy all shipping which enters the war zone which she has laid out around the British Isles.

The English mines are intended to destroy without warning every ship that enters the war zone she has proscribed, killing or drowning every passenger that can not find some means of escape. It is neither more nor less than that which Germany tries to do with her submarines in her war zone. We acquiesced in England's action without protest. It is proposed that we now go to war with Germany for identically the same action upon her part.

ADMINISTRATION'S FATAL MISTAKE.

At this point, sir, I say, with all deference but with the absolute certainty of conviction, that the present administration made a fatal mistake, and if war comes to this country with Germany for the present causes it will be due wholly to that mistake. The present administration has assumed and acted upon the policy that it could enforce to the very letter of the law the principles of international law against one belligerent and relax them as to the other. That thing no nation can do without losing its character as a neutral nation and without losing the rights that go with strict and absolute neutrality.

In an address delivered by the President at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on February 3, 1917, and referring to the reply which our Government had made to Germany's protest that her enemies were permitted to apply unlawful methods of naval warfare while she was held by us to the strict rules of naval warfare, the President said that Germany had been advised as follows. Now, listen to this——

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin allow me, before he proceeds with that extract, to ask his view as to what he means by the assertion which he has just made? In other words, may I interrupt him with an inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WOLCOTT in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for a question if it does not divert me from my argument.

Mr. LEWIS. I should like to ask the able Senator as to whether or not I am correct in understanding his argument to mean that, if we fail to declare war against Great Britain because of wrongs committed against us by Britain sufficient to have had war declared, thereby we are prohibited from declaring war against another Government that might do acts which are themselves a justification for the declaration of war?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator from Illinois will be best answered as I proceed with my argument, which deals exactly with that question.

Mr. LEWIS. I will not divert the Senator further, then, if he intends to cover that matter.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It will not divert me. The Senator will be answered presently as well as I am able to answer him.

MISSTATEMENT OF THE LAW.

I quote now from the President's address of February 3, 1917, before the two Houses of Congress:

> In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

That phrase the President has used repeatedly in his addresses; he has used it at least three times, I think, and he has referred to it as being a complete and sufficient answer to this proposition. It misstates the law; it asserts a principle that can not be maintained for one moment with a decent regard for equal rights between nations with whom we are dealing upon a basis of neutrality.

The offenses of Great Britain and Germany against us can not be treated as they might be treated if those nations were not at war with each other. Undoubtedly, if those nations were not at war with each other we could suffer one to violate international law to our injury and make no protest and take no action against the nation so offending and hold the other to

strict accountability and compel her to respect to the limit our rights under international law, and if she refused we would be justified in going to war about it. But when we are dealing with Germany and Great Britain, warring against each other, so evenly balanced in strength that a little help to one or a little hindrance to the other turns the scale and spells victory for one and defeat for the other, in that situation I say the principle of international law steps in which declares that any failure on our part to enforce our rights equally against both is a gross act of unneutrality.

That is precisely what we have done, as I have shown. In the early days of the conflict in this matter of the war zones of each belligerent, in submitting to Great Britain's dictation concerning what might be treated as contraband, resulting finally in a practical cessation of shipping to German ports, we have done Germany as much harm as though we had landed an army in France to fight beside the entente allies. How will history regard this conduct of ours? How will our own people regard it when they come to understand it? We can never justify it.

WE HAVE NOT BEEN NEUTRAL.

Jefferson asserted that we could not permit one warring nation to curtail our neutral rights if we were not ready to allow her enemy the same privileges, and that any other course entailed the sacrifice of our neutrality.

That is the sensible, that is the logical position. No neutrality could ever have commanded respect if it was not based on that equitable and just proposition; and we from early in the war threw our neutrality to the winds by permitting England to make a mockery of it to her advantage against her chief enemy. Then we expect to say to that enemy, "You have got to respect my rights as a neutral." What is the answer? I say Germany has been patient with us. Standing strictly on her rights, her answer would be, "Maintain your neutrality; treat these other Governments warring against me as you treat me if you want your neutral rights respected."

I say again that when two nations are at war any neutral nation, in order to preserve its character as a neutral nation, must exact the same conduct from both warring nations; both must equally obey the principles of international law. If a neutral nation fails in that, then its rights upon the high seas—to adopt the President's phrase—are relative and not absolute. There can be no greater violation of our neutrality than the requirement that one of two belligerents shall adhere to the settled principles of law and that the other shall have the advantage of not doing so. The respect that German naval authorities were required to pay to the rights of our people upon the high seas would depend upon the question whether we had exacted the same rights from Germany's enemies. If we had not done so we lost our character as a neutral nation, and our people unfortunately had lost the protection that belongs to neutrals. Our responsibility was joint in the sense that we must exact the same conduct from both belligerents. No principle of international law is better settled than that which is stated by Oppenheim, the great English authority on international law, in volume 2, second edition, page 365. He says:

> Neutrality as an attitude of impartiality involves the duty of abstaining from assisting either belligerent either actively or passively.

The same author points out, on pages 441 to 444, that a neutral can not permit one belligerent to do what another is not permitted to do.

In the case of the *Bermuda* (3 Wallace, p. 514) the Supreme Court of the United States points out that neutrality involves absolute equality of treatment. The court says:

> Neutral trade is entitled to protection in all courts. Neutrals in their own country may sell to belligerents whatever belligerents choose to buy. The principal exceptions to this rule are that neutrals must not sell to one belligerent what they refuse to sell to the other.

And so forth.

OUR COURT AND JEFFERSON ESTABLISHED THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF NEUTRALITY.

In the case of *Resolution* (Federal court of appeals, 1781; 2 Dalles, 19) it is said that the idea of a neutral nation "implies two nations at war and a third in friendship with both."

J. Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, on May 19, 1818, said:

> By the usual principles of international law the state of neutrality recognizes the cause of both parties to the contest as *just*—that is, it avoids all consideration of the merits of the contest. (See Moore's International Law Digest, vol. 7, p. 860.)

Oppenheim on International Law, volume 11, second edition, paragraph 294, page 362, says:

> Since neutrality is an attitude of impartiality, it excludes such assistance and succor to one of the belligerents as is detrimental to the other, and, further, such injuries to the one as benefit the other.

The best and clearest exposition of the exact question, however, was made long ago by one of the greatest of Democrats and statesmen of this country—Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, in writing to Thomas Pinckney, United States minister to Great Britain regarding England's stoppage of our food shipments to France, with whom England was then at war, dealt with precisely the same situation that confronts President Wilson in the war between Germany and England, but Secretary Jefferson dealt with the situation in precisely the opposite manner from that adopted by President Wilson. In this letter, under date of September 7, 1793, Secretary Jefferson said:

> The first article of it [the British order] permits all vessels laden wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, to be stopped and sent into any British port, to be purchased by that Government or to be released only on the condition of security given by the master that he will proceed to dispose of his cargo in the ports of some country in amity with his majesty.
>
> This article is so manifestly contrary to the law of nations that nothing more would seem necessary than to observe that it is so.

How much less was it obnoxious to the law of nations than mining the great area of the North Sea.

> Reason and usage have established that when two nations go to war those who choose to live in peace, retain their neutral right to pursue their agriculture, manufactures, and other ordinary vocations; to carry the produce of their industry, for exchange, to all nations, belligerent or neutral, as usual; to go and come freely without injury or molestation, and, in short, that the war among others shall be, for them, as if it did not exist. One restriction on those mutual rights has been submitted to by nations at peace; that is to say, that of not furnishing to either party implements merely of war, for the annoyonce of the other, nor anything whatever to a place blockaded by its enemy. * * *
>
> This act, too, tends directly to draw us from that state of peace in which we are wishing to remain. It is an essential character of neutrality to furnish no aids (not stipulated by treaty) to one party which we are not equally ready to furnish to the other. If we permit corn to be sent to Great Britain and her friends, we are equally bound to permit it to France. To restrain it would be a partiality which might lead to war with France, and, between restraining it ourselves and permitting her enemies to restrain it unrightfully is no difference. She would consider this as a mere pretext, of which she would not be the dupe; and on what honorable ground could we otherwise explain it? Thus we should see ourselves plunged by this unauthorized act of Great Britain into a war, with which we meddle not and which we wish to avoid, if justice to all parties, and from all parties, will enable us to avoid it.

In the same letter Jefferson says:

> The loss of our produce destined for foreign markets or that loss which would result from an arbitrary restraint of our markets is a tax too serious for us to acquiesce in. It is not enough for a nation to say, "We and our friends will buy your produce." We have a right to answer that it suits us better to sell to their enemies as well as their friends. * * *
>
> We have a right to judge for ourselves what market best suits us, and they have none to forbid to us the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts which we may obtain from any other independent country.

Further, he says:

> Were we to withhold from her [France] supplies of provisions, we should in like manner be bound to withhold them from her enemies also and thus shut to ourselves all the ports of Europe where corn is in demand or make ourselves parties in the war. This is a dilemma which Great Britain has no right to force upon us, and for which no pretext can be found in any part of our conduct. She may, indeed, feel the desire of starving an enemy nation, but she can have no right of doing it at our loss nor of making us the instruments of it.

And with a firmness which it would have been well had the present administration emulated, it is said:

> It is with concern, however, I am obliged to observe that so marked has been the inattention of the British court to every application which has been made to them on any subject by this Government (not a single answer, I believe, having ever been given to one of them, except in the act of exchanging a minister) that it may become unavoidable in certain cases, where an answer of some sort is necessary, to consider their silence as an answer.

IF WE WERE NEUTRAL WE WOULD NOT NOW FACE WAR.

Had the plain principle of international law announced by Jefferson been followed by us, we would not be called on to-day to declare war upon any of the belligerents. The failure to treat the belligerent nations of Europe alike, the failure to reject the unlawful "war zones" of both Germany and Great Britain, is wholly accountable for our present dilemma. We should not seek to hide our blunder behind the smoke of battle, to inflame the mind of our people by half truths into the frenzy of war, in order that they may never appreciate the real cause of it until it is too late. I do not believe that our national honor is served by such a course. The right way is the honorable way.

One alternative is to admit our initial blunder to enforce our rights against Great Britain as we have enforced our rights against Germany; demand that both those nations shall respect our neutral rights upon the high seas to the letter; and give notice that we will enforce those rights from that time forth against both belligerents and then live up to that notice.

The other alternative is to withdraw our commerce from both. The mere suggestion that food supplies would be withheld from both sides impartially would compel belligerents to observe the principle of freedom of the seas for neutral commerce.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if immortality could be attained by verbal eternity, the Senator from Wisconsin would

have approximated immortality. We have waited and have heard a speech from him which would have better become Herr Bethmann-Hollweg, of the German Parliament, than an American Senator. In fact, he has gone much further than Herr Bethmann-Hollweg ever dared to go. Herr Bethmann-Hollweg said that the use of submarines, in the manner in which they are being used now, could be justified only by "military necessity." The Senator from Wisconsin has put their use upon the same footing as the use by Great Britain of ships to enforce a blockade. I fully expected before he took his seat to hear him defend the invasion of Belgium—the most absolutely barbarous act that ever took place in the history of any nation anywhere. I heard from him a speech which was pro-German, pretty nearly pro-Goth, and pro-Vandal, which was anti-American President and anti-American Congress, and anti-American people. I heard his eulogy of the German Government. I heard his justification of its barbarous methods in war. I heard his surly, contemptuous criticism of the entente powers. The American people will read a part of it. I fancy that it is the speech that the Senator from Wisconsin prepared to deliver upon the neutrality bill in the last Congress. We are better prepared to receive it now than we were then, because we have grown a little bit older and a little bit more patient and perhaps a little bit more submissive to wrong.

The Senator from Wisconsin, while he was pronouncing a eulogy upon the German people, might have pronounced a eulogy upon a people very much greater, very much more intelligent, and very much more moral—the American people. His speech was absolutely worthy of Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag, if Bethmann-Hollweg had had the audacity to make it there; but Bethmann-Hollweg did not have the audacity, and he had too much knowledge and common sense to have attempted to make that particular speech, even in the Reichstag.

The Senator has spent himself in eulogy of the German people while he has forgotten to notice you and me. I might have begun this speech by paraphrasing the utterances of old Patrick Henry: "Gentlemen speak of peace, but there is no peace." And, although I could not say with him that "the chains are already clanking upon Boston Common," I could say that the groans of American men and women and children, as they sank after a murderous and unwarned attack, unknelled and unshriven, to their graves, to face God at judgment, are all here now, being heard by us if we have ears to hear. I hear them in the air and you hear them, but the Senator from Wisconsin has not heard one of them. He has heard nothing—nothing except what he has obtained from German authority and information; and he tells us in a part of his speech that the Germans have had "a better opportunity to get information than anybody else."

Is not that a very remarkable statement, when we all know that the very news of the President's message, except his peace message, has not been allowed to go to the German people, and when we know that the Junkerthum and the Hohenzollern family control the press in Germany, as Bismarck did, and Bismarck spoke of it in a manner which indicated the contempt of an autocrat belonging to the Junkerthum for anything like free speech, free assembly, or free expression?

I have loved the Senator from Wisconsin, in a way, until recently, but I have no sort of patience with any American who stands up in the American Senate and spends three or four hours in plaudits of the common enemy, who happens right now to be not only our enemy but the enemy of the human race, while he has not one word to say in praise of an American President or an American Congress or the American people, who are doing nothing except resenting insult and injury—and a gentleman resents insult more quickly than he does injury.

Here we stand—in war, not in peace. The Kaiser, not we, has settled that question. Oh, Mr. President, a little common sense goes a long way in a wide, wide, desolate world.

"Gentlemen speak of peace when there is no peace." There is no peace except that analogous to a man whom another man kicks and who fails to notice the kick because the part kicked is paralyzed. If the American people can not be aroused to righteous indignation now and to a degree of patriotic fervor and passion, they are degenerate sons of noble sires who fought the War of the Revolution and who fought the Civil War on both sides.

Tell me that the American Congress is "about to involve the American people in war"! The man who says that is a knave or a fool. He is a knave if he knows better and says it anyhow, and he is a fool if he does not know better. We are involved in war, not by the American Congress, but by the orders of the German Kaiser and by the German Kaiser's military and naval advisers.

Tell me that I have got to be kicked twice, and then kicked the third time, and then notified that I am going to be kicked the fourth time in order to constitute a state of hostility between me and the man who is proposing the fourth kicking!

A little common sense goes a long way, my friends. The common sense of this situation is that a man who is talking about "Congress bringing on war" has not ordinary intelligence. The war is here, and Congress has not brought it on, and the President has not brought it on, and the American people have not brought it on. The Junkerthum and the Kaiserthum of Germany have brought it on in contempt for you and me. Why, they have exactly the same contempt for us that Napoleon had for the English—"a nation of shopkeepers." He never knew any better until Elba and Waterloo and St. Helena came.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," and this is not the first Hohenzollern who was mad. Old Frederick Wilhelm I, the father of Frederick the Great, was a lunatic, substantially, and to this fellow on this throne now I say: "Thou art in the same fix." Yes; as Lord Bacon said to Essex, "I thou thee." I call him a fellow and a very common fellow, too—a half-insane fellow with a notion away down in the bottom of his brain that he and God are partners. Well, of course, God is a partner with all of us. He is in partnership with all of His children; but the Kaiser seems to think that he and God are special partners, and the balance of us are subordinates by divine ordinance to him and God. The man—the fellow—absolutely believes, in the twentieth century, in the medieval doctrine of divine right of kings.

There are two things about this situation that I face. One is the necessity of it. I face the necessity because I must. The other is the opportunity of it, and I face that because I will. I am glad that I and the American citizenry shall have the opportunity of fighting on the side of liberty and democracy and free speech and free institutions against Prussian militarism and autocracy.

I join the President in having no hostility to the German people. I spent two and a half years of my life with them, and I love them, a whole lot of them. The man who inhabits the borders of the Rhine, the man who inhabits Bavaria and Württemberg, easily moved to tears and easily moved to laughter and easily moved to rage, is a man whom I have learned to love; and I have always believed that this war in Europe, brought on by the obstinate refusal of the Kaiser to leave either to a tribunal of arbitration or to a concert of Europe the question at issue between Austria and Serbia, inspiring Austria to refusal, is not the fault of the German people, but is a proof of what I said a moment ago, "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

There is nothing in the world like sea power. It starved the South. I heard the Senator from Wisconsin talking a moment ago, and if I could have been amused by the recollection of the tragedy of my own people I would have been amused. He talks of the English fleet starving the German people. You not only did not let us have food, but you would not even let us have quinine; you would not even let us have medicine. You would not even let medicine go through the ranks to be administered by your own surgeons to your own soldiers. And why? Because the war had to be concluded and peace had to be established, and you felt that was the quickest way to do it. We pled no baby act.

Now, a little bit more common sense, Mr. President. The Senator from Wisconsin spent a whole lot of time talking about the violations of the rights of neutrality by Great Britain, and he labored in extenso in trying to establish an identity of purpose and an identity of act between the violations by Great Britain and the violations by Germany of our neutral rights. He proved thereby—to cite a paragraph in a funny paper not long ago—that he did not know the difference between a prize court and a torpedo.

Great Britain has murdered none of our citizens. Great Britain has drowned none of our women and children. Great Britain has seized our merchandise and carried it into port and had its court sit upon it, to adjudicate whether or not it was subject to confiscation. She has gone further than any nation ever went before, because when she seized our cotton and our wheat to keep them from going to the enemy and pronounced them contraband, she has paid for them at the market price.

I am a little tired, Mr. President—I do not know whether you are or not—of utterances like that of the Senator from Wisconsin in denouncing the entente powers. Who are the entente

powers? France, La Belle France, sunny France, sweet France—the most companionable people on the surface of the earth; the country of Lafayette and Rochambeau and De Grasse; the country of Victor Hugo and Molière and Racine; the country of the men who imitated the American example when they flung to the breeze banners with "Equality, fraternity, and liberty" inscribed upon them, although they carried the banner to a bloody end that was not justified.

Does the Senator hope to make me hate France or Frenchmen because I love some Germans—most of them—nearly all of them I have ever seen?

Then the gentleman undertakes to "twist the British lion's tail." We have had a whole lot of demagogues who habitually do that. It absolutely started soon after the Revolution, but not with those of us whose forefathers fought under George Washington in the Continental line to establish American independence. The War of Independence was really carried on against the will of the English people, against the German king who happened to be then the King of Great Britain, with hired Hessians, who were also Germans, against the leadership of that greatest Englishman that America ever produced—George Washington.

Can the gentleman tell me that so many thousand Germans helped to overcome the South in the war between the States? Of course they did, but the Senator did not hope to get my sympathy upon that proposition. They were hirelings, as the Hessians were during the Revolution, as they came in in every immigrant ship, enlisting to fight the South, a section of which they had no knowledge whatever of what was going on or what the question was. They could not read the American Constitution in English and never read it in German. The Senator does not arouse my admiration in that quarter, beginning with the Hessians in the War of the Revolution and every war we have ever had. With the exception of a few German-American citizens, natives of Missouri and other States, who served with patriotism and with a high spirit of liberty, with the idea that slaves ought to be emancipated—with the exception of a few of them, the great majority of Germans who fought the South were mere hirelings who landed at Castle Garden and served at $13 a month plus the bounty.

Mr. President, the man who does not know the difference between a prize court and a torpedo submarine's shot without warning against a merchant ship ought not to be a Member of the United States Senate, and a man who will indulge in a labored argument to prove that they are identical ought not to be a Member of the United States Senate.

The gentleman tells us that Thomas Jefferson said that when you grant to one power a given right you must grant the same right to the other or else you violate neutrality. Of course, Thomas Jefferson was nearly always exactly right, and nobody can torture out of what he said anything that was wrong. But the major premise being established the minor premise is that Germany and Great Britain have done the same thing to us. They have not. The minor premise happens to be absolutely false. It just happens that way historically. They have not done the same thing. The statement that they have is a lie.

Then the Senator goes on and tells us that "if we sell to one power and do not sell to the other, or refuse to sell to the other, Thomas Jefferson said we violate neutrality." Of course; but have we ever sold one thing to France, England, or Russia that we have refused to sell to Germany, or were not willing to sell to Germany, at any time if Germany was ready to receive the goods and ready to take the responsibility of their receipt? The Senator from Wisconsin knows that any insinuation to that effect is false. It is historically untrue.

Is it our fault that while Germany was commanding the land with almost supreme power England commanded the sea?

One more word of common sense, Mr. President. Which would you rather do—fight Germany now, with France and England and Russia to help you, or fight her later, when she is ready, by ourselves? You have got to do one or the other.

A whole lot of people tell me that the entente are bound to win the war in Europe. I tell you they are not. I tell you that with that line almost like a right-angle triangle, with a salient here, with Robert E. Lee behind that line with a capacity to reinforce one part of it to the other while the enemy had to go all around, he would win that war.

I tell you, furthermore, that the Italian barrier can not be protected if there are enough German people put in, and when once broken France will be attacked upon the south—unfortified and undefended—on the Italian side.

I tell you, moreover, that if Germany does win that fight upon the Continent of Europe, with Belgium already a vassal State, Holland to become one, France by defeat one, with all their forts and naval stations and shipyards open as well as her own, she will begin to get ready to whip us unless England's fleet prevents it.

Now, Great Britain can, by sea power, defend herself almost indefinitely, defend herself long enough for us to get ready to help her to defend us. You can put it in your pipe and smoke it, the fact that you must choose whether you are going to fight Germany now with assistance or whether you are going to fight her later; you have got to fight her.

Mr. President, I know of but one way to fight anybody. You can not always whip him, but there is but one way with a hope of success, and that is to hit him just as soon as the provocation comes, and as quickly as you can and as strongly as you can. That is what we have got to do.

Mr. President, there is a lot more; and it is very difficult to make a reply to the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin, because he scatters so you have got to scatter in reply. You can hardly keep track of your own intellect when you are trying to follow his supposed intellect. We had from him a long, labored eulogy of German policy and of her methods; a long, labored defense of her use of submarines in a way unknown to civilization. He made a long, labored criticism of the President of the United States, who is just as much your President right now as he is mine, although I helped to elect him and you did not.

But what was true when McKinley sent his message to us in the Congress of the United States? I happened at that time to have something to do with that in the Foreign Affairs Committee. I made a speech which was one minute long in favor of what McKinley wanted. CHAMP CLARK said it was the only one-minute speech he ever heard, and that one-minute speech was this: "I have talked too much about the tyranny and the oppression by Spain in Cuba and about the disorganized condition there to oppose now any measure proposed in favor of putting an end to it, and when I speak for myself I think I speak for the Democratic Party." That is not a literal quotation but it is substantially correct.

I had a quarter of a minute left. We Democrats gave him the $50,000,000 he wanted and asked no questions.

Now, what are you going to do? I will tell you what you are going to do. You are going to imitate our example as well as you know how, because you love this country as well as I do. Lots of you north of the line have more cause to love it than I have, but I have cause sufficient. The Senator from Wisconsin says that with the European war carried on over there "we have nothing to lose." Have we not? Have we no honor that we might lose? Have we no regard for the sovereignty of the American Nation that we might be compelled to dispense with? Have we no regard for the flag floating from the flagstaff of our ships that were sunk without warning upon the high seas? Is sentiment rot? Is patriotism rot? Is there nothing that a man has which he either possesses or possesses him that is precious to him except money and material advantage?

The Senator in another part of his speech said the poor man would have to bear all this expense of war. I need not refer to that, because we all know that under the scheme of Democratic Federal taxation it is the rich man who is going to pay the taxes upon inheritance and upon income, both graduated to suit his fortune. According to the private opinion of a great many people—I am not one of them—it is graduated too much.

He wants to persuade us that it is the rich man's war and the poor man's fight. I heard all that gammon and demagogy in the South after the Civil War. It was a lie then, as it is now.

By the way, now I am getting tired of another thing. This does not come from the Senator from Wisconsin; it comes from some other Senator who spoke. I am getting very tired of somebody saying this is a "Wall Street war." It is a lie.

Mr. OVERMAN. A Wall Street lie.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Probably a Wall Street lie, as the Senator from North Carolina has said. Wall Street and the money power of the capitalists did not sink the *Lusitania* and send to the judgment of God those men, women, and children unshriven. Wall Street did not sink the *Arabic*. Wall Street did not sink the *Sussex*. Wall Street did not sink the *Algonquin* with the American flag on her main staff, nor did Wall Street sink the last three American ships with flags flying that were sunk in the same way. I am tired of lies like that.

I think it is the duty of American Senators and Representatives and the American people to brand them lies, as they are.

One Senator said something about "putting the dollar mark upon the flag." That struck me as peculiar. I am the son of a father whose mother said to him, "Kit, you are a Whig; you are opposed to secession; let the Yankees and the secessionists fight this war." And his reply was, "Mother, the time has passed

for a gentleman to determine whether he shall fight or not. The only question is which side shall he fight on. I can not help kill Anne's kinsfolk." Anne was my mother.

I have a hearty contempt for the man who does not know his environment and his kindred and his friends and his country. It may be narrow, but I love my plantation better than any other plantation, my county better than any other county, my State better than any other State in the Union, and my country better than any other country in the world, and my race—the English-speaking race—better than any other race. That reminds me; coming back to twisting the British lion's tail, it is a performance very seldom indulged in by those whose forefathers fought for American freedom and independence. It is generally indulged in by somebody else.

Whence do we get our laws? Whence do we get our literature? Whence do we get our ethical philosophy? Whence do we get our general ideas of religion? From the people who sired our fathers before they came here.

I am tired of men telling me, Welshman, Scotchman, Englishman in blood, as I am, that the hereditary enemy of the United States is England or Wales or Scotland—that it is Great Britain. Magna Charta, the Declaration of Rights, the Bill of Rights included in the Constitution in its first 10 amendments—the very principles embodied in the Constitution derived from colonial experience under English rule—all come from England, a country whose high priest is John Milton, whose sweet singer was Burns, whose great intellect was Shakespeare, whose great warriors for liberty were Hampden and Sidney and Simon de Montford.

I would rather have heard the Senator from Wisconsin eulogize the best offshoots of that branch and those offshoots right here in Canada and Australia and in South Africa. They are the branches of the old stock that had the courage to leave the neighborhood and environment and seek out a new habitat and adapt themselves to it, and who won the fight. Men who, like our ancestors, plowed the field with the rifle on their shoulder while they held the plow with the other hand. They were English and Scotch and Welsh and Irish.

It was an Englishman of the Englishmen, as far as his blood is concerned—George Washington, of Mount Vernon—who preferred to have the people speak of him as George Washington, of Mount Vernon—his plantation name—rather than by some other name, who led the American forces that fought against the dictates of a German-blooded king backed up by Hessian hirelings. George Washington warned against entangling alliances and warned against another thing—an infuriate and insensate hatred of some particular people, because a man with that in his blood is incapable of being a real good American citizen in a country where the melting pot will finally operate.

I do not like the arraignment which the Senator from Wisconsin made of the English people or the English Government, even more democratic than our own. I do not like it because it was not correct historically, because it was not true in sentiment, and because it was an insult to the gentlemen from whose loins I sprang when they themselves fought against people of like blood who wanted to oppress them. What did they fight for? They fought for this—Thomas Jefferson and old Samuel Adams were pretty nearly the only ones of them who then took a larger vision—George Washington and Lincoln and Greene and the balance of them fought for "the inherited rights of Englishmen belonging," as they contended, "to Englishmen in America as well as to Englishmen in England." Those inherited rights of Englishmen were afterwards expressed in the Constitution of the United States. Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Adams had a bit broader vision and view; they went a bit further; and Thomas Jefferson's vision went to the Declaration of Independence, which includes not only the rights of Englishmen but "the rights of man," which were later embodied in the Declaration of the French Republic.

Somebody said to me the other day, "You seem to be angry and in a passion about this German question," and I said, "I am." Next to the indignation of God is the righteous indignation of a true man with a soul in him and red blood, instead of bluish milk, in his veins, against the German assumption of German superiority and against German arrogance and injury and insult; but, above all, insult. You know it will sound to a lot of you curious, but the thing I believe that I resent most is what Germany said to us about painting our ships like the display window of a barber shop, when we could go, by her allowance, once a week into one port in one country, more than I do even the sinking of our ships and the drowning of our citizens. I think nearly every gentleman resents insult more than he resents injury. A man who comes upon my place and goes through a pathway that is not a public highway or who incidentally destroys some property that is growing, I can forgive; but one who comes up to me and tells me that he is going to do it whenever he pleases, because he is stronger than I am, is a man whom I can not forgive.

Germany thought she was stronger than we are; and she is right just now. These ready nations assume a great deal in connection with the unready nations. We two branches of the English-speaking race—across the sea and here—have always been unready for war, thank God, and shall remain so, because we think it is better to call out the full power of the people when the emergency comes than it is to keep them weighted down for 20 years in order to do one year's fighting. As a rule, people do one year's fighting out of each 20 years of their actual existence. We have done less, of course.

We are not declaring war here. Gentlemen who prate about peace when there is no peace make me tired. The war is here and the German Kaiser brought it. Instead of appealing to me and to you not to defend ourselves, let them, if they have any influence with their patron saint, appeal to him—the Kaiser—and get him to quit this game right here. We have called the limit, and we called the limit upon the sinking unwarned of merchant ships belonging to us or belonging to other people with our noncombatant citizens aboard in violation of every precedent of international law that was ever known. They reply, "We can not use submarines otherwise"; and we reply to that, "If you can not do so, do not use submarines; that is your affair." Then they reply, "It is a matter of necessity; we can not whip Great Britain otherwise." Our reply is, "We have nothing to do with the question of your whipping Great Britain; you whip her all you please or can, but do not undertake to whip us while you are about it."

The Senator from Wisconsin referred to "this European war" which we are about to enter. We are not about to enter any European war; we are about to enter an American war, which has been forced upon America by German military authority. It is not any European war at all, so far as we are concerned.

Then the Senator went on in a very platitudinous way and read one of those wonderfully exciting and curious letters from some female farmer out in the Dakotas, I believe it was. I have forgotten just what she did say, but she goes on to say—yes; here it is—that she had "patched her boy's breeches"; she had patched her boy up, and she had been taking care of him for she did not know how long, and asks "Is he to be now sent to a slaughterhouse?" and all that cowardly nonsense. Oh, what platitudes all that is. "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier," and all that nonsense. If you raised your boy right, you raised him to do whatever he had to do for his own honor or for his country's honor. You also raised him to keep from being a soldier just as long as he could abstain with honor.

There are some things worse than war and there are some things worse than death. Death is not such an awfully bad thing. You do not know and I do not know whether you or I will be worse off or better off if we wake up in another state of existence. There is a certain lot of inconvenience and pain accompanying it as you are dying, or just before you die, for I have stood by the bedside of many friends, and just as they died they all seemed to be contented and happy and peaceful and a sweet expression came upon their faces; but a little before it there was great pain. Nobody wants it, and the man who says he is courting death or courting danger is generally either a liar or a fool.

But there are worse things than death, and one of them is to live forever coupled with your other self while your other self tells you that you are a pusillanimous, degenerate coward. It is worse than death to have self-contempt. I mean a total self-contempt. We have all got it now and then about things; I know I have. We all do things now and then that deserve our contempt for ourselves as far as the act is concerned; but to live in a continuous and habitual state of self-contempt is very much worse than death. I imagine that that woman raising her boy and "patching his breeches" so that he could not be "sent to a slaughterhouse" and indoctrinating him with the idea that his other and better self ought to look down upon his real earthly self as a contemptible, degenerate coward never thought about the fate to which in false motherly love she was condemning him.

Then that platitude of the reply of the Senator from Wisconsin to the platitudinous letter that he received really aroused more curiosity than edification. By the way, it is the first time I ever heard a man declaim his own letter.

Now, Mr. President, I suppose this debate is pretty nearly closed. I fancy it is from the fact that the Senator from Wis-

consin has already spoken. [Laughter.] As a rule the Senator from Wisconsin does not speak until the curtain is about to fall upon the drama and until he can pose as the last, if not the chief, actor in the scene. I have my doubts as to whether or not I have committed an act of wisdom or stupidity in talking at all. I am a little bit inclined to think I would have been wiser if I had kept my seat instead of taking to my feet, but I did want to emphasize these two ideas: The first one is that men who are talking about peace are talking about nothing that is existing. The men who tell you that "after war is declared" they will line up and be as brave as Julius Cæsar had better tell us that war is here and that they are already lined up and as nearly as brave as Julius Cæsar as they know how to be. [Laughter.]

That is one idea, and the second idea, I repeat, is that the man who can not distinguish between the character of the violations of our neutral rights committed by Great Britain and by France and the character of violations committed by Germany has not sense enough to distinguish between a prize court and a torpedo. [Laughter.] That is the common sense of the situation. What is the use of standing here and reading the declaration of London? What is the use of my standing here, if I wanted to, and showing that the people of the North during the Civil War did just exactly what Great Britain is doing now, only they went further? What is the use of it all? The question is this: I am kicked; I have been kicked three times; I have received a written notice that I am going to be kicked again, and unless the part of my anatomy that I am to be kicked upon is paralyzed I must resent it, and so must you. [Laughter.]

The Senator from Wisconsin speaks of "the demands of the Executive." My Lord! The poor Executive! "The demands of the Executive!" Has President Wilson issued any demand to you or to me? He has given us a little advice, and I think it is very good advice, although I think he was a little bit slow about giving it. I will tell you the demands that are calling me and you to vote for this resolution. They are the demands of honor, of safety, of liberty, of justice, and of equality. Those are the demands that are compelling and propelling and impelling me; and I suppose you—I might go further and say the demand back of all that is the insensate and insane demand of the Kaiser of Germany.

Then the Senator says that "the other neutral nations are not taking the course that we are taking." No; they are not. But why? There is Norway, the land of the free and the brave and the true country whence the Normans came and whence almost all the blue blood of Europe to sit upon its thrones came. Why does not Norway resent these insults? Oh, Mr. President, it is a sad and tragic thing, but Norway is too weak. Why does not Denmark act? Because her very hands are in the mouth of the mad dog. Why does not Holland act? Again, because she dares not. German troops are lined across her border, ready to walk over her prostrate body as they walked over the body of Belgium; to shoot her civilians if they express sympathy for themselves against the German enemy; to burn down her schools, her libraries, and her cathedrals, as the Germans burned down those in Belgium. Holland is cowed. A brave race are the Dutch. They faced Spain in its pride and power with the help of England. They fought and died for liberty to speak and to worship. But, Mr. President, almost any people in the world, no matter how brave, now and then can be cowed and for a time act like whipped slaves. It is the most tragic and pathetic thing in all history when that happens either to a man or to a nation.

Why did not Switzerland act? There are other reasons in her case. She has no sea rights to defend; she has not been injured or been troubled; but she is the only one of the neutral powers that would not spring into the arena to-morrow, in contradiction of what the Senator from Wisconsin says, if they were at freedom to speak and to act, except possibly Sweden, whose great hatred of Russia might overbalance her hatred of Germany.

The entente allies the Senator wants to excite our enmity against I have referred to. I have spoken of France; I have spoken of Great Britain. How about Russia? Up to a short time ago, so far as Russia is concerned, any animadversions that the Senator chose to make would have met with a good deal of sympathy upon my part; but once more I see a people throwing off their shackles who have at least declared that they are free. Time will test the question whether they can prove that they are worthy to be free or not; but they have at least expressed the desire and the intention to be free, and, as a rule, where the desire and the intention go the fact exists.

I doubt whether I ought to say this or not, but we have got to go into this war now, and we are going into it for all we are worth, for all our capital is worth, for all our bodies are worth, for all that we have and all that we are; and I for one, although I may subsequently perhaps regret saying it—maybe I may change my mind—but I say now that, feeling as I do now, I hope that we will never make peace until the universal decree of the civilized world has gone forth to the effect that the Hapsburgers and the Hohenzollerns have ceased to reign, just as Napoleon uttered the decree that "the Bourbons had ceased to reign." They are not fit for modern civilization.

The Hohenzollerns have been able; they have been efficient; they have been all that; but a race infected with the poisonous idea that it is ruling by Divine ordinance is crazy. The Hapsburgers never were anything except a lot of thick-lipped, stupid fellows who married Hungary and then married Bohemia and then later on married Upper Tyrol, when they started out as grand dukes. They never had been anything and are not anything now. They ought to have been put aside years ago, like "the unspeakable Turk," to use the phrase of Mr. Gladstone. By the way, we have got it in for "the unspeakable Turk," too, who is oppressing not only the Armenians but American citizens, and I hope this war will never end until he is thrust into Asia to stay there.

Now, Mr. President, I believe—*I know*—I have spoken long enough, and I am *afraid* I have said too much.

Mr. HUSTING. Mr. President, I would not feel like taking up the time of the Senate this evening were it not for the fact that things have been said here that I feel called upon to try to answer. What I have to say will be more in the nature of a reply to the remarks that have been made upon the floor of the Senate this afternoon and this evening than to offer anything in an affirmative way.

I recognize the right of every Senator—nay, I recognize it as his duty—to have a mind of his own, to formulate his own judgment, and not to surrender it to the Executive or to anybody else; and at the same time I recognize it as a practical proposition that every citizen as well as every Senator should give his own Government the benefit of the presumption that it is in the right in its matters of difference with foreign countries. I think every Senator will agree, and I hope it will be subscribed to by every citizen of this country, that this Government of all governments is actuated by no motives of aggression, of ambition, or by anything other than a desire to do justice and to exact justice for itself in return. We must ignore the history of the United States, we must ignore the actions of our Presidents during all its history, we must forget all about the traditions of this country and of its statesmen, if we want to assume that every act of our Government in its present crisis was done from a sinister motive or was inspired by a desire not only to do injustice to friendly nations but to conspire with other nations to undo another.

I want to say that, as far as I am concerned, I am going to proceed upon the presumption that this Government is now acting, as history shows it has always acted, in the interest of right and justice to ourselves and to other nations. Not only that, but I am going to take for granted that President Wilson, whose record and character are beyond dispute, has acted honestly, fairly, patriotically, and in accord with the best and highest traditions of American statesmanship.

There has been some talk here by Senators to the effect that there has been much intolerant language used throughout the land in the discussion of this question. I agree with the statement, but I want to say that most of it has been used by those opposed to the Government. It has been used mostly by the traducers of the President of the United States and slanderers of the Government of the United States. The President has been criticized by citizens, oftentimes of very recent origin—and newspaper scribes began it—as a betrayer of his country and as a tool and ally of a foreign country. He has been held up as a man who is attempting to betray his Government into the hands of a foreign Government and it has been said that we have lost our independence, and that upon our hands and knees we are servilely serving a foreign master.

Such words as those deserve strong words in reply, and those who start the argument in such a manner must expect to receive it back in kind; only in giving it back in kind those that use the words are merely attempting to vindicate their own Government, to defend its honor and good name, while those who attack the Government and the President are all doing it in behalf of a foreign Government at the expense and to the degradation of our honor and good name.

Now, I am aware how many of our people feel toward war. I heard read here this afternoon the results of some votes that were cast in the State of Wisconsin. I do not know under what auspices these elections were held. I do not know what the qualifications of the voters were, if any. I do not know who

engineered the elections or supervised them, and I do not know in what way they were safeguarded. Neither do I know whether those who feel differently refused to participate in the election, which I think is quite likely. My information is that no qualification and few safeguards, if any, were thrown about the elections, which in the main were not held under the auspices of civil authority, but were in reality personally conducted as a rule by German sympathizers and initiated and promoted by them, and that in these elections, generally, the citizens who support the Government refused to take part. Be that as it may, even so I am not surprised at the result, the question put being, Shall we enter the European war? I believe that if the people of the United States were asked to vote for war or no war their preference would be against war. I am for no war. The people want no war if they can avoid it, and so I venture to say that if the vote were purely one of peace or war, not only those of the 100,000,000 of people who are old enough to vote, but the President and the Congress, would all vote for peace and against war.

But that is not the question, Mr. President. The question is, Shall the people of the United States suffer Germany to make war on us without defending ourselves? Shall the people of the United States support the President and the Congress of the United States—that is to say, their Government—in whatever course it is concluded best to take in the interest of the people's welfare and safety, even to the extent of going to war? Put this question and I venture to predict that the vote will be overwhelmingly in the affirmative. I want to go on record as saying that I believe if these questions were put to the people of Wisconsin, whom I have the honor in part to represent—namely, whether they will sustain their Government in the course it concludes best to take in defense of the welfare and safety of our people, even to the extent of war—the verdict would be an overwhelming one in favor of sustaining the Government. I know that the people of Wisconsin are loyal to the Government. Their loyalty has been emblazoned in imperishable letters upon the pages of history. The brave deeds of our gallant boys in the Civil War are a source of pride and joy to all Wisconsin men. In the Spanish War and again on the Mexican border Wisconsin troops stood at the head of the forces in respect to efficiency and soldier-like qualities generally. I know that the people of Wisconsin are loyal, and God forbid that their loyalty should ever be brought into question. God forbid that anyone who loves Wisconsin should cite the votes taken at Sheboygan and Monroe as evidence that their citizens would refuse to support their Government. I for one refuse to believe that these votes thus taken were evidence of a desire or purpose not to support the Government in its efforts to protect the welfare and safety of our own people, even to the extent of war.

Surely every citizen can not have it his own way. Take this body; they must agree upon some line of action; they must agree with the Executive upon some line of action. There are 96 Senators in this Chamber. I venture to say that no two of them, offhand, would agree upon exactly the right way to wage this war or would agree exactly, without counsel with one another, upon what we should have done in all the crises that we have passed through.

"Many men, many minds." Is it not impractical to say that each man for himself can decide what this country must do in an international crisis? Is it not manifestly absurd to suggest that we can follow many different men with many different minds in an international crisis?

There is only one way in which we can act, and that is to act in unison. We have got to have a leader, and we have got to agree with that leader when we are dealing with a foreign nation; otherwise we are not a country, but a mass of individuals that will fall easy prey to any united force such as any large country in Europe can bring against us.

I say that while we do not have to ask any man's judgment and take it for our own, yet within reason and within bounds, if this country is to be perpetuated, if it is to continue to exist, we must have teamwork, we must act together, we must pull together whenever a foreign foe raises its head against us. "United we stand, divided we fall." The danger now is right at our door.

I wish that I could vote against this war. It would ease my mind and my conscience to vote against any war. I doubt if there is anyone here who would not feel easier if he were not called upon to settle this question. It would be pleasant to evade responsibility and let things drift and trust to luck to save us. But the question is not whether we want war; the question is, "Shall we suffer war to be made upon us without defending ourselves?" We are not the aggressor. We are not attacking anybody, but we are being attacked. Our ships are being attacked, our citizens and our ships carrying our flag are being sent to the bottom of the sea. In other and even more sinister ways our country has been warred upon for a period of more than two years by agents in the pay of a foreign Government.

Plots have been hatched, conspiracies have been formed, propaganda has been scattered through our country, and the minds of our people have been poisoned against their own Government until they have almost been led to believe that they can not trust their own Government. Men have been led to believe that other and foreign Governments are the abused Governments, and that instead of being in the right we have been in the wrong. Many men and many newspapers, many societies and conferences and leagues, and what not, have, through the press and upon the forum, attacked the Government of the United States in everything that it has said or done in its controversy with Germany, and justified everything that Germany has done against the United States. According to these pretended loyal supporters of America, America has done nothing that is right, but everything that is wrong, and Germany has done nothing that is wrong, but everything that is right. America can do no right and Germany can do no wrong, according to them. Yet they claim to be loyal, and point with pride to what their brave ancestors or heroes in blood have done for their country in the past.

They tell us that men of German blood fought in the War of the Rebellion and aided us in that great conflict. That is true. I join in every tribute that has been paid the German-American soldier. I can not subscribe to what the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] has said, because the men of German blood who fought in the Civil War whom I know (with one or two exceptions) are themselves and their children and their grandchildren preaching loyalty to-day to the German-Americans that have come over since the war. They were gallant, brave old boys, and many of them were as good soldiers as ever carried a musket in defense of the flag. We know that. All honor to them. We have erected statues in their honor. But these men have been honored not because of what they have done against the United States but because of what they have done for the United States. The men who are disloyal—and there are some, but I am glad there are only a few, proportionately—these men who point with pride to the patriotism of the soldiers who fought in the Civil War are the ones that are loudest, sometimes, in denunciation of the United States and in exaltation of the German Government. Why do not they follow the worthy example set by their sires or by their fellow countrymen who, instead of carrying on propaganda against the flag in the dark days of the Civil War, went out and risked and laid down their lives in defense of the flag?

My idea of loyalty, Mr. President, consists in aiding and supporting the Government, not in attacking and abusing it. It is my idea of those who now are raising their voices against the Government, if they want to emulate the example of their progenitors in the Civil War, to encourage and support their Government, and not harass it nor obstruct it.

Now, I want to get down to a discussion of some of the questions that were raised by Senators who have spoken this afternoon and evening. In the first place, it is charged that this Government has been unneutral. It is charged that we have done certain things; that we have tolerated certain things from England that we have not tolerated from Germany. They say that we tolerated a blockade on the part of Great Britain, and it is now said that we should have stopped these violations by Great Britain at the very outset when she first proclaimed her blockade of the North Sea.

Why did we suffer Great Britain to maintain the blockade of the North Sea? Why did we suffer Germany to establish her first blockade? I claim now, as I have always claimed, that these blockades, at least in part, were illegal. I am sorry they were not stopped. Perhaps that would have ended it all. But, Mr. President, if we are going to go back and consider what should have been done two years ago, then let us go back to the perspective of that time, when these judgments had to be formed. The judgments had to be reached, not in the light of what has happened since but in the light then obtaining.

In passing, let me ask why some of the Senators who now claim that we should have stopped England did not then advise the breaking of relations with England or going to war with her if she refused to lift blockades? Why did Senators quite generally favor protests only instead of delivering ultimatums?

The reason why this Government did not deliver ultimatums was because the Senators and Representatives who are against war generally and the people of the country, and particularly those people who believe in peace at any price, would not let the Government put itself in the attitude of delivering an ultimatum.

Why? Because every ultimatum carries with it the possibility of war, and when we once adopt the doctrine that we must not have any war, no matter what the provocation, then we have taken the punch out of our diplomacy in situations of this kind. The time may come when nations engaged in a death grapple may listen to reason and justice for reason's and justice sake, but that time is not yet here. Diplomacy in times like these carries force with it only when backed by a united, resolute, and determined Government.

We can not expect nations to respect ultimatums or respect requests unless they are assured that if they refuse to respect the claims they will involve themselves in hostilities.

Going back then to two years ago, we all remember how we hoped to keep out of this war and how everybody wanted the Government to keep out of this war if possible. We argued to ourselves, something like this: Here are several countries at war. This war will not last very long. Europe has gone war mad. These nations do not respect international law any more. The war will soon be over. Whatever they are doing now against us can be paid for in money. Let us not use our Army and our Navy to collect bills; let us not shed the blood of our boys for a few paltry dollars. Let us not put ourselves in a position where we will have to fight with war-mad Europe just because we have lost some business.

So in response to a national sentiment and public opinion, including the approval of those who abhor war and who think war is unjustifiable and inspired with the hope that the war might end soon, and that we might avoid being drawn in, we adopted the settled policy, which has been adhered to to this day, that we would not make or threaten war on any nation invading our rights in this war so long as the damages we suffered thereby could be compensated in money. Therefore, we filed claims in the nature of suits for every such wrong suffered by us either at the hands of the entente or the Germanic allies, expecting, of course, to recover damages when peace returned. Now, it seems to me that this is the reason why Great Britain was suffered to do things against us that she had no right to do and why Germany was suffered to do things against us that she had no right to do. Thus, we adopted the policy of suffering Great Britain and Germany to commit acts upon us that were in violation of international law which we considered susceptible of settlement by way of damages. Now, thus far, in that respect there was no difference in our treatment of Great Britain or Germany. It has been argued here, however, that the wrong suffered at our hands by both belligerent allies was of equal gravity, and that we had as much reason to war on Great Britain as we had on Germany. It has even been argued that if we felt it necessary to declare war on Germany, we could do no less than to declare war on Great Britain. I have received a great many letters and telegrams along the same line. It is astonishing to find that men who are opposed to war suddenly become so war mad that they suggest that if we enter into war at all we should make war on the whole of Europe. Of course it is absurd to suggest even that we should declare war against the Germanic allies, on the one hand, and the entente allies, on the other, at the same time and thus makke it a three-cornered affair.

If these injuries had been confined to pecuniary losses we would not have warred against Great Britain or Germany; we would not have warred at all. We would have remained at peace. Right here the analogy ceases. On February 4, 1915, Germany proclaimed the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, a war zone, and it was further indicated at that time that they intended to ignore the rules of international law requiring visit and search and proposed to sink merchantmen without warning and without providing for the safety of passengers and crew. To this proclamation the United States, on February 10, 1915, protested, pointing out that such action on the part of Germany would endanger the lives of our citizens and it would be in violation of the principles of international law. Notwithstanding this protest Germany proceeded to carry out her threat, resulting in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, where more than 100 Americans lost their lives and many hundreds of noncombatant men, women, and children were sent to a watery grave without warning and without any attempt being made to safeguard their lives. History records no more infamous act than this! The world was horror stricken; the United States was stunned with grief and horror; the people were aflame with wrath. We protested; our protests have not been heeded to this day. Again and again boats were sunk without warning, and again and again men, women, and children went down to their death defenseless and undefended. So, in all, 310 American lives have been ruthlessly and wantonly taken. Many American ships, carrying American cargoes, bound from neutral port to neutral port, carrying American mails, are floating phantoms below the surface of the sea, aimlessly and helplessly dragging the bedraggled Stars and Stripes into the depths of the ocean and still carrying the bones and bodies of noncombatant men, women and children, innocent victims of piracy and assassination.

To those who ask what the difference in offenses is, I answer that it is the difference between men and money—the difference between that of life and property. That tells the story. Great Britain says: "We shall stop and seize your ships entering the blockade zone." Germany says: "Here is a dead line. If you cross that line we will kill your people; we will sink your ships; we will destroy your cargoes and your mails. This is a line over which you can not pass and live." Now, not only has Germany said that but she has made good her threat over and over again.

Now, it is said that we have permitted Great Britain to sow mines in the sea, and that there is no difference in principle between laying the mines and the torpedoing of a vessel by a submarine without warning. In addition to her other offenses, let me point out right here that it was Germany who first sowed the mines.

On August 7, 1914, three days after the war began, Germany notified all neutral countries that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines.

It has been argued here this evening that Great Britain established mine fields and that we did not make formal protest against it, and having made no formal protest against it, it is contended that we lost our status as a neutral nation. Let me say, in answer to this, first, that the German Government itself never made that argument against us. She recognized our status as a neutral for two years thereafter because it is only recently that diplomatic relations have been severed, and then severed, not by Germany, but by us. It would seem difficult, therefore, to understand why any of us should question our neutrality when Germany herself never questioned it.

Now, reverting once more to the statement I made that Germany first sowed mines in the sea and that Great Britain retaliated by the order in council of November 3, 1914, and the argument made that no protest was filed against Great Britain's violation, I want to say that this was the subject matter of controversy and correspondence almost continuously for more than two years, and culminated eventually in the filing of formal protest in February, 1917, against all the sowing of mines by Great Britain. I here want printed as part of my remarks a part of a memoranda which was prepared by the Department of State and submitted to me.

That the United States took "no notice of the declaration by Great Britain on November 3, 1914, that the entire North Sea was to be considered as a military area, the British having laid mine fields."

ANSWER.

The illegal use of mines in the present war has not been confined to any one belligerent. Both sides have violated the rights of neutrals and have sown large areas of the high seas with mines, the result of which has been the destruction of a number of neutral vessels.

On August 7, 1914, the German Government notified all neutral countries that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines.

In a note dated August 11, 1914, the British ambassador alleged that Germany had scattered contact mines indiscriminately about the North Sea and informed this Government that in view of this fact the British Admiralty held themselves at liberty to adopt similar methods in self-defense.

On August 13 the Secretary of State protested against such action on the part of Great Britain, stating that even "if an enemy of His Majesty's Government, has, as asserted, endangered neutral commerce by an act in violation of the Hague Convention, which can not be justified on the grounds of military necessity, this Government saw no reason for Great Britain adopting a similar course, which would add further to the dangers to peaceful navigation of the high seas by vessels of neutral powers.

On November 3, 1914, Great Britain alleging that during the past week the German Government had scattered mines indiscriminately in the open seas and on the main trade routes from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland; that peaceful merchant ships had already been blown up; and that the mines were laid by some merchant vessels flying neutral flags; declared the North Sea a military area, and that all ships that did not follow an indicated course would be in grave danger from the mines it had been necessary to lay.

On February 4, 1915, Germany in retaliation for various alleged illegal acts on the part of Great Britain, notified neutral nations that "the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared a war zone." It was indicated at the same time that they would ignore the rule of international law requiring visit and search and would sink merchantmen without first ascertaining whether they were neutral or enemy ships and without making provisions for the safety of passengers and crew.

To this proclamation the United States, on February 10, 1915, protested and pointed out that such action on the part of Germany would endanger the lives and property of citizens of neutral and friendly nations and would violate the principles of international law. In its note the United States stated that—

"The Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those Governments responsible in the proper way for any unlawful effects upon American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify, and that it there-

fore regards itself as free in the present instance to take, with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles, the position indicated in this note."

On February 20, 1915, the United States, in the interest of neutral commerce, sent identic notes to Germany and Great Britain in which the hope was expressed that these two belligerents "may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur on the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents," and outlined a course of action with regard to the sowing of mines and the importation of foodstuffs into Germany to which it was hoped they would agree. Unfortunately, it was not possible to secure the consent of the two Governments to the proposal.

On February 19, 1917, the Secretary of State addressed the following note to the British Ambassador:

From time to time during the present war, as your excellency is aware, the Government of His Britannic Majesty has given notice of certain delimited areas of the high seas, designated as "military areas" or "danger areas," within which merchant shipping of all kinds, fishing craft, and all other vessels were warned that they would be subject to the gravest dangers from mines laid by His Majesty's Government and from hostile operations and that they would enter such waters at their peril. The matter was referred to in the department's memorandum of August 13, 1914, and has been the subject of subsequent correspondence between the American Ambassador at London and the British Foreign Office.

As a question of appropriating certain portions of the high seas for military operations to the exclusion of the use of the hostile areas as a common highway of commerce has not become a settled principle of international law, assented to by the family of nations, it will be recognized that the United States must, and hereby does, for the protection of American interests, reserve generally all of its rights in the premises, including the right not only to question the validity of these measures, but to present demands and claims in relation to any American interests which may be unlawfully affected, directly or indirectly, by virtue of the enforcement of these measures.

ROBERT LANSING.

It will be noted here that notwithstanding that Germany had given notice of the mining of the sea on August 7, 1914, and that complaint was made against her by the British ambassador on August 11, 1914, yet on August 13, 1914, the first protest against the mining of the sea was directed against Great Britain, and this certainly was sufficient to reserve our rights without formally protesting against each additional similar violation.

At this point I also wish to offer a memoranda prepared by the State Department at my request, showing protests made against Great Britain for the laying of mines and other offenses up to and including May 24, 1916:

August 13, 1914. Department protested against Great Britain's announcement that she would lay mines in North Sea in retaliation for those alleged to have been already sown by Germany.

(NOTE.—The German Government on August 7, 1914, notified all neutral nations that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines. No protest made by United States to this.)

October 22, 1914. United States advised Great Britain that it would insist that rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in present war be defined by existing rules of international law and treaties of the United States, irrespective of the provisions of the declaration of London (which Great Britain would not agree to observe in its entirety).

December 26, 1914. United States protested against seizure and detention in English ports of vessels laden with American goods destined to neutral countries.

(NOTE.—In note dated February 16, 1915, German Government refers to this protest and states that the American Government has dealt with this point very aptly.)

March 5, 1915. United States protested against declaration of Great Britain of March 1, 1915, that British and French Governments would hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership or origin, without confiscating such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation. The United States pointed out that proposed course of action previously unknown to international law.

March 30, 1915. United States protested against regulations to be applied by Great Britain and France to prevent all supplies reaching Germany and pointed out that proposed measures could not be considered a legal blockade and that if enforced many interferences with our legitimate trade would occur which would impose upon the British Government heavy responsibility for acts of British authorities clearly subversive of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas, and that this Government would expect of the British Government full reparation for every act which under the rules of international law constitute a violation of neutral rights.

July 14, 1915. United States advised Great Britain that it would not recognize validity prize court proceedings taken under restraints imposed by British municipal law in derogation of the rights of American citizens under international law.

October 21, 1915. United States again protested to Great Britain against violations of international law authorized by orders in council, pointing out that the methods employed to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination on cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose contraband character upon such cargoes and without justification; (2) that the blockade upon which such methods are partially founded is ineffective, illegal, and indefensible; (3) that the judicial procedure offered as a means of reparation for an international injury is inherently defective for the purpose; and that (4) in many cases jurisdiction is asserted in violation of the laws of nations and insisted that the relations of the United States and Great Britain be governed not by a policy of expediency but by established rules of international law.

January 25, 1916. Department protested against British trading with enemy act.

July 26, 1916. United States vigorously protested against application of blacklist to American citizens, stating that it was arbitrary, inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize dealings of friendly governments with one another.

January 4, 1916. United States instructed American ambassador at London to make formal and vigorous protest and press for a discontinuance of unwarranted interference with inviolable mails by British authorities.

May 24, 1916. United States again protested against continued interference with letter mail by the British and French authorities.

Now, it is plainly evident that we permitted Great Britain to sow mines in the sea no more than we permitted Germany to place mines in the sea. Both placed them there, but against our protests. So much for that.

Now, it is further said that there is no difference in principle between the sinking of a boat by contact mines and the torpedoing of a vessel by a submarine; and therefore that because Great Britain laid the mines in the North Sea she is equally culpable and that we have as strong a case against her as against Germany. While in the first place no American lives have been lost in the manner charged (although it is claimed that one or two lives were lost because of contact mines), yet it is manifestly impossible to know whether these mines were Germany's or Great Britain's, both having sown them in the same sea. Moreover, it happened once (if at all) and never again. But there is another and greater difference that is quite obvious to me—to lay a mine unlawfully in a sea traversed by boats may or may not sink ships. It may sink a ship if accidentally brought in contact with it. It is not designed to destroy any particular ship, but only such as may accidentally come in contact with it. To torpedo a boat by a submarine is a willful, deliberate, and wanton attempt to sink a particular boat at a particular time and at a particular place. A man may put a set gun in the woods and warn men of the danger. It is an unlawful and dangerous thing to do, but in the category of offenses no one would place it alongside with that of the man who sits in ambush and deliberately, maliciously, and wantonly takes the life of every person who passes by. One is doing an unlawful act, it is true, but the other one is committing foul, deliberate murder in the first degree; one is a trespasser upon our rights, the other is an assassin of men.

Now, as I said before, Germany not only served notice of her intent to engage in submarine warfare, but she proceeded to carry out her threat. On March 27, 1915, the *Falaba* went down, and on May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk without warning, carrying over 100 Americans—men, women, and children—to a terrible death. I am not going to recount all the horrid deeds that have been done since, but I am here going to put into the RECORD a memorandum from the State Department, giving the names and the dates of the boats that have been ruthlessly destroyed.

In the numerous cases of vessels sunk by submarines, there has been, it may be pointed out, an interference with and total loss of the mails sunk with the torpedoed vessels. While this Government has protested against flagrant cases of destruction of American vessels, or cases in which vessels have been attacked in violation of rules of international law, resulting in loss of American lives, no protest has been made to Germany or her allies against this destruction of mails.

Among the cases of illegal attack on merchant vessels by submarines, resulting in loss of American lives, are:

The *Falaba*, sunk March 28, 1915.

The *Lusitania*, sunk without warning May 7, 1915, resulting in loss of over 100 American lives.

The *Arabic*, torpedoed August 24, 1915.

The *Sussex*, torpedoed without warning March 24, 1916, with loss of 80 lives, among whose passengers were a number of Americans.

All of the above were attacked by German submarines, while on November 7, 1915, an Austrian submarine attacked the Italian merchant vessel *Ancona*, resulting in loss of American lives.

In addition to these cases, the following American ships have been attacked:

April 28, 1915, *Cushing*, attacked by German aeroplane.

May 1, 1915, *Gulflight*, sunk by German torpedo, killing two of crew and resulting in death of captain.

May 25, 1915, *Nebraskan*, fired upon by German submarine.

July 25, 1915, *Leelanaw*, sunk by German submarine.

December 3, 1915, *Communipaw*, fired on by submarine.

December 5, 1915, *Petrolite*, fired upon and damaged by Austrian submarine; one member crew injured and supplies taken.

June 16, 1916, *Seaconnet*, damaged by mine or torpedo.

August 14, 1916, *Oswego*, reported fired upon ten times by submarine.

October, 1916, *Kansan*, destroyed by German submarine.

October 28, 1916, *Lanao*, destroyed by German submarine.

November 7, 1916, *Columbian*, destroyed by German submarine.

November 26, 1916, *Galena*, fired on by submarine.

November 26, 1916, *Chemung*, sunk by Austrian submarine.
December 10, 1916, *St. Helene*, attacked by submarine.
December 14, 1916, *Rebecca Palmer*, fired on by submarine, damaged slightly.
January 9, 1917, *Sacramento*, fired on by submarine.
February 3, 1917, *Housatonic*, sunk by submarine.
February 13, 1917, *Lyman M. Law*, burned by submarine.
March 12, 1917, *Algonquin*, sunk without warning by German submarine.

On April 16, 1916, in presenting the case of the *Sussex* the United States advised Germany that unless its indiscriminate and relentless warfare against vessels of commerce by use of submarines without regard to the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity ceased, this Government would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. In response to this the German Government on May 4, 1916, notified this Government that the German naval forces had received orders that in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

This assurance was withdrawn by the German note of January 31, 1917, and memoranda transmitted therewith, in which the German Government announced that it would forcibly prevent all navigation "that of neutrals included" in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the Mediterranean; that "all ships met within that zone will be sunk," and that "From February 1, 1917, all sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in certain delimited zones."

In view of this withdrawal of the solemn assurances contained in German note May 4, 1916, this Government on February 3, 1917, notified the German Ambassador that it had no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course it explicitly announced in the *Sussex* note of April 18, 1916, and sever diplomatic relations.

This Government had protested again and again. It must be remembered that the taking of American lives in the manner and form it was done of itself constituted sufficient grounds for war against Germany, but the President was anxious to avoid war if possible. The people clamored for peace each time a new outrage was suffered; a roar of indignation swept over the country only to be quieted down by the calm and patient voice of the President counseling peace. On April 16, 1916, as will appear from the memoranda, in presenting the case of the *Sussex*, the United States advised Germany that unless its indiscriminate and relentless warfare would cease this Government would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. You will all remember that then, as now, the cry again was raised, "Keep us out of war." Hundreds of thousands of telegrams poured into Washington praying for peace. These senders did not tell the President how he was to keep us out of war. We had not been the aggressors; we had invaded no rights of any country; we were neither destroying the property nor the lives of the citizens of any foreign country. How, then, did these senders of telegrams want the President to keep us out of war? Clearly, it was only by yielding up our rights and running away. It will be remembered that these telegrams were financed by the "embargo conference," so called; financed by German sympathizers, if not by German money, the purpose of which evidently was not to maintain American rights but to shield German wrongdoing. But the President, standing firm upon the ultimatum which he had sent, found the American way to keep the peace, and that was by persuading Germany to cease her unlawful acts and respect American rights. Wrong yielded to right instead of right yielding to wrong, and it appeared then that the sunshine of peace was to prevail in this country.

Now, like a bolt out of a clear sky, on January 31, 1917, Germany served notice upon this country that she proposed to renew her infamous acts of piracy and assassination upon the high seas and that she intended to extend the dead zone so that it now includes, without counting the forbidden waters of the Mediterranean Sea, an area of no less than one million and a half square miles. Not only that, but she has proceeded to carry out her threats, and American boats manned by American seamen and flying the American flag have been sunk without warning and without attempting to save the lives of Americans on board. Now, what does this mean? It means that we must suffer this and similar outrages in the future in silence, in shame, in cowardice, or we must fight.

Now, Mr. President, in view of the past wrongs that we have suffered and in the face of the threat to commit further murder upon our people are we going to quit? Are we going to turn tail and abandon our rights to traverse the high seas? If threats will make us relinquish rights, where will the threats stop? Are we justified in waiving the rights of our people upon the high seas? Is it consistent with national honor now to turn tail and run away when trouble threatens?

Again and again our Government has warned Germany that any repetition of the offense of which we complain would result not only in the severance of diplomatic relations, but that we would hold her to "strict accountability" and would omit no steps necessary to defend our rights, or words to that effect.

With these solemn words ringing in her ears, with full knowledge of what her actions meant, repudiating her solemn promise made to us, repudiating the laws of nations and of humanity, the laws of God and man, in defiance of the nations of the world and the opinions of mankind, in defiance of the United States, of her President, and of her people, Germany again threatened to resume and has resumed her ruthless, unrestrained, and barbarous submarine warfare. She is not afraid to do wrong. Shall this great Nation be afraid to do right and to maintain its own rights? Shall we condone or indorse another country's wrong against us and repudiate our country's right? No; we will not do that! We must not do that! Our honor, our rights, our lives—nay, our very safety and welfare will not permit us to do that. No nation can long endure which permits its rights to be deliberately, wantonly, defiantly, and insultingly trampled upon. No nation can long endure or should endure which fails or refuses to defend the lives of its defenders!

So the nation that will permit itself to be deprived of its rights or will permit its citizens to be destroyed, that will permit its honor to be assailed, that will permit itself to be swerved from the path of right, will soon find itself without rights and will soon learn that it is on the highway to destruction.

If Germany to-day, with the fingers of her enemies at her throat, does not hesitate in the perpetration of wrong or to defy the United States—if Germany, I say, does not at such a time as this hesitate to warn us, upon pain of death and destruction, to keep off more than one million and a half square miles of sea—if she does not hesitate in the pursuit of the commission of this wrong against us to warn us practically from all intercourse with Europe, then, I ask, what will Germany not hesitate to do when (or if) she emerges as victor in this war? You tell us to keep out of this death zone until war is over. Why only until the war is over? There is nothing in the "decree," which we are ordered to obey on pain of death, which sets a time limit upon the force and effect of this decree! We are not told when our privileges are to be restored to us, and so far nothing appears in the decree itself that prevents it from remaining in force and effect after the war is over. You say that Germany will revoke her mandate when the war is over. What assurance have we that it will be revoked? Is there anyone who can speak with assurance on this point? Is anyone of those who are urging us to keep our citizens and our ships at home in a position to guarantee to their country that her rights will be restored to her by Germany when the war is over?

If Germany wins this war she "will bestride this narrow world like a colossus." She will be all powerful, all dominating. If our great Nation shrinks now from asserting and maintaining our honor and our rights, will we not, when Germany shall have swept her enemies from land and sea (in the event that she be successful), shrink from engaging this colossus should she then still continue to bar us from the present sea zone of death or when, perchance, it shall be her pleasure to bar us from all the seas and oceans of the world?

Experience has shown that the sufferance of repeated wrongs by one country at the hands of another and the corresponding abandonment of its rights does not insure peace. It rather invites the commission of another wrong upon the nonresident nation and the consequent yielding of another right, until at last its very sovereignty is challenged. So that the nonresistant nation eventually will find itself in a position where it must either fight and defend its rights in order to maintain its sovereignty as a nation or in the end become subservient to the dominant nation and regulate its conduct in obedience to its mandate.

Not only that, but the first wrongful acts patiently borne are afterwards cited by the offending country as a precedent justifying further wrongful acts. It is perfectly natural among nations as it is among men that a mere license predicated not upon right but upon mere acquiescence, uninterruptedly enjoyed and not resisted, ripens into what finally is claimed by the licensee to be a vested right.

So President Wilson wisely deemed it his duty to demand of Germany that she desist from her ruthless submarine warfare. Germany finally did recognize that our demand was a just one, and so on May 4, 1916, she solemnly pledged herself to respect our rights and to abandon her ruthless submarine warfare. But

it is said here now that her promise was a conditional one, which she might withdraw at any time. Let me say that when the German note was served upon the United States containing words that might have been construed as a condition, the President immediately sent a reply note of the following tenor:

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

The President's note is plain. It served notice on Germany that her note would not be accepted by us with any condition whatsoever attached. Now that was nearly a year ago. If Germany intended to insist upon her alleged condition, then she should immediately have said so, with a result that diplomatic relations would have been severed, Mr. Bernstorff would have been sent home, and if Germany persisted in a continuance of her lawless submarine warfare we would have gone to war with her then. Germany knew this, and knowing this, she not only acquiesced in the note of the President and not only took notice that we accepted her promise unconditionally, but that we would not accept it otherwise and, so knowing, she acquiesced.

Now, it has been argued here upon the floor that we, by acquiescing in the placing of mines in the sea (I deny that we did so acquiesce, but assuming it to be true for the sake of the argument), thereby surrendered our right to protest against the continuance of these mines. Well, then, applying the same reasoning in this instance to Germany, did she not surrender her rights when she acquiesced in the President's note, in which he said that we accepted her promise as "single, not joint; absolute, not relative?" Now, Germany, by her acquiescence, can no longer claim that she only pretended to acquiesce; that she accepted the President's note with a mental reservation. I say she can not do this in good faith. By so arguing she must confess, and those who so argue must admit, that she was intending to deceive us and to resume her lawless acts when it suited her convenience. In fact, the German chancellor, in his speech before the Reichstag, after the notice of January 31 last, stated that the reason that Germany had temporarily ceased her submarine warfare was because the time was not then ripe for her to continue it in all its fury. But moreover, Mr. President, how could Germany reserve any right to renew her submarine warfare?

In answer to that let me say, the original act being illegal, how can Germany reserve a right to repeat it? Germany acknowledged that her submarine warfare was illegal when she promised to quit it. That is, in fact, the only ground upon which she did quit it. She most assuredly would not have agreed to stop doing an act which she believed she could do as a matter of right. Then how can she now claim a right to renew it? How can a nation reserve a right to do a wrong? Now, since a nation possesses no inherent right to do wrong, it must follow that she can not create or reserve a right in her note to do something which she had no right to do in the first instance. In short, she had no right to torpedo our boats with submarines without warning, or without visit and search, or without providing a place of safety for the passengers and crew, or to sink the boats, the mails and the cargoes, and therefore she agreed to quit it. Then how, in God's name, in promising to quit and to respect our rights, can she reserve any right to resume a practice infamous and wrong per se?

So there is a very broad distinction between the things that England has done against us and those which Germany has done against us. The difference is as great as that between human life and money, as great as that between property rights and human rights, and all the sophistry, all the refinement of arguments, all the specious pleading can not change the fact, and fact it is, that Germany has destroyed lives, has committed murder upon our citizens and piracy upon the high seas. The wrongs that we have suffered at Great Britain's hands can and will be compensated for in money.

The President has been charged with vacillation. An analysis of this whole question will show that he has steered a straight and steady course. So long as the wrongs we suffered were capable of being adjusted by the payment of money, though protesting, we refused to go to war about it. From the moment that American lives were being taken and wrongs were being inflicted upon us and upon our honor, which could not be compensated by the payment of money, he served notice upon Germany and upon the world that these wrongs would not be tolerated and, unless abandoned, would mean war.

Mr. President, it has been said upon this floor to-day that this war would put the dollar sign upon the flag. It has been said that this would be a war by the munitions makers and Wall Street. It has been said that we are a money-mad nation. Let me say that the facts show that for two and one-half years we have been suffering money and commercial losses at the hands of both groups of belligerents. Did we go to war for that? No. It has been only since American lives have been taken that this country has aroused itself and is ready to take the sword in defense of American lives and American honor. This country has refused to use its Army and its Navy or to sacrifice a single American life for the purpose of protecting commerce or property rights either in Mexico or even upon the high seas, but it now shows itself ready to spend its treasure and to sacrifice its blood to protect the lives of its citizens. Are we a money-mad people?

We have poured our millions into Belgium and Poland to alleviate the misery and suffering wrought by those with whom we are now in controversy. If we are a people that is simply money mad what prompts us to alleviate suffering not wrought by us and which under the ordinary interpretation of our duty as a people we were not bound in any way to help or to alleviate.

When has the world ever called upon the generous people of the United States to help want and suffering in the remotest part of the globe that our people were not ready to upturn their horn of plenty into the waiting lap of want and suffering? This country has ever put human rights and human lives above property and money rights. In the Civil War we did not hesitate to sacrifice a million men and millions and millions of dollars to right a wrong involving human rights and human happiness. Although suffering many aggravating things at the hands of Spain in Cuba, it required the taking of the lives of the sailors of the Maine to prompt us to draw the sword against Spain. This country will not go to war or sacrifice lives for paltry dollars, but it will never hesitate as long as this Nation shall be "the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," and remains fit to live in, to defend the lives of her humblest citizens with the last drop of blood in the veins of her citizens or the last farthing in the vaults of her treasury. Now, of course, it is true, alas, that in every war some men will make profit. It is true that when war is on, the buzzards of the air will hover about the corpses in the field, but I am sure that no American, whether he resides in Wall Street or is engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war or who will profit by a war in any way, is so lost to all sense of humanity and all decency, is so devoid of all instincts of human kind, that he would either directly or indirectly cause the shedding of a single drop of blood of his fellow men or who would even mentally calculate the profit he might make should war come. There may be such men but I do not know them nor do I want to know them. These men, if such men there be, are not human but are fiends. I say I do not know of such a man nor can I conceive of Americans of that kind.

However, this war, if war comes, will be a war by the American people against the German dynasty. It will be a war, not for profit or pelf, but for the rights, the lives, the honor, the welfare, and the safety of this Nation. It will be a war for the democracy of the world.

As the President says, this war is not directed against the German people, but against Prussian militarism and autocracy. Our citizens of German ancestry while fighting for our country will also be fighting for democracy and for the liberation of the German people. They will be assisting in doing for Germany what the Revolutionary fathers did for us.

It also has been said that we are war mad. Mr. President, this feeling that exists in the United States to-day against the German Government is not a one-day's growth. For over two years the wrath of the American people has been slowly but surely rising against a country that raised its hand against society and the world. The sinking of the *Lusitania* over two years ago kindled a horror and a wrath against Germany in the mind of every right-thinking American. If we had been a war-mad people, or rather if we had been anything but a peace-loving people, we would have wreaked summary vengeance on a Government for the foulest act ever perpetrated by a civilized nation and one which will forever be a foul blot upon the pages of German history. To imply, therefore, that this war, if war should come, will be one waged by a war-crazed people, a money-mad people, inspired by greed and avarice for the purpose of gain, is in my judgment a foul slander upon the American people

and upon their Government. Let this talk cease, I pray! Let no American so befoul his own nest!

It has been said here this afternoon that the destruction of the lives of our citizens was a mere incident only. Do you call that an "incident" when the *Healdton*, the other day (and this is only one of a series of incidents of the kind), flying the American flag, plying from one neutral port to another neutral port, was torpedoed and sunk without warning in the sea? That was no "incident." That was a direct and deliberate act.

It has been argued here, however, that the torpedoing of our boats was a mere incident and that the offense was not one directed against us, and that, consequently, the offense was no more serious than the accidental destruction of a boat by contact with a mine.

But we need not, however, talk about that sort of incident. What do you call it when you "draw a bead" on a man and shoot down the man at whom you are aiming? That is murder, is it not? That is what they did to the *Healdton*. The American flag was painted on its side; they knew that they were aiming at it, did they not? They knew it was an American boat, did they not? And they deliberately shot down the boat they were aiming at, to wit, an American ship, and they destroyed American lives. That is not an "incident," is it? That is a direct act aimed at us which the German Government deliberately ordered its navy to do. That is the thing, in fact, that they threatened to do in their last note. Germany's note of January 31 last served notice of her intent. Her act carried out her intent and purpose. So there is neither any room for doubt as to her intent and none as to the fact. How, then, can anyone stand here and argue that our injuries at Germany's hands are accidental when it is clear that her acts are premeditated and willfully and wantonly directed at us?

Now, it is further argued that Germany must do these things and is justified in so doing because of "necessity." That is the defense of the outlaw.

There is no plea made by Germany that can not be made by an outlaw. If I am an outlaw and I set my hand against society, of course I put my life in jeopardy, because society will turn against me to protect itself. It may be an excuse or justification sufficient to satisfy me for me to say that because I want to live any man that comes within my sight I will shoot and kill for fear he will kill me. I must eat and live, of course, and so when I hunger I will kill and rob any man who possesses that which I need so that I may live and eat. That is the plea of the outlaw. When Germany says she is doing these things as a matter of necessity it may in her own eyes justify herself to herself. If an outlaw kills a man and takes his bread away the fact that the outlaw needed to commit this act may be sufficient in his eyes and satisfy his own conscience if he has one. But is Germany's and the outlaw's defense a good one before the bar of the civilized world? Is Germany's necessity our law and the law of the world?

What does the law of necessity imply? Who is the judge of that law? Who makes that law? Why, Germany. If she says it is a necessity, according to her, that is the law. Consequently there is no law but her law. When she puts that law into operation and sets it against us if we subscribe to it, then her law is our law and we have surrendered to her law. That is to say, then, that her necessity as construed by her is our law from which we have no appeal. That is the situation in which Germany and the world is in to-day. She tells the world, "I have drawn a girdle through the ocean 500 miles into the sea covering a million and a half square miles—an imaginary line only—but anyone crossing that line is a dead man." Is the world going to stand it? If it does, then there is no law but that of Germany's necessity. How long that will continue will depend upon Germany's pleasure, unless the world will soon cease taking its laws from Germany and German necessity and compel Germany to respect the law of the world instead.

Now, it is said that we have been unneutral in other, and in fact in many, respects, and if I may be pardoned for taking the time in the Senate I propose to take up some of the most persistent of them. A great many of these charges and arguments have been most assiduously distributed throughout the length and breadth of the land and have been reiterated over and over again notwithstanding many of them are without substantiality. Now, for instance, it is charged that we should have placed an embargo on munitions of war. Germany herself has never made the claim that we were unneutral in permitting our citizens to do what her citizens have felt free to do since time immemorial without reproof from their Government. At the Hague Convention, before the beginning of the war, it was proposed by many nations, some of whom are now belligerents, to forbid neutral nations from shipping arms to belligerent countries. Why did not Germany favor and support the proposition? She not only did not aid and support it, but she defeated it. Therefore, it does not lie in her mouth nor in the mouth of any of her spokesmen, either here or abroad, to complain of unneutrality on the part of our Government in permitting its people to exercise a right which Germany by her vote at the Hague Convention refused to deprive them or her own citizens of. The rules of war were fixed when the war began and every nation if it did not wish to abandon its rudder and its compass was obliged to insist that the law in force at the opening of hostilities should remain the law for the purpose of this and other subsequent wars until by the consent of the nations making the law, these same should either be modified or abrogated.

Now, some of those people who have been insisting all the time that Germany is always right and the United States is always wrong, while admitting that we have a legal right to permit such shipments, nevertheless argue that the moral law forbids such traffic. The answer to this is that international law, as agreed to by all of the nations, including Germany, is presumed to embody the requirements of justice and morality in so far as nations with conflicting interests permit justice and morality to dictate or influence international law. In other words, the provisions of international law are the last expressions that we have of the composite judgment of the nations of the world as to what is legally and morally right or wrong. This should be sufficient at least for our citizens, but, as I said a little while ago, if we once depart from the text of the law, expressing as it does the last word spoken upon the subject by the nations of the world, we depart from a fixed and definite statement of the law to embark into the sea of conjecture and speculation, each nation, each individual, each official trying to inject into the international code his own idea of law and morals. This means, just as the law of necessity means, that there is no law except that which exists in the mind of each individual and each individual nation at some particular moment or because of some particular exigency.

Besides all this, we have just had an election. While there was a great deal of talk a year ago on the part of some that an embargo should be placed upon shipments abroad, yet the political conventions came, platforms were framed, men went out upon the stump, the election was had, and no party, either the Progressive, Republican, or Democratic Party (and I believe not even the Socialist Party), had a plank in its platform urging the enactment of an embargo law. In other words, those who had contended for an embargo abandoned their position, and having abandoned their position, I must assume that they abandoned it because their position was untenable. I thought that that question had been settled. That question is settled in the mind of the American people.

Complaint is made, nevertheless, that Germany was unable to get at our ports while the entente allies were. That, of course, is true, but that is no fault of ours; that is the logical result of the military situation. When the *Deutchland* came here this Government plainly showed its neutrality by giving her ingress and egress from our waters by permitting her to take on a cargo of absolute contraband of war. She would have been permitted to send over thousands and thousands of these and could have repeated the operation ad libitum, but the fact that she did not, or perhaps could not, can not be charged against this Government.

If during any part of the past two and one-half years Germany's fleet had overcome the British she, instead of the British, would have enjoyed the same liberties and the same rights, and our markets would have been open to her to the same extent and with the same limitations as Great Britain.

Now, Mr. President, in view of these facts, I submit that this contention is founded neither on facts nor reason. When Germany herself does not protest, when no man in or out of this body can arise and support his argument by any rule of law, when all the political parties have refused to put their organizations back of this movement for an embargo, it would seem to me that our own people, at least, ought to be satisfied and should not again impeach the good faith or neutrality of their own country.

Mr. President, let me here pause to say that it is difficult for me to understand why Americans should charge their Government with being unneutral by omitting to place an embargo on munitions of war or by refusing to warn our citizens to keep off of the high seas. Why should an American be more jealous of Germany's alleged rights than Germany herself? Why should an American be quick to charge his own country with wrong against another country when that other country does not raise its own voice in protest? Are Americans better expounders of German rights than Germany herself? Can an American citizen take better care of German interests than the Kaiser himself or his ambassador? We are told that German

blood is upon the hands of this Government for not stopping the shipment of munitions of war. Why are Americans quick to bring this awful indictment against this country? Why do they charge this country with the misery and suffering of a war about which they were not consulted; that is not of their making, but which is a result of differences of those Governments or their rulers who voluntarily entered into this bloody conflict for reasons best known to themselves? We have violated no law in permitting our citizens to do that which citizens of all countries had a right to do since time immemorial, and that is to go about their own business in their own way. The world was made not for the brawler and the fighter but for the peaceful and the law-abiding. International law was not made to enlarge belligerent rights but to safeguard the rights of neutrals. And I say that it does not lie well in the mouths of any of our own people to charge us with the commission of an offense which a foreign country admits is no offense at all.

It seems to me intolerable that any government should be able to use our citizens as their mouthpieces to charge us with alleged wrongs of which the foreign country itself has not had the effrontery to complain.

Another argument advanced is that this Government did not insist upon our boats breaking the British blockade. It must be remembered that the United States has no merchant fleet. When the war broke out and the first English blockade was established boats attempted to reach the German ports. I presume some flying the American flag attempted to do business with Germany. But, of course, the British blockade, in one respect at least, had the semblance of a legal blockade in this, to wit: that it was sufficiently effective to intercept and seize most if not all of the boats heading for German ports. The result of this was that prudent shipowners no longer attempted to do business with Germany, not because they were against Germany or against her people or because they were unneutral, but solely because they could not get their goods to a German market. Consequently the lines of trade followed the path of least resistance and the shipowners began to do business with such ports as were still open to them. This Government could not compel them to do otherwise if she had wanted to because these boats are privately owned and this Government has no control upon their movements or their destination. Moreover, the Government has never told them they should or should not attempt to get into German ports, or should or should not go into British ports, or should or should not go into neutral ports.

No attempt was made by the United States to convoy, direct or protect, any vessels plying from an American port to any other port until Germany had begun to destroy American lives and then only when the policy of "armed neutrality" last month was put into effect. Now that I have touched upon the subject of "armed neutrality," let me say something in reply to the argument that was made here that the armed-neutrality policy was futile. It being further argued that those opposing this armed neutrality were justified in opposing it because it has since proven futile. On January 31, Germany notified us of her purpose to resume her lawless submarine warfare. On February 3, the President at a joint session brought to the attention of Congress the note of Germany, and further brought to its attention his purpose to sever diplomatic relations with Germany. Many at that time thought the President should have asked for a bill authorizing a policy of armed neutrality and many thought that war should then and there have been declared.

Those who have followed the President in the weary, patient steps that he has taken in our national controversies with Germany since the *Lusitania* went down, will notice that each step was as short and as reluctant a step in the direction of war as could be possibly taken. Why was this? He has ever harbored the hope from time to time, from incident to incident, that Germany would yield to our just demands, and not compel us to war with her. Now, after the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, the sinking of ships went on and on until on February 26 he addressed Congress, again reciting still more aggravating and outrageous wrongs committed on our citizenship, and then asked for armed neutrality. This was but six days before the adjournment of Congress. Many then thought that instead of asking for armed neutrality he should have recommended a declaration of war. Why didn't he do it? Because he did not want to take the last and final step without giving Germany one more opportunity to refrain from carrying out her sinister threats and purposes. Among other things the President in his message of February 26 said:

> It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace, and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace, and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

These words, spoken with deep feeling and anxiety, clearly show the hope, though remote, which the President entertained that armed force would not be necessary.

Now, I say that the message delivered February 26 and a bill providing for the carrying out of the President's recommendations was introduced in the Senate February 27. The bill was read a first time and unanimous consent was asked for a second reading, but upon objection on the part of those opposing the bill consideration of the bill was delayed 24 hours. Thus, 24 hours' precious time was lost. To those opponents of the bill who complain of lack of opportunity for speaking, it seems to me a sufficient answer to point out that they deprived themselves of at least 24 hours of debate.

Now, in reply to the criticism of those who contend that the President should have come to Congress sooner than February 26 for authority to arm ships, let me again point out that the President on February 3 severed diplomatic relations. He hoped that Germany would take heed and quit. We know now that this hope was vain. On February 13, 1917, the American ship *Lyman M. Law* was burned by a submarine. As soon as the facts could be ascertained and the matter considered at all, the President did go before Congress on February 26, as before stated. Surely no one will blame the United States because Germany did not see fit to change her mind until January 31, nor that she chose to wait until February 13 before sinking the ship *Law*. The President is not responsible for these events and he can only bring them to the attention of Congress after they occur.

Let me also say in passing, answering the criticism that the Army and Navy bills were reported into the Senate only the last week of the session. The reason is perfectly plain and easy of comprehension. In the last session, which began only in December and which was interrupted by the holiday recess, January arrived before much work could have been done. That left but a few weeks for the committees of both Houses to hold hearings and consider and report the bills. And so it is nothing out of the ordinary for appropriation bills to accumulate and pile in at the closing days of each short session. This has been the case since time out of mind. Now, in addition to this, the severing of diplomatic relations and the increasing acuteness of the crisis, suddenly made it necessary in the last weeks of the session to increase, modify, change, and amend our preparedness plans. And this also accounts for the large increases in expenditures for the Army and Navy, which have been bitterly criticized, but which in the light of recent events no one can justly claim were not fully justified.

Now, reverting again to the contention that the opponents of the armed-neutrality bill were justified in opposing it and preventing its passage because subsequent events have proven that the arming of ships was futile, it is only necessary to say that the facts do not support the argument. The armed-neutrality bill was asked by the President not only for the purpose of protecting the ships, but was for the primary purpose of giving Germany one more opportunity to relent and to warn Germany that the sinking of any more of our boats would force us into the last step—war. Many wanted the President to declare war then and there, but he choose rather to make one more attempt at peace before a declaration of war should be made, and consequently he came before Congress asking for the armed-neutrality bill, not to wage war, but to protect our ships and to give Germany one more opportunity and to convince her that any further acts on her part must lead to war. By the defeat of this bill, it appeared to the world that the President was not sustained by Congress and gave color to the oft-repeated claims and charges made by men in public as well as in private life that this country would never go to war with Germany, and thus confirmed the German belief that we could not be provoked into hostilities with her. Secretary Zimmerman publicly proclaimed that the United States would not dare to go to war with Germany because its citizens of German extraction were so powerful and influential that they would not permit this country to go to war with Germany. The President of the United States was hampered, and, as it now seems certain, defeated, in his attempts to preserve the rights of this country without war because of the facts stated. While admitting the right of our peo-

ple to hold and express opinions of their own on foreign relations, I say it was extremely unfortunate nevertheless that any serious differences of opinion on this subject ever obtained here. It is my firm belief that if we had presented and maintained a united front to Germany we would not now be on the brink of war. If Germany had not permitted herself to be persuaded that this country could not be provoked into war with her no matter what the provocation, she would not have committed the stupendous crime and blunder of resuming her infamous submarine warfare. Thus, by the irony of fate, it would seem that the frantic and misdirected efforts of many of our people may prove after all to have brought about that which these were intended to avert and prevent, viz: war.

Now, another argument is made that if American boats had forced the British blockade then Great Britain would have also sunk our boats and destroyed the lives of our citizens. This is, of course, a mere assertion not based upon any facts or even threats on the part of Great Britain that she would do anything of the kind. But, of course, if Great Britain had committed the same offenses against us as Germany, then we would have taken the same means to stop her as we are now about to take against Germany. And I venture to say that many of those who have been clamoring against war with Germany would then have been the most insistent that we make war on Great Britain. I will say for myself that I favor the maintenance of our substantial rights against any nation on the globe, and so I also would, in such an event, have counseled the taking of the same course by our Government against Great Britain or any other offending nation that I have counseled it to take in this emergency. But, Mr. President, the facts are that many boats have tried to run the British blockade since the blockades were established and not one boat, whether flying the American flag or the flag of any other neutral nation, has been sunk at all and no cargoes have been destroyed or any lives taken by Great Britain. On the contrary, as everyone knows, many ships have been seized and taken into port and held there subject to proceedings in the prize courts of England. Now, we all know that, and we know from the facts that ships and cargoes have been seized and thus treated after boats have tried to run the blockade; and we further know from the facts that the boats were taken into port and there held subject to prize-court proceedings; that she did not do what Germany did, viz: sink the boats and destroy the cargoes and the human lives aboard the boat. Had Germany maintained a blockade in like manner (although illegal as we contend the British blockade is) we would have treated her exactly in the same way and we would be on the same terms with her to-day as we are with Great Britain.

Complaint is made further of the loan of American financiers to the allies. Germany floated the first loan in the United States, and England only did, in a larger way, just exactly what Germany had done first. That Germany was not able to float as large a loan as the entente allies is no fault of the American Government. The loaning of money by bankers and individuals is a matter pertaining to their private business and our Government has neither counseled nor forbidden the loaning of money by our bankers to belligerents, in consequence of which both Germany and Great Britain have floated loans here. I might add, however, that only recently the Federal Reserve Board, for reasons which they considered sufficient, took such action as, in its effect, was prejudicial to the floating of loans by Great Britain and her allies. This, again, goes to show that there was certainly no discrimination on the ground of loans to Germany and her allies.

Now, it is further claimed that we should have warned our citizens to keep off the high seas because Canada, it is pointed out, has also forbidden her women and children to enter Great Britain. No one as yet has had the temerity, however, in connection with this line of argument to say that Canada has forbidden her women and children to cross the ocean to Great Britain to maintain her neutrality, because even they will admit that Canada is in the war herself, and being a part of England, her status is that of a belligerent. There is one reason why Canada has made this order and one only—Canada is sending soldiers to England and not women and children, because the women and children can better be fed at home, and it would be a poor war policy both on the part of England and Canada to send over women and children and thus increase the drain upon the food supply of England.

There are a great many other things that have been said here to which I would like to reply but I fear I am taking up too much time. But before taking up some other line of argument, I just want to reply to one more argument that is constantly being reiterated, viz: that having warned our citizens out of Mexico, we should warn our citizens from traveling on the high seas. The reply to this is that Mexico is and has been in a state akin to anarchy. Our citizens were warned out of that unhappy country because of the want of a responsible government in Mexico which we could hold to strict accountability. Moreover, we warned them from Mexican, not American, territory. Our people have not the right in Mexico that they have upon the high seas because on the high seas we are tenants in common with all the nations of the world, and our citizens have as much right to be upon the high seas as they have upon the ground on which we stand. By warning our citizens out of Mexico, we were not asking them to surrender any rights they hold as American citizens but to warn them off the high seas would be asking them to abandon almost as great and cherished a right as to ask them to abandon their homes in the United States. By commanding them to keep off American boats on the high seas would be tantamount almost to ordering them off American soil. With Mexico aflame, with life and property unsafe, we were justified in warning our citizens to keep away from there as we are justified in warning our citizens not to traverse the blood-soaked and shell-torn battle grounds of Europe.

I submit, then, sir, that we have been neutral, and that the President has scrupulously and painstakingly steered the true course of neutrality. But how about Germany? How has she treated us in return? Has she been friendly? Has she observed the laws of neutrality? Has she, while demanding the rights of neutrality on our part, practiced neutrality in return?

Mr. President, the conduct of Germany toward this Government during the past two years, aye, for many years prior to the beginning of the war, was not the conduct of a friend. I had it stated to me on pretty fair authority that about 25 years ago Germany changed her attitude toward her immigrants. Formerly she looked upon them as backsliders, as people that were not worthy of the consideration of the German Government, but since that time many persons leaving Germany have still kept in touch with the old country. It has been claimed that thus a sphere of German influence has been formed in the United States. I do not know whether this is true or not. There are some things that seem to bear out the charge, or at least lend color to it; but one thing is sure, and that is since the war in Europe began a German ambassador, German agencies, and German money have carried on a campaign of intrigue and conspiracy calculated to divide the people of this country into racial groups, calculated to array one group of citizens against another, one church against another, race against race, and conspiracies have been formed to commit acts of violence against property and the law and order of this country, calculated, through the medium of numerous societies, leagues, alliances, conferences, newspapers, churches, and other organizations, by means of propaganda and agitation, to prejudice our people against their own Government and to implant in them mistrust, hatred, and contempt for the President, his advisers, and Congress—in short, of the United States Government. Newspapers have been established, others have been subsidized. The German Embassy here at Washington, behind its cloak of privilege, encouraged, if indeed it did not actually inspire and direct, this movement which was aimed at the very integrity and sovereignty of this country. An ambassador should carry on the business of his Government through the medium of our State Department; but Germany's ambassador talked through the newspapers and over the heads of our authorities and tried to influence public opinion against this Government through American newspapers, and held conferences with Members of Congress and with sympathetic citizens of the country, with heads of societies and alliances. This ambassador presumed to advise, through the medium of advertisements, in the newspapers what American citizens should or should not do. This ambassador revealed secrets of the State Department to newspaper men under pledge of secrecy not to divulge the source of their information. This ambassador disbursed money to newspapers carrying on German propaganda—newspapers which villified and foully slandered the heads of our Government. Other agents of the German Government—Von Papen, Von Igel, and the like—were detected and apprehended while attempting, pursuant to a conspiracy, to destroy property, public and private, and to commit other acts of violence against the law and order and decency in this country. Newspapers, some printed in the German language and some in the English language, in one way or another were persuaded to take up a campaign of infamy against the President and this Government that is without precedent in the history of this country.

According to these newspapers in every matter of controversy which we had with Germany America has been in the wrong. As a fitting corollary to this Germany has invariably been

in the right. No matter what Germany has done, no matter how infamous her conduct, from the sinking of the *Lusitania* down to the Mexican plot, these papers and many of our citizens with them have lustily applauded and approved. When the *Lusitania* was sunk they loudly shouted that "it served them right," "they should have stayed at home," and "they should have heeded the German warning and German advice." When our crisis was on with Germany last May and it was a question as to whether we were to back down or whether Germany was to back down, they flooded us with a quarter of a million telegrams in which, together with these newspapers and sympathizers generally, they unhesitatingly, boldly, and brazenly asked their country to back down. They thought the idea absurd that Germany should back down because, forsooth, she had told us that she would not back down. They unhesitatingly counseled their Government to abandon a right in order that a foreign country might enjoy a wrong.

On the eve of the late adjournment, when the President, in a last desperate effort to stave off war, asked for authority to arm ships, this chorus loudly protested on the ground that Congress alone had the power and that it should not delegate such powers to the President. Now, when it seems that action by Congress is inevitable and apparently not in accordance with their desires, a deafening chorus again wells up, charging that Congress is about to declare war contrary to the sentiment of the American people. The only instance where a kind or friendly word has been heard in favor of the President and the Government in this entire affair was when the President was endeavoring to cooperate with Germany to bring about a peace without victory. Here, of course, when it appeared that the President was endeavoring to do something that appeared to be in Germany's interest it was promptly approved.

Not only this, but the President has been cartooned, lampooned, villified, and denounced at every turn, and Germany and her chancellor and her undersecretary, Zimmerman, have been lauded, have been praised, have been glorified, and have been approved at every turn. Nothing was too infamous to say about the President. Nothing too good to say about the Kaiser and his Government. These same men, newspapers, societies, and organizations have brazenly proclaimed themselves as the exponents of true Americanism. They say they love their country; that those for whom they speak would die for their country. But they argue that does not mean that you should necessarily support the Government. They then charge that this Government is not a true representative of America; that the President is a traitor and a tool of England; that he is betraying this Government into the hands of Great Britain and that he is a hypocrite and a puppet that responds obediently when King George pulls the string. Therefore they insist that it is patriotic to oppose and obstruct and defeat the Government. Yet they love America they say. Beware of one who while pretending to be your friend finds nothing that is good in you but only that which is bad—who commends you in nothing but damns you in everything. Friendship is made of different stuff than this, and love of country reveals and manifests itself in other ways than this.

I hope that the evidence that is in the hands of the State Department and the Bureau of Investigation will be published soon, so that the people may get a fair idea of what has been going on in this country, some of the evidence of which has already been adduced at the trials of some of the German agents in this country. I hope that all will be published, together with the names and activities of men calling themselves American citizens, who have lent themselves to help carry out some of these infamous things.

I shall not go into the question of the violation of Belgium or the deportation of its citizens from Belgium into Germany. We have all we can do, I take it, to look out for the Monroe doctrine. I have never believed that we owed any duty there, either through treaty or otherwise, which would have justified us in intervening in this war, no matter how strongly our sympathies have been moved in her behalf. You will have to go back a good many centuries, I believe, in history to find a counterpart for the things that were done there—treaties violated, humane practices ignored, men taken from their families, deported into Germany, and put to work in the fields to act as substitutes for enemy soldiers, so that these might be released to kill their brothers.

But Germany's treatment of Belgium, if it did nothing else, has taught the American people the worthlessness of Germany's word and Germany's treaties. It was sufficient notice to us so that it should have prepared us for what has since happened.

So recently, while Germany was still proclaiming her feeling of friendship for us, she in the shadow of the White House was secretly plotting to set Mexico and Japan upon us. While holding a vivid picture before the eyes of our German-American citizens, for whose welfare and safety she pretended to have so much solicitude, portraying the horror of arraying themselves against their brothers in blood in Germany, the Imperial German Government was at the very moment conspiring to incite the Mexicans and Japanese to war upon us.

Mexico was invited to join with Japan to attack the United States, one on the south and the other on the western coast. I presume the east was reserved for Germany herself as soon as she could get foot loose. Now, it has been said that she was justified in doing that because it was conditioned only upon the event of our going to war with her. She went to war with Belgium, first she said on the grounds of military necessity, afterwards she said because she had discovered that Belgium had entered into a treaty with England to resist Germany in the event of war with Germany. She said that alone justified her in warring on Belgium. It is a poor rule that will not work both ways. If that alone justified her in warring on Belgium, because of the treaty or understanding she had with England, why does that not apply in our case, where she tries to justify her treaty upon the ground that her secret compact with these nations was conditioned only also upon our going to war with her? If her warring on Belgium was justified because Belgium was negotiating a treaty with England, operative only upon condition that Germany made war on Belgium, why was Germany's proposition in the premises to Mexico and Japan by the same token not a sufficient justification for our declaring war on Germany? According to her logic that act alone causes just war.

But here she was plotting and conspiring against us through our guest, Ambassador Bernstorff, who has never failed to tell us how friendly his Government felt toward us. I ask you, how you would like to have a guest in your house who was secretly plotting to assassinate you, and divide up your property in case he should find you would not submit to the murder of members of your family? Now let us revert to the time when all this happened. This was just exactly the time when President Wilson was trying to carry out the idea of universal peace. I think it was on the 15th day of January that his great note was issued, and I think the 19th of January is the date of the note to Mr. Carranza, asking him to help Germany and Japan in making war on the United States. It was just at the time when Mr. Bethmann-Hollweg called in our ambassador, and lauded our President as the greatest peacemaker in the world. While they were thus lauding the President of the United States, while they were pretending to want a world peace, here they were trying to incite war with us because they were going to renew their campaign of frightfulness against us and were afraid that we might object with force to a renewal of the slaughter of our citizens. So, while they were scheming to return to their campaign of submarine warfare, they were plotting, as I say, in our own house, to take our life and to take our property, and divide it up amongst the nations whom they were inviting to war against us, one of which is now at war. Germany was ready to conspire with one of her own enemies (Japan) to destroy a friend. There is usually some sense of decency observed in dealings between people and nations, but it seems in this instance that all sense of decency was wanting entirely.

Not only that, but Germany was going to divide up our country. Mexico was to have Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It does not appear what Japan was to have, but I presume Germany was willing to give her California, Washington, and Oregon. We could have what was left, I presume, providing, forsooth, that Germany did not decide to take a slice herself off the Eastern seaboard. Such was the conduct of Germany toward a friendly and neutral country—our country. She claims to-day that her negotiations are still going on in Mexico and promise to be successful, and there is no reason to believe that she has ceased her efforts to do what she can in every other direction to make war upon us. I am sure, of course, that her efforts to involve us with Mexico and Japan will be fruitless. Surely Japan will not forget her long friendship with this country and permit herself to be made the cat's-paw of an unscrupulous nation with which she herself is now at war. It will be difficult for Germany, as now ruled, to make friends or treaties with anybody anywhere, when her conduct gives the lie direct to her professions of friendship and her treaty obligations. However, her animus is not lacking and her attempt makes her as culpable as though successful.

But she has only done to us what she has done or is trying to do to every other country. It is claimed, and I think truthfully, that her spies are busy everywhere trying to array people against their country. There is no question that in this country many of the departments of government contain spies who have

been let in here unknowingly. I am glad to see in the papers that a thorough weeding-out process is going to begin, so that we will have no people in office whom we can not trust.

These have been some of the doings of Germany. I consider these things that I have mentioned almost as serious (in some respects even more serious) than her offenses upon the high seas. When one country will go into a friendly country with whom it is at peace and begin to set in motion various secret forces for evil directly aimed at the very integrity and sovereignty of the nation itself, it is clear that she is not a friend, but an enemy in disguise. How long would Germany tolerate an American intrigue such as she has carried on here? How long would she tolerate an ambassador that had done the things that Mr. Bernstorff did? The friends of Germany complain that the world is fighting Germany. The reason is plain—Germany is fighting the world! Is Germany right and the world wrong? Or is the world right and Germany wrong? The reason to me seems plain why Germany has few friends among the nations of the earth. She does not try to win them by mutual helpfulness and the cultivation of ties of friendship, mutual respect, love, and sympathy. No; her method is to try to *compel* nations to obey her and to be with her. Her trump cards are intrigue, force, and duress! No self-respecting nation and no self-respecting man will servilely respond in friendship to such methods or such advances. Her warfare is patterned after her diplomacy—ruthlessness, frightful, terrorizing, and brutality. She has set out to make the world afraid of her and afraid to fight her. Her treatment of Belgium and her citizens in the levying of tribute on her cities, the deportation of her sons, the Zeppelin attacks at night, the murdering of women and children in their beds, the destruction of churches and art buildings, the use of gas and liquid fire in the trenches, and last, but not least, the torpedoing of helpless and noncombatant boats upon the high seas, and the resulting frightfulness of it all illustrate the methods of Germany and the purpose of Germany to frighten, terrorize, and tyrannize the whole world!

So I ask, What are we going to do?

I wish there would be no war. I had hoped that President Wilson would achieve his heart's desire in keeping this country out of war and in helping to bring the world again to peace. It would have been indeed a proud distinction for a self-governing people to have restrained himself, even in the face of great provocation, so that it might become the peacemaker of the world and be the go-between or the happy influence to bring these unhappy peoples all together. But it seems that it was not to be. The failure, however, can not be charged up against President Wilson. The history of the past two and a half years makes plain that one of the greatest forces for peace in the United States, if not in the world—President Wilson—has been frustrated, not by any fault or act of his own, but by the fault and acts of those who are not within his control.

Some people would have us believe or think that we have as President of the United States a man who is blood-thirsty, a man who is so anxious to involve his own country in trouble that he would do things that were contrary to the interests of our country and contrary to international law. I have heard men charge the President—men who have hardly been in this country long enough to get out their second papers—with being wanting in fidelity to his country and wanting in patriotism. It is not necessary to defend the President or a President of the United States when the indictment is filed against him by men like these—I mean men who have been here hardly long enough to breathe in the atmosphere of freedom. It is not necessary to defend him against the insinuation of attacks from anybody, however high in station they may be. His record speaks for itself. He has been the rock around which the waters of the mad and turbulent seas have been raging for two and one-half years. When Congress adjourned in March, 1915, and everybody went home, and the *Lusitania* went down, and all these other ships went down, who was the man that kept us from war?

Why the President of the United States? The very fact that this country is not prepared as it should be conclusively shows that he had no desire for or, indeed, even expectation of war. He bore the burden all alone clear up to the next session of Congress, and he stood for peace in spite of repeated provocations, and in the face of crises that seemed almost insurmountable he still maintained peace here. Some are now blaming him for it. Some are now blaming him for not having intervened against Germany when she first invaded Belgium, others when she sunk the *Lusitania*. Some who blame him now for our not being better prepared voted consistently against appropriations that would have put us in a proper state of preparedness. I say he simply fought the surging waves of indignation time after time that threatened to sweep us into war, and he did so by his own calm poise and by his sincere and zealous desire for peace.

I believe that no man occupying the presidential chair has in many, many years won the confidence of the people so completely as the President has, and now when, after doing all this, he finally comes to the conclusion that his fondest hope is shattered and his fondest ambition gone awry, and that war has become a necessity, not only for our honor but for the very safety and welfare of the Nation itself, it does not well become any man to question his honor or patriotism. Men may differ from him, one may think he might have done this or that better, but I say no man has any right to question the patriotism of the President of the United States, his integrity, his wisdom, his zeal, and his sincere desire for peace, nor his sense of justice either.

Some say the President was elected because "he kept us out of war," and they insinuate that now after having been thus elected he throws off the mask, changes his front, and is trying to force this country into war against the will and wishes of the people.

The people of the United States elected Woodrow Wilson by a referendum vote last November on his record as President, and because they had faith in him and in his wisdom and judgment. One thing above all others which brought to him the support that he received was because he had maintained peace with honor. Bear in mind that as long ago as last May the President had served an ultimatum on Germany declaring in effect that unless she ceased her unrestricted submarine warfare, we would sever diplomatic relations and omit nothing necessary for the protection of the lives of American citizens. If Germany had not acceded to this ultimatum, it would have meant war last May. The people of this country all knew that, and they were back of the President and Congress was back of the President. But Germany acknowledged the justice of our demands and promised to desist. The people showed their approval by electing him and the Congress to support him. His election must be construed as a vote of confidence and a desire for him to continue the policy pursued by him in his first administration and a continuation of his foreign policy, the most conspicuous and important part of which was, of course, his policy against the use of German submarines. Germany broke her pledge to us on January 31, however. Germany by her note repudiated her promise and put us back in the status we were in on May last, when she agreed to accede to our demands. Who is responsible for this change? Certainly not the President! The President has not changed his position. He stands to-day where he stood last May, and this country stands to-day where it stood last May when it demanded that Germany cease her lawless submarine practices. So the President to-day is only renewing the same demands that he made last May, and he is not responsible for this change, but Germany is. His policy now after election is the same as it was before election. And if Germany yielded to our demands to-day, he would be able to keep us out of war in exactly the same manner that he kept us out last May, that is, with honor and safety to our people. He would not, if he could, preserve peace otherwise then, and he can not and will not now. The people did not expect nor want him to preserve peace without honor then—they neither expect nor want him to preserve peace without honor now!

Some have said that we should try to arbitrate these things with Germany. In view of our experience with her in the matter of this very question which is precipitating us into war, in view of all the other circumstances to which I have alluded, we know that she does not respect her own pledges and solemn obligations. How, then, I ask, can we expect or even hope that she would respect an award of a board of arbitration which she felt was against her interest or her rights?

Mr. President, we are face to face with a serious condition and not a mere academic theory. The question is not presented to us whether we like war or not. The question is whether we are going to continue to permit war to be made upon us without defending ourselves. Whether we are going to protect American lives and American rights. Whether we are going to preserve our own national honor and our self-respect—whether we are going to fight back now or wait until an ambitious, merciless, and ruthless autocracy shall have placed its iron heel upon the prostrate democracy of the world before we awaken to our own danger. And so it is clear that this is not a mere question of whether we desire or like war or whether we would like to avoid it. Vital matters and principles that every true American holds dear are involved in the consideration of this resolution—our honor, our rights, the lives of our citizens, our national safety, our sovereignty. Yes, democracy itself is at stake! The perpetuation of this country and its institutions is the most important thing in the world to us, to the people of the whole world, and to posterity. Our Government is an experiment destined to

prove whether or not men are capable of self-government. The permanent success of this experiment means the eventual emancipation of all mankind—its failure spells the doom of freedom everywhere.

When a nation like Russia throws off the yoke of centuries, when every sign points to the advancement of democracy's standard in other oppressed lands, shall America, to whom all nations are now looking for aid and encouragement, shrink from protecting and defending itself from the one thing in the world that is a menace to real democracy, viz, the Imperial German autocracy and Prussian militarism? This is no time for America, to whom all the oppressed nations are looking for aid and encouragement, now to shrink or hesitate from protecting and defending her own sacred rights which are no less than the rights of humanity itself. As the President has said:

> We are asking for ourselves nothing that we have not a right to ask in the name of humanity.

For all these reasons I feel it my solemn duty to support and vote for the resolution now before us, declaring that a state of war exists between us and the German Government. In so doing I am not placing myself with those who favor the arbitrament of disputes by war—I am only so declaring because it is the last resort of a peace-loving people who refuse longer to have war waged against them without provocation or reason without defending themselves and their institutions. A country that will not defend the lives of its citizens or its rights or its honor will not long endure. When the country is in danger men are called to the colors to defend the Nation and the flag. They can not refuse; their very life is subject to its call and need. Shall it be said, then, that when their lives are menaced or taken that their country is not in duty bound to defend its defenders? No man can long command the respect of his fellow men or even of himself who does not let principle set a standard of conduct for himself and who does not at all times and at all hazards to himself defend his own rights when threatened or invaded. And so no nation can long command the respect of the people of the world or of its own people, or expect to have its rights or treaties respected, or can long endure which permits expediency, or cowardice, or selfishness to control its actions or its policies. What has America's policy been in the past? Has it been one of expediency or has it been one of right? We have never yet stopped to count the cost of defending our honor, our rights, or our institutions. In 1812, when we were a struggling Nation, we declared war against powerful England—yes, even in the face of the proximity of her colonies—for reasons that shrink into insignificance compared with the offenses that we have suffered at the hands of Germany.

I say no nation can surrender its substantial rights without in the end embroiling itself and in the end losing itself. American lives and American rights must be held and kept sacred against the acts of any foreign nation the world over and the flag must be a protection and shield to every American wherever he may be while in the pursuit of a lawful and proper business. If we expect and demand that every American shall love his country, we must in return be ready at all times to prove that his country loves him. If the time ever comes when this shield and protection shall be withdrawn, then, indeed, the flag is a mockery and the name of America will become a shame and a byword.

I am going to vote for the pending joint resolution. I wish that the crisis which now confronts us was such that I might find it compatible with what I conceive to be my duty as a Senator to vote for peace instead of war. But our desires are often incompatible with our plain duty, and that is the solemn situation I find myself in to-day. I have advocated and supported preparedness measures, have persistently urged the merging of differences, and have stood for unity of thought, action, and purpose in the belief that we could thus impress the Great Imperial Government that the people of the United States are a united people and would act as a unit against her if she persisted in a line of conduct which Germany well knew no Government that is fit and able to defend itself would long endure, and thus avoid war in the only way it could be avoided if at all.

I wanted to help impress Germany with the thought that this powerful country was ready, prepared, and determined to use all of its power and might to protect our honor and our rights. I have always believed, and I believe now, that this (being the only argument which she herself uses) is the only kind of an argument to which she will listen, which she will respect, or which she will heed. Those who use force to work their will are the ones who can be persuaded only by force. I repeat that I regret that we were not able to present that potent and convincing argument to her. Consequently, having failed thus to persuade her, there is but the alternative. It is disgraceful and disastrous submission on the one hand or the use of armed force on the other. To me this presents but one possible choice. The President has said that there is one thing that the American people will not do and that is to submit to continued wrong. I am sure he has properly interpreted the spirit and the sentiment of the American people, and I subscribe to that.

The step that we are about to take and which we take reluctantly and sorrowfully will, nevertheless, be taken hopefully, firmly, patriotically, courageously, and resolutely. Let us all stand together, united in spirit, purpose, and determination, and let us rise to meet the issue with the same faith, courage, devotion, and resolution that has sustained, inspired, and distinguished the American people always.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I realize that the Senate has had a long and arduous day and is anxious to come to an early vote on the pending resolution, and it is not my purpose to delay such action for more than a very few moments. I think every Member of this body—indeed, every Member of the American Congress—realizes the full and deep solemnity of this hour and the heavy and weighty responsibility that rests upon each one of us.

During the closing hours of the last session of Congress it was manifest that our foreign relations, particularly those with the Imperial Government of Germany, had reached such a state that it was necessary for us to arm our ships to defend our rights as neutrals. Since then, Mr. President, the sinking of unarmed American ships that were not carrying contraband of war, indeed that were not carrying cargoes of any description, by the navy of the German Empire has put before the Congress and the people of the United States a very different question.

The resolution pending must pass, not because the Congress of the United States or the American people desire war but because war under the circumstances which confront us is an imperative and absolute necessity. We go to war not for fine-spun theories, not for any other purpose or any other cause upon the earth except one, and that is that peaceable American citizens engaged in their peaceable and legitimate business upon the high seas have been murdered in cold blood by the organized agencies of an established Government. This Government will be unable to live among the nations of the earth unless it vindicates its right to do so by discharging the first duty that rests upon a nation, and that is to protect its citizens.

So it seems to me that every Senator of the United States called upon to vote upon this question should have one question and only one that he need necessarily consider, and that is this: Are American citizens engaged in peaceful and legitimate business now being murdered on the high seas? If so, by what Government? By whose orders? Upon whose responsibility? If the answer is, as it is in this case, by that of the German Government, then it is as clear as the noonday sun that the German Government must answer to the American Government and to the American people for the American lives they have taken and the American citizens they have murdered.

Mr. President, I realize as fully as does any Senator in this Chamber on either side of it the great desire of the American people to preserve and maintain friendly and amicable relations with all the nations of the earth. I know that constant prayers have gone up from millions of American homes, Christian homes, that God might preserve peace for us, that He might give us continued peace—that peace on earth and good will to men that He Himself has ordained.

But, Mr. President, I deeply mistake the temper of American manhood, the mettle of American citizenship, if the prayers from those homes are for peace at any price. They want peace, but not peace at the expense of the national honor. They want peace, but not peace at the expense of the national safety. They want peace, but not peace at the price of having our national honor sullied by giving up peaceful American citizens to be murdered on the high seas, by permitting the very name American to become a term of derision and reproach, of scorn and contempt among men. If we can have peace only at such a price, then I say "Welcome war, though it came full panoplied out of the very bowels of hell, rather than craven peace purchased at such a price."

Mr. President, this war is upon us; we simply declare it; the die is cast; the issues are made up; there is no need to elaborate the issues or prolong the argument. There is indeed room for no argument.

Ah, Mr. President, the German Government and the German people, and whoever else in this world, in America or elsewhere, has ever believed or has ever said that this American Nation is a group of heterogeneous elements, without nationality, without unity, and without harmony, is, in my judgment, doomed to a speedy awakening. They will find in the prosecution of

this war, which is demanded by the national honor, behind our President and behind our Government a united and militant Nation—a Nation that knows no North, no South, no East, no West, no Republican, no Democrat, no capitalist, no laborer—nothing but plain Americans, all and everywhere; men who love this land the Lord, their God, has given to them, and who are willing to fight for its honor and to die for its glory.

When the Battle Hymn of the Republic shall rise from every nook and corner of our land, until its swelling chorus shall sweep from ocean to ocean, and then across the broad seas, summoning to the Stars and Stripes the Nation's best and the Nation's bravest, Senators, you will find that the sons of Dixie will occupy once more their old proud place, the post alike of honor and of danger, the front rank in the Republic's far-flung battle line.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, for reasons which I hope are obvious, I intend to confine the expression of my views upon the pending question within the briefest possible limits.

I was opposed to the bill which was under consideration in the Senate during the expiring hours of the last Congress because it attempted to give to the President of the United States the power to make war at his own discretion. I would still oppose with equal earnestness an effort of that kind if made at the present time. The Congress of the United States, however, is now engaged in exercising its rightful, constitutional function, in determining what the attitude of our country shall be toward Germany. When Congress has determined our relations to that country every loyal American will yield instant, undivided, unlimited obedience to its decree. There will be no division in the United States after Congress has acted. We are neutral now, but if Congress declares that Germany is our enemy, Germany will be an enemy for every man and woman who loves the honor, the dignity, the perpetuity of our institutions; and no man will be permitted to outrun me in the attempt to make America strong and victorious in the struggle before us.

I have believed, and I still believe—I would be uncandid were I not so to declare—that there is another, a better, and a more effective course than the declaration of war involved in the resolution now before us. If I believed that there was fair opportunity to fight for that better way I would not hesitate to consume the time of the Senate in submitting my reasons for its adoption. But I know—every man knows who is at all familiar with the purpose of Members of Congress—that war is to be declared, and I intend to give evidence of unity among the people of the United States, for I believe, after sore perplexity, it to be my duty—and it is high evidence of my desire that there shall be but one mind, one heart, one purpose, from one border of this great country to the other. I intend to subordinate my judgment not to the judgment of any other department of the Government, but to the judgment of my fellow Members of Congress; for, although they have not recorded their views, their intent is as well known as though the roll had already been called.

I want the world to know that, when this Government has acted through its constitutional authority, every man, and every woman, too, who loves the Old Flag, who is proud of its history, and who is determined to support and defend its dignity and its glory, will stand by the Government, will stand by the country of which he or she is a citizen. And in this subordination of my own hope to your judgment in the deep desire that all the countries of the world shall know that henceforth America speaks with but one voice, is true to one purpose, and is determined to achieve that purpose, I shall vote for the resolution reported by the committee. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I do not feel that I can add anything to this debate to-night. I am perfectly satisfied with the declarations that have been made so ably and so fully by the President of the United States; I am satisfied with the arguments that have been made by the able Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and the Senators from other States who spoke in favor of the resolution; but as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and one who voted in favor of reporting this resolution, I am unwilling simply to cast my vote and let it stand in the future that I did not raise my voice in support of this cause.

Mr. President, while I have no patience with the position taken by the Senators on this floor who have opposed this resolution, I have the deepest sympathy and consideration for those loving women who have written letters to various Members of this body, and whose letters have been read. They feel more deeply than I can ever feel the loss of a dear one; they have borne the burdens of war during all time; they will bear the burdens of this war; and if I thought for one moment that their burdens in future would be lightened by peace at this time I might waive the insults that have been cast against us and vote against war; but I can not conceive how there can be peace.

I know that some of the distinguished citizens of our country have been carrying on a propaganda throughout the Nation, presenting arguments to the people in support of the cause, not of peace, but of keeping out of this war. They say, "Appoint conciliators; have the neutral nations join together and intervene, and see if they can not bring about peace," and, in the end, they say, "Submit the question to a referendum of the people of this country." All of that has been done. Why, the President of the United States made an effort to draw all the neutral countries of the world together for the purpose of appealing to those warring countries to ascertain if there was a basis upon which peace could be considered—not the terms of peace, but just the basis upon which peace could be considered. In answer to that, one of the great warring groups stated unequivocally that there was nothing to arbitrate; that the thing they were fighting for was not a subject of arbitration; that on one side they were fighting for Prussianism, and on the other side they were fighting for democracy, and that those questions could not be arbitrated.

Let me say again, a judgment of arbitration is nothing more than a treaty; it is nothing more than an agreement, and what does the world to-day expect out of a treaty with a government that calls a treaty "a scrap of paper"? Would you rather have Germany's word to-day than at the time Belgium accepted it? If Germany was false to her promises to Belgium, why should any nation trust her on a future promise? Is not a nation that has violated not only all the laws of nations but every law of humanity, that has torn up treaties, and violated its sacred word of honor as a government, beyond the pale of arbitration? What modus vivendi, treaty, or agreement will bind Germany when she recognizes no law save the law of necessity and no force except the might of military power? Aye, they have all been tried, tried in vain, by the greatest pacifist of the age.

Again, they come to us and say, "Delay this matter; put it off longer while the murder goes on, so that we may have a referendum among the people of this country." I do not know whether the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] knows what the people of his State think; but I know what the people of my State think, because they have spoken through their legislature unequivocally in favor of every declaration that the President of the United States has made, and, in addition to that, they have pledged every resource of that State, both men and money, to the full limit to carry out any policy he may propose or any declaration he may make.

Ah, yes; and that is not the only State. There has been a referendum in every State in the United States. All, possibly with the exception of one or two States, through their legislatures, have declared in favor of the position taken by the President of the United States at the time he dissolved diplomatic relations with Germany, and have gone further and pledged the people and the resources of those States to the upholding of the President's hands in every effort he may make to protect the life, liberty, and honor of the American people.

What else is there to do? What else can we do? "Ah," but they say, "do not slaughter thousands of young men in this country. Do not leave the widows out in the little homes to take care of the orphans."

God knows that that is a picture that appeals to any man with a heart. That is a picture that no man wishes to hold before him. But I would rather that we lose a few hundred thousand men, if necessary, in a few months of war in cooperation with the allies at the present time, than to lose millions of men in a war that we alone might have to fight. We have got to fight Germany. We will either fight Germany now or we will fight Germany later on. We will either fight Germany in cooperation with the allies or we will fight Germany alone. If we can not conquer Germany now in cooperation with the allies, then Germany will soon conquer us.

Oh, it is a desperate thing to lose the lives of our citizens—yes, the life of one citizen of this country; but I believe just as surely as I stand here that the allies to-day need the assistance of this country. I tell you, we can not disguise the fact that that battle is hanging in the scale. We realize to-day that the result in Russia may be the result of the war. It is too late for us to back out of the fight. Yes, it has been too late to back out of this fight since the very first moment that this democratic country opposed the Prussianism of the Kaiser. Do not think for one moment that by cowardly surrendering at this time we would make ourselves immune from the inhuman wrath of that militant power.

What did Belgium do? Belgium has not done half what this country has already done to anger Germany. The people of poor little Belgium—a country which never in all of its existence harmed any country in the world, a peaceable, friendly people, a people on the very best possible terms with Germans—have been treated as slaves; have been murdered; have been tortured; have been treated as never before have even prisoners of war been treated in the most barbarous times. And why? Was it because of any great wrong that Belgium did to Germany? Oh, no. It was because little Belgium had the honor and the bravery to attempt to protect its rights against an inevitable defeat. And for that the German hatred has continually vented itself, not only on the soldiers but on the noncombatants, on the women and children and the old people.

Do you tell me that you can curry favor with a Government of that character and kind? Tell me that to-day, by submission, by surrendering our rights, by acting the coward, by kneeling and crawling to the German Empire, we can gain her friendship? Why, it is just as certain as that the day follows the night that if Germany wins the war that is going on there now we will suffer as Belgium suffered. Yes; we will suffer a hundred thousand times more than Belgium has ever suffered. Oh, yes; Belgium has been punished, and it is a little, helpless nation. The Belgians, women and children, have been punished because their husbands and fathers did nothing but defend their rights. Tell me that the hate of the German autocracy is not greater toward the American people than toward the Belgians! You know it is, and you know if they have done that to the Belgians what they would do to the American people.

We are faced with this condition now, both from a physical and from a political standpoint, that Prussianism must be stamped out in the world forever or democracy will be. Prussianism must go down in Germany, and there must arise in its stead a democracy such as ours, or this grand Republic of ours, which is our heart and our soul, and for which we have such great hope, will cease to exist.

I have been referring to the cold-blooded possibilities of this war. I want to say this to you, and I want to say it in all seriousness, that I believe, as has been said here to-day, that irrespective of the political situation that is facing us there are principles involved; that nations do have principles; that nations do have what we call honor; that those principles and that honor are the very soul of that nation, and when those are destroyed the nation ceases to exist.

We remember the history just a short time back. We remember when this country was a little colony of a few million people. Then there was imposition upon the people of this country, not any greater than the imposition that is being practiced upon our people to-day—no; not half as great. Then they imposed upon us and took away from us the liberties to which we were entitled; and to-day the German Government is taking away the lives of our citizens. There were people in 1775 and 1776 who spoke just as these distinguished Senators opposing the resolution have spoken here to-day. There were men who felt just as they feel to-day. There were able men and sincere women who, during those trying times, argued the futility of this little handful of people fighting the most powerful nation of the earth, with almost certain destruction ahead, with almost certain defeat ahead, and with the loss of many of those poor little lives. Yes; the question hung before the American people then, as it hangs now, whether the right to rule ourselves, whether the right of liberty of action which we are fighting for on the high seas to-day, whether the rights recognized by the world, should be sustained by the death of some of our citizens.

Do you not hear them now, as in your imagination you heard them then, saying, "Oh, we will lose our sons, we will lose our brothers, and we will lose our fathers. There will be thousands of graves out on that hillside, and why should we bear the burden of this war? Why should we bear this suffering just for the little right that we are claiming here?" But the men who had vision, the men who had patriotism in their souls, the men who loved their country better than their own lives and better than the lives of their boys, said, "These rights must be preserved if all of them must die, and we must die and the people of this country must be destroyed."

Is there a man here to-day who regrets that war? Is there a man here to-day who would say that that was a barbarous and an inhuman war? Do you think to-day that if one of those gallant soldiers who died to give us the extraordinary liberty that the people of this country enjoy could speak he would say, "I regret that I died on the field of battle for the cause that then existed"? Do you think that if there were a mother living to-day who gave her boy in that cause, she would stand here and say, "That was a brutal and inhuman war. I regret that war. I regret that I ever gave my son to it"? Oh, I think not. I do not believe the opponents of this resolution think so. Why, the very glory of this country dates from that grand achievement. It dates from the great vision of those men and the glory and the sacrifice of the women of that age.

Here we stand to-day, not a mere handful of people, but the most powerful Nation in all the world; a Nation that is recognized to-day as the most powerful and enlightened government of the world, and we are asked what? We are asked to submit; we are asked to surrender without a fight; we are asked to give up the rights for which our forefathers have fought. Why? Because some one must suffer. Because some life will pass out. Surrender this right, and the next right will be demanded of us, and then each and every right will be demanded from us, until there will be no rights essential to a free people. It has been the history of the world, and I fear it will be the history of many years to come, that no nation that was afraid to die for its rights ever maintained those rights.

We all love peace. We all hope that the time is coming when the great international questions, and these questions of human right, can be decided without the arbitrament of war. But it is useless, it is senseless, to say that that time has arrived. Why, look at the war that is now sweeping across half of the world. Was there any just cause for that war? Are they fighting for anything that can be definitely granted to anyone? Is it subject to arbitration? Is there any hope of determination except by war? What would you think, what would some of these citizens of ours throughout this country think, if the Crown Prince of Germany should be traveling through this country of ours and should be murdered, and Germany, having the power to do so, should say:

> We demand that you surrender your sovereignty; that you surrender the right to try your own people within your borders by your own courts, and allow us to establish our courts in your country to try crimes committed within your borders?

Would we agree to it? Would we stand for it? And yet that is exactly what Austria demanded of Serbia.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to ask the Senator a question, because it is necessary to do that in order to make what I have to say parliamentary according to the rule. I hope the Senator has not forgotten that England, Italy, and France, all three, agreed, in a communication to the German court, that the question between Austria and Serbia should be submitted to the court of The Hague, and that if Austria and Germany did not want to do that it could be submitted to the concert of powers, as they call it, in Europe, consisting of Russia and Germany and Austria and Great Britain and France and Italy.

Mr. PITTMAN. I thank the Senator for the suggestion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, does not the Senator think that while Austria was entertaining that proposition and had pretty nearly agreed to it, the action of the German Kaiser in declaring that any further efforts at mobilization on the part of Russia would be regarded as an act of war, followed the next day, 12 hours afterwards, by a declaration of war, stamps to all humanity, for all time, the present Kaiser of Germany as the real actor in this controversy?

Mr. PITTMAN. I have no hesitancy in saying that it is my opinion that the whole course of action of Germany from the very beginning—not only by its deceptions but its concealments—has demonstrated that it was the intent of Germany to create an excuse for a war solely for the purpose of conquest, and that it might carry out its scheme of military expansion and domination.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And, if the Senator will pardon just a little bit more interruption, her idea was to create a highway, to compel a grant from Belgrade to Saloniki from across the Mediterranean on her way to Bagdad, so that the German Junkerdom and Kaiserdom cry "Germany all powerful from Berlin to Bagdad" might be realized.

Mr. PITTMAN. There is not any question in my mind as to the correctness of that statement. I want to say this, that it is because there is only one issue, and that is the issue of Prussianism on one side and democracy on the other side, that we must go into this fight now.

Why, Mr. President, I would not give a human life for any property on earth, and yet I could see where I could give my life, and a thousand like it if I had them, and would consider that I had accomplished more than I will ever accomplish in my brief span, by raising the prestige that gives security to our citizens in foreign lands.

I am ashamed as an American citizen to-day that our citizens do not have the same protection, that they do not command

the same respect, that they do not have the same security as the subjects of the other powerful nations of the world in all foreign countries possibly except our own. That fact stands to-day admitted. It is not disputed. It is because we love life, too, often more than we love principle. It is because the world has come to know that there is a propaganda in this country of cowardice, because the world has come to believe that we will not fight unless we are on the defensive; that we will not fight to protect the lives of our citizens and that we will not fight for them wherever they have got a right to be; that we will fight for them only on our own soil. But let me say to these self-proclaimed pacifists, let me say to those whom I believe to be sincere, that they are building up a thousand deaths for the one death that they fear to-day; that they are building up a thousand days of suffering for the one day of suffering that they now fear. Why, let this country demonstrate to the world that it will not fight, let it demonstrate to the world that it is an aggregation of cowardly people, and there is not a little nation in all this world that will not murder with impunity the citizens of this country if it but has the desire.

I want to say to you this: In your supposed security here, in your isolation from this great war you are but having a dream. Let Germany defeat Russia to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow it is our turn.

I want to say to you that while we glory in the great democracy of Russia, while we look forward with the greatest hope to the building up there of a great democratic government, we can not but have fear that some of her people may not understand this great opportunity. We can not but have a fear that before they grasp solidly the reins of government there may be some other disturbance that will break up the discipline of the Russian Army. If that discipline is once broken, then Russia is gone, and autocracy will again be placed in command of that country, an autocracy that will be obedient to Prussianism. If unfortunately that thing should happen, and it is possible—it is within the range of possibility—then Germany would rule Europe. Germany would have the navies of Europe, and Germany ruling Europe with the navies of Europe would have no trouble on our north or our south, and instead of having to have a standing army of three or four hundred thousand men, we would have to have a standing army of 15,000,000 men, if they could be found in this country to serve.

Those are the facts and possibilities you face. As I said before, I would rather lose 100,000 or so of our men now than a million of them later on. I would rather have several months of war, if necessary, in cooperation with the allies than to have years and years of war unassisted by any great power. Now is the time to strike, now is the time to act, and not to act in a hesitating manner, not act in a niggardly way but to act with all the great force of the Government, a power that no nation or no group of nations on earth ever could overcome. I hope to God, when that power is shown to them, that the German people who have so long been misruled by Prussianism, the German people who have not been told the conditions, the German people who have been taught by the Prussians that victory is sure, will awake and will see that the defeat of Prussianism is inevitable, and that they will rise in their new understanding and in their patriotism and follow the example of the Russian people by establishing a democratic government that the allies and this country can and will treat with.

We have no war against the German people. The minute that Prussianism is stamped out in Germany, whether it is stamped out by us or by the German people themselves, all those countries who are warring against the German Government to-day will most gladly meet the new German Government half-way—yes; meet them more than half-way—and not only sign a treaty of peace with them and not only help to build up a great democracy for Germany but they will do everything in their power to alleviate the tremendous suffering that is in that country. To-day it is in the power of this Government to stamp out Prussianism, autocracy, and absolute monarchy throughout the whole world, and thereby make peace without war a possibility; and pray God that the opportunity be accepted by the American people in the spirit that gave birth to our own glorious freedom.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, if I understand correctly this resolution, not only in its terms but in its import, its meaning is simple and single, and it is not subject in any way to misconstruction. It is the ordinary declaration of a state of war and pledging the resources of this country to prosecute war against those who are waging war against us. In other words, Mr. President, it commits this Government to a policy of war in defense of American rights, for the protection of American citizens, and for the security of the American Republic. That being both the import and the express terms of the resolution, I do not find it possible on my part to vote against it. The resolution does not commit this country to a war of aggression but to a war to be prosecuted in defense and for the protection of the rights of the American people, against those at whose hands our people have suffered death.

Mr. President, when this war broke upon the peace of the world, we all realized, in part at least, what it meant. Language was inadequate to express our feeling and our astonishment or to convey to one another our views; but we understood that we were witnessing the most stupendous conflict of the world's history, and that in its far-reaching effect, in its engulfing force, it would, in all probability, involve our own people. We understood that the most advanced, the most powerful nations of the earth could not long continue their conflict without affecting most substantially the conditions upon the Western Continent. The affairs of the world are so closely interwoven, politically and economically, that it seemed from the beginning that, in all probability, we should not be able wholly to escape the disturbing and demoralizing effect of the fearful catastrophe. Naturally, therefore, the thought of everyone here turned to his own country—what should be her course, what policy would best conserve her interests and the happiness of her people, what was best calculated to preserve unscathed our institutions and unchanged our cherished principles of government and of civilization.

It was not mere selfishness; it was not base and inconsiderate fear; it was not a pusillanimous contemplation of sacrifice or the forfeiture of ease that drove our thoughts back upon ourselves and sent the mind in search of a policy which would best conserve and perpetuate our happiness and the welfare of our people. That charge has been laid at our door, but it is unjust. It was rather, in my belief, the inestimable and, I trust, the imperishable principle and feeling of nationality; it was the love of home; it was devotion to our own; it was the passion of patriotism, the most sublime passion which stirs the heart of man, save that which binds him to his Maker.

The President, the Congress, and the people felt in the beginning that this was not our affair; that it was not of our making; and that the blessed inheritance of the fathers should be kept from out the path of its frightfulness, if we could be so fortunate as to find the way by which to achieve that end.

Actuated, therefore, by the hope—by the just and righteous hope—that our people might be spared participation in this war, and in harmony with the strong and universal passion of our people for peace, we drew back in every way from the contest. We announced that we intended to be neutral and desired peace. We were even chary in urging the ordinary rights which belong to a neutral power. We were conciliatory in everything save our desire for peace. We appealed to old historic incidents to revive the memory of friendly days, and to old friendships that present friendships might be prolonged. We did everything that a self-respecting nation could do. We did more than any other nation of prestige and of power ever did do to remain out of the conflict and to signify to the world our desire for peace. We even put aside prudence—the ordinary prudence of a nation—and, as if in fear of creating the suspicion that we desired to enter the war, we refused to prepare even for defense.

Now, sir, in the midst of peril and in the midst of the world's turmoil, we stand here unprepared and unequipped—the strongest assurance that this people could give that we wanted to be at peace with the world.

I do not propose at this time, certainly under the peculiar conditions which surround us, to enter the field of speculative discussion and to inquire what might have been the result had a more decisive and more aggressive policy been pursued. I only know that the policy which has been pursued in its results has convinced me that whatever may be said as to the past the future demands a different course.

We must prepare both in policies and in purpose; we must announce to the world once and for all that the patriotism and the courage of the American people have not departed, but have simply been in patience resting until the last ounce of prudence should have been exhausted.

Look about us for a moment, listen to the warning which comes to us from every quarter as to what lies beyond in case we pursue this policy of indifference to our rights. May I recur for a moment to the fact that more than 500 of our citizens, men and women, have been assaulted, ravaged, murdered, or assassinated within the very sight of the flag, within the call of the Stars and Stripes, and within hearing distance of our own border? We have submitted in patience. A few years ago we went to war with that same country for territory. Shall we now be charged with impatience if we serve notice

now, when our citizens have been slain, that when the challenge comes or the right is invaded the American Republic will protect its own?

Our commerce has been destroyed; our ships have been driven from the ocean; our people have been drowned or left to perish upon the midnight sea. What more could a people do to evidence to the world their desire for peace than to do what this Nation has done for the last few years? I repeat that, whatever may be said in justification of the course which has been pursued in the past, it must be evident to every mind that a different policy is not only essential to the protection of our people but is of itself the best guaranty of peace.

Under the condition in which the world is moving to-day we can not hope for protection for ourselves unless first we give evidence of our intention to protect, and, secondly, our determination and our capacity to protect. Indecision and timidity under these conditions are invitations to aggression, invitations to further loss of life. Therefore, Mr. President, believing, as I do, that the first and primary obligation of government is to protect its own and to give absolute guaranty to those who owe it allegiance, I can not vote against a resolution which commits this Government to no other proposition than warring against those who war against us, to using force against those who use force against us. Further than that this resolution does not go.

Mr. President, there is one feature of this matter which I can not in candor pass over without a single word. This is not the time to discuss incidental questions or irrelevant questions; and yet some things have been said in connection with this situation, in the President's message and by Senators, which warrant me in the statement that in voting for this resolution it must be understood that I do not even tacitly indorse some of the propositions with reference to the manner in which this war is to be carried on. Those matters will reach us hereafter, at a later day of the Congress, and then it will be my privilege, absolutely disembarrassed by this vote, to deal with them as in my judgment I should.

Suffice it to say now that there can, to my mind, be but one sufficient reason for committing this country to war, and that is the honor and security of our own people and our own Nation. I have no more right, because of my personal sympathy for other nations, to plunge my country into war than I would have, out of malice toward some other power, to send them to slaughter. I hold fast and firmly to the doctrine that our own national security, our own national honor, the rights of our own people, and the lives of our own citizens are alone, when challenged and assailed, sufficient to justify me in voting for a declaration of war. I join no crusade; I seek or accept no alliances; I obligate this Government to no other power. I make war alone for my countrymen and their rights, for my country and its honor.

Mr. President, there is one class of people in the United States to whom my heart goes out in special sympathy to-night, and that is the great class of citizens of German extraction scattered throughout the United States. They will receive many a wound from ill-judged words during this unfortunate situation; and yet, in my judgment, 98 per cent of those citizens born in Germany, or whose parents may have been born in Germany, will be perfectly loyal to this country during the entire conflict. I doubt them not at all; I trust them fully, along with all our people.

It was natural, it was human, indeed it would have been inhuman in them had they not sympathized with the fatherland during the contest between that country and other powers; but when the tocsin of war shall sound in this country and the President of the United States calls for assistance from the citizens of this country, in my judgment they will not only demonstrate their loyalty as citizens in civil life but in the most conclusive way in which it is within the power of man to demonstrate his loyalty—upon the field of battle. Let us be very careful not to challenge the citizenship and the loyalty of those who have come here to make their homes, who regard it as their country, and who have demonstrated their loyalty in the past upon our fields of battle, and will do so again.

Some time ago I read that wonderful biography of Stonewall Jackson, written by a distinguished military critic of England. Not only was Stonewall Jackson one of the great men of this country, but the book to which I have referred is one of the greatest biographies which has ever been penned of any American. In that volume I read a telegram, sent about the time that Stonewall Jackson was operating most effectively in the valleys of Virginia. It was supposed that he was in retreat. It afterwards turned out that he was not; but at the time when he was supposed to be in retreat Gen. Shields sent this telegram in substance to the War Department: "Stonewall Jackson is in retreat, but 10,000 Germans hang onto his rear like bloodhounds." They were not hirelings; no shadow of disloyalty rests upon them and theirs; they were fighting and dying for the Union; they were suffering and sacrificing for the Republic; and you will find when this war shall have closed that the 10,000 suspicions which have been thrown out against these people were unfounded; that charges of disloyalty were unjust; and that they, having cast their fortunes with us, and devoted to our Government, are willing with us to make every sacrifice for the Government and for their adopted country.

We have at this time not only no division, in my judgment, among the great rank and file of our citizens, but fortunately we have no division in our country. There is no longer any North or South or East or West, but one united country, meeting, as we fully understand, a perilous and tremendous situation. We enter this war, therefore, not disunited, not discordant, but as men who believe that their rights have been invaded, their privileges assailed, their Government attacked, and who are willing to meet the situation, not as they have made it, but as others have made it for them.

Mr. President, we will not vie with one another here as to our individual horror of war. I think I share with my colleagues in the contemplation of all that war may mean to the American people. We must not underestimate the strength of those against whom we are to wage battle—the most thoroughly united, the most efficient, and the most powerful unit among the nations of the earth to-day. Do not underestimate their strength. Nevertheless, here are a hundred million people united in spirit and in purpose, determined to enter the struggle, not for territory or for power but for their rights and their honor, without which we as a Nation must perish. All factions, all sectionalism, all difference of opinion, yea, for the time being, all partisanship will have been burned and purged away, and we will have established once and for all as a security for our children and our children's children that there comes a time when even the American people, with all their love of peace, will take up the gauntlet of war.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I am conscious of the impatience of the Senate to reach a vote on the pending joint resolution, and I do not find myself impelled to enter into any extended discussion of the matter pending; but I do realize the gravity of the moment, and I want to say for myself at least a few things that will help to avoid a wrong impression coming from the action to be taken by this body.

I want those whom I am seeking to represent in this body to understand that I am not voting for war in response to the alleged hysteria of a subsidized or English-owned press. I want to take this opportunity of resenting the charge that the press of the United States is either owned or subsidized by any foreign power. I do not hesitate to say that I think the American press is the best safeguard we have to the American spirit, and the best advocate we have of our American liberties.

I want it known also that I am not voting for war in response to the campaign of the munition makers, for there has been none.

I want especially to say, Mr. President, that I am not voting for war in the name of democracy. I want to emphasize that fact for a moment, because much has been said upon that subject on this floor. It is my deliberate judgment that it is none of our business what type of government any nation on this earth may choose to have; and one can not be entirely just unless he makes the admission in this trying hour that the German people evidently are pretty well satisfied with their Government, because I could not ask a better thing for this popular Government of the United States of America than the same loyal devotion on the part of every American that the German gives to his Government.

I am not unmindful, Senators, that the great Julius Cæsar fought the battles of the Roman Republic, and his assassins saw him bequeath an empire to Augustus. I am not unmindful that the great Bonaparte fought his battles in the name of the first French Republic, and his ambition left an empire that faded at St. Helena. It does not matter so much, Senators, what the form of government may be if the people existing under that government are content therewith. More depends on the human agency that administers the government; and it is my deliberate judgment to-night that it is up to us to demonstrate the permanency of a republic before we enter upon a world-wide war to establish democracy. We may well leave that to the other nations concerned.

I want it known to the people of my State and to the Nation that I am voting for war to-night for the maintenance of just American rights, which is the first essential to the preservation of the soul of this Republic. Why, Senators, perhaps it has

been an obsession with me, but in watching the trend of events since the outbreak of the European war and the endeavor to influence popular sentiment in this Republic I reached a stage where I doubted if we had that unanimity of sentiment which is necessary for the preservation of this free Government. We had reached a stage where seemingly we were without a soul. Somehow or other we had deadened the fires under the American melting pot, and it looked as though we were a divided people. On the floor of this Senate, where above all else we ought to preach American unity and the maintenance of American rights, I have heard doctrines preached which indicated divisions and selfish interests, which suggested that these United States of America, instead of going on to the fulfillment of the splendid destiny that the fathers must have had in mind, were becoming a mere collocation of States rather preferring to live in ease and comfort and selfish attainments than to know the spirit that becomes this boasted, popular Government.

And so, Mr. President, to-night, in the grave situation that I full well realize, with the understanding of every responsibility that goes with the vote, I vote for this joint resolution to make war—not a war thrust upon us, if I could choose the language of the resolution, but a war declared in response to affronts; a war that will at least put a soul into our American life; a war not for the cause of the allies of Europe; a war not for France, beautiful as the sentiment may be in reviving at least our gratitude to the French people; not precisely a war for civilization, worthy and inspiring as that would be; but a war that speaks for the majesty of a people popularly governed, who finally are brought to the crucial test where they are resolved to get together and wage a conflict for the maintenance of their rights and the preservation of the covenant inherited from the fathers.

Why, Mr. President, not so very long ago, in the mail which comes to me as it does to every Member of this body, a constituent wrote me asking: "Why seek to preserve American rights? There is no distinctly American nationality," said he. "We are a mixture or a blend or an aggregation of all the peoples of the world, and we have been surrendering our rights, notably in Mexico. Why insist upon them now?" I said to him, as I say to the Senate now: "The momentary suspension of American rights, or the temporary toleration of an attack on American rights, does not mean their surrender." I said to him further: "If there is no one who is distinctly American, then, in the name of the Republic, it is time that we find one." I hope that out of this great tumult of the world, and our part therein, there will spring from Columbia's loins the real American, believing in popular government, and willing to suffer and sacrifice, if need be, to maintain the rights of that government and the people thereunder. I believe that this is the great essential to the perpetuity of the American Republic—the maintenance of rights in confidence, absolutely without selfish interest.

We have given to the world the spectacle of a great nation that could make war without selfish intent. We unsheathed the sword some 18 years ago, for the first time in the history of the world, in the name of humanity, and we gave proof to the world at that time of an unselfish nation. Now, whether it is fate or fortune or the travail of destiny, it has come to us to unsheathe the sword again, not alone for humanity's sake—though that splendid inspiration will be involved—but to unsheathe the sword against a great power in the maintenance of the rights of the Republic, in that maintenance which will give to us a new guaranty of nationality. That is the great thing, and I want it known, Mr. President and Senators, that this is the impelling thought with me for one when I cast my vote.

I have been told, and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], who stood here to-day, gave us the warning, that we were taking up a perilous cause. He made the argument that the nation which was willing to follow the submarine warfare could probably assert itself against the combined powers of the globe. Mr. President, not since the world began, not since civilization wrote its first page in history, has it been given to any one nation to dominate the earth. World domination is not of man. That is of God, the Creator. It has become the fortune of this Republic to cry "Halt!" to a maddened power casting aside the obligations of civilization and the limitations of that which we look upon as highest humanity. I know that the task will be undertaken by the American people not originally committed to the cause of war, but a people who will understand that when the Congress speaks after due deliberation, after the patience which this body and this Government have exercised, the voice of the United States Congress is the voice of the Nation, and one hundred millions of people will commit themselves to the great cause of the maintenance of just American rights—a thing for which the Nation can well afford to fight, and while fighting for it put a new soul into a race of American people who can enthusiastically call themselves truly and spiritually and abidingly an American people.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I rise to make this simple but earnest appeal:

God bless and approve the action to be taken by the Senate this day. Oh, Father, preserve our Government and hasten the day when liberty will be enjoyed by all the peoples of the earth.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have already, in the briefest possible time, expressed my views. I do not desire to delay the Senate further; but I have a number of telegrams from some of my constituents upon this momentous question, and I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegrams are as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senator from North Dakota, Washington, D. C.:

Unless an embargo is promptly placed on grain and foodstuffs, it is more than likely there will be riots in nearly every large city.

JOHN H. BLESSING.

—

TROY, IDAHO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Fully 80 per cent here approve your stand against war.

J. W. SCHLOESSER,
Troy News.

—

PORTLAND, OREG., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The plain people want you to continue as their champion and work for peace. Only the munition makers and those who are willing to sacrifice this country to assist a foreign power want war. Approve your fight against changing this Nation from a democracy to an autocracy.

EDW. KENYON.
P. J. SAMMON.

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Senator from North Dakota, Washington, D. C.:

You were right in insisting on Congress retaining control over peace or war. More than anything else, this is the people's right. Any decision other than by a referendum will not portray the people's wish, but that of powerful and interested individuals or groups.

E. E. POTTBERG.

—

JASPER, MINN., *March 31, 1917.*

United States Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: We admire the efforts and stand you have taken in trying to keep the United States out of war.

D. Anderson, E. J. Asiesen, E. J. Johnson, C. Holvig, Otto G. Friedrichs, H. V. Zender, Rev. H. Amend, Rev. J. D. Swalestuen, Steven Jacobs, J. M. Johnson, Ed. Devos, F. W. Bock, James Williams, H. J. Hansen, John Schlaphokl, G. Frederich, Carl Kroll, Walter Jurgense, Tosten Polien, Henry Solsaa, O. H. Flatberg, J. K. P. Studt, A. O. Rogen, W. P. Lee.

—

GACKLE, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

I have mailed you to-day a peace petition, protesting against war, signed by 75 citizens of the village of Gackle and vicinity.

J. H. MEYERS.

—

GREAT BEND, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

In meeting assembled we unanimously expressed the opinion that there is no sufficient cause for war, and we therefore earnestly appeal to you to do your utmost to preserve peace. We also protest that our Government give any of the belligerents financial or any other aid.

LUTHERAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY.

—

WAHPETON, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Keep us out of war.

E. Anderson, Thomas Dundon, Gordon Bader, Anton Stukel, Olaf Olson, Herbert Youngquist, Mark Peschel, Frank Simmer, Joseph Friederichs.

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Please continue to the very last your patriotic endeavors to keep us out of war. Let us avoid entangling alliances. The time may yet come when we can act as peacemakers for a war-ridden world.

S. G. ROSENBAUM.

—

DEVILS LAKE, N. DAK., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
The St. Regis, Washington, D. C.:

The women voters of North Dakota beseech you to do your utmost to keep us out of war.

Mrs. E. O. GREENLEAF,
Treasurer Red Cross Hospital Aid, Devils Lake.

ARENA, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Seventy-six citizens ask you to keep us out of war. Congratulations on your stand.

Rev. AUG. HOEVER.

—

RICHMOND, VA., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

If every honest man would fight the good fight as you have done and as you will do this country would be saved from a perfectly unnecessary and cruelly unfair war against a country which is already fighting nearly the whole world.

CLARA and CLARE BENEDICT,
Jefferson Hotel.

—

STERLING, N. DAK., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We the undersigned emphatically protest against declaration of war without referendum except in case of invasion, against any measure abrogating the right of free speech and a free press, and against any conscription or compulsory military training bill. Prussianism has no place in a democracy.

S. H. E. Wildfang, D. C. Poindexter, P. Randon, R. K. Random, J. H. Smith, R. E. Sherman, M. Beal, H. E. Edgely, M. Hanson, Geo. Manly, Geo. Olson, Vernon Rice, A. E. Olson, Max Lang, Paul Lang, Emil Lang, J. L. Loomis, F. E. Rice, Wm. P. Langley, Chas. Swanson, P. Neiman, M. Bensemiller, P. Youngeren, C. H. Lindquist.

—

JAMESTOWN, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolution adopted unanimously by St. Johns Lutheran congregation April 1. We urge you in the name of God and Christianity and in the interests of humanity to do all in your power and use all honorable means at your disposal to keep our Nation out of war.

A. B. WILHELM, *President.*
E. C. HESS, *Secretary.*

—

WAHPETON, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Keep us out of war.

Math J. Kraker, Henry Reigh, Peter A. Peschel, William Sandera, Thomas A. Fischer, Theodore Lamusga, John Ambrosich, Anton E. McMichael, Herbert Hodel, Peter Diederich, Jake Steffens, Herman C. Rieke, Nick Rischard, Frank Tryba, Wm. Junge, John Junge, jr., John Junge, A. H. Miller.

—

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Senator from North Dakota,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

People back you for peace. Beat Wall Street.

GEO. SHUTTINGER,
Ex-Captain, Union Guard, Brooklyn.

—

BURLEIGH, N. DAK., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We strongly urge that Congress, before declaring war with any nation, submit the question of war to a referendum of the people of the United States, who will have to do fighting and bear the burdens. We also emphatically protest against the enactment of conscription or compulsory military training or any form of involuntary service. The spy bill and the censorship bill as advocated in their present form we believe are iniquitous and protest against their passage. In case of actual invasion, referendum on war not to be applicable.

S. C. W. Clarke, Walter Dietzman, S. C. Haumberg, C. E. Crain, H. Glum, Wm. Baker, G. N. Varnum, A. Sherman, O. H. Holson, A. H. Klippstein, F. W. Nelson, J. W. Kendall, R. A. Johnson, Louis Olson, R. Allinson, C. J. Roberts, O. C. Kendall, Paul Eddie, Abe Huggins, Glen H. Baker, L. E. Nortin, L. J. Agnew, Theo. Warner, C. D. King, J. H. Salter, Chris Degroot, John Olson, S. V. Wilson, A. V. Fisher, Joe Wilken, Park Wood, D. A. Olson, M. Sherman.

—

MOUNT CLEMENS, MICH., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

The welfare of our country demands that we use every effort to prevent the flower of our Nation from spilling its life blood on the European battle fields. Let us keep cool. The people of Europe and of this country want peace. The Europeans can not have peace, because they have gone insane. We have peace. Let us retain it and remain sane.

W. KNAUTH.

—

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

As citizens of the United States, I and my people protest most emphatically against any action that may bring this country into the present European war. Do all you can to prevent it.

J. M. PERSENUIS,
Pastor Swedish Lutheran Church.

MANDAN, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Please vote against any measure leading to war with Germany.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH,
By Rev. C. J. FYLLING, *Pastor.*

—

PARK RIVER, N. DAK., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Golden Valley Lutheran Church, 52 voting members, hereby protest against any act of war with the belligerent nations.

JOHN A. BJERKE, *Pastor.*

—

DICKINSON, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Hope that you use all your endeavors to keep this country out of war. Let the European nations fight their own battles.

THOMAS MIKLAUTSCH.

—

ATLANTA, GA., *April 2, 1917.*

United States Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Wish to express my appreciation of your stand against war as outlined in associated press dispatches published in the morning papers.

JOHN J. EAGAN.

—

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *April 2, 1917.*

A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations on splendid statement against war. Please continue this patriotic attitude.

CONSTANCE DREXEL.

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

We heartily indorse Pinchot plan as safe, sane, loyal, just method of distributing burdens and costs of war. In behalf of patriotic Christian Americans in all sections, who are loyal to the Government, the Christian Herald appeals to you in this crisis to stand fast for this high ideal.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD.

—

EDGELEY, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

A. J. GRONNA, *Washington, D. C.:*

We, the Lutherans of Edgeley, 250 souls, protest against a declaration of war or any action leading to war. Also against a war loan by our Government to any foreign powers.

H. ZIMMERMAN.
H. E. VOMHOF, *Secretary.*

—

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator ASLE J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

I want to assure you from my observation I am convinced the majority of the people are against war. Vote to keep us out of war.

ARTHUR BOHN.

—

NORTHWOOD, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

A. J. GRONNA, *Washington, D. C.:*

Avert war by all means. We believe it unjustified and unnecessary for preservation of national honor. American people do not desire it nor consider provocations sufficient to warrant United States in engaging in war. We, the undersigned, earnestly pray you avoid this war if possible.

D. L. CAMPBELL.
E. E. THULIN.
M. C. STAND.
T. E. TUFTE.
B. A. JOHNSON.
GUSTAF FROUNERK.

—

WAHPETON, N. DAK., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Members of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Richland County, N. Dak., wish to congratulate you on the patriotic stand you have recently taken to overthrow the plans of the war howlers. We implore you to do all in your power to avert the crisis which confronts our Nation. We are for peace.

E. MEIRE.

—

WILLISTON, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions in protest of the United States entering the war in armed hostility, signed by citizens of Williston, are being forwarded you on to-night's mail.

L. N. SHELDON.

—

FARGO, N. DAK., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

The people of North Dakota are patriotic and loyal to the National Government, yet they favor armed neutrality rather than war, and pray that all honorable means may be used to avoid further trouble.

LYNN J. FRAZIER, *Governor.*

NEWBURG, N. DAK., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned voters of Newburg and vicinity, do hereby indorse Senator GRONNA's stand in the last Congress in regard to the war question.

MICHAEL EGAN,
GEORGE HASTINGS,
HENRY BACH,
Committee Representing 90 per cent of the Voters.

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Lutheran pastor conference of Grand Forks humbly and earnestly petition your honorable body in behalf of church, State, home, and posterity that Congress takes no action which will appear as declaration of war, but maintain neutrality, rather suffering injustice than doing injustice. Please communicate this to the Senate.

N. J. LOHRE.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I desire to make a like request to have printed in the RECORD certain telegrams, one from the Newark, N. J., annual convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegrams are as follows:

NEWARK, N. J., *April 3, 1917.*

WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

The Newark annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, composing 300 churches and 60,000 members, passed the following: The committee on the state of the country recommend the following as our declaration of principles at this critical hour: The war which has deluged the world with blood has been marked by atrocities and violations of international law which we fondly hoped our race had long since outgrown. In our splendid isolation the United States had ministered to the sufferers under all belligerent flags, and confidently hoped to be kept out of the conflict. We desired as a Nation to be a ministering angel to the suffering and a just and kindly arbiter when the bruised and bleeding nations should be willing to make peace. With a patience unexampled among strong nations we have submitted to countless acts of injustice and cruelty. We have remonstrated, we have petitioned, we have mildly threatened, while those who have enjoyed the hospitality of our shores have plotted to destroy our cities, massacre our citizens, dismember our country, and make our defense impossible. Though suffering these atrocities we have devoutly prayed that if it were possible this cup of war might pass from us. But we have only prayed against and reasoned with a power obsessed by a sense of its own importance and made frantic by its fearful extremity. The days of parley are past. The time has come when we must not count too carefully, either in gold or even in blood, the debt we owe to democracy and to the people of the earth. The hour of action strikes. There is no longer any middle ground; it is swallowed up in seas of blood. Henceforth every man is either a patriot or a traitor, a hero or a coward. Even the patient Christ, whose ambassadors we are, in time of extremity, when pacific measures had failed, said, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." In such an hour of national crisis, with malice toward none, with charity for all. We call upon the President and Congress, the Army and Navy, the men and women of our land, to unite in a great and holy movement to protect our country from barbarous invasion, and to safeguard American men, women, and children in all lands and on all seas. We do not enter lightly into this conflict. Some of our cities may be devastated by an enemy deaf to the behests of humanity and international law. Thousands of our best young men may lay flown their lives for our altars and our fires, but the issue is not in doubt. Trusting in a righteous God, and speaking for those we represent, like our fathers of old, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Resolved, That inasmuch as our national flag is the sacred symbol of liberty and justice, we recommend that it be displayed in and upon our churches and in our homes and places of business.

W. E. PALMER.
W. C. SNODGRASS.
W. V. MALLABEN.
FREDERICK BLOOM,
Secretary, Woodbury, N. J.

To the PRESIDENT,
Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.:

I have been flooded with requests to telegraph you and Representatives protesting against declaration of war. For fear silence might be taken as acquiescence in such protests, I telegraph my earnest request that you and Congress declare the fact that war exists and make adequate preparation for protection from dangers without and within. Believe we should immediately join with allies in their fight for freedom from Prussian militarism. Want this country to aid democracies of Russia, France, and England and help to restore Belgium not by money alone but by moral, spiritual, and physical aid. Believe every man owes same obligation of military service as obligation to pay money to support Government by payment of taxes. Overwhelming sentiment of people of this section indorses these views.

DESHA BRECKENRIDGE,
Editor Lexington Herald.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I make a similar request to have printed in the RECORD a number of telegrams.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegrams are as follows:

BLOOMINGTON, IND., *April 3, 1917.*

MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Sovereign Banker, Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved, That the Woodmen of the World of the State of Indiana, in head camp assembled at Bloomington, Ind., being composed of men of the blood of all of the warring nations of Europe yet now being of one common blood, and that blood American, do hereby pledge their entire and undivided support and loyalty to our country and to our President, Woodrow Wilson, in every action which he may take to uphold the honor of the United States.

LOUIS OEHLMANN, *Head Clerk.*

BEAUMONT, TEX., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

At a regular meeting of Beaumont Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 311, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"*Be it resolved*, That in this critical hour we pledge ourselves anew to loyal service to our country.

HILTON J. DEUTHER,
Exalted Ruler.
SAM H. SOLINSKY,
Secretary.

EL PASO, TEX., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the employees of Wilson & Co., El Paso, Tex., 25 in number, stand squarely behind our President in demanding respect for our flag, both on land and sea, and we believe in universal compulsory military training, and we urge you to use all the power of your high office in passing a bill embodying this principle.

THE EMPLOYEES OF WILSON & CO.

FORT WORTH, TEX., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of the Fort Worth Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, to-night, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas loyalty to the flag is a fundamental test of Elkdom, and to the true Elk it is a cardinal duty to protect the national emblem from insult and desecration; and

"Whereas it is moreover the prime duty of every American to give unswerving allegiance to the Government of the United States at all times; and

"Whereas the national colors have been subjected to insult by an alien enemy who at this moment is conducting an inhuman and ruthless warfare upon our country; and

"Whereas President Wilson has called upon Congress to declare that a state of war exists between this Nation and Germany, and to authorize him, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, to use all and every means to carry forward a war against Germany to a successful conclusion: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, Fort Worth Lodge, No. 124, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, indorse unqualifiedly the President's patriotic decision; that we express our absolute confidence that Congress will act speedily and with comprehensive thoroughness, not only in formally accepting the rôle of belligerent, in the name of the Nation, but in providing every and all means necessary to prosecute the war with vigor; that we go on record in favor of universal military training as a necessary and democratic means of putting the Nation into a condition of adequate preparedness; and that we pledge to the President our undivided and individual support in this crisis, and express our unswerving fealty to the principles of freedom enunciated by him in his address to Congress, to the end that the honor of our Nation be vindicated and American ideals upheld."

GEORGE A. KLINK,
Exalted Ruler.
R. D. HUNTER,
Secretary.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I shall not ask for a roll call upon the amendment which I have offered. I simply desire to say that if the joint resolution reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations should pass both Houses of Congress to-day we would be in war to-morrow, even though Germany to-morrow should say that she would cease her present method of warfare against American ships and against American lives. If the joint resolution which I have offered as a substitute should become the law instead and Germany should declare to-morrow that she would immediately cease her present methods of warfare, or would cease them against the United States, there would be no war.

That is the only difference between the two propositions, and I am ready for a vote upon the matter. As the substitute has already been read, Mr. President, it will not be necessary to read it again.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I send to the desk for the RECORD, and not for reading, a telegram just received from the Society of Sons of the American Revolution of the State of Wyoming.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the telegram will be printed in the RECORD.

The telegram is as follows:

CHEYENNE, WYO., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions of the Wyoming State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Whereas the notorious brutality, terrorism, and murder performed upon the high seas at the behest of the German Imperial Government against American property and American men, women, and children in contravention of treaty rights and international law having been brought to our knowledge through the public press, and our President having taken a strong stand for national defense and asked Congress for a declaration of a state of war: Be it

Resolved, That the Wyoming State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution in convention assembled with emphasis and unanimity

indorses the acts of President Wilson in this crisis, urges Congress to give united support to the executive department in carrying on the war, and that our Government shall strike with all the energy and power at its command in order that hostilities shall be brought to a speedy termination and that American rights, property, lives, and honor shall be preserved upon the seas, the legitimate highways of the nations, and in every land throughout the earth; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be wired to Senator FRANCIS E. WARREN, a member of this society, for presentation to Congress, the Wyoming delegation therein, and the President.

MAURICE GROSHON, *President.*
W. E. CHAPLAIN,
W. B. D. GRAY,
J. H. WALTON,
Committee.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have a number of resolutions adopted by citizens of several cities in Ohio. I ask that they be incorporated in the RECORD without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be done. The Chair hears no objection.

The resolutions are as follows:

OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK,
NEW YORK.

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

At the regular meeting of the Ohio Society of New York, held in its rooms in the Waldorf-Astoria on the evening of March 12, 1917, the following preambles and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas after exhausting the resources of diplomacy in an effort to avert war, the President of the United States has now taken the only course consistent with national self-respect; and

"Whereas whatever honest doubt exists respecting the cause of war in Europe, the awful responsibility for extending war to this hemisphere now rests upon Germany and upon Germany alone:

"*Resolved*, That the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany is one to be approved and commended by all who have the best interests of the United States at heart;

"That the German declaration of January 31, 1917, represents an unjustified and unjustifiable attempt to destroy the freedom of the sea and to abridge the commercial liberty guaranteed to us by established law and custom; and that if the Government of the United States were to acquiesce therein such action would be resented by all good citizens as inconsistent with the spirit and traditions of a free people;

"That the request of the President to Congress for authority to take any and all measures necessary to protect life, liberty, and property should be granted without question; and that it is our duty and that of all other loyal citizens to tender immediately to the Government all the service of which we severally and collectively are capable and that such individual and collective service is hereby tendered; and further

"*Resolved*, That while all should stand ready to volunteer if voluntary service is called for, yet Congress, in providing for our common safety, should not adopt emergency measures only, but should definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service:

"That the burden of safeguarding the country should no longer be cast exclusively upon the loyal National Guard and upon other patriotic, military and naval volunteers, but that Congress should exercise its constitutional power 'to raise and support armies' by establishing immediately a permanent and democratic system of national defense based upon universal service and training under direct and exclusive Federal control.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of War and to other members of the Cabinet, and to the members of both congressional Committees on Military Affairs."

In accordance with the above this copy is sent.

CHAS P. BRUCH,
President.
ERNEST K. CUTTER,
Secretary.

LONDON, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of London, Ohio, in mass meeting assembled, believing that not only our rights but also the system of government to which our people are devoted have not only been assailed but also seriously threatened, do hereby resolve, first, that we declare our loyalty to our institutions bequeathed to us by our forefathers; second, that we express full confidence in those who represent us and pledge them in this time of danger our hearty support.

JOHN R. TANNER.
T. J. DWYER.
IDA F. WHITE.

ALLIANCE, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That we, the members of Alliance, Ohio, Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 467, in special session assembled, do hereby appeal to our President and Congress to use the resources of our Nation to oppose the arrogant, despotic, and cruel course laid down and followed by Germany in her attempt to dominate the world, and that we, with the patriotic lessons of our order well learned, pledge the assistance and loyalty of our membership to yourself and Congress in whatever action is deemed expedient to maintain the honor and dignity of the United States of America in the crisis now upon us.

GEORGE SHEETZ, *Secretary.*

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Springfield (Ohio) Rotary Club at noon to-day warmly indorsed the President's message and urge and promise loyal cooperation.

JOHN L. BUSHNELL,
President.
JAMES S. WEBB,
Secretary.

DAYTON, OHIO, *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We have the honor to submit to you for your consideration the following resolution adopted by the citizens of Dayton on April 2, assembled together in the largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in our city:

"Whereas the Nation is on the verge of war; and

"Whereas the sacred rights of our liberty-loving citizenship, guaranteed to us by treaties and international law, have been shamefully disregarded on land and sea; and

"Whereas American lives have been ruthlessly sacrificed and plots disclosed that threaten our national existence; and

"Whereas the Congress is now assembled in solemn session to consider with the President the course our country is to follow in this great crisis: Therefore we, the citizens of Dayton, Ohio, in mass meeting assembled, 'With malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right,' do hereby

"*Resolve*—

"First. That we approve the action of our President in severing diplomatic relations with the German Government for the ruthless destruction of American lives and property and for the shameful plots that threaten our national existence.

"Second. That we as loyal Americans, irrespectively of the country of our birth or of our former allegiance, and irrespective of our political affiliations, hold the enemies of our country to be our enemies and the flag of our country to be the only flag that can claim our allegiance.

"Third. That the entire resources of our city, even to the last drop of our blood and the last penny of our wealth, we hereby pledge to the support of any action the President and the Congress shall take to vindicate the national honor, protect the sacred rights of Americans, and preserve for us and the world the great blessings of democracy.

"Fourth. That we do not seek war, but if war must come to preserve to us and to our posterity these sacred rights and blessings, we favor that all necessary steps be taken to enlarge, strengthen, and equip our Army and Navy for the present and the future to the highest possible efficiency and to conduct war with all the power of the Nation.

"Fifth. That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee to present these resolutions to the President, to the Congress, and to our Representatives in the Congress.

JOHN A. MCMAHON,
WM. J. WHITE,
JAMES M. COX,
HENRY M. WAITE,
EDWARD E. BURKHART,
Committee.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is confined in its membership to citizens of the United States, and among its chief teachings are patriotism and love for the Stars and Stripes. At such a time as this it is fitting that this order should proclaim its patriotism, and not only in words but in deeds if need be. Therefore be it

Resolved by Cincinnati Lodge, No. 5, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, That we favor a national preparedness to meet any contingency that may arise.

Resolved further, That we hereby tender to President Woodrow Wilson our confidence in his judgment and our reliance upon his wisdom in handling the great international crisis now confronting the country.

Resolved further, That we assure him that this lodge and its members stand ready to follow and support him in any action that he may take, and we ask him to command our loyalty and service at all times.

Resolved further, That we tender to the President our united and hearty support in any step that he may recommend or desire to take for the protection of our country and the preservation of its honor.

Resolved further, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to stand by and support the President in any and all his requirements to meet the situation which the Nation is now facing.

Resolved further, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the United States Senators from Ohio, to the Representatives in Congress from the first and second districts of Ohio, and to our grand exalted ruler, Edward Righter, of New Orleans.

CINCINNATI LODGE, No. 5, B. P. O. ELKS,
By ERNEST VON BARGEN, *Exalted Ruler.*

Attest:

J. S. RICHARDSON, *Secretary.*

NEWARK, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Newark's Chamber of Commerce directors, representing a membership of over 600 men, to-day unanimously adopted resolutions commending President Wilson's attitude and placing united and unqualified support in whatever action he deems necessary to preserve the integrity, honor, and self-respect of the American people.

FRANK L. BEGGS, *President.*

KENT, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We expect you to support our President even to declaration of war.

MEN'S CLUB UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *April 1, 1917.*

Senator POMERENE,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Harvard Club of Central Ohio wishes to go on record as supporting the President in the upholding of American honor and protection of American rights, and urges its Congressmen to stand loyally behind him in whatever measures may be deemed necessary.

HARVARD CLUB OF CENTRAL OHIO,
CHAS. S. KELLY, *Secretary.*

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 1, 1917.*

Senator POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Jefferson Grange requests you to sustain the administration during crisis.

C. BART. CHAPMAN, *Secretary.*

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Delegates from 51 clubs, representing 300,000 automobile owners of Ohio, at the annual State automobile convention in Springfield unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we, the delegates of the Ohio State Automobile Association in convention assembled, representing 300,000 citizens of the State of Ohio, do hereby express our firm conviction that the honor and dignity of the United States and the lives and rights of its citizens must be maintained and defended at whatever sacrifice and cost; that we hereby pledge our unreserved support to the President and Congress in their efforts to adequately arm and prepare our country for a state of hostilities; and that in the event of war we will render every possible service in the defense of our Nation and its flag."

This resolution was adopted with cheers and the entire convention on its feet.

THE OHIO STATE AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION,
RICHARD H. LEE, *President.*

—

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At mass meeting of citizens held to-night, attended by largest gathering ever assembled in Memorial Hall, while thousands fought vainly for admission outside doors, in a spirit of unprecedented enthusiasm, after memorable addresses by leading citizens, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas for more than two years past the Imperial German Government has outraged the rights of the United States of America, has ruthlessly killed Americans while engaged in the peaceful and lawful exercise of their vocations upon the high seas, and has ignored and evaded the demands of the Government of the United States for the cessation of the murder of Americans and other neutrals and noncombatants and of the destruction of American ships and property, and through both official and unofficial channels fomented and directed plots and outrages against the lives and property of Americans on our own soil, thus betraying our hospitality and violating our sovereignty, and while professing friendship and esteem for the United States has sought to engage Mexico and Japan in a joint war with Germany against the United States: Therefore we, American citizens resident in the city of Columbus, Ohio, and assembled in mass meeting this 2d day of April, 1917, do resolve as follows:

"First. Recognizing that the time has come for vigorous and aggressive action by the President and Congress, and the entire power of the Nation, to uphold the dignity and integrity of the United States as a sovereign power, whose paramount obligation it is to protect American rights and the rights of humanity and to promote international justice, liberty, and democracy, therefore we pledge ourselves jointly and severally to support the President of the United States and the national administration in whatever steps may be necessary to these ends.

"Second. That inasmuch as by the belligerent actions of the Imperial German Government a state of war with Germany now actually exists, therefore Congress should immediately declare war against the Imperial German Government.

"Third. We declare ourselves in favor of universal military service as the only just democratic and efficient measure of national defense.

"Fourth. That immediate steps should be taken to mobilize the industrial, financial, military, and naval resources and the man power of the Nation effectively to defend on both sea and land the rights and sovereignty of the United States, the rights of humanity, and the principles of free and democratic government."

THE COLUMBUS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

—

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved, That we, the trustees of the Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, hereby approve national universal military training as an institution to be inaugurated immediately and maintained indefinitely, in accordance with the policy of the fathers of the Republic as embodied in the law of 1792, and petition our representatives in Congress to work and vote for the now pending universal military training bill, known as the Chamberlain bill; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this chamber be, and he hereby is, instructed to transmit by wire copies of this resolution to both President Wilson and our representatives in Congress.

ROBERT WADSWORTH,
Secretary Youngstown Chamber of Commerce.

—

Resolution of the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Hamilton County, Ohio.

This is no time to palter; it is a time when every American citizen must elect to either be a patriot or a traitor. There is no middle ground; there can be no divided allegiance. Those who are not ready to rush to the defense of our flag and, if necessary, to die for the things it represents are unworthy of that hitherto respected name.

In such an hour when the safety of the country is in jeopardy and its honor is to be preserved, he who hesitates to proclaim his devotion to the causes of justice and humanity is a dastard. He is unworthy to be a partaker of the liberty and freedom, the priceless heritage of our citizenship.

Affirming our devotion to the precepts of our heroic forebearers who established on this continent a Government whose corner stone is equal opportunity, a Government which is also a protest against the so-called divine right of kings and emperors; and further affirming our devotion and belief in the principle that the will of the people is the true and only source of power, we, the members of the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Hamilton County, Ohio, therefore do, and be it solemnly and patriotically

Resolved, That the conduct of the cranks and partisan marplots who are seeking to embarrass and stay the hand of President Wilson in his efforts to preserve unimpaired the rights of American citizens to the freedom of the seas merits the severest condemnation: And further be it

Resolved, That we heartily approve the stand the President has taken to uphold the rules of international law. And we desire to place ourselves on record as approving whatever measures he may take to enforce the rights of our country as against the ruthless and murderous practices that are being employed by the mailed hand of a savage and brutal military autocracy, a system of warfare, if successful, will mean the overthrow of liberty and the triumph of tyranny.

THE FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS
OF HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO,
By THORNTON R. SNYDER, *President.*

—

LOCAL COLLEGE WIRES LOYALTY TO GOVERNMENT—MOUNT UNION CONDEMNS BRUTAL SUBMARINE WARFARE OF GERMANY—URGES CONGRESS TO PREVENT OUTRAGES—PLEDGES SUPPORT TO PRESIDENT IN UPHOLDING NATIONAL HONOR.

Mount Union College faculty and students to-day showed their loyalty to President Wilson and their country by adopting a resolution at chapel service condemning the ruthless submarine campaign of the Germans and offering to aid the Government "in whatever way we can" in preventing a continuance of further outrages.

After its adoption it was telegraphed to President Wilson. The resolution follows:

"*Resolved*, That we, the students and faculty of Mount Union College, in chapel assembled, do hereby urge the Government at Washington to take immediate steps to oppose the brutal and defiant attitude of Germany as seen in the long list of crimes against civilization, culminating in the outrageous and tyrannical undersea warfare, and that we, true to our past position of loyalty and sacrifice, do hereby pledge ourselves to support in whatever way we can the action to be taken by Congress in maintaining the cherished honor of the Nation."

A copy of the resolution was also wired to Senator POMERENE.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire to send to the desk, to be incorporated in the RECORD, the action of the student body of the University of Georgia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The matter referred to is as follows:

GEORGIA UNIVERSITY PLEDGES LOYALTY IN SUPER-CRISIS—STUDENTS AND FACULTY HOLD MASS MEETINGS AND ADOPT RESOLUTIONS PLEDGING SUPPORT.

The resolutions as adopted in full follow:

"*Resolved, first*. That the University of Georgia, the first established of the State universities of America, throughout its history has constantly stood for the Christian virtues of peace on earth and good will toward men.

"For a century and a quarter it has consistently, so far as its teaching and its influence might avail, upheld the sanctity of law and mutual respect and fair dealing among men. Founded by patriots just emerged from the historic conflict by which our great Republic was established, it has as constantly endeavored to promote that love of freedom, truth, and justice which is the invaluable heritage of the American people.

"Whilst eagerly desiring the blessings of peace, within the borders of the Commonwealth and in the world at large, it has not scrupled to place larger emphasis on honor, truth, and righteousness.

"At this present time of stress, when the liberties of the people seem threatened, when the honor of the Nation is at stake, when righteous dealing among the nations seems imperiled, the university hereby offers to the State and to the Nation its loyal, patriotic, and unstinted services for whatsoever 't may be able or be called upon to do.

"*Resolved, second*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the governor of the State, the President of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from Georgia in the Congress of the United States, and also to each member of the board of trustees of the university."

INDORSE UNIVERSAL TRAINING.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the faculty and by the student body of the University of Georgia yesterday afternoon:

"*Be it resolved*, That the faculty of the University of Georgia believe thoroughly in a sound military policy founded on mandatory training and equal obligation, and furthermore we do hereby indorse any step or action taken by the President of the United States and Congress toward the promotion of universal training and equal service, and pledge ourselves to support the administration in the event of any crisis."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the substitute offered by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER].

The substitute was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution is as in Committee of the Whole and open to further amendment.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, Nebraska has been perhaps too much in evidence to-day; but in justice to my State I shall send to the desk and ask to have read, before the vote is taken, a telegram giving the text of a resolution upon this subject passed by both houses of the Nebraska Legislature.

Before I take my seat, Mr. President, I desire to say that, as far as I am concerned, I shall not ask for a roll call upon this joint resolution while it is in Committee of the Whole, but upon the final passage of the joint resolution in the Senate a roll call will be asked.

I ask for the reading of the telegram.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The telegram will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

LINCOLN, NEBR., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. G. M. HITCHCOCK,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Both houses of the legislature to-day passed the following resolution by unanimous votes:

"In this time of national crisis we, the members of the thirty-fifth session of the legislature, without regard to party affiliations, renew our allegiance to our country and our President. We rejoice that the honor of representing the President at this critical period in the great-

est of all legislative bodies, the United States Senate, has fallen upon a distinguished Nebraskan—Senator GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK. We pledge Nebraska's manhood and resources to the end that our country's honor be maintained and its prestige undiminished."

EARL B. GADDIS.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I send to the desk telegrams embodying resolutions passed by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota indorsing the address of the President and the joint resolution pending before the Senate. I ask to have the telegrams placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. PAUL, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Sullivan, G. H., offers the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress, given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope and does hereby request that every Senator and Representative of the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and request set forth in said message; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message, and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained, and to take such action during this legislative session so that all of the resources of this great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of the senate is hereby instructed immediately to wire the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of this resolution."

GEO. W. PEACHEY, *Secretary.*

—

ST. PAUL, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator F. B. KELLOGG,
Washington, D. C.:

Messrs. Nolan and Pratt offer the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope, and does hereby request, that every Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and requests set forth in said message. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained, and to take such action during this legislative session, so that all of the resources of the great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war, be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States. And be it further

"*Resolved*, That the chief clerk of the house of representatives is hereby instructed immediately to wire to the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of this resolution."

OSCAR ARNESON, *Chief Clerk.*

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have received a great many telegrams signed by several hundred citizens of my State, some of them protesting against our going into war and some of them urging that we do so. I have here simply a few of the telegrams, which are typical of many that have been sent to me, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD, and in lieu of any remarks that I might desire to submit I ask permission to have printed in the RECORD a letter which I wrote yesterday and sent to those protesting against war.

There being no objection, the telegrams and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. WESLEY JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

The Women's Democratic Club of King County, 300 strong, urge your patriotic support of the President's policies.

Mrs. M. B. HARKER, *President.*

—

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator WESLEY L. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the executive committee of the Woman's Wilson-Marshall League, protest against a declaration of war. The press of the country may want war, but the people do not. There are no munition plants or war bondholders in the West.

WOMAN'S WILSON-MARSHALL LEAGUE,
Mrs. A. JEFFERSON NELSON, *President.*
MISS HELEN BYRNE, *Secretary.*

—

WENATCHEE, WASH., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator W. L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At largely attended mass meeting held in public park to-day practically all churches, fraternal organizations, and commercial bodies unanimously passed strong resolutions in favor of upholding the rights of American citizens upon land and sea, and pledge undivided support to you. Copy of above sent President Wilson to-night. Resolutions mailed.

W. W. GRAY, *Mayor.*

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 31, 1917.*

—

Senator WESLEY JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

Our State forcibly expressed our opinion on subject of war declaration by electing President Wilson on slogan "Kept us out of war." Newspapers insisting on war are betraying this Nation. Referendum would prove this claim. God give you strength to remain steadfast for peace.

Mrs. GEO. A. SMITH,
President Suffrage Association and
Alkai Improvement Club.

—

VANCOUVER, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Vancouver Lodge, No. 823, with membership of 650 patriotic Americans, have passed to-day the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That Vancouver Lodge, No. 823, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, pledges the President of the United States its unanimous support in upholding the honor and dignity of our country and in protecting the lives and property of our citizens at home and abroad, and especially upon the high seas; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we favor a strong preparedness program."

These resolutions reflect the unanimous sentiment of the people of the West.

JOS. J. DONOVAN, *Exalted Ruler.*
C. A. PASSON, *Secretary.*

—

TACOMA, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

W. L. JONES, *Washington, D. C.:*

Federated Women's Christian Temperance Unions of Tacoma, Pierce County Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Friends' Church of this district unite in demanding that there be no war, with its horrible butchery of our boys. We are opposed to universal enforced military training or creation of large armies.

FEDERATED PEACE SOCIETIES,
NETTIE HOLENBECK, *Chairman.*

—

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. W. L. JONES,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the committee representing nearly all civic and fraternal organizations of the city of Seattle, in executive session, hereby adopt the following resolution, instructing the chairman and secretary to forward copies of the same immediately to the President of the United States and to Congress:

"Whereas this Nation is passing through a world crisis and needs the united and loyal support of all of its people, we deem it a privilege as citizens of this great Republic to extend to the administration and Congress our unqualified confidence and support, to the end that we retain our rightful place among the nations of the earth; that we courageously and honorably demand recognition of the freedom of the high seas with all other nations; that we will brook no interference of those rights, and, if necessary, employ force of arms to meet the issue of a free people not for conquest but to sustain and continue advancing civilization and our principles until they encircle the world. To that end we pledge anew our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honor."

LOUIS WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*
RICHARD SEELEY E. JONES, *Secretary.*

—

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
Senator from State of Washington:

What are you going to do about the war question? We young women of Washington are depending upon you to do what you can to protect us from this catastrophe. War—no.

Annette Schafer, Katherine Stewart, Jesse Cobb, Ver Lewis, Eula Walker, Mary Cobb, Burnadette McCarthy, Violet Hansen, Blanche Emerson, Ethel And-Resen.

—

NORTH YAKIMA, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator WESLEY JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas a crisis now exists in the affairs of our Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Yakima Michigan Society commends President Wilson's war message and approves and urges the immediate adoption of the resolutions now before both Houses of Congress. We hereby renew our pledge of allegiance and loyalty to our country.

GEO. F. MCCAULAY, *President.*

—

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. WESLEY JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: Will you please bring to the attention of the United States Senate the following resolution passed unanimously by the members and pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Zion's Church at their house of worship:

"*Resolved*, That we, the members and pastor of the said church of Seattle, all citizens of the United States, respectfully petition Congress not to hurl our country and people into the horrors of the European war, but if the Members of Congress are not against the war to let the people of the United States, who would suffer from the war, vote whether or not they are willing to shed their blood and pay the expense of such a war."

H. P. OLAI[illegible], *Pastor.*

EVERETT, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Everett Spanish War Veterans unreservedly support President in maintaining American honor and protecting citizens at home or abroad. We know what war means, but face it again rather than tolerate murder and piracy. This is reply to Emergency Peace Association advertisement.

CHAS. A. TURNER,
Adjutant Camp 9, Spanish War Veterans.

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

W. L. JONES,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Believing that a way out of the present crisis can be found without loss of honor and without resorting to war, we, the undersigned citizens of the United States, beg that you do all in your power to avert war.

Yours,

A. W. Kraats, F. A. Gepner, H. Roescher, Anna Gepner, Julia Roescher, Fred Gepner, L. Muth, Lena Gepner, Minnie Muth, M. Sender, E. Ziegler, Kate Sender, Ernestine Ziegler, A. K. Engel, I. C. Ritscher, Alma Engel, Caemelita Ritscher, H. Mollenstadt, Minnie Kraatz, A. Korman, E. Frank, Louise Korman, Louise Frank, O. Fedder, Thomas Ehlers, Florence Fedder.

ELLENSBURG, WASH., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator WESLEY L. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

Fifteen hundred people in mass meeting to-night unanimously passed resolution urging Washington's Senators and Representatives in Congress to stand by the President in program to fully protect American honor and American lives.

J. C. KAYMOR.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
WASHINGTON.

Your communication urging that we be kept out of war at hand. I have hoped that we would not be drawn into it and have done what I could to keep out of it. I have believed that there is more real, true patriotism in trying to save our country and its homes from the horror of war than in hastening it toward such a calamity. The die is cast. The President has spoken in such a way that war can not be avoided without humiliation and dishonor.

Heretofore there has been room for patriotic differences of opinion and action. I am not a censor of other people's conduct, but to me there is now only one patriotic duty, and that is to support in unstinted measure the course which accords with the judgment of the duly constituted governmental agencies. To try to direct the Nation along a proper course is patriotic, to resist its decree and authority is not.

The supreme test of our citizenship is at hand. There should be no divided allegiance from any of us. This Nation should have our supreme loyalty and the Stars and Stripes should command our undivided support.

Our naturalized citizens will be tested as by fire. I am sure but few of them will be recreant to their oath or disloyal to their country of adoption. I pray that we may emerge from this conflict a better and more united people, and that our Government may be a controlling factor in securing a just, honorable, and lasting peace.

Mr. PHELAN. I have received telegrams from the Lodge of Elks of Santa Cruz, and from the Faculty Club of the University of California at Berkeley, in the State of California, approving the stand taken by the President in our relations with Germany. I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SANTA CRUZ, CAL., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following telegram has this day been sent the President:

"The officers and members of Santa Cruz Lodge of Elks at a meeting this day held strongly indorsed the stand you have taken in preparing the country for any emergency which might arise, and the patriotism you have shown in your endeavors to uphold, defend, and perpetuate the dignity of our flag and the honor and integrity of our Nation. We wish to express our fullest confidence in your wisdom and in the judgment of Congress, pledging you our humble assistance at this time in our country's crisis."

CLAY E. PETERS,
Exalted Ruler.

BERKELEY, CAL., *April 2, 1917.*

JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

As indicating attitude of our university community, I beg to call your attention to following telegram sent President Wilson March 30:

"At an open meeting of the Faculty Club of the University of California, attended by 126 members, the following resolution was adopted by an affirmative vote of 105: 'Since the Imperial Government of Germany has, according to the express declaration of the President of the United States, violated the fundamental rights not only of Americans but of humanity, rights of life and liberty upon which all law, justice, ordered government, and international sanction are based, and without which there is no civilization; and since that Government has, in spite of his warnings, specifically and wantonly sunk our ships and done to death our fellow citizens while they were engaged in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits: Therefore be it

"'*Resolved*, That we hope the President and Congress of the United States will take prompt and appropriate action to fulfill the manifest duty of the United States of America to vindicate American honor, and what is fundamental and much more vital to reassert by force and with all resources at our command against the Imperial Government of Germany, and in harmony with those peoples whose liberal ideals and allegiance to rights are identical with ours the mandates of international law and the rights of humanity.'"

LINCOLN J. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. THOMPSON. I have received resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Fort Scott, Kans., which I desire to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To President Wilson and to the Members of the Kansas Congressional Delegation:

Whereas it seems from reports that reach us that sooner or later we must engage in the great world war that is now raging in Europe; and

Whereas we deplore the necessity of such action, but we have elected you to look after our national and international interests, and we trust you and will follow your directions in this great crisis. We hope that if war does come that we can enter it on such terms that every citizen will be on an absolute equality.

Therefore we request that a law be enacted providing for the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors within the United States of America and its possessions during the time we are preparing for and are engaged in war.

That, as it requires money and property to prepare for war, laws shall be passed calling for volunteers of money and property of every kind necessary for successful preparation for war and for sustaining life while the war is in progress; that all mines, mills, farms, factories, railroads, workshops, stores of every kind and character, and every species of productive property, including money, which is not voluntarily turned over to the United States Government upon call for the same for use in preparing for and sustaining war shall be taken over by the Government, and when the war is over such portion of such property so taken as remains unused or undestroyed shall be returned to its former owners without compensation of any kind.

Provided, however, That if any person's property is totally destroyed in its use for the purposes above mentioned, and such person is destitute or needy, then he or she, as the case may be, shall have the same pension allowed by the United States Government as is allowed at the time for soldiers, their widows and orphans.

That no person shall be allowed within the jurisdiction of the United States to make any profit out of war or preparations for such war, and if any person is found making or attempting to make profit out of the same he shall, upon conviction, be disfranchised for life and sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor during the war.

Provided further, That when steps have been taken to provide the money and property necessary to prepare for and carry on the war, as herein indicated, a call for volunteers shall be made for all able-bodied men and women within the United States of America above the age of 18 years to enlist, and in case anyone refuses to so enlist under such call for volunteers they shall be conscripted and forced and compelled to enter the service of the country.

That when the full citizenship of the country has been thus recruited the governmental authorities shall apportion them in the places where they are needed and where they are best calculated to do service, either in the Army, the Navy, or the industries taken over.

KANSAS IS LOYAL TO THE CORE.

STATE OF KANSAS,
Bourbon County, ss:

J. I. Sheppard, being duly sworn, says that he is a resident of Fort Scott, Kans., and has been such resident for 30 years last past; that he was present on the evening of March 29, 1917, at a mass meeting of the citizens of Fort Scott, Kans., in the First Baptist Church at Fort Scott, and that he was the mover of the foregoing resolution, and that the same was adopted by the people present at said mass meeting.

Affiant further swears that Hubert Lardner, a resident of Fort Scott, Kans., and chairman of the Democratic State central committee of Kansas, was delegated to carry said resolution to Washington, D. C., and present the same to the President of the United States and to the members of the Kansas delegation in Congress.

J. I. SHEPPARD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of March, 1917.

[SEAL.] J. C. MITCHELL,
Notary Public.

My commission expires January 16, 1921.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there is no further amendment to be offered as in Committee of the Whole, the joint resolution will be reported to the Senate.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I ask for the yeas and nays upon the passage of the joint resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when Mr. BANKHEAD'S name was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. BANKHEAD] has been unavoidably detained from the city. If he were present, I am informed that he would vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH]. He has caused to be stated to me that if he were present to-night he would heartily support the joint resolution. Unfortunately he is detained from the Senate by serious illness in his family. Therefore, being at liberty to vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when Mr. GOFF'S name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is prevented from being present by serious illness. He has authorized me to state that if he were here he would vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. REED (when Mr. GORE'S name was called). The senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is unable to be present on

account of serious illness, which has confined him to his home for some weeks.

Mr. SAULSBURY (when Mr. HOLLIS's name was called). I was requested to announce that the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] is unable to be present to-night, and if present he would vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], who is absent on account of sickness. I am, however, informed that if he were present he would vote the same as I would, and I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PITTMAN (when Mr. NEWLANDS's name was called). The senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] is necessarily absent. If he were present, I am informed that he would vote "yea."

Mr. SHAFROTH (when Mr. THOMAS's name was called). I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] and to state that he is paired with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], and that if he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS (when Mr. TILLMAN's name was called). The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] was called from the Chamber by illness. He requested me to inform the Senate that he is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] and to announce that the Senator from West Virginia would vote the same way as would the Senator from South Carolina. The Senator from South Carolina desires me to announce that if he were here he would vote "yea" on the passage of the joint resolution.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to state that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of illness, and if he were present he would vote for the joint resolution.

The result was announced—yeas 82, nays 6, as follows:

YEAS—82.

Ashurst	Harding	Martin	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Hardwick	Myers	Smith, Ga.
Borah	Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Mich.
Brady	Hughes	New	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	Husting	Overman	Smoot
Broussard	James	Owen	Sterling
Calder	Johnson, Cal.	Page	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Penrose	Swanson
Colt	Jones, N. Mex.	Phelan	Thompson
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Townsend
Cummins	Kellogg	Poindexter	Trammell
Curtis	Kendrick	Pomerene	Underwood
Dillingham	Kenyon	Ransdell	Wadsworth
Fall	King	Reed	Walsh
Fernald	Kirby	Robinson	Warren
Fletcher	Knox	Saulsbury	Watson
France	Lewis	Shafroth	Weeks
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Sheppard	Williams
Gallinger	McCumber	Sherman	Wolcott
Gerry	McKellar	Shields	
Hale	McLean	Simmons	

NAYS—6.

Gronna	Lane	Stone	Vardaman
La Follette	Norris		

NOT VOTING—8.

Bankhead	Gore	Newlands	Thomas
Goff	Hollis	Smith, Md.	Tillman

So the joint resolution was passed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendments of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the preamble will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the preamble, after the word "Whereas," it is proposed to strike out the words "the recent acts of"; after the words "the Imperial German Government" to strike out the word "are" and insert in lieu thereof the words "has committed repeated"; and after the words "United States," in the third line of the clause, to insert the words "of America," so as to make the preamble read:

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America.

The amendments were agreed to.

The preamble as amended was agreed to.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I present petitions signed by 7,555 citizens of California, praying for a referendum on the question of war before war is declared. These petitions have just reached me by mail or I would have presented them before. I move that they lie upon the table.

The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 12. An act making appropriation to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

Mr. PITTMAN submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2), which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the United States of America congratulates the people of Russia on their assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government, and expresses the confident hope that, in the adoption and maintenance of a democratic form of government, the rights, liberties, and happiness of the Russian people will be secure and the progress of the country assured.

ADJOURNMENT TO FRIDAY.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Friday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Friday, April 6, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *April 4, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Take us, O God, our Heavenly Father, into the Holy of Holies, and arouse the better angels of our being, that they may dominate our thought and direct our acts in the duties of the hour; that we may be good and faithful servants unto Thee and to our fellow men, in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two resolutions adopted yesterday by the Minnesota Legislature.

The SPEAKER. About what?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. About the President's message and the declaration of war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing some resolutions adopted by the Minnesota Legislature concerning the President's message and the declaration of war. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following are the resolutions referred to:

ST. PAUL, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. C. B. MILLER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Sullivan, G. H., offers the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress, given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope, and does hereby request, that every Senator and Representative of the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and request set forth in said message. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained and to take such action during this legislative session so that all of the resources of this great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war, be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of the senate is hereby instructed immediately to wire the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of this resolution."

GEO. W. PEACHEY, *Secretary.*

ST. PAUL, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

C. B. MILLER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Messrs. Nolan and Pratt offer the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress, given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope, and does hereby request, that every Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and requests set forth in said message. Be it further

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained, and to take action during this legislative session so that all of the resources of this great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war, be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the chief clerk of the house of representatives is hereby instructed immediately to wire the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of the resolution."

OSCAR ARNESON, *Chief Clerk.*

CHAMP CLARK THOMSON.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes on a matter to which no one will take exception.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to address the House on a matter that nobody will take exception to. [Laughter.] Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, during the last session of Congress the Members of the House presented a gold service to the grandson of the Speaker, the child of the Speaker's daughter. I desire to have read to the House and inserted in the RECORD the first letter written by this distinguished young citizen of the country. [Laughter and applause.]

The Clerk read as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 16, 1917.*

MY DEAR FRIEND, MR. MANN: I take my pen in my mother's hand to thank you, and through you to thank my other friends in the House, for the beautiful gold service which you sent me.

It came this morning just in time to make bright what otherwise would have been a very melancholy occasion, for my mother was taking her first lesson in bathing me. She got so excited when she saw my lovely present that she was in a fair way to rub one of my ears clear off if I hadn't given her a diplomatic reminder. At present the rattle interests me the most. I took it firmly in my hand and commenced to preside over the "house" at once. But, through all the alluring stages of cup, plate, knife, fork, spoon, and napkin ring—and afterwards throughout my whole life—this wonderful present will be the source of keenest pride and pleasure to me, both for its own beauty and as a symbol of a precious inheritance from my grandfather—the friendship of the donors.

I am growing very fast and will soon be big enough to come to Washington, where I hope to make the acquaintance of all my friends at the Capitol and to explore the mysteries of the cloakroom, which I understand are as rich as Golconda in treasure for a small boy.

In the meantime, should any of my friends there chance to journey this way they will find a warm welcome in my nursery, where I will be pleased to serve them refreshments from my cup and plate.

With deepest thanks to you and all the other Members for your friendship and for your gift, in which my father and mother join, I am happy to be, now and always,

Your friend, CHAMP CLARK THOMSON.

[Applause.]

GALLERY TICKETS.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make a personal inquiry. A number of friends of mine have come to me and asked me for cards to the galleries. The cards have been presented and refused. They said nobody was being admitted to the galleries. I find upon arrival here that the galleries are all full, and that no person can obtain admission to the gallery except upon a special card issued by the Doorkeeper, and that nobody can get a card from the Doorkeeper unless he makes a personal application for it. I think that is humiliating to a Member of the House. [Applause.]

If there are to be any special cards issued to Members of the House, they ought to be issued to all Members, irrespective of who they are. The Doorkeeper ought not to be allowed to assume the right to control the galleries and carry his pocket full of cards and furnish them only when Members make a request for them. I do not propose to ask the Doorkeeper for cards of admission to the galleries. [Applause.]

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask the indulgence of the House for one minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] asks unanimous consent to proceed for one minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had possibly the same experience as my colleague from Illinois had. I went to the Doorkeeper and found this condition: I was informed that if the galleries were permitted to be filled up it would shut out all the friends that Members of Congress might bring here for admission, and in order to obviate that and to accommodate Members of Congress the Doorkeeper reserved certain galleries to which he gladly gave tickets of admission to any Member who applied to him.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; when he applied. But why should he be compelled to apply?

Mr. FOSTER. I suggest that the gentleman wait until I get through. There is no reason to get offended over this. Members of Congress should not "fly off" when a thing like this occurs. It is no humiliation to a Member of Congress to go and ask the Doorkeeper for tickets of admission to the gallery that he was reserving for this special purpose.

Mr. CRAMTON. Did the gentleman ever try to find the Doorkeeper? [Laughter.]

Mr. FOSTER. There is no difficulty about finding the Doorkeeper.

Mr. CRAMTON. I have tried to find him. [Laughter.]

Mr. FOSTER. The gentleman seems to be piqued because the Doorkeeper was trying to accommodate Members of the House in the admission to the gallery of their friends who might be in the city. I think the Doorkeeper has acted wisely. I think he ought to be commended by the Members of this House in trying to help them, and not criticized for doing it.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to ask the Speaker by what right the Doorkeeper does this?

The SPEAKER. The truth about it—if the House will indulge the Speaker a moment—is that there is a great deal of difficulty about this gallery business. Whenever there is anything exciting here people come up here before sunup and stand around and hang about in order to get into the galleries. The Doorkeeper has done the best he could. For instance, last Monday we had a dreadful mix up here. It looked as though there would be a riot for a while, but after a while we got the matter pretty well straightened out. The House ought to do one of two things about it: Either to let it be understood that the first comer gets the seat, or else pass a resolution that nobody shall get into the gallery until 11 o'clock or 11.30, or something of that sort.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, may I ask another question? Does not the Speaker think it would be decent on the part of the Doorkeeper, if he is going to issue tickets, not to carry those tickets in his pockets and compel Members to ask for them after their friends are turned away on tickets issued by the Members; but if tickets are going to be issued at all by the Doorkeeper ought they not to be issued proportionately to the membership of the House?

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not going to express any opinion about that, except to say that the control of the galleries primarily is in the hands of the Speaker. In the second place, the galleries belong to the House. Now, if the House wants to set apart one or two of these galleries, or all of them, to be controlled by this House, why that is all right. Then the Doorkeeper will know what to do. He is not to blame.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, I want to submit a request for unanimous consent. I think, if adopted, it will be a relief to the Doorkeeper, to the Speaker, and to the House. I share quite largely in the feeling of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. During the time while this Capitol is practically closed, as it probably will be during these exciting times, I ask unanimous consent that such galleries as the Speaker and the Doorkeeper do not need for their own immediate friends be equitably and equally apportioned among the several Members of the House, and that cards be issued and turned over to them, and in turn they be allowed to give to their friends. This will enable us without embarrassment to get some of our friends in the galleries. I have been unable at times to get my wife and the members of my family into either end of the Capitol, and I know other Members have had the same experience, and it is a very embarrassing thing. These doors and admissions have not been running just right of late. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. If the gentlemen interested will get their heads together and devise a better plan, all well and good.

Mr. FERRIS. It will not then be a matter of favoritism, and each one will get an equal chance, and that will be a relief to the Doorkeeper and will be fair all around. All that is desired is that we be given an equal number all around. No one wants, I am sure, more than their fair share of these admittances.

Too many outsiders have been admitted and Members' families have been too often excluded.

Mr MANN. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, just a moment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to speak for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. There is now a gallery known as the Members' gallery, where the Speaker's bench is, which gallery is primarily designed for the families of Members of the House, but that gallery is not of sufficient size to accommodate the families of Members when there is any important matter before the House and pressure to get in. As I understand, the Doorkeeper this morning reserved some of the other galleries for the purpose of taking care of the families or special friends of Members of the House, and I notice that one of the galleries is now in the main vacant, probably reserved for that purpose.

Mr. LANGLEY. We did not know anything about it; that is the trouble.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman knows now what I am telling him. I do not know whether it is correct or not. The papers

this morning published the statement that the war resolution would probably be up in the House to-day. According to the papers the Senate yesterday decided that the galleries of the Senate would not be open to the public; that is, they shut off the public galleries, so that all of the visiting public who desired to visit either branch of Congress made their way to the House this morning, and if admitted on the usual Member's ticket, or to the public galleries where no ticket is required, would have overflowed all of those galleries and shut out the families of Members. For that reason these galleries were reserved for the families and friends of Members who obtained special tickets from the Doorkeeper. Whether it was wise or not I do not undertake to say.

Mr. MADDEN. Will my colleague yield to me for a question? How did these people who are in the galleries get the special tickets for admission to the galleries?

The SPEAKER. They did not have any.

Mr. MANN. I do not know. I do not know whether special tickets were required for most of the people in the galleries.

The SPEAKER. They just simply came over here and took possession. That is all there was to it.

GERMANY.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask the indulgence of the House for a moment to make a request for unanimous consent. The Committee on Foreign Affairs this morning reported the resolution (H. J. Res. 24) declaring that by the acts of Germany a state of war exists between that country and the United States. I ask unanimous consent that as soon as the appropriation bill is disposed of this resolution may be brought before the House and taken up for consideration, debated during the afternoon, and voted on sometime during the afternoon.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman reserve his right to object?

Mr. KING. I reserve the right to object.

Mr. FLOOD. Does the gentleman object to its coming up to-day?

The SPEAKER. No; he reserves the right to object.

Mr. FLOOD. I understand that. I wanted to find out upon what ground the gentleman objected.

Mr. MANN. I think there is considerable objection on the part of various Members to taking the matter up to-day before they have had an opportunity of seeing the report of the committee. I do not know whether there would be objection to a unanimous-consent agreement to take it up to-morrow or not. I assume that if objection is made to the request which the gentleman from Virginia finally prefers it will be brought before the House by a rule in any event.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Foreign Affairs much prefers that this resolution may come before the House if possible by unanimous consent rather than by a rule.

Mr. MANN. But if no unanimous-consent agreement is reached?

Mr. FLOOD. Then we will have to have a rule.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We do not need any rule. The gentleman can demand the regular order to-morrow, and upon the call of committees the only bill reported will be this bill, and that will come up under the rule.

Mr. MANN. The time for debate would be very limited.

Mr. FLOOD. I take it that if we can not get it up by unanimous consent we shall ask for a rule.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We do not need a rule.

Mr. MANN. I do not know whether objection would be made to taking it up to-morrow and, possibly, meeting early.

Mr. FLOOD. In view of the fact that we much prefer to have it come up by unanimous consent, I make the request that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow, and that as soon as the journal is read we take up the resolution declaring that a state of war exists with Germany.

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, if that be done, will the gentleman say how much time will probably be allowed for debate?

Mr. FLOOD. My idea was that the debate would run through to-day, and that a vote would be asked for in the afternoon at 4 or 5 o'clock, or, at any rate, some time before we adjourn.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I hope that the debate will not be limited in that way.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Wisconsin rise?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I rise to object and to say a word or two concerning the request made by the gentleman from Virginia.

The SPEAKER. Let the Chair state the request of the gentleman from Virginia so that Members will understand it. The gentleman's request is that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock a. m. to-morrow; that after the business on the Speaker's table is disposed of the so-called war resolution shall be in order, and that debate shall run along until late in the afternoon, and then take a vote on it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I attended the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs this morning, and it was the distinct understanding, or at least it was my distinct understanding, that the committee desired that the bill be not taken up to-day, but that the chairman should ask unanimous consent for its consideration to-morrow immediately after the reading of the Journal; that to be accompanied by a request that the House meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The SPEAKER. That is precisely the request of the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I want to express my surprise that the gentleman should make any other request. I did not understand that there was to be any request for a hearing to-day. I have no desire to delay matters, but it does seem to me that on a resolution which is to send this Nation to war—for possibly three years, as the papers said last night—it might at least be well to have a report. We would not appropriate even so much as $50 for the sinking of a scow by a Government vessel on a navigable river of the United States without a report from the committee having jurisdiction of the measure setting forth the facts to justify the expenditure of that small sum from the National Treasury. And taking now merely the dollars and cents' view, as we are certain to spend hundreds of millions of dollars, we ought at least to have a report embodying a plain statement of all the indisputable facts upon which we are to make the vast outlay and send this Republic to war.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I desire to call the attention of my colleague on the committee [Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin] to the fact that he doubtless misunderstood the situation as the committee adjourned. There was conversation and discussion by the committee of the character mentioned by the gentleman from Wisconsin that the chairman of the committee should not ask to call this up until to-morrow morning; but the committee failed to take that action, and the matter was distinctly left authorizing the chairman of the committee to call it up to-day or at any other time he saw fit.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I do not want to enter an absolute denial of what the gentleman from Minnesota says, but, nevertheless, I want him to remember that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON], who had insisted on immediate action on the resolution, said to me and to other members of the committee and in the hearing of all of the committee that inasmuch as a number of the members of the committee did not desire the resolution to be taken up until after the reading of the Journal to-morrow he would withdraw his objection to the postponement. He said this distinctly in the presence of all of the committee, and we left the room with that understanding.

Mr. FLOOD. I will say to the gentleman that I stated distinctly so that every gentleman in the committee room who was listening to what was going on heard me, that I would ask unanimous consent of the House that this matter be taken up to-day. I never said at any time that I would not do it. I have done what I said I would do, but that has been objected to and I now ask that it be taken up to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have no objection to the gentleman calling up the resolution to-morrow, but this is the most momentous question that has ever confronted the country since the Civil War, and to cut it off with a few hours' debate, which will be occupied almost wholly by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is not right. There is too much involved in it. Do not let Members be taken off their feet by excitement, let it be discussed and considered, and let us understand the ramifications of what it means, and therefore I will object to curtailing or limiting the debate to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. BURNETT. I do not object to its being called up to-morrow, but I object to the limitation of debate.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can not cut the request in two.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, the request of the gentleman from Virginia did not say anything about cutting off debate.

Mr. BURNETT. He asked that it be voted on to-morrow some time and that would be cutting off debate.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman asked that a vote be taken to-morrow but stated no specific time.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I make the request now that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, and that the war resolution, so called, be taken up immediately after the reading of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia modifies his request and now asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow; that as soon as the Journal is read and the usual business on the Speaker's table is disposed of, the so-called war resolution be taken up under the general rules of the House.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I desire to ask the gentleman from Virginia a question. Is it the disposition of the chairman to give the Members generally an opportunity to discuss this resolution to-morrow?

Mr. FLOOD. That is the intention of the chairman of the committee and that is the reason I ask the House to convene at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, so that we can have more time.

Mr. NORTON. I wish to say that I want some assurance that I shall have an opportunity to discuss this resolution.

Mr. FLOOD. Then the gentleman will have to object.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. NORTON. Is debate to be permitted to those outside of the Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. FLOOD. Of course. It is the purpose of the committee to allow this debate to run on as long as possible and, if possible, until everyone in the House who desires to speak has had an opportunity to express his views.

Mr. NORTON. Just one other question. What is the necessity for voting on the resolution to-morrow, inasmuch as the Senate will probably not——

The SPEAKER. That part of the request has been withdrawn.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, in my judgment, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] ought to state in his request that a vote shall not be taken before a certain time. Otherwise he can move the previous question and shut off debate.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman that I have no idea of undertaking to shut off debate until the matter has been before the House for some hours, and late in the afternoon to-morrow.

Mr. NORTON. That will not give us time.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to suggest to the gentleman from Virginia that there is an impression among Members, I think very generally—it is a deduction from what has been said—that there will be no report or that there is no report to accompany the resolution. Is it true that there will be none?

Mr. FLOOD. There will be a report.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Very well. One other question: The gentleman from Virginia says he wants to give Members who desire to speak an opportunity, provided they can get in. Under the circumstances and on a question of such tremendous importance, in which the people are acutely and intensely interested, in which almost every citizen in the country is deeply interested, does the gentleman not think it reasonable that provision should be made that all Members who desire to say a few words may do so—limited, if you please, to a few minutes—but that all Members who desire to say a word should be given the opportunity to do so? [Applause.] Otherwise, Mr. Speaker, a half dozen Members, or at most a dozen, may consume all of the time that will be allotted for debate. It is not fair and it is not decent under the circumstances in the consideration of a measure of such vast importance as this to deny the right of debate. It is what some people look forward to as a consequence of hasty legislation.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Texas yield?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Yes; but the time is in the control of the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BARNHART. Under the rule it will be possible for a majority of the House to terminate the debate whenever it so chooses if we begin debate under the unanimous-consent request made by the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. FLOOD. And continue it as long as it pleases.

Mr. BARNHART. And continue it as long as the majority of the House insists it wants further debate, whether it be to-morrow or the next day or all week.

Mr. SLAYDEN. If the gentleman is addressing his remarks to me, I will say that we all understand that rule, of course, and yet we all understand the operation of the rule under different circumstances.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, and that after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, the so-called war resolution shall be taken up for debate under the general rules of the House. Is there objection?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. A parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. If the resolution is taken up under the general rules of the House who would have control of the time?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia would have the first hour. He can move the previous question at any time within that hour. If he lets his hour run out, then the Chair would feel that he ought to recognize the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER], the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Then after the hour of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired, what would be the course?

The SPEAKER. The Chair would think, if there is no particular agreement or rule about it, that the next ranking Democratic member should have an hour, and then the next Republican.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. That is on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Chair would then recognize the next ranking Democrat on the Committee on Foreign Affairs?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida is as familiar with the rule as the Speaker is, that the members of the committee have priority of recognition.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I understand that, but is it not a fact——

Mr. MANN. Of course that would depend on whether they are for or against the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Of course it depends on whether they are for or against the resolution.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I understand; but is it not a fact that unless there is some agreement to the contrary, the whole time may be occupied by members of the committee, and the rest of us not given an opportunity at all?

The SPEAKER. The whole time may be occupied by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] if at any time within his hour he moves the previous question and the House shall vote the previous question; but a man does not have to vote the previous question unless he desires to.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. The House has a right to vote down the previous question if it wants to do so.

The SPEAKER. Why, of course.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MANN. The Chair assumed, and may have decided, that this resolution is on the House Calendar and not on the Union Calendar. I do not know what are the precedents——

The SPEAKER. The Chair did not assume anything of the sort.

Mr. MANN. The Chair assumed it in his statement in reference to recognition and in reference to moving the previous question. I do not know whether the parliamentary clerk has looked up the matter or not to determine whether it goes on the Union Calendar or the House Calendar.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. Just one word. If the House goes into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, the Chairman, whoever he is, would construe the rules of the House already established.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is, Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER. The regular order has been demanded three or four times. Is there objection?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not reserve the right to object when the regular order is demanded. The gentleman will either have to object or not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I object—I withdraw the objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules, to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from the further consideration of the bill H. R. 11, a bill making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and to pass the bill with the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

TICKETS TO THE GALLERIES.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman withhold the motion for a minute? Now, Mr. Speaker, I think it would be to the interest of everybody to have some decision now as to admission to the galleries to-morrow. I would suggest that admission to the galleries be by special tickets to be issued by the Doorkeeper, say, two to each Member of the House.

Mr. SIMS. And to be issued to-night.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. And to be issued to-night and not wait until to-morrow.

Mr. HOWARD. If the Speaker will recognize me——

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will not yield for any resolution.

Mr. HOWARD. I just wanted to dispose of the gallery proposition.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not care——

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that admission to the galleries to-morrow be by special ticket, two to be issued by the Doorkeeper to each Member of the House. Of course the galleries would not cover the number.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that to-morrow nobody be admitted to the galleries except by special ticket and that the Doorkeeper furnish each Member of the House with two tickets. Is there objection?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia objects.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Friday, after the reading of the Journal, if the war resolution has then been disposed of, I may be allowed to address the House for half an hour on the question of universal training and service, not to interfere with privileged matters.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that on next Friday, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington objects.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] moves to suspend the rules, to discharge the Committee on Appropriations from the further consideration of the bill H. R. 11, and to pass the bill with the amendment sent to the Clerk's desk.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. This is the regular order. The Clerk will read the bill with the amendment in it.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, namely:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS, CONSTRUCTION, SITES, AND RENT.

For sites, commencement, continuation, or completion of public buildings within the respective limits of cost authorized by law, rent and removal expenses in cities pending extension and remodeling of buildings, severally, as follows:

Aberdeen, Wash., post office: For completion, $21,500.
Akron, Ohio, post office: For continuation, $220,000.
Aledo, Ill., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Alexandria, La., post office and courthouse (extension): For completion, $25,000.
Rent of buildings: For additional for rent of temporary quarters for Government officials and moving expenses incident thereto, $3,000.
Alliance, Nebr., post office: For completion, $15,000.
Alton, Ill., post office: For lookouts, $2,000.
Altus, Okla., post office: For continuation, $55,000.
Amherst, Mass., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Andalusia, Ala., post office: For completion, $40,000.
Antigo, Wis., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Apalachicola, Fla., post office and customhouse: For continuation, $25,000.
Ashland, Ky., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Ashland, Ohio, post office: For completion, $40,000.
Athens, Tenn., post office: For completion, $40,000.
Attleboro, Mass., post office: For completion, $15,000.
Bad Axe, Mich., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
Bakersfield, Cal., post office: For completion, $27,000.
Baltimore, Md., immigration station: For completion, $40,000.
Barnesville, Ga., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Bartow, Fla., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Basin, Wyo., post office: For completion, $44,500.
Batavia, Ill., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Bay City, Tex., post office: For completion, $49,500.
Bayonne, N. J., post office: For completion, $40,000.
Beaufort, S. C., post office and customhouse: For continuation, $40,000.
Beaver Dam, Wis., post office: For completion, $64,500.
Beeville, Tex., post office: For completion, $34,500.
Bellefourche, S. Dak., post office: For continuation, $60,000.
Belton, Tex., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Bemidji, Minn., post office: For completion, $65,500.
Berlin, N. H., post office: For completion, $13,000.
Berwick, Pa., post office: For completion, $68,500.
Binghamton, N. Y. post office and courthouse: For repair of damage resulting from fire, $30,000.
Birmingham, Ala., post office and courthouse: For completion, $540,000.
Bluffton, Ind., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Bonne Terre, Mo., post office: For completion, $45,000.
Branford, Conn., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Buckhannon, W. Va., post office: For completion, $24,000.
Buena Vista, Va., post office: For continuation, $1,500.
Buffalo, Wyo., post office: For completion, $31,500.
Burlington, N. C., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Burlington, Wis., post office: For completion, $60,500.
Butler, Mo., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Cambridge, Md., post office: For continuation, $55,000.
Cameron, Tex., post office: For completion, $48,000.
Caribou, Me., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Carroll, Iowa, post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Cedar Falls, Iowa, post office: For completion, $84,500.
Central City, Nebr., post office: For continuation, $15,000.
Chadron, Nebr., post office: For completion, $40,000.
Chamberlain, S. Dak., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Chandler, Okla., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Chapel Hill, N. C., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Charlton, Iowa, post office: For completion, $59,200.
Charles City, Iowa, post office: For completion, $10,000.
Charleston, Ill., post office: For completion, $65,500.
Charles Town, W. Va., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Charlotte, Mich., post office: For completion, $25,000.
Charlotte, N. C., post office and courthouse: For completion, $25,000.
Chattanooga, Tenn., post office and courthouse (extension): For completion, $25,000.
Cheboygan, Mich., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
Cherokee, Iowa, post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Cherryvale, Kans., post office: For completion, $51,000.
Chicago, Ill., post office, courthouse, etc.: For the removal of the present roof covering of the dome and the substitution of a new copper covered roof, $20,000.
Clinton, Ind., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Clinton, S. C., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Cody, Wyo., post office: For completion, $34,500.
Cohoes, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $65,000.
Columbia, S. C., post office: For completion, $154,000.
Columbus, Ohio, post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $3,500.
Comanche, Tex., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Commerce, Tex., post office: For completion, $49,500.
Cordova, Alaska, post office and courthouse: For continuation, $35,000.
Coshocton, Ohio, post office: For completion, $94,000.
Dawson, Ga., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Decatur, Ala., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
De Land, Fla., post office: For completion, $24,000.
Denton, Tex., post office: For completion, $65,500.
Denver, Colo., customhouse, etc.: For remodeling, repairs, etc., $15,000.
Des Moines, Iowa, courthouse: For continuation, $50,000.
Dickinson, N. Dak., post office: For completion, $36,000.
Donora, Pa., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Douglas, Ariz., post office and customhouse: For completion, $20,000.
Douglas, Ga., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Dowagiac, Mich., post office: For completion, $22,000.
Dubois, Pa., post office: For completion, $35,000.
Dubuque, Iowa, post office and customhouse: For lookouts, $3,500.
Duluth, Minn., post office, courthouse, and customhouse: For mail-conveying machinery, $4,000.
Durant, Okla., post office: For continuation, $60,000.
East Las Vegas, N. Mex., post office and courthouse: For continuation, $20,000.
East Orange, N. J., post office: For completion, $25,000.
East St. Louis, Ill., post office and courthouse (extension): For completion, $95,000.
Eldorado, Kans., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Elkins, W. Va., post office: For completion, $25,000.
Ellensburg, Wash., post office: For completion, $5,000.
El Paso, Tex., post office: For completion, $150,000.
Elyria, Ohio, post office: For completion, $10,000.
Eureka Springs, Ark., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Eureka, Utah, post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Fairmount, Minn., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Fallon, Nev., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Falls City, Nebr., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Farmville, Va., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Fayette, Mo., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Fitzgerald, Ga., post office: For completion, $60,000.
Fordyce, Ark., post office: For completion, $39,500.
Fort Fairfield, Me., post office and customhouse: For continuation, $45,000.
Fort Morgan, Colo., post office: For completion, $49,500.
Fort Plain, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Franklin, N. H., post office: For continuation, $15,000.
Franklin, Pa., post office: For continuation, $65,000.
Franklin, Tenn., post office: For continuation, $20,000.

Franklin, Va., post office: For completion, $34,500.
Frederick, Md., post office: For completion, $18,000.
Fremont, Ohio, post office: For completion, $40,000.
Fresno, Cal., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $2,000.
Front Royal, Va., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
Gallatin, Tenn., post office: For continuation, $35,000.
Gallipolis, Ohio, post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Geneseo, Ill., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Gilmer, Tex., post office: For continuation, $35,000.
Girard, Kans., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Glasgow, Ky., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Glenwood, Iowa, post office: For completion, $44,500.
Glenwood Springs, Colo., post office: For continuation, $65,000.
Globe, Ariz., post office and courthouse: For continuation, $20,000.
Grand Junction, Colo., post office: For completion, $30,000.
Grinnell, Iowa, post office: For completion, $18,000.
Hackensack, N. J., post office: For completion, $14,000.
Hammond, La., post office: For completion, $44,500.
Harrisonville, Mo., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Hastings, Mich., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Hiawatha, Kans., post office: For completion, $39,500.
Hollidaysburg, Pa., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Holly Springs, Miss., post office: For completion, $37,500.
Honey Grove, Tex., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Hoopeston, Ill., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Hoosick Falls, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Hornell, N. Y., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Houghton, Mich., post office: For continuation, $55,000.
Huntington, Ind., post office: For completion, $25,000.
Huntington, W. Va., post office and courthouse (extension): For completion, $125,000.
Indiana, Pa., post office: For completion, $64,500.
Jasper, Ala., post office: For completion, $40,000.
Jerseyville, Ill., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Kalispell, Mont., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Kendallville, Ind., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Kenton, Ohio, post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Laconia, N. H., post office: For completion, $15,000.
Lakeland, Fla., post office: For completion, $64,500.
Lancaster, Ky., post office: For completion, $49,500.
Lancaster, S. C., post office: For completion, $37,000.
Lansing, Mich., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $1,500.
Las Cruces, N. Mex., post office and courthouse: For completion, $119,500.
Lawrence, Mass., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $1,500.
Leesburg, Va., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Leominster, Mass., post office: For commencement, $40,500.
Lewistown, Pa., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Liberty, Mo., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Little Falls, Minn., post office: For completion, $13,000.
Little Rock, Ark., post office and courthouse: For mail-conveying machinery, $3,500.
Lock Haven, Pa., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Long Island City, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $75,000.
Los Angeles, Cal., post office and courthouse: For mail-conveying machinery, $5,000.
Louisville, Ky., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $5,000.
For new conduit and wiring system and lighting fixtures, $20,000.
Lowell, Mass., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $800.
Madison, S. Dak., post office: For completion, $24,000.
Maquoketa, Iowa, post office: For completion, $15,000.
Marianna, Ark., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Marianna, Fla., post office and courthouse: For continuation, $50,000.
Marion, Ill., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Marion, Ky., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Marion, S. C., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Martin, Tenn., post office: For completion, $39,500.
Martins Ferry, Ohio, post office: For completion, $70,000.
Maryville, Tenn., post office: For completion, $10,000.
McComb, Miss., post office: For completion, $20,000.
McKees Rocks, Pa., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Media, Pa., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Memphis, Tenn., subpost office: For continuation, $40,000.
Mena, Ark., post office: For completion, $34,500.
Metropolis, Ill., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Middletown, Conn., post office: For completion, $29,000.
Midland, Mich., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Mineral Point, Wis., post office and customhouse: For continuation, $20,000.
Monessen, Pa., post office: For completion, $68,025.
Montclair, N. J., post office: For continuation, $75,000.
Montevideo, Minn., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Moultrie, Ga., post office: For completion, $51,800.
Mount Carmel, Ill., post office: For completion, $50,000.
Mount Pleasant, Mich., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Mount Pleasant, Tex., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Mystic, Conn., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Nashville, Tenn., post office and customhouse (extension, etc.): For completion, $100,000.
Neenah, Wis., post office: For completion, $15,000.
Newark, Ohio, post office: For completion, $50,000.
Newburyport, Mass., post office: For completion, $14,000.
Newport, R. I., post office and customhouse: For completion, $110,000.
New York, N. Y., Assay Office Building: For continuation, $75,000: and the limit of cost fixed by the act of October 20, 1914, is increased by the sum of $200,000.
New York, N. Y., post office: For shelter over driveway, $5,000.
Nogales, Ariz., customhouse: For continuation, $25,000.
North Topeka, Kans., branch post office: For continuation, $45,000.
North Vernon, Ind., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Oconto, Wis., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
Oklahoma City, Okla., post office and courthouse (extension, etc.): For completion, $90,000.
Olney, Ill., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Olyphant, Pa., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Orange, Tex., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Orlando, Fla., post office: For completion, $24,000.
Owego, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Paterson, N. J., post office: For repairs to the roof, $8,500.
Paxton, Ill., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Phoenixville, Pa., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Pittsburg, Tex., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Pittsfield, Mass., post office: The unexpended balance, $278.22, of the appropriations heretofore made for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a building is reappropriated and made available, together with the further sum of $1,078.96, for the acquisition by the Secretary of the Treasury, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, of the 8-foot strip of land between a portion of said site and the new street (known as Federal Street) lately opened adjacent to the southerly side of said site, at a cost not exceeding $1,357.18.
Pittston, Pa., post office: For continuation, $15,000.
Portland, Me., post office and courthouse: For mail-conveying machinery, $1,500.
Portland, Oreg., post office and courthouse: For completion, $365,000.
Pottstown, Pa., post office: For completion, $18,000.
Pratt, Kans., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Prescott, Ark., post office: For continuation, $35,000.
Pulaski, Va., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Raton, N. Mex., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Reading, Mass., post office: For completion, $49,500.
Red Bluff, Cal., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Redfield, S. Dak., post office: For completion, $13,000.
Rhinelander, Wis., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
Richfield, Utah, post office: For completion, $39,500.
Richmond, Va., post office, courthouse, and customhouse: For mail-conveying machinery, $3,000.
Rochester, Ind., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Rock Island, Ill., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $3,000.
Rockville, Conn., post office: For completion, $22,000.
Rogers, Ark., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
Roseburg, Oreg., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Rumford, Me., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Russellville, Ark., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Saco, Me., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
St. Johnsbury, Vt., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
St. Peter, Minn., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Salem, Va., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Salisbury, Md., post office: For continuation, $15,000.
Sandpoint, Idaho, post office: For commencement, $40,000.
Sandusky, Ohio, post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Sanford, Fla., post office: For continuation, $50,000.
San Pedro, Cal., post office and customhouse: For continuation, $10,000.
Santa Fe, N. Mex., post office and courthouse: For continuation, $10,000.
Saranac Lake, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Savanna, Ill., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Savannah, Ga., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $2,500.
Sayre, Pa., post office: For continuation, $25,000.
Scranton, Pa., post office: For mail-conveying machinery, $5,500.
Shawnee, Okla., post office: For continuation, $60,000.
Shelby, N. C., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Shelbyville, Ind., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Skowhegan, Me., post office: For completion, $25,000.
South Bethlehem, Pa., post office: For completion, $15,000.
South Boston, Va., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Southbridge, Mass., post office: For completion, $61,500.
Spanish Fork, Utah, post office: For continuation, $15,000.
Stamford, Tex., post office: For completion, $20,000.
State College, Pa., post office: For continuation, $48,815.
Statesboro, Ga., post office: For completion, $39,500.
Syracuse, N. Y., post office: For completion, $190,000.
Tamaqua, Pa., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Taylorville, Ill., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Thibodaux, La., post office: For continuation, $15,000.
Thomasville, N. C., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Tomah, Wis., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Topeka, Kans., post office and courthouse: For mail-conveying machinery, $2,500.
Tullahoma, Tenn., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Tulsa, Okla., post office and courthouse: For completion, $45,000.
Twin Falls, Idaho, post office: For completion, $35,000.
Tyrone, Pa., post office: For continuation, $1,000.
Valparaiso, Ind., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Vancouver, Wash., post office: For completion, $30,000.
Vernal, Utah, post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Vernon, Tex., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Vineland, N. J., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Vinton, Iowa, post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Wahoo, Nebr., post office: For completion, $39,500.
Walden, N. Y., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Warrenton, Va., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Washington, D. C.:
Central heating, lighting, and power plant: For completion, $919,104.
Butler Building—For remodeling toilets, $2,500.
Treasury Building—For new roof and for remodeling a portion of the fourth story to enable it to be used for office purposes, $45,000.
For changes in screen, new furniture, etc., in cash room, $10,000.
Washington, Ga., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Washington Ind., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Washington, Iowa, post office: For completion, $5,000.
Washington, Mo., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Washington Court House, Ohio, post office: For completion, $57,000.
Water Valley, Miss., post office: For continuation, $35,000.
Waynesboro, Va., post office: For continuation, $40,000.
Waynesburg, Pa., post office: For continuation, $10,000.
Waynesville, N. C., post office: For completion, $10,000.
Wenatchee, Wash., post office: For completion, $40,000.
West Point, Ga., post office: For continuation, $30,000.
Wilmington, N. C., customhouse and appraisers stores: For completion, $135,000.
Wilmington, Ohio, post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Winchester, Mass., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Winnemucca, Nev., post office: For continuation, $45,000.
Woodbury, N. J., post office: For completion, $20,000.
Woodward, Okla., post office and courthouse: For continuation, $35,000.
Wyandotte, Mich., post office: For continuation, $20,000.
Yoakum, Tex., post office: For completion, $25,000.

MARINE HOSPITALS.

Baltimore, Md., marine hospital: For roofed porches and heating system, $5,000.
Cincinnati, Ohio, marine hospital: For repairs to the old marine hospital and grounds, now being used as headquarters, central laboratory, and field depot for the investigations of the pollution of navigable

waters, including the demolition of the dilapidated structures, and equipment of repaired buildings to make them available for public health purposes, $10,000.

Key West, Fla., marine hospital: For three tent houses and refrigerating plant, $5,000.

New York, N. Y., marine hospital (Stapleton, Staten Island): For a laundry building and for a pavilion for consumptives, $25,000.

Port Townsend, Wash., marine hospital: For three tent houses, $1,000.

QUARANTINE STATIONS.

Columbia River (Astoria, Oreg.) Quarantine Station: For wiring and lighting equipment, $2,000.

New Orleans (La.) Quarantine Station: For laundry building and equipment, $5,000.

Savannah (Ga.) Quarantine Station: For toilet accommodations and sewerage, artesian well, tank, and equipment, $4,000.

The foregoing work under "Marine hospitals" and "Quarantine stations" shall be performed under the supervision and direction of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury.

Columbia River (Astoria, Oreg.) Quarantine Station: For boarding vessel, $25,000.

Gulf, Mississippi (Ship Island), Quarantine station: For boarding launch, $8,000.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS, REPAIRS, EQUIPMENT, AND GENERAL EXPENSES.

Repairs and preservation: For repairs and preservation of all completed and occupied public buildings and the grounds thereof, under the control of the Treasury Department, and for wire partitions and fly screens therefor, Government wharves and piers under the control of the Treasury Department, together with the necessary dredging adjacent thereto, buildings and wharf at Sitka, Alaska, and the Secretary of the Treasury may, in renting said wharf, require that the lessee shall make all necessary repairs thereto; care of vacant sites under the control of the Treasury Department, such as necessary fences, filling dangerous holes, cutting grass and weeds, but not for any permanent improvements thereon; repairs and preservation of buildings not reserved by vendors on sites under the control of the Treasury Department acquired for public buildings or the enlargement of public buildings, the expenditures on this account for the current fiscal year not to exceed 15 per cent of the annual rentals of such buildings: *Provided*, That of the sum herein appropriated, not exceeding $125,000 may be used for marine hospitals and quarantine stations, including wire partitions and fly screens for same, and not exceeding $14,000 for the Treasury, Butler, Winder, and Auditors Buildings at Washington, D. C.: *Provided further*, That this sum shall not be available for the payment of personal services except for work done by contract or for temporary job labor under exigency not exceeding at one time the sum of $100 at any one building, $850,000.

Mechanical equipment: For installation and repair of mechanical equipment in all completed and occupied public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, including heating, hoisting, plumbing, gas piping, ventilating, vacuum cleaning, and refrigerating apparatus, electric-light plants, meters, interior pneumatic-tube and intercommunicating telephone systems, conduit, wiring, call-bell and signal systems, and for maintenance and repair of tower clocks; for installation and repair of mechanical equipment, for any of the foregoing items, in buildings not reserved by vendors on sites under the control of the Treasury Department acquired for public buildings or the enlargements of public buildings, the total expenditures on this account for the current fiscal year not to exceed 10 per cent of the annual rentals of such buildings: *Provided*, That of the sum herein appropriated for mechanical equipment of public buildings, not exceeding $50,000 may be used for marine hospitals and quarantine stations and not exceeding $10,000 for the Treasury, Butler, Winder, and Auditors Buildings at Washington, D. C., but not including the generating plant and its maintenance in the Auditors Buildings, and not exceeding $10,000 for the maintenance, changes in, and repairs of pneumatic-tube system between the appraisers' warehouse at Greenwich, Christopher, Washington, and Barrow Streets and the new customhouse in Bowling Green, Borough of Manhattan, in the city of New York, including repairs to the street pavement and subsurface necessarily incident to or resulting from such maintenance, changes, or repairs: *Provided further*, That this sum shall not be available for the payment of personal services except for work done by contract or for temporary job labor under exigency not exceeding at one time the sum of $100 at any one building, $460,000.

Vaults and safes: For vaults and lock-box equipments and repairs thereto in all completed and occupied public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department and for the necessary safe equipments and repairs thereto in all public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, whether completed and occupied or in course of construction, exclusive of personal services, except for work done by contract or for temporary job labor under exigency not exceeding at one time the sum of $50 at any one building, $110,000.

General expenses: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to execute and give effect to the provisions of section 6 of the act of May 30, 1908 (35 Stats., 537): For additional salary of $1,000 for the Supervising Architect of the Treasury for the fiscal year 1918; architectural designer, at $6,000 per annum; foremen draftsmen, architectural draftsmen, and apprentice draftsmen, at rates of pay from $480 to $2,500 per annum; structural engineers and draftsmen, at rates of pay from $840 to $2,200 per annum; mechanical, sanitary, electrical, heating and ventilating, and illuminating engineers and draftsmen, at rates of pay from $1,200 to $2,400 per annum; computers and estimators, at rates of pay from $1,600 to $2,500 per annum, the expenditures under all the foregoing classes for which a minimum and maximum rate of compensation is stated, not to exceed $178,050; supervising superintendents, superintendents, and junior superintendents of construction and inspectors, at rates of pay from $1,600 to $2,900 per annum, not to exceed $278,960; expenses of superintendence, including expenses of all inspectors and other officers and employees on duty or detailed in connection with work on public buildings and the furnishing and equipment thereof, and the work of the Supervising Architect's Office, under orders from the Treasury Department; for the transportation of household goods incident to change of headquarters of supervising superintendents, superintendents, and junior superintendents of construction, and inspectors, not in excess of 5,000 pounds at any one time, together with the necessary expense incident to packing and draying the same, not to exceed in any one year a total expenditure of $7,500; office rent and expenses of superintendents, including temporary stenographic and other assistance in the preparation of reports and the care of public property, etc.; advertising; office supplies, including drafting materials, specially prepared paper, typewriting machines, adding machines, and other mechanical labor-saving devices, and exchange of same; furniture, carpets, electric-light fixtures, and office equipment; telephone service; not to exceed $6,000 for stationery; not to exceed $1,000 for books of reference, law books, technical periodicals and journals; contingencies of every kind and description, traveling expenses of site agents, recording deeds and other evidences of title, photographic instruments, chemicals, plates, and photographic materials, and such other articles and supplies and such minor and incidental expenses not enumerated, connected solely with work on public buildings, the acquisition of sites, and the administrative work connected with the annual appropriations under the Supervising Architect's Office as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary and specially order or approve, but not including heat, light, janitor service, awnings, curtains, or any expenses for the general maintenance of the Treasury Building, or surveys, plaster models, progress photographs, test pit borings, or mill and shop inspections, $580,660.

Architectural competitions: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to make payment for architectural services under contracts entered into prior to the repeal of the act entitled "An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to obtain plans and specifications for public buildings to be erected under the supervision of the Treasury Department, and providing for local supervision of the construction of the same," approved February 20, 1893, including additional commissions accruing under certain of said contracts due to increase in the limits of cost of certain buildings, except as otherwise specifically provided by law, and including payment for the services from July 1, 1912, of the architect of the Hilo, Hawaii, building, specially selected under the provisions of the act approved March 4, 1911, the unexpended balances of the appropriations for architectural competitions, public buildings, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is continued and made available for said purposes during the fiscal year 1918.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS, OPERATING EXPENSES.

Operating force: For such personal services as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary in connection with the care, maintenance, and repair of all public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department (except as hereinafter provided), together with the grounds thereof and the equipment and furnishings therein, including assistant custodians, janitors, watchmen, laborers, and charwomen; engineers, firemen, elevator conductors, coal passers, electricians, dynamo tenders, lampists, and wiremen; mechanical labor force in connection with said buildings, including carpenters, plumbers, steam fitters, machinists, and painters, but in no case shall the rates of compensation for such mechanical labor force be in excess of the rates current at the time and in the place where such services are employed, $3,200,000: *Provided*, That the foregoing appropriation shall be available for use in connection with all public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, including the customhouse at Washington, D. C., but not including any other public building within the District of Columbia, and exclusive of marine hospitals, quarantine stations, mints, branch mints, and assay offices.

Furniture and repairs of furniture: For furniture, carpets, and repairs of same, for completed and occupied public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, exclusive of marine hospitals, quarantine stations, mints, branch mints, and assay offices, and for gas and electric lighting fixtures and repairs of same for completed and occupied public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department, including marine hospitals and quarantine stations, but exclusive of mints, branch mints, and assay offices, and for furniture and carpets for public buildings and extensions of public buildings in course of construction which are to remain under the custody and control of the Treasury Department, exclusive of marine hospitals, quarantine stations, mints, branch mints, and assay offices, and buildings constructed for other executive departments or establishments of the Government, $775,000: *Provided*, That the foregoing appropriations shall not be used for personal services except for work done under contract or for temporary job labor under exigency, and not exceeding at one time the sum of $100 at any one building: *Provided further*, That all furniture now owned by the United States in other public buildings or in buildings rented by the United States shall be used, so far as practicable, whether it corresponds with the present regulation plan for furniture or not.

Operating supplies: For fuel, steam, gas for lighting and heating purposes, water, ice, lighting supplies, electric current for lighting and power purposes, telephone service for custodian forces; removal of ashes and rubbish, snow, and ice; cutting grass and weeds, washing towels, and miscellaneous items for the use of the custodian forces in the care and maintenance of completed and occupied public buildings and the grounds thereof under the control of the Treasury Department, and in the care and maintenance of the equipment and furnishing in such buildings; miscellaneous supplies, tools, and appliances required in the operation (not embracing repairs) of the mechanical equipment, including heating, plumbing, hoisting gas piping, ventilating, vacuum cleaning and refrigerating apparatus, electric-light plants, meters, interior pneumatic-tube and intercommunicating telephone systems, conduit wiring, call-bell and signal systems in such buildings (including the customhouse at Washington, D. C., but excluding any other public building under the control of the Treasury Department within the District of Columbia, and excluding also marine hospitals and quarantine stations, mints, branch mints, and assay offices, and personal services, except for work done by contract or for temporary job labor under exigency not exceeding at one time the sum of $100 at any one building), $1,800,000. The appropriation made herein for gas shall include the rental and use of gas governors, when ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury in writing: *Provided*, That rentals shall not be paid for such gas governors greater than 35 per cent of the actual value of the gas saved thereby, which saving shall be determined by such tests as the Secretary of the Treasury shall direct.

During the fiscal year 1918 the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, out of the appropriations "Operating supplies for public buildings" and "Operating force for public buildings," to furnish steam for the operation of pneumatic tubes of the Postal Service, as heretofore, and to pay employees in the production of said steam, as heretofore, the proceeds derived from the sale of said steam to be credited to said appropriations in proportion to the amounts expended therefrom.

Salamanca, N. Y., ground rent: For annual ground rent of the Federal building site at Salamanca, N. Y., on account of Indian leases, due and payable on February 19 of each year, in advance, to the treasurer of the Seneca Nation of Indians, beginning February 19, 1915, and expiring February 19, 1991, $7.50.

COAST GUARD.

For every expenditure requisite for and incident to the authorized work of the Coast Guard, as follows:

For pay and allowances prescribed by law for commissioned officers, warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men, active and retired, temporary and substitute surfmen, not exceeding 30 cadets and cadet engineers who are hereby authorized, and 1 civilian instructor, $4,049,286.

For rations or commutation thereof at the rate of 45 cents per ration for warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men, $520,000.

For 12 clerks to district superintendents, at such rate as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine, not to exceed $900 each, $10,800.

For fuel and water for vessels, stations, and houses of refuge, $275,000.

For outfits, ship chandlery, and engineers' stores for the same, $340,000.

For rebuilding and repairing stations and houses of refuge, temporary leases, rent, and improvements of property for Coast Guard purposes, including use of additional land where necessary, $125,000.

For actual traveling expenses or mileage, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, for officers, and actual traveling expenses for other persons traveling on duty under orders from the Treasury Department, $35,000.

For carrying out the provisions of section 8 of the act approved May 4, 1882, $30,000.

For draft animals and their maintenance, $20,000.

For telephone lines and care of the same, $40,000.

For compensation for special services, $61,000.

For contingent expenses, including supplies and provisions for houses of refuge and for shipwrecked persons succored by the Coast Guard, wharfage, towage, freight, storage, repairs to station apparatus, advertising, surveys, medals, stationery, labor, newspapers and periodicals for statistical purposes, and all other necessary expenses which are not included under any other heading, $50,000.

In all, $5,556,086.

For establishing a Coast Guard station on the coast of Louisiana in the vicinity of Barataria Bay, $25,000.

For repairs to Coast Guard cutters, $175,000.

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

For the work of engraving and printing, exclusive of repay work, during the fiscal year 1918 of not exceeding 100,000,000 delivered sheets of United States currency, 10,000,000 delivered sheets of national-bank notes and Federal reserve currency, 95,400,000 delivered sheets of internal-revenue stamps, 335,000 delivered sheets of customs stamps, 1,225,000 delivered sheets of opium orders and special tax stamps, and 2,950,000 delivered sheets of checks, drafts, and miscellaneous work, as follows:

For salaries of all necessary employees, other than employees required for the administrative work of the bureau of the class provided for and specified in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918, and plate printers and plate printers' assistants, $1,470,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided*, That no portion of this sum shall be expended for printing United States notes or Treasury notes of larger denomination than those that may be canceled or retired, except in so far as such printing may be necessary in executing the requirements of the act "To define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, to refund the public debt, and for other purposes," approved March 14, 1900.

For wages of plate printers, at piece rates to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, not to exceed the rates usually paid for such work, including the wages of printers' assistants, when employed, $1,813,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided*, That no portion of this sum shall be expended for printing United States notes or Treasury notes of larger denominations than those that may be canceled or retired, except in so far as such printing may be necessary in executing the requirements of the act to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, to refund the public debt, and for other purposes, approved March 14, 1900.

For engravers' and printers' materials and other materials except distinctive paper, miscellaneous expenses, including paper for internal-revenue stamps, and for purchase, maintenance, and driving of necessary motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, when, in writing, ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury, $910,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

During the fiscal year 1918 all proceeds derived from work performed by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, by direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, not covered and embraced in the appropriation for said bureau for the said fiscal year, instead of being covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts, as provided by the act of August 4, 1886 (24 Stat., p. 227), shall be credited when received to the appropriation for said bureau for the fiscal year 1918.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to refund money covered into Treasury as internal-revenue collections, under the provisions of the act approved May 27, 1908, $50,000.

Punishment for violations of internal-revenue laws: For detecting and bringing to trial and punishment persons guilty of violating the internal-revenue laws or conniving at the same, including payments for information and detecting of such violations, $175,000.

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use for, and in connection with, the enforcement of the laws relating to the Treasury Department and the several branches of the public service under its control, not exceeding at any one time four persons paid from the appropriation for the collection of customs, four persons paid from the appropriation for salaries and expenses of internal-revenue agents or from the appropriation for the foregoing purpose, and four persons paid from the appropriation for suppressing counterfeiting and other crimes, but not exceeding six persons so detailed shall be employed at any one time hereunder: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to deprive the Secretary of the Treasury from making any detail now otherwise authorized by existing law.

Refunding United States bonds: For expenses of refunding 2 per cent bonds of the United States into 1-year 3 per cent Treasury notes or 30-year 3 per cent United States bonds, as authorized by section 18 of the Federal reserve act, during the fiscal year 1918, $15,000.

Contingent expenses, Independent Treasury: For contingent expenses under the requirements of section 3653 of the Revised Statutes, collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public money, transportation of notes, bonds, and other securities of the United States, salaries of special agents, actual expenses of examiners detailed to examine the books, accounts, and money on hand at the several subtreasuries and depositories, including national banks acting as depositories under the requirements of section 3649 of the Revised Statutes, also including examinations of cash account at mints, $115,000.

Recoinage of gold coins: For recoinage of light-weight gold coins in the Treasury, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, as required by section 3512 of the Revised Statutes, $5,000.

Recoinage of minor coins: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to continue the recoinage of worn and uncurrent minor coins of the United States now in the Treasury or hereafter received, and to reimburse the Treasurer of the United States for the difference between the nominal or face value of such coin and the amount the same will produce in new coin, $10,000.

Money laundry machines: For all miscellaneous expenses in connection with the installation and maintenance of money laundry machines, including repairs and purchase of supplies, for machines at Washington, D. C., and in the various Subtreasury offices, $4,000.

Distinctive paper for United States securities: For distinctive paper for United States currency, national-bank currency, and Federal reserve bank currency, 115,500,000 sheets, including transportation, traveling, mill, and other necessary expenses, salaries of not exceeding 1 register, 2 assistant registers, 5 counters, 5 watchmen, and 1 skilled laborer, and expenses of officer detailed from the Treasury Department, $521,865.

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to consolidate the stock accounts of distinctive paper for United States currency and for national-bank and Federal reserve bank currency, same to be held for issue on the basis of printing authorized by Congress.

For custody of dies, rolls, and plates used at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for printing Government securities: Custodians—2 at $2,000 each; distributors of stock—1 $1,600, 2 at $1,400 each; in all, $8,400.

Suppressing counterfeiting and other crimes: For expenses incurred under the authority or with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury in detecting, arresting, and delivering into the custody of the United States marshal having jurisdiction dealers and pretended dealers in counterfeit money and persons engaged in counterfeiting Treasury notes, bonds, national-bank notes, and other securities of the United States and of foreign Governments, as well as the coins of the United States and of foreign Governments, and other felonies committed against the laws of the United States relating to the pay and bounty laws, hire and operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles when necessary, per diem in lieu of subsistence, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and for no other purpose whatever, except in the protection of the person of the President and of the person chosen to be President of the United States, $225,000: *Provided*, That no part of this amount be used in defraying the expenses of any person subpœnaed by the United States courts to attend any trial before United States court or preliminary examination before any United States commissioner, which expenses shall be paid from the appropriation for "Fees of witnesses, United States courts": *Provided further*, That until June 30, 1918, the President is authorized to direct, without reference to existing limitations, the use of the persons employed hereunder if, in his judgment, an emergency exists which requires such action.

Appropriations in this act shall not be used in payment of compensation or expenses of any person detailed or transferred, except to the Department of State, from the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department, or who may at any time during the fiscal year 1918 have been employed by or under said Secret Service Division.

Lands and other property of the United States: For custody, care, protection, and expenses of sales of lands and other property of the United States, acquired and held under sections 3749 and 3750 of the Revised Statutes, the examination of titles, recording of deeds, advertising, and auctioneers' fees in connection therewith, $300.

CUSTOMS SERVICE.

For collecting the revenue from customs, including not exceeding $200,000 for the detection and prevention of frauds upon the customs revenue, $9,850,000.

Scales for customs service: The unexpended balances of the appropriations heretofore made for construction and installation of special automatic and recording scales for weighing merchandise, etc., in connection with imports at the various ports of entry under direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, are continued and made available for expenditure during the fiscal year 1918, together with the further sum of $75,000.

Compensation in lieu of moieties: For compensation in lieu of moieties in certain cases under the customs revenue laws, $30,000.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

For pay, allowance, and commutation of quarters for commissioned medical officers and pharmacists, $745,000;

For pay of acting assistant surgeons (noncommissioned medical officers), $200,000;

For pay of all other employees (attendants, etc.), $525,000;

For freight, transportation, and traveling expenses, including the expenses, except membership fees, of officers when officially detailed to attend meetings of associations for the promotion of public health, $30,000;

For fuel, light, and water, $75,000;

For furniture and repairs to same, $8,000;

For purveying depot, purchase of medical, surgical, and hospital supplies, $45,000;

For maintaining the Hygienic Laboratory, $20,000;

For maintenance of marine hospitals, including subsistence, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses which are not included under special heads, $256,000: *Provided*, That there may be admitted into said hospitals for study persons with infectious or other diseases affecting the public health, and not to exceed 10 cases in any one hospital at one time;

For medical examinations, care of seamen, care and treatment of all other persons entitled to relief, and miscellaneous expenses other than marine hospitals, which are not included under special heads, $170,000;

For journals and scientific books, $500;

In all, $2,074,500, which shall include the amount necessary for the medical inspection of aliens, as required by section 17 of the act approved February 20, 1907.

Quarantine service: For maintenance and ordinary expenses, exclusive of pay of officers and employees, of quarantine stations at Eastport and Portland, Me.; Boston, Mass.; Providence, R. I.; Perth Amboy, N. J.; Delaware Breakwater; Reedy Island, and the Delaware Bay and

River; Alexandria, Va.; Cape Charles and supplemental station thereto; Cape Fear, Newbern, and Washington, N. C.; Georgetown, Charleston, Beaufort, and Port Royal, S. C.; Savannah; South Atlantic; Darien; Brunswick; Cumberland Sound; St. Johns River; Biscayne Bay; Key West; Boca Grande; Tampa Bay; Port Inglis; Cedar Key; Punta Rassa; St. Georges Sound (East and West Pass); St. Joseph; St. Andrews and Pensacola, Fla.; Mobile; New Orleans and supplemental stations thereto; Pascagoula; Gulf; Gulfport; Galveston, Laredo, Eagle Pass, and El Paso, Tex.; San Diego, San Pedro and adjoining ports, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, Monterey, and Port Harford, Cal.; Fort Bragg, Eureka, Columbia River, Florence, Newport, Coos Bay, and Gardner, Oreg.; Port Townsend and supplemental stations thereto; quarantine systems of Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, including the leprosy hospital, and Porto Rico; and including and not exceeding $500 for printing on account of the quarantine service at times when the exigencies of that service require immediate action, $170,000.

Key West, Fla., quarantine station: For detention hulk, repairs, and equipment, $7,000.

Prevention of epidemics: To enable the President, in case only of threatened or actual epidemic of cholera, typhus fever, yellow fever, smallpox, bubonic plague, Chinese plague or black death, trachoma, or infantile paralysis, to aid State and local boards, or otherwise, in his discretion, in preventing and suppressing the spread of the same, and in such emergency in the execution of any quarantine laws which may be then in force, $400,000: *Provided*, That a detailed report of the expenditures hereunder shall annually hereafter be submitted to Congress.

Field investigations: For investigations of diseases of man and conditions influencing the propagation and spread thereof, including sanitation and sewage, and the pollution of navigable streams and lakes of the United States, including personal service, $200,000.

Interstate quarantine service: For cooperation with State and municipal health authorities in the prevention of the spread of contagious and infectious diseases in interstate traffic, $15,000.

Rural sanitation: For special studies of, and demonstration work in, rural sanitation, including personal service, $150,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be available for demonstration work in rural sanitation in any community unless the State, county, or municipality in which the community is located agrees to pay one-half the expense of such demonstration work.

Pellagra: For rental, equipment, and maintenance of a temporary field hospital and laboratory, including pay of personnel, for special studies of pellagra, $40,000.

Biologic products: To regulate the propagation and sale of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, including personal service, $20,000.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Columbia Hospital and Lying-in Asylum: For general repairs and for additional construction, including labor and material for each and every item connected therewith, $2,600; for expenses of heat, light, and power required in and about the operation of the hospital, $12,500, or so much thereof as may be necessary; in all, $15,100, to be expended under the direction of the Superintendent of the Capitol, and paid, one-half out of the revenues of the District of Columbia, and one-half out of the Treasury of the United States.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

International exchanges: For the system of international exchanges between the United States and foreign countries, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including necessary employees and purchase of necessary books and periodicals, $35,000.

American ethnology: For continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians and the natives of Hawaii, including the excavation and preservation of archæologic remains, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including necessary employees and the purchase of necessary books and periodicals, $42,000.

International Catalogue of Scientific Literature: For the cooperation of the United States in the work of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, including the preparation of a classified index catalogue of American scientific publications for incorporation in the International Catalogue, clerk hire, purchase of necessary books and periodicals, and other necessary incidental expenses, $7,500.

Astrophysical Observatory: For maintenance of Astrophysical Observatory, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including assistants, purchase of necessary books and periodicals, apparatus making necessary observations in high altitudes, repairs and alterations of buildings, and miscellaneous expenses, $13,000.

For observation of the total eclipse of the sun of June 8, 1918, including purchase of necessary apparatus and supplies, transportation of equipment to and from observing station, hire of temporary assistance, transportation and subsistence of observers, and miscellaneous expenses, $2,000.

National Museum: For cases, furniture, fixtures, and appliances required for the exhibition and safe-keeping of collections, including necessary employees, $25,000;

For heating, lighting, electrical, telegraphic, and telephonic service, $46,000;

For continuing preservation, exhibition, and increase of collections from the surveying and exploring expeditions of the Government, and from other sources, including necessary employees, all other necessary expenses, and not exceeding $5,500 for drawings and illustrations for publications, $300,000:

For repairs of buildings, shops, and sheds, including all necessary labor and material, $10,000;

For purchase of books, pamphlets, and periodicals for reference, $2,000;

For postage stamps and foreign postal cards, $500;

In all, National Museum, $383,500.

National Zoological Park: For roads, walks, bridges, water supply, sewage, and drainage; grading, planting, and otherwise improving the grounds; erecting and repairing buildings and inclosures; care, subsistence, purchase, and transportation of animals; necessary employees; incidental expenses not otherwise provided for, including purchase, maintenance, and driving of horses and vehicles required for official purposes, not exceeding $100 for the purchase of necessary books and periodicals, and exclusive of architect's fees or compensation, $100,000; one-half of which sum shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia and the other half from the Treasury of the United States.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

For 7 commissioners at $10,000 each; secretary, $5,000; in all, $75,000.

For all other authorized expenditures necessary in the execution of laws to regulate commerce, including per diem in lieu of subsistence when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, $1,100,000, of which sum there may be expended not exceeding $50,000 in the employment of counsel, not exceeding $3,000 for necessary books, reports, and periodicals, not exceeding $1,500 for printing other than that done at the Government Printing Office, not exceeding $100 in the open market for the purchase of office furniture similar in class or kind to that listed in the general supply schedule, and not exceeding $70,000 rent of buildings in the District of Columbia.

To further enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce compliance with section 20 of the act to regulate commerce as amended by the act approved June 29, 1906, including the employment of necessary special agents or examiners, $300,000.

To enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to keep informed regarding and to enforce compliance with acts to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads; the act requiring common carriers to make reports of accidents and authorizing investigations thereof; and to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate and test block-signal and train-control systems and appliances intended to promote the safety of railway operation, as authorized by the joint resolution approved June 30, 1906, and the provision of the sundry civil act approved May 27, 1908, including the employment of inspectors, and per diem in lieu of subsistence when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, $250,000.

Valuation of property of carriers: To enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to carry out the objects of the act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved February 4, 1887," and all acts amendatory thereof by providing for a valuation of the several classes of property of carriers subject thereto and securing information concerning their stocks, bonds, and other securities, approved March 1, 1913, including per diem in lieu of subsistence when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and including not exceeding $15,000 for rent of buildings in the District of Columbia, $3,500,000.

For all authorized expenditures under the provisions of the act of February 17, 1911, "To promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," and amendment of March 4, 1915, extending "the same powers and duties with respect to all parts and appurtenances of the locomotive and tender," including such stenographic and clerical help to the chief inspector and his two assistants as the Interstate Commerce Commission may deem necessary, and for per diem in lieu of subsistence when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, $225,000.

UNITED STATES BOARD OF MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION.

For commissioner, $7,500; assistant commissioner, $5,000; necessary and proper expenses incurred in connection with any arbitration or with the carrying on of the work of mediation and conciliation, including traveling and other necessary expenses of members or employees of boards of arbitration, furniture, office fixtures and supplies, books of reference and periodicals, salaries, traveling expenses, and other necessary expenses of members or employees of the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, to be approved by the chairman of said board, $34,680; rent in the District of Columbia, $2,820; in all, $50,000.

Authority for incurring expenses, including subsistence, by boards of arbitration shall first be obtained from the Board of Mediation and Conciliation.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

For 5 commissioners, at $10,000 each; secretary, $5,000; 5 clerks to commissioners, at $1,500 each; chief clerk, $2,000; disbursing clerk, $2,000; clerks—4 of class 4, 5 of class 3, 10 of class 2, 17 of class 1, 21 at $1,000 each, 21 at $900 each; messenger; 4 assistant messengers; 9 messenger boys, at $480 each; general mechanic, $840; 3 watchmen; 2 elevator conductors, at $720 each; 3 laborers, at $660 each; telephone operator, $720; forewoman, $300; 6 charwomen, at $240 each; in all, $172,920.

For all expenses necessary to carry out the order of the President of the United States to investigate within the scope of his powers and to report the facts relating to any alleged violations of the antitrust acts by any corporation in the production, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture, $400,000.

For compensation, travel expense, and per diem in lieu of subsistence at the rate of $4, of such special attorneys, special experts, special examiners, special agents, clerks, and other employees as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying on the work of said commission; no salary shall be paid hereunder exceeding the rate of $5,000 per annum, $300,000.

For contingent and miscellaneous expenses, including the purchase of professional and scientific books, law books, books of reference, periodicals, pamphlets, maps, stationary, furniture and repairs to same, carpets, matting, oilcloth, filing cases, towels, ice, brooms, soap, sponges, fuel, lighting and heating, freight and express charges, street car tickets, postage to foreign countries, telegraph and telephone service, typewriters and calculating machines, including their exchange, and for all other necessary miscellaneous supplies not otherwise provided, $20,000.

For rental of building or quarters, $15,000.

For witness fees, and mileage, as provided in section 9 of the Federal Trade Commission act, $15,000.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION.

For salaries and expenses of the United States Tariff Commission, as authorized under Title VII of the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, $300,000.

UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

For five commissioners at $7,500 each; secretary $5,000; in all, $42,500.

For all other expenditures authorized by the act approved September 7, 1916, including the compensation of attorneys, officers, naval architects, special experts, examiners, clerks, and other employees in the District of Columbia and elsewhere; and for all other expenses of the board, including rental of quarters in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, law books, books of reference, and periodicals, printing and binding, and actual and necessary expenses of members of the board, its special experts, and other employees while upon official business outside of the District of Columbia, $300,000.

For the investigation of foreign discrimination against vessels and shippers of the United States, $175,000, of which sum $100,000 shall be available immediately.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION.

For expenses under an act entitled "An act to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties, and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916, namely:

Miscellaneous expenses: For salaries of the commissioners, and for assistants, clerks, and other employees, traveling expenses, expenses of medical examinations, and for reasonable traveling and other expenses and loss of wages payable to employees under section 21, rent in the District of Columbia and equipment of offices, books, stationery, and other supplies, printing and binding to be done at the Government Printing Office, and other necessary expenses, $50,000.

Employees' compensation fund: For the payment of compensation provided by said act, including medical, surgical, and hospital services, and supplies provided by section 9, and the transportation and burial expenses provided by sections 9 and 11, $500,000, to be available until expended; and the appropriation of $500,000 for the fiscal year 1917 is continued and made available until expended.

ROCK CREEK AND POTOMAC PARKWAY COMMISSION.

To enable the commission created by section 22 of the public-buildings act approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stats. L., p. 885), to continue proceedings toward the acquisition of lands required for a connecting parkway between Potomac Park, the Zoological Park, and Rock Creek Park, $100,000, together with the unexpended balance of the appropriation for this purpose for the fiscal year 1917, to be available until expended and to be payable one-half out of the Treasury of the United States and one-half out of the revenues of the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That the total area of lands finally to be acquired for said parkway shall not exceed the area and parcels described and delineated in the map No. 2, contained in House Document No. 1114 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, first session: *Provided further*, That the expenditure of the funds appropriated herein shall be subject to all the conditions imposed by the sundry civil appropriation act approved July 1, 1916.

MISSISSIPPI CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

For the transfer at the close of the Panama-California International Exposition of the Government exhibit, or such portions thereof as may be determined by the President as advisable, and for its installation and maintenance during the continuance of said Mississippi Centennial Exposition until not later than June 10, 1918, and its return to Washington, $75,000, to be expended in accordance with the provisions of the act approved September 8, 1916, and to be immediately available.

ERICSSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION.

For the erection in the city of Washington, D. C., of a suitable memorial to John Ericsson, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act for erecting a suitable memorial to John Ericsson," approved August 31, 1916, $35,000; and in addition to the foregoing amount the commission is authorized to accept and to expend such sums as may be donated for the memorial.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

ARMORIES AND ARSENALS.

Augusta Arsenal, Augusta, Ga.: For increasing facilities for fire protection, $5,000.

Benicia Arsenal, Benicia, Cal.:

For an elevator in main storehouse, $1,700;

For one oil storehouse, $2,000;

In all, $3,700.

Frankford Arsenal, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Any unexpended balance after completing the work prescribed by the following appropriation contained in the sundry civil appropriation act approved July 1, 1916, "For five magazine buildings, including necessary barriers and fences about the buildings, railroad connections, sewer lines, lighting mains, etc., $90,900," shall be available for the construction of two primer dry houses.

For a small-arms ammunition storehouse, $72,000;

For a primer shop and planning room, $165,000;

For two sets of double quarters for officers, $30,000;

For a combination wall and picket fence along the north side and a picket fence along the east and south sides of the arsenal reservation, $20,000;

For construction and repair of roads, including railroad sidings, $10,000;

In all, $297,000.

Picatinny Arsenal, Dover, N. J.:

For increasing and improving the water supply, $5,000;

For a magazine, $3,000;

For increasing transportation facilities, including the purchase of cars and a track scale, $10,000;

For repairs to bridges and roads, $10,000;

For a plant for drying powder by the water-drying process, $15,000;

In all, $43,000.

Proving-ground facilities: For increasing the facilities for the proof and test of field artillery and its ammunition, including necessary buildings and the purchase of land, $1,000,000.

Rock Island Arsenal, Rock Island, Ill.:

For additional amount for bath and toilet room addition to barracks building, $10,000;

For increasing the facilities for the manufacture of field artillery, matériel, including the necessary buildings and equipment, and for providing additional storage space and other storage facilities, either by building and equipping new storehouses or by building and equipping shops for manufacturing purposes and equipping as storehouses shops thereby vacated and made available, $2,965,000.

For laying a new floor on Moline Bridge, $14,000;

For replacing roof and gutters of post stables, $2,600;

For completing facilities for manufacturing field artillery ammunition at a total cost not exceeding $1,250,000, including necessary buildings, etc., $750,000;

For increasing facilities for storage of sodium nitrate, including necessary buildings, etc., $135,000;

The appropriations of $250,000 for increasing storage facilities at the Rock Island Arsenal and of $225,000 for providing facilities for a reserve supply of sodium nitrate, contained in the general deficiency appropriation act, approved September 8, 1916, are made available during the fiscal year 1918;

For maintenance and operation of power plant, $12,500;

For operating, care, and preservation of Rock Island bridges and viaduct; and maintenance and repair of the arsenal street connecting the bridges, $20,000;

In all, $3,909,100.

Sandy Hook, N. J., proving ground:

For enlarging magazine at proof battery, $6,000;

For extension of barracks building, $25,000;

For one crane, $78,000;

For increasing railroad transportation facilities, $12,500;

In all, $121,500.

Springfield Arsenal, Springfield, Mass.:

The appropriation of $5,500 for extension of wing of milling shop for the fiscal year 1917 is made available during the fiscal year 1918, together with the further sum of $4,500;

For a new power plant for the hill shops, $90,000;

For replacing worn-out and obsolete machine tools, $100,000;

In all, $194,500.

Watertown Arsenal, Watertown, Mass.:

For a locomotive crane, $9,500;

For one storehouse and its equipment, $60,000;

For a fire engine, $3,000;

For construction and repair of roads, sidewalks, etc., $10,000;

For an oil-storage equipment for the manufacturing plant, $7,000;

The appropriation of $5,000 made in the act approved July 1, 1916, for a building for housing electric engine and locomotive crane is reappropriated and made available for the construction of a building for housing automobile trucks and electric engine, together with the further sum of $1,000;

In all, $90,500.

Watertown Arsenal, testing machines: For necessary professional and skilled labor, purchase of materials, tools, and appliances for operating the testing machines, for investigative test and tests of material in connection with the manufacturing work of the Ordnance Department, and for instruments and materials for operating the chemical laboratory in connection therewith, and for maintenance of the establishment, $15,000.

Watervliet Arsenal, West Troy, N. Y.:

For additional amount for improvement of large gun shop, $156,000;

The appropriation of $37,000 for machine-tool equipment for field and siege gun shop for the fiscal year 1917 is made available during the fiscal year 1918;

For increasing storage capacity for fuel oil, $2,100;

For improving electric locomotive and the railroad track, $4,000;

For repainting lower shops and storehouses, $5,000;

For rebuilding dock and retaining wall on Hudson River front, and filling in low ground in rear thereof, $11,000;

In all, $178,100.

Repairs of arsenals: For repairs and improvement at arsenals, and to meet such unforeseen expenditures as accidents or other contingencies during the year may render necessary, including $160,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for machinery for manufacturing purposes in the arsenals, $400,000.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

The Secretary of War is authorized and directed to report to Congress on or before January 1, 1918, as to the most desirable method for quartering officers and enlisted men of the Army, and to submit detailed plans and estimates of cost for the carrying out of any proposed scheme or schemes, together with locations desired and in particular what existing posts shall be retained, enlarged, or discontinued.

Military post, Schofield Barracks, Hawaii: For completion of the construction, at a total cost not exceeding $2,077,000, of the necessary buildings, water and sewer systems, roads, walks, etc., required to complete permanent accommodations not already provided for two regiments of Infantry, one regiment of Cavalry, and one regiment of Field Artillery, $1,077,000.

Fort Monroe, Va., wharf, roads, and sewer: For repair and maintenance of wharf, including all necessary labor and material therefor, fuel for waiting rooms, and water, brooms, and shovels, $2,430; repairs to apron of wharf, including all necessary labor and material therefor, $3,930; wharfinger, $900; four laborers, $1,920; in all, $9,180; for one-third of said sum, to be supplied by the United States, $3,060.

For rakes, shovels, and brooms; repairs to roadway, pavements, macadam and asphalt block; repairs to street crossings; repairs to street drains, $2,170; six laborers cleaning roads, at $480 each; in all, $5,050; for two-thirds of said sum, to be supplied by the United States, $3,366.66.

For waste, oil, boiler repairs, sewer pipe, cement, brick and supplies, $1,400; two engineers, at $1,000 each; two laborers, at $500 each; in all, $4,400; for two-thirds of said sum, to be supplied by the United States, $2,933.33.

For continuing construction of the necessary accommodations for the Seacoast Artillery in the Hawaiian Islands, and for temporary cantonments for over-sea garrisons, $93,000.

National cemeteries: For maintaining and improving national cemeteries, including fuel for superintendents, pay of laborers and other employees, purchase of tools and materials, $120,000.

For pay of 76 superintendents of national cemeteries, $63,120.

For continuing the work of furnishing headstones of durable stone or other durable material for unmarked graves of Union and Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines in national, post, city, town, and village cemeteries, naval cemeteries at navy yards and stations of the United States, and other burial places, under the acts of March 3, 1873, February 3, 1879, and March 9, 1906; continuing the work of furnishing headstones for unmarked graves of civilians interred in post cemeteries under the acts of April 28, 1904, and June 30, 1906; and furnishing headstones for the unmarked graves of Confederate soldiers, sailors, and marines in national cemeteries, $50,000.

For repairs to roadways to national cemeteries which have been constructed by special authority of Congress, $12,000: *Provided*, That no railroads shall be permitted upon the right of way which may have been acquired by the United States to a national cemetery, or to encroach upon any roads or walks constructed thereon and maintained by the United States: *Provided further*, That no part of this sum shall be used for repairing any roadway not owned by the United States within the corporate limits of any city, town, or village.

No part of any appropriation for national cemeteries or the repair of roadways thereto shall be expended in the maintenance of more than a single approach to any national cemetery.

For expenses of burying in the Arlington National Cemetery, or in the cemeteries of the District of Columbia, indigent ex-Union soldiers, ex-sailors, or ex-marines of the United States service, either Regular or

Volunteer, who have been honorably discharged or retired and who die in the District of Columbia, to be disbursed by the Secretary of War, at a cost not exceeding $45 for such burial expenses in each case, exclusive of cost of grave, $2,000, one-half of which sum shall be paid out of the revenues of the District of Columbia.

Antietam battle field: For repair and preservation of monuments, tablets, observation tower, roads, and fences, etc., made and constructed by the United States upon public lands within the limits of the Antietam battle field, near Sharpsburg, Md., $3,000.

For pay of superintendent of Antietam battle field, said superintendent to perform his duties under the direction of the Quartermaster Corps and to be selected and appointed by the Secretary of War, at his discretion, the person selected and appointed to this position to be an honorably discharged Union soldier, $1,500.

Disposition of remains of officers, soldiers, civilian employees, etc.: For interment, or of preparation and transportation to their homes or to such national cemeteries as may be designated by proper authority, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, of the remains of officers, including acting assistant surgeons and enlisted men of the Army active list; interment, or of preparation and transportation to their homes, of the remains of civil employees of the Army in the employ of the War Department who die abroad, in Alaska, in the Canal Zone, or on Army transports, or who die while on duty in the field or at military posts within the limits of the United States; interment of military prisoners who die at military posts; removal of remains from abandoned posts to permanent military posts or national cemeteries, including the remains of Federal soldiers, sailors, or marines, interred in fields or abandoned private and city cemeteries; and in any case where the expenses of burial or shipment of the remains of officers or enlisted men of the Army who die on the active list are borne by individuals, where such expenses would have been lawful claims against the Government, reimbursement to such individuals may be made of the amount allowed by the Government for such services out of this sum, but no reimbursement shall be made of such expenses incurred prior to July 1, 1910, $60,000.

Confederate Mound, Oakwood Cemetery, Chicago: For care, protection, and maintenance of the plat of ground known as "Confederate Mound" in Oakwood Cemetery, Chicago, $500.

For care, protection, and maintenance of Confederate Stockade Cemetery, Johnstons Island in Sandusky Bay, Ohio, $250.

Confederate burial plats: For care, protection, and maintenance of Confederate burial plats, owned by the United States, located and known by the following designations: Confederate cemetery, North Alton, Ill.; Confederate cemetery, Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio; Confederate section, Greenlawn Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind.; Confederate cemetery, Point Lookout, Md.; and Confederate cemetery, Rock Island, Ill., $1,250.

Monuments or tablets in Cuba or China: For repairs and preservation of monuments, tablets, roads, fences, etc., made and constructed by the United States in Cuba and China to mark the places where American soldiers fell, $1,000.

Burial of deceased indigent patients: For burying in the Little Rock (Ark.) National Cemetery, including transportation thereto, indigent ex-soldiers, ex-sailors, or ex-marines of the United States service, either Regular or Volunteer, who have been honorably discharged or retired and who die while patients at the Army and Navy General Hospital, Hot Springs, Ark., to be disbursed at a cost not exceeding $35 for such burial expenses in each case, exclusive of cost of grave, $200.

NATIONAL MILITARY PARKS.

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park: For continuing the establishment of the park; compensation and expenses of civilian commissioners, maps, surveys, clerical and other assistance, including $300 for necessary clerical labor under direction of the chairman of the commission; maintenance, repair, and operation of one motor-propelled and one horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicle; office and all other necessary expenses; foundations for State monuments; mowing; historical tablets, iron and bronze; iron gun carriages; roads and their maintenance; purchase of small tracts of lands heretofore authorized by law, $55,260.

Shiloh National Military Park: For continuing the establishment of the park; compensation of civilian commissioners; secretary and superintendent; clerical and other services; labor; historical tablets; maps and surveys; roads; purchase and transportation of supplies and materials; foundations to monuments; purchase of land; building a superintendent's residence; office and other necessary expenses, including maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle, $29,550.

Gettysburg National Park: For continuing the establishment of the park; acquisition of lands, surveys, and maps; constructing, improving, and maintaining avenues, roads, and bridges thereon; fences and gates; marking the lines of battle with tablets and guns, each tablet bearing a brief legend giving historic facts and compiled without censure and without praise; preserving the features of the battle field and the monuments thereon; compensation of civilian commissioners, clerical and other services, expenses, and labor; purchase and preparation of tablets and gun carriages and placing them in position; and all other expenses incidental to the foregoing, $42,500.

Vicksburg National Military Park: For continuing the establishment of the park; compensation of civilian commissioners; engineer and clerk, labor, iron gun carriages, mounting of siege guns, memorials, monuments, markers, and historical tablets giving historical facts, compiled without praise and without censure; maps, surveys, roads, bridges, restoration of earthworks, purchase of lands, purchase and transportation of supplies and materials; and other necessary expenses, $33,000.

ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.

Yellowstone National Park: For maintenance and repair of improvements, $147,500, including not to exceed $5,000 for maintenance of the road in the forest reserve leading out of the park from the east boundary, and not to exceed $7,500 for maintenance of the road in the forest reserve leading out of the park from the south boundary, and including not exceeding $3,000 for purchase, operation, maintenance, and repair of motor-driven and horse-drawn, passenger-carrying vehicles to be used for inspection of roads and road work, to be expended by and under the direction of the Secretary of War: *Provided*, That no portion of this appropriation shall be expended for the removal of snow from any of the roads for the purpose of opening them in advance of the time when they will be cleared by seasonal changes.

For resurfacing and for finishing the belt line with oil macadam, $20,000.

Crater Lake National Park, Oreg.: For continuation of a wagon road and the necessary bridges through the park, together with a system of tanks and water-supply pipes for sprinkling, in accordance with the recommendations in H. Doc. No. 328, 62d Cong., second session, and for maintenance, repair, and operation of two horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, $50,000.

Buildings and grounds in and around Washington: For improvement and care of public grounds, District of Columbia, as follows:

For improvement and maintenance of grounds south of Executive Mansion, $4,000.

For ordinary care of greenhouses and nursery, $2,000.

For repair and reconstruction of the greenhouses at the nursery, $3,000.

For ordinary care of Lafayette Park, $2,000.

For ordinary care of Franklin Park, $1,500.

For improvement and ordinary care of Lincoln Park, $2,000.

For care and improvement of Monument Grounds and annex, $7,000.

For improvement, care, and maintenance of Garfield Park, $2,500.

For construction and repair of post-and-chain fences, repair of high iron fences, constructing stone coping about reservations, painting watchmen's lodges, iron fences, vases, lamps, and lamp-posts; repairing and extending water pipes, and purchase of apparatus for cleaning them; hose, manure, and hauling the same; removing snow and ice; purchase and repair of seats and tools; trees, tree and plant stakes, labels, lime, whitewashing, stock for nursery, flower pots, twine, baskets, wire, splints, and moss, to be purchased by contract or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine; care, construction, and repair of fountains; abating nuisances; cleaning statues and repairing pedestals, $18,550.

For improvement, care, and maintenance of various reservations, including maintenance, repair, exchange, and operation of one horse-drawn and two motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles to be used only for official purposes, $30,000.

For improvement, care, and maintenance of Smithsonian grounds, $3,000.

For improvement and maintenance of Judiciary Park, $2,500.

For laying cement and other walks in various reservations, $2,000.

For broken-stone road covering for parks, $3,500.

For curbing, coping, and flagging for park roads and walks, $2,000.

For care and maintenance of Potomac Park, $15,000.

For grading, soiling, seeding, and planting that portion of Potomac Park west of the railroad embankment, and constructing paths, $25,000.

For oiling or otherwise treating macadam roads, $4,000.

For care and improvement of the portion of Potomac Park east of the railroad embankment, $50,000.

For continuing the improvement of Montrose Park, and for its care and maintenance, $5,000.

For placing and maintaining special portions of the parks in condition for outdoor sports, $10,000.

To continue construction of necessary retaining walls in Meridian Hill Park, and grading incident thereto, $50,000.

For care and maintenance of Willow Tree Park, $1,500.

For improving the site of the old high-service reservoir at the southeast corner of Wisconsin Avenue and R Street NW., $5,000.

For continuing moving out the sea wall on the river side of west Potomac Park, $22,500.

For care of the center parking on Maryland Avenue NE., $1,000.

For continuing a field house in East Potomac Park east of the railroad embankment, $50,000.

For operation, care, repair, and maintenance of the pumps which operate the three fountains in the Union Station Plaza, $4,000.

For new road pavements, curbs, gutters, and sidewalks on the E and F Street roadways through Judiciary Park, $15,000.

For improving small triangles, $2,500.

For planting the center parking in Pennsylvania Avenue between Second and Seventeenth Streets SE., $5,000.

For new public comfort station in Willow Tree Park, $3,500.

Tidal Basin bathing beach: The Chief of Engineers of the United States Army is authorized and directed to establish and maintain at a suitable place upon the shore of the Tidal Basin, in Potomac Park, a public bathhouse, with the necessary equipment, with a sloping sandy beach in the Tidal Basin, and to install a proper equipment to purify the water entering the basin so that it will not endanger the health of those bathing in it. The direction and control of said public bathing facilities shall be vested in the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, who shall prescribe such regulations for their use as may be necessary to insure the greatest benefit to the public: *Provided*, That no charge shall be made for the use of the bathhouse or beach, except that uniform fees may be collected for the hire of bathing suits, soap, towels, and such other conveniences as may be provided upon the request of persons desiring to use them. To enable the Chief of Engineers to begin construction of the bathhouse, beach, and purification plant herein provided for, $35,000, to be immediately available; and the limit of cost of such construction shall not exceed that amount.

One half of the foregoing sums under "Buildings and grounds in and around Washington" shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia and the other half from the Treasury of the United States.

Under appropriations contained in this act no contract shall be made for making or relaying sheet asphalt or asphalt block pavement at a higher price than $1.80 per square yard for a quality equal to the best laid in the District of Columbia during the years 1914 to 1917, inclusive, and with same depth of base: *Provided*, That these conditions as to price and depth of base shall not apply to those streets on which, in the judgment of the Chief of Engineers, by reason of heavy traffic, poor foundation, or other causes, a pavement of more than ordinary strength is required, in which case the limit of price may be increased to $2 per square yard.

For improvement, care, and maintenance of grounds of executive departments, $1,000.

For such trees, shrubs, plants, fertilizers, and skilled labor for the grounds of the Library of Congress as may be requested by the superintendent of the Library Buildings, $1,000.

For such trees, shrubs, plants, fertilizers, and skilled labor for the grounds of the Capitol and the Senate and House Office Buildings as may be requested by the Superintendent of the Capitol Building, $4,000.

For improvement and maintenance of Executive Mansion grounds (within iron fence), $5,000.

For the employment of an engineer by the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, $2,400.

For purchase and repair of machinery and tools for shops at nursery, and for the repair of shops and storehouses, $1,000.

Executive Mansion: For ordinary care, repair, and refurnishing of Executive Mansion, and for purchase, maintenance, and driving of

horses and vehicles for official purposes, to be expended by contract or otherwise, as the President may determine, $35,000.

For extraordinary repairs and refurnishing of Executive Mansion, $60,000.

For fuel for the Executive Mansion and greenhouses, $6,000.

For care and maintenance of greenhouses, Executive Mansion, $9,000.

For repair to greenhouses, Executive Mansion, $3,000.

For traveling expenses of the President of the United States, to be expended in his discretion and accounted for on his certificate solely, $25 000.

For lighting the Executive Mansion, grounds, and greenhouses, including all necessary expenses of installation, maintenance, and repair, $8,600.

Lighting the public grounds: For lighting the public grounds, watchmen's lodges, offices, and greenhouses at the propagating gardens, including all necessary expenses of installation, maintenance, and repair, $22,300;

For heating offices, watchmen's lodges, and greenhouses at the propagating gardens, $3,820;

In all, $26,120, or so much thereof as may be necessary, one half of which sum shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia and the other half from the Treasury of the United States.

Telegraph to connect the Capitol with the departments and Government Printing Office: For care and repair of existing lines, $500.

Washington Monument: For custodian, $1,200; steam engineer, $960; assistant steam engineer, $840; fireman, $660; assistant fireman, $660; conductor of elevator car, $900; attendants—1 on floor $720, 1 on top floor $720; 3 night and day watchmen, at $720 each; in all, $8,820.

For fuel, lights, oil, waste, packing, tools, matches, paints, brushes, brooms, lanterns, rope, nails, screws, lead, electric lights, heating apparatus, oil stoves for elevator car and upper and lower floors; repairs to engines, boilers, dynamos, elevator, and repairs of all kinds connected with the Monument and machinery; and purchase of all necessary articles for keeping the Monument, machinery, elevator, and electric plant in good order, $3,000.

For extra services of employees and for additional supplies and materials, to provide for opening the Monument to the public on Sundays and legal holidays, $2,000.

Building where Abraham Lincoln died: For painting and miscellaneous repairs, $200.

Birthplace of George Washington, Wakefield, Va.: For repairs to fences and cleaning up and maintaining grounds about the monument, $100.

Commission of Fine Arts: For expenses made necessary by the act approved May 17, 1910, entitled "An act establishing a Commission of Fine Arts," including the purchase of periodicals, maps, and books of reference, to be disbursed, on vouchers approved by the commission, by the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, who shall be the secretary and shall act as the executive officer of said commission, $8,000.

The appropriation of $5,000 made in the sundry civil act approved August 1, 1914, for unveiling and dedicating the memorial to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, including erecting and taking down viewing stands and putting the grounds in sightly condition, is made available for said purposes during the fiscal year 1918.

Lincoln Memorial Commission: For completing the erection of the Lincoln Memorial in accordance with the plans and design and on the location approved by Congress, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be immediately available, $331,000.

Harbors and rivers, contract work: Toward the construction of works on harbors and rivers, under contract and otherwise, and within the limits authorized by law, including horse-drawn and motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles required and to be used only for official business, namely:

For works authorized by the river and harbor act of 1916, as follows:

Delaware River, Pa. and N. J.: For continuing improvement from Allegheny Avenue, Philadelphia, to the sea, $150,000.

Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis., Harbor: For completing improvement, $180,000.

East River, N. Y.: For continuing improvement, $200,000.

Hudson River, N. Y.: For continuing improvement, $375,000.

Kahului, Hawaii, Harbor: For continuing improvement, $100,000.

Maps, War Department: For publication of engineer maps for use of the War Department, inclusive of war maps, $10,000.

Survey of northern and northwestern lakes: For survey of northern and northwestern lakes, Lake of the Woods, and other boundary and connecting waters between said lake and Lake Superior, Lake Champlain, and the natural navigable waters embraced in the navigation system of the New York canals, including all necessary expenses for preparing, correcting, extending, printing, binding, and issuing charts and bulletins, and of investigating lake levels with a view to their regulation, $125,000.

California Débris Commission: For defraying the expenses of the commission in carrying on the work authorized by the act of Congress approved March 1, 1893, $15,000.

Harbor of New York: For prevention of obstructive and injurious deposits within the harbor and adjacent water of New York City:

For pay of inspectors, deputy inspectors, and office force, and expenses of office, $10,260;

For pay of crews and maintenance of patrol fleet, six steam tugs and one launch, $75,000;

For purchase and installation of a new dynamo, electrical fittings, new deck, and new boiler on patrol vessel *Lamont*, $11,500;

In all, $96,760.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Artificial limbs: For furnishing artificial limbs and apparatus, or commutation therefor, and necessary transportation, $210,000.

Appliances for disabled soldiers: For furnishing surgical appliances to persons disabled in the military or naval service of the United States, and not entitled to artificial limbs or trusses for the same disabilities, $1,000.

Trusses for disabled soldiers: For trusses for persons entitled thereto under section 1176, Revised Statutes of the United States, and the act of Congress amendatory thereof, approved March 3, 1879, $2,000.

Providence Hospital: For the support and medical treatment of medical and surgical patients who are destitute, in the city of Washington, under a contract to be made with the Providence Hospital by the Surgeon General of the Army, $19,000, one half of which sum shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia and the other half from the Treasury of the United States.

Garfield Memorial Hospital: For maintenance, to enable it to provide medical and surgical treatment to persons unable to pay therefor, under a contract to be made with the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, $19,000, one half of which sum shall be paid from the revenues of the District of Columbia and the other half from the Treasury of the United States.

NATIONAL HOME FOR DISABLED VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS.

For support of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, as follows:

Central Branch, Dayton, Ohio: Current expenses: For pay of officers and noncommissioned officers of the home, with such exceptions as are hereinafter noted, and their clerks, weighmasters, and orderlies; chaplains, religious instruction, and entertainment for the members of the home, printers, bookbinders, librarians, musicians, telegraph and telephone operators, guards, janitors, watchmen, fire company, and property and materials purchased for their use, including repairs not done by the home; articles of amusement, library books, magazines, papers, pictures, and musical instruments, and repairs not done by the home; stationery, advertising, legal advice, payments due heirs of deceased members: *Provided*, That all receipts on account of the effects of deceased members during the fiscal year shall also be available for such payments; and for such other expenditures as can not properly be included under other heads of expenditures, $60,000;

Subsistence: For pay of commissary sergeants, commissary clerks, porters, laborers, bakers, cooks, dishwashers, waiters, and others employed in the subsistence department; food supplies, except articles of special diet for the sick, purchased for the subsistence of the members of the home and civilian employees regularly employed and residing at the branch, their freight, preparation, and serving; aprons, caps, and jackets for kitchen and dining-room employees; tobacco; dining-room and kitchen furniture and utensils, bakers' and butchers' tools and appliances, and their repair not done by the home, $250,000;

Household: For furniture for officers' quarters; bedsteads, bedding, bedding material, and all other articles required in the quarters of the members, and of civilian employees permanently employed and residing at the branch, and their repair, if not repaired by the home; fuel, including fuel for cooking, heat, and light; engineers and firemen, bathhouse keepers, janitors, laundry employees, and for all labor, materials, and appliances required for household use, and repairs, if not repaired by the home, $103,000;

Hospital: For pay of assistant surgeons, matrons, druggists, hospital clerks and stewards, ward masters, nurses, cooks, waiters, readers, drivers, funeral escort, janitors, and for such other services as may be necessary for the care of the sick; burial of the dead; surgical instruments and appliances, medical books, medicine, liquors, fruits, and other necessaries for the sick not purchased under subsistence; bedsteads, bedding, and bedding materials, and all other special articles necessary for the wards; hospital furniture, including special articles and appliances for hospital kitchen and dining room; carriage, hearse, stretchers, coffins; and for all repairs to hospital furniture and appliances not done by the home, $76,000.

Transportation: For transportation of members of the home, $1,200.

Repairs: For pay of chief engineer, builders, blacksmiths, carpenters, painters, gas fitters, electrical workers, plumbers, tinsmiths, steam fitters, stone and brick masons, and laborers, and for all appliances and materials used under this head; and repairs of roads and other improvements of a permanent character, $60,000: *Provided*, That no part of the appropriation for repairs for any of the branch homes shall be used for the construction of any new building;

Farm: For pay of farmer, chief gardener, harness makers, farm hands, gardeners, horseshoers, stablemen, teamsters, dairymen, herders, and laborers; tools, appliances, and materials required for farm, garden, and dairy work; grain, and grain products, hay, straw, fertilizers, seed, carriages, wagons, carts, and other conveyances; animals purchased for stock or work (including animals in the park); gasoline; materials, tools, and labor for flower garden, lawn, park, and cemetery; and construction of roads and walks, and repairs not done by the home, $23,000;

In all, $573,200.

Northwestern Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $45,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $140,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $58,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $44,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $600;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $30,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $8,000;

In all, $325,600.

Eastern Branch, Togus, Me.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $43,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $112,500;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $68,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $38,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $800;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $30,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $16,000;

In all, $308,300.

Southern Branch, Hampton, Va.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $45,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $170,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $65,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $43,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $1,200;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $40,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $9,000;

In all, $373,200.

Western Branch, Leavenworth, Kans.: for current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $48,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $190,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $90,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $52,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $1,000;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $50,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $17,000;

In all, $448,000.

Pacific Branch, Santa Monica, Cal.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $46,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $215,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $61,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $53,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $2,500;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $42,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $12,000;

For enlargement of the sewage-disposal plant, $10,000;

In all, $441,500.

Marion Branch, Marion, Ind.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $42,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $126,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $47,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $40,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $600;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $38,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $12,000;

In all, $305,600.

Danville Branch, Danville, Ill.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $46,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $178,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $68,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $42,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $1,000;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $31,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $10,000;

In all, $376,000.

Mountain Branch, Johnson City, Tenn.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $39,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $115,000,

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $42,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $35,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $1,500;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $28,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $16,000;

In all, $276,500.

Battle Mountain Sanitarium, Hot Springs, S. Dak.: For current expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $23,000;

For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $45,000;

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $41,000;

For hospital, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $35,000;

For transportation of members of the home, $5,000;

For repairs, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $14,000;

For farm, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $5,000;

In all, $168,000.

Clothing for all branches: For clothing, underclothing, hats, caps, boots, shoes, socks, and overalls; labor, materials, machines, tools, and appliances employed, and for use in the tailor shops, knitting shops, and shoe shops, or other home shops in which any kind of clothing is made or repaired, $250,000.

Board of managers: President, $4,000; secretary, $500; general treasurer, who shall not be a member of the board of managers, $4,500; inspector general and chief surgeon, $4,000; assistant general treasurer and assistant inspector general, $3,000; assistant inspector general, $3,000; clerical services for the offices of the president, general treasurer, and inspector general and chief surgeon, $14,500; clerical services for managers, $2,700; traveling expenses of the board of managers, their officers, and employees, including officers of branch homes when detailed on inspection work, $10,000; outside relief, $100; legal services, medical examinations, stationery, telegrams, and other incidental expenses, $2,700; in all, $49,000.

The Secretary of War is authorized and directed to report to Congress, not later than January 1, 1918, what branch or branches of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, if any, can be discontinued without prejudice to the care of the persons entitled to admission to the home.

In all, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, $3,894,900:

Provided, That no part of the foregoing appropriations shall be expended for any purpose at any branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers that maintains or permits to be maintained on its premises a bar, canteen, or other place where beer, wine, or other intoxicating liquors are sold.

State or Territorial homes for disabled soldiers and sailors: For continuing aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled volunteer soldiers, in conformity with the act approved August 27, 1888, including all classes of soldiers admissible to the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, $1,070,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be apportioned to any State or Territorial home that maintains a bar or canteen where intoxicating liquors are sold: *Provided further*, That for any sum or sums collected in any manner from inmates of such State or Territorial homes to be used for the support of said homes a like amount shall be deducted from the aid herein provided for, but this proviso shall not apply to any State or Territorial home into which the wives or widows of soldiers are admitted and maintained.

BACK PAY AND BOUNTY.

For arrears of pay of two and three year volunteers, for bounty to volunteers and their widows and legal heirs, for bounty under the act of July 28, 1866, and for amounts for commutation of rations to prisoners of war in States of the so-called Confederacy, and to soldiers on furlough, that may be certified to be due by the accounting officers of the Treasury during the fiscal year 1918, $25,000.

For arrears of pay and allowances on account of service of officers and men of the Army during the War with Spain and in the Philippine Islands that may be certified to be due by the accounting officers of the Treasury during the fiscal year 1918 and that are chargeable to the appropriations that have been carried to the surplus fund, $1,000.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Repairs of buildings: For repairs of Interior Department and Pension Buildings and of the General Land Office Building, occupied by the Interior Department, including preservation and repair of steam-heating and electric-lighting plants and elevators, $30,000, of which sum not exceeding $7,500 may be expended for day labor except for work done by contract.

Capitol Buildings: For work at the Capitol and for general repairs thereof, including flags for the east and west fronts of the center of the Capitol and for Senate and House Office Buildings; flagstaffs, halyards, and tackle; wages of mechanics and laborers; purchase, maintenance, and driving of motor-propelled, passenger-carrying office vehicle; and not exceeding $100 for the purchase of technical and necessary reference books and city directory, $30,000.

For painting and extraordinary repairs of the Capitol Building, including each and every item connected therewith, $38,674.07, to be available immediately.

For continuing the work of cleaning and repairing works of art in the Capitol, including repairs to frames, under the direction of the Joint Committee on the Library, $1,500.

Capitol Grounds: For care and improvement of grounds surrounding the Capitol, Senate and House Office Buildings, pay of one clerk, mechanics, gardeners, fertilizers, repairs to pavements, walks, and roadways, $30,000.

For reconstruction of the walls, sidewalks, tunnel, and portions of the roadways on the east side of the Capitol Grounds, including each and every item connected therewith, $30,287.50, to be available immediately.

For repairs and improvements to steam fire-engine house, Senate and House stables, and repairs to and paving the floors and courtyards of same, including personal services, $1,500; this and the five foregoing sums may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be expended for purchases of articles without reference to section 4 of the act approved June 17, 1910, concerning purchases for executive departments.

The unexpended balances of the appropriations heretofore made for expenses of removal of the buildings and other structures upon the land acquired for the enlargement of the Capitol Grounds, for grading, seeding, and soiling, and preparation of plans for permanently improving the same, are reappropriated and made available during the fiscal year 1918.

PUBLIC LANDS SERVICE.

Registers and receivers: For salaries and commissions of registers of district land offices and receivers of public moneys at district land offices, at not exceeding $3,000 per annum each, $500,000.

Contingent expenses of land offices: For clerk hire, rent, and other incidental expenses of the district land offices, including the exchange of typewriters; per diem, in lieu of subsistence, of clerks detailed to examine the books and management of district land offices and to assist in the operation of said offices, and in the opening of new land offices and reservations, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and for actual necessary traveling expenses of said clerks, including necessary sleeping-car fares: *Provided*, That no expenses chargeable to the Government shall be incurred by registers and receivers in the conduct of local land offices except upon previous specific authorization by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, $400,000.

Depositing public moneys: For expenses of depositing money received from the disposal of public lands, by registered mail, bank exchange, or otherwise, as may be directed by the Secretary of the Interior, and under rules to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, $1,000.

Depredations on public timber, protecting public lands, and settlement of claims for swamp land and swamp-land indemnity: For protecting timber on the public lands, and for the more efficient execution of the law and rules relating to the cutting thereof; of protecting public lands from illegal and fraudulent entry or appropriation, and of adjusting claims for swamp lands and indemnity for swamp lands, including not exceeding $15,000 for clerical services in bringing up and making current the work of the General Land Office, $475,000, including not exceeding $5,000 for the purchase of motorcycles and a motor boat for the use of agents and others employed in the field service and for operation, maintenance, and exchange of same: *Provided*, That the compensation of the chief of field service employed hereunder shall not exceed $3,500 per annum and the compensation of all others employed hereunder shall not exceed $2,700 per annum each, except in Alaska, where a compensation not to exceed $3,000 per annum may be allowed: *Provided further*, That agents and others employed under this appropriation may be allowed per diem in lieu of subsistence, pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, at a rate not exceeding $3 each and actual necessary expenses for transportation, including necessary sleeping-

car fares, except when agents are employed in Alaska they may be allowed not exceeding $5 per day each in lieu of subsistence.

For the protection of lands involved in Oregon & California Railroad forfeiture suit: To enable the Secretary of the Interior, with the cooperation of the Secretary of Agriculture or otherwise, as in his judgment may be most advisable, to establish and maintain a patrol to prevent trespass and to guard against and check fires upon the lands involved in the case of the United States v. Oregon & California Railroad Co. and others, suit No. 3340, in the district court for the district of Oregon, now pending on appeal in the Supreme Court of the United States, $25,000.

Hearings in land entries: For hearings or other proceedings held by order of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to determine the character of lands; whether alleged fraudulent entries are of that character or have been made in compliance with law; and of hearings in disbarment proceedings, $35,000: *Provided*, That where depositions are taken for use in such hearings the fees of the officer taking them shall be 20 cents per folio for taking and certifying same and 10 cents per folio for each copy furnished to a party on request.

Reproducing plats of surveys: To enable the Commissioner of the General Land Office to continue to reproduce worn and defaced official plats of surveys on file, and other plats constituting a part of the records of said office, to furnish local land offices with the same, and for reproducing by photolithography original plats of surveys prepared in the offices of surveyors general, $5,000.

Restoration of lands in forest reserves: To enable the Secretary of the Interior to advertise the restoration to the public domain of lands in forest reserves or of lands temporarily withdrawn for forest reserve purposes, $15,000.

Opening Indian reservations (reimbursable): For expenses pertaining to the opening to entry and settlement of such Indian reservation lands as may be opened during the fiscal year 1918: *Provided*, That the expenses pertaining to the opening of each of said reservations and paid for out of this appropriation shall be reimbursed to the United States from the money received from the sale of the lands embraced in said reservations, respectively, $15,000.

SURVEYING THE PUBLIC LANDS.

For surveys and resurveys of public lands, under the supervision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office and direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $700,000: *Provided*, That in expending this appropriation preference shall be given, first, in favor of surveying townships occupied in whole or in part by actual settlers and of lands granted to the States by the act approved February 22, 1889, and the acts approved July 3 and July 10, 1890, and to survey under such other acts as provide for land grants to the several States and Territories, and such indemnity lands as the several States and Territories may be entitled to in lieu of lands granted them for educational and other purposes which may have been sold or included in some reservation or otherwise disposed of, except railroad land grants, and other surveys shall include lands adapted to agriculture and lands deemed advisable to survey on account of availability for irrigation or dry farming, lines of reservations, and lands within boundaries of forest reservations. The surveys and resurveys provided for in this appropriation to be made by such competent surveyors as the Secretary of the Interior may select, at such compensation, not exceeding $200 per month each, as he may prescribe, except that the Secretary of the Interior may appoint not to exceed one supervisor of surveys, whose compensation shall not exceed $300 per month, and not to exceed 10 surveyors who may be employed in a supervisory capacity, whose compensation shall not exceed $250 per month each, except in the District of Alaska, where a compensation not exceeding $10 per day may be allowed such surveyors and such per diem in lieu of subsistence, not exceeding $3, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and actual necessary expenses for transportation including necessary sleeping-car fares, said per diem and traveling expenses to be allowed to all surveyors employed hereunder and to such clerks who are competent surveyors who may be detailed to make surveys, resurveys, or examinations of surveys heretofore made and reported to be defective or fraudulent, and inspecting mineral deposits, coal fields, and timber districts, and for making, by such competent surveyors, fragmentary surveys, and such other surveys or examinations as may be required for identification of lands for purposes of evidence in any suit or proceeding in behalf of the United States: *Provided further*, That the sum of not exceeding 10 per cent of the amount hereby appropriated may be expended by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for the purchase of metal or other equally durable monuments to be used for public-land survey corners wherever practicable: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $25,000 of the above amount may be used to bring up the arrears of office work in surveyors general's offices upon returns of surveys filed therein prior to the passage of this act.

Abandoned reservations: For necessary expenses of survey, appraisal, and sale of abandoned military reservations transferred to the control of the Secretary of the Interior under the provisions of an act of Congress approved July 5, 1884, and any law prior thereto, including a custodian of the ruin of Casa Grande, $5,000.

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Office of director: Director, $6,000; chief clerk, $2,500; chief disbursing clerk, $2,500; librarian, $2,000; photographer, $2,000; assistant photographers—1 $900, 1 $720; clerks—1 of class 2, 3 of class 1, 1 $1,000, 4 at $900 each; 4 copyists, at $720 each; watchmen—1 $840, 4 at $720 each; janitor, $600; 4 messenger boys, at $480 each; in all, $35,340;

Scientific assistants: Geologists—2 at $4,000 each, 1 $3,000, 1 $2,700; 2 paleontologists, at $2,000 each; chemist, $3,000; geographers—1 $2,700, 1 $2,500; 2 topographers, at $2,000 each; in all, $29,900;

General expenses: For every expenditure requisite for and incident to the authorized work of the Geological Survey, including personal services in the District of Columbia and in the field, including the purchase, hire, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles for field use only by geologists, topographers, and engineers, to be expended under the regulations from time to time prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, and under the following heads: *Provided*, That hereafter the purchase of supplies or the procurement of services outside the District of Columbia may be made in open market in the manner common among business men when the aggregate amount of the purchase does not exceed $50:

For pay of skilled laborers and various temporary employees, $20,000;

For topographic surveys in various portions of the United States, $350,000: *Provided*, That in expending this sum preference shall be given special topographic surveys of areas selected by the War Department and in securing such extra topographic data as are requested by the War Department in these or other areas:

For geologic surveys in the various portions of the United States, $350,000;

For continuation of the investigation of the mineral resources of Alaska, $100,000, to be immediately available;

For chemical and physical researches relating to the geology of the United States, including researches with a view of determining geological conditions favorable to the presence of deposits of potash salts, $40,000;

For preparation of the illustrations of the Geological Survey, $18,280;

For preparation of the report of the mineral resources of the United States, $75,000;

For gauging streams and determining the water supply of the United States, the investigation of underground currents and artesian wells, and the preparation of reports upon the best methods of utilizing the water resources, $175,000, of which $25,000 may be used to test the existence of artesian and other underground water supplies suitable for irrigation in the arid and semiarid regions by boring wells;

For purchase of necessary books for the library, including directories and professional and scientific periodicals needed for statistical purposes, $2,000;

For discovering, developing, protecting, and rendering more accessible springs, streams, and water holes on arid public lands of the United States; for erecting and maintaining suitable and durable monuments and signboards; and for providing convenient and ready means, apparatus, and appliances by which water may be brought to the earth's surface, $10,000;

For engraving and printing geologic maps, $120,000;

For continuation of topographic surveys of the public lands that have been or may hereafter be designated as national forests, $75,000;

For the examination and classification of lands requisite to the determination of their suitability for enlarged homesteads, stock-raising homesteads, public watering places, and stock driveways, as required by the public land laws, to be immediately available, $150,000;

In all, United States Geological Survey, $1,550,520.

BUREAU OF MINES.

For general expenses, including pay of the director and necessary assistants, clerks, and other employees, in the office at Washington, D. C., and in the field, and every other expense requisite for and incident to the general work of the bureau in Washington, D. C., and in the field, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $73,300;

For investigation as to the causes of mine explosions, methods of mining, especially in relation to the safety of miners, the appliances best adapted to prevent accidents, the possible improvement of conditions under which mining operations are carried on, the use of explosives and electricity, the prevention of accidents, and other inquiries and technologic investigations pertinent to the mining industry, and including all equipment, supplies, and expenses of travel and subsistence, $353,800;

For investigation of mineral fuels and unfinished mineral products belonging to or for the use of the United States, with a view to their most efficient mining, preparation, treatment, and use, and to recommend to various departments such changes in selection and use of fuel as may result in greater economy, and including all equipment, supplies, and expenses of travel and subsistence, $135,000;

For inquiries and scientific and technologic investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of ores and other mineral substances, with a view to improving health conditions and increasing safety, efficiency, economic development, and conserving resources through the prevention of waste in the mining, quarrying, metallurgical, and other mineral industries; to inquire into the economic conditions affecting these industries; and including all equipment, supplies, expenses of travel, and subsistence: *Provided*, That no part thereof may be used for investigation in behalf of any private party, $100,000;

For inquiries and investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of petroleum and natural gas, with a view to economic development and conserving resources through the prevention of waste; to inquire into the economic conditions affecting the industry, including equipment, supplies, and expenses of travel, and subsistence, $100,000.

Not exceeding 20 per cent of the preceding sums for investigation as to the causes of mine explosions; for inquiries and scientific and technologic investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization for ores and other mineral substances; for inquiries and investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of petroleum and natural gas; and not exceeding 30 per cent of the preceding sum for investigation of mineral fuels and unfinished mineral products belonging to or for the use of the United States, may be used during the fiscal year 1918 for personal service in the District of Columbia.

For the employment of personal services and all other expenses in connection with the establishment, maintenance, and operation of mining experiment stations, authorized by the act approved March 3, 1915, $150,000;

The unexpended balances of the appropriations of $57,300 and $42,700 made in the sundry civil appropriation acts for the fiscal years 1916 and 1917 toward dismantling and removal of the plant of the Pittsburgh Mining Experiment Station and installation in the new buildings in Pittsburgh constructed under the authority contained in section 26 of the public buildings act approved March 4, 1913, including the employment of necessary labor; machinery, appliances, materials and supplies, furniture and office equipment, cases for apparatus, shades, awnings, and all other articles made necessary by such removal to fully equip and furnish these new buildings for laboratory and office purposes, are made available for expenditure for these purposes during the fiscal year 1918;

For the filling, grading, and general improvement of the grounds at Pittsburgh, Pa., on which the new Bureau of Mines buildings are located, and for removal to and installation on grounds of the experimental mine at Bruceton, Pa., of the machinery, apparatus, etc., used in the physical testing of explosives, $35,000, to be immediately available;

For such additional personal services as may be necessary for the care and maintenance of the new buildings at Pittsburgh, $17,220;

For purchase of three additional mine rescue cars, $81,750;

For equipment for three new mine rescue cars, $13,500;

For operation of mine rescue cars, including personal services, traveling expenses and subsistence, materials and supplies, authorized by the act approved March 3, 1915; to be available for expenditure on any preliminary work that may be found necessary in connection with such of the cars as are to be purchased prior to the time of their actual delivery, $98,000;

For one mine inspector for duty in Alaska, $3,000;

For clerk to mine inspector of Alaska, $1,500;

For per diem, subject to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, in lieu of subsistence at a rate not exceeding $4 when absent on official business from his designated headquarters, and for actual necessary traveling and contingent expenses of said inspector, $2,500;

For technical and scientific books and publications and book of reference, $1,500;

For purchase or lease of necessary land, where and under such conditions as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, for the headquarters of mine-rescue cars and construction of necessary railway sidings and housing for the same, or as the site of an experimental mine and a plant for studying explosives, $1,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept any suitable land or lands, buildings, or improvements that may be donated for said purpose and to enter into leases for periods not exceeding 10 years, subject to annual appropriations by Congress;

Persons employed during the fiscal year 1918 in field work, outside of the District of Columbia, under the Bureau of Mines, may be detailed temporarily for service in Washington, D. C., for purposes of preparing results of their field work; all persons so detailed shall be paid in addition to their regular compensation only their actual traveling expenses or per diem in lieu of subsistence in going to and returning therefrom: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prevent the payment to employees of the Bureau of Mines their necessary expenses or per diem, in lieu of subsistence while on temporary detail in Washington, D. C., for purposes only of consultation or investigations on behalf of the United States. All details made hereunder, and the purposes of each, during the preceding fiscal year, shall be reported in the annual estimates of appropriations to Congress at the beginning of each regular session thereof;

In all, Bureau of Mines, $1,167,070.

RECLAMATION SERVICE.

The following sums are appropriated out of the special fund in the Treasury of the United States created by the act of June 17, 1902, and therein designated "the reclamation fund":

For all expenditures authorized by the act of June 17, 1902 (32 Stat., p. 388), and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto, known as the reclamation law, and all other acts under which expenditures from said fund are authorized, including salaries in the city of Washington and elsewhere; rent of office quarters in the city of Washington, $8,040, and for rent elsewhere; examination of estimates for appropriations in the field; printing and binding; law books, books of reference, periodicals, engineering and statistical publications, not exceeding $1,500; purchase, maintenance, and operation of horse-drawn or motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; payment of damages caused to the owners of lands or private property of any kind by reason of the operations of the United States, its officers or employees, in the survey, construction, operation, or maintenance of irrigation works, and which may be compromised by agreement between the claimant and the Secretary of the Interior, namely:

Salt River project, Arizona: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $458,000;

Yuma project, Arizona-California: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $500,000;

Orland project, California: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $43,000;

Grand Valley project, Colorado: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $192,000;

Uncompahgre project, Colorado: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $398,000;

Boise project, Idaho: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $396,000;

King Hill project, Idaho: For beginning construction, maintenance, operation, and incidental operations, $200,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended until the Secretary of the Interior shall have determined that the said King Hill project is practicable, as provided by section 4 of the act approved June 17 1902, known as the reclamation act, and shall have adopted the said project under and subject to the provisions and conditions of the said reclamation act;

Minidoka project, Idaho: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $222,000;

Garden City project, Kansas: For maintenance, operation, and incidental operations, $1,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to sell the machinery and equipment at the Garden City, Kans., project at not less than its appraised value and cover the proceeds of such sale into the reclamation fund;

Huntley project, Montana: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $171,000;

Milk River project, Montana: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $330,000;

Sun River project, Montana: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $128,000;

Lower Yellowstone project, Montana-North Dakota: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $38,000;

North Platte project, Nebraska-Wyoming: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $1,170,000, together with the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for this project for the fiscal year 1917;

Truckee-Carson project, Nevada: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $795,000, together with the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for this project for the fiscal year 1917;

Carlsbad project, New Mexico: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $64,000;

Belle Fourche project, South Dakota: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $648,000, together with the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for this project for the fiscal year 1917: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for drainage except in irrigation districts formed under State laws and upon the execution of agreements for the repayment to the United States of all project investments;

North Dakota pumping project, North Dakota: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $54,000;

Lawton project, Oklahoma: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $101,000, together with the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for this project for the fiscal year 1917;

Umatilla project, Oregon: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $157,000;

Klamath project, Oregon-California: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $239,000;

Belle Fourche project, South Dakota: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $274,000;

Strawberry Valley project, Utah: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $170,000;

Okanogan project, Washington: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $32,000;

Yakima project, Washington: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $1,144,000;

Shoshone project, Wyoming: For maintenance, operation, continuation of construction, and incidental operations, $252,000, together with the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for this project for the fiscal year 1917;

For cooperative and other miscellaneous investigations (secondary projects), $50,000;

Under the provisions of this act no greater sum shall be expended, nor shall the United States be obligated to expend, during the fiscal year 1918, on any reclamation project appropriated for herein an amount in excess of the sum herein appropriated therefor, nor shall the whole expenditures or obligations incurred for all of such projects for the fiscal year 1918 exceed the whole amount in the "reclamation fund" for that fiscal year;

Ten per cent of the foregoing amounts shall be available interchangeably for expenditure on the reclamation projects named; but not more than 10 per cent shall be added to the amount appropriated for any one of said projects;

The act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stats., p. 835), is amended to provide that reimbursement of the moneys advanced under the provisions of that act shall be made by transferring annually the sum of $1,000,000 from the reclamation fund to the general funds in the Treasury, beginning July 1, 1920, and continuing until full reimbursement has been made;

All moneys heretofore or hereafter refunded or received in connection with operations under the reclamation law, except repayments of construction and operation and maintenance charges and receipts from disposal of power or power possibilities, shall be a credit to the appropriation for the project or operation from or on account of which the collection is made and shall be available for expenditure in like manner as if said sum had been specifically appropriated for said project or operation: *Provided*, That the net receipts from the operation of power plants shall be credited to the construction account to reduce the final amount due and shall not be used to reduce the annual payments for construction, maintenance, and operation;

In all, for the Reclamation Service, $8,227,000.

For reimbursement to the reclamation fund the proportionate expense of operation and maintenance of the reservoirs for furnishing stored water to the lands in Yakima Indian Reservation, Wash., in accordance with the provisions of section 22 of the act of August 1, 1914 (38 Stats., p. 604), there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal years that follow:

Nineteen hundred and fifteen to 1917, inclusive, $13,100;

Nineteen hundred and eighteen, $8,110;

In all, $21,210.

TESTIMONY IN DISBARMENT PROCEEDINGS.

To enable the Secretary of the Interior to take testimony, and prepare the same, in connection with disbarment proceedings instituted against persons charged with improper practices before the department, its bureaus and offices, $500, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

ALASKA, EXPENSES IN.

Alaska Engineering Commission: For carrying out the provisions of the act approved March 12, 1914 (38 Stats., p. 305), entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," including expenses incident to conducting hearings and examining estimates for appropriations in Alaska, and including not to exceed $6,588.92 for claims for premiums on insurance incurred prior to October 30, 1916, to continue available until expended, $7,500,000.

Authority is granted to purchase during the fiscal year 1918, from the appropriation made for the construction and operation of railroads in Alaska, articles and supplies for sale to employees and contractors, the appropriation to be reimbursed by the proceeds of such sales.

During the fiscal year 1918, there shall be covered into the appropriation established from time to time under the act approved March 12, 1914, entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," the proceeds of the sale of material utilized for temporary work and structures in connection with the operations under said act, as well as the sales of all other condemned property which has been purchased or constructed under the provisions thereof, also any moneys refunded in connection with the construction and operations under said act, and a report hereunder shall be made to Congress at the beginning of its next session.

Insane of Alaska: For care and custody of persons legally adjudged insane in Alaska, including transportation and other expenses, $70,000.

Education in Alaska: To enable the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion and under his direction, to provide for the education and support of the Eskimos, Aleuts, Indians, and other natives of Alaska; erection, repair, and rental of school buildings; textbooks and industrial apparatus; pay and necessary traveling expenses of superintendents, teachers, physicians, and other employees, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses which are not included under the above special heads, $200,000; not exceeding $25,000 of which sum for the purchase of supplies and payment of freight on same, and for payment of labor and material for building and freight on same, shall be immediately available: *Provided*, That no person employed hereunder as special agent or inspector, or to perform any special or unusual duty in connection herewith, shall receive as compensation exceeding $200 per month in addition to actual traveling expenses and per diem not exceeding $4 in lieu of subsistence, when absent on duty from his desig-

nated and actual post of duty: *Provided further*, That of said sum not exceeding $7,000 may be expended for personal services in the District of Columbia.

All expenditures of money appropriated herein for school purposes in Alaska for schools other than those for the education of white children under the jurisdiction of the governor thereof shall be under the supervision and direction of the Commissioner of Education and in conformity with such conditions, rules, and regulations as to conduct and methods of instruction and expenditure of money as may from time to time be recommended by him and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

Medical relief in Alaska: To enable the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion and under his direction, with the advice and cooperation of the Public Health Service, to provide for the medical and sanitary relief of the Eskimos, Aleuts, Indians, and other natives of Alaska; erection, purchase, repair, rental, and equipment of hospital buildings; books and surgical apparatus; pay and necessary traveling expenses of physicians, nurses, and other employees, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses which are not included under the above special heads, $50,000.

Patients who are not indigent may be admitted to the hospitals for care and treatment on the payment of such reasonable charges therefor as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe.

Reindeer for Alaska: For support of reindeer stations in Alaska and instruction of Alaskan natives in the care and management of reindeer, $5,000.

Protection of game in Alaska: For carrying out the act approved May 11, 1908, entitled "An act for the protection of game in Alaska, and for other purposes," including salaries, traveling expenses of game wardens, and all other necessary expenses, $20,000, to be expended under the direction of the governor of Alaska.

Traffic in intoxicating liquors: For suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors among the natives of Alaska, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $15,000.

NATIONAL PARKS.

National Park Service: Director, $4,500; assistant director, $2,500; chief clerk, $2,000; draftsman, $1,800; clerks—1 of class 3, 2 of class 2, 2 at $900 each; messenger, $600; in all, for park service in the District of Columbia, $17,600.

Yellowstone National Park: For administration and protection, including not exceeding $600 for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn and motor-driven passenger-carrying vehicles for use of the superintendent in making inspections of the park, $5,500: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation or the revenues of the Yellowstone National Park shall be used for payment of salaries for the protection of the park, authorized by the act of March 3, 1883, to be performed by the detail of troops.

For procuring feed for buffalo, salaries of buffalo keepers, seeding and fencing new meadowlands, irrigation, etc., $5,000, to be available immediately.

Glacier National Park, Mont.: For administration and improvement, construction of roads, trails, bridges, and telephone lines and the repair thereof, including necessary repairs to the roads from Glacier Park Station through the Blackfeet Indian Reservation to various points in the boundary line of the Glacier National Park, including $1,970 for the purchase and the maintenance of horse-drawn and motor-driven passenger-carrying vehicles for the use of the supervisor and employees in connection with general park work, $115,000.

Yosemite National Park, Cal.: For protection and improvement, construction and repair of bridges, fences, and trails, improvement of roads other than toll roads; including not exceeding $800 for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn and motor-driven passenger-carrying vehicles for use of the supervisor and employees in connection with general park work, not exceeding $8,000 for a bridge at the old Sentinel Bridge site, and not exceeding $75,000 for grading in width not exceeding 20 feet El Portal-Yosemite Road; in all, $175,000: *Provided*, That the total expenditure for the installation of a hydroelectric power plant shall not exceed the sum of $150,000 appropriated therefor in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917.

Sequoia National Park, Cal.: For protection and improvement, construction and repair of bridges, fences, and trails, improvement of roads other than toll roads, $25,000.

General Grant National Park, Cal.: For protection and improvement, construction of fences and trails, and repairing and extension of roads, $2,000.

Mount Rainier National Park, Wash.: For protection and improvement, construction of roads, bridges, fences, and trails, and improvement of roads, including not exceeding $1,250 for the purchase of a motor-driven vehicle and the maintenance and repair thereof, $75,000.

Hereafter the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept patented lands or rights of way over patented lands in the Mount Rainier National Park that may be donated for park purposes.

Mesa Verde National Park, Colo.: For protection and improvement, including not exceeding $433 for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles for use of the superintendent and employees, $10,000.

Hereafter the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept patented lands or rights of way over patented lands in the Mesa Verde National Park that may be donated for park purposes.

Rocky Mountain National Park, Colo.: For protection and improvement, $10,000.

Hereafter the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept patented lands or rights of way over patented lands in the Rocky Mountain National Park that may be donated for park purposes.

Crater Lake National Park, Oreg.: For protection and improvement, and repairing and extension of roads, $15,000.

Hereafter the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept patented lands or rights of way over patented lands in the Crater Lake National Park that may be donated for park purposes.

Wind Cave National Park, S. Dak.: For improvement and protection, $2,500.

Platt National Park, Okla.: For improvement and protection, $7,180.

Protection of national monuments: For the preservation, development, administration, and protection of the national monuments, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $5,000.

From and after July 1, 1918, all revenues of the national parks shall be covered into the Treasury to the credit of miscellaneous receipts; and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to submit, for the fiscal year 1919 and annually thereafter, estimates of the amounts required for the care, maintenance, and development of the said parks.

ST. ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL.

For support, clothing, and treatment in St. Elizabeth's Hospital of the insane from the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, inmates of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, persons charged with or convicted of crimes against the United States who are insane, all persons who have become insane since their entry into the military and naval service of the United States who have been admitted to the hospital and who are indigent, including purchase, exchange, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, for the use of the superintendent, purchasing agent, and general hospital business, not exceeding $1,750; and not exceeding $8,200 for the purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation of 16 horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles for the general hospital business and official use of the superintendent, $300,000; and not exceeding $1,500 of this sum may be expended in the removal of patients to their friends, not exceeding $1,000 in the purchase of such books, periodicals, and papers as may be required for the purposes of the hospital and for the medical library, and not exceeding $1,500 for actual and necessary expenses incurred in the apprehension and return to the hospital of escaped patients.

Authority is granted hereafter to exchange laundry machinery and other equipment in purchasing new equipment of the same or like character.

For the buildings and grounds, as follows:

For general repairs and improvements, $55,000.

For roadways, grading, and walks, $5,000.

The appropriation of $14,000 for the fiscal year 1917 for a new fence is made available during the fiscal year 1918.

COLUMBIA INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF.

For support of the institution, including salaries and incidental expenses, books and illustrative apparatus, and general repairs and improvements, $71,500.

For repairs to buildings of the institution, including plumbing and steam fitting, and for repairs to pavements within the grounds, $6,000.

For the purchase and installation of typesetting and type-casting machinery, cylinder press, job press, stitching machine, type metal, and other necessary office fixtures and machinery for the complete equipment of a modern printing office to be used for the instruction of students and pupils of the institution $7,000.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

For maintenance, to be used in payment of part of the salaries of the officers, professors, teachers, and other regular employees of the university, ice and stationery, the balance of which shall be paid from donations and other sources, of which sum not less than $1,500 shall be used for normal instruction, $65,000:

For tools, materials, fuel, wages of instructors, and other necessary expenses of the department of manual arts, $12,000;

For books, shelving, furniture, and fixtures for the libraries, $1,500;

For improvement of grounds and repairs of buildings, $10,000;

Medical department: For part cost of needed equipment, laboratory supplies, apparatus, and repair of laboratories and buildings, $7,000;

For material and apparatus for chemical, physical, biological, and natural-history studies and use in laboratories of the science hall, including cases and shelving, $2,000;

Fuel and light: For part payment for fuel and light, Freedmen's Hospital and Howard University, including necessary labor to care for and operate the same, $3,500;

In all, $101,000.

FREEDMEN'S HOSPITAL.

For salaries and compensation of the surgeon in chief, not to exceed $3,000, and for all other professional and other services that may be required and expressly approved by the Secretary of the Interior, $32,640. A detailed statement of the expenditure of this sum shall be submitted to Congress;

For subsistence, fuel and light, clothing, bedding, forage, medicine, medical and surgical supplies, surgical instruments, electric lights, repairs, furniture, motor-propelled ambulance, and other absolutely necessary expenses, $30,000;

In all, $62,640.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Leavenworth, Kans., Penitentiary: For continuing construction, $100,000, to remain available until expended, all of which sum shall be so expended as to give the maximum amount of employment to the inmates of said penitentiary.

For the erection of shop buildings or factories and their appurtenances, $82,500; for the purchase and installation of woodworking machinery and the installation of same in the shop buildings or factories, and for other necessary equipment preparatory to manufacturing furniture and woodenware, $202,500; in all, $285,000.

Atlanta, Ga., Penitentiary: For continuing construction, $130,000, to remain available until expended, all of which sum shall be so expended as to give the maximum amount of employment to the inmates of said penitentiary.

For the erection of shop buildings or factories and their appurtenances, $129,500; for the purchase and installation of cotton textile machinery and the installation of same in the shop buildings or factories, and for other necessary equipment preparatory to manufacturing cotton textile goods, $315,500; in all, $445,000.

National Training School for Boys: For a quarantine annex to the hospital building, $5,000.

Appropriations in this act under the Department of Justice shall not be used for beginning the construction of any new or additional building, other than those specifically provided for herein, at any Federal penitentiary.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Conduct of customs cases: Assistant Attorney General, $8,000; assistant attorney, $3,000; special attorneys and counselors at law in the conduct of customs cases, to be employed and their compensation fixed by the Attorney General, as authorized by section 30 of the act of August 5, 1909, $36,000; necessary clerical assistance and other employees at the seat of government and elsewhere, to be employed and their compensation fixed by the Attorney General; supplies, printing, traveling, and other miscellaneous and incidental expenses, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $26,000; in all, $73,000.

For traveling expenses, fees, and mileage allowance of witnesses before the Board of United States General Appraisers, $3,000.

Defending suits in claims against the United States: For necessary expenses incurred in the examination of witnesses and procuring of evidence in the matter of claims against the United States and such other expenses as may be necessary in defending suits in the Court of Claims, including not exceeding $500 for law books which shall be

available to keep current existing sets of United States Supreme Court reports, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $17,000.

Defense in Indian depredation claims: For salaries and expenses in defense of the Indian depredation claims, including not exceeding $6,000 for salaries of necessary employees in Washington, D. C., to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $13,000.

Detection and prosecution of crimes: For the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States; the investigation of the official acts, records, and accounts of marshals, attorneys, clerks, referees, and trustees of the United States courts and the Territorial courts, and United States commissioners, for which purpose all the official papers, records, and dockets of said officers, without exception, shall be examined by the agents of the Attorney General at any time; for the protection of the person of the President of the United States; for such other investigations regarding official matters under the control of the Department of Justice or the Department of State as may be directed by the Attorney General, per diem in lieu of subsistence when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and including not to exceed $18,500 for necessary employees at the seat of government, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $485,000.

Inspection of prisons and prisoners: For the inspection of United States prisons and prisoners, and for the collection, classification, and preservation of criminal identification records and their exchange with the officials of State and other institutions, including salary of the assistant superintendent of prisons, $2,500; in all, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $10,000.

Traveling and miscellaneous expenses: For traveling and other miscellaneous and emergency expenses, including advances made by the disbursing clerk, authorized and approved by the Attorney General, to be expended at his discretion, the provisions of the first paragraph of section 3648, Revised Statutes, to the contrary notwithstanding, $7,500.

Enforcement of antitrust laws: For the enforcement of antitrust laws, including not exceeding $15,000 for salaries of necessary employees at the seat of government, $200,000: *Provided, however,* That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful: *Provided further,* That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who cooperate and organize in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products.

Suits affecting withdrawn oil lands: To enable the Attorney General to represent and protect the interests of the United States in matters and suits affecting withdrawn oil lands and for expenses in connection therewith, including salaries of necessary employees in Washington, D. C., $65,000.

Suits to set aside conveyances of allotted lands for removal of restrictions, allotted lands, Five Civilized Tribes: For necessary expenses incident to any suits brought at the request of the Secretary of the Interior in the eastern judicial district of Oklahoma, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $30,000.

Enforcement of acts to regulate commerce: For expenses of representing the Government in all matters arising under the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, including traveling expenses, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, including salaries of employees at Washington, $10,000.

Suits affecting title to Seminole allotted lands in Oklahoma: For necessary expenses incident to any suits brought, including the salaries of attorneys specially employed to set aside illegal conveyances of Seminole allotments, to protect the possession of Seminole allottees in their allotted lands or in the prosecution of any criminal proceedings based on frauds perpetrated upon Seminole allottees with respect to their allotted lands, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $4,500.

Federal Court Reports and Digests: For 179 copies of continuations of the Federal Reporter, as issued, estimated at 10 volumes per year, to continue sets now furnished various officials, at $2 per volume, $3,580.

For 15 copies of volume 61 of the Lawyers' Cooperative Edition of the United States Reports, to continue sets now in the hands of certain officers, at $6 per volume, $90.

For 270 copies of each of four volumes—namely, 245 to 248—of the United States Reports, to continue sets now in the hands of certain officials, at $1.75 per volume, $1,890.

Protecting interests of the United States in suits affecting Pacific railroads: To enable the Attorney General to represent and protect the interests of the United States in matters and suits affecting the Pacific railroads, and for expenses in connection therewith, $50,000.

JUDICIAL.

UNITED STATES COURTS.

For salaries, fees, and expenses of United States marshals and their deputies, including the office expenses of United States marshals in the District of Alaska, services rendered in behalf of the United States or otherwise, services in Alaska and Oklahoma in collecting evidence for the United States when so specially directed by the Attorney General, and maintenance, repair, and operation of horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles used in connection with the transaction of the official business of the office of United States marshal for the District of Columbia, $1,580,000. Advances to United States marshals, in accordance with existing law, may be made from the proper appropriations, as herein provided, immediately upon the passage of this act; but no disbursements shall be made prior to July 1, 1917, by said disbursing officers from the funds thus advanced, and no disbursements shall be made therefrom to liquidate expenses for the fiscal year 1917, or prior years.

For salaries of United States district attorneys and expenses of United States district attorneys and their regular assistants, including the office expenses of United States district attorneys in Alaska, and for salaries of regularly appointed clerks to United States district attorneys for services rendered during vacancy in the office of the United States district attorney, $620,000.

For fees of United States district attorney for the District of Columbia, $33,500.

The United States district attorney for the District of Columbia shall hereafter pay to his deputies or assistants not exceeding in all $15,000 per annum; also his clerical and messenger hire not exceeding $10,000; office rent, fuel, stationery, printing, and other incidental expenses not exceeding $2,500, out of the fees of his office: *Provided,* That no expenses other than those above specified shall be allowed.

For regular assistants to United States district attorneys who are appointed by the Attorney General at a fixed annual compensation, $350,000.

For assistants to the Attorney General and to United States district attorneys employed by the Attorney General to aid in special cases, and for payment of foreign counsel employed by the Attorney General in special cases (such counsel shall not be required to take oath of office in accordance with section 366, Revised Statutes of the United States), $150,000.

For fees of clerks, $215,000: *Provided,* That courts of the United States shall be open to seamen, without furnishing bonds or prepayment of or making deposit to secure fees or costs, for the purpose of entering and prosecuting suit or suits in their own name and for their own benefit for wages or salvage and to enforce laws made for their health and safety: *Provided further,* That for the calendar year 1917, and thereafter, the maximum personal compensation of clerks of United States district courts shall in no case exceed $3,500 per annum, and that single fees only shall be charged by United States marshals and clerks of United States district courts against the United States and against private litigants in every judicial district.

For fees of United States commissioners and justices of the peace acting under section 1014, Revised Statutes of the United States, $150,000.

For fees of jurors, $1,150,000.

Fees of witnesses: For fees of witnesses and for payment of the actual expenses of witnesses, as provided by section 850, Revised Statutes of the United States, $1,200,000.

For rent of rooms for the United States courts and judicial officers, $58,000.

For bailiffs and criers, not exceeding three bailiffs and one crier in each court, except in the southern district of New York and the northern district of Illinois: *Provided,* That all persons employed under section 715 of the Revised Statutes shall be deemed to be in actual attendance when they attend upon the order of the courts: *Provided further,* That no such persons shall be employed during vacation; expenses of circuit and district judges of the United States and the judges of the district courts of the United States in Alaska and Hawaii, as provided by section 259 of the act approved March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary"; meals and lodging for jurors in United States cases, and of bailiffs in attendance upon the same when ordered by the court, and meals and lodging for jurors in Alaska, as provided by section 193, Title II, of the act of June 6, 1900; and compensation for jury commissioners, $5 per day, not exceeding three days for any one term of court, $250,000.

For such miscellaneous expenses as may be authorized by the Attorney General, for the United States courts and their officers, including so much as may be necessary in the discretion of the Attorney General for such expenses in the District of Alaska, $450,000.

For supplies, including exchange of typewriting and adding machines for the United States courts and judicial officers, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $37,500.

For support of United States prisoners, including necessary clothing and medical aid, discharge gratuities provided by law and transportation to place of conviction or place of bona fide residence in the United States or such other place within the United States as may be authorized by the Attorney General; support of prisoners becoming insane during imprisonment, and who continue insane after expiration of sentence who have no friends to whom they can be sent; shipping remains of deceased prisoners to their friends or relatives in the United States and interment of deceased prisoners whose remains are unclaimed; expenses incurred in identifying and pursuing escaped prisoners and for rewards for their recapture; and not exceeding $2,500 for repairs, betterments, and improvements of United States jails, including sidewalks, $725,000.

Leavenworth, Kans., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including supplies from the prison stores for warden, deputy warden, and physician, tobacco for prisoners, kitchen and dining-room furniture and utensils, seeds and implements, and for purchase of ice if necessary, $110,000;

For clothing, transportation, and traveling expenses, including materials for making clothing at the penitentiary; gratuities for prisoners at release, provided such gratuities shall be furnished to prisoners sentenced for terms of imprisonment of not less than six months, and transportation to place of conviction or place of bona fide residence in the United States, or to such other place within the United States as may be authorized by the Attorney General; expenses of shipping remains of deceased prisoners to their homes in the United States; expenses of penitentiary officials while traveling on official duty; expenses incurred in pursuing and identifying escaped prisoners, and for rewards for their recapture, $50,000;

For miscellaneous expenditures in the discretion of the Attorney General, fuel, forage, hay, light, water, stationery, fuel for generating steam, heating apparatus, burning bricks and lime; forage for issue to public animals, and hay and straw for bedding; blank books, blank forms, typewriting supplies, pencils and memorandum books for guards, books for use in chapel, paper, envelopes, and postage stamps for issue to prisoners; labor and materials for repairing steam-heating plant, electric plant and water circulation, and drainage; labor and materials for construction and repair of buildings; general supplies, machinery, and tools for use on farm and in shops, brickyard, quarry, limekiln, laundry, bathrooms, printing office, photograph gallery, stables, policing buildings and grounds; purchase of cows, horses, mules, wagons, harness, veterinary supplies, lubricating oils, office furniture, stoves, blankets, bedding, iron bunks, paints and oils, library books, newspapers and periodicals, and electrical supplies; payment of water supply, telegrams, telephone service, notarial and veterinary services; advertising in newspapers; fees to consulting physicians called to determine mental conditions of supposed insane prisoners, and for other services in cases of emergency; pay of extra guards or employees when deemed necessary by the Attorney General, $80,000;

For hospital supplies, medicines, medical and surgical supplies, and all other articles for the care and treatment of sick prisoners; and for expenses of interment of deceased prisoners on the penitentiary reservation, $6,000;

For salaries: Warden, $4,000; deputy warden, $2,000; chaplains—one $1,500, one $600; physician, $1,600; pharmacist and physician's assistant, $1,000; chief clerk, $1,800; stenographer, $900; six clerks, at $900 each; head cook, $1,000; steward and storekeeper, $1,200; superintendent of farm and transportation, $900; three captains of watch, at $1,000 each; guards, at $70 per month each, $64,680; two teamsters, at $600 each; engineer and electrician, $1,500; two assistants, at $1,200 each; in all, $94,680;

For foremen, laundrymen, tailor, printer, and shoemaker, when necessary, $4,300;

In all, Leavenworth, Kans., Penitentiary, $344,980.

Atlanta, Ga., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., $80,000;

For clothing, transportation, and traveling expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., $35,000;

For miscellaneous expenditures, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., and not exceeding $25 for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, $50,000;

For hospital supplies, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., $4,000;

For salaries: Warden, $4,000; deputy warden, $2,000; chaplains—one $1,500, one $1,200; chief clerk, $1,800; physician, $1,600; pharmacist and physician's assistant, $1,000; bookkeeper and record clerk, $1,200; stenographer, $900; six clerks, at $900 each; engineer and electrician, $1,500; two assistants, at $1,200 each; steward and storekeeper, $1,200; superintendent of farm and transportation, $1,200; two teamsters, at $600 each; head cook, $1,000; three captains of watch, at $1,000 each; guards, at $70 per month each, $45,360; in all, $77,460;

For foremen, tailor, shoemaker, laundryman, and carpenter, when necessary, $4,000;

In all, Atlanta, Ga., Penitentiary, $250,460.

McNeil Island, Wash., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., and for supplies for guards, $13,000;

For clothing, transportation, and traveling expenses, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., $7,000;

For miscellaneous expenditures, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., $11,000;

For hospital supplies, including the same objects specified under this head for the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., $600;

For salaries: For warden, $2,000; deputy warden, $1,200; physician, $1,200; steward and cook, $1,000; chief clerk, $1,200; engineer and electrician, $1,200; superintendent of boats, $1,200; guards, at $70 per month each, $11,500; in all, $20,500;

In all, McNeil Island, Wash., Penitentiary, $52,100.

National Training School for Boys: Superintendent, $2,500; assistant superintendent, $1,500; teachers and assistant teachers, $9,120; chief clerk, $1,000; storekeeper and steward, matron of school, farmer, baker, tailor, and nurse, at $600 each; parole officer, $900; office clerk, $720; assistant office clerk, $480; seven matrons of families, at $240 each; foremen of, and skilled helpers in, industries, $3,800; assistant farmer and assistant engineer, at $420 each; teamster and laundress, at $360 each; florist, engineer, and shoemaker, at $540 each; cook, $480; dining-room attendants—boys $300, officers $240; housemaid, $216; seamstress, $240; assistant cook, $300; watchmen, not to exceed nine in number, $3,780; secretary and treasurer, $900; janitor, $420; in all, $35,356;

For support of inmates, including groceries, flour, feed, meats, dry goods, leather, shoes, gas, fuel, hardware, furniture, tableware, farm implements, seeds, harness and repairs to same, fertilizers, books and periodicals, stationery, printing, entertainments, plumbing, painting, glazing, medicines and medical attendance, stock, maintenance, repair, and operation of passenger-carrying vehicles, fencing, roads, all repairs to buildings, and other necessary items, including compensation, not exceeding $1,500, for additional labor or services, for identifying and pursuing escaped inmates, for rewards for their recapture, and not exceeding $500 for transportation and other necessary expenses incident to securing suitable homes for discharged boys, $10,500;

In all, National Training School for Boys, $45,856.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

LIGHTHOUSES, BEACONS, FOG SIGNALS, LIGHT VESSELS, AND OTHER WORKS UNDER THE LIGHTHOUSE SERVICE.

Tender for third lighthouse district: For constructing, or purchasing, and equipping a lighthouse tender to replace tenders worn out in service in the third lighthouse district, or in the Lighthouse Service generally, $150,000.

Cape Charles Light Vessel, Va.: For constructing and equipping a light vessel for station off Cape Charles, Va., or for general service, $130,000.

Light vessels for general Lake service: For constructing and equipping light vessels for general service on the Great Lakes, or for general service, $150,000.

Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, aids to navigation: For establishing aids to navigation in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, $80,000.

Staten Island Lighthouse Depot, N. Y.: For improvements of the offices and laboratory at the general lighthouse depot, Tompkinsville, Staten Island, N. Y., $21,000.

Huron, Ohio, aids to navigation: For establishing aids to navigation at Huron Harbor, Ohio, $4,500.

Point Borinquen, P. I., Light Station: For the removal and rebuilding on another site of the light station and dwelling at or near Point Borinquen, P. I., $85,000.

Chicago Harbor Light Station, Ill.: For completing the removing and rebuilding Chicago Harbor Light Station, Ill., and establishing lights on the new breakwater in Chicago Harbor, $88,000.

Fairport, Ohio, aids to navigation: For improving the aids to navigation at Fairport Harbor, Ohio, $42,000.

Sand Hills, Mich., Light Station: For establishing a light station and fog signal at or near Sand Hills, Mich., $70,000.

Manitowoc Breakwater, Wis., Light Station: For improving the light and fog-signal station at Manitowoc North Breakwater, Wis., $21,000.

East River, N. Y., aids to navigation: For improving the aids to navigation on the East River, N. Y., $16,000.

Keweenaw waterway, Mich., aids to navigation: For establishing and waterway harbor of refuge, Portage River, Mich., $105,000.
improving aids to navigation at or near the entrance to Keweenaw

Cape Charles City, Va., aids to navigation: For improving lights and fog signals leading to Cape Charles City, Va., $12,800.

Chesapeake Bay, Md. and Va., aids to navigation: For establishing and improving aids to navigation on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay and tributaries, Md. and Va., $29,000.

Alaska, aids to navigation: For establishing aids to navigation and improving existing aids in Alaska, $60,000.

Indiana Harbor, Ind., aids to navigation: For establishing and improving aids to navigation at Indiana Harbor, Ind., $100,000.

Great Salt Pond Light Station, R. I.: For improving the light station, moving the fog signal, and constructing a keeper's dwelling at Great Salt Pond Light Station, R. I., $20,000.

Radio installations on lighthouse tenders: For furnishing all seagoing lighthouse tenders in the Lighthouse Service with radio equipment and auxiliary power for the operation thereof, $60,000.

Washington and Oregon aids to navigation: For the establishment of aids to navigation and improvement of existing aids in Washington and Oregon, seventeenth lighthouse district, $35,000.

LIGHTHOUSE SERVICE.

General expenses: For supplies, repairs, maintenance, and incidental expenses of lighthouses and other lights, beacons, buoyage, fog signals, lighting of rivers heretofore authorized to be lighted, light vessels, other aids to navigation, and lighthouse tenders, including the establishment, repair, and improvement of beacons and day marks and purchase of land for same; establishment of post lights, buoys, submarine signals, and fog signals; establishment of oil or carbide houses, not to exceed $10,000: *Provided*, That any oil or carbide house erected hereunder shall not exceed $550 in cost; construction of necessary outbuildings at a cost not exceeding $500 at any one light station in any fiscal year; improvement of grounds and buildings connected with light stations and depots; wages of laborers attending post lights; temporary employees and field force while engaged on works of general repair and maintenance, and laborers and mechanics at lighthouse depots; rations and provisions or commutation thereof for keepers of lighthouses, officers and crews of light vessels and tenders, and officials and other authorized persons of the Lighthouse Service on duty on board of such tenders or vessels, and money accruing from commutation for rations and provisions for the above-named persons on board of tenders and light vessels may be paid on proper vouchers to the person having charge of the mess of such vessel; reimbursement under rules prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce of keepers of light stations and masters of light vessels and of lighthouse tenders for rations and provisions and clothing furnished shipwrecked persons who may be temporarily provided for by them, not exceeding in all $5,000 in any fiscal year; fuel and rent of quarters where necessary for keepers of lighthouses; purchase of land sites for fog signals; rent of necessary ground for all such lights and beacons as are for temporary use or to mark changeable channels and which in consequence can not be made permanent; rent of offices, depots, and wharves; traveling expenses; mileage; library books for light stations and vessels, and technical books and periodicals not exceeding $1,000; all other contingent expenses of district offices and depots; and not exceeding $10,000 for contingent expenses of the office of the Bureau of Lighthouses in Washington, $2,850,000.

Keepers of lighthouses: For salaries of not exceeding 1,800 lighthouse and fog-signal keepers and laborers attending other lights exclusive of post lights, $940,000.

Lighthouse vessels: For salaries and wages of officers and crews of light vessels and lighthouse tenders, including temporary employment when necessary, $1,104,650.

Inspectors, clerks, etc.: For salaries of 17 lighthouse inspectors, and of clerks and other authorized permanent employees in the district offices and depots of the Lighthouse Service, exclusive of those regularly employed in the Bureau of Lighthouses, Washington, D. C., $380,000.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY.

For every expenditure requisite for and incident to the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, including maintenance, repair, or operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn vehicles for use in field work, and including compensation, not otherwise appropriated for, of persons employed in the field work, and commutation to officers of the field force while on field duty, at a rate not exceeding $2.50 per day each, to be expended in accordance with the regulations relating to the Coast and Geodetic Survey prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce, and under the following heads: *Provided*, That advances of money under this appropriation may be made to the Coast and Geodetic Survey and by authority of the superintendent thereof to chiefs of parties, who shall give bond under such rules and regulations and in such sum as the Secretary of Commerce may direct, and accounts arising under such advances shall be rendered through and by the disbursing officer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to the Treasury Department as under advances heretofore made to chiefs of parties:

Field expenses: For surveys and necessary resurveys of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of the United States, including the coasts of outlying islands under the jurisdiction of the United States: *Provided*, That not more than $25,000 of this amount shall be expended on the coasts of said outlying islands, and the Atlantic entrance to the Panama Canal, $115,000;

For surveys and necessary resurveys of coasts on the Pacific Ocean under the jurisdiction of the United States, $250,000;

For continuing researches in physical hydrography, relating to harbors and bars, and for tidal and current observations on the coasts of the United States, or other coasts under the jurisdiction of the United States, $14,000;

For offshore soundings and examination of reported dangers on the coasts of the United States, and of coasts under the jurisdiction of the United States, compilation of the Coast Pilot, special hydrographic examinations, including the employment of such pilots and nautical experts in the field and office as may be necessary for the same, $5,600;

For continuing magnetic observations and to establish meridian lines in connection therewith in all parts of the United States; magnetic observations in other regions under the jurisdiction of the United States; purchase of additional magnetic instruments; lease of sites where necessary and erection of temporary magnetic buildings; continuing the line of exact levels between the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts; determination of geographical positions, by triangulation or traverse for the control of Federal, State, boundary, and other surveys and engineering works in all parts of the United States and Alaska; determination of field astronomic positions; and for continuing gravity observations, $90,000;

For special surveys that may be required by the Bureau of Lighthouses or other proper authority, and contingent expenses incident thereto, $10,000;

For objects not hereinbefore named that may be deemed urgent, including the preparation or purchase of preliminary plans and specifications of vessels; actual necessary expenses of officers of the field force temporarily ordered to the office at Washington for consultation with the superintendent, and not exceeding $550 for the expenses of the attendance of the American delegates at the meetings of the International Geodetic Association, $3,000;

In all, field expenses, $487,600.

Vessels: For repairs and maintenance of the complement of vessels, including traveling expenses of persons inspecting the repairs, and exclusive of engineer's supplies and other ship chandlery, $45,000.

For all necessary employees to man and equip the vessels, including professional seamen serving as mates on vessels of the survey, to execute the work of the survey herein provided for and authorized by law, $320,000.

Salaries: Superintendent, $6,000; hydrographic and geodetic engineers, junior hydrographic and geodetic engineers, and aids, to be employed in the field or office, as the superintendent may direct, one of whom may be designated by the Secretary of Commerce to act as assistant superintendent: *Provided*, That officers now designated assistants shall be transferred to the positions of hydrographic and geodetic engineers, or junior hydrographic and geodetic engineers, herein submitted in lieu of assistants; hydrographic and geodetic engineers—2 at $4,000 each, 1 $3,200, 5 at $3,000 each, 1 $2,800, 5 at $2,500 each, 12 at $2,400 each, 9 at $2,200 each, 12 at $2,000 each; junior hydrographic and geodetic engineers—16 at $1,800 each, 11 at $1,600 each, 9 at $1,400 each, 12 at $1,200 each; aids—10 at $1,100 each, 19 at $1,000 each; in all, $223,500.

Office force: Disbursing agent, $2,500; chief of division of library and archives, $1,800; clerk to superintendent, $1,800; clerks—3 at $1,800 each, 3 at $1,650 each, 4 at $1,400 each, 8 at $1,200 each, 5 at $1,000 each, 10 at $900 each, 6 at $720 each;

Topographic and hydrographic draftsmen: Two at $2,400 each, 3 at $2,200 each, 3 at $2,000 each, 3 at $1,800 each, 3 at $1,600 each, 3 at $1,400 each, 3 at $1,200 each, 2 at $1,000 each, 2 copyist draftsmen, at $1,000 each;

Astronomical, geodetic, tidal, and miscellaneous computers: One $2,500, 2 at $2,200 each, 2 at $2,100 each, 2 at $2,000 each, 4 at $1,800 each, 4 at $1,600 each, 5 at $1,400 each, 5 at $1,200 each;

Copperplate engravers: One $2,400, 2 at $2,200 each, 3 at $2,000 each, 3 at $1,800 each, 2 at $1,600 each, 2 at $1,400 each, 1 $1,200, 2 at $1,000 each;

Engravers and apprentices at not exceeding $1,000 each, $3,600;

Instrument makers: One $2,750, 1 $1,600, 2 at $1,400 each, 4 at $1,200 each;

Pattern makers and carpenters: Three at $1,400 each, 2 carpenters and painters at $900 each;

Printers, electrotypers, photographers, lithographers, plate printers and their helpers, engineer, and other skilled laborers: One $2,000, 1 $1,800, 1 $1,700, 1 $1,600, 1 $1,400, 8 at $1,200 each, 2 at $1,000 each, 1 $900, 5 at $700 each;

Watchmen, firemen, messengers, and laborers: Three at $880 each, 4 at $820 each, 3 at $720 each, 4 at $700 each, 2 at $640 each, 3 at $630 each, 4 at $550 each;

In all, pay of office force, $220,770.

Office expenses: For purchase of new instruments, including their exchange, materials and supplies required in the instrument shop, carpenter shop, and drawing division, books, scientific and technical books, journals, books of reference, maps, charts, and subscriptions; copper plates, chart paper, printer's ink, copper, zinc, and chemicals for electrotyping and photographing; engraving, printing, photographing, and electrotyping supplies; photolithographing charts and printing from stone and copper for immediate use; including the employment in the District of Columbia of such personal services, other than clerical, as may be necessary for the prompt preparation of charts, not to exceed $6,000; stationery for office and field parties; transportation of instruments and supplies when not charged to party expenses; office wagon and horses or automobile truck; heating, lighting, and power; telephones, including operation of switchboard; telegrams, ice, and washing; office furniture, repairs, traveling expenses of assistants and others employed in the office sent on special duty in the service of the office; miscellaneous expenses, contingencies of all kinds, and not exceeding $3,400 for extra labor, $67,500.

For an offset attachment for a lithographic press, $3,000.

For one paper-cutting machine, $1,600.

Appropriations herein made for the Coast and Geodetic Survey shall not be available for allowance to civilian or other officers for subsistence while on duty at Washington (except as hereinbefore provided for officers of the field force ordered to Washington for short periods for consultation with the superintendent), except as now provided by law.

BUREAU OF FISHERIES.

Commissioner's office: Commissioner, $6,000; deputy commissioner, $3,500; assistants in charge of divisions—fish culture $2,700, inquiry respecting food fishes $2,700, statistics and methods of fisheries $2,500; assistants—1 in charge of office $2,500, 1 $2,500, 1 $2,400, 1 $2,000, 1 $1,800, 1 $1,600, 2 at $1,200 each, 2 at $900 each; fish pathologist (to be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce), $2,500; architect and engineer, $2,200; assistant architect, $1,600; draftsman, $1,200; accountant, $2,100; librarian, $1,500; superintendent of car and messenger service, $1,600; clerks—3 of class 4, 4 of class 3, 1 to commissioner $1,600, 4 of class 2, 6 of class 1, 3 at $1,000 each, 15 at $900 each; statistical agents—2 at $1,400 each, 2 at $1,000 each; local agents—1 at Boston $300, 1 at Gloucester $600, 1 at Seattle $600; engineer, $1,080; 3 firemen, at $720 each; 2 watchmen, at $720 each; 5 janitors and messengers, at $720 each; janitress, $480; messenger boy, $360; 5 charwomen, at $240 each; in all, $106,420.

Alaska service: Probilof Islands—2 agents and caretakers, at $2,000 each; 2 physicians, at $1,500 each; 3 school-teachers, at $1,200 each; storekeeper, $1,800; agent, $2,500; assistant agents—1 $2,000, 1 $1,800, 1 $1,500; inspector, $1,800; wardens—1 $1,200, 6 at $900 each; in all, $28,600.

Employees at large: Two field station superintendents, at $1,800 each; field assistants—1 $1,500, 1 $1,200; fish-culturists—2 at $960 each, 2 at $900 each; 6 machinists, at $960 each; 2 coxswains, at $720 each; in all, $17,220.

Distribution (car) employees: Five captains, at $1,200 each; 6 messengers, at $1,000 each; 5 assistant messengers, at $900 each; 5 apprentice messengers, at $720 each; 5 cooks, at $600 each; in all, $23,100.

Afognak (Alaska) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,200; 2 fish-culturists, at $960 each; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $900 each; cook, $900; in all $8,220.

Alpena (Mich.) Station: Foreman, $1,200; fish-culturist, $900; in all, $2,100.

Baird (Cal.) and Battle Creek (Cal.) Stations: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,080; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $5,280.

Baker Lake (Wash.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Beaufort (N. C.) Biological Station: Superintendent and director, $1,500; scientific assistant, $1,400; fish-culturist, $900; apprentice fish-culturist, $600; in all, $4,400.

Berkshire (Mass.) Trout Hatchery: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Boothbay Harbor (Me.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; engineer, $1,100; apprentice fish-culturist—1 $780, 2 at $600 each; 3 firemen, at $600 each; custodian of lobster pounds, $720; in all, $8,000.

Bozeman (Mont.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Bryans Point (Md.) Station: Custodian, $360.

Cape Vincent (N. Y.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fireman, $720; apprentice fish-culturists—1 $720, 2 at $600 each; in all, $4,140.

Clackamas (Oreg.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; apprentice fish-culturists—3 at $720 each, 2 at $600 each; in all, $5,760.

Cold Springs (Ga.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Craig Brook (Me.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,200.

Duluth (Minn.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; 2 fish-culturists, at $900 each; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,500.

Edenton (N. C.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Erwin (Tenn.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,200.

Fairport (Iowa) Biological Station: Director, $1,800; superintendent of fish-culture, $1,500; scientific assistants—1 $1,400, 1 $1,200; foreman, $1,200; shell expert, $1,200; clerk, $900; engineer, $1,000; 2 firemen, at $600 each; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $12,600.

Gloucester (Mass.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; fireman, $720; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,920.

Green Lake (Me.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; 2 fish-culturists, at $900 each; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,500.

Homer (Minn.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; scientific assistants—1 $1,400, 1 $1,200; foreman, $1,200; engineer, $1,000; 2 firemen, at $600 each; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $8,700.

Key West (Fla.) Biological Station: Superintendent, $1,500; engineer, $1,000; laboratory aid, $900; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $5,500.

Leadville (Colo.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,200; 2 fish-culturists, at $900 each; apprentice fish-culturists—1 $720, 2 at $600 each; cook, $480; in all, $6,900.

Louisville (Ky.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Mammoth Spring (Ark.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,200.

Manchester (Iowa) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,200.

Nashua (N. H.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Neosho (Mo.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; apprentice fish-culturists—1 $720, 2 at $600 each; in all, $4,320.

Northville (Mich.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $960; fish-culturist, $900; 4 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $5,760.

Orangeburg (S. C.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Puget Sound (Wash.) Stations: Three foremen, at $1,200 each; 9 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $9,000.

Put in Bay (Ohio) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,000; machinist, $960; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,660.

St. Johnsbury (Vt.) Station and Holden (Vt.) Auxiliary Station: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,200; fish-culturist, $900; apprentice fish-culturists—1 $720, 4 at $600 each; in all, $6,720.

San Marcos (Tex.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,200; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $5,400.

Saratoga (Wyo.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Spearfish (S. Dak.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $3,600.

Springville (Utah) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; apprentice fish-culturist, $600; in all, $3,000.

Tupelo (Miss.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,200.

Washington (D. C.) Central Station and Aquaria: Superintendent, $1,500; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $720 each; laborer, $600; in all, $3,540.

White Sulphur Springs (W. Va.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; fish-culturist, $900; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,200.

Woods Hole (Mass.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; machinist, $960; 2 fish-culturists, at $900 each; 3 firemen, at $600 each; 4 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $8,460.

Wytheville (Va.) Station: Superintendent, $1,500; 2 fish-culturists, at $900 each; 2 apprentice fish-culturists, at $600 each; in all, $4,500.

Yes Bay (Alaska) Hatchery: Superintendent, $1,500; foreman, $1,200; 2 fish-culturists, at $960 each; 3 apprentice fish-culturists, at $900 each; cook, $900; in all, $8,220.

Vessel service: Steamer *Albatross:* Naturalist, $1,800; general assistant, $1,200; fishery expert, $1,200; clerk, $1,000; in all, $5,200.

Steamer *Fish Hawk:* Cabin boy, $480

Steamer *Osprey:* Master, $1,500; engineer, $1,100; cook, $600; 2 firemen, at $720 each; seaman, $600; in all, $5,240.

Schooner *Grampus:* Master, $1,500; first mate, $1,080; second mate, $840; engineer, $840; cook, $600; 3 seamen, at $600 each; cabin boy, $420; in all, $7,080.

Steamer *Phalarope:* Master, $1,200; engineer, $1,100; fireman, $720; 2 seamen, at $600 each; cook, $600; in all, $4,820.

Steamer *Curlew:* Pilot, $1,100; engineer, $1,100; fireman, $720; cook, $600; in all, $3,520.

Steamer *Gannet:* Master, $1,200; engineer, $1,100; fireman, $720; 2 seamen, at $600 each; in all, $4,220.

For officers and crew of vesssl for Alaska fisheries service, $16,000.

Expenses of administration: For expenses of the office of the commissioner, including stationery, scientific and reference books, periodicals, newspapers, for library, furniture, telegraph and telephone service, repairs to and heating, lighting, and equipment of buildings, compensation of temporary employees, and all other necessary expenses connected therewith, $10,000.

Propagation of food fishes: For maintenance, equipment, and operations of fish-cultural stations, general propagation of food fishes and their distribution, including movement, maintenance, and repairs of cars, purchase of equipment and apparatus, contingent expenses, temporary labor, propagation and not to exceed $10,000 for distribution of fresh-water mussels and the necessary expenses connected therewith, $375,000.

No part of the appropriations herein for propagation of food fishes shall be expended for hatching or planting fish or eggs in any State in which, in the judgment of the Secretary of Commerce, there are not adequate laws for the protection of the fishes, nor in any State in which the United States Commissioner of Fisheries and his duly authorized agents are not accorded full and free right to conduct fish-cultural operations, and all fishing and other operations necessary therefor in such manner and at such times as is considered necessary and proper by the said commissioner or his agents.

Maintenance of vessels: For maintenance of vessels and launches, including purchase and repair of boats, apparatus, machinery, and other facilities required for use with the same, hire of vessels, and all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, and money accruing from commutation of rations and provisions on board vessels may be paid on proper vouchers to the persons having charge of the mess of such vessels, $90,000.

Inquiry respecting food fishes: For inquiry into the causes of the decrease of food fishes in the waters of the United States, investigations and experiments in respect to the aquatic animals, plants, and waters in the interests of fish culture and the fishery industries, including expenses of travel and preparation of reports, $50,000.

Statistical inquiry: For collection and compilation of statistics of the fisheries and the study of their methods and relations, including travel and preparation of reports and all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, $7,500.

Sponge fisheries: For protecting the sponge fisheries, including employment of inspectors, watchmen, and temporary assistants, hire of boats, rental of office and storage, care of seized sponges and other property, travel, and all other expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the act of August 15, 1914, to regulate the sponge fisheries, $3,000.

Alaska, general service: For protecting the seal fisheries of Alaska, including the furnishing of food, fuel, clothing, and other necessities of life to the natives of the Pribilof Islands of Alaska, transportation of supplies to and from the islands, expenses of travel of agents and other employees and subsistence while on said islands, hire and maintenance of vessels, and for all expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the act approved April 21, 1910, entitled "An act to protect the seal fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes," and for the protection of the fisheries of Alaska, including travel, hire of boats, employment of temporary labor, and all other necessary expenses connected therewith, $75,000.

For payments to be made to Great Britain and Japan under the terms of article 11 of the convention for protection and preservation of the fur seal and sea otters in lieu of their share of sealskins for the yearly season of 1917, and in accordance with the act of August 24, 1912, to give effect to the above-named convention, $20,000.

Distribution cars: The appropriation of $40,000 in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, for the purchase or construction of two steel cars for the distribution of useful food fishes, is continued available during the fiscal year 1918, together with the further sum of $15,000.

Bozeman, Mont., fish-cultural station: For construction and repair of buildings and ponds, and for improvements to water supply, $7,500.

Cape Vincent, N. Y., fish hatchery: For purchase of additional land and for improvement to water supply, $5,500.

Edenton, N. C., fish hatchery: For purchase of additional land, extension of pond system, and for general improvement, $3,500.

Orangeburg, S. C., fish hatchery: For completion of the station, including the construction of ponds and improvements to grounds, $3,500.

San Marcos, Tex., fish hatchery: For purchase of additional land, construction of buildings and ponds, and purchase and repair of equipment, $7,500.

Saratoga, Wyo., fish hatchery: For completion of the fish-cultural station, including the construction of buildings and ponds, and improvement to water supply, $7,000.

Woods Hole, Mass., fish-cultural station: For new motor vessel to replace launch *Blue Wing*, $3,000.

BUREAU OF STANDARDS.

Testing of large scales: For investigation and testing of railroad track scales, elevator scales, and other scales used in weighing commodities for interstate shipments and to secure equipment and assistance for testing the scales used by the Government in its transactions with the public, such as post office, navy yard, and customhouse scales, and for the purpose of cooperating with the States in securing uniformity in the weights and measures laws and in the methods of inspection, including personal services in the District of Columbia and in the field, $40,000.

To enable the Secretary of Commerce to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, about 155,400 square feet of additional land for enlargement of the present site of the Bureau of Standards, $25,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, the land to be acquired hereunder being described as follows: First, starting at the northwest corner of the present site of the Bureau of Standards on Idaho Avenue and running about 98 feet northeast along Idaho Avenue to Van Ness Street; thence about 908 feet due east along Van Ness Street to a point intersecting a line formed by extending the eastern boundary line of the bureau's present site; thence about 83 feet due south to the northeast corner of the present site of the Bureau of Standards; thence about 961 feet due west to the point of starting at Idaho Avenue, including about 77,600 square feet; second, starting at the point of intersection of the southern boundary of the present site of the bureau with the northern side of Tilden Street, proceeding due east about 750 feet to the southeast corner of the present site; thence due south about 153 feet along a line formed by the extension of the eastern boundary of the present site to the point of intersection of that line with the northern side of Tilden Street; thence about 768 feet in a general westerly direction following the line of the northern side of Tilden Street to the point of starting, including about 77,800 square feet.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

IMMIGRATION STATIONS.

Ellis Island, N. Y.: For renewing hot-water pipes in main building, kitchen, and laundry, and ticket office, $18,000;

For renewing hot, cold, and salt water pipes, baggage and dormitory building, $15,000;

For new boilers in power house to replace worn-out equipment, $48,000;

For boiler feed pump, complete with foundations and connections, $5,000;

For underpinning and new piling for ferryhouse, $10,000;

For outside lighting system, contagious-disease hospital, $3,000;

For high-pressure fire system, contagious-disease hospital, $22,000;

For continuation of granite-faced sea wall, under original limit of cost, $200,000;

In all, $321,000.

Philadelphia, Pa.: For installation of underground wiring system to replace overhead wiring, $2,300.

IMMIGRATION SERVICE.

For enforcement of the laws regulating immigration of aliens into the United States, including the contract-labor laws; costs of reports of decisions of the Federal courts, and digests thereof, for the use of the Commissioner General of Immigration; salaries and expenses of all officers, clerks, and employees appointed to enforce said laws, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914; enforcement of the provisions of the act of February 20, 1907, entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," and acts amendatory thereof; necessary supplies, including exchange of typewriting machines, alterations, and repairs, and for all other expenses authorized by said act; preventing the unlawful entry of Chinese into the United States, by the appointment of suitable officers to enforce the laws in relation thereto; expenses of returning to China all Chinese persons found to be unlawfully in the United States, including the cost of imprisonment and actual expenses of conveyance of Chinese persons to the frontier or seaboard for deportation; refunding of head tax upon presentation of evidence showing conclusively that collection was made through error of Government officers; all to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, $2,450,000: *Provided*, That the purchase, use, maintenance, and operation of horses and motor vehicles required in the enforcement of the immigration and Chinese exclusion laws outside of the District of Columbia may be contracted for and the cost thereof paid from the appropriation for the execution of those laws, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe: *Provided further*, That not more than $12,000 of the sum appropriated herein may be expended in the purchase and maintenance of such motor vehicles: *Provided further*, That no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be expended for the maintenance at any United States immigration station of any of the privileges now disposed of after public competition as provided by the act of February 5, 1917, entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States."

For refund to the Holland-America Line of amount erroneously paid for hospital maintenance of Marianna and Rosalia Zuck, American citizens, $39.

For refund to National Steam Navigation Co. of Greece for amount erroneously paid for hospital maintenance of Constantino and Efulna Panagiotopoulou, American citizens, $108.75.

For refund to the United Fruit Co. of amount erroneously paid as a penalty for nonmanifesting of two American citizens, $20.

For refund to Hartfield, Solari & Co. of amounts erroneously paid for hospital charges on account of American citizens, $103.

The Secretary of Labor is authorized to pay not to exceed $3,741 from the unexpended balance in the appropriation "Expenses of regulating immigration" for the fiscal year 1915, for horse and motor vehicle service furnished by officers of the Immigration Service prior to April 1, 1915, when such allowances were discontinued.

NATURALIZATION SERVICE.

For compensation, to be fixed by the Secretary of Labor, of examiners, interpreters, clerks, and stenographers, for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Bureau of Naturalization, provided for by the act approved June 29, 1906, as amended by the act approved March 4, 1913 (Stat. L., vol. 37, p. 736), and for their actual necessary traveling expenses while absent from their official stations, including street car fare on official business at official stations, together with per diem in lieu of subsistence, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and for such per diem together with actual necessary traveling expenses of officers and employees of the Bureau of Naturalization in Washington while absent on official duty outside of the District of Columbia; telegrams, verifications of legal papers, telephone service in offices outside of the District of Columbia; not to exceed $5,300 for rent of offices outside of the District of Columbia where suitable quarters can not be obtained in public buildings; carrying into effect section 13 of the act of June 29, 1906 (24 Stats., 600), as amended by the act approved June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. L., 765): *Provided*, That the whole amount allowed for a fiscal year to the clerk of a court and his assistants from naturalization fees and this appropriation or any similar appropriation made hereafter shall be based upon and not exceed the one-half of the gross receipts of said clerk from naturalization fees during the fiscal year immediately preceding, unless the naturalization business of the clerk of any court during the year shall be in excess of the naturalization business of the preceding year, in which event the amount allowed may be increased to an amount equal to one-half the estimated gross receipts of the said clerk from naturalization fees during the current fiscal year: *Provided further*, That payment is authorized in the sum of $272.10 for the services rendered during the month of May, 1916, by clerical assistants originally authorized by the Secretary of Labor where the disbursements for salaries were in excess of the amount lawfully allowable; and for mileage and fees to witnesses subpœnaed on behalf of the United States, the expenditures from this appropriation shall be made in the manner and under such regulations as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe, $275,000.

LEGISLATIVE.

Statement of appropriations: For preparation, under the direction of the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives, of the statements for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, showing appropriations made, new offices created, offices the salaries of which have been omitted, increased, or reduced, indefinite

appropriations, and contracts authorized, together with a chronological history of the regular appropriation bills, as required by law, $4,000, to be paid to the persons designated by the chairmen of said committees to do said work.

Botanic Garden: For general repairs to buildings, heating apparatus, painting, glazing, repairs to footwalks and roadways, general repairs to packing sheds, storerooms, and stables, including skilled laborers, and laborers at not exceeding $2 per diem, under the direction of the Joint Committee on the Library, $11,000.

The unexpended balance of the appropriation of $2,500 made in the sundry civil act for the fiscal year 1912 and reappropriated for subsequent years, for removing fence and wall around the Botanic Garden and such grading, soiling, seeding, and sodding as may be incident thereto, is reappropriated and made available for the same purposes for the fiscal year 1918.

House Office Building: For maintenance, including miscellaneous items, and for all necessary services, $51,000.

For the construction of additional rooms at the House Office Building and for each and every purpose connected therewith, including painting in the subway, $3,460, to be immediately available.

Capitol power plant: For lighting the Capitol, Senate and House Office Buildings, and Congressional Library Building, and the grounds about the same, Botanic Garden, Senate stables and engine house, House stables, Maltby Building, and folding and storage rooms of the Senate; pay of superintendent of meters, at the rate of $1,600 per annum, who shall inspect all gas and electric meters of the Government in the District of Columbia without additional compensation; for necessary personal and other services; and for materials and labor in connection with the maintenance and operation of the heating, lighting, and power plant, and substations connected therewith, $100,000.

For fuel, oil, and cotton waste, and advertising for the power plant which furnishes heat and light for the Capitol and congressional buildings, $95,599. This and the three foregoing appropriations shall be expended by the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds under the supervision and direction of the commission in control of the House Office Building, appointed under the act approved March 4, 1907, and without reference to section 4 of the act approved June 17, 1910, concerning purchases for executive departments.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

PUBLIC PRINTING AND BINDING.

Office of Public Printer: Public Printer, $5,500; purchasing agent, $3,600; chief clerk, $2,500; accountant, $2,500; assistant purchasing agent, $2,500; cashier and paymaster, $2,500; clerk in charge of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the Capitol, $2,500; private secretary, $2,500; assistant accountant, $2,250; chief timekeeper, $2,000; paying teller, $2,000; clerks—2 at $2,000 each, 7 of class 4, 13 of class 3, 8 of class 2, 5 of class 1, 10 at $1,000 each, 14 at $900 each, 1 $840; paymaster's guard, $1,000; doorkeepers—chief $1,200, 1 $1,200, 6 assistants, at $1,000 each; 2 messengers, at $840 each; delivery men—chief $1,200, 5 at $950 each; telephone switchboard operator, $720; 3 assistant telephone switchboard operators, at $600 each; 6 messenger boys, at $420 each; in all, $130,460.

Office of Deputy Public Printer: Deputy Public Printer, $4,500; clerks—2 of class 1, 1 $840; chemist, $1,600; messenger; in all, $10,180.

Watch force: Captain, $1,200; 2 lieutenants, at $900 each; 64 watchmen; in all, $49,080.

Holidays: To enable the Public Printer to comply with the provisions of the law granting holidays and the Executive order granting half holidays with pay to the employees of the Government Printing Office, $180,000.

Leaves of absence: To enable the Public Printer to comply with the provisions of the law granting 30 days' annual leave to the employees of the Government Printing Office, $380,000.

For public printing, public binding, and paper for public printing and binding, including the cost of printing the debates and proceedings of Congress in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and for lithographing, mapping, and engraving, for both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court of the United States, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, the Court of Claims, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the International Bureau of American Republics, the Executive Office, and the departments; for salaries, compensation, or wages of all necessary employees additional to those herein specifically appropriated for, including the compensation of the foreman of binding and the foreman of printing; rents, fuel, gas, electric current, gas and electric fixtures; bicycles, electrical vehicles for the carriage of printing and printing supplies, and the maintenance, repair, and operation of the same, to be used only for official purposes, including the maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles for official use of the officers of the Government Printing Office when in writing ordered by the Public Printer (not exceeding $1,500); freight, expressage, telegraph and telephone service; furniture, typewriters, and carpets; traveling expenses, stationery, postage, and advertising; directories, technical books, and books of reference, not exceeding $500; adding and numbering machines, time stamps, and other machines of similar character; machinery (not exceeding $100,000); equipment, and for repairs to machinery, implements, and buildings, and for minor alterations to buildings; necessary equipment, maintenance, and supplies for the emergency room for the use of all employees in the Government Printing Office who may be taken suddenly ill or receive injury while on duty; other necessary contingent and miscellaneous items authorized by the Public Printer; and for all the necessary materials and equipment needed in the prosecution and delivery and mailing of the work, $5,250,000.

In all, for public printing and binding, including salaries of office force, payments for holidays and leaves of absence, and the last-named sum, $5,999,720; and from the said sum printing and binding shall be done by the Public Printer to the amounts following, respectively, namely:

For printing and binding for Congress, including the proceedings and debates, $1,972,520. Printing and binding for Congress chargeable to this appropriation, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year for which this appropriation is made.

For the State Department, $40,000.

For the Treasury Department, including printing required by the Federal farm loan act, $425,000.

For the War Department, $250,000: *Provided*, That the sum of $3,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, may be used for the publication, from time to time, of bulletins prepared under the direction of the Surgeon General of the Army, for the instruction of medical officers, when approved by the Secretary of War; and not exceeding $50,000 shall be available for printing and binding under the direction of the Chief of Engineers.

For the Navy Department, $160,000, including not exceeding $25,000 for the Hydrographic Office; and the sum of $12,000 for special printing and binding for the fiscal year 1917 is made available for the same purpose during the fiscal year 1918.

For the Interior Department, including not exceeding $55,000 for the Civil Service Commission and not exceeding $25,000 for the publication of the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education, $320,000.

For the Patent Office: For printing the weekly issue of patents, designs, trade-marks, and labels, exclusive of illustrations, and for printing, engraving illustrations, and binding the Official Gazette, including weekly, monthly, bimonthly, and annual indices, $585,000.

For binding in classified order one set of German patents now in the Patent Office Library, $20,000.

For the United States Geological Survey: For engraving the illustrations necessary for the annual report of the director, and for the monographs, professional papers, bulletins, water-supply papers, and the report on mineral resources, and for printing and binding the same publications, of which sum not more than $45,000 may be used for engraving, $175,000.

For the Smithsonian Institution: For printing and binding the Annual Reports of the Board of Regents, with general appendixes, the editions of which shall not exceed 10,000 copies, $10,000. Under the Smithsonian Institution: For the Annual Reports of the National Museum, with general appendixes, and for printing labels and blanks, and for the Bulletins and Proceedings of the National Museum, the editions of which shall not exceed 4,000 copies, and binding, in half morocco or material not more expensive, scientific books and pamphlets presented to or acquired by the National Museum Library, $37,500; for the Annual Reports and Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and for miscellaneous printing and binding for the bureau, $21,000; for miscellaneous printing and binding for the International Exchanges, $200; the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, $100; the National Zoological Park, $200; the Astrophysical Observatory, $200; and for the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, $7,000; in all, $76,200.

For the Department of Justice, $35,000.

For the United States Court of Customs Appeals, $1,500.

For the Post Office Department, exclusive of the money-order office, $290,000.

For the Department of Agriculture, including not to exceed $47,000 for the Weather Bureau, and including the Annual Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, as required by the act approved January 12, 1895, and in pursuance of the joint resolution, No. 13, approved March 30, 1906, and also including not to exceed $200,000 for farmers' bulletins, which shall be adapted to the interests of the people of the different sections of the country, an equal proportion of four-fifths of which shall be delivered to or sent out under the addressed franks furnished by Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress, as they shall direct, $650,000.

For the Department of Commerce, including the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Bureau of the Census, $400,000.

For the Department of Labor, $155,000.

For the Federal Trade Commission, $30,000.

For the Supreme Court of the United States, $15,000; and the printing for the Supreme Court shall be done by the printer it may employ unless it shall otherwise order.

For the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, $1,500.

For the Court of Claims, $25,000.

For the Library of Congress, including the copyright office and the publication of the Catalogue of Title Entries of the copyright office, and binding, rebinding, and repairing of library books, and for building and grounds, $200,000.

For the Executive Office, $3,000.

For the Interstate Commerce Commission, $150,000, of which sum not exceeding $10,000 shall be available to print and furnish to the States at cost report-form blanks.

For the International Union of American Republics, $20,000.

No more than an allotment of one-half of the sum hereby appropriated for the public printing and for the public binding shall be expended in the first two quarters of the fiscal year, and no more than one-fourth thereof may be expended in either of the last two quarters of the fiscal year, except that, in addition thereto, in either of said last quarters the unexpended balances of allotments for preceding quarters may be expended; and no department or Government establishment shall consume in any such period a greater percentage of its allotment than can be lawfully expended during the same period of the whole appropriation.

Money appropriated under the foregoing allotments shall not be expended for printing or binding for any of the executive departments or other Government establishments, except such as shall be certified in writing to the Public Printer by the respective heads or chiefs thereof to be necessary to conduct the ordinary and routine business required by law of such executive departments or Government establishments, and except such reports, monographs, bulletins, or other publications as are authorized by law or specifically provided for in appropriations herein; all other printing required or deemed necessary or desirable by heads of executive departments or other Government establishments or offices or bureaus thereof shall be done only as Congress shall from time to time authorize.

No part of any money appropriated in this act shall be paid to any person employed in the Government Printing Office while detailed for or performing service in any other executive branch of the public service of the United States unless such detail be authorized by law.

All expenditures from appropriations made herein under Government Printing Office, except appropriations for salaries and for stores and general expenses in and for the office of superintendent of documents, and expenses incurred on account of heat, light, and power furnished the city post-office building in Washington, D. C., shall be equitably apportioned and charged by the Public Printer to each publication or work executed under any of the foregoing allotments, so that the total charges for work done from the appropriations aforesaid shall not be less than the total amount actually expended from all of said appropriations.

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS.

Superintendent, $3,500; assistant superintendent, $2,500; clerks—2 of class 4, 3 of class 3, 5 of class 2, 8 of class 1, 9 at $1,000 each, 8 at $900 each, 4 at $840 each, 20 at $720 each; catalogners—1 in

charge, $1,800; 2 at $1,500 each; 3 at $1,200 each; 1, $1,100; 7 at $1,000 each; 4 at $900 each; cashier, $1,600; librarian, $1,500; foreman, $1,400; assistant foreman, $1,200; stock keepers—1, $1,100; 3 at $1,000 each; 5 at $900 each; 3 at $720 each; helpers—1, $870; 3 at $750 each; 5 assistant messengers; 3 mailers at $840 each; 41 skilled laborers at $626 each; 10 unskilled laborers at $626 each; janitress, $626; 2 folders at $626 each; 11 laborers at $626 each; messenger boys—11 at $500 each, 6 at $420 each, 11 at $375 each; labor necessary to handle current periodicals, $16,000; in all, $179,595.

For furniture and fixtures, typewriters, carpets, labor-saving machines and accessories, time stamps, adding and numbering machines, awnings, curtains, books of reference, directories, books, miscellaneous office and desk supplies; paper; twine, glue, envelopes, postage, car tickets, soap, towels, disinfectants, and ice; drayage, express, freight, telephone and telegraph service; repairs to building, elevators, and machinery; preserving sanitary condition of building, light, heat, and power; stationery and office printing, including blanks, price lists, and bibliographies, $33,000; for catalogues and indexes, not exceeding $16,000; for binding reserve remainders, and for supplying books to depository libraries, $80,000; equipment, material, and supplies for distribution of public documents, $17,000; in all, $146,000.

THE PANAMA CANAL.

For every expenditure requisite for and incident to the construction, maintenance and operation, sanitation, and civil government of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone, including the following: Compensation of all officials and employees; foreign and domestic newspapers and periodicals; law books not exceeding $500, textbooks, and books of reference; printing and binding, including printing of annual report; rents and personal services in the District of Columbia; purchase or exchange of typewriting, adding, and other machines; purchase or exchange, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles; claims for damages to vessels passing through the locks of the Panama Canal, as authorized by the Panama Canal act; claims for losses of or damages to property arising from the conduct of authorized business operations; claims for damages caused to owners of private lands or private property of any kind by reason of the grants contained in the treaty between the United States and the Republic of Panama, proclaimed February 26, 1904, or by reason of the operations of the United States, its agents or employees, or by reason of the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the said canal or of the work of sanitation and protection therein provided for, whether such claims are compromised by agreements between the claimants and the governor of the Panama Canal or allowed by a joint land commission; acquisition of land and land under water, as authorized in the Panama Canal act; expenses incurred in assembling, assorting, storing, repairing, and selling material, machinery, and equipment heretofore or hereafter purchased or acquired for the construction of the Panama Canal which are unserviceable or no longer needed, to be reimbursed from the proceeds of such sales; expenses incident to conducting hearings and examining estimates for appropriations on the Isthmus; expenses incident to any emergency arising because of calamity by flood, fire, pestilence, or like character not foreseen or otherwise provided for herein; per diem allowance in lieu of subsistence when prescribed by the governor of the Panama Canal, to persons engaged in field work or traveling on official business, pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and for such other expenses not in the United States, as the governor of the Panama Canal may deem necessary to best promote the construction, maintenance and operation, sanitation, and civil government of the Panama Canal, all to be expended under the direction of the governor of the Panama Canal and accounted for as follows:

For continuing the construction and equipment of the Panama Canal, including $1,000 additional compensation to the Auditor for the War Department for extra services in auditing accounts for the Panama Canal; for the completion of one dock at Cristobal (No. 6) at a total cost not exceeding $1,500,000; and toward construction by contract or in navy yards complete in every detail of two seagoing coal barges at a total cost not exceeding $800,000 each under a contract or contracts hereby authorized therefor: *Provided*, That the authority contained in the act approved July 1, 1916, for the construction of two colliers is repealed and the sum of $1,100,000 appropriated therein toward the construction of the said colliers, or so much thereof as is unexpended, is made available for use in the construction of the coal barges authorized herein, $2,755,000.

For maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal, salary of the governor, $100,000; purchase, inspection, delivery, handling, and storing of material, supplies, and equipment for issue to all departments of the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, other branches of the United States Government, and for authorized sales, payment in lump sums of not exceeding the amounts authorized by the injury compensation act approved September 7, 1916, to alien cripples who are now a charge upon the Panama Canal by reason of injuries sustained while employed in the construction of the Panama Canal, $9,000,000, together with all moneys arising from the conduct of business operations authorized by the Panama Canal act.

For sanitation, quarantine, hospitals, and medical aid and support of the insane and of lepers, and aid and support of indigent persons legally within the Canal Zone, including expenses of their deportation when practicable, and including additional compensation from May 10, 1916, to any officer of the United States Public Health Service detailed with the Panama Canal as chief quarantine officer, $700,000.

For civil government of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone, salaries of district judge $6,000, district attorney $5,000, marshal $5,000, and for gratuities and necessary clothing for indigent discharged prisoners, $600,000.

In all, $13,055,000, to be immediately available and to continue available until expended: *Provided*, That all expenditures from the appropriations heretofore, herein, and hereafter made for the construction of the Panama Canal, including any portion of such appropriations which may be used for the construction of dry docks, repair shops, yards, docks, wharves, warehouses, storehouses, and other necessary facilities and appurtenances, for the purpose of providing coal and other materials, labor, repairs, and supplies for the construction of office buildings and quarters and other necessary buildings, exclusive of fortifications, colliers, Dock 6 at Cristobal, coal barges, and repairs, alterations, and rebollering of steamships *Ancon* and *Cristobal*, and exclusive of the fair value of the American legation building in Panama, as approved by the Secretary of War and Secretary of State, and exclusive of the amount used for operating and maintaining the canal, and exclusive of the amount expended for sanitation and civil government after January 1, 1915, may be paid from or reimbursed to the Treasury of the United States out of the proceeds of the sale of bonds authorized in section 8 of the said act approved June 28, 1902, and section 39 of the tariff act approved August 5, 1909.

Except in cases of emergency, or conditions arising subsequent to and unforeseen at the time of submitting the annual estimates to Congress, and except for those employed in connection with the construction of permanent quarters, offices, and other necessary buildings, dry docks, repair shops, yards, docks, wharves, warehouses, storehouses, and other necessary facilities and appurtenances for the purpose of providing coal and other materials, labor, repairs, and supplies, and except for the permanent operating organization under which the compensation of the various positions is limited by section 4 of the Panama Canal act, there shall not be employed at any time during the fiscal year 1918 under any of the foregoing appropriations for the Panama Canal, any greater number of persons than are specified in the notes submitted respectively in connection with the estimates for each of said appropriations in the annual Book of Estimates for said year, nor shall there be paid to any such person during that fiscal year any greater rate of compensation than was authorized to be paid to persons occupying the same or like positions on the 1st day of July 1916; and all employments made or compensation increased because of emergencies or conditions so arising shall be specifically set forth, with the reasons therefor, by the governor in his report for the fiscal year 1918.

In addition to the foregoing sums there is appropriated, for the fiscal year 1918, for expenditure and reinvestment under the several heads of appropriation aforesaid without being covered into the Treasury of the United States, all moneys received by the Panama Canal from services rendered or materials and supplies furnished to the United States, the Panama Railroad Co., the Canal Zone government, or to their employees, respectively, or to the Panama Government, from hotel and hospital supplies and services; from rentals, wharfage, and like services; from labor, materials, and supplies and other services furnished to vessels other than those passing through the canal, and to others unable to obtain the same elsewhere; from the sale of scrap and other by-products of manufacturing and shop operations; from the sale of obsolete and unserviceable materials, supplies, and equipment purchased or acquired for the operation, maintenance, protection, sanitation, and government of the canal and Canal Zone; and any net profits accruing from such business to the Panama Canal shall annually be covered into the Treasury of the United States.

In addition there is appropriated for the operation, maintenance, and extension of waterworks, sewers, and pavements in the cities of Panama and Colon, during the fiscal year 1918, the necessary portions of such sums as shall be paid as water rentals or directly by the Government of Panama for such expenses.

In addition to the foregoing amounts there is appropriated, out of any money hereafter received as tolls, before such money is covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts, amounts necessary to refund to the parties entitled thereto amounts which heretofore or may hereafter be erroneously received as tolls and covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

FORTIFICATIONS, PANAMA CANAL.

For fortifications and armament thereof for the Panama Canal, to be immediately available and to continue available until expended, namely:

For maintenance of clearings and trails, $20,000:

For protection, preservation, and repair of fortifications, including structures erected for torpedo defense, and for maintaining channels for access to torpedo wharves, $10,000;

For maintenance and repair of searchlights and electric light and power equipment for fortifications, and for tools, electrical and other supplies, and appliances to be used in their operation, $7,500;

For the construction of seacoast batteries, $332,000;

Submarine base (Coco Solo Point): For dredging inner basin and channel to same, concrete dock, containing walls, finger docks, tracks, dry fill, electrical work, shops, storehouses, stationary crane, magazines and torpedo storage, shop and power tools, and plant equipment, $750,000: *Provided*, That the construction work hereunder shall be performed under the direction of the governor of the Panama Canal;

For the construction and development of an aeronautic station on the Canal Zone, $250,000;

For alteration, maintenance, and repair of submarine mine matériel, $2,500;

For operation and maintenance of fire-control installations at seacoast defenses, $10,000;

For the purchase, manufacture, maintenance, operation, and repair of airships and other aerial machines, buildings for equipment, and other accessories necessary in the aviation section for use in connection with the seacoast defenses of the Panama Canal, $500,000: *Provided*, That the construction of buildings hereunder shall be performed under the direction of the Governor of the Panama Canal;

For the purchase, manufacture, and test of seacoast cannon for coast defense, including their carriages, sights, implements, equipments, and the machinery necessary for their manufacture at the arsenals, $468,000;

For the purchase, manufacture, and test of ammunition for seacoast and land defense cannon, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, and the machinery necessary for its manufacture at the arsenals, $1,985,000: *Provided*, That the Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, is authorized to enter into contracts or otherwise incur obligations for the purposes above mentioned not to exceed $700,000 in addition to the appropriations herein and heretofore made;

For the alteration, maintenance, and installation of the seacoast artillery, including the purchase and manufacture of machinery, tools, and materials necessary for the work, and expenses of civilian mechanics, and extra-duty pay of enlisted men engaged thereon, $335,000;

Ordnance depot: For a building for storing artillery vehicles, $8,500;

For two magazines, $34,000;

For a building for storing lumber, targets, etc., $4,000;

The appropriations of $160,000 for one dock and $100,000 for necessary dredging for the ordnance depot for the Panama Canal, contained in the general deficiency appropriation act approved September 8, 1916, are repealed;

In all, $46,500;

In all, specifically for fortifications and armament thereof for the Panama Canal, $4,716,500.

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States while making or causing to be made with a stop watch, or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such works; nor

shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant.

SEC. 2. That to provide, during the fiscal year 1918, for increased compensation at the rate of 10 per cent per annum to employees who receive salaries at a rate per annum less than $1,200, and for increased compensation at the rate of 5 per cent per annum to employees who receive salaries at a rate not more than $1,800 per annum and not less than $1,200 per annum, so much as may be necessary is appropriated: *Provided*, That this section shall only apply to the employees who are appropriated for in this act specifically and under lump sums or whose employment is authorized herein, but shall not include employees of the Panama Canal on the Canal Zone: *Provided further*, That detailed reports shall be submitted to Congress on the first day of the next session showing the number of persons, the grades or character of positions, the original rates of compensation, and the increased rates of compensation provided for herein.

SEC. 3. That all sums appropriated by this act for salaries of officers and employees of the Government shall be in full for such salaries for the fiscal year 1918, and all laws or parts of laws to the extent they are in conflict with the provisions of this act are repealed.

GALLERY TICKETS.

During the reading of the bill the following colloquy occurred:

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for order. I renew the request which I made a little while ago for unanimous consent that admission to the galleries to-morrow be by special ticket issued by the Doorkeeper, each Member of the House to receive two tickets. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD] has withdrawn his objection.

Mr. GARD. Is the gentleman acquainted with the seating capacity of the galleries, and does he know how many tickets may be issued?

Mr. MANN. My understanding is—I may be mistaken about it—that two tickets to each Member of the House will more than fill the galleries. We will have to take the chances.

Mr. LANGLEY. I would like to ask the gentleman this question——

Mr SAUNDERS of Virginia. What is the request, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER. The request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is that to-morrow nobody be admitted to the gallery except on special tickets issued by the Doorkeeper, and that he shall issue two tickets to each Member.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. And there will be no more tickets issued save those two tickets?

Mr. LANGLEY. I want to ask if that request includes that preference is to be given to these tickets, or are those to whom we give them to come here and find the galleries filled as heretofore?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will attend to that part of it.

Mr. LANGLEY. I am glad to know that. If my wife has to come here before breakfast in order to get a seat, we wanted to know it.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, realizing that this debate will undoubtedly extend over a number of hours, I would like to ask whether or not a person who has a gallery ticket can not return the ticket to the Member so that the Member can actually control his two seats during the debate?

The SPEAKER. Each one of those tickets will be divided into two parts, and when the visitor comes in the doorkeeper will take off the long part and give the coupon to the holder. He can go out and come back in.

Mr. MANN. He can not do it on that coupon. He can not go out and then come back in.

Mr. TREADWAY. It is physically impossible for people to sit in these galleries from 10 o'clock in the morning until 6 or 7 o'clock at night.

Mr. LANGLEY. A great many do that just the same.

Mr. TREADWAY. And I say that it ought to be arranged so that a Member could control the tickets during the day, so that a person can go out and come back, and not to cheat the House. If it is understood that the coupon will reentitle the same person or Member's friend to admission, that is the proper way to do it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] asks unanimous consent that nobody shall be admitted to the gallery to-morrow except on special ticket to be issued by the Doorkeeper, and that two of these tickets shall be given to each Member. Is there objection?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. I understand that no other tickets to the gallery are to be issued save the two to each Member.

Mr. HOWARD. That is right. Will the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] include in his request that the officers of the House, with the exception of the Speaker, be allotted two tickets each and no more?

Mr. MANN. That is not a reasonable request.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATIONS.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from New York is entitled to 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] to 20 minutes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the sundry civil appropriation bill was exhaustively considered in the last Congress both in the committee and in the House. The bill was passed during the closing days of the session and carried $139,000,207. The bill as presented to the House for passage at this time is identical with the bill as passed in the last Congress. One amendment is proposed, however. The bill as passed in the last House carried $10,500,000 for the construction of the Alaska Railway. Of that sum $3,000,000 was to be immediately available. Ascertaining that it would not be possible to have the sundry civil bill enacted into law during the last Congress, and because of the imperative necessity for making provision for the employees who had been gathered in Alaska in the work of constructing the railroad, the Congress by joint resolution appropriated $3,000,000 toward that work. In the motion which I have presented to the House an amendment is proposed reducing the appropriation for the Alaska Railway by the sum of $3,000,000, provided in the manner already stated.

This bill, as is well known, provides the money necessary to maintain a great variety of governmental services. The bill was carefully considered and was agreed upon by the Committee on Appropriations and by the House itself with practically little dispute. Some changes that were made in the House in the bill after it had been reported to the committee have been included in the bill as now presented.

Unless some gentleman desires some information about it I shall reserve my time.

Mr. LANGLEY. Has there been any change made in the provision regarding epidemic diseases? The other bill carried $400,000 for that purpose, and included trachoma, in which provision I am especially interested.

Mr. FITZGERALD. There has been no change in the appropriation for the Public Health Service from the provisions as carried in the bill when it passed the House in the last Congress. And no other change, except the one change indicated, the elimination of $3,000,000, which was provided in a separate resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is recognized.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, when this bill originally emerged from our committee there were many items in it which I did not approve, and in its progress through the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union amendments were put on which I opposed and which made it still less in accord with my views. But I recognize that in every large bill like this, consisting of hundreds of items, there will always be items which I do not favor. I do not expect, and I do not suppose that any Member of the House will ever expect, a general appropriation bill which entirely reflects his views.

We must compromise on many of these items, and I think, on the whole, this is a fair bill, and I think if it had to be done over again and go through the committee and go through the Committee of the Whole and the House again it would be quite as likely to be still further from my views as to be nearer to them, so that I am quite willing that it shall pass as it is. It will go to the Senate and there have amendments made to it, and doubtless come back here and have further consideration in conference. Therefore I shall favor this resolution.

I yield to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] such time as he wishes.

The SPEAKER. How much?

Mr. GILLETT. Five minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, at various times in the past, when general appropriations have failed at the close of a session of Congress, the House has taken up those bills in the new Congress in the form in which they passed the previous Congress and has passed them in that form, as we are proposing to do with this sundry civil appropriation bill, which should have become a law in the last Congress.

I think that that is a proper procedure. It is very true, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] has stated,

that if we were now to pass upon the items of this sundry civil bill in committee or in Committee of the Whole, in all probability there would be quite a number of changes made. But we can not well, and I think we should not attempt at this time to go over the items of the bill, which were carefully considered in the last Congress, and attempt to adjust them to present conditions.

There are some items in the bill that I sincerely wish were somewhat reduced. There were some estimates for which adequate provision was not made in the bill, and I wish it were possible to reconsider those particular items and leave the remainder of the bill practically as it is. But that is impossible. For instance, the War Department asked for something like $7,000,000 for barracks and quarters. About a million and a quarter of that was for barracks and quarters for the additional companies which we have added to the regiments in the national defense act, those quarters to be provided in the present Army posts. Otherwise the estimate of $7,000,000, approximately, or a little more, was to be used for construction at such posts as were selected for that purpose by the War Department. Those additional quarters are necessary for the increment of the Regular Army Establishment that is now being raised. They must be provided; they ought to be provided for now. I trust that amendments will be made in the Senate covering those items, but as we can not reach them at this time, in the way in which we are considering the bill, we must trust to the action of another body to remedy that situation.

The bill in the main provides somewhat sparingly in many cases for the Government service, but in the main the provision made is reasonably adequate. There is no branch of the service that will suffer, I think, by reason of a failure on the part of the committee to report a sufficient sum to carry the work along in an economical and reasonable way.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] such time as he may desire.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, a little while ago there was some discussion in the House about the seating capacity of the gallery. We have provided for the issuance of two tickets to each Member of the House, which I suppose includes Delegates and the officers of the House, making in the neighborhood of 900 tickets. There are 594 seats in the galleries, excluding the press gallery, leaving 553 seats in the galleries available. Of course these do not include stairways or the doorways. Members can advise those to whom they give the tickets accordingly, although I do not know when the gallery doors will be opened.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the subject I am about to speak on concerns particularly the people of my own congressional district, but in a broad sense it is a matter of concern to Members of this House and the country generally.

At a pacifist meeting held in Washington on Monday night, at the time the President of the United States was delivering his address to Congress, Mr. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, is reported in the Washington Post, among other things, to have said:

> Let only those who believe Germany is the international outlaw fight this war which the United States is going into. I demand that my Government do not conscript those who do not believe that Germany lighted the torch which started the world flame.

If Mr. Bigelow has been by any chance misquoted and will categorically deny that he used the language I have read, I shall gladly tender him my most profound apologies for what I am about to say. If, however, the statement is true, I call his preachment for a divided allegiance in this crisis not only un-American and unpatriotic but treasonable.

I would not feel called upon to comment upon this ignoble utterance if it were not for the fact that Mr. Bigelow is a resident of my congressional district. I do so now only because I want this House to know and I want the country to understand that Mr. Bigelow is in no sense a representative of the people of my district, and that his statement in no way reflects the opinion of the vast majority of the people who live there.

The people of Cincinnati are and always have been as patriotic and loyal as those of any community in the United States. In time of war the people of Cincinnati have never failed to take a man's part and to pay their full share of the sacrifice without palter or quibble, and they are ready to do so now. Furthermore, you will find that to-day, as always in the past, in the front rank of those prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for their country will be found our sturdy, liberty-loving, patriotic citizens of German birth or ancestry. [Applause.] To say that they or any other large class of Cincinnati's citizenship would place their personal opinion as to what nation was responsible for the European war above their loyalty to their country is nothing less than a gross and cruel insult.

Of what concern is it to any American citizen as to which nation in Europe was originally responsible for this lamentable war if we ourselves have been insulted and attacked by one of them? What man who is a patriot at heart would avoid or ever has avoided the service or sacrifice asked by his country in time of need by the assertion of his personal opinion that the Government which menaced the integrity of his country and the lives and property of its citizens had not originally been at fault in its dealings with other nations? I can scarcely conceive of a doctrine more odious and abominable or one more subversive of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity which must be the foundation of every free republic which is long to endure. It would inevitably tend to create a nation divided against itself into two hostile camps—on the one side brave men, on the other cowards; on the one side men ready and anxious to give all and suffer all for their country, on the other men willing to fatten on the fruits of their sacrifices; on the one side patriots, on the other slackers—a nation which could not and ought not to survive.

This is a time to encourage bravery and love of country, not cowardice and disloyalty. [Applause.]

I would be fearful, indeed, of the future of America if I believed that such teachings would be treated with anything but contempt by the vast majority of the people of our country, no matter what their race or the country of their origin. I would be ashamed to represent in this Congress a district in which lived any substantial proportion of people who subscribe to these teachings of disloyalty and treason; but I am firm in the belief that neither where I live nor where any of you live are there more than a handful of men who would applaud the announcement of such doctrines. I am supremely confident that the American people throughout the Nation will patriotically rise to the occasion, and that whatever may be the result of the war in which we seem bound to engage, it can never truthfully be said either that this country was divided against itself or that the American people proved false to the patriotic examples and teachings of our fathers. [Applause.]

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN].

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask the Clerk to read the following telegram from the mayor of Knoxville.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the telegram will be read in the gentleman's time.

The Clerk read as follows:

KNOXVILLE, TENN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. R. W. AUSTIN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Within 1 hour and 17 minutes after call was made and without previous warning 80 per cent of Boy Scouts of America, Knox County division, mobilized as emergency unit and repaired to city hall, where they offered to me for the city, State, and Nation their services in this national crisis. Their memorial to me closes with the following words: "If we are too young to be soldiers we are not too young to offer our services for duties which Boy Scouts are trained to perform." I forward you this message as being typical of the prompt response of the volunteer State when a Nation calls.

JOHN E. MCMILLAN,
Mayor of the City of Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, in view of what the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] said, I think it may be appropriate at this time to make a few observations.

The House in the last Congress did not authorize expenditures of over $1,000,000 for barracks and quarters at certain places in the United States. The request was made on account of the increase proposed in the Regular Army. Subsequent events have demonstrated the wisdom of the action of Congress in refusing to appropriate the money for that purpose.

Within a very brief time Congress will be called upon not to provide for an Army of 190,000 or 250,000 men but probably an Army, as stated by the President, of at least 500,000 men. It is an Army that is to be prepared and trained for actual warfare. I hope no one will have the notion that the men who are enlisted for that purpose are to spend their time comfortably in barracks and quarters on various military reservations throughout the country. Those men will be placed in the field to receive the actual and necessary training to fit them to take whatever part may come to us in the great conflict upon which we probably are about to enter.

Mr. Speaker, the House did not make appropriations in such shape as to hamper any public service. This bill carries sufficient money to enable every governmental activity to be properly conducted. It is time, however, to realize now that many activities of the Government which heretofore have been considered advisable or perhaps to some extent beneficial, and which might be encouraged by liberal appropriations during ordinary

times, must not expect and can not be provided with ample appropriations to carry on those services to the fullest extent desired by those interested in them. We are about to face a time when the country will indulge in expenditure upon a scale never before witnessed in the history of the world. We must concentrate our efforts, and we must conserve our resources to provide the moneys essential to do the imperative things, and let nonessentials be relegated to oblivion during the strenuous times we are about to face. I hope that this country will not be like the nations of Europe—sleep for two or three years, unconscious of the necessity of rigid economy—but that it will awaken instantly to the necessity of developing the highest efficiency in Government service. It should at once commence the difficult task of eliminating the things that are not imperatively essential for the welfare and safety of the country, and devote all of the means at the disposal of the Government to the things which must be done if we are to do what the country will expect of us in the very near future.

These remarks should be heeded not only by Members of the Congress but by those charged with the responsibility of administering the various departments of the Government. Let those who are not particularly concerned with the national defense neither encourage nor permit requests for money for many governmental activities that can well be permitted to remain quiet in strenuous times like the present.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HAYDEN. A parliamentary inquiry. Is this bill subject to amendment?

The SPEAKER. No. You can not amend a bill under a motion to suspend the rules unless the amendment is incorporated in the motion, when the amendment becomes a part of the bill itself. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question was taken; and two-thirds voting in the affirmative, the rules were suspended and the bill passed.

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and to discharge the Committee on Military Affairs from the further consideration of the bill H. R. 13, making appropriations for the support of the Army during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANN. And to pass the bill, I suppose?

Mr. DENT. And to pass the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama moves to suspend the rules, discharge the Committee on Military Affairs from further consideration of H. R. 13, and pass the bill. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and they are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the support of the Army for the year ending June 30, 1918:

Contingencies of the Army: For all contingent expenses of the Army not otherwise provided for and embracing all branches of the military service, including the office of the Chief of Staff: for all emergencies and extraordinary expenses, including the employment of translators and exclusive of all other personal services in the War Department, or any of its subordinate bureaus or offices at Washington, D. C., or in the Army at large, but impossible to be anticipated or classified; to be expended on the approval and authority of the Secretary of War, and for such purposes as he may deem proper, including the payment of a per diem allowance not to exceed $4, in lieu of subsistence, to employees of the War Department traveling on official business outside of the District of Columbia and away from their designated posts, $50,000.

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

Army War College: For expenses of the Army War College, being for the purchase of the necessary stationery, typewriters and exchange of same; office, toilet, and desk furniture; textbooks; books of reference; scientific and professional papers and periodicals; printing and binding; maps; police utensils; employment of temporary, technical, or special services; and for all other absolutely necessary expenses, including $25 per month additional to regular compensation to chief clerk of division for superintendence of the War College building, $9,000.

Contingencies, military information section, General Staff Corps: For contingent expenses of the military information section, General Staff Corps, including the purchase of law books, professional books of reference; periodicals and newspapers; drafting and messenger service; and of the military attachés at the United States embassies and legations abroad; and of the branch office of the military information section at Manila; the cost of special instruction at home and abroad and in maintenance of students and attachés; and for such other purposes as the Secretary of War may deem proper; to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War: *Provided*, That section 3648, Revised Statutes, shall not apply to subscriptions for foreign and professional newspapers and periodicals to be paid for from this appropriation, $11,000.

Expenses of military observers abroad: For the actual and necessary expenses of officers of the Army on duty abroad for the purpose of observing operations of armies of foreign States at war, to be paid upon certificates of the Secretary of War that the expenditures were necessary for obtaining military information, $15,000.

United States service schools: To provide means for the theoretical and practical instruction at the Army service schools (including the Army Staff College, the Army School of the Line, the Army Field Engineer School, the Army Field Service and Correspondence School for Medical Officers, and the Army Signal School) at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., the Mounted Service School, at Fort Riley, Kans., and the School of Fire for Field Artillery and for the School of Musketry, at Fort Sill, Okla., by the purchase of textbooks, books of reference, scientific and professional papers, the purchase of modern instruments and material for theoretical and practical instruction, employment of temporary, technical, or special services, and for all other absolutely necessary expenses, to be allotted in such proportion as may, in the opinion of the Secretary of War, be for the best interests of the military service. Not exceeding $100 per month may be used for the payment of one translator, to be appointed by the commandant of the Army service schools with the approval of the Secretary of War, $35,350.

Provided, That officers in the grade of second lieutenant in the Field Artillery may be assigned, for the period of one year, to batteries stationed at the School of Fire for Field Artillery at Fort Sill, Okla., for the purpose of pursuing courses of practical instruction in field artillery.

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

Contingencies, headquarters of military departments, districts, and tactical commands: For contingent expenses at the headquarters of the several territorial departments, territorial districts, tactical divisions and brigades, including the Staff Corps serving thereat, being for the purchase of the necessary articles of office, toilet, and desk furniture, stationery, ice, and potable water for office use when necessary, binding, maps, technical books of reference, professional and technical newspapers and periodicals, payment for which may be made in advance, and police utensils to be allotted by the Secretary of War, and to be expended in the discretion of the commanding officers of the several military departments, districts, and tactical commands, $7,500.

CHIEF OF COAST ARTILLERY.

Coast Artillery School, Fort Monroe, Va.: For incidental expenses of the school, including chemicals, stationery, printing and binding; hardware; materials; cost of special instruction of officers detailed as instructors; employment of temporary, technical, or special services; extra-duty pay to soldiers necessarily employed for periods not less than 10 days as artificers on work in addition to and not strictly in line with their military duties, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, draftsmen, printers, lithographers, photographers, engine drivers, telegraph operators, teamsters, wheelwrights, masons, machinists, painters, overseers, laborers; for office furniture and fixtures, machinery, and unforeseen expenses, $10,000;

For purchase of engines, generators, motors, machines, measuring instruments, special apparatus and materials for the division of the enlisted specialists, $7,000;

For purchase of special apparatus and materials and for experimental purposes for the department of artillery and land defense, $3,000;

For purchase of engines, generators, motors, machines, measuring instruments, special apparatus and materials for the department of engineering and mine defense, $5,500;

For purchase and binding of professional books treating of military and scientific subjects for library, for use of school, and for temporary use in coast defenses, $2,500; in all, $28,000.

Provided, That section 3648, Revised Statutes, shall not apply to subscriptions for foreign and professional newspapers and periodicals to be paid for from this appropriation.

Provided further, That purchase and exchange of typewriting machines, to be paid for from this appropriation, may be made at the special price allowed to schools teaching stenography and typewriting without obligating typewriter companies to supply these machines to all departments of the Government at the same price.

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER.

Signal Service of the Army: For expenses of the Signal Service of the Army, as follows: Purchase, equipment, and repair of field electric telegraphs, radio installations, signal equipments and stores, binocular glasses, telescopes, heliostats, and other necessary instruments, including necessary meteorological instruments for use on target ranges; motorcycles and motor-driven vehicles used for technical and official purposes; professional and scientific books of reference, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, and maps, for use in the office of the Chief Signal Officer; war balloons and airships and accessories, including their maintenance and repair; telephone apparatus (exclusive of exchange service) and maintenance of the same; electrical installations and maintenance at military posts; fire-control and direction apparatus and material for Field Artillery; maintenance and repair of military lines and cables, including salaries of civilian employees, supplies, general repairs, reserved supplies, and other expenses connected with the duty of collecting and transmitting information for the Army by telegraph or otherwise, $9,000,000.

Provided, however, That not more than $8,000,000 of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the purchase, manufacture, maintenance, operation, and repair of airships and other aerial machines, buildings for equipment and personnel, and other accessories necessary in the aviation section; and for the purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles which may be necessary for the aviation section: *Provided further*, That of the sum last above mentioned so much thereof as may be necessary will be available for paying and otherwise providing for such officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the aviation section of the Signal Corps and such enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the aviation section of the Signal Corps as may be called into active service; for the payment of all expenses in connection with the development of a suitable type of aviation motor, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe; for the cost of investigations to be made by and technical instruction of commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the said section.

Provided further, That the sum of $1,000,000 may be expended out of the appropriations for aviation provided by the act of August 29, 1916, for the acquisition, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, of sites and construction of buildings for aviation schools.

Provided further, That hereafter motor-propelled vehicles, aeroplanes, engines, and parts thereof may be exchanged in part payment for new equipment of the same or similar character, to be used for the same purpose as those proposed to be exchanged.

Washington-Alaska military cable and telegraph system: For defraying the cost of such extensions, betterments, operation, and maintenance of the Washington-Alaska military cable and telegraph system

as may be approved by the Secretary of War, to be available until the close of the fiscal year 1919, from the receipts of the Washington-Alaska military cable and telegraph system which have been covered into the Treasury of the United States, the extent of such extensions and betterments and the cost thereof to be reported to Congress by the Secretary of War, $50,000.

Provided, That hereafter the Signal Corps, in its operation of military telegraph lines, cables, or radio stations, is authorized, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, to collect forwarding charges due connecting commercial telegraph or radio companies for the transmission of Government radiograms or telegrams over their lines, and to this end, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, it can present vouchers to disbursing officers for payment or file claims with auditors of the Treasury Department for the amount of such forwarding charges.

Commercial telephone service at Coast Artillery posts: For providing commercial telephone service for official purposes at Coast Artillery posts, $8,500.

PAY OF THE ARMY.

Quartermaster Corps.

OFFICERS OF THE LINE.

For pay of officers of the line, $11,500,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be paid to any officer of the line of the Army who shall be appointed or promoted in violation of any of the terms next hereinafter specified: That of the whole number of officers of Cavalry, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery Corps, Infantry, and of Engineers serving with the enlisted force of the Corps of Engineers necessary to fill vacancies created or caused in said arms of the service by reason of the second increment, authorized in said arms by act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, not more than one-fourth shall be appointed or promoted until, exclusive of enlisted men belonging to said arms on June 30, 1916, at least one-fourth of the second increment of enlisted men authorized for said arms by said act shall have been enlisted; not more than one-half of said whole number of officers shall be appointed or promoted until at least one-half of said increment of enlisted men shall have been enlisted; and not more than three-fourths of said whole number of officers shall be appointed or promoted until at least three-fourths of said increment of enlisted men shall have been enlisted. And all officers promoted in accordance with the terms of this proviso shall take rank, respectively, from the dates on which their promotions shall have become lawful under the terms of this proviso. Additional pay to officers for length of service, $2,000,000.

Pay of members of Officers' Reserve Corps, $1,500,000.

Pay of officers, National Guard, including staff corps, $2,500,000: *Provided*, That so much of this appropriation as may be necessary for the purpose shall be available to pay inspectors and assistant inspectors of small-arms practice of the Organized Militia and National Guard who responded to the call of the President of June 18, 1916, the pay and allowances appropriate to their grade from the dates they would have been entitled to pay had their services been authorized to the dates on which they were mustered out or their services were otherwise terminated; and the proper accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they are hereby, directed to allow credit for any such payments which have heretofore been made to such officers from the appropriation from which made.

ENLISTED MEN OF THE LINE.

For pay of enlisted men of all grades, including recruits, $27,000,000.

That that paragraph of the act of May 11, 1908 (35 Stat. L., p. 110), which provides for additional pay of marksmen, etc., is amended to read as follows:

"That hereafter enlisted men now qualified or hereafter qualifying as marksmen shall receive $2 per month; as sharpshooters, $3 per month; as expert riflemen, $5 per month; as second-class gunners, $2 per month; as first-class gunners, $3 per month; as expert first-class gunners, Field Artillery, $5 per month; as gun pointers, gun commanders, observers second class, chief planters, and chief loaders, $7 per month; as plotters, observers first class, casemate electricians, and coxswains, $9 per month, all in addition to their pay, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, but no man shall receive at the same time additional pay for more than one of the classifications named in this section."

Additional pay for length of service of enlisted men of the line, $3,000,000.

Pay of enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve, $290,000.

Pay of enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, $100,000.

Pay of enlisted men, National Guard, $10,000,000.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Pay of enlisted men, $383,760.

Additional pay for length of service, $185,996.16.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

Pay of enlisted men, $2,000,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $300,000.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Pay of enlisted men, $900,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $96,000.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Pay of enlisted men, $2,000,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $325,000.

CLERKS, MESSENGERS, AND LABORERS, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

One chief clerk, at $2,250 per annum, $2,250;
Three clerks, at $2,000 each per annum, $6,000;
Six clerks, at $1,800 each per annum, $10,800;
Ten clerks, at $1,600 each per annum, $16,000;
Twelve clerks, at $1,400 each per annum, $16,800;
Seventeen clerks, at $1,200 each per annum, $20,400;
Eight clerks, at $1,000 each per annum, $8,000;
One captain of the watch, at $900 per annum, $900;
Six watchmen, at $720 each per annum, $4,320;
One gardener, at $720 per annum, $720;
One packer, at $840 per annum, $840;
One chief messenger, at $1,000 per annum, $1,000;
Three messengers, at $840 each per annum, $2,520;
Fifteen messengers, at $720 each per annum, $10,800;
Two laborers, at $720 each per annum, $1,440;
One laborer, at $600 per annum, $600;
Five charwomen, at $240 each per annum, $1,200; in all, $104,590.

CLERKS AND MESSENGERS AT HEADQUARTERS OF THE SEVERAL TERRITORIAL DEPARTMENTS, TERRITORIAL DISTRICTS, TACTICAL DIVISIONS AND BRIGADES, AND SERVICE SCHOOLS.

Seven clerks, at $2,000 each per annum, $14,000;
Eleven clerks, at $1,800 each per annum, $19,800;
Fourteen clerks, at $1,600 each per annum, $22,400;
Thirty-two clerks, at $1,400 each per annum, $44,800;
Fifty-seven clerks, at $1,200 each per annum, $68,400;
Forty-nine clerks, at $1,000 each per annum, $49,000;
Thirty-nine messengers, at $720 each per annum, $28,080;
In all, $246,480.

Additional pay while on foreign service, $7,600.

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light, $65,000.

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light for field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, $70,000.

Provided, That said clerks, messengers, and laborers shall be employed and assigned by the Secretary of War to the offices and positions in which they are to serve: *Provided further*, That no clerk, messenger, or laborer at headquarters of tactical divisions, military departments, brigades, service schools, and office of the Chief of Staff shall be assigned to duty in any bureau in the War Department.

GENERAL STAFF CORPS.

For pay of officers of the General Staff Corps, $132,600.

Additional pay for length of service, $38,480.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

For pay of officers of The Adjutant General's Department, $115,500.

Additional pay for length of service, $33,000.

INSPECTOR GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

For pay of officers of the Inspector General's Department, $75,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $21,000.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Pay of officers of the Corps of Engineers, $482,400.

Additional pay for length of service, $96,455.41.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

For pay of officers of the Ordnance Department, $289,300.

Provided, That section 24 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, is so amended as to authorize the President to organize immediately the whole of the increase in the Ordnance Department authorized by section 12 of said act, or such part thereof as he may deem necessary.

Additional pay for length of service, $63,518.23.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

For pay of officers of the Quartermaster Corps, $771,200.

Additional pay for length of service, $230,443.12.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

For pay of officers of the Medical Department, $2,225,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $286,043.85.

Forty reserve veterinarians at $1,700 each per annum, $68,000.

Contract surgeons, at not exceeding $150 each per month, $24,000.

One superintendent, Nurse Corps, at $1,800 per annum, $1,800.

Nurses (female), $141,000.

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

For pay of officers in the Judge Advocate General's Department, $75,500.

Additional pay for length of service, $13,420.

For paying the expenses of clerical hire and printing and other expenses incident to the making of the revision and codification herein directed, not to exceed $5,000, to be expended upon certificates of the Secretary of War that the expenditures were necessary therefor of the military laws of the United States, $5,000.

SIGNAL CORPS.

For pay of officers of the Signal Corps, $500,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $76,733.34.

BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS.

For pay of officers of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, $13,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $2,000.

RETIRED OFFICERS.

For pay of officers on the retired list, $2,700,000: *Provided*, That assignments which have been, or may hereafter be made, of retired officers of the Army to active duty as acting quartermasters shall be regarded as assignments to staff duties not involving service with troops within the meaning of the act of Congress approved April 23, 1904.

Additional pay for length of service, $467,000.

Forty-three Philippine Scout officers, $1,040.40 each per annum, $44,737.20.

Three retired veterinarians, $5,355.

Thirteen retired pay clerks, $21,750.

Increased pay to retired officers on active duty, $145,275.

Additional pay for length of service, $46,225.

RETIRED ENLISTED MEN.

For pay of 4,400 retired enlisted men, $3,100,000.

For pay and allowances of 150 retired enlisted men on active duty, $21,600.

For pay and allowances of 100 Regular Army reservists on active duty, $54,000.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Thirty hospital matrons, at $120 each per annum, $3,600.

For expenses of courts-martial, courts of inquiry, military commissions, retiring boards, and compensation of reporters and witnesses attending same, and expenses of taking depositions and securing other evidence for use before the same, $60,000.

For additional pay to officer in charge of public buildings and grounds at Washington, D. C., $500.

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light to commissioned officers, members of the Nurse Corps, and enlisted men on duty at places where no public quarters are available, $1,100,000.

For interest on soldiers' deposits, $150,000.

For pay of expert accountant for the Inspector General's Department, $2,500.

For extra pay to enlisted men employed on extra duty for periods of not less than 10 days in the offices of coast-defense artillery engineers and coast-defense ordnance officers, and as switchboard operators at seacoast fortifications, $16,263.80.

For extra pay to enlisted men employed on extra duty as switchboard operators at each interior post of the Army, $15,968.75.

For extra pay to enlisted men of the line of the Army and to enlisted men of the Quartermaster Corps, Medical Department, and of the Signal Corps employed in the Territory of Alaska on the Washington-Alaska cable and telegraph system for periods of not less than 10 days at the rate of 35 cents per day, $30,660.

For mileage to commissioned officers, contract surgeons, expert accountant, Inspector General's Department, Army field clerks, and field clerks of the Quartermaster Corps, when authorized by law, $740,000.

For additional 10 per cent increase of pay of officers on foreign service, $300,000.

For additional 20 per cent increase of pay of enlisted men on foreign service, $850,000.

For pay of one computer for Artillery Board, $2,500.

For payment of exchange by acting quartermasters serving in foreign countries and when specially authorized by the Secretary of War by officers disbursing funds pertaining to the Quartermaster Corps when serving in Alaska, $600.

For three months' additional pay to enlisted men reenlisting within the period of three months from date of discharge from first enlistment, $150,500.

For six months' pay to beneficiaries of officers and enlisted men who die while on active service from wounds or disease not the result of their own misconduct, $75,000.

For one year's pay to beneficiaries of officers and enlisted men who die as the result of aviation accidents, $5,000.

For additional pay to officers below the grade of major required to be mounted and who furnish their own mounts, $250,000.

For amount required to make monthly payments to Jennie Carroll, widow of James Carroll, late major, United States Army, $1,500: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Harriet C. Carroll, mother of the late Maj. James Carroll, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $600 per annum, payable monthly.

For amount required to make monthly payments to Mable H. Lazear, widow of Jesse W. Lazear, late acting assistant surgeon, United States Army, $1,500.

For amount required to make monthly payments of $100 to John R. Kissinger, late of Company D, One hundred and fifty-seventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry, also late of the Hospital Corps, United States Army, $1,200.

PHILIPPINE SCOUTS.

Fifty-two captains, at $2,400 each per annum, $124,800.

Sixty-five first lieutenants, at $2,000 each per annum, $130,000.

Sixty-five second lieutenants, at $1,700 each per annum, $110,500.

For pay of 13 majors in addition to pay as captain, at $600 each per annum, $7,800.

Additional pay for length of service, $98,612.32.

For pay of enlisted men, $620,000.

Additional pay for length of service, $40,766.22.

All the money hereinbefore appropriated for pay of the Army and miscellaneous, except the appropriation for mileage to commissioned officers, contract surgeons, expert accountant, Inspector General's Department, Army field clerks, and field clerks of the Quartermaster Corps, when authorized by law, shall be disbursed and accounted for by officers of the Quartermaster Corps as pay of the Army, and for that purpose shall constitute one fund.

Subsistence of the Army: Purchase of subsistence supplies: For issue as rations to troops, civil employees when entitled thereto, hospital matrons, nurses, applicants for enlistment while held under observation, general prisoners of war (including Indians held by the Army as prisoners, but for whose subsistence appropriation is not otherwise made), Indians employed with the Army as guides and scouts, and general prisoners at posts; for the subsistence of the masters, officers, crews, and employees of the vessels of the Army transport service; hot coffee for troops traveling when supplied with cooked or travel rations; meals for recruiting parties and applicants for enlistment while under observation; for sales to officers, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, while on active duty, and enlisted men of the Army: *Provided*, That the sum of $12,000 is authorized to be expended for supplying meals or furnishing commutation of rations to enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard who may be competitors in the national rifle match: *Provided further*, That no competitor shall be entitled to commutation of rations in excess of $1.50 per day, and when meals are furnished no greater expense than that sum per man per day for the period the contest is in progress shall be incurred. For payments: Of commutation of rations to the cadets of the United States Military Academy in lieu of the regular established ration, at the rate of 40 cents per ration; of the regulation allowances of commutation in lieu of rations to enlisted men on furlough, enlisted men and male and female nurses when stationed at places where rations in kind can not be economically issued, and when traveling on detached duty where it is impracticable to carry rations of any kind, enlisted men selected to contest for places or prizes in departments and Army rifle competitions while traveling to and from places of contest, male and female nurses on leaves of absence, applicants for enlistment, and general prisoners while traveling under orders; of commutation of rations in lieu of the regular established ration for members of the Nurse Corps (female) while on duty in hospital, at 40 cents per ration, and for enlisted men, applicants for enlistment while held under observation, and general prisoners sick therein, at the rate of 30 cents per ration (except that at the general hospital at Fort Bayard, N. Mex., 50 cents per ration and at other general hospitals 40 cents per ration are authorized for enlisted patients therein), to be paid to the surgeon in charge; advertising; for providing prizes to be established by the Secretary of War for enlisted men of the Army who graduate from the Army schools for bakers and cooks, the total amount of such prizes at the various schools not to exceed $900 per annum; for other necessary expenses incident to the purchase, testing, care, preservation, issue, sale, and accounting for subsistence supplies for the Army; for extraordinary expense of subsistence of West Point cadets while attending inaugural ceremony not to exceed $4,000, which shall be immediately available; in all, $16,500,000.

Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps: Regular supplies of the Quartermaster Corps, including their care and protection; construction and repair of military reservation fences; stoves and heating apparatus required for heating offices, hospitals, barracks and quarters, and recruiting stations, and United States disciplinary barracks; also ranges, stoves, coffee roasters, and appliances for cooking and serving food at posts, in the field, and when traveling, and repair and maintenance of such heating and cooking appliances; and the necessary power for the operation of moving-picture machines; authorized issues of candles and matches; for furnishing heat and light for the authorized allowance of quarters for officers and enlisted men; contract surgeons when stationed at and occupying public quarters at military posts; for officers of the National Guard attending service and garrison schools, and for recruits, guards, hospitals, storehouses, offices, the buildings erected at private cost, in the operation of the act approved May 31, 1902; for sale to officers, and including also fuel and engine supplies required in the operation of modern batteries at established posts; for post bakeries, including bake ovens and apparatus pertaining thereto, and the repair thereof; for ice machines and their maintenance where required for the health and comfort of the troops and for cold storage; ice for issue to organizations of enlisted men and offices at such places as the Secretary of War may determine, and for preservation of stores; for the construction, operation, and maintenance of laundries at military posts in the United States and its island possessions; for the authorized issues of laundry materials for use of general prisoners confined at military posts without pay or allowances, and for applicants for enlistment while held under observation; authorized issues of soap; for hire of employees; for the necessary furniture, textbooks, paper, and equipment for the post schools and libraries; for the purchase and issue of instruments, office furniture, stationery, and other authorized articles for the use of officers' schools at the several military posts; for purchase of relief maps for issue to organizations, commercial newspapers, market reports, etc.; for the tableware and mess furniture for kitchens and mess halls, each and all for the enlisted men, including recruits; of forage, salt, and vinegar for the horses, mules, oxen, and other draft and riding animals of the Quartermaster Corps at the several posts and stations and with the armies in the field, and for the horses of the several regiments of Cavalry, and batteries of Artillery, and such companies of Infantry and Scouts as may be mounted; for remounts and for the authorized number of officers' horses, including bedding for the animals; for seeds and implements required for the raising of forage at remount depots and on military reservations in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands and for labor and expenses incident thereto, including, when specifically authorized by the Secretary of War, the cost of irrigation; for straw for soldiers' bedding, stationery, typewriters and exchange of same, including blank books and blank forms for the Quartermaster Corps, certificates for discharged soldiers, and for printing department orders and reports, $11,000,000.

Provided, That no part of the appropriations for the Quartermaster Corps shall be expended on printing unless the same shall be done at the Government Printing Office, or by contract after due notice and competition, except in such cases as the emergency will not admit of the giving notice of competition, and in cases where it is impracticable to have the necessary printing done by contract the same may be done, with the approval of the Secretary of War, by the purchase of material and hire of the necessary labor for the purpose. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, whenever the ice machines, steam laundries, and electric plants shall not come in competition with private enterprise for sale to the public, and in the opinion of the Secretary of War it becomes necessary to the economical use and administration of such ice machines, steam laundries, and electric plants as have been or may hereafter be established in pursuance of law, surplus ice may be disposed of, laundry work may be done for other branches of the Government, and surplus electric light and power may be sold on such terms and in accordance with such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War: *Provided*, That the funds received from such sales and in payment for such laundry work shall be used to defray the cost of operation of said ice, laundry, and electric plants, and the sales and expenditures herein provided for shall be accounted for in accordance with the methods prescribed by law, and any sums remaining after such cost of maintenance and operation have been defrayed shall be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the appropriation from which the cost of operation of such plant is paid.

Incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps: Postage; cost of telegrams on official business received and sent by officers of the Army; extra pay to soldiers employed on extra duty, under the direction of the Quartermaster Corps, in the erection of barracks, quarters, and storehouses, in the construction of roads, and other constant labor for periods of not less than 10 days; as additional school-teachers during the school term at post schools, and as clerks for post quartermasters at military posts, and for overseers of general prisoners at posts designated by the War Department for the confinement of general prisoners, and for the United States disciplinary barracks guard: *Provided*, That hereafter the extra-duty pay to the United States disciplinary barracks guard shall be at the following rates per day: Battalion sergeants major, first sergeants, mess sergeants, supply sergeants, and sergeants, 35 cents; corporals, 30 cents; cooks and mechanics, private first class, privates, and buglers, 20 cents; of extra-duty pay at rates to be fixed by the Secretary of War for mess stewards and cooks at recruit depots, who are graduates of the schools for bakers and cooks, and instructor cooks at the schools for bakers and cooks; for expenses of expresses to and from frontier posts and armies in the field; of escorts to officers or agents of the Quartermaster Corps to trains where military escorts can not be furnished; authorized office furniture, authorized issues of towels; hire of laborers in the Quartermaster Corps, including the care of officers' mounts when the same are furnished by the Government, and the hire of interpreters, spies, or guides for the Army; compensation of clerks and other employees to the officers of the Quartermaster Corps, and clerks, foremen, watchmen, and organist for the United States disciplinary barracks, and incidental expenses of recruiting; for the apprehension, securing, and delivering of deserters, including escaped military prisoners, and the expenses incident to their pursuit, and no greater sum than $50 for each deserter or escaped military prisoner shall, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be paid to any civil officer or citizen for such services and expenses; for a donation of $5 to each dishonorably discharged prisoner upon his release from confinement under court-martial sentence involving dishonorable discharge; for the following expenditures required for the several regiments of Cavalry, the batteries of Field Artillery, and such companies of Infantry and Scouts as may be mounted, the authorized number of officers' horses, and for the trains, to wit, purchase of medicines for horses and mules, picket ropes, blacksmith's tools and materials, horseshoes and blacksmith's tools for the Cavalry service, and for the shoeing of horses and mules; chests and issue outfits; and such additional expenditures as are necessary and authorized by law in the movements and operations of the Army, and at military posts, and not expressly assigned to any other department, $1,800,000.

Transportation of the Army and its supplies: For transportation of the Army and its supplies, including transportation of the troops when moving either by land or water, and of their baggage, including the cost of packing and crating; for transportation of recruits and recruiting parties; of applicants for enlistment between recruiting stations and

recruiting depots; for travel allowance to enlisted men on discharge; for payment of travel allowance as provided in section 126 of the act approved June 3, 1916, to enlisted men of the National Guard on their discharge from the service of the United States, and to members of the National Guard who have been mustered into the service of the United States and discharged on account of physical disability; for payment of travel pay to officers of the National Guard on their discharge from the service of the United States, as prescribed in the act approved March 2, 1901; for travel allowance to persons on their discharge from the United States disciplinary barracks or from any place in which they have been held under a sentence of dishonorable discharge and confinement for more than six months, or from the Government Hospital for the Insane after transfer thereto from such barracks or place, to their homes (or elsewhere as they may elect), provided the cost in each case shall not be greater than to the place of last enlistment; of supplies furnished to the militia for the permanent equipment thereof; of the necessary agents and other employees, including per diem allowances in lieu of subsistence not exceeding $4 for those authorized to receive the per diem allowance; of clothing and equipage and other quartermaster stores from Army depots or places of purchase or delivery to the several posts and Army depots and from those depots to the troops in the field; of horse equipment; of ordnance and ordnance stores, and small arms from the foundries and armories to the arsenals, fortifications, frontier posts, and Army depots; for payment of wharfage, tolls, and ferriages; for transportation of funds of the Army; for the hire of employees; for the payment of Army transportation lawfully due such land-grant railroads as have not received aid in Government bonds (to be adjusted in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court in cases decided under such land-grant acts), but in no case shall more than 50 per cent of full amount of service be paid: *Provided*, That such compensation shall be computed upon the basis of the tariff or lower special rates for like transportation performed for the public at large and shall be accepted as in full for all demands for such service: *Provided further*, That in expending the money appropriated by this act a railroad company which has not received aid in bonds of the United States, and which obtained a grant of public land to aid in the construction of its railroad on condition that such railroad should be a post route and military road, subject to the use of the United States for postal, military, naval, and other Government services, and also subject to such regulations as Congress may impose restricting the charge for such Government transportation, having claims against the United States for transportation of troops and munitions of war and military supplies and property over such aided railroads, shall be paid out of the moneys appropriated by the foregoing provision only on the basis of such rate for the transportation of such troops and munitions of war and military supplies and property as the Secretary of War shall deem just and reasonable under the foregoing provision, such rate not to exceed 50 per cent of the compensation for such Government transportation as shall at that time be charged to and paid by private parties to any such company for like and similar transportation; and the amount so fixed to be paid shall be accepted as in full for all demands for such service: *And provided further*, That nothing in the preceding provisos shall be construed to prevent the accounting officers of the Government from making full payment to land-grant railroads for transportation of property or persons where the courts of the United States have held that such property or persons do not come within the scope of the deductions provided for in the land-grant acts; for the purchase and hire of draft and pack animals in such numbers as are actually required for the service, including reasonable provision for replacing unserviceable animals; for the purchase, hire, operation, maintenance, and repair of such harness, wagons, carts, drays, other vehicles, and motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, as are required for the transportation of troops and supplies, and for official, military, and garrison purposes; for drayage and cartage at the several depots; for the hire of teamsters and other employees; for the purchase and repair of ships, boats, and other vessels required for the transportation of troops and supplies and for official, military, and garrison purposes; for expenses of sailing public transports and other vessels on the various rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, $15,000,000.

Provided further, That $75,000 of the appropriation hereby made shall be available for additional pay of employees on harbor boats, quartermaster service, in lieu of subsistence.

Provided further, That of the amount herein appropriated not exceeding $15,000 may be used for extraordinary expenses of transportation of West Point cadets to Washington, D. C., to attend inaugural ceremonies, and return, which sum shall be immediately available.

Water and sewers at military posts: For procuring and introducing water to buildings and premises at such military posts and stations as from their situations require it to be brought from a distance; for the installation and extension of plumbing within buildings where the same is not specifically provided for in other appropriations; for the purchase and repair of fire apparatus, including fire-alarm systems; for the disposal of sewage, and expenses incident thereto, including the authorized issue of toilet paper; for repairs to water and sewer systems and plumbing within buildings; for hire of employees, $2,000,000.

Clothing and camp and garrison equipage: For cloth, woolens, materials, and for the purchase and manufacture of clothing for the Army, for issue and for sale at cost price according to the Army Regulations; for payment for clothing not drawn due to enlisted men on discharge; for altering and fitting clothing and washing and cleaning when necessary; for equipage, including authorized issues of toilet articles, barbers' and tailors' materials, for use of general prisoners confined at military posts without pay or allowances and applicants for enlistment while held under observation; issue of toilet kits to recruits upon their first enlistment, and issue of housewives to the Army; for expenses of packing and handling, and similar necessaries; for a suit of citizen's outer clothing, to cost not exceeding $10, to be issued upon release from confinement to each prisoner who has been confined under a court-martial sentence involving dishonorable discharge; for indemnity to officers and men of the Army for clothing and bedding, etc., destroyed since April 22, 1898, by order of medical officers of the Army for sanitary reasons, $15,000,000.

Provided, That $20,100, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the above sum may be expended for the purchase of the necessary machinery for the manufacture of clothing at the Jeffersonville depot of the Quartermaster Corps.

Provided, That all the money hereinbefore appropriated under the titles "Subsistence of the Army"; "Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps"; "Incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps"; "Transportation of the Army and its supplies"; "Water and sewer at military posts"; and "Clothing and camp and garrison equipage" shall be disbursed and accounted for by officers and agents of the Quartermaster Corps as "Supplies, services, and transportation, Quartermaster Corps," and for that purpose shall constitute one fund.

Horses for Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineers: For the purchase of horses of ages, sex, and size as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War for remounts, for officers entitled to public mounts for the Cavalry, Artillery, Signal Corps, and Engineers, the United States Military Academy, service schools, and staff colleges, and for the Indian scouts, and for such Infantry and members of the Hospital Corps in field campaigns as may be required to be mounted, and the expenses incident thereto, and for the hire of employees: *Provided*, That the number of horses purchased under this appropriation, added to the number now on hand, shall be limited to the actual needs of the mounted service, including reasonable provisions for remounts, and, unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary of War, no part of this appropriation shall be paid out for horses not purchased by contract after competition duly invited by the Quartermaster Corps and an inspection under the direction and authority of the Secretary of War. When practicable, horses shall be purchased in open market at all military posts or stations, when needed, at a maximum price to be fixed by the Secretary of War: *Provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the purchase of any horse below the standard set by Army regulations for Cavalry and Artillery horses, except when purchased as remounts or for instruction of cadets at the United States Military Academy: *And provided further*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for polo ponies except for West Point Military Academy, and such ponies shall not be used at any other place, $400,000.

Provided, however, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized upon the approval of this act to sell for cash at either public or private sale such horses and mules as are not needed for either the Regular Army or the National Guard and the proceeds shall be turned into the United States Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Barracks and quarters: For barracks, quarters, stables, storehouses, magazines, administration and office buildings, sheds, shops, and other buildings necessary for the shelter of troops, public animals, and stores, and for administration purposes, except those pertaining to the Coast Artillery; for constructing and repairing public buildings at military posts; for hire of employees; for rental of the authorized allowance of quarters for officers and acting dental surgeons on duty with the troops at posts and stations where no public quarters are available; of barracks or authorized allowance of quarters for noncommissioned officers and enlisted men on duty where public quarters are not available; of grounds for cantonments, camp sites, and other military purposes, and of buildings or portions of buildings for occupation by troops, for use as stables, storehouses, and offices, and for other military purposes; for the hire of recruiting stations and lodgings for recruits; for such furniture for the public rooms of officers' messes and for officers' quarters at military posts as may be approved by the Secretary of War; for wall lockers in permanent barracks, and refrigerators in barracks and quarters; for screen doors, window screens, storm doors and sash, and window shades for barracks, offices, and quarters, and for flooring and framing for tents, and for the National Guard when called or drafted into the service of the United States, $3,000,000.

Provided, That not to exceed the sum of $18,000 of the above amount may be used for the construction, including plumbing, heating, and lighting, of a chapel at the Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.

Provided, That no part of the moneys so appropriated shall be paid for commutation of fuel or quarters to officers or enlisted men: *And provided further*, That the number of and total sum paid for civilian employees in the Quartermaster Corps shall be limited to the actual requirements of the service, and that no employee therein shall receive a salary of more than $150 per month, except upon the approval of the Secretary of War.

Provided further, That $9,500, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the above sum may be expended for the necessary alterations and additions to building at Jeffersonville depot of the Quartermaster Corps for the installation of machinery for the manufacture of clothing: *Provided further*, That the limit of cost of the nurses' dormitory at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., be increased to not more than $30,000, including the heating and lighting fixtures, which sum shall be paid from the appropriation for barracks and quarters in the bill for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

Military post exchanges: For continuing the construction, equipment, and maintenance of suitable buildings at military posts and stations for the conduct of the post exchange, school, library, reading, lunch, amusement rooms, and gymnasium, including repairs to buildings erected at private cost, in the operation of the act approved May 31, 1902, for the rental of films, purchase of slides, supplies for and making repairs to moving-picture outfits, to be expended in the discretion and under the direction of the Secretary of War, $50,000.

Roads, walks, wharves, and drainage: For the construction and repair by the Quartermaster Corps of roads, walks, and wharves; for the pay of employees; for the disposal of drainage; for dredging channels; and for care and improvement of grounds at military posts and stations, $600,000.

Provided, That upon the transfer of Wharf No. 2, in the city of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, now owned by the Navy Department, to the War Department, in exchange for Wharf No. 1, now owned by the War Department, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to expend from the funds above appropriated so much thereof as may be necessary in fitting up both wharves suitable for the needs of both departments.

Baracks and quarters, Philippine Islands: Continuing the work of providing for the proper shelter and protection of officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States lawfully on duty in the Philippine Islands, including repairs and payment of rents, the acquisition of title to building sites, and such additions to existing military reservations as may be necessary, and including also shelter for the animals and supplies, and all other buildings necessary for post administration purposes, and for shelter and repair thereof, and rentals for the United States troops in China, $500,000.

Construction and repair of hospitals: For construction and repair of hospitals at military posts already established and occupied, including the extra-duty pay of enlisted men employed on the same, and including also all expenditures for construction and repairs required at the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., and for the construction and repair of general hospitals and expenses incident thereto, and for additions needed to meet the requirements of increased garrisons, and for temporary hospitals in standing camps and cantonments, $750,000.

Quarters for hospital stewards: For construction and repair of quarters for hospital stewards at military posts already established and occupied, including the extra-duty pay of enlisted men employed on the same, $25,000.

Shooting galleries and ranges: For shelter, shooting galleries, ranges for small-arms target practice, machine-gun practice, field-artillery practice repairs, and expenses incident thereto, including flour or paste for marking targets, hire of employees, such ranges and galleries to be open as far as practicable to the National Guard and organized rifle clubs under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, $45,000.

Maintenance, Army War College: For supplying the necessary fuel for heating the Army War College building at Washington Barracks and for lighting the building and grounds; also for pay of a chief engineer, at $1,400 per annum; and assistant engineer, at $900; four firemen, at $720 each; one elevator conductor, at $720; in all, $10,700.

Rent of buildings, Quartermaster Corps: For rent of buildings and parts of buildings in the District of Columbia for military purposes, during the fiscal year 1918, as follows:

Field medical supply depot, $7,967.10;
Signal Corps test rooms, $2,100;
Quartermaster stable, $2,700;
Quartermaster storehouse, $4,938;
Quartermaster stable and warehouse, $3,600;
For Army Medical School, $7,920;
For attending surgeon and retiring board, $3,000;
Depot quartermaster office, $2,500;
Garage, Quartermaster Corps, $1,500;
Office of Aviation Section, Signal Corps, $5,000.

Claims for damages to and loss of private property: For payment of claims for damages to and loss of private property incident to the training, practice, and operations of the Army that have accrued, or may hereafter accrue, from time to time, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That settlement of such claims shall be made by the Auditor for the War Department, upon the approval and recommendation of the Secretary of War, where the amount of damages has been ascertained by the War Department, and payment thereof will be accepted by the owners of the property in full satisfaction of such damages, $5,000.

Vocational training: For the employment of the necessary civilian instructors in the most important trades, for the purchase of carpenter's, machinist's, plumber's, mason's, electrician's, and such other tools and equipment as may be required, including machines used in connection with the trades, for the purchase of material and other supplies necessary for instruction and training purposes and the construction of such buildings for shops, storage, and shelter of machinery as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of section 27 of the act approved June 3, 1916, authorizing, in addition to the military training of soldiers while in the active service, means for securing an opportunity to study and receive instruction upon educational lines of such character as to increase their military efficiency and enable them to return to civil life better equipped for industrial, commercial, and general business occupations, part of this instruction to consist of vocational education either in agrculture or the mechanic arts, $75,000.

Filing equipment for the Army: For the purchase and supply of filing cases and other filing equipment for the installation in the Military Establishment of an improved system of recording and filing correspondence, to be immediately available, $45,000.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Medical and Hospital Department: For the purchase of medical and hospital supplies, including motor ambulances and motorcycles for medical service, their maintenance, repair, and operation, and disinfectants, and the purchase and exchange of typewriting machines for military posts, camps, hospitals, hospital ships and transports, and supplies required for mosquito destruction in and about the military posts in the Canal Zone: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War may, in his discretion, select types and makes of motor ambulances for the Army and authorize their purchase without regard to the laws prescribing advertisement for proposals for supplies and material for the Army; for the purchase of veterinary supplies and hire of veterinary surgeons; for expenses of medical supply depots; for medical care and treatment not otherwise provided for, including care and subsistence in private hospitals, of officers, enlisted men, and civilian employees of the Army, of applicants for enlistment, and of prisoners of war and other persons in military custody or confinement, when entitled thereto by law, regulation, or contract: *Provided*, That this shall not apply to officers and enlisted men who are treated in private hospitals or by civilian physicians while on furlough; for the proper care and treatment of epidemic and contagious diseases in the Army or at military posts or stations, including measures to prevent the spread thereof, and the payment of reasonable damages not otherwise provided for, for bedding and clothing injured or destroyed in such prevention; for the pay of male and female nurses, not including the Nurse Corps (female), and of cooks and other civilians employed for the proper care of sick officers and soldiers, under such regulations fixing their number, qualifications, assignment, pay, and allowances as shall have been or shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War; for the pay of civilian physicians employed to examine physically applicants for enlistment and enlisted men, and to render other professional services from time to time under proper authority; for the pay of other employees of the Medical Department; for the payment of express companies and local transfers employed directly by the Medical Department for the transportation of medical and hospital supplies, including bidders' samples and water for analysis; for supplies for use in teaching the art of cooking to the enlisted force of the Medical Department; for the supply of the Army and Navy hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.; for advertising, printing, binding, laundry, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses of the Medical Department, $1,000,000.

Hospital care, Canal Zone garrisons: For paying the Panama Canal such reasonable charges, exclusive of subsistence, as may be approved by the Secretary of War for caring in its hospitals for officers, enlisted men, military prisoners, and civilian employees of the Army admitted thereto upon the request of proper military authority: *Provided*, That the subsistence of the said patients, except commissioned officers, shall be paid to said hospitals out of the appropriation for subsistence of the Army at the rates provided therein for commutation of rations for enlisted patients in general hospitals, $35,000.

Army Medical Museum and Library: For Army Medical Museum, preservation of specimens, and the preparation and purchase of new specimens, $5,000;

For the library of the Surgeon General's office, including the purchase of the necessary books of reference and periodicals, $10,000; in all, $15,000.

BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS.

Care of insane Filipino soldiers: For care, maintenance, and treatment at asylums in the Philippine Islands of insane natives of the Philippine Islands cared for in such institutions conformable to the act of Congress approved May 11, 1908 (35 Stat., p. 122), $1,500.

Care of insane soldiers, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry: For care, maintenance, and treatment at asylums in Porto Rico of insane soldiers of the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry, $300.

ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.

Engineer depots: For incidental expenses for the depots, including fuel, lights, chemicals, stationery, hardware, machinery, pay of civilian clerks, mechanics, laborers, and other employees, extra-duty pay to soldiers necessarily employed for periods not less than 10 days as artificers on work in addition to and not strictly in the line of their military duties, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, draftsmen, printers, lithographers, photographers, engine drivers, telegraph operators, teamsters, wheelwrights, masons, machinists, painters, overseers, laborers; for lumber and materials and for labor for packing and crating engineer supplies; repairs of, and for materials to repair, public buildings, machinery, and instruments, and for unforeseen expenses, $35,000.

Engineer School, Washington, D. C.: Equipment and maintenance of the Engineer School at Washington Barracks, D. C., including purchase and repair of instruments, machinery, implements, models, and materials, for the use of the school and for instruction of engineer troops in their special duties as sappers and miners; for land mining, pontoniering, and signaling; for purchase and binding of professional works and periodicals of recent date treating on military and civil engineering and kindred scientific subjects for the library of the United States Engineer School; for incidental expenses of the school, including chemicals, stationery, hardware, machinery, and boats; for pay of civilian clerks, draftsmen, electricians, mechanics, and laborers; compensation of civilian lecturers and payment of tuition fees of student officers at civil technical institutions; for unforeseen expenses; for travel expenses of officers on journeys approved by the Secretary of War and made for the purpose of instruction: *Provided*, That the traveling expenses herein provided for shall be in lieu of mileage and other allowances; and to provide means for the theoretical and practical instruction at the Engineer School by the purchase of textbooks, books of reference, scientific and professional papers, and for other absolutely necessary expenses, $30,000.

Engineer equipment of troops: For pontoon material, tools, instruments, supplies, and appliances required for use in the engineer equipment of troops, for military surveys, and for engineer operations in the field, including the purchase and preparation of engineer manuals and procurement of special paper for same, and for a reserve supply of above equipment, to be available until expended, $1,174,000.

Provided, That authority is granted for the purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation from this appropriation of not to exceed 78 motorcycles, including those on hand.

Civilian assistants to Engineer officers: For services of surveyors, survey parties, draftsmen, photographers, master laborers, and clerks to Engineer officers on the staffs of division, corps, and department commanders, $75,000.

Engineer operations in the field: For expenses incident to military engineer operations in the field, including the purchase of material and a reserve of material for such operations, the construction or rental of storehouses within and outside of the District of Columbia, the purchase, operation, maintenance, and repair of horse-drawn and motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, and such expenses as are ordinarily provided for under appropriations for "Engineer depots," "Civilian assistants to engineer officers," and "Maps, War Department," $150,000.

Provided, That any proceeds received from the operation of a public utility with funds appropriated herein or hereafter for this purpose shall be available for the purposes of the appropriation until the close of the fiscal year following that in which the proceeds are received.

Contingencies, Engineer Department, Philippine Islands: For contingent expenses incident to the operations of the Engineer Department in the Philippine Islands, to be expended at the discretion of the Secretary of War, $4,000.

Buildings, Engineer School and Post, Washington, D. C.: For continuing construction of buildings for Engineer School and post at Washington Barracks, D. C., to be immediately available and remain available until expended, $202,500.

Where the expenses of persons engaged in field work or traveling on official business outside of the District of Columbia and away from their designated posts of duty are chargeable to appropriations of the Engineer Department contained in the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918, a per diem rate of $4 may be allowed in lieu of subsistence.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Ordnance Service: For the current expenses of the Ordnance Department in connection with purchasing, receiving, storing, and issuing ordnance and ordnance stores, comprising police and office duties, rents, tolls, fuel, light, water, and advertising, stationery, typewriters, and adding machines, including their exchange, and office furniture, tools, and instruments of service; for incidental expenses of the Ordnance Service and those attending practical trials and tests of ordnance, small arms, and other ordnance stores; for publications for libraries of the Ordnance Department, including the Ordnance Office; subscriptions to periodicals, which may be paid for in advance; and payment for mechanical labor in the office of the Chief of Ordnance; and for purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, $350,000.

Ordnance stores, ammunition: Manufacture and purchase of ammunition for small arms and for hand use for reserve supply, ammunition for burials at the National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., ammunition for firing the morning and evening gun at military posts prescribed by General Orders, No. 70, Headquarters of the Army, dated July 23, 1867, and at National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and its several branches, including National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., and soldiers' and sailors' State home, $12,000,000.

Provided, That not more than one-third of this sum shall be expended in the purchase of the articles provided in this appropriation.

Small-arms target practice: For manufacture and purchase of ammunition, targets, and other accessories for small-arms, hand, and machine-gun target practice and instructions; marksmen's medals, prize arms, and insignia for all arms of the service; and ammunition, targets, target materials, and other accessories which may be issued for small-arms target practice and instruction of able-bodied males capable of

bearing arms at the educational institutions and State soldiers' and sailors' orphans' homes to which issues of small arms are lawfully made, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, $2,000,000.

Manufacture of arms: For manufacturing, repairing, procuring, and issuing arms at the national armories, $6,000,000.

Provided, That not more than 20 per cent of this sum shall be expended in the purchase of arms.

Provided, That $200,000 of this appropriation may be used to procure gauges, dies, jigs, tools, fixtures, and other special aids and appliances, including specifications and detailed drawings, necessary for the manufacture by private manufacturers, of arms necessary to arm the land forces likely to be required by the United States in time of war, and in the purchase of lots of arms to complete the object of this proviso the existing laws prescribing competition in the procurement of supplies by purchase shall not govern in orders not to exceed $50,000 in any one case.

Ordnance stores and supplies: For overhauling, cleaning, repairing, and preserving ordnance and ordnance stores in the hands of troops and at the arsenals, posts, and depots; for purchase and manufacture of ordnance stores to fill requisitions of troops; for Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery equipments, including horse equipments for Cavalry and Artillery, $10,000,000.

Provided, That not more than $5,000,000 of this appropriation may be used for the purchase of ordnance stores.

Provided, That the Secretary of War is authorized to loan, without expense to the United States, under appropriate bonds for its safe return, service matériel for exhibition purposes in cases when, in his judgment, the educational value of such exhibits justifies the loan.

National trophy and medals for rifle contests: For the purpose of furnishing a national trophy and medals and other prizes to be provided and contested for annually, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, said contest to be open to the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the National Guard or Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and of the District of Columbia, members of rifle clubs, and civilians, and for the cost of the trophy, prizes, and medals herein provided for, and for the promotion of rifle practice throughout the United States, including the reimbursement of necessary expenses of members of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, to be expended for the purposes hereinbefore prescribed under the direction of the Secretary of War, $10,000.

Provided, That the Secretary of War, in his discretion, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, may authorize the detail of enlisted men of the Army as temporary instructors in rifle practice to organized rifle clubs requesting such instruction.

Automatic machine rifles: For the purchase, manufacture, and test of automatic machine rifles, including their sights and equipments, to be immediately available and remain available until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, $3,000,000.

Armored motor cars: For the purchase and manufacture of armored motor cars, $600,000.

Provided, That the funds appropriated by the appropriation act approved August 29, 1916, for the procurement of armored motor cars are hereby made available to and including June 30, 1918.

Automatic machine rifles for National Guard: For the purchase, manufacture, and test of automatic machine rifles, including their sights and equipments, for the National Guard, to be immediately available, and to remain available until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, $2,500,000.

Antiaircraft guns: For the procurement and test of antiaircraft guns and devices, including their carriages, sights, implements, and equipments, to be immediately available and to remain available until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, $250,000.

Ammunition for antiaircraft guns: For the procurement and test of ammunition for antiaircraft guns and devices, including the necessary experiments in connection therewith, to be immediately available and to remain available until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, $200,000.

Field artillery for National Guard: For the purpose of manufacturing and procuring field artillery material for the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, but to remain the property of the United States and to be accounted for in the manner now prescribed by law, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, under such regulations as he may prescribe, on the requisitions of the governors of the several States and Territories or the commanding general of the National Guard of the District of Columbia, to issue said artillery material to the National Guard; and the sum of $10,000,000 is hereby appropriated and made immediately available for the manufacture, procurement, and issue of the articles constituting the same.

Ammunition for field artillery for the National Guard: For the purpose of manufacturing and procuring reserve ammunition for field artillery for the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the funds to be immediately available, $10,000,000: *Provided*, That not more than $200,000 of this appropriation may be used to procure gauges, dies, jigs, tools, fixtures, and other special aids and appliances, including specifications and detailed drawings necessary for the manufacture by private manufacturers of field-artillery ammunition necessary for the use of the land forces of the United States in time of war, and in the purchase of lots of ammunition to complete the object of this proviso the existing laws prescribing competition in the procurement of supplies by purchase shall not govern in orders not to exceed $50,000 in any one case.

Provided, That hereafter any civilian employee of the Ordnance Department who is a citizen of the United States and employed at any station outside of the continental limits of the United States may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, after at least two years' continuous, faithful, and satisfactory service abroad, and subject to the interests of the public service, be granted accrued leave of absence, with pay, for each year of service, and if an employee should elect to postpone the taking of any or all of the leave to which he may be entitled in pursuance hereof such leave may be allowed to accumulate for a period of not exceeding four years, the rate of pay for accrued leave to be the rate obtaining at the time the leave is granted.

That if during the fiscal year 1918, in the opinion of the President an emergency exists affecting the general welfare of the United States he may waive the limitations contained in the paragraphs relating respectively to ordnance stores, ammunition, manufacture of arms, ordnance stores and supplies, and ammunition for field artillery for the National Guard.

NATIONAL GUARD.

Arming, equipping, and training the National Guard: To provide for the procurement of forage, bedding, shoeing, veterinary service and supplies for horses and pack mules that may be owned, acquired by, or issued to organizations of the National Guard, $1,000,000.

Provided, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to transfer to those organizations of the National Guard entitled thereto under the provisions of this act such number of horses and pack mules purchased by the Quartermaster Corps of the Army under the provisions of the act of July 1, 1916, not required for the proper equipment of organizations of the Regular Army, that can be issued to National Guard organizations under the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War as set forth herein, all expenses incident to such transfer to be met from appropriations made for and on behalf of the National Guard; pack mules so transferred may be issued not to exceed six to any one machine-gun troop or company, or four to any one ambulance company, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

To provide for the compensation of competent help for the care of matériel, animals, and equipment thereof, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe: *Provided*, That the men to be compensated, not to exceed five for each battery, troop, or company, shall be duly enlisted therein and shall be detailed by the battery, troop, or company commander under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and shall be paid by the United States disbursing officer in each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, $500,000.

To provide for the participation of the whole or any part of the National Guard in encampments, maneuvers, or other exercises, including outdoor target practice and field and coast defense instruction, either independently or in conjunction with any part of the Regular Army, and there may be set aside from the funds apportioned for that purpose and allotted to any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia such portion of said funds as may be necessary for the payment, subsistence, transportation, and other proper expenses of such portion of the National Guard of said State, Territory, or the District of Columbia as shall participate in such encampments, maneuvers, or other exercises, including outdoor target practice and field and coast defense instruction; and the officers and enlisted men of such National Guard while so engaged shall be entitled to the same pay, subsistence, and transportation as officers and enlisted men of corresponding grades of the Regular Army are or hereafter may be entitled to by law. To provide for camps of instruction for the instruction of officers and enlisted men of the National Guard. Such camps shall be conducted by officers of the Regular Army detailed by the Secretary of War for the purpose, and may be located either within or without the State, Territory, or District of Columbia to which the members of the National Guard designated to attend said camps shall belong. Officers and enlisted men attending such camps shall be entitled to pay and transportation and enlisted men to subsistence in addition at the same rates as for encampments or maneuvers for field and coast defense instruction, $1,000,000: *Provided*, That from the sum appropriated by section 1661, Revised Statutes, for arming and equipping the whole body of the militia, the sum of $14,409.98, proportioned to the State of Georgia for the year 1915 and 1916 be, and the same is hereby, made immediately available for the purpose of paying the expenses incurred by said State over and above the allotments made by the Secretary of War to the State of Georgia from all appropriations therefor in connection with the joint encampment held at Augusta, Ga., July 22 to 31, 1914; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and instructed to pay over said amount to the governor of said State of Georgia for said purpose.

That from the sum appropriated by section 1661, Revised Statutes, for arming and equipping the whole body of the militia, the sum of $812.60 out of the sum proportioned to the State of Oklahoma for the year 1916 and 1917 be, and the same is hereby, made available for the purpose of paying the expenses incurred by said State over and above the allotments made by the Secretary of War to the State of Oklahoma from all appropriations therefor in connection with the construction of the State rifle range at Chandler or the encampment held in Oklahoma in the year 1910 and 1911; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay over said amount to the governor of said State of Oklahoma for said purpose.

Provided, That of this sum so much thereof as may be necessary is authorized to be expended for the payment of transportation of troops of the Regular Army in connection with joint camps of instruction of the National Guard: *Provided*, That of this sum as much thereof as may be necessary is authorized to be expended for the pay, transportation, and subsistence of officers and enlisted men of the National Guard Reserve as may be authorized by the Secretary of War under the law to attend encampments, maneuvers, or other exercises of the National Guard.

To provide for the attendance of selected officers or enlisted men of the National Guard who pursue a regular course of study at any military service school of the United States except the United States Military Academy; or to be attached to an organization of the same arm, corps, or department to which such officers or enlisted men shall belong, for routine practical instruction at or near an Army post during a period of field training or other outdoor exercises; and such officers or enlisted men shall receive out of any National Guard allotment of funds available for the purpose, the same travel allowances and quarters or commutation of quarters, and the same pay, allowance, and subsistence to which officers or enlisted men of the Regular Army would be entitled for attending such school, college, or practical course of instruction under orders from proper military authority while in actual attendance at such school, college, or practical course of instruction: *Provided*, That in no case shall the pay and allowances authorized herein exceed those of a captain, $150,000.

To provide for pay and allowances of officers of the National Guard assigned to duty in the Militia Bureau, $12,000.

To provide for pay of property and disbursing officers of the several States, Territories, and District of Columbia, $50,000.

For providing arms, ordnance stores, quartermaster stores, camp equipage, and all other military supplies for issue to the National Guard; for the promotion of rifle practice, including the acquisition, construction, maintenance, and equipment of shooting galleries and suitable target ranges; for the hire of horses and draft animals for the use of mounted troops, batteries, and wagons; for forage for the same; and for such other incidental expenses in connection with lawfully authorized encampments, maneuvers, and field instruction as the Secretary of War may deem necessary; and for such other expenses pertaining to the National Guard as are now or may hereafter be authorized by law, $2,000,000:

Provided, That when any land which has been heretofore or may be hereafter acquired by purchase for a target range for the use of the National Guard of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, shall have become useless or shall be found to be unavailable for such purpose, the Secretary of War may cause the same to be sold either in whole or in two or more parts, as he may deem best for the interests of the United States. In the disposal of such property, the Secretary

of War shall cause the same to be appraised either as a whole or in two or more tracts, having due reference to the requirements of any permanent improvements made thereon; and he shall cause the property to be offered at public or private sale at not less than the appraised value. The expenses for advertising, appraisement, survey, and sale shall be paid from the proceeds of the sale; and the net proceeds thereof shall be placed to the credit of the State, Territory, or District of Columbia, as additional to its allotment under section 67 of the act of June 3, 1916.

Travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army in carrying out the provisions of section 93, act of June 3, 1916, $25,000;

Travel of inspector-instructors and sergeant-instructors, joining at State stations for duty and returning to duty with regiments, $15,000;

Travel of inspector-instructors and sergeant-instructors, in making visits of instruction and inspection to armories, $130,000:

Provided, That said inspector-instructors traveling shall not receive more than their actual expenses out of these appropriations.

Travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army in connection with State camps of instruction and joint camps, $40,000;

Inspection of target ranges and mobilization camps for use of the National Guard, $1,000;

Inspection of material pertaining to Field Artillery, Coast Artillery, and Signal Corps in the hands of the National Guard, $4,000;

Transportation of supplies (including transportation of animals issued for the use of Cavalry, Field Artillery, signal companies, engineer companies, ambulance companies, and other mounted units) of the National Guard, $200,000;

Expenses of sergeant-instructors on duty with the National Guard, including quarters, fuel, light, medicines, and medical attendance, $80,000:

Provided, That whenever practicable inspector-instructors shall use the State armories or other public buildings for offices.

Office rent and other necessary expenses of inspector-instructors, $25,000;

All the money hereinbefore appropriated for arming, equipping, and training the National Guard shall be disbursed and accounted for as such and for that purpose shall constitute one fund.

Arms, uniforms, equipment, etc., National Guard: To procure by purchase or manufacture and issue from time to time to the National Guard upon requisition of the governors of the several States and Territories, or the commanding general, National Guard of the District of Columbia, such number of United States service arms with all accessories, Field Artillery and Coast Artillery material, engineer, signal, and sanitary material, accouterments, field uniforms, clothing, equipage, publications, and military stores of all kinds, including public animals, and a reserve supply of such arms, material, accouterments, field uniforms, clothing, equipage, and military stores of all kinds, as are necessary to arm, uniform, and equip for field service the National Guard in the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That of the sum herein appropriated $76,000, or so much thereof as may be required, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be made available for the purchase and maintenance of material and equipment necessary for the proper instruction in military aviation of such officers and enlisted men of the National Guard as may be authorized by the War Department to attend the United States Aviation School, $7,000,000: *Provided*, That the sum of $3,000,000 out of this appropriation shall be used solely for the purpose of securing the reserve supply herein provided for.

Supplying and exchanging Infantry equipment, National Guard: For the purpose of manufacturing, procuring, exchanging, and issuing model of 1910 equipment to the Infantry and other dismounted organizations of the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That whenever in the opinion of the Secretary of War a sufficient number of Infantry equipment, model of 1910, shall have been procured and shall be available for the purpose the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to issue on the requisition of the governors of the several States and Territories or the commanding general of the District of Columbia National Guard, such numbers thereof as are required for equipping the National Guard in said States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, without charging the cost or value thereof or any expenses connected therewith, against any allotments to said States, Territories, or the District of Columbia, provided that the equipment thus issued shall be receipted for and shall remain the property of the United States and be annually accounted for in the manner prescribed by the act of June 3, 1916, and that each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall, upon receipt of new equipment, turn in to the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, without receiving any money credit therefor and without expense for transportation of Infantry equipment now in its possession, the property of the United States, and replaced by articles of the model of 1910 equipment, $800,000.

RIFLE RANGES FOR CIVILIAN INSTRUCTION.

To establish and maintain indoor and outdoor rifle ranges for the use of all able-bodied males capable of bearing arms, under reasonable regulations to be prescribed by the National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice and approved by the Secretary of War; for the employment of labor in connection with the establishment of outdoor and indoor rifle ranges, including labor in operating targets; for the employment of instructors; for clerical services; for badges and other insignia; for the transportation of employees, instructors, and civilians to engage in practice; for the purchase of materials, supplies, and services, and for expenses incidental to instruction of citizens of the United States in marksmanship, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War and to remain available until expended, $20,000.

For arms, ammunition, targets, and other accessories for target practice for issue in connection with the encouragement of rifle practice in pursuance of the provisions of section 113 of the act approved June 3, 1916, $300,000: *Provided*, That out of said sum of $300,000 there shall be used for the payment of transportation of teams authorized by the Secretary of War to participate in the national matches not to exceed $60,000: *Provided further*, That this amount shall be proportioned among the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, according to the distance from the seat of government to the place where the national matches are to be held: *And provided further*, That the governors of the States, Territories, or the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia may designate which team or teams shall attend from their respective States, Territories, or District of Columbia.

CIVILIAN MILITARY TRAINING.

For the expenses of maintaining, upon military reservations or elsewhere, camps for the military instruction and training of such citizens physically capable of bearing arms as may be selected under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, and for furnishing said citizens, at the expense of the United States, uniforms, subsistence, transportation by the most usual and direct route within said limits as to territory as may be prescribed; for such expenditures as may be deemed necessary for water, fuel, light, temporary structures, not including quarters for officers nor barracks for men, screening, and damages resulting from field exercises, and other expenses incidental to maintaining said camps and the theoretical winter instruction in connection therewith, including textbooks and stationery; for furnishing such equipments, tentage, field equipage, and transportation belonging to the United States as may be deemed necessary as authorized by section 54 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, $2,250,000.

For arms and ordnance equipment, including overhauling and repairing of personal equipments, machine-gun outfits, horse equipment; ammunition, targets, and other accessories for target practice, and for overhauling and repairing arms for issue and use in connection with training camps for civilians in pursuance of the provisions of section 54 of the act approved June 3, 1916, $250,000.

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States while making or causing to be made with a stop watch, or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant.

That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any person hereafter in time of peace, appointed an officer in the Army who is not a citizen of the United States.

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

For expenses of experimental work and investigations undertaken by the Council of National Defense, by the advisory commission, or subordinate bodies, for the employment of a director, expert and clerical expenses, for rental of quarters, and for the necessary supplies, and for the necessary expenses of members of the council, of the advisory commission, or subordinate bodies going to and attending meetings of the commission or subordinate bodies, there is hereby appropriated the unexpended balance remaining on hand June 30, 1917, of the appropriation of $200,000 appropriated by the act approved August 29, 1916.

Provided, That of this appropriation there shall be available during the current fiscal year for the rent of offices in the District of Columbia the sum of $5,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

RESERVE CORPS.

Quartermaster supplies and equipment for Reserve Officers' Training Corps: For the procurement and issue, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, to institutions at which one or more units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps are maintained, such public animals, uniforms, equipment, and means of transportation as he may deem necessary, and to forage at the expense of the United States public animals so issued; for transporting said animals and other authorized equipment from place of issue to the several institutions and return of same to place of issue when necessary; for the maintenance of camps for the further practical instruction of the members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and for transporting members of such corps to and from such camps, and to subsist them while traveling to and from such camps and while remaining therein so far as appropriations will permit; for the payment of commutation of subsistence to members of the senior division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, at such rate, not exceeding the cost of the garrison ration prescribed for the Army, as authorized in the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, $4,385,000: *Provided*, That $1,215,000 of the amount herein appropriated shall be immediately available.

Provided further, That the Secretary of War may, in his discretion and under such regulations as he may prescribe, permit such institutions to furnish their own uniforms and receive as commutation therefor the sum allotted by the Secretary of War to such institutions for uniforms.

Ordnance stores and equipment for Reserve Officers' Training Corps: For arms and ordnance equipment, including overhauling and repairing of personal equipments, machine-gun outfits, and horse equipments for use in connection with the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, established by the act approved June 3, 1916, $1,000,000.

Quartermaster supplies and equipment for Enlisted Reserve Corps: For providing, procuring, and issue to the Enlisted Reserve Corps in accordance with the provisions of section 55 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, except as provided for under appropriation "Pay of the Army," when assigned as reserves to particular organizations of the Regular Army, or organized into units or detachments of any arm, corps, or department, and when ordered to active service for purposes of instruction and training; fuel, light, forage, subsistence, including commutation of rations when traveling, rosettes, uniforms, equipage, and such other necessary supplies as may be authorized by the Secretary of War; transporting members of said corps from homes to the places to which ordered and return to their homes; transporting supplies and equipment required; maintaining camps and providing the necessary kitchens, mess shelters, latrines, and screening; for the procurement of water and disposal of garbage and sewage in connection with such camp, $250,000.

Signal equipment for the Enlisted Reserve Corps: For the purchase of signal equipment for the Enlisted Reserve Corps, authorized by the act of June 3, 1916, $300,000.

Quartermaster supplies for military equipment of schools and colleges: For the procurement and supply as provided in section 56 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, of such tentage and equipment, including the transporting of same, as the Secretary of War shall deem necessary for proper military training to schools and colleges other than those provided for in section 47 of the act above referred to, $80,000.

Ordnance supplies for military equipment of schools and colleges: For arms and ordnance equipment, including overhauling and repairing of personal equipments, machine-gun outfits, and horse equipments for issue to schools and colleges in pursuance of the provisions of section 56 of the act approved June 3, 1916, $500,000:

Provided, That section 15 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," be amended so as to read as follows: "The President is authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, chaplains in the Army at the rate of not to exceed, including chaplains now in service, one for each regiment of Cavalry, Infantry, Field Artillery, and Engineers, and one for each 1,200 officers and men of the Coast Artillery Corps, with rank, pay, and allowances as now authorized by law"

Provided further, That section 24 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," be amended so as to add the following proviso: "That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to waive the age limit in all cases where the candidate for second lieutenant, who being within the maximum age limit at the date of examination has passed or may pass the examination, and who has become or may become ineligible on account of age before the date of his appointment; and to appoint such candidate with rank from the same date as other candidates of like class who have been or may be appointed as the result of the same examination: *Provided*, That such appointment is made within one year from the date of such examination."

Provided further, That the following language of section 5 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," to wit: "Not more than one-half of all of the officers detailed in said corps shall at any time be stationed, or assigned to or employed upon any duty, in or near the District of Columbia," be amended so as to authorize the President to suspend the operation of the same in the event of actual or threatened war or other emergency in which the public safety demands it.

Provided further, That on the sale or other disposal, in accordance with law and regulations, of the United States Army transports *Meade* and *Crook*, the Secretary of Commerce is hereby authorized, on request of the Secretary of War, to issue to either or both of said vessels a register as a vessel of the United States.

Provided further, That the second proviso of section 37 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," be amended as follows: *Provided*, That any person who on June 3, 1916, was carried as qualified and registered in the grade of colonel or lieutenant colonel pursuant to the provisions of the act of January 21, 1903, or any person holding a commission as colonel or lieutenant colonel in the National Guard of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia on June 3, 1916, who has served satisfactorily as such in the service of the United States under the call of May 9, 1916, or that of June 18, 1916, may be commissioned or recommissioned in the Officers' Reserve Corps with rank for which he had been found qualified and registered, or which he held in the National Guard on June 3, 1916, or while in the service of the United States; but when such person shall become thereafter separated from the Officers' Reserve Corps for any reason, the vacancy so caused shall not be filled and such office shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That any officer of the Officers' Reserve Corps called for service with his consent in a lower grade than that held by him in said Reserve Corps shall, subject to such physical examination as may be prescribed, be considered eligible for recommission in such lower grade.

Provided further, That the following provision contained in the act approved April 23, 1904, "Hereafter all employees of the Ordnance Department whose compensation is annual shall be paid monthly," is hereby repealed.

Provided further, That the enlisted men who were discharged from the Army to accept a commission in the National Guard, or in any volunteer force that may be authorized in the future, at the call of the President, June 18, 1916, be restored to their original status upon reenlisting in the Regular Army: *Provided*, That they reenlist within three months from date of muster out of the United States Service, and that in computing service for retirement and continuous service pay, service as an officer in the National Guard, or in any volunteer force that may be authorized in the future, while in the service of the United States, be counted.

Provided further, That hereafter any enlisted man of the Army who shall be discharged to enable him to accept a commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps, or in any National Guard or militia organization, or in any volunteer force that may be authorized in the future, and who shall enlist in the Army within three months after the termination of his connection as an officer with that corps, or with any organization of the National Guard or militia, or a volunteer force, or during the continuation of his connection therewith, as an officer, shall, in computing continuous service pay now authorized by law, be entitled to credit for the period of time actually served by him prior to said discharge, and in computing service for retirement and continuous service pay, service as an officer of the National Guard, while in the service of the United States, service in any volunteer force, and service in the Officers' Reserve Corps in active service shall be counted.

Provided further, That, during the fiscal year 1918, all civilian employees in the Military Establishment, including on the lump-sum rolls only those persons who are carried thereon at the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, shall receive increased compensation at the rate of 10 per cent per annum to such employees who receive salaries or wages in such establishment at a rate per annum of less than $1,200, and increased compensation at a rate of 5 per cent per annum to such employees who receive salaries or wages in such establishment at a rate of not more than $1,800 per annum and not less than $1,200 per annum: *And provided further*, That so much as may be necessary for this purpose is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. KAHN. I demand a second.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, this bill is identical in every respect with the bill passed by the House at the last Congress, at its last session. I introduced it in that form both at the verbal and written request of the Secretary of War as the most expeditious way that this legislation could be finally perfected. So it is under these circumstances that I have introduced the bill and moved a suspension of the rules and ask for its passage. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to delay the passage of the bill. I feel, however, that the measure will be in an entirely different shape when it comes back to the House. The Senate will undoubtedly make many additions. Of course the House is the body in which legislation of this kind originates. Ordinarily I am against surrendering to the other body the power to put provisions into legislation that should be put into it by this body. I feel that all too often the House abdicates its power over these bills to the Senate. Many provisions are subject to a point of order under the rules of the House when the bill first comes into the House. But it seems to me that unless some grievous wrong shall be inflicted by the passage of the proposed legislation points of order ought to be made very sparingly. After all, when a committee, after due consideration, brings a bill into this House and a point of order is made against some particular paragraph, if that paragraph is reinserted in the bill by the Senate, it invariably remains in the legislation when it goes to the President for his approval.

I know that in recent years appropriation bills that have passed the House have been so loaded up with all kinds of amendments by the Senate that the House conferees have difficulty in keeping the bill within those bounds that the House originally intended. Items frequently are inserted for trading purposes, and so the bill carries many things that perhaps would never be enacted into law if a different system prevailed. Many of this committee's recommendations, put into the bill after mature deliberation and for the benefit of the military service, are all too frequently sacrificed by some point of order. I reserve the balance of my time. I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. GREENE].

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, I share very heartily in the sentiments expressed by my colleague, the ranking Republican member on the Committee on Military Affairs, because I think it is unwise as a matter of public policy and unwise as a matter of the House's own self-respect to continually and as almost a matter of habit to surrender the initiative in appropriation bills to the Chamber at the other end of the Capitol. That, of course, is what we do under these circumstances. It also, of course, allows the persistent error and mistaken policy of conference-made law.

I also agree with him that in this emergency there is only one way about it, and that is to be content with what seems to be the best for the expedition of the bill. However, I would like to ask the chairman if it is his intention, should the bill be amended in the Senate and go to conference, to give the House an opportunity to pass upon some or all, if need be, of the amendments proposed by the Senate if the House so chooses to do?

Mr. DENT. I will say to my colleague that if there is any material and vital changes I would not feel disposed to take the responsibility without conferring with my colleagues upon both sides of the House.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I will content myself with saying that in this emergency when we all, however reluctantly from one viewpoint, still as patriotic citizens desire to assume every and all responsibility that is imposed upon us as Members of the House, I think it would be a great mistake to permit the preparation for the contemplated war practically to be made by the Chamber at the other end of the Capitol and for the House to abdicate its power and merely assent to it.

Mr. DENT. I will say to the gentleman from Vermont that, in a general way, I do not anticipate that in this particular bill there will be any material changes made in the Senate other than those reported by the Senate at the last session, and that that will be satisfactory to the War Department at present. Then whatever emergency legislation is necessary will go through the hands of the committee hereafter as a separate measure.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. As I understand the chairman, this House will have an opportunity to play its own man's part in the preparation for this war.

Mr. DENT. Undoubtedly.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. And have its own part and take the initiative that belongs to it by right and by the Constitution?

Mr. DENT. Undoubtedly, so far as any new legislation is concerned, the Military Committee of the House will act on it before anything is done. This is simply to get the Regular Army appropriation bill on the statute books, because there are a number of features in it that are made immediately available, and the Secretary of War now is in trouble because he

can not expend money that he could expend if this act had become a law.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I quite understand the explanation made by the distinguished chairman; and, of course, most naturally under the circumstances assent to it, because it is an emergency, and this money should be made immediately available. I am only endeavoring, however, under the circumstances, in this instance, to emphasize the principle which I know and believe the chairman himself is anxious to maintain.

Mr. DENT. I state to the gentleman that I fully agree with him in his views upon that subject.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON].

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I take this one minute simply to be assured, if the chairman of the committee can assure me, as to whether the so-called General Staff bill, or the Chamberlain bill, as it was called in the last Congress, is to be attached to this present appropriation bill and brought back to this House without having been considered by the committee of the House.

Mr. DENT. I will state to the gentleman most emphatically that so far as the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House is concerned, that bill will not be attached to this bill, as I am utterly opposed to it.

Mr. TILSON. And that we shall be given an opportunity to consider such legislation as an independent proposition?

Mr. DENT. As an independent measure.

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question was taken; and two-thirds having voted in favor thereof, the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and discharge the Committee on Military Affairs from further consideration of the bill H. R. 14, making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, and pass the same.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama moves to suspend the rules, discharge the Committee on Military Affairs from further consideration of the bill H. R. 14, and pass the same, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and the same are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918:

PERMANENT ESTABLISHMENT.

For pay of seven professors, $27,000;
For pay of one chaplain, $2,400;
For pay of the master of the sword, $3,000;
Provided, That the master of the sword shall have the relative rank and shall be entitled to the pay, allowances, and emoluments of a major during the active service of the present incumbent of that office.
For pay of cadets, $540,000;
For extra pay of officers of the Army on detached service at the Military Academy:
For pay of one commandant of cadets (lieutenant colonel), in addition to pay as captain, $1,100;
For pay of one professor of ordnance and science of gunnery (lieutenant colonel), in addition to pay as major, $500;
For pay of one professor of law (lieutenant colonel), in addition to pay as major, $500;
For pay of one professor of practical military engineering (lieutenant colonel), in addition to pay as major, $500;
For pay of 12 assistant professors (captains), in addition to pay as first and second lieutenants, $4,800;
For pay of three battalion commanders (majors), in addition to pay as captains, $1,800;
For pay of one senior assistant instructor of artillery tactics (captain), in addition to pay as first lieutenant, $400;
For pay of 12 instructors of cavalry, artillery, and infantry tactics (captains), in addition to pay as first and second lieutenants, $4,900;
For pay of one adjutant, in addition to pay as captain or lieutenant, $600;
For pay of one quartermaster and commissary of cadets and treasurer, in addition to pay as captain, $600;
For pay of one line officer, on duty in quartermasters' department at academy, in addition to pay as first lieutenant, $400;
For pay of one associate professor of mathematics (major) in addition to pay as captain, $600;
For pay of one associate professor of modern languages (major), in addition to pay as captain, $600;
For pay of one constructing quartermaster, in addition to his regular pay, $1,000;
For additional pay of professors and officers (and officers on increased rank) for length of service, $12,000.
For pay of the Military Academy band, field musicians, general Army service, Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineering detachment, and enlisted men on detached service, and extra pay for enlisted men on special duty:
For pay of one band sergeant and assistant leader, $900;
Twelve enlisted musicians, at $45 per month, $6,480;
Twelve enlisted musicians, at $36 per month, $5,184;
Sixteen enlisted musicians, at $30 per month, $5,760;
Additional pay for length of service, $5,124.
For pay of field musicians: One sergeant, $600;
Two corporals, $504;
Twenty-two privates, at $15 each per month, $3,960;
Additional pay for length of service, $664.
For pay of general Army service: One first sergeant, $540;
Forty sergeants, $14,400;
Twenty corporals, $5,040;
Four cooks, $1,440;
One hundred and seventy-nine privates, at $15 each per month, $32,220;
Additional pay for length of service, $20,907.
Extra pay of the enlisted men of the Army service detachment, Quartermaster's Department, on extra duty at West Point, $30,000.
For pay of Cavalry detachment: One first sergeant, $540;
One supply sergeant, $360;
Two stable sergeants, at $30 each per month, $720;
Six sergeants, $2,160;
Four cooks, $1,440;
Twelve corporals, $2,016;
Two buglers, $360;
Four horseshoers, $1,440;
Two farriers, $504;
Three saddlers, $756;
Two wagoners, $504;
One mechanic, at $21 a month, $252;
One hundred and ten privates, at $15 each per month, $19,800;
For additional pay of one sergeant in charge of mess, at $6 per month, $72;
Additional pay for length of service, $13,800.
For pay of Artillery detachment: One first sergeant, $540;
One supply sergeant, $360;
Two stable sergeants, $720;
One chief mechanic, $288;
Ten sergeants, $3,600;
One mess sergeant, at $36 a month, $432;
Four cooks, $1,440;
Sixteen corporals, $4,032;
One saddler, at $21 a month, $252;
Two horseshoers, at $21 each per month, $504;
Five mechanics, at $21 each per month, $1,260;
Two buglers, $360;
One hundred and twenty-five privates, at $15 each per month, $22,500;
One electrician sergeant, $540;
One electrician sergeant, second class, $432;
One master gunner, $480;
For additional pay for expert first-class gunners, at $5 each per month, first-class gunners, at $3 each per month, and second-class gunners, at $2 each per month (increase $1,600), $5,200;
Additional pay for length of service, $7,932.
For pay of engineer detachment: One first sergeant, at $45 per month, $540;
One quartermaster sergeant, at $36 per month, $432;
Eight sergeants, at $36 each per month, $3,456;
Ten corporals, at $24 each per month, $2,880;
Two cooks, at $30 each per month, $720;
Two musicians, at $15 each per month, $360;
Seventy-six privates, at $15 each per month, $13,680;
For additional pay of one sergeant in charge of detachment mess, at $6 per month, $72;
Additional pay for length of service, $8,604.
Additional pay of marksmen, sharpshooters, and expert riflemen, $2,280.
Travel allowances to enlisted men on discharge, $2,000.
Clothing not drawn due enlisted men on discharge, $9,000.
Interest on deposits due enlisted men, $1,000.
For extra pay of one enlisted man employed as bugler at the cadet barracks, at 35 cents per day, $159.80.

For extra pay of five ordnance soldiers employed; one as draftsman in charge of museum, one as machinist, one as clerk, one in the department of ordnance and gunnery, and one as skilled attendant in the museum, at 50 cents each per day, $782.50.

For extra pay of seven enlisted men (cavalrymen) employed, two when performing especially skilled mechanical labor, one as saddler, one in charge of property and saddle equipment pertaining to riding and equitation other than military, one sergeant in charge of stables and horses, one clerk, and one in charge of new riding hall and property, and property contained therein, $1,173.50.

For extra pay of 13 enlisted men (cavalrymen), 2 teamsters, 11 laborers employed in keeping clean the equipment used by cadets in riding and equitation other than military, 4 specially qualified trainers engaged in training mounts used by cadets in riding and equitation other than military, and 2 laborers for harrowing and sprinkling and assisting in the care of the riding hall, at 35 cents each per day, $1,460.48.

For extra pay of one enlisted man on duty in charge of engineer property and fatigue, at 50 cents per day, $156.50.

For extra pay of one enlisted man as clerk in the department of practical military engineering and to the officer in charge of waterworks and works of construction at the Military Academy, at 50 cents per day, $156.50.

For extra pay of eight enlisted men (artillerymen), three performing extra mechanical labor, one sergeant in charge of stables, horses, and mules, one enlisted man employed as clerk and stenographer to senior instructor of artillery tactics, and three enlisted men performing the duty of mechanics in the batteries, at 50 cents each per day, $1,304.

For extra pay of four teamsters (artillerymen), at 35 cents each per day, $511.

For extra pay of eight laborers (artillerymen), employed in keeping clean the equipment used by cadets, at 35 cents each per day, $876.40.

For extra pay of one enlisted man as messenger in the office of the adjutant, United States Military Academy, at 35 cents per day, Sundays and holidays included, $127.75.

For extra pay of one teamster (engineer soldier) employed in the department of practical military engineering, in connection with the water supply and on works of construction, at 35 cents per day, $127.75.

For pay of one battalion sergeant major, Infantry, $768.

Provided, That the enlisted man in the headquarters, United States Corps of Cadets, performing that duty has the rank, pay, and allowance of that grade.

For extra pay of 38 noncommissioned officers (artillerymen) as assistant instructors of cadets, at 50 cents each per day, $6,935.

PAY OF CIVILIANS.

For pay of one teacher of music, $1,700.

For pay of four clerks in the office of the quartermaster, as follows: One clerk, at $1,500; two, at $1,400 each; and one clerk and stenographer, at $1,200.

For pay of nine clerks and stenographers employed at headquarters, United States Military Academy, in the offices of the superintendent and adjutant, as follows:

One chief clerk, $1,600;

One clerk, $1,500;

Two clerks, at $1,400 each; one clerk, $1,300; one clerk, $1,100; $5,200.

Three clerks, at $1,000 each, $3,000.

For pay of one clerk to treasurer, $1,800.

For pay of one clerk and stenographer in the office of the commandant of cadets, $1,200.

For two civilian instructors in French, to be employed under rules prescribed by the Secretary of War, $2,000 per year each, $4,000.

For two civilian instructors in Spanish, at $2,000 per year each, to be employed under rules prescribed by the Secretary of War, $4,000.

For two expert civilian instructors in fencing, broadsword exercises, and other military gymnastics as may be required to perfect this part of the training of cadets, $3,000.

For pay of one professional civilian instructor in gymnastics, athletics, and swimming, $1,500.

For pay of one expert assistant civilian instructor in military gymnastics, fencing, boxing, wrestling, and swimming, $1,500.

For pay of one librarian, $3,000.

For pay of librarian's assistant, $1,300.

For pay of custodian of gymnasium, $1,200.

For pay of one superintendent of gas works, $1,500.

For pay of one chief engineer of power plant, whose duties will include those of engineer of heating and ventilating apparatus, $2,400.

For pay of assistant engineer of same, $1,100.

For pay of eight firemen, $6,240.

For pay of one draftsman in department of civil and military engineering, $1,200.

For pay of mechanic and attendant skilled in the technical preparations necessary to chemical and electrical lectures and to the instruction in mineralogy and geology, $1,200.

For pay of mechanic assistant in department of natural and experimental philosophy, $1,000.

For pay of one custodian of academy buildings, $1,000.

For pay of one electrician, $1,600.

For pay of one chief plumber, $1,600.

For pay of assistant plumber, $900.

For pay of one plumber's helper, $600.

For pay of one scavenger, at $60 a month, $720.

For pay of chapel organist and choirmaster, $1,500.

For pay of superintendent of post cemetery, $1,200.

For pay of engineer and janitor for Memorial Hall, $900.

For pay of printer at headquarters, United States Military Academy, $1,600.

For pay of one assistant printer at headquarters, United States Military Academy, $1,100.

For pay of one janitress, Memorial Hall, $600.

For pay of one master mechanic, $1,800.

For pay of attendant and skilled photographer in the department of drawing, $1,300.

For pay of one stenographer, typewriter, and attendant in charge of the library in the department of law, to be appointed by the Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, $900.

For pay of one overseer of the waterworks, $720.

For pay of one engineer of steam, electric, and refrigerating apparatus for the cadets' mess, $900.

For pay of one copyist, stenographer, librarian, typewriter, and attendant in the department of modern languages, to be appointed by the Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, $1,040.

For pay of one mechanic and attendant skilled in the operation necessary for the preparation of lectures and of material in the department of drawing, $720.

For pay of janitor for bachelor officers' quarters, $600.

For pay of three engineers for power plant, $3,600.

For pay of two oilers for power plant, $1,440.

For pay of one attendant in the department of philosophy for the handling of models and materials used in the instruction of cadets, $480.

For pay of one copyist, typewriter, and attendant in the department of English and history, to be appointed by the Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, $840.

For pay of one bookbinder at headquarters, United States Military Academy, $1,200.

For pay of two book sewers in bindery, $1,080.

For pay of one skilled pressman in the printing office, headquarters United States Military Academy, $1,100.

For pay of one charwoman, headquarters United States Military Academy, $480.

For pay of one messenger for the Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, $720.

For pay of one skilled copyist, confidential stenographer, librarian, typewriter, and attendant in the department of mathematics, to be appointed by the Superintendent of the United States Military Academy, $1,000

For pay of one stenographer, typewriter, and clerk in the medical department and department of military hygiene, to be appointed by the Superintendent of the United States Military Academy under the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913, $840.

All the money hereinbefore appropriated for the pay of the Military Academy shall be disbursed and accounted for by officers of the Quartermaster Corps as pay of the Military Academy, and for that purpose shall constitute one fund.

For current and ordinary expenses as follows:

For the expenses of the members of the Board of Visitors, $750, or so much thereof as may be necessary, $750.

Contingencies for superintendent of the academy, $3,000.

Repairs and improvements, namely: Timber, planks, boards, joists, wall strips, laths, shingles, slate, tin, sheet lead, zinc, nails, screws, locks, hinges, glass, paints, turpentine, oils, varnish, brushes, stone, brick, flag, lime, cement, plaster hair, sewer and drain pipe, blasting powder, fuse, iron, steel, tools, machinery, mantels, and other similar materials, renewing roofs, and for pay of architect overseer and citizen mechanics, and labor employed upon repairs and improvements that can not be done by enlisted men, $40,000.

For fuel and apparatus, namely: Coal, wood, charcoal, stoves, grates, heaters, furnaces, ranges and fixtures, fire bricks, clay, sand, and for repairs of steam-heating and coal-conveying apparatus, grates, stoves, heaters, ranges, furnaces, and mica, and repair, improvement, and maintenance of power plant, $45,000: *Provided*, That $5,000 of this sum shall be immediately available.

For gas pipes, gas and electric fixtures, electric lamps, telephone and lighting supplies, lamp-posts, gasometers and retorts, and annual repairs of the same, $6,500;

For fuel for cadets' mess hall, shops, and laundry, $10,000;

For postage and telegrams, $375;

For stationery, namely, blank books, paper, envelopes, steel pens, rubbers, erasers, pencils, mucilage, wax, wafers, folders, fasteners, rules, files, ink, inkstands, typewriters, typewriting supplies, office furniture, penholders, tape, desk knives, blotting pads, and rubber bands, and for contingencies not otherwise provided for, $2,500;

For transportation of materials, discharged cadets, including Pullman accommodations, and $3 per day or fraction thereof for subsistence and other expenses for the necessary number of days' travel over the shortest usually traveled route, and for ferriages; for hire of camp sites for cadets on practice marches, for transportation of first class of cadets to and from Gettysburg battle field, for transportation of first and second class to and from Watervliet Arsenal and Sandy Hook Proving Ground or other ordnance establishments, including a visit to a steel mill, and for expenses of officers detailed to accompany cadets on these trips, $8,000.

Printing: For printing and binding, type, materials for office, including repairs to motors and machinery, diplomas for graduates, annual registers, blanks, and monthly reports to parents of cadets, and contingencies, $2,500.

For one paper-cutting machine with electric motor and installation, with permission to exchange an old machine in part payment, $600.

For one improved job press, 10 by 15 inches, complete with motor attached and all equipment, $300.

For one rotary perforator with motor attached, $375.

For various up-to-date improvements to monotype typesetting machine, including installation, $275.

For department of cavalry, artillery, and infantry tactics: Tan bark or other proper cover for riding hall, to be purchased in open market upon written order of the superintendent, $1,200.

For camp stools, camp and office furniture, and repairs to same; for doormats for cadet headquarters, sinks, and guardhouse; for stationery, typewriting supplies and repairs; for use of instructor and assistant instructors of tactics; for books and maps, binding books, and mounting maps; for plumes, silk and worsted sashes for cadet officers and acting officers; for furniture, curtains, and rugs for cadet reception room, and contingencies, $2,100.

For the upkeep of athletic grounds, $500.

Gymnasium and athletic supplies: For repairs, new machines, athletic supplies, and fixtures for gymnasium; for foils, masks, belts, fencing gloves, fencing jackets, gaiters, sabers, and repairs; for repairs and improvements to dressing rooms, platform, and swimming tank, $4,000.

For repairs to saddles, bridles, purchase of leather, curb chains, bits, stirrups, etc., and to keep the same in repair, $275.

For purchase of carbons and for repairs and maintenance of searchlight for Coast Artillery night practice and for miscellaneous expenses connected with Coast Artillery fire-control stations, $125.

For repair of mattresses, machines, and for replacing worn-out articles in gymnasium of Cavalry barracks, $100.

For riding hall: Providing material and lumber for hurdles and upkeep of wings, head posts, etc., and for repairing and maintaining electric lights, a power clipping machine for animals stabled at the riding hall, and for repairs to disk harrow used in keeping footing in condition, and for repairing the canvas screens used to divide the hall into sections, $600.

For general repairs to cadet camp, including camp grounds, repairs to tent platforms, painting, shower baths, underground sinks, renewing plumbing, flushes and bowls in underground sinks, to be immediately available, $2,500.

For 100 new tent floors for cadet camp, to be immediately available, $1,500.

For repair of obstacles on mounted drill ground and for constructing other obstacles for use in mounted instruction of cadets, and for maintenance of the track connecting same, $100.

For the purchase of thread, wax, needles, for new blades, sharpening old blades, and spare parts and accessories for power clipping machines and saddler's sewing machines in Cavalry stables, $100.

For the purchase of thread, wax, needles, for new blades, sharpening old blades, and for spare parts and accessories for power clipping machines and saddler's sewing machine in the Artillery stables, $100.

For material for preserving floors, rebronzing radiators, and miscellaneous expenses for cleaning Artillery barracks and stables, $75.

For purchase of tools, machines, and repairs to same, for Artillery gun shed, $1,000.

For repairs to mattresses, machines, and for replacing worn-out articles in the drill hall and gymnasium of Artillery barracks, and for miscellaneous expenses connected therewith, $100.

For purchase of one mimeograph machine with accessories and for stationery and office supplies for office of senior assistant instructor of Field Artillery tactics, $175.

For material for preserving floors, rebronzing radiators, and for miscellaneous expenses for cleaning Cavalry barracks and stables, $75.

For a portable frame shed for storing tent platforms and other camp furniture, to be immediately available, $3,000.

For repair of mattresses, machines, and replacing worn-out articles in the drill hall and gymnasium pertaining to engineer barracks, and for miscellaneous expenses connected therewith, $100.

For department of civil and military engineering: For models, maps, purchase and repair of instruments, apparatus, drawing boards, desks, chairs, shelves, and cases for books and instruments, textbooks, books of reference, and stationery for the use of instructors, and contingencies, $1,200.

For department of natural and experimental philosophy: Additions to apparatus to illustrate the principles of mechanics, acoustics, optics, and astronomy; books of reference, scientific periodicals, textbooks, stationery, materials, and repairs; and for repairs to the observatory buildings and repairs to clocks, and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for, $1,850.

For department of instruction in mathematics: Textbooks, books of reference, binding, and stationery; for tables of logarithms; for rulers and triangles; for purchase of geometrical drawings and models; for cases for geometrical models; for desks, chairs, bookcases, and office fittings; and for contingencies, $1,000;

For department of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology: Chemicals, chemical apparatus, glass and porcelain ware, paper, wire, sheet metal, ores, photographic apparatus and materials; rough specimens, fossils, and for apparatus and materials to be used in the practical determination of mineralogical and geological specimens; pencils and paper for practical instruction in the same branches, and for gradual increase and improvement of the cabinet; for repairs and additions to electric, magnetic, pneumatic, thermic, and optical apparatus; for purchase of laboratory and power-room machinery and apparatus and installation of same; for models, maps, diagrams, books of reference, textbooks, and stationery for use of instructors; and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for, $2,500.

For department of drawing: Drawing material, instruments, and stationery for use of instructors; repairs to models and purchase of new models; desks, stretchers, drawing boards, racks, and stands; framing drawings; books and periodicals on art, architecture, topography, and technology; binding maps, books, etc.; repairs to stereopticon and purchase of lantern slides; photographic apparatus and material; purchase of new instruments and repair of old ones, for use of cadets; and for contingent expenses, $1,800.

For the purchase of new furniture and equipment necessary to fit up the drawing department for the instruction of the larger number of cadets authorized, $6,000.

For department of modern languages: For stationery, textbooks, and books of reference for use of instructors, for repairs of books and apparatus and for office furniture, and for printing examination papers, and other necessary papers, and for contingencies, $1,200.

For department of law: For stationery, textbooks, and books of reference for the use of instructors, furniture, and repairs to the same, for rebinding books and periodicals, and for contingencies, $850.

For department of practical military engineering: For models, books of reference, scientific periodicals, and stationery; for purchase and repair of instruments, materials, and apparatus for use in instructing cadets in surveying, reconnoissance, signaling and field telegraphy, military field engineering, and field fortification; for photographic and lithographic apparatus and materials for field photography and map reproduction; tools and materials for maintenance of the batteries of the academy; transportation of field parties; for extra-duty pay of engineer soldiers at 50 cents per day each when employed as assistants in photographic laboratory or as special skilled mechanics in the department; and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for, $3,500.

For the purchase and maintenance of rowboats and canoes for the instruction of cadets in rowing, $500.

For department of ordnance and gunnery: For purchase, manufacture, and repair of instruments, models, machinery, and apparatus; for purchase of samples of arms and accouterments other than those supplied to the military service; for books of reference, textbooks, stationery, office furniture and supplies; for services of skilled mechanic (civilian) employed in the department of ordnance and science of gunnery, and for contingencies, $1,800.

For purchase of machines, tools, and material for practical instruction of cadets in wood and metal working, $500.

For department of military hygiene: For stationery, textbooks, and books of reference for use of instructors; for the preparation of plates, purchase of paper, and other expenses incidental to the printing of syllabuses of lectures on parts of the subject not covered by the regular textbooks; for the purchase of charts, photographs, and pictures for use in demonstration; for the purchase of instruments and models; for shelves and cases for books, instruments, and models and records; and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for, $500.

For department of English and history: For purchase of stationery, textbooks, books of reference, office furniture, maps, map fixtures, and for repairs to same, for rebinding books and periodicals, and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for, $1,200.

For a course of lectures for the more complete instruction of cadets, $1,200.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS AND INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.

For commercial periodicals, stationery, office furniture and supplies, and for binding orders, circulars, etc., for the office of the treasurer, United States Military Academy, $210.

For gas coal, oil, candles, lanterns, matches, chimneys, and wicking, and electric lamps and supplies, and for operating the gas plant, $10,000.

For water pipe, plumbing, and repairs, $7,000.

For material and labor for cleaning and policing public buildings, $4,050.

For supplies for recitation rooms not otherwise provided for and for renewing and repairing furniture in same, $200, to be made immediately available, $1,000.

Increase and expense of library, namely:

For purchase, preservation, care, storage, binding and repair of books, periodicals, pamphlets, maps, pictures, and manuscripts; purchase of furniture, cases, stationery, and fittings; for expenses of making copies of military manuscripts in other libraries, and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for; purchases to be made in open market on the written order of the superintendent, $7,200.

For contingent funds, to be expended under the direction of the academic board: For instruments, books, repairs to apparatus, and other incidental expenses not otherwise provided for, $500.

Provided, That all technical and scientific supplies for the departments of instruction of the Military Academy shall be purchased by contract or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may deem best.

Purchase of instruments for band and repairs to same; for purchase of reeds, pads, strings, and other materials necessary for brass, wood, wind, and string instruments; for purchase of music stands and other equipments; for purchase of music for military band and orchestra and for extra parts; and for contingent expenses not otherwise provided for; all to be purchased in open market on order of superintendent, $1,500.

Repairs and improvements to the laundry machinery and apparatus in the cadet laundry, and the purchase of new material, tools, etc., to be expended without advertising, $2,500.

Repair and purchase of cooking utensils, chairs, tables, and other furniture in the cadet mess, and the replacement of same, to be expended without advertising, to be immediately available, $3,000.

For the policing of barracks and bathhouses, $14,000.

For supplying light and plain furniture to cadets' barracks, $20,000.

For maintaining the children's school, the Superintendent of the Military Academy being authorized to employ the necessary teachers, $4,320.

For purchase and repair of fire-extinguishing apparatus, $1,000:

Provided, That section 3648, Revised Statutes, shall not apply to subscriptions for foreign, professional, and other newspapers and periodicals, to be paid for from any of the foregoing appropriations.

BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.

For cases, materials, fittings, fixtures, and other appliances, and repairs for ordnance museum in headquarters building, $1,500.

For repairs to ordnance laboratory and other buildings pertaining to the department of ordnance and gunnery, and materials for roads and walks, and for repairs to machinery and tools, $150.

For general repairs to the cadet laundry building, and for emergency incidental expenses about building, to be expended without advertising, $400.

For general incidental repairs and improvements to the cadet store building, including storerooms, office, tailor shops, and shoe-repairing shops, $1,000.

For materials and labor for repairs, alterations, and additions needed at the soldiers' hospital, as follows:

Purchase of suitable incandescent lights, droplights, tubing, mantles, etc.; for paraffin and turpentine for waxing floors; for brushes, paints, glass, putty, and for general repairs; for materials for rebronzing radiators; and for purchase of flowers, fruit trees, shrubs, plants, etc., for hospital grounds, $165.

For the repair and upkeep of quarters of the sergeant, first class, Hospital Corps, at soldiers' hospital: For miscellaneous minor repairs and general upkeep of quarters, $50.

For waterworks: For the maintenance and operation of the filter beds, reservoir, and pipe lines, including the tools, implements, and materials required therefor; and for policing the grounds and repairing the roads in the vicinity of the reservoirs, filters, and intake dam, and for the protection and enforcement of rules to protect the water supply, $2,500.

For labor and material for construction of new cadet laundry, $75,000.

For necessary repairs and replacements in steam-heating system and steam lines and cooking apparatus, cadet mess, $300.

For repairs to cadet mess building, $2,000.

For repairs and improvements to the West Point Army mess building, including supplying and renewing furniture, $1,029.

For repairs and necessary alterations and additions to the cadet hospital, as follows:

For materials for rebronzing radiators and piping; material for waxing and polishing floors; suitable incandescent lights, droplights, mantles, tubes; for carpets, furniture, and appliances; for repairs of damaged articles, and for miscellaneous expenses, $120;

For purchase of flowers and shrubs for hospital grounds, $100;

For painting all interior walls, woodwork, and ceilings, $1,000;

For the repair and upkeep of quarters of the sergeant, first class, Hospital Corps, at the cadet hospital, $50.

Repairs to cadet barracks: For repairing and renewing plastering, painting, and calcimining, repairs to woodwork, reflooring, rearranging rooms, increasing sinks, baths, and other incidental repairs to the building, $15,000.

For maintaining and improving the grounds of the post cemetery, $1,500.

For continuing the construction of breast-high wall in dangerous places, $1,000.

For broken stone and gravel for roads, and for repairing sidewalks, roads, paths, and bridges on the reservation, $10,000.

For repair of boilers, engines, dynamos, motors, refrigerating and other machinery in the cadet mess, and the replacement of same, to be expended without advertising, $1,500.

For the repair, improvement, and maintenance of the cadet polo field, and for the purchase of blackboards, gongs, and other necessary material for same, $600.

For waterproofing the post headquarters, bachelor, and gymnasium buildings, $2,000.

For the care and maintenance of organ in the cadet chapel, $250.

For the installation of mirrors in the riding hall, $600.

For the purchase and repair of coco matting for the aisle ways in the riding hall, $200.

For permanent seats for gallery at riding hall, $500.

For a shower bath, fittings, etc., for cadet toilet at the riding hall, $100.

For a picket line at the riding hall, $250.

For repairs to skylights in riding hall and for stopping leaks around same, $200.

For repairs to water pipes in the tower squad room of the riding hall, $150.

For the purchase and installation of a gas cooking range in the kitchen of the Cavalry barracks, $200.

For a bayonet fencing ground, and for swinging and self-righting dummies, for head-posts, etc., to equip the same, $1,500.

For general repairs to the buildings of the Coast Artillery fire-control system, including necessary exterior painting, repairs to steps, roofs, etc., $100.

For material and labor for repair of Field Artillery target range, clearing grounds for targets and firing positions for batteries, constructing roads and trails to firing positions and target range; and for miscellaneous expenses connected with the indoor instruction of cadets in field artillery during the winter season, $500.

Hereafter printing, binding, and blank books required for the use of the United States Military Academy may be done or procured elsewhere than at the Government Printing Office when in the opinion of the Secretary of War such work can be more advantageously done or procured locally, the cost thereof to be paid from the proper appropriation or appropriations made for the Military Academy.

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama is entitled to 20 minutes and the gentleman from California to 20 minutes.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, this bill is identical in language and amount with the bill which passed the House at the last Congress, at its last session, and it is now offered under a

similar recommendation made by the Secretary of War with respect to the Army appropriation bill. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] such time as he may desire.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, this bill carries the appropriation for the Military Academy, and it seems to me quite appropriate that I should ask some questions concerning officers needed to train the proposed army. The President has indicated an army early in sight of, I think, over a million and a quarter men, and I believe a declaration of war brings the Regular Army up to 260,000, does it not?

Mr. KAHN. Two hundred and eighty thousand.

Mr. MANN. The President proposes to have 500,000 more at once and 500,000 more a little later, without looking at it beyond that. What is the proposition in the minds of the gentlemen on the Committee on Military Affairs as to how these groups are to be officered and trained? What do we have now in the way of officers sufficient to train an Army of half a million men?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that I can answer the gentleman further than to make this statement: I remember when we had up for consideration the national-defense act, in the hearings last spring, there came before us the presidents of various colleges in the country, the principal factor of whose work was military training, and my recollection is—and I shall ask the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] to correct me if I am not correct, because he has a very good memory—that we were told that for the past 15 or 20 years these colleges have been turning out annually 15,000 young men trained in military accomplishment.

Mr. MANN. Do I understand that it is expected that these men who were turned out at fresh-water military academies 15 years ago——

Mr. DENT. Oh, no; annually for the past 15 years.

Mr. MANN. Who know nothing about military tactics of to-day, are to train our recruits?

Mr. DENT. I do not undertake to say that is going to be the policy of the department. I am not speaking for the War Department at all.

Mr. MANN. I am trying to get information. Here we are right on the eve of action——

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MANN. And the Committee on Military Affairs has received no information.

Mr. KAHN. The national-defense act, taking into consideration a condition in time of peace, provides for one set of commissioned officers and another of noncommissioned officers whose duty it will be to train men for the Army. The detached-officers' section of that law provides for approximately 800 men who will be detailed for training men.

Mr. MANN. What are detached officers?

Mr. KAHN. They are men in various ranks and grades who are taken away from the companies and regiments with which they are serving and detailed for this specific duty.

Mr. MANN. And there are about 800 of those?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Who can be detached? They are not detached now.

Mr. KAHN. Yes; they are.

Mr. MANN. What are they doing now?

Mr. KAHN. Among other duties, they are giving instructions in the various colleges that have a course of military training.

Mr. MANN. Are they going to stay in these colleges, giving instructions?

Mr. KAHN. They can be detached for the purpose of training conscripted men or volunteers.

Mr. MANN. How far would this go toward the training of half a million men?

Mr. KAHN. If the gentleman will allow me, I will tell him something else——

Mr. MANN. I know what information I want, but I am not getting it.

Mr. KAHN. Again, there are a thousand sergeants who are detached under that law whose duty it is to train men for the Army of the United States. Undoubtedly the War Department can detach a good many more sergeants, and also corporals, for training men. They can detach many first and second lieutenants and captains. This year alone in the first increment I believe there were about 1,000 new second lieutenants appointed. Many of them can be used for training men.

Mr. MANN. Well, undoubtedly; but how many and how far will they go toward providing a sufficient number of officers to train a half million of men in addition to the 150,000 who will be added by calling the Army into war?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I would recall to the gentleman's attention that we also have some hundreds of officers on the retired list. They are being paid by the Government, and undoubtedly nearly every one of them could be used for training men in this emergency. They can not be ordered to train men except upon their own request, but I believe that every one of those on the retired list——

Mr. MANN. We can order them back quickly enough, as far as that is concerned; but I do not get the information I want. I know all the information the gentleman has stated. In the first place, how many men will it take in the way of officers to start in to train an army of half a million men?

Mr. DENT. I want to state to the gentleman very frankly in answer to his question that I do not know at the present time where we could get a sufficient number of officers to train half a million men, but after the law we passed last year has had the benefit of a fair trial I think the time will soon come when we can get them.

Mr. MANN. That may be; but we have got to meet an emergency now.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont and Mr. GARD rose.

Mr. GARD. As the gentleman from Vermont is a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, I will yield to him to ask his question first.

Mr. MANN. I will yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GARD. The observation the gentleman has made was as to the officers detached from colleges under the so-called officers' reserve act——

Mr. MANN. No; I did not make any such observation. No; it was stated these officers could be used to train these men. Of course these and a good many others could be used. Of course there are a number of officers, both commissioned and noncommissioned, in the Regular Army who can probably be detailed, and undoubtedly would be, but how many officers it will take to train half a million men I do not know and I was trying to find out.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. I will yield to the gentleman from Vermont.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I desire to suggest to the gentleman that I thought at first the question of the gentleman was purely rhetorical and that he did not want an answer.

Mr. MANN. Oh, but I did; I do want an answer and I think the country is entitled to the information if anybody possesses it.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. That is exactly what I would like to suggest to the gentleman in reply. So far as I am aware, at least, no minority member of the House Committee on Military Affairs has been taken into the confidence of the War Department in any preliminary discussion of what may be demanded in the way of legislation or given any hint or suggestion of what the policy of the department will be in the application of any law now on the books.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will allow me to interrupt him just for a moment. Along the line of the statement made by my colleague on the committee I want to state this, that the Secretary of War talked with me yesterday afternoon for the first time with the suggestion of a tentative idea and with the understanding that we were to call him before the committee to-day if it was convenient to the committee, but concrete plans had not been worked out. I discussed the matter with my colleague, the ranking minority member from California, last night over the phone, and we agreed to put the matter off until to-morrow, so the Secretary, when he comes before us, will come before the full committee without taking anybody into his peculiar confidence.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I hope my friend, the chairman of the committee, will understand that I meant no personal reference to him. It was only so far as the administration was concerned.

Mr. DENT. I may add in that connection, for that very reason until we hear from the Secretary of War as to exactly what the Government needs in this emergency we are unable to answer these academic questions.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman propounded his question I asked my colleague from Illinois [Mr. MCKENZIE] to telephone the War Department to find out just what they had in mind and they replied——

Mr. MANN. I am glad there is some way to find out.

Mr. KAHN. And they replied they had about two thousand men on the detached lists. They have one to two thousand more enlisted men who are available from the various branches of the Army and they have the commissioned officers. Then they have from twenty to thirty thousand men of the various colleges of the country that have military training—graduates—

whom they say are probably not the best material for training men, but they will do in an emergency.

So that they figure, in all, we have something like 35,000 men that could be put to work training the 500,000 men that the gentleman speaks of.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, it will be two years ago next fall on this floor that I urged the House to provide then an army of half a million men and have them trained—250,000 men in the Regular Army and 250,000 in the Volunteer Army—so that we might have at least that number if we should get into war, which everybody knows I have not been in favor of—men trained sufficiently, at least, to train other men. Now, what is the suggestion? Now, as to 30,000 more or less of men who have graduated from some very good and some very poor so-called military schools, most of whom have been out of college for a number of years, or engaged now in other occupations, upon whom we hold no string—not educated at our expense—it is perfectly idle talk to say that you can gather that number together now to train recruits, and equally idle to say that they are competent to give them good training. And that is only in the air. There is probably no list of them. Here we are apparently on the very verge of raising an army and nobody knows how it is to be done. Nobody has proposed a method by which it can be done, so that men are trained to help take care of themselves if they go into an army, much less if they go into war.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I wish one or other of the gentlemen would yield me five minutes.

Mr. DENT. I yield five minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHACKLEFORD). The gentleman has six minutes remaining.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am rather inclined to think that I started the agitation about the increase in the number of officers who are fit to drill men and command them. That was in the speech made in San Francisco, I think, on the 17th of July—Liberty Bell Day. And, in my judgment, it is the most important thing to be considered about this war which seems to be imminent.

Now, there are 40 commissioned officers to each regiment. Is not that correct?

Mr. TILSON. Fifty.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How many officers do they really have to have with a company, or should they have, when they go into battle?

Mr. TILSON. Three officers with each company.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Do they need three officers or not?

Mr. TILSON. They do.

Mr. KAHN. They do. If one of the commissioned officers drops out a noncommissioned officer will have to take his place.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How are they going to detail this large number of officers to go about the country and drill soldiers? They must be in command of companies and regiments.

Mr. TILSON. The sergeants must take their places.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Is the average sergeant fit to command a company?

Mr. TILSON. I would rather not have it so.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Is the average sergeant fit to drill a company?

Mr. TILSON. For the ordinary disciplinary drills.

Mr. KAHN. He can drill, too.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I want to ask the chairman a question, if he knows. I do not know whether anybody knows or not. Has the War Department any list of men that are fit to drill soldiers and command companies—for instance, like the Military Institute of Virginia, whose graduates ranked up during the Civil War with the West Pointers?

Mr. DENT. My information is they have such a list.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How many officers will it take to command and drill these 500,000 men that the President was talking about the other night?

Mr. DENT. I will say to the gentleman from Missouri very frankly that I can not answer that question, and would not undertake to do it. I stated a little while ago that I doubt very seriously if we have enough officers now to drill and organize an army of half a million men, but I do not think it would take very long to do it. But that is not the fault of Congress, in the last few years at least, because the legislation that has been passed has not had an opportunity yet to work itself out. We have been going on for 25 or 30 years under the old system, and it is only during the last year we adopted a new one. Under this new system of last June we provided amply in a few years to train an army of several million men, but I believe from the National Guard and from the graduates of the various military schools of the country it is only a question of a very short time when we could get enough men to drill an army of half a million men.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Of course, I do not know anything about soldiering, except what a man of ordinary common sense would know, but you take four sergeants in each company——

Mr. TILSON. Seven.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How many corporals?

Mr. KAHN. That depends altogether on what arm of the service it is.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. In addition to this I have a theory of my own, and always have had, which I like to expound, that an American citizen, the average one, rises equal to any emergency in which he finds himself placed. I have no sort of doubt if the War Department will go to work and pick them out, they can find at least 10 privates in every company in the Regular Army fit to command a company and drill it. My judgment about it is——

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I understand the War Department has already prepared and had the Regular Army officers transmit to them a list of those men for that very purpose.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am glad to hear that. That is the best information I have gotten lately. I say now what I said in the House once before, and what I said in the California speech, that I have no sort of doubt that a hundred thousand men died unnecessarily in the first year of the Civil War, from disease and everything of that sort, because the officers did not know anything. They were good men in the ordinary discharge of the duties of life, but they did not know how to take care of the men, and they did not know how to make camps or enforce sanitary regulations. Every man in the United States who is fit to command a company ought to be sorted out and put through some drill. That could be done quickly, and then they could drill these boys that are going into the Army.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, may I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. DENT. I would like to make this additional statement. We must not overlook the fact that there are 150,000 National Guardsmen in this country who have had practically six months' experience on the Mexican border in actual service.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. How many soldiers have we got besides them?

Mr. DENT. You mean in the Regular Army?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes. One hundred and thirty-five thousand?

Mr. DENT. One hundred and twelve thousand is the largest Army given the committee according to the latest figures.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That would make 262,000. Then you would need 238,000 more to make up this 500,000.

Mr. MANN. But the suggestion of the President, or his recommendation, was that we should have half a million in addition.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. All that I wanted to say was to suggest that every man who knows how to drill a company ought to be rounded up and put at it. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Fourteen minutes.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY] is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. ANTHONY. I want to say a few words on the subject upon which the Speaker has just addressed the House. In my judgment there is absolutely no lack of men in this country who are competent to train soldiers. In the Regular Army to-day there are not less than 5,000 noncommissioned officers and competent enlisted men who would be able to command companies if called upon to do that service. In the National Guard there are even more trained commissioned officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates amply able to give instruction.

I want to tell the House of a sight that I saw last week, to prove the contention I have always made that it does not take two years to turn the average American boy into a competent American soldier. I have contended you could do it in six months. But I was at Fort Leavenworth last week when 386 lieutenants, who have just been receiving instruction there and had passed their examination and finished their three months' course of instruction, were sent to the Army as fit to exercise command. They were the first crop of lieutenants under the increase authorized by this body last year. Sixty per cent of those men came from civil life, without having any previous

military knowledge when they received their appointments. Twenty-three per cent of them had been promoted from the ranks of the Army, and 17 per cent of them came from the National Guard. They had been undergoing three months of instruction at Fort Leavenworth in preparation for becoming officers.

Mr. MANN. Were not the part appointed from civil life that the gentleman refers to graduates from military colleges?

Mr. ANTHONY. Quite a number were.

Mr. MANN. What percentage?

Mr. ANTHONY. I could not say what percentage. But 60 per cent of them came from civil life and professed no knowledge or scientific ability in military affairs. They were without military training.

Mr. MANN. But the gentleman gave the whole 100 per cent.

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes; I was telling the gentleman that 60 per cent came from the body of the people, from civil life.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman said 23 per cent came from the Regular Army and 17 per cent came from the National Guard and 60 per cent came from civil life.

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Now, I had supposed that most of those appointed from civil life were graduates from military colleges.

Mr. ANTHONY. Not most of them, but probably a number of them were. But the fact was shown that in the final review of these men, after three months' instruction under the tuition of officers of the Regular Army, that they were to all intents competent to exercise command. They formed a magnificent battalion of four companies. They passed in review before a body of critical officers of the Army, and at the conclusion of the review these officers said they were in every way fit to command men. Col. McAndrew, the able officer who had charge of the instruction of these young lieutenants, asked my opinion. I had seen that review, and carefully inspected these men. I was impressed that among these 386 men there was not a single slouch. Every one seemed to be an ideal soldier, fit to take his place in the Army.

It proved to me that in this hour of need the country will have no trouble to get the men it wants to officer the 500,000 men it is proposed to put into the field. I do not think Congress need worry in the slightest degree about the ability of the War Department to not only obtain the men but to get the officers necessary to train and to command such an army.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. When the gentleman from Kansas said there was no difficulty, he had just said that these men were placed in that condition only after three months of training. That means a delay of three months in getting those 500,000 men ready.

Mr. ANTHONY. I think it is a significant thing that those men should have been made competent after only three months' instruction.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I say, if we must wait for three months in this emergency, what will happen until that time?

Mr. ANTHONY. Can the gentleman see an emergency earlier than six months?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. When a nation is on the verge of war nobody can see anything except the time it will take to get an army ready.

Mr. ANTHONY. It is not possible for any nation in the world across the seas from us to bring a soldier of theirs in contact with an army in this country in less than six months.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, in discussing the proposition as to where we are to get the officers to train the soldiers to be enlisted for the war which seems imminent I think one valuable class of our citizens has been overlooked. There are thousands of young men in the country who have served from one to three or four enlistments in the Army and who have retired from the service. They were good soldiers. They are thoroughly trained in military tactics, but their education is limited to such an extent that they could not pass the academic examination required of them. If provision could be made for the use of those men, and to subject them to such an examination as they could pass, doubtless they would pass a high-grade examination on military tactics. They would be useful in the drilling of men, and no doubt they would be glad to offer their services for that purpose. I think I could name a dozen men I know who have served in this way. I know one man who served 12 years; another who served 9 years. They are intelligent men. They were fine soldiers. They understand the military side of the proposition, but they could not pass a rigid examination on all the branches that are required by the War Department for officers. Nevertheless they would be valuable men in the drilling of recruits, and I think that is a proposition that the War Department and the Congress might well consider. There are thousands of these men in the United States.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. Three minutes.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, for years I have called the attention of this House and of the country to the utter unpreparedness of the United States in the case of a great emergency. We speak of men who might act as officers to drill our forces. No doubt you will find an ample number of men who can train 500,000 recruits, but the methods of warfare have changed. There is no longer "the pomp and panoply of war." Much of the fighting is done in the trenches. The training for that character of fighting is somewhat different than the world has heretofore known. And even though these officers will be able to train the men who are called into the service in the usual drill of the Infantry, the Artillery, and the Cavalry, I take it we will have difficulty in finding men who can train them in modern warfare. It will take a long time to train 500,000 men so that they can go to the front. To train them less than a year and then to send them to the front is considered all over the world to be murder. England does not send her recruits to the front until they have been trained a year. France does not send her recruits to the front until they have been trained a year; Italy the same; Russia and Germany and Austria the same; and it would be folly to think of sending our boys to the front until they have had a year of training, so that they shall not be deliberately slaughtered and butchered. [Applause in the galleries.] I think the country ought to know what we are up against. I shall stand for the rights of my country. I think every American citizen must do that in this hour of emergency. [Applause.] But let us know what we are up against; and do not send our boys to be butchered when England, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia do not send their boys to be butchered without proper training. [Applause in the galleries.] I believe that they ought to be trained forthwith in order that they shall be able to do their share of this work for their country. I believe that it is and has been the duty of the administration to protect American rights and American lives and American property in every quarter of the globe. Our boys ought to be trained here in America to do those things before they are sent to the battle fields of other countries. [Applause in the galleries.]

The SPEAKER. The rules of the House forbid the people in the galleries to applaud or show assent or dissent as to anything that is said on the floor. The men up there who are applauding had better go down town and enlist.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, a few moments ago I made the statement that I did not think the Government at this time had a sufficient number of officers to command an additional Army of 500,000 men. By that I meant that the Government has not those men now under its jurisdiction, although I believe they can be found in the country. Like my friend from California [Mr. KAHN], I do not think there is any danger of any new Army being sent to the front at any time very soon—not until an opportunity has been given to train the men for such a situation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that we have rather precipitated a discussion here a little in advance of the proper occasion. I believe everybody here, whether he sits on this side or that side of the House, stands ready and willing to support the administration in any measures that they may consider necessary in order to effectuate our purpose. Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to details, I am satisfied we will all be willing to yield our opinions and meet together in a spirit of harmony, and that is the reason why we are waiting now until the Secretary of War comes before the Military Committee and tells us exactly what he wants. I think we ought not, in advance of his request and in advance of the suggestions that he has to make, to undertake to say what we will or what we can not do. Let us wait until that time comes, and when he submits his proposition to the Military Committee, and the Military Committee brings it on the floor of the House, I am sure there will be harmony and cooperation on both sides of this chamber.

Mr. NOLAN. I should like to ask the chairman of the committee if it is the intention of the Committee on Military Affairs to bring in any new program and ask for its passage under suspension of the rules?

Mr. DENT. It is not—absolutely it is not.

I have made these remarks, Mr. Speaker, because I think we ought to wait until we hear from the proper authorities as to exactly what they want before we undertake to discuss what they will ask for.

I ask for a vote on the motion.

The SPEAKER. The question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question was taken; and two-thirds voting in the affirmative, the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 56 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 5, 1917, at 10 o'clock a. m.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. FLOOD, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 24) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1), which said joint resolution and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KEATING: A bill (H. R. 1652) to grant certain lands to the town of La Junta, Colo.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. COMSTOCK: A bill (H. R. 1653) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the county commissioners of Wayne County, Ind., two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MADDEN: A bill (H. R. 1654) to regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service; to to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 1655) providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAMLIN: A bill (H. R. 1656) to provide for the erection of a public building at Sedalia, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1657) to provide for the prohibition of the importation of intoxicating liquors into the Territory of Hawaii and to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors therein under certain conditions; to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1658) establishing the Wilson Creek National Military Park; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1659) vesting jurisdiction in the Court of Claims to entertain the claim of Charles A. Morrison, as administrator de bonis non of the estate of William Morrison, deceased, against the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1660) creating an additional judge in the western district of Missouri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARAWAY: A bill (H. R. 1661) providing for the erection and completion of a public building at the city of Forrest City, in the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. STERLING of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 1662) to amend an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," approved February 17, 1911; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 1663) to amend an act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1915; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 1664) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Lafollette, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1665) to provide for a commission to visit foreign countries; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1666) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Lenoir City, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1667) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Lafollette, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1668) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Clinton, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1669) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Jefferson City, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1670) to provide a site and erect a public building thereon at Jefferson City, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BURNETT: A bill (H. R. 1671) to amend an act entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," approved March 2, 1907; to the Committee on Immigration.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1672) to authorize sale of certain land in Alabama to the heirs at law of Thomas Tumlin, deceased; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1673) to provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Albertville, Ala.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1674) to provide for the erection of a public building at the city of Attalla, Ala.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 1675) to further regulate the entrance of Chinese aliens into the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1676) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to offer and pay rewards to any person giving a successful plan for preventing or exterminating boll weevils; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STERLING of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 1677) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Bloomington, Ill.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1678) to permit the United States to be made a party defendant in certain cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 1679) granting the consent of Congress to the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HUSTED: A bill (H. R. 1680) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to offer a prize for a device or plan to protect vessels against submarine attack; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HASTINGS: A bill (H. R. 1681) to confer upon the superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma the authority now conferred by law upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior respecting lands allotted to the enrolled members of the Five Civilized Tribes and their individual moneys; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON: A bill (H. R. 1682) to effect certain reforms in the civil service by segregating clerks and employees of the white race from those of African blood and descent; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1683) to construct a public building for a post office at the city of Thomson, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1684) providing for a site and public building for a post office at Tennille, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1685) providing for a site and public building for a post office at Sparta, Ga.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1686) providing for the termination of pensions to persons residing outside of the United States and its Territories; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1687) providing for a military highway between Fort Oglethorpe, via Fort McPherson, and the Government arsenal at Augusta, Ga.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1688) to prohibit in the District of Columbia the intermarriage of whites and Ethiopians, Malays, or Mongolians; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1689) to require all transportation companies, firms, and persons within the District of Columbia to provide separate accommodations for the white and negro races and to prescribe punishments and penalties for violating its provisions; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1690) for the reduction of postage rates on first-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. A bill (H. R. 1691) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDERSON: A bill (H. R. 1692) to provide a board of administrative control under the direction of the President of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. A bill (H. R. 1693) to provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1694) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Montrose, Colo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1695) to establish an agricultural experiment station on the western slope of Colorado; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1696) to increase the limit of cost of the United States public building at Durango, Colo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1697) to authorize the use of the revenue in the Mesa Verde National Park in the management of the same, and the construction, repair, and improvement of roads, trails, and bridges in the park; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1698) divesting goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured by convicts or by convict labor of their interstate character in certain cases; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1699) to establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-culture station in Garfield County, State of Colorado; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1700) granting certain coal lands to the city of Grand Junction, Colo.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1701) to establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-culture station in La Plata County, Colo.; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1702) providing for the establishment of a Weather Bureau station at Delta, Colo.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1703) for the construction of a national road from Grand Junction, Colo., to and through the Colorado National Monument; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1704) to require common carriers engaged in interstate commerce by railroad to equip all locomotive engines used in interstate traffic in transportation of trains with headlights of not less than 1,500 candlepower, and to provide a penalty for the violation of the same, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1705) to prohibit the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to minors within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1706) to prevent the employment of females in mills, factories, or manufacturing establishments for a longer period than eight hours; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1707) prohibiting Senators, Representatives, or Delegates from receiving compensation or acting as counsel in certain matters where the United States is interested, or for parties or corporations engaged in interstate commerce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1708) to appropriate money for the erection of an ordnance and munition plant in the fourth congressional district of Colorado; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1709) to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors in any ship, naval station, or building used, controlled, or owned by the United States Government; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1710) to amend the acts to regulate commerce so as to provide that publishers of newspapers and periodicals may enter into advertising contracts with common carriers and receive payment for such advertisements in transportation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1711) making an appropriation for a series of investigations and experiments for the purpose of devising a system of frost prevention in the fruit-growing sections of the Rocky Mountain region of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1712) concerning the mineral springs of Colorado; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1713) conveying Trappers Lake to the State of Colorado; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1714) to make "The Star Spangled Banner" the national anthem of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1715) to prevent the desecration of the flag of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1716) to provide for a homestead entry on water-power sites; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1717) permitting minors of the age of 18 years or over to make homestead entry or other entry of the public lands of the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1718) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize entry of the public lands by incorporated cities and towns for cemetery and park purposes," approved September 30, 1890, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1719) to authorize the establishment of game preserves and sanctuaries in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1720) granting 50,000 acres of lands to the State of Colorado for the use of the State Normal School at Gunnison, Colo.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1721) to provide for the sale and development of certain public lands and for the construction and maintenance of public roads; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1722) to provide for the publication of an official journal; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1723) to provide for the construction of the San Juan Railway, in Colorado and New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

By Mr. RIORDAN: A bill (H. R. 1724) providing for purchase of site and for public building at New Brighton, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PARK: A bill (H. R. 1725) for the acquisition of a site and the construction of a building for post-office purposes at Camilla, in the State of Georgia; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1726) to establish an agricultural plant, shrub, fruit and ornamental tree, berry, and vegetable experimental station at or near the city of Colquitt, Miller County, Ga.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1727) for the acquisition of the site and the construction of a building for post-office purposes at Sylvester, in the State of Georgia; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1728) to repeal an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States, approved July 1, 1898, and all amendments thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1729) to promote the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1730) to refund amount paid illegally for cotton tax, to be used in pensioning Confederate soldiers and widows of Confederate soldiers; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1731) to authorize the President of the United States to advance officers on the retired list who were wounded in battle in the service of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1732) for the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1733) to provide for a survey and estimate of cost of a canal connecting the waters of the Flint and Ocmulgee Rivers in the State of Georgia; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1734) to increase the salaries of the United States district attorney and United States marshal for the southern district of Georgia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 1735) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Corning, in the State of Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 1736) to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 1737) to amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provision

for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1738) amending the act of May 11, 1912; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1739) granting pensions to certain members of the so-called Treasury Guards, who served in the Civil War, and to their widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 1740) to provide for the labeling and tagging of furniture and of all articles of design, ornamentation, and decoration intended to be used or offered for sale as furniture or as interior decoration, such as would be used in place of or instead of wood-carving ornamentation, wherein such wood-carving decoration is composed, shaped, pressed, cast, or fashioned, in whole or in part, of any substance or composition and affixed or attached thereto in any way, which is other or different from the material of which such furniture or interior decoration purports, appears, or is represented to be made, and to prohibit the simulation or representation of hand wood-carving decoration and ornament by articles composed of any material and formed or fashioned by any device to represent wood hand carving and affixed to furniture or used as interior decoration, intended for sale or offered for sale, which enter into interstate commerce, and to provide penalties for misrepresentation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 1741) to amend an act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 1742) to provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1743) to establish a fish-cultural station at some point in the third congressional district of Missouri; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1744) to amend section 4433 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to working steam pressure allowable on boilers in steam vessels, and section 4418 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to hydrostatic test of steam boilers; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1745) to provide for a change in the designation of the Steamboat-Inspection Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1746) amending the eighth paragraph of section 4414 of the Revised Statutes, so as to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to appoint assistant inspectors in districts or ports where the exigencies of the service require; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1747) to permit the use of certain refined products of petroleum as stores on steam vessels carrying passengers; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1748) to protect and conserve the halibut fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, to establish closed seasons in halibut fishing in certain waters thereof, and to restrict the landing of halibut in the United States of America and the Territory of Alaska during the closed seasons established; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1749) to provide for appeals from decisions of boards of local inspectors of vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1750) to amend an act to regulate navigation on the Great Lakes and their connecting and tributary waters by allowing certain fog signals to be used by vessels at anchor; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1751) to amend an act to adopt regulations for preventing collision upon certain harbors, rivers, and inland waters of the United States, by allowing certain fog signals to be used by vessels at anchor; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WEBB: A bill (H. R. 1752) to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 1753) for the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WATKINS: A bill (H. R. 1754) to appropriate $100,000 for the improvement of navigation on Red River in Louisiana and Arkansas; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1755) to appropriate $30,000 to remove logs from Sabine River and condemn and expropriate them; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1756) providing for the survey of Dorcheat Bayou, in Webster, Bienville, and Bossier Parishes, La.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1757) to provide for a site and public building at Mansfield, La.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: A bill (H. R. 1758) to change the age limit for enlistments; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1759) to appropriate $300,000 for the improvement of Baltimore Harbor, Md., and the approaches thereto; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. KALANIANAOLE: A bill (H. R. 1760) for the improvement of Honolulu Harbor, island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. FISHER: A bill (H. R. 1761) to establish a new judicial circuit of the United States with a circuit court of appeals, hereafter to be called the tenth circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 1762) to amend and reenact an act entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico," approved May 11, 1912; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1763) to amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved September 8, 1916; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1764) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Spencer, W. Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. EAGAN: A bill (H. R. 1765) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of West New York, county of Hudson, State of New Jersey, four condemned bronze or brass cannon, with carriage and suitable outfit of cannon balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 1766) to provide for the payment of assessments for benefits for the opening of streets, avenues, roads, and alleys in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1767) to regulate appointments and promotions in the municipal government of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1768) to establish a school and home for feeble-minded persons of the District of Columbia, to be known as the Columbia Training School, and providing for the legal commitment of feeble-minded persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 1769) to provide for the commissioning of midshipmen as ensigns upon graduation from the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1770) to authorize the President in time of war or of national emergency to requisition or take over ships, boats, or other water craft for the use of the Government; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1771) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. AUSTIN: Resolution (H. Res. 34) authorizing the committees on expenditures in the executive departments to investigate the number and compensation of employees in said departments and to report legislation readjusting, reclassifying, and increasing the compensation of such employees; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Resolution (H. Res. 35) creating a committee of the House of Representatives to be known as the Committee on Equal Suffrage; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WASON: Resolution (H. Res. 36) authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay one month's salary to William H. Topping, clerk to late Congressman Sulloway, of New Hampshire; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. PARK: A resolution (H. Res. 37) to print 1,250 copies of the Soil Survey of Decatur County, Ga.; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 38) to print 2,000 copies of the Soil Survey of Tift County, Ga.; to the Committee on Printing.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 39) authorizing the Doorkeeper to appoint an attendant for the ladies' reception room during the Sixty-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Accounts.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 40) authorizing the Doorkeeper to appoint two janitors for committees located in the Capitol during the Sixty-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. KRAUSS: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 32) declaring the policies that will be pursued by the Government of the United States in governing the exchange and transportation of commodities and mail carried on American ships; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HUSTED: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 33) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 34) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 35) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 36) to create a commission which shall determine the advisability of establishing a "summer capital" of the United States and the location and cost of the same; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CARY: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 37) to prevent the possibility of private profit being made out of war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SWIFT: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 38) to present suitable medals to officials of the fire department of the greater city of New York, and through them to the officers and crews of fire boats of said department, for the prompt and heroic service rendered by them in rescuing lives and salvaging property at the explosion and fire at Black Tom Pier, Jersey City, N. J., July 30, 1916; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, indorsing universal obligatory military and naval training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, favoring military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. STINESS: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, favoring military and naval training under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, relating to migratory birds; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial relating to the national-defense act; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 1772) granting a pension to William Hopkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1773) granting a pension to Herman Platz; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1774) granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Sailor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1775) granting an increase of pension to Ezra L. Eckis; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1776) granting an increase of pension to Phoebe A. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 1777) granting a pension to Burton Erwin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BURNETT: A bill (H. R. 1778) granting a pension to Wilburn Doyle; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1779) granting a pension to Charles E. Herrin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1780) granting a pension to Lee Frazier; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1781) granting a pension to Henry C. Betz; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1782) granting a pension to Rufus S. Tucker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1783) granting a pension to Luella Kirtland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1784) granting a pension to D. A. Hollind; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1785) granting a pension to Andrew J. Gilbert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1786) granting an increase of pension to William P. Gwin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1787) granting an increase of pension to Oscar H. Cox; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1788) granting an increase of pension to Ernst H. Neubauer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1789) granting an increase of pension to Charles Rattray; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1790) for the relief of the heirs of Orville J. Davenport; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1791) for the relief of the heirs of Joseph E. Davenport; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1792) for the relief of the heirs of Bennett Robertson; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1793) for the relief of W. H. Cleere; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1794) for the relief of the heirs of George W. Bush; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1795) for the relief of the heirs of Elijah Glass; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1796) to reimburse D. H. Carpenter, postmaster at Seddon, Ala., for money and stamps stolen from said post office at Seddon, Ala., and repaid by him to the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1797) for the relief of Joseph A. Choate; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 1798) to appoint Henry F. Grimm, jr., an ensign on the active list of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. COMSTOCK: A bill (H. R. 1799) granting an increase of pension to John Spears; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 1800) granting a pension to Margaret Dunham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 1801) for the relief of William S. Colvin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1802) granting an increase of pension to Samuel C. Jewell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1803) granting an increase of pension to Caroline J. McBratney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EAGAN: A bill (H. R. 1804) granting a pension to Elijah J. J. Newby; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1805) granting a pension to Elizabeth Dippel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1806) for the relief of Edward J. Brophy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: A bill (H. R. 1807) granting a pension to Frank H. McCoy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1808) granting a pension to Thomas F. Moore; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1809) granting a pension to Simon Whitney; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1810) granting a pension to Eliza K. Leman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1811) for the relief of Bridget M. Edwards; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1812) for the relief of Jennie H. Brown; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1813) for the relief of Joseph Manning; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 1814) granting a pension to George B. Bolender; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1815) granting a pension to Charles N. Benson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1816) granting a pension to George Rice; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1817) granting a pension to George Tuffendsam; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1818) granting a pension to Theodore J. Kountz; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1819) granting a pension to James E. Martin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1820) granting a pension to James Heyburn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1821) granting a pension to John Flanagan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1822) granting a pension to Charles H. Jennings; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1823) granting a pension to John Devon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1824) granting a pension to James Cassidy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1825) granting a pension to Sarah Ellen Canton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1826) granting an increase of pension to Hart Thompson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1827) granting an increase of pension to Michael Greeley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1828) granting an increase of pension to Stephen Mullen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1829) granting an increase of pension to Joseph N. Abbott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1830) granting an increase of pension to William Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 1831) for the relief of Kate Chateau; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 1832) for the relief of the United States Commerce Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1833) for the relief of Lamont-Corliss & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1834) for the relief of Anthony J. Coccaro; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1835) for the relief of Hausen & Dieckmann; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1836) for the relief of P. E. Anderson & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1837) for the relief of the Henningsen Produce Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1838) for the relief of the estate of Isabella H. Silvey; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1839) providing for the refund to Thomas & Pierson, of New York City, of certain duties upon abandoned goods under paragraph 10 of section 3 of the tariff act of October 3, 1913; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REAVIS: A bill (H. R. 1840) granting a pension to John F. Herold; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1841) granting a pension to Cyrus G. Jackson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1842) granting a pension to Israel Wolf; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1843) granting a pension to Martin W. Morganson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1844) granting an increase of pension to Andrew G. Kramer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1845) granting an increase of pension to William H. Newell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1846) granting an increase of pension to William S. Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1847) granting an increase of pension to Jerome Shamp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1848) granting an increase of pension to William R. Sheeler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1849) granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1850) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Zimmerman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1851) granting an increase of pension to Henry Sanders; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1852) granting an increase of pension to Otis S. Mason; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1853) granting an increase of pension to Charles Mangon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1854) granting an increase of pension to Robert McMillen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1855) granting an increase of pension to Henry G. Bullitt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1856) granting an increase of pension to Michael Brannan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1857) granting an increase of pension to Fred A. Angelo; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1858) granting an increase of pension to Norman B. Yarwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIORDAN: A bill (H. R. 1859) granting an increase of pension to Michael Curtin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1860) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Houlihan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1861) granting an increase of pension to William H. Van Name; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1862) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Melson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1863) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. H. V. Holdsworth; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1864) granting an increase of pension to Matthew J. McKeon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1865) granting a pension to Michael Grace; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1866) granting a pension to John Delaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1867) granting a pension to Joseph F. Flynn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1868) granting a pension to Bridget McCarthy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1869) granting a pension to Herman E. Jansen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1870) granting a pension to Katharine Wilkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1871) granting a pension to Henry Padoult; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1872) for the relief of Edmund F. Jenkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1873) for the relief of Thomas Campbell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1874) for the relief of William E. Farrell; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1875) for the relief of Maurice Spillane, alias Maurice Splan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1876) for the relief of Maurice Edgar Rose, late assistant surgeon, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1877) for the relief of William H. Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1878) for the relief of Clarance F. Birkett; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1879) for the relief of Bridget McGrane; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1880) for the relief of Thomas Crowley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1881) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Delaney; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1882) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Washington E. Hall, alias John Duffy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 1883) granting a pension to Mollie N. Cope; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1884) granting a pension to Sallie Blevins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1885) granting a pension to Melvina A. Argenbright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1886) granting a pension to John K. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1887) granting a pension to Jesse Kivette; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1888) granting a pension to Addie Holt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1889) granting a pension to William Estes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1890) granting a pension to Callaway Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1891) granting a pension to James C. Presley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1892) granting a pension to Frederick E. Ogle; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1893) granting a pension to W. B. Reynolds; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1894) granting a pension to Charles H. Ricker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1895) granting a pension to William C. Scott; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1896) granting a pension to Emma E. Lithco; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1897) granting an increase of pension to William H. Pleasant; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1898) granting an increase of pension to David W. White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1899) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Wilcox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1900) granting an increase of pension to Eveline Jenkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1901) granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Chambers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1902) granting an increase of pension to William R. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1903) granting an increase of pension to John C. Reece; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1904) granting an increase of pension to Samuel F. Stanley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1905) granting an increase of pension to James R. Stout; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1906) granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Woodby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1907) granting an increase of pension to Romain M. Hawkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1908) granting an increase of pension to Rial Jennings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1909) granting an increase of pension to Harris Bell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1910) granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Brewer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1911) granting an increase of pension to Noah Collins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 1912) granting a pension to William Brown, alias Daniel Mulligan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1913) granting a pension to Jenkin Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1914) granting a pension to John Bresett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1915) granting a pension to Lavinia M. Goe; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1916) granting an increase of pension to John H. Rivers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1917) granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Hitchcock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 1918) granting a pension to G. T. Crowder; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1919) granting a pension to Harry N. Gates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1920) granting an increase of pension to Frank P. Lawrence; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1921) granting an increase of pension to George D. Mayes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1922) granting an increase of pension to Eugene B. Justice; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1923) granting an increase of pension to Charles Kinne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1924) granting an increase of pension to Ralph E. Evans; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STERLING of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 1925) granting a pension to Pauline A. Randt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1926) granting a pension to Milo M. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1927) granting a pension to Charles C. Sterling; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1928) granting a pension to Mary L. Steere; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1929) granting a pension to Andrew J. Bess; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1930) granting a pension to Benjamin Coward, invalid son of John Coward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1931) granting a pension to Annie S. Blanchard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1932) granting an increase of pension to Edward Looby; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1933) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Prisk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1934) granting an increase of pension to John B. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1935) granting an increase of pension to William McDonald; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1936) granting an increase of pension to William J. Shwimmer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1937) granting an increase of pension to James S. Doolittle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1938) granting an increase of pension to John C. Seneff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1939) granting an increase of pension to Susan A. Blaisdell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1940) granting an increase of pension to Edwin H. Miner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1941) granting an increase of pension to Hugh Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1942) for the relief of the Peoples' Bank of Bloomington, McLean County, Ill.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SWIFT: A bill (H. R. 1943) for the relief of Humphrey D. Jones; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1944) for the relief of Louis S. Barrett; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1945) for the relief of Alexander T. Graham; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1946) for the relief of Walter Parks; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1947) for the relief of Frank Bowers; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1948) for the relief of Harriet F. Hibben; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1949) granting a pension to Albert V. Lawson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1950) granting a pension to Augusta A. Richard; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1951) granting a pension to Hannah M. Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1952) granting a pension to Samuel Breitigan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1953) granting a pension to Johanna Edmonds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 1954) for the relief of Charles Lynch; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 1955) granting a pension to Edward F. Connors; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1956) granting a pension to James F. Connell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1957) granting a pension to John H. Cunningham, alias John H. Curley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1958) granting a pension to Michael S. Kane; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1959) granting a pension to William A. Martin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1960) granting a pension to Mary A. Bowen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1961) granting a pension to Edgar Norton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1962) granting a pension to Richard R. Hill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1963) granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Maxfield; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1964) for the relief of William J. Kerrigan; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1965) for the relief of Maxwell Carpenter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1966) for the relief of Jeremiah McCraith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1967) for the relief of Andrew Browning Atwell, alias Andrew Browning; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1968) for the relief of Patrick H. Murphy, alias Henry Watson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1969) to correct the military record of Thomas Duffy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1970) for the relief of Dennis J. Neagle; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1971) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Clarence C. Taft; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 1972) granting a pension to Thomas O. Wiley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1973) granting a pension to Edward Shaw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1974) granting a pension to James R. Medlock; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1975) granting a pension to James Law, alias John Armstrong; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1976) granting an increase of pension to Francis Clinton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 1977) for the relief of Thomas W. Killion; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WARD: A bill (H. R. 1978) to remove the charge of desertion against William H. Carter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1979) to remove the charge of desertion against Carlos R. Tompkins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 1980) granting a pension to Eliza J. Gay; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1981) granting a pension to William C. Leonard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1982) granting an increase of pension to John A. Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1983) granting an increase of pension to John Mallett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1984) granting an increase of pension to Mathew Atkinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1985) granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Gluck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1986) granting an increase of pension to George J. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1987) granting an increase of pension to Richard Starr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1988) granting an increase of pension to William Harper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1989) granting an increase of pension to Warren Burch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1990) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Pratt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1991) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Ayers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1992) granting an increase of pension to Edwin A. Jefferies; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1993) for the relief of James A. Showen; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1994) for the relief of Bessie Meek, wife of Gordon H. Meek, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1995) to correct the military record of Stephen A. West; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1996) to correct the military record of J. H. McGrew; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 1997) to correct the military record of Charles R. Pennybacker; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BACON: Petition of citizens of Michigan, on war and military affairs; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of 18 citizens of Petersburg, Mich., against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of churches of Ypsilanti, Mich., favoring amendment against polygamy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CRAGO: Memorial of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Pennsylvania, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DILLON: Petitions of citizens of Minnehaha, Pukwana, and officers of the Logan Reformed Sunday School, of Dell Rapids, S. Dak., against the United States in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FESS: Petition of Waynesville (Ohio) Sunday School, against declaration of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Springfield (Ohio) Rotary Club, indorsing President's stand on war situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Christian Herald, New York, to distribute costs of war on basis of incomes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Waynesville (Ohio) Sunday School, against declaration of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Englewood; Princeton Alumni Association, of Montclair; and citizens of Lawrenceville, all in the State of New Jersey, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: Petition of sundry citizens of the State of Rhode Island, favoring declaration of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of citizens of the State of Rhode Island, to urge standing by the President in present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: Petition signed by Charles F. Coe and 400 other citizens of the city of Findlay, Ohio, in which they declare absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States and pledge their support to the President in protecting American rights against unlawful violence upon land and sea, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international right; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LITTLE: Petition of 1,000 residents of Miami County, Kans., expressing the belief that it is for the best interests of the United States in general to stay out of war as long as possible, as by doing so we have peace and safety in our own land; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of mass meeting at Fort Scott, Kans., asking prohibition of liquor traffic in United States during war, and that there be a call for volunteers of men, money, and property to carry on the war, to be returned after the war, and asking that no person be allowed to make any profit out of war or preparations therefor; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. MAHER: Memorial of Y. M. H. A. of Williamsburg, Brooklyn, N. Y., relative to upholding the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: Memorial of National Guard Association meeting, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RIORDAN: Petition of citizens of Staten Island, N. Y., favoring peace; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SNELL: Resolution of the Patrons of Husbandry, Chazy Grange, No. 981, Chazy, N. Y., through M. D. Anderson, secretary, indorsing the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution of Earl Laidlaw, master; A. J. McCoy, secretary; and F. J. Bolton, chairman legislative committee of Gouverneur Grange, No. 303, Gouverneur, N. Y., indorsing the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SNOOK: Memorial of public meetings held at Wauseon and Swanton, Ohio, favoring amendment abolishing polygamy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SNYDER: Memorial of board of education, faculty, and students of the high school, Clinton, N. Y., pledging loyalty to the country and the President in present situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. STINESS: Petitions of governor of Rhode Island and 46 other prominent citizens of Rhode Island, and mayor of Providence, R. I., for the upholding of American honor and for the vindication of American rights; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: Memorial of Society of Colonial Wars, in State of Pennsylvania, supporting the President in the present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, favoring passage of the rivers and harbors appropriation bill; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: Petitions of William Berndt and 31 others, of Anamoose; August Morlock and 30 others, of Lake William; Fred Schmidt and 22 others, of Voltaire; William Schaller and 28 others, of Ellendale; W. H. Rupp and 34 others, of Baldwin, all in the State of North Dakota, protesting against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *April 5, 1917.*

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we know not how or why, but we are here, and we believe through the promptings of infinite love. Thou hast imbued us with marvelous faculties of mind and soul, and bade us go forward day by day to new achievements and larger life. Help us, we beseech Thee, to think wisely and act conscientiously, and to leave the rest to a wise Providence which has never yet failed us. And everlasting praise we will give to Thee through Him who taught us how to live and how to die for liberty, justice, truth, and righteousness. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Baker, the Secretary of the Senate, announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting therein certain resolutions passed by American citizens of German ancestry in Lincoln, Nebr., pledging their loyalty and offering their services to the Government of the United States.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is their objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of Rhode Island relative to obligatory military training.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Rhode Island asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of House joint resolution 24, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same. Pending that, I first ask unanimous consent that the resolution passed last night by the Senate, which is identical with the House resolution, be substituted for the House resolution.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I suppose the gentleman desires to ask unanimous consent that it shall be in order now to proceed to the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1, in lieu of considering the House resolution?

Mr. FLOOD. Exactly.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent that Senate joint resolution No. 1, passed last night by the Senate, be substituted for the House joint resolution.

Mr. FLOOD. And be considered in lieu thereof.

Mr. MANN. That it be in order to consider it.

The SPEAKER. That it be in order to consider it in lieu of the House joint resolution. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I now move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering Senate joint resolution No. 1. Pending that I desire to see if we can not make some arrangement respecting debate, as to what time it shall close, and when a vote shall be taken.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I thought the gentleman on yesterday said that debate would run along.

Mr. FLOOD. I said I thought it would run along until 4 or 5 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman mean the general debate?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Then how long will there be for opportunity for debate under the five-minute rule?

Mr. FLOOD. I mean that, altogether. I mean that we want to vote about 5 o'clock this afternoon. I thought general debate could run along for some time less than that, and that then there would be time given under the five-minute rule.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. How would a suggestion of this kind meet with the approval of gentlemen—one hour on a side for general debate, and then the five-minute rule? Under that arrangement the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] would have an hour, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] an hour, to be consumed by members of the committee, and under the five-minute rule men who are not members of the committee would have an opportunity to express their views.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, that would not be satisfactory at all, because the number who desire to speak in favor of the resolution greatly outnumber those who are opposed to it, and I certainly would not consent to any such arrangement——

Mr. BORLAND. That would not cause any confusion.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I would not consent to any arrangement by which a few people would have the right to occupy so much more of the time on this matter than the many.

Mr. BORLAND. The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole would have the right to recognize gentlemen in order.

Mr. MANN. But he would have to recognize those for and against the proposition.

Mr. BORLAND. It would give Members of the House who are not members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and who do not ask for time on either side an opportunity for recognition.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I hope some arrangement can be made by which the general membership of the House may speak.

Mr. BORLAND. That is what we are endeavoring to do.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that we might proceed with general debate without fixing any time at the present, and then after a while, unless the time is divided so as to satisfy the House, the gentleman from Virginia could move to rise and close general debate and then proceed under the five-minute rule as long as the House is willing to consent to it.

Mr. FLOOD. That was my expectation, if we failed to get an agreement as to the length of debate.

Mr. MANN. I think that is the way we ought to proceed.

Mr. BORLAND. It does seem to me that we ought to have a limit upon general debate before we go into the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MANN. I do not see why.

Mr. BORLAND. And then the five-minute rule can run until the House is ready to vote.

Mr. MANN. Here is the situation: If we go into the Committee of the Whole on general debate and remain therein, the gentleman in favor of the resolution is entitled to an hour's time—and I do not think you can make a division—and some gentleman who is opposed to the resolution is entitled to an hour's time. After that a gentleman in favor of the resolution would be entitled to an hour's time, and then some gentleman opposed to it entitled to an hour's time.

Mr. BORLAND. That is what we do not want.

Mr. MANN. Whereas if we get into the consideration of the bill under the five-minute rule early the Members of the House will have a chance to take five minutes.

Mr. BORLAND. That is exactly the proposition I am making, that general debate be limited to two hours and then directly go into the consideration of the bill under the five-minute rule to give Members of the House an opportunity to speak.

Mr. MANN. You can not limit general debate to two hours, but at the end of two hours, if the gentleman chooses, unless time has been appropriated among Members to their satisfaction, he can close general debate by a motion.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Is it to be understood when a gentleman is recognized in general debate that he thereby has one hour and thereafter he can occupy, say, 10 minutes and then yield of his own time to such Members as he cares to yield to from that hour?

Mr. FLOOD. That is a parliamentary inquiry which the Speaker had better answer.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make that parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman desires to do what?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. To ask if a Member is recognized in general debate he thereby secures the floor for one hour——

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Is he thereby entitled to occupy, say, 10 minutes and then yield the remainder of his hour to such Members as he desires?

The SPEAKER. That is not the usual practice, although it has been done at different times.

Mr. MANN. If a gentleman gets an hour, he can yield of it as he pleases.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is stating what the practice had been and what exceptions to it were. Until a short time ago a man either had to use his time or quit, but here in the last Congress the House drifted into this thing of a man yielding his time. I believe that would be the rule to-day, although the present occupant of the chair will not be in the chair.

Mr. MANN. That has been the rule ever since I have been here.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I beg the gentleman's pardon, I know it has been tried on several occasions and a Member had either to occupy his time or quit.

Mr. MANN. A Member who has an hour always has the right to yield.

The SPEAKER. The Chair should assume that that was the time where if a man got an hour he could do as he pleased about it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I rise to speak to the subject before the House, if I may be indulged.

The SPEAKER. There is no trouble about that, but the subject is not before the House. The gentleman from Virginia was trying to negotiate a modus vivendi by which this debate could be carried on. There is no definite proposition before the House.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. No; but, Mr. Speaker, the Speaker on yesterday suggested that the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs should be consulted or recognized after the gentleman from Virginia. It has always been customary hitherto to make an arrangement in the House to govern debate when we were in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union on any proposition.

The SPEAKER. That is what they are trying to do now.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Without consulting, however, the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FLOOD. The gentleman is entirely mistaken. I appealed to him when I first rose to know in regard to the time.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And I only asked one question when the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] kindly took the floor [laughter], and then the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND], who is not even a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to ask another question.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. That is exactly what we are trying to get at.

Mr. GARNER. Let us have it, if we can, and see if the gentleman from Wisconsin can get the floor on the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin has already got it. Can the gentleman from Virginia and the gentleman from Wisconsin come to an agreement?

Mr. FLOOD. I am waiting to see.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the motion to go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union on this resolution.

Mr. GARNER. That is what I am calling for.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARNER] permit me to say that there are several Members who are opposed to the resolution who do not desire to speak an hour, but they do desire to speak more than 5 minutes, possibly 10 minutes; several have told me they wish to speak 10 minutes, some even 20 minutes. There are many upon the other side who wish a similar opportunity. It has always been customary to leave the control of the time to the ranking majority member of the committee and the ranking minority member of the committee.

Mr. FLOOD. Can I ask the gentleman a question? Will the gentleman yield to members of the minority who desire to speak in favor of the resolution?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I expected that inquiry would be made. This is not really a party question. This is a question of sending this Nation into war, and the gentleman from Virginia was not elected on that issue nor was I. Then why attempt to invoke the rule of party regularity upon this? Let the gentleman from Virginia control the time of all those, irrespective of party, who are in favor of the resolution, and let the ranking minority members, as is customary, control the time of those who are opposed to the resolution.

Mr. FLOOD. That is what I wanted to find out from the gentleman.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Under the circumstances I ought not to control the time of any who favor the resolution.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Can the gentleman from Wisconsin indicate about how many desire to talk against the resolution?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Can the gentleman from Minnesota indicate about how many want to speak in favor of it?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. As far as I know, all the Members in the House.

Mr. BRITTEN. The gentleman is mistaken about that.

Mr. FLOOD. As I understand, the gentleman desires to yield time to the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle who are against the resolution. This is not a partisan question, and I do not think it is fair for one gentleman to have control of half of the time in this debate when those who vote with him do not represent one twenty-fifth of the membership of the House.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not propose to control half of the time. I simply ask that the few gentlemen who have requested time in opposition to the resolution shall be granted the privilege of speaking.

Mr. FLOOD. How much time will that take?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not know. Some of them want 10 or 20 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. I suggest that the motion be put, and we will try to arrange that later.

The SPEAKER. The question is on going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union on this resolution.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. Does that mean that anybody who gets the floor has one hour?

The SPEAKER. It undoubtedly does; that is, if he wants an hour.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. But he can not yield any of that time.

The SPEAKER. Yes; he can. That has been the practice here for two or three years.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I think the best way is to proceed in the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is to vote on going into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, with Mr. FITZGERALD in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee will indulge the Chair for a moment, he wishes to call attention to the fact that under the rules no Member is permitted to speak without first addressing the Chair, nor is he permitted to interrupt a Member without so addressing the Chair, or to make interruptions from his seat. Members occupying the floor can not be interrupted by gentlemen submitting parliamentary inquiries. It is a breach of order for any manifestation of approval or disapproval to be given by the galleries. The Chair hopes that the committee will observe these rules so as to make the conduct of this debate at least as easy as possible for the occupant of the chair.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] is recognized for one hour. [Applause.]

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, in presenting this resolution declaring that a state of war exists between this country and its people on the one hand and the German Empire on the other, I realize the deep solemnity of the occasion. And I believe, Mr. Chairman, that every Member upon this floor realizes the seriousness of the step which we are about to take. The American Congress is composed, as far as I know and believe, without exception, of American patriots, who will vote according to their judgment in the best interests of their country, who will cast their vote to-day upon this momentous resolution for what they believe to be for the best interests of America. [Applause.] I am happy to believe, Mr. Chairman, that most of the Members of this body will vote for this resolution, will vote to comply with the request made by the President of the United States, will vote to meet the demands of the American people, will vote, with the Senate of the United States, to declare that the illegal acts of the German Government have brought about a state of war with our country. [Applause.]

I have thought this, Mr. Chairman, for the past three weeks. I have believed during that time there could be no question as to how the American Congress should vote. [Applause.] I have not seen how an American citizen or an American Congressman could cast his vote in any other way; and in saying this I do not mean to challenge anything except the judgment of those Congressmen who take a different view, because I know that there are some Members whose patriotism and whose integrity stand as high as any man in this House or in this country, who will vote against this resolution. But it has seemed to me that during the past three weeks there has been manifested to everyone who has watched the current of events a determined and deliberate intention on the part of the German Government to insult our flag, to destroy American property, and to murder American citizens, and a nation that will not fight for its honor and for such wrongs to its people is not worthy of the love of those people or the respect of the world and will not long retain either. [Applause.] With that situation, it seemed to me there was but one course for an American and a Congressman to pursue, and that was to accept the gage of battle thrown at our feet by the arrogant autocracy of Germany. [Prolonged applause.]

For two years and a half the world has been afire. For two years and a half our civilization has been shaken by a convulsion unequaled in its history heretofore. But during that time the great Chief Executive of this country, by the exercise of a marvelous patience, by the exercise of great wisdom and patriotism, has kept this country out of Europe's fearful conflict. But despite all of his efforts in the interests of peace, despite the wishes and the prayers of the American people in the interests of peace, despite our many courtesies to and our unfailing consideration of the German Government, this powerful belligerent, this most unscrupulous of all the European belligerents, has so acted as to make it necessary for us to enter the war, and when we do enter it we will teach that belligerent that it is a dangerous thing to arouse the long-suffering and patient democracy of this great Republic. [Applause.]

The improper acts of German officials in the United States who have filled our unsuspecting communities with spies and set criminal intrigues on foot against our peace, industry, and commerce, the indignities inflicted upon American officials, the inhuman treatment accorded the *Yarrowdale* prisoners by the German authorities, the interference with the communications of our embassy at Berlin, the intrigues to involve the United States in war with Mexico and Japan constitute sufficient offenses against our dignity and honor as a nation as to have justified a severance of diplomatic relations, if not a declaration of war. But we felt, and the President felt, that many of the illegal and unjustifiable acts of the Imperial Government might be settled by negotiation, and the President has attempted peaceful settlement with a patience rarely equaled in human history.

The German Government, however, has not stopped with the commission of these offenses. It is actually to-day waging war upon our people and our commerce, and that in the face of its repeated declarations and promises that it would abstain from such a course in violation of its treaty obligations with us and of humane rules of war which have obtained for centuries among civilized nations. It has treated all its promises as mere "scraps of paper." It is making war upon us in violation of right, but especially in violation of its definite promises given us at least eight times in the last two years that it would abstain from the character of submarine warfare which it is now conducting.

There is nothing left for America to-day to do but to accept the war that that Government has thrust upon us. [Applause.] When the world war broke out no principle of international law was more securely established than that war should be so conducted that injury and death should be spared to noncombatants so far as was humanly possible.

The principle was as old as civilization. In the application of this principle Grotius holds that "in the calamities of war children are exempted and spared on the score of their age and women from respect to their sex."

This was the principle which applied to the noncombatants of the belligerent nations. The reasons for applying this reasonable and humane rule to neutrals who had no part in war was very much stronger.

Such was the undoubted law of civilization at the outbreak of this war.

The clearest recognition of this principle is evidenced by the fact that for six months after the war began it was recognized by all the warring nations, and the idea that any right existed to slaughter indiscriminately noncombatants, including women and children, whether citizens of belligerent nations, in order to destroy an enemy's commerce was not asserted until the war had raged in all of its fury for a half a year.

When this proposition was advanced our Government took immediate issue with it.

Germany gave notice on the 4th day of February, 1915, of her purpose to sink merchant vessels on the high seas without safeguarding the lives of noncombatants and the crews and passengers. Our Government on February 10 sent, through our Secretary of State, the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, a note of protest to the German Government, taking positive and splendid issue with it upon its proposed ruthless submarine warfare; and I will say, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Bryan never produced a finer document than the note to Germany on that occasion. It protested against the German proposed disregard of the precepts of international law and the instincts of humanity. This splendid document seemed to be effective, for on the 16th day of February the Imperial German Government replied to it in a friendly and satisfactory manner, conceding the propriety, the legality, and the right of the position taken by our Government. [Applause.]

That Government declared on the 16th of February that—

> It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property.

That was promise No. 1, made by the German Government to this Government, to respect the lives of neutrals and neutral properties. Their reply goes on to say:

> The commanders of the German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American ships when they are recognizable as such.

A distinct promise on the part of the German Government to respect the rights of American ships when they are recognized as such. And yet within the past three weeks, Mr. Chairman, they have sent to the bottom of the ocean seven American merchant ships which they recognized as such, and which they torpedoed and sunk without warning and without notice and without the slightest opportunity for the passengers and crew to have their lives saved.

That is war. That is the war that the German Government is making upon this country to-day.

Our Government had every right to believe that this promise of February 16, 1915, could be relied upon, and our Government did rely upon that promise. Nevertheless the German Government proceeded to carry out its plans of submarine warfare as if that promise had never been made, and it torpedoed on March 27, just a little over a month after that promise was made, the British passenger ship *Falaba*, with Americans on board, on which occasion one American lost his life. On April 28, less than two months and a half after this first promise was made, the American steamer *Cushing* was attacked by airships, and on May 1 the American tank steamer *Gulflight* was attacked by submarines; and on May 7, less than three months after the promise was made, the British passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk, when 114 American lives were lost; and later on in that month, the American steamer *Nebraskan* was attacked by submarines and sunk; in all of which ships there were 125 citizens of the United States murdered and hundreds of noncombatants, including men, women, and children of other nations, lost their lives, and a number of American citizens had their lives put in jeopardy. Later on, on June 28, the British mule boat *Armenian* was torpedoed, and 20 Americans lost their lives.

The American Government vigorously protested against these outrages, expressing its condemnation of Germany's violation of the laws of nations, the instincts of humanity, and her agreements with this country in murdering innocent American citizens and noncombatants of other nations. The German Government replied to these protests, making one excuse after another, and impressing our Government with its intention in the future to observe the rules of the sea, the laws of nations, and the principles of humanity.

On July 8, 1915, in a note to Ambassador Gerard, arguing in defense of its method of warfare, and particularly of the submarine commander in the *Lusitania* case, the German Government stated—and here is promise No. 2; listen to what the German Government said to the United States on that occasion:

> The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.
>
> In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers * * * the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance.

This promise was unequivocal—there was no string to it—but notwithstanding that fact seven American ships have been sunk in violation of it in the last few weeks.

This was a promise to safeguard American ships and American passengers upon neutral ships. But notwithstanding this, subsequent to the 8th of July, 1915, a number of vessels—namely, the *Orduna* and *Leo*, July 9; *Leelanaw*, July 25; *Arabic* and *Nicosum*, August 19; and the *Hesperian*, September 4—carrying American citizens were attacked and sunk by submarines and 25 American lives were lost in such ships.

Following these events, conspicuous by their wantonness and violation of every rule of humanity and maritime warfare, the German ambassador, by instructions from his Government, on December 1, 1915, gave the following assurances to the Government of the United States. This is promise No. 3. Here is what the German Government promised upon this occasion:

> Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

That promise seems clear and very distinct.

On September 9, in a reply to the submarine attack on the *Orduna*, the German Government gave assurance No. 4, in the following language:

The first attack on the *Orduna* of a torpedo was not in accordance with the existing instructions, which provide that large passenger steamers are to be torpedoed only after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew.

The German Government, Mr. Chairman, could not more clearly have stated that liners or large passenger steamers would not be torpedoed except upon previous warning and after the passengers and crew had been put in places of safety.

On November 29 the German Government stated in connection with the case of the American vessel *William P. Frye*—and this is pledge No. 5, given by the German Government to our Government not to conduct a ruthless submarine warfare. It said:

The German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband when the three conditions provided by the Declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crews and passengers of the vessels to be sunk. Consequently the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into a lifeboat except when the general conditions—that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coast—afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port.

Mr. Chairman, there could hardly be a more positive and definite agreement made by the German Government with this Government not to sink passenger liners until they had been warned, and not only until the passengers and crew had been afforded an opportunity to escape with their lives, but the commanders of the German submarines were to take into consideration the conditions surrounding the liner—the condition of the weather, the condition of the sea, and its proximity to a port—and they should not be ordered into boats unless those conditions gave absolute certainty that they could reach land in safety.

Mr. SISSON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. Certainly.

Mr. SISSON. I did not catch the date. When was the date of that agreement that the gentleman last referred to?

Mr. FLOOD. The date of that was November 29, 1915.

Following this accumulated series of assurances though, which were brought about by the strong protest of our Government against the violation of their previous promises and their illegal submarine warfare, there does not seem to have been the slightest abatement in the rigor of submarine warfare, for attacks were made in the Mediterranean upon an American steamer on December 3, upon another American steamer on December 5, a Japanese steamer on December 21 of that year, and the passenger liner *Persia* on December 30. In the sinking of the *Persia* out of a total of 500 human beings on board only 165 were saved. Among those lost was an American consul traveling to his post. On January 7, eight days after the sinking of the *Persia*, after a protest had been sent by us to the German Government, that Government again notified our Government through its ambassador in Washington that it would no longer pursue this character of submarine warfare, saying:

First, German submarines in the Mediterranean had from the beginning orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with the general principle of international law, and in particular the measures of reprisal as applied to the war zone around the British Isles were to be excluded.

But yet we have never heard of the punishment of the submarine commanders and crews who destroyed these vessels and murdered these people in the Mediterranean in violation of that instruction of their Government.

Second. German submarines are, therefore, permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediteranean—that is, passenger as well as freight ships—as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance, only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

That is all that our Government demanded of them. That is all that the United States required of the German Government in the conduct of its submarine warfare. We demanded that they should not murder unoffending noncombatants—men, women, and children—upon the high seas, but that when they determined to sink a merchant vessel they could do so only after they had given warning to that vessel, and provided for the safety of the people on board. And here is the sixth distinct, positive, clear, and unequivocal promise that the German Government made to the Government of the United States to observe these rules of submarine warfare. Clearly, Mr. Chairman, the assurances of that Government that neutral and enemy merchant vessels, passenger as well as freight ships, should not be destroyed except upon the passengers and crews being accorded safety were by these promises declared to be the official position of the Imperial German Government. [Applause.]

On February 16, 1916, the German ambassador communicated to the Department of State an expression of regret for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania* and proposed to pay a suitable indemnity. In the course of this note the seventh promise is made to this Government to conduct a decent submarine warfare. It said:

Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects.

But notwithstanding this assurance, on March 1, 1916, the unarmed French passenger steamer *Patria*, carrying a number of American citizens was attacked without warning. On March 9 the Norwegian bark *Silius* was torpedoed by an unseen submarine and one of the seven Americans on board was injured. On March 16 the Dutch passenger steamer *Tubantia* was sunk in the North Sea by a torpedo. On March 16 the British steamer *Berwindale* was torpedoed without warning with four Americans on board. On March 24 the British unarmed steamer *Englishman* was, after a chase, torpedoed and sunk by the submarine *U–19*, as a result of which one American on board perished. On March 24 the unarmed French cross-channel steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning and several of the 24 American passengers were injured. On March 27 the unarmed British liner *Manchester Engineer* was sunk by an explosion without prior warning with Americans on board, and on March 28 the British steamer *Eagle Point* was chased, overtaken, and sunk by a torpedo after the persons on board had taken to the boats.

These lawless acts upon merchant vessels and the lives of American citizens and the repeated violation of promises made by the German Government to our Government, and also the violations of the treaty obligations brought us to the point where it seems there was nothing for our Government to do but to break off diplomatic relations with the German Government and take whatever steps a breach of diplomatic relations might lead to.

In a communication of April 8, 1916, the American Government said:

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should not immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

The German Government replied to this communication on May 4, 1916, giving definite assurances that new orders had been issued to the German naval forces "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law," and again assured our Government that under these rules no American citizens' lives would be taken and no merchant vessels would be sunk without warning and without an opportunity for the people, passengers, and crew aboard the ships to escape with their lives.

Under this assurance the country breathed easier. The breach of diplomatic relations was avoided and war seemed to have been averted. I believed, and many other people in this country believed, that President Wilson had accomplished the greatest diplomatic triumph of the century. Germany had given this promise to abandon and not resume ruthless submarine warfare, and we credited her with sincerity. She had promised that in the future this warfare would be conducted according to the principles of visit and search, that passenger vessels would not be sunk, that due warning would be given the vessels, and that submarines might seek to destroy only when resistance was offered or escape attempted.

This method of submarine warfare which Germany promised to conduct was substantially lived up to from the 4th of May, 1916, to the 1st day of February of the present year. But on January 31, 1917, the German Government served this notice upon our Government:

Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

That notice was not only opposed to every principle of international law, but to every dictate of humanity, and it was in direct contravention of these eight promises that the German Government had during the preceding two years made to our Government. It is in contravention of the treaty between this country and Prussia entered into in 1828 and to which Germany has appealed recently in some of her controversies with our country.

In view of these facts and of this Government's warning of April 18, 1916, and the pledge of the Imperial German Govern-

ment of May 4 of the same year, it could not have been expected by the German Government that this Government would permit it to fence off the high seas at its pleasure, to deny American ships and American citizens the right to go upon these seas in safety, where every nation, including Germany, conceded they had a perfect right to go, so that Government's notice of January 31 was little short of a declaration of war against this country.

On the 3d of February, 1917, our Government sent the following declaration to the Imperial German Government through its ambassador, Count von Bernstorff:

In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your excellency your passports—

Thus breaking off diplomatic relations, recalled our ambassador in Germany, and gave the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, his passports. On February 3, 1917, following the breaking off of diplomatic relations one American ship was sunk, and since that date seven ships flying the American flag and bearing American registry have been torpedoed. One of these vessels was an armed merchant vessel. The loss of life on these ships has been between 25 and 30 American souls. Twenty-five or 30 American citizens traveling on American ships under the American flag, expecting its protection, as they had a right to expect, have been ruthlessly murdered by the German Government. In addition to that, many foreign vessels of both belligerents and neutrals have been sunk since February 1, 1917, and a number of American lives destroyed and many more put in jeopardy.

Mr. Chairman, this is war; it is nothing but war—war waged by the German Government upon the people and the flag of the United States.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman will recall that when the armed-neutrality resolution was under consideration it was stated by a number of opponents that the putting of guns on American merchant ships would invite an attack from Germany. As I have understood the gentleman's splendid review of the facts, these attacks by Germany have been made upon unarmed American ships.

Mr. FLOOD. With one exception.

Mr. BORLAND. Then the statement that the arming of American ships would invite attack by Germany is wholly without foundation.

Mr. FLOOD. I think so. Generally they avoid armed ships.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Prior to the proclamation of the President, authorizing the arming of American merchant ships, had Germany in any instance by her submarine warfare sunk any American merchant ship without warning, since the diplomatic relations were broken off?

Mr. FLOOD. Oh, yes; she sunk one on February 3.

Mr. STAFFORD. Which one was that? In the case of the *Law*, sunk in the Mediterranean, that was sunk with warning. Where is there an instance of a ship having been sunk since the breaking off of diplomatic relations, without warning, prior to the proclamation authorizing the arming of American merchant ships?

Mr. FLOOD. The *Algonquin* is one, and the *Housatonic* was sunk on February 3 and the *Law* on February 13. Diplomatic relations were severed on the 1st.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, the *Algonquin* is a case subsequent to the authorization of the arming of American ships.

Mr. FLOOD. I think the gentleman is mistaken about that. Of course most of them have happened more recently, since the arming of American vessels, but my recollection is that just before and while the resolution or bill providing for the arming of American vessels was pending in Congress there were one or two of those seven sunk.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think the gentlemen's recollection is entirely at fault. I would like to have him confirm his recollection by calling up the State Department and citing an instance of an American vessel having been sunk without warning subsequent to the breaking off of diplomatic relations and prior to the authorization by the President of the arming of American ships.

Mr. FLOOD. Oh, yes; while the bill was pending in the Senate on the 3d of March the *Vigilancia* and the *City of Memphis*——

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, the gentleman is entirely mistaken about that. The *Vigilancia* and the *City of Memphis* and the *Illinois* were sunk two weeks ago last Sunday, long after Congress had adjourned.

Mr. FLOOD. The gentleman is correct about that. The *Vigilancia* was sunk on March 16, and the *City of Memphis* on the 17th. The ship I had in mind as having been sunk during the debate in the Senate on the armed neutrality bill was a Norwegian ship, the *Sjostad*, on which one American life was lost.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is not accurate in his statements.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. BRITTEN. What did the administration expect to accomplish by its armed-neutrality bill?

Mr. FLOOD. I will say to the gentleman that the armed-neutrality bill is a thing of the past.

Mr. BRITTEN. And a failure.

Mr. FLOOD. I do not think it would have been a failure if certain Senators had permitted it to become a law. [Applause.]

Mr. BRITTEN. The President said the day before yesterday in this chamber that it was impracticable at best, did he not?

Mr. FLOOD. Impracticable at this time, because the time for neutrality of any kind is past. [Applause.] We are at war now. A foreign government is making war upon this country, and we are not going to depend upon neutrality, armed neutrality or any other neutrality, but we are going to war with the country that is making war upon our Nation and murdering our people. [Applause.] These acts are acts of war. American vessels flying the American flag, carrying American men, women, and children, have been sunk by German submarines without warning, and without the slightest opportunity for saving their lives—in violation of the German treaty, in violation of eight promises made to this Government, in violation of the principles of international law, and in violaton of the instincts of humanity, and for these wrongs America is going to war and proposes to put her resources and her strength in that war in the interest of her honor, in the interest of her people, in the interest of democracy, and in the interest of humanity.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. I do.

Mr. FESS. Has the chairman of the committee any definite information as to how many of our armed vessels passed through the war zone, so as to know whether Germany has any intention of changing her policy because of our policy of armed neutrality?

Mr. FLOOD. I have not got that information, but I do not think that they have changed their policy in the slightest.

Mr. FESS. I do not, either.

Mr. FLOOD. They have notified us time and again they intended to sink merchant vessels. They have said nothing about the arming of them. They have notified us they intended to sink them in a war zone that took in nearly all of the high seas, and they have been sinking them and murdering our citizens on them. In such circumstances, what are we to do? What is the American Congress to do? What is the American Government to do? There is but one thing to do, and that is to go to the defense of our people and the honor of our flag. [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield again for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. FESS. If we yield to a certain limit of 400 miles, what assurance have we that we would not be asked to yield a thousand miles or the entire seas?

Mr. FLOOD. None in the world. There is but one issue before the American people to-day; there is but one issue before the American Congress. We must defend our country, defend the rights of our citizens, and defend our flag, or cravenly and cowardly submit to the dictates and domination of the German Kaiser. [Applause.]

Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes; I do.

Mr. GORDON. In response to the inquiry of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] as to any evidence in the gentleman's possession as to any intention of the German Government to sink any armed vessels, I desire to ask the gentleman if the last note of the German Government to this Govern-

ment—January 31—did not expressly notify this Government of its intention to sink all neutral vessels of all kinds, whether they were armed or unarmed?

Mr. FLOOD. It did. I stated that in answer to the question of the gentleman from Ohio. I read the note. They have never qualified it. They have never indicated their intention to modify their system of submarine warfare.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. I will.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Do not the British mines in the North Sea, in violation of international law, sink all neutral vessels, whether armed or unarmed?

Mr. FLOOD. No; they have not destroyed any American lives.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. They sunk three of our ships.

Mr. FLOOD. Not a single one.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Why, they sunk three of our ships—the *Evelyn*, the *Carib*, and another, whose name I have forgotten.

Mr. FLOOD. The *Carib* and the *Evelyn* were sunk by German mines made by the German Government. England in this war, although she has violated our commercial rights and our rights on the seas, has never destroyed an American life. Germany has murdered over 250 of our people. We are going to war with Germany for murdering American citizens who were sailing the high seas under the American flag, and who have the right to expect the American Nation to protect them [applause], for murdering American citizens in violation of the laws of God and man, in violation of Germany's treaties and its promises.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. Was not the *Evelyn* sunk in the North Sea close to the German coast, in the German mine area?

Mr. FLOOD. It was. The German Government admits there were German mines there and excuses itself by saying that the *Evelyn* should have had a German pilot on board.

Mr. BRITTEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. I will.

Mr. BRITTEN. Is it not a fact the report of the American consul indicated that the *Evelyn* was sunk by a British mine, and is it not also a fact the *Evelyn* had a cargo of cotton for Germany, and does the gentleman think that Germany would sink her own cargo?

Mr. FLOOD. It is a fact that the evidence in the State Department proves a German mine sunk the *Evelyn*, and the German Government does not deny it. [Applause.]

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield for just one question?

Mr. FLOOD. I have yielded to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS].

Mr. FESS. Speaking of the differences of the war-zone orders between Germany and England in closing the sea, is it not a fact that England's order was not forbidding entrance, but rather a caution to vessels going into the North Sea, and also that pilots would be furnished to pilot such vessels through the safety zone?

Mr. FLOOD. That is true.

Mr. FESS. But there was no order to stay out, no order to sink, but simply the suggestion that it was dangerous to go in, but not from submarines——

Mr. FLOOD. And directing them where to go and an offer to pilot them away from the danger zone.

Mr. FESS. Stating that there were mines. Those two then are not alike?

Mr. FLOOD. Not at all. There is no similarity in the two cases. The question, Mr. Chairman, is whether we shall accept the gage of battle which has been thrown down to us by the German Government. We would be cravens if we did not. There is no choice as to our course. We are compelled by the acts of the German Government to enter into this colossal war. [Applause.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman permit one question?

Mr. FLOOD. I have only a few minutes and I can not yield now. Mr. Chairman, the time for argument has passed, the time for heroic action is here, and I believe the American people will rally to the support of their Government in this trying and patriotic hour and meet war's sacrifices and war's perils as a brave people should. We will take our stand by the side of the allied nations who have been fighting humanity's battle for two and one-half years, determined that our power, our resources, our men, if needs be, shall be so employed that complete victory shall crown their efforts and our efforts and that Prussian militarism shall be crushed forever from the face of the earth, and that the world shall be delivered from the threat and danger of the Hohenzollern dynasty. [Applause.]

This war is not of our choosing. We have submitted to outrages which could be borne only because of our conscious rectitude and of our steadfast hope that we might bring peace to stricken humanity. That hope was destroyed by the obstinate outlawry of the German Government. Our cause is just, we are about to engage in a war as sacred and as noble as the war of 1776. We will be fighting for our freedom, our ideals, our liberty, and our institutions as truly as the patriots of Valley Forge and Yorktown fought for theirs. For wrongs committed by the German Government to democracy, to humanity, and to civilization we have ample cause for declaring war; for wrongs done to American citizens and the American flag we have no course but to go to war. [Applause.]

Let us, Mr. Chairman, pass this resolution. Let us sustain the President by the enactment of this resolution and by the enactment of other measures which may be necessary to bring this war to a successful conclusion. Let us take our stand with the Senate, go into this war with all our resources, and then welcome the dawn of a grander and a freer day for all the peoples of the earth. [Applause.]

The American Nation is the fairest flower of civilization. Princes may be jealous of her progress and tyrants may read in her rise their own downfall; but the great heart of the people of every land and clime is hers, she is their beacon light, guiding them to-day to the glories of this grander day. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Sixteen gentlemen have requested me for time. I had supposed until this arrangement was made the morning before the debate opened that, as has been customary always hitherto——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hopes the gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I am going to make a parliamentary inquiry now in a moment. I had supposed that the Chairman would control on that side for those favoring the resolution and the ranking member on this side for those who oppose it, and if there were others in the minority membership in favor of the bill that somebody on this side of the Chamber would be appointed to give them time. That would be perfectly fair and the customary practice. But as I have only one hour, and as these gentlemen, evidently thinking that the old method would be followed, have asked for time and I have noticed them going to the Chair for recognition, it seems inevitable that somebody is to be shut out. It is not at all in accordance with the understanding which everybody had here yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will suggest to the gentleman from Wisconsin that he can not under the guise of a parliamentary inquiry debate the question. He must proceed or the Chair will recognize for debate any of the other gentlemen.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Can I yield these gentlemen time and then get an hour later?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is entitled as a member of the committee to recognition at this time before any other Member of the House. If the gentleman desires recognition the Chair will recognize him for one hour. Whether he gets recognition later on will depend upon whether other Members who desire to be recognized have been recognized. Does the gentleman wish to be recognized now?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not see that I can do anything else. I have agreed to give those gentlemen that time——

Mr. BRITTEN. A parliamentary inquiry. Is it the intention of the Chair to recognize gentlemen whose names he has on his desk?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair declines to commit himself. He is embarrassed enough as it is without making any public statement about it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I regret to be compelled to say to the gentlemen who spoke to me for time that I find myself unable to yield to their requests without relinquishing all of my own time. I suggest that they go directly to the Chairman.

I regret also that it will be impossible for me to submit the remarks which I had intended, because as the result of a slight accident since the session opened to-day I have been deprived of the only means by which I could see to read my own notes. Were the occasion not one of such extraordinary importance, I should not speak at all.

Mr. Chairman, at the outset, in view of the statement just made by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] as to the loss of lives of American citizens through submarine warfare, I desire to call attention to a letter dated March 27, 1917, from the Secretary of State:

Hon. C. W. RAMSEYER,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. RAMSEYER: I have received your letter of March 15, 1917, in which you request to be informed as to the number of American citizens who lost their lives as the result of the attack and sinking of the *Lusitania*, the *Sussex*, the *Carib*, and the *Evelyn*.

In reply you are informed that no American citizens lost their lives on the *Sussex* and *Evelyn*, but that 137 perished with the *Lusitania* and 1 with the *Carib*.

I am, my dear Mr. RAMSEYER,
Very sincerely, yours, ROBERT LANSING.

It thus appears that one life was lost on the *Carib* and none on the *Sussex*.

In view of the information in this letter of the Secretary of State it is to be regretted that the President, on February 3—two months ago—in his address to the Congress said:

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States, who were passengers aboard her—

I make no attack upon the President of the United States; not at all. I simply present the facts. But I have received many letters from constituents calling attention to the President's language and to what some of the writers called the "infamous murder of American citizens" by the sinking of the *Sussex*. And yet no American citizen lost his life. Is it not time for accuracy of information?

Mr. Chairman, a year ago, during the debate on the McLemore resolution, I said:

If war should come to us, we will be united in support of the Government.

I to-day renew that pledge, though I still am strongly opposed to having this Nation enter the war and shall vote against the pending resolution. I shall vote against it not because I am opposed to preparedness, though the contrary has been repeatedly and falsely charged. I voted for all of the preparedness bills. As the House knows, my vote was cast for the appropriations for the Navy, for the Army, for aeroplanes, for submarines, for fortifications. I shall vote against the resolution for a different reason.

Much is said about the rights of American citizens. Had those fathers and mothers, sons and daughters quietly assembled in that building in Baltimore not to incite to the destruction of life or property but only to consult together in the hope that they might be able to say or do something that would help to keep their country at peace—had they no rights?

David Starr Jordan, one of the most distinguished educators of the country, the president of Leland Stanford University, in the country, and other speakers of prominence, men and women, were to address the meeting. And yet their meeting was broken up by a mob which forced open the doors and drove them into the street.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] is solicitous about American rights. Do not merely insist that an American citizen has the right to ride on a belligerent ship into the zone of war and that if the ship and he go to the bottom of the sea we must send our young men 4,000 miles away to avenge his death, for the President and the Secretary of State, in the letter of the 16th of January, 1916, said that the right of an American citizen to travel on a belligerent ship into the zone of war is a "doubtful legal right." "Doubtful" was their word. It is a doubtful legal right. Are we to go to war to enforce it? What are the rights that you want protected? Do they include the right of free speech in Philadelphia? Take the papers of Monday. Read that a theater in that city had been rented on Tuesday for a meeting on Saturday to promote the cause of peace, to be addressed by prominent speakers; that after notices had been published the chief of police issued an order prohibiting the meeting, and that Prof. Leeds stood outside the door while policemen kept a thousand men and women, law-abiding citizens, from holding a meeting, the object of which was to help, if they could, to keep their country at peace. American rights! There is nothing more essential to the perpetuity of republican institutions in this country than the right of the people peaceably to petition for a redress of grievances—the right of free speech.

Fathers and mothers in Baltimore met quietly to consult together, having in their hearts the fear of what might come to their beloved—driven out by a mob. I hope that their assailants were not descendants of the mob that stoned and killed in the streets of that city the soldiers from Massachusetts on their way to Washington, where, as we now know, Abraham Lincoln waited for them through hours of awful anxiety lest the Union go to destruction. Talk to me about human rights when you not only slander law-abiding citizens who do no more than ask that their country be not plunged into war, but also deny them the constitutional right of free speech.

I said a year ago, during the debate of which I have spoken, that I was opposed to war unless it be a war of defense, and that then it should be in defense of something worth the sacrifice. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] declared that our rights upon the sea had been ruthlessly attacked, and another gentleman recently said in debate that a nation that will not protect its rights upon the sea will soon cease to protect its rights upon the land. Now, there could not well be a greater non sequitur than that, if we mean to apply the proposition to present conditions. There is no reason in it, since a brave man might well defend his own home, his wife and children from marauders and yet not be willing to go 100 miles away to engage in a brawl.

Every pacificist in the United States, with very few exceptions—and I am not a pacifist in the peace-at-any-price sense in which that word is being used—every true American would fight to the death rather than permit the foot of an invader to remain upon our soil. And because I wish, so long as is consistent with its highest interests, to keep the Nation out of the European war it does not follow that I am therefore not an American or that I would not defend my own country against invasion.

Gentlemen speak as if the recent order of the German Government was issued without any assigned reason and in open violation of an express promise. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] said this, in effect, and in the same connection read a passage from an official dispatch of the German Government, as follows:

The German submarine forces have had in fact—

This is the statement of the German Government—

The German submarine forces have had in fact orders to conduct submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels as recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against the enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships that are encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain; with regard to these no assurances have ever been given to the Government of the United States; no such assurance was contained in the declaration of February 8, 1916. The German Government can not admit any doubt that these orders have been given and are executed in good faith.

Mr. FESS. What is the date of that?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. That is dated May 4, 1916.

Errors—

Says the dispatch—

have actually occurred.

What follows was not read by the gentleman from Virginia.

They can in no kind of warfare be avoided altogether, and allowances must be made on the conduct of naval warfare against an enemy resorting to all kinds of ruses, whether permissible or illicit.

* * * * * * *

In self-defense against the illegal conduct of British warfare, while fighting a bitter struggle for her national existence, Germany had to resort to the hard but effective weapon of submarine warfare. As matters stand, the German Government can not but reiterate its regret that the sentiments of humanity which the Government of the United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare are not extended with the same warmth of feeling to the many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intentions of the British Government, shall be starved, and who by their sufferings shall force the victorious armies of the central powers into ignominious capitulation. The German Government, in agreement with the German people, fails to understand this discrimination, all the more as it has repeatedly and explicitly declared itself ready to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international law as recognized before the outbreak of the war if Great Britain were likewise ready to adapt her conduct of warfare to these rules. The several attempts made by the Government of the United States to prevail upon the British Government to act accordingly have failed because of the flat refusal on the part of the British Government.

I read this to lay the facts, as stated by Germany, before you. I take neither side of the controversy, but I believe that it is our duty to study the whole case.

Then Germany says that notwithstanding the continued refusal of Great Britain she ordered her submarines not to sink ships without warning, but to exercise the right of visit and search, in the hope, as she says, that England would consent to obey the rules of international law.

The dispatch continues, as follows:

But neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it is violated.

Accordingly the German Government is confident that, in consequence of the new orders issued to its naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also consider all impediments removed

which may have been in the way of a mutual cooperation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war as they are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915.

Now, gentlemen of the House, I call your attention to the closing statement of the German dispatch. The President accused Germany of violating shamefully an express promise. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD], who just took his seat, said the same thing. But Germany insists that she made no absolute promise, but only a conditional promise.

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. One moment. I can not yield now. Here is the promise of the German Government as set forth in the dispatch:

Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision.

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt the gentleman right there?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I can not yield right here.

Mr. FLOOD. What I want——

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I know what the gentleman wants.

Mr. FLOOD. There is a complete answer to the gentleman.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I decline to yield.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield, and one gentleman must not interrupt another without his permission.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The gentleman wishes to inject into my remarks, as if I were inclined to omit it, what Secretary Lansing said in his reply. I had no thought of omitting what the Secretary said. I will read the chief paragraph of his reply:

In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

But let us see what Thomas Jefferson thought about that view of international law, in a letter dated Philadelphia, September 7, 1793, to Thomas Pinckney, United States Minister to England, regarding England's stoppage of our food shipments to France. I will ask to put the whole letter into the RECORD, but will now read only the paragraphs that are germane at this point:

Mr. Jefferson said:

Reason and usage have established that when two nations go to war, those who choose to live in peace retain their natural right to pursue their agriculture, manufactures, and other ordinary vocations, to carry the produce of their industry for exchange to all nations, belligerent or neutral, as usual, to go and come freely without injury or molestation, and in short that the war among others shall be for them as if it did not exist. One restriction on their natural rights has been submitted to by nations at peace; that is to say, that of not furnishing to either party implements merely of war for the annoyance of the other, or anything whatever to a place blockaded by its enemy.

It suffices for the present occasion to say that corn, flour, and meal are not of the class of contraband, and, consequently, remain articles of free commerce.

Before continuing I will again read the last paragraph:

It suffices for the present occasion to say that corn, flour, and meal are not of the class of contraband, and, consequently, remain articles of free commerce. A culture which like that of the soil gives employment to such a proportion of mankind could never be suspended by the whole earth or interrupted for them, whenever any two nations should think proper to go to war.

* * * * * * * *

It is not enough for a nation to say we and our friends will buy your produce. We have a right to answer that it suits us better to sell to their enemies as well as their friends.

It is an open violation of international law as always understood prior to the opening of this war to stop flour under a neutral flag going from one neutral country to another neutral country.

Says Jefferson:

We have a right to judge for ourselves what markets best suit us and they have none to forbid to us the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts which we may obtain from any other independent country.

* * * * * * * *

This act, too, tends to directly draw us from that state of peace in which we are wishing to remain.

It is an essential character of neutrality to furnish no aid (not stipulated by treaty) to one party which we are not equally ready to furnish to the other. If we permit corn to be sent to Great Britain and her friends, we are equally bound to permit it to France. To restrain it would be a partiality which might lead to a war with France, and between restraining it ourselves and permitting her enemies to restrain it unrightfully is no difference.

Observe that last statement of Mr. Jefferson. I will read it again:

Between restraining it ourselves and permitting our enemies to restrain it unrightfully is no difference. She—

France—

would consider this as a mere pretext, of which she would not be the dupe. And on what honorable grounds could we otherwise explain it?

* * * * * * * *

Were we to withhold from her—

France—

supplies of provisions, we should in like manner be bound to withhold them from her enemies also, and thus shut to ourselves all the ports of Europe where corn is in demand or make ourselves parties in the war. This is a dilemma which Great Britain has no right to force upon us and for which no pretext can be found in any part of our conduct. She may, indeed, feel the desire of starving an enemy nation, but she can have no right of doing it at our loss nor of making us the instrument of it.

In accordance with the leave granted, I place all of the relevant portions of the letter of President Jefferson to Thomas Pinckney in the RECORD, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *September 7, 1793.*

SIR: We have received, through a channel which can not be considered as authentic, the copy of a paper, styled "Additional Instructions to the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships of War and Privateers," etc., dated at St. James, June 8, 1793. If this paper be authentic, I have little doubt but that you will have taken measures to forward it to me. But as your communication of it may miscarry, and time in the meanwhile will be lost, it has been thought better that it should be supposed authentic and that on that supposition I should notice to you its very exceptional nature and the necessity of obtaining explanations on the subject from the British Government, desiring at the same time that you will consider this letter as provisionally written only, and as if never written in the event that the paper which is the occasion of it be not genuine.

The first article of it [the British order] permits all vessels laden wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal bound to any port in France to be stopped and sent into any British port, to be purchased by that Government, or to be released only on the condition of security given by the master that he will proceed to dispose of his cargo in the ports of some country in amity with His Majesty.

This article is so manifestly contrary to the law of nations that nothing more would seem necessary than to observe that it is so. Reason and usage have established that when two nations go to war, those who choose to live in peace retain their natural right to pursue their agriculture, manufactures, and other ordinary vocations, to carry the produce of their industry for exchange to all nations, belligerent or neutral, as usual, to go and come freely without injury or molestation, and in short, that the war among others shall be for them as if it did not exist. One restriction on their natural rights has been submitted to by nations at peace; that is to say, that of not furnishing to either party implements merely of war for the annoyance of the other, nor anything whatever to a place blockaded by its enemy.

What these implements of war are has been so often agreed and is so well understood as to leave little question about them at this day. There does not exist, perhaps, a nation in our common hemisphere, which has not made a particular enumeration of them in some or all of their treaties, under the name of contraband. It suffices for the present occasion to say that corn, flour, and meal are not of the class of contraband, and, consequently, remain articles of free commerce. A culture which, like that of the soil, gives employment to such a proportion of mankind, could never be suspended by the whole earth or interrupted for them, whenever any two nations should think proper to go to war.

The state of war then existing between Great Britain and France furnishes no legitimate right either to interrupt the agriculture of the United States or the peaceable exchange of its produce with all nations, and consequently the assumption of it will be as lawful hereafter as now, in peace as in war. No ground, acknowledged by the common reason of mankind, authorizes this act now, and unacknowledged ground may be taken at any time and at all times.

We see then a practice begun to which no time, no circumstances prescribe any limits, and which strikes at the root of our agriculture—that branch of industry which gives food, clothing, and comfort to the great mass of the inhabitants of these States. If any nation whatever has a right to shut up to our produce all the ports of the earth except her own and those of her friends, she may shut up these also, and so confine us within within our own limits. No nation can subscribe to such pretensions; no nation can agree, at the mere will or interest of another, to have its peaceable industry suspended and its citizens reduced to idleness and want. The loss of our produce destined for foreign markets, or that loss which would result from an arbitrary restraint of our markets, is a tax too serious for us to acquiesce in. It is not enough for a nation to say we and our friends will buy your produce. We have a right to answer that it suits us better to sell to their enemies as well as their friends. Our ships do not go to France to return empty. They go to exchange the surplus of one produce which we can spare for surpluses of other kinds which they can spare and we want, which they furnish on better terms and more to our mind than Great Britain or her friends.

We have a right to judge for ourselves what market best suits us, and they have none to forbid to us the enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts which we may obtain from any other independent country.

This act, too, tends directly to draw us from that state of peace in which we are wishing to remain. It is an essential character of neutrality to furnish no aids—not stipulated by treaty—to one party which we are not equally ready to furnish to the other. If we permit corn to be sent to Great Britain and her friends, we are equally bound to permit it to France. To restrain it would be a partiality which might lead to a war with France, and between restraining it ourselves and permitting her enemies to restrain it unrightfully is no difference. She would consider this as a mere pretext, of which she would not be the dupe; and on what honorable ground could we otherwise explain it? Thus we should see ourselves plunged by this unauthorized act of Great Britain into a war with which we meddle not, and which we wish to avoid if justice to all parties and from all parties will enable us to avoid it. In the case where we found ourselves obliged by treaty to withhold from the enemies of France the right of arming in our ports we thought ourselves in justice bound to withhold the same right from France also, and we did it.

Were we to withhold from her [France] supplies of provisions, we should in like manner be bound to withhold them from her enemies

also, and thus shut to ourselves all the ports of Europe where corn is in demand or make ourselves parties in the war. This is a dilemma which Great Britain has no right to force upon us, and for which no pretext can be found in any part of our conduct. She may, indeed, feel the desire of starving an enemy nation, but she can have no right of doing it at our loss nor of making us the instruments of it.

Mr. Chairman, I now invite attention to what a distinguished authority has said about the way our neutral rights have been disregarded in this war. In the New Republic Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a very strong pro-ally sympathizer, is quoted as saying that—

The humiliating truth is that Great Britain has applied to the commerce of the United States such limitations and restrcitions as were never practiced in the worst times of Napoleon's wars—ordained a system of passes and permits which if tried against the United States in time of peace would cause a war with Great Britain.

Why have we condoned all this? Why have we not resisted vigorously as we did a hundred years ago her lesser violation of our rights on the high seas? Only because we know that the people of England are in the midst of the greatest of wars fighting desperately. Because we know that all of the belligerents have thrown to the winds the rules of international law.

Says Prof. William I. Hull, professor of history and internation relations at Swarthmore College:

Germany is engaged in a gigantic effort to defeat England by starvation. It has invented means and methods of warfare which never came within the ken of international law before. In this effort it has caused the death of neutral American citizens sailing on belligerent ships and has threatened to destroy the lives of other American citizens who sail on either neutral or belligerent ships.
Great Britain is engaged in a gigantic effort to defeat Germany by starvation and has blockaded on a scale and in a manner never adopted before in human warfare large sections of the high seas, as well as the force of the enemy; it has abolished the old distinction between absolute and conditional contraband, thereby destroying our neutral trade with the noncombatant populations of belligerent lands; it has greatly restricted our neutral trade with other neutral lands; it has interfered with the dispatch of our neutral mail to neutral and belligerent lands alike; it has "blacklisted" American firms for daring to trade directly or indirectly with Great Britain's enemies, with whom we are at peace; and in other ways it has exercised its supremacy over the high seas for the purpose of defeating its enemy, regardless of neutral rights.

I desire now to speak for a moment about the declaration of London. In 1909 the British Government called together representatives from all the great nations of the world to codify what was then international law. They met at London. They signed a document, all of the representatives of all of the great powers. It is true that some of the great powers never ratified it; but all of the representatives of the great powers formally agreed that it embodied, when completed and signed, the then existing international law. In 1908 Sir Edward Grey instructed the British delegates to the London conference to attempt to arrive "by common agreement at a uniform definition of the main principles of existing law." In the report of these delegates to Sir Edward Grey upon the declaration of London, March 1, 1909, the British delegates stated:

As a body those rules do amount practically to a statement of what is the essence of the law of nations.

In a book by Earl Loreburn, entitled "Capture at Sea," published in 1913, just before the war, on page 86 appears the following:

The British delegates, explaining the results of the conference, congratulated themselves with justice upon having secured full recognition of the principles advocated by the British Government.

What some of those principles were is set forth by Prof. Clapp, of the University of New York, in his book The Economic Aspects of the War. Concerning contraband, he says:

In the declaration of London the articles classed as absolute contraband of war—that is, articles which Great Britain might properly shut out of Germany altogether—were restricted to the actual tools and equipment of fighting nations. Conditional contraband was a more comprehensive list, including such merchandise as food, clothing, coal, harness and saddlery, horses, shoes, and barbed wire. Finally the declaration specified a list of free goods, articles which might not be molested because only distantly related to warfare, necessary to the civilian population, and contributing a very important portion of the commerce of peaceful neutrals.

Prof. Clapp quotes from the declaration of London as follows:

Conditional contraband is not liable to capture except when on board a vessel bound for territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy * * * and when it is not to be discharged in an intervening neutral port.

"If food," says Prof. Clapp, "is to be discharged in a neutral port, its destination is not subject to suspicion." But England modified the rules of international law to suit her own interests after the war began, and the professor says, on page 22:

The things which by the declaration of London Great Britain was obligated not to do gradually came to constitute a fairly good record of what she actually did.

This is to some extent true of all the other belligerents.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I have only a few minutes more.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I was very anxious for some information.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I was not proposing to ask a question in the spirit of controversy, but if it is not agreeable to the gentleman, of course I shall not ask it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What is the question?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The question is to what extent England has compensated for the property she has taken in violation of the rules?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I have great respect for the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT]. I admire his ability, but I fear that the dollars-and-cents view has gotten hold of him. The gentleman suggests that England will compensate for her taking of American goods. But Thomas Jefferson said that under the rules of international law we have the right to sell our foodstuffs to whomsoever we please, and that to consent to sell them only to her, in instances when they could not be touched by a belligerent, except in violation of international law, would have been a violation by the United States of the rights of France.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee rose.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. One moment. The gentleman forgets the claim of Germany that while England proposed to compensate our people for foodstuffs intercepted in violation of the recognized rules of international law as laid down in the declaration of London, she by that act starved the German people. And Germany asks whether we are content to have our rights violated, if we are paid money, knowing that such violation of law and of our rights on the high seas is starving the people of another nation, its women and children? [Applause.] That is the question. Repeatedly it has been said here that one is a question of property and the other a question of human life. But with all respect for those who differ with me, I deny that this is a fair statement of the issue. I respect the President. I have not a harsh word to say about him. But in my judgment it is not a question of property and of human life; it is a question of the American people being entirely neutral, or adopting armed neutrality, or going into this war admittedly to help to destroy the Imperial German Government.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee rose.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. That is the question before us. There is no evading it. On the 3d of February last the President said to the Congress:

We do not desire hostile conflict with the Imperial Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.

And yet now we are asked to mobilize an army and navy and send 500,000 young Americans to the trenches of Europe to be maimed, mutilated, blinded, killed, to fight and destroy a Government that on the 3d of February the President said spoke for the German people and represented them, a Government with which we wished to remain at peace.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee and Mr. BORLAND rose.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I can not yield right now. I have only a few minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The President says that the German people had nothing to do with bringing on this war. Did not he know that before the 3d of February? He knew all of the time that they had nothing to do with it. How much did the English people have to do with bringing on this war? Nothing at all. How much did the people of any European nation have to do with bringing on the war? Nothing at all. It is said that six members of the British cabinet resigned, certainly three—Frank Harris, a former London editor, said that six resigned—because secret diplomacy had plunged England into war.

Since the revolution in Russia we have repeatedly read in many papers that it was the most tyrannical, backward, reactionary, oppressive, medieval despotism in the world, and yet England and Italy and France and Japan were allied with it to destroy Germany; and if during the first two years and more of this war at any time they had been successful that medieval despotism would have had Constantinople and been established for another century. What has overthrown the Czar? The tremendous struggle of the central powers. Now, I ask you this question: If we were in the situation of the German people and just across an imaginary boundary, or one say like the Rio Grande River, was a country of 130,000,000 or more people, ruled by the most absolute, tyrannical, corrupt despotism of modern times, with an army of 1,300,000, what would we have done to secure our own safety and how long before this would we have had universal military service, a large staff of trained

officers, and a great standing army? Lloyd George suggested an answer in a speech which he made in Queen's Hall, London, July 28, 1908:

I want to put two considerations to you from the German point of view. Every misunderstanding and quarrel is largely a matter of lack of imagination. Men have not got the imagination to project themselves into the position of the other party.

Now, just consider for a moment. You say, "Why should Germany be frightened of us? Why should she build because of us?" Let me put two considerations to you. We started; it is not they who have started. We had an overwhelming preponderance at sea, which would have secured us against any conceivable enemy. We were not satisfied. We said, "Let there be dreadnaughts." What for? We did not require them. Nobody was building them; and if anybody had built them we could easily have outbuilt them.

We have more shipbuilding resources than any country in the world, and more than every country in the world put together, so really there was no need for it. Well, let me put another consideration before you which I don't think is sufficiently pointed out. We always say we must have what we call a "two-power standard." What does that mean? You must have a navy large enough to oppose a combination of any two naval powers. So if we had Russia and France, Germany and France, Germany and Italy, we should always have a fleet large enough to defend our shores against any combination of the two greatest naval powers in Europe. This has been our standard.

Look at the position of Germany. Her army is to her what our navy is to us—her sole defense against invasion. She has not got a two-power standard. She may have a stronger army than France, than Russia, than Italy, than Austria, but she is between two great powers who in combination could pour in a vastly greater number of troops than she has.

Don't forget that when you wonder why Germany is frightened at alliances and understandings and some sort of mysterious workings which appear in the press and hints in the Times and the Daily Mail.

I remember motoring on a Sunday morning in Germany, and I picked up a German newspaper, and the only words I could read were Observer and Daily Mail; so I asked a friend what it meant, and he said it was an extract full of menaces to Germany, and the German paper had copied it. All that means something to Germany.

Here is Germany, in the middle of Europe, with France and Russia on either side, and with a combination of their armies greater than hers. Suppose we had here a possible combination which would lay us open to invasion—suppose Germany and France, or Germany and Russia, or Germany and Austria had fleets which in combination would be stronger than ours.

Would not we be frightened; would not we build; would not we arm? Of course we should. I want our friends, who think that because Germany is a little frightened she really means mischief to us, to remember that she is frightened for a reason which would frighten us under the same circumstances.

Gentlemen, if we pretend to statesmanship we must try to see all sides of great questions. The destruction of England would be a world calamity. And the world ought never to permit it. So, too, the dismemberment of Germany would be a world calamity, and the world ought never to permit that. I pray that the neutral nations may in combination find some way speedily to bring this horror to an end.

I digress here to mention a strange fact and withal one in this connection of much importance. A constituent of mine sent to me to get for him a set of the documents compiled by the State Department embodying the correspondence between this country and the belligerents respecting the rights of neutrals. I procured a set and sent them to him. But the compilation does not contain the British order of November 2, 1914, establishing a mine zone in the North Sea and warning all vessels that if they traverse the North Sea or cross a line running from the Faroe Islands to Iceland they will do so at their peril.

A gentleman connected with a leading eastern university writes that this is the most astounding omission in an important official publication that he has ever known. In explanation of this omission, Secretary Lansing wrote a letter, of which you have all seen copies. I now ask permission to insert it in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It is a letter written to Hon. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM, of the House of Representatives, our colleague here. An inquiry was made as to why this British order, which is among the most important of these documents, if not itself the most important, was omitted from the official compilation by the Department of State.

The letter of Secretary Lansing is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 9, 1917.

The Hon. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. TINKHAM: I am in receipt of your letter of February 28, 1917, inclosing a communication from Mr. Emil Ahlborn, 258 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass., requesting that he be informed why this Government omitted from its official publication of the documents relating to belligerents and the rights of neutrals and commerce the British Admiralty order of November 2, 1914, declaring the North Sea a military area.

In reply I would suggest that Mr. Ahlborn be informed that as it was impossible to publish all the material in the department relating to the war, and as the order of November 2, 1914, had already been made public by the department, it was deemed unnecessary at this time to reprint the order in the official white book.

I am, my dear Mr. TINKHAM,
Very sincerely, yours, ROBERT LANSING.

My time has expired. I assume that the war is to come.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. When it comes we will be united in support of the Government. I shall do all that I can to help achieve a victory for our country, but I shall not vote to send the Nation to war in accordance with this resolution. [Applause.]

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] is recognized for 20 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question for information. Are we under the hour rule?

The CHAIRMAN. We are. The gentleman is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. CANNON. A member of the committee is entitled to an hour.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. I will say to the gentleman that I hope to finish within 20 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the speech of the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] would have been most appropriate if delivered in the Reichstag. No doubt tremendous applause would there have greeted his remarks. Much more so than in this House.

He talks about England's outrages and violations of our rights. He speaks of the sinking of the *Evelyn* and the *Carib* in the waters of the North Sea, and charges it to English mines. This statement has been relied upon many times to bolster up the contention of those not in sympathy with the policy of this Government. Touching those two vessels, the State Department says that they have no evidence that they were sunk by English mines. On the contrary, Count von Bernstorff, the then ambassador from Germany, wrote a letter to the State Department immediately after they were sunk and said—I read from a copy of his letter to the Secretary of State, dated March 1, 1915:

Pursuant to instructions—

He says—

I have the honor to inform your excellency that the American vessels *Evelyn* and *Carib* were lost in the North Sea because, contrary to the directions given in the Wachrichten für Seefahrer (Notice to Mariners), No. 2770–14, etc., they ran along the East Friesian Islands by direction, as stated by the captain of the *Evelyn*, of a British warship.

That letter carries the assumption in the words of Bernstorff himself that a German mine sunk the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] spoke much about the action of England in decreeing that vessels should not go into the North Sea, and excusing Germany's action by England's action in that respect. Ah, sirs, he did not tell you, and those of his way of thinking did not tell you, that when England executed that order she said to the United States, "We have mined certain places in the North Sea, but if any of your vessels wish to go through we will furnish you a diagram, so to speak; we will furnish you pilot boats, so that you may not run against the mines." Did Germany do that? No. Germany said, "Here is a zone 1,500 miles long and 1,100 miles wide your vessels can not enter except once a week, and then only at a certain port and along a certain path, and your vessel shall be painted a certain color—like a barber's sign, so to speak." And then they said, so far as the Mediterranean is concerned, "You can not enter it except in a strip of 20 miles wide." Can you not see the difference between the actions of Germany and the actions of England? A man who can not is unable to see the difference between, as some one has said, a torpedo and the prize court.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] did not answer the question propounded to him by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT]. The gentleman from Wisconsin must know that England's prize courts have awarded hundreds of thousands of dollars for affecting the property rights of the citizens of this country. Their courts are open, and they have said, "We will try the cases coming before us, and award damages not upon the orders in council but upon international law." And on that principle hundreds of our citizens have collected the full market value of their cargoes taken. And yet men say that we ought to go to war against England for violating property rights and excuse Germany for destroying the lives of American citizens. By that argument you say to me I shall not be permitted to choose my assailant. If one comes into my home and steals my pocketknife, he can be prosecuted for petit larceny. The penalty will be light. But if he comes into my

home and kills some one who is dear to me, the punishment will be death. [Applause.]

But, Mr. Chairman, whatever hope for peace we may have entertained, whatever desire to escape the European cataclysm we may have cherished, have now been dissipated and we are face to face with another great crisis.

For nearly three years we have tried every avenue of diplomacy commensurate with a nation's honor to avoid war. So intense has been our desire for peace that at home our Government has been criticized and abroad our patience and forbearance have been marveled at.

From the sinking of the *Lusitania* to the presentation by the Kaiser of the iron cross to the submarine commander for heroic services; from Germany's note claiming justification to her declaration of respect for our rights in the future; from her note repudiating that declaration to the sinking of the *Laconia;* from the hatching of the plot to form an alliance with Japan and Mexico for the purpose of overthrowing our Government to the unjustified holding of Americans in Germany, we have curbed our indignation and restrained our patriotic impulses in the hope of satisfactory adjustment.

Germany's policy is now firmly established. All hope of peace with honor has vanished, and the time has come when further forbearance would be humiliation.

In 1798, when we were a weak and defenseless people, our fathers had the courage and patriotism to defy the great Napoleon, the then master military mind of the world. In 1812, when we were yet but a stripling of a Nation, with only 20 vessels of war, our fathers had the courage and patriotism to defy Great Britain, the proud and haughty mistress of the seas, with her thousand war vessels, for imprisoning American seamen and interfering with American commerce.

We did not go to war in 1812 because our ships had been sunk and our citizens murdered upon the high seas, for England in all her mad conquests for commerce and trade did not claim the right to sink our vessels or murder our citizens. We went to war then because of less serious violations of our rights—interference with our commerce and imprisoning American seamen.

If it were right for this Nation, under the splendid leadership of those patriots and statesmen from whose massive intellects the principles of this Government were evolved and through whose splendid services our independence was won, to force France to respect our rights in 1798 and to make war on England in 1812 in defense of the rights and liberty of our citizens, why is it not our duty in 1917, when we have grown rich and powerful as a Nation, to defend those rights and protect to the limit the property and lives of our citizens? [Applause.]

If the mere interference or detention of our ships at that time was a sufficient cause for war, why is not the destruction of our ships to-day a greater and more just cause for war? If imprisoning American seamen at that time was a just cause for war, why is it not a greater and more just cause for war in this day when American seamen and American citizens are ruthlessly murdered at sea? [Applause.]

What mystic influence has the Imperial German Government over us that would cause us now to abandon the principles of our fathers? What is there about the Imperial German Government that should cause us to permit her to destroy our commerce, sink our vessels, and assassinate our citizens? What has that Government done for us that would justify us in conceding to her such rights? Is it because of her invasion of Belgium and her treatment of the inhabitants of that unfortunate country? Is it because of her total disregard of the undisputed rights of neutrals in waging a ruthless unrestricted submarine warfare on the lives and property of our citizens? Is it because of the dissension among our people and the distrust of our Government that her propagadists and sympathizers have caused in this country? Or is it because she would form an alliance with Japan and Mexico to wage war upon us?

We are a great Nation. We glory in its history and priceless heritage, and I refuse to believe that we have degenerated in our national ideas, that we have forgotten the teachings of our fathers, and are not now willing to fight for those principles they so courageously defended and upheld in the early history of the country. [Applause.]

We love peace. Our greatness and resources have been builded upon the peaceful toil of our people. We prefer to hear the noise of the humming factory to the roar of thundering cannon, the music of the anvil to the rattle of musketry, the songs of mothers to the sobs of widows, the laughter of happy children to the wail of hungry orphans. Yet, sirs, the inspiring words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," and the heroic deeds of Perry, Somers, Decatur, and Porter are too indelibly written on the hearts of the American people for us at this time to surrender our national honor and our rights on the high seas. [Applause.]

Self-preservation is founded on a nation's character, and self-preservation is the first law of nature. One principle that makes a nation great is the protection of its citizens in their lives and property. With that protection guaranteed, they know that they are backed by their Government, that its strong arm is their arm, and they will rejoice in its increased strength and prosperity.

Protection and patriotism are reciprocal, and are the roads that all enduring nations have trod. In a great crisis like this courage and patriotism will not regard the horror of war, but will look only to the cause of war. When a brave and patriotic people are aroused they despise the dangers of war and look only to the issues involved. [Applause.]

The horror of war did not deter those sturdy patriots under Washington when they crossed the frozen Delaware and wintered in the shivering cold of Valley Forge. It did not deter the gallant John Paul Jones when asked, "Have you struck your flag?" and he responded from the deck of the *Bon Homme Richard*, "No; I have just begun to fight." It did not deter that rugged warrior, "the hero of New Orleans," and his faithful soldiers upon the battle field of Chalmette. It did not deter Taylor and Scott and Davis from leading their commands to victory and renown at Monterey and Buena Vista. It did not deter the followers of Grant and Lee from performing those splendid deeds of heroism that won the admiration of the world and have been an inspiration to the youth of America. It did not deter this Nation from breaking the tyrant's grip on Cuba and liberating a weak and oppressed people. [Applause.]

Throughout our history, armed with a just cause, we have not paused to contemplate the horrors of war. And so to-day we shall enter this war fighting for a cause as just as any that moved our fathers in the past. We are going to war in defense of our fundamental rights and for the preservation of the rights of humanity. Sirs, the charge that we are going to wage war for profit and pelf or in the interest of the munitions makers is as despicable as it is un-American, and is unworthy of any American who loves his country better than he does the land of an insidious foe. [Applause.] It is the inexorable logic of events that has driven us into this war, and we enter it asking nothing for ourselves save the glory that comes of fighting for the rights and liberties of mankind.

If there be in this body or elsewhere citizens who object to the course we are embarking upon, I would suggest to them that the greatest embarrassment the Government has experienced thus far in its unsuccessful negotiations with the Imperial German Government has been due to an apparent division of sentiment in this country; and at this time further objection on their part can only add to the gravity of the situation and give encouragement to the enemy. I would suggest to them that they now employ their talents and eloquence not in attempting to cause dissension among the American people but in addressing Kaiser Wilhelm, Bethmann Hollweg, the Reichstag, and the author of that remarkable sample of diplomatic "kultur," the Zimmermann note. Tell them how we love the history and principles of our democratic government; tell them how during the whole war the steady hand and unerring judgment and patriotic heart of the President have been employed in ceaseless effort to avoid war and maintain a neutral position; tell them how our ships have been sunk, our citizens ruthlessly murdered, and the most diabolical plots hatched at our very doors; tell them how they have sent their spies among the negroes of the South to arouse them against the white people, how they have dynamited our factories, and how they have even attempted to blow up this Capitol Building; tell them how we have protested, pleaded, and supplicated to a degree that has been almost humiliating, and how they have made promises only to be broken, and to injury have added insult; tell them that if their professions are to be considered as more than a mere "scrap of paper" they must atone for their past acts and renew and live up to their solemn pledges. If they do this, we will call off the dogs of war; but, if they do not, we will wage war to the limit of our resources, and the end will not come until German militarism, the greatest menace to the peace and happiness of mankind, is no longer a blot on civilization. [Loud applause.]

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman from Illinois opposed to this resolution?

Mr. BRITTEN. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I was very much impressed with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] who has just preceded me, when he referred——

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question? The gentleman is not a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Who yields the 20 minutes to the gentleman?

The CHAIRMAN. No member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs asked to be recognized in opposition to the resolution, and under the rules of the House the recognition alternates between those favoring and those opposing the resolution.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman is recognized for an hour, then?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman asked to be recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. BRITTEN. I shall be very glad, Mr. Chairman, to yield to my friend from Illinois some time——

Mr. CANNON. No, no; I have no complaint about time or anything else. I just wanted to keep track of the yielding; that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will endeavor to keep track of the time, so that it will be divided as equally as possible.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I was much impressed with the statement of my good friend from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] a few minutes ago, and particularly so when he referred to the patriotism of our scattered forces at Valley Forge. He forgot to remind the House that those forces were brought together by a German general, Von Steuben, who was largely responsible for their organization and success. He might also have referred to the German regiment at Brandywine and at Princeton, and to the 53 men and 14 officers who comprised Washington's bodyguard, every one of them a German, selected because they were Germans.

Mr. Chairman, in justice to my antagonism to this resolution I think I should preface my remarks, at least to the new Members of the House, by saying that I have been a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs for four years. I have consistently followed the suggestions of the Navy General Board of experts, with a view to putting the country in a state of preparedness, which it is not to-day; and most of the gentlemen on that side of the House have continually refused to support this board which until very recently was headed by Admiral Dewey.

I am not a pacifist in any sense, but am firm in the belief that this resolution is being jammed through Congress against the wishes of a great majority of people all over the country.

I do not believe that the great masses of our people are in favor of a declaration of war, and I am certain that they are opposed to the use of our militia in the bloody trench warfare which has already annihilated the flower of the youth of the most civilized countries on earth.

The wrongs of Germany, England, and all of the other belligerents which have been heaped upon us will not justify the loss of untold thousands of lives, the crippling and maiming of our American boys, nor the suffering and anguish which is bound to follow our flag to Europe.

It is not yet too late to diplomatically consider the differences between Germany and ourselves, and I am sure that a sincere effort in this direction would prove more valuable and creditable to the country than a declaration of war.

Let Congress immediately pass a bill for universal military service, which will give the country not less than a million real sodiers in 12 months from now, and let us leave nothing undone to bring our Navy up to the equal at least of the second great naval power just as quickly as possible, and we will then be in position to command the respect not only of Germany but of every country on earth.

Let us arm our whole Nation for its own defense and keep clear of any entangling alliances with European and Asiatic Governments.

By maintaining an attitude of armed neutrality we can rest secure until additional revolutions in Europe have done their work, and we can then assist in establishing a condition of universal peace.

I was in Chicago last Saturday when various demonstrations, parades, and band wagons were scattered about the city in an effort to work up some enthusiasm for a couple of war meetings that night, and any number of parades passed that busy corner of Madison and Dearborn Streets, where my office is located, directly across the street from the great Chicago Tribune office.

At one time would come the Boy Scouts, at another time a group of fine youngsters from the Great Lakes Training Station, at another time a company of high-school cadets with their Red Cross nurses, at another time the First Illinois Cavalry headed by our good friend, Col. Foreman, and a fine body of men they were. I called my partner, Reynolds, to our office window on the tenth floor of the Hartford Building and said to him, "Peter, look down and tell me what impresses you the most." He said, "They look fine." I said, "Ah, that is not what I mean. Do you notice how quiet everybody is?" Mr. Speaker, the following morning our great metropolitan papers came out and said that the crowds of people lining the sidewalks on the route of the march "stood in silent awe"—that was one particular headline I have in mind. Yes, they stood in silence, gentlemen, because their heartstrings and their sympathies were not with the movement that is slowly but surely dragging us into this terrible European mire. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.] That is the reason they stood in silence. Ask your friends here around you on the floor of the House, "Are you going to vote for this bill?" "Yes; I hate like the devil to vote for it, but I am going to." Why do they hate to vote for it? The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] said, "Let there be no division." I will tell you why, gentlemen——

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. I will in a moment.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. When the gentleman makes such an assertion as that, why does he not give the names of the gentlemen around him who make that statement?

Mr. BRITTEN. I could name probably 75 per cent of the Members to him, on his own side of the House as well as on this side.

Mr. HEFLIN. I challenge that statement.

Mr. BRITTEN. The gentleman from Alabama is always challenging something.

Mr. HEFLIN. I challenge that statement. That statement is not correct.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen must not interrupt Members without their consent.

Mr. BRITTEN. The truth of the matter is that 90 per cent of your people and mine do not want this declaration of war, and are distinctly opposed to our going into that bloody mire on the other side. There is something in the air, gentlemen, and I do not know what it is, whether it be the hand of destiny, or some superhuman movement, something stronger than you and I can realize or resist, that seems to be picking us up bodily and literally forcing us to vote for this declaration of war when away down deep in our hearts we are just as opposed to it as are our people back home.

Mr. GLASS. How do you know our people do not want it? [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, am I to be interrupted without permission?

The CHAIRMAN. There must be no demonstration from the galleries. It is a breach of order. Gentlemen must not interrupt the speaker without his consent and without first addressing the Chair. The Chair insists upon the enforcement of this rule.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia, who just interrupted me, has probably not been in his district within the last 10 days. I have been in mine and I have traveled from the great Central West, and I tell you sincerely that 90 per cent of the people of this country are opposed to a declaration of war against Germany at this time. We are being drawn into that awful catastrophe contrary to our desires.

Mr. GLASS. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I can not yield. I have not the time. Ask your neighbor at your elbow if he is in favor of this declaration of war and he will tell you "no," but he will vote for it just the same. Go out into the cloakroom on the Democratic or Republican side, they will tell you the same thing. I do not say, as some Members of the Senate last night said, that this resolution is being promoted by capitalists or by newspapers or munition makers. I do not know what is promoting it; but the truth of the matter is that your people and mine do not want it. One of the great New York papers came out with an editorial headline the other day, which was, "Wake up, Central West." What does it mean? It means that they in the East have felt the pulse of the great Central West and are assured that there is no sentiment for this declaration of war.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I can not yield. I desire to be courteous to the gentleman, but I have not the time to yield. Mr. Chairman, it is my intention to offer an amendment to this bill at the proper time, and I will ask the Clerk to read it now.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. BRITTEN: On page 2, after line 16, add a new paragraph, as follows:

"*Provided however*, That no part of the military forces of the United States shall be ordered to do land duty in any part of Europe, Asia, or Africa until so directed by act of Congress, excepting those troops who specifically volunteer for such service."

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, it is short and self-explanatory. You and I do not want our boys to go up against that liquid fire, noxious gases, and a trench warfare that has made wild animals out of human beings, just because our administration has convinced itself that the future safety of our country will be more secure in the defeat of Germany than in the defeat of England.

But let us not deceive ourselves that we are going into this war in the interest of humanity. The man who deceives himself is a fool. We are being dragged into this because our administration is firm in the belief, and has been for a long time, that the future safety of our country will be more secure in the defeat of Germany than in the defeat of England, and every one of you who votes for this resolution without amendment will feel its effects a year from now when the sisters, widows, and mothers of your district come to you and say, "Mr. Congressman, my boy is my only support; he is just 22, or he is just 21; are you going to send him to the trenches in France or in Salonika?" That is what your vote to-day will mean. You will be putting your young man with probably one year's training up against a lot of seasoned warriors who will cripple him and send him home to live the balance of his life as a public charge or dependent upon his relatives.

The President came before Congress on Monday, and one of his statements were that, "We will not choose the path of submission."

Unless the administration changes its mind it will be the first time it has refrained from doing so on any great question. We have submitted to the dictates of every first-class power on earth during the past four years. Do some of you new Members of Congress realize that you or I could not ship this reading stand to Norway, a neutral country, until we had received a permit from the British Embassy in this city to do so? You would have to tell them how it was packed, where it was going, its cost, its weight, and a lot of other things before the British foreign office in London would allow you to ship it from your own American port to anyone in any neutral country of Europe. Do you realize that you could not send a pen or pencil to Switzerland, another neutral country, without first getting the consent of Great Britain in London—and then they talk about refusing to submit. Do you realize——

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I can not yield.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. The gentleman does not think, really——

Mr. BRITTEN. The gentleman from Illinois does think, and it may be that the gentleman from Mississippi has not thought. Mr. Chairman, do the new Members of Congress know that England has seized three American ships plying between North and South America and has refused to return them to the American flag, where they belong? Have we submitted? Certainly we have. They are in the English service to-day. I recall the statement of my good friend from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] while laying great stress on the inhumanity of Germany in this terrible conflict, killing women and children. Does the gentleman realize that some time ago a request was made by the American Red Cross to be permitted to take a specially sterilized milk to the babies in Hungary, Poland, Austria, and Germany?

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. I can not yield; I have not the time.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Does the gentleman realize——

Mr. BRITTEN. I must refuse to yield. I thoroughly understand the gentleman's extreme excitement.

Mr. Chairman, as I say, the request came from the American Red Cross to be permitted to send specially sterilized milk to the babies in these foreign countries who could not obtain proper nourishment from their mothers' breasts, and England declined to issue a permit for it. We are told to-day that thousands of those babies have died, while others are showing signs of tuberculosis because of lack of proper nourishment and butter fat. Is there anything more inhumane than that? Could anything be more terrible than to say to babies at their mothers' breasts, without proper nourishment, "You can not have milk?" And yet we submitted.

The President said, "We would not choose the path of submission." Is it not a peculiar fact that our submission has ceased only in one direction? England has violated international law and our treaty rights a thousand times during the last three years, and we have submitted as though we were her dependent colonies. They have opened our mail and we have submitted. They established a black list against our citizens—your manufacturers and mine—telling them that they could not ship their own goods out of an American port. In many instances they deliberately blacklist in order that they may steal American business, and in other instances permits have been withheld by the British foreign office at London until the business might be stolen by British concerns. Did we submit? Certainly we did.

Mr. Chairman, Japan has violated her sacred treaties with us as though they were "scraps of paper," just as Germany did with the other powers. Did we submit? Certainly we did. After the House had passed the last immigration bill and its phraseology did not suit the Japanese foreign office, did we change it when the Japanese Embassy had sent word to that effect to our Secretary of State? I should say we did! When the Japanese foreign office told us that certain State laws objectionable to them were being enacted, did we tell them that was our business? No; we apologized and promised to be good.

Mr. Chairman, have we submitted to Mexico? Our men, women, and children have been murdered and butchered with the sanction of the de facto government of Mexico and our soldiers deliberately shot down by Mexican troops, shot down willfully. Did we submit? Certainly we did, by writing a letter to Gen. Carranza and asking him if his men really meant to kill ours. That is exactly what we did in the Carrizal affair, after our soldiers were shot down by American machine guns in the hands of the Carranza troops.

The present administration has so successfully convinced our people that it stands for peace that I was sure it would show some sincere disposition to avoid actual military conflict with Germany, but in this declaration my last hopes are shattered.

The President said in his message on Monday that we had seen the last of neutrality. When did our neutrality begin? Will anyone in the House seriously say that we have been neutral? It may be all right to go home and "bunk" your constituents about it, but it is not the truth. When we send out an American ship flying an American flag, armed with American guns to be manipulated by American gun pointers and say to the captain of that ship, "Take this foodstuff, this peaceful commerce, noncontraband, into England, and sink the ship of any belligerent who attempts to stop you," we are favoring, are we not?

If we desired to be strictly neutral why not adopt the same policy toward Austria and Germany? Your farmers want to sell their cereals or their grains, do they not?

Mr. Chairman, what do you suppose England would do with one of our ships if we insisted upon taking foodstuffs and other peaceful commerce into Germany? She would sink the ship, would she not? But, my dear friends, we are not even permitted to negotiate peaceful commerce with neutral countries without British consent, and still "we claim to have been neutral." It is because of these facts that I had hoped we might keep out of that terrible slaughter even though we did have to "submit" to violations of international law and our rights a little longer. We ourselves are largely responsible for being drawn into this war. Our lack of firmness and failure to deal with England, Italy, France, and Japan just as we would deal with Austria and Germany has brought about the condition of to-day. We have failed to deal with a firm hand with all of the belligerents alike, and I maintain that even a man like Roosevelt, with all his military valor and desire, would have kept us out of this declaration of war, because he would have treated alike all of the belligerents and made them respect that flag [pointing], which they have not done up to the present time. [Applause.]

The President refers to "a partnership of democratic nations—a league of honor." Russia has just been born to this league after many decades of the most severe and inhuman autocracy in all the world. Italy and Japan are taken into this list of democratic nations with open arms. How wonderful! And just at a time when Japan was hoping that she might take our Philippine Islands, Guam, and the Hawaiian Islands. I was over there a couple of years ago and know whereof I speak. Their plans also include the taking of the island of Java, which will come under Japanese rule at the very first opportunity.

I voted for the armed neutrality bill recently recommended by the President, because I felt that this step would keep us out of something more terrible. Is it not remarkable that just 28 days after the President has referred to that "little group of willful men" in the Senate he comes to us and says that armed neutrality has been a failure? That "little group of willful men" have been cartooned and criticized all over the United States for carrying on a filibuster against a bill which in 28 days is declared a failure, impracticable, by its maker, the President.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. I should like very much to yield to my good friend from Georgia, but my time is limited.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Chairman, I can not agree with my colleague from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN]. I believe that the issue here to-day is the defense of the rights of American citizens upon the high seas and the defense of the American flag. [Applause.] I have great sympathy for the German people. A great many born in that country live in the city from which I come. They love the land of their nativity, and it is natural and human that they should; but I want to say to you that when the time comes the German born will stand as loyally by that flag [pointing to the American flag] as the native born. [Applause.] The issue is that of American rights upon the high seas, and every true and loyal American citizen believes in the maintenance of those rights. We have no right to exist as a nation unless we maintain and defend our citizens.

The resolution which is before us declares, in the first place, that a state of war exists between Germany and the United States by reason of her repeated acts of war against us; secondly, it authorizes and directs the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of this Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and, thirdly, it pledges all the resources of the country to a successful termination of the conflict.

Returning briefly to the first proposition, that a state of war exists. There can be no doubt as to this. Read the long and sad list of violations of the rules of international warfare, whereby more than 200 American citizens—men, women, and children—all noncombatants, have lost their lives. All these have happened against our repeated protests. Germany has promised again and again to conduct her submarine warfare in accordance with international practice, but these promises were made only to be broken; and only recently she boldly announced that she would pursue that warfare without regard to the safety of human life on a large zone of the high seas against neutrals as well as belligerents; and as a result American ships have been sunk, with a loss of American lives.

The question is, How much longer are we to endure this slaughter? We have borne and foreborne with Germany to the very limit of our patience. The President has been bitterly criticized for his great forbearance. The American people have shown every desire to remain at peace with her. She has nothing that we want, only the recognition of our just rights. Recently she has been shooting her torpedoes into our ships, whether they were coming or going, in ballast or with cargo, in the proscribed zone or without, violating the laws of neutrality; and these acts of hers have been so flagrant as to indicate a definite purpose on her part to force the United States into this war. If, as the imperial chancellor said in the Reichstag the other day, Germany does not desire war with the United States, then why in the name of reason has she continued her acts of hostility against us? We have sought no war against her. The American people desire to be at peace with all nations.

The time has come when we can no longer submit to her inhumanities. The time has come when we must defend by force of arms the rights of our citizens on the sea. The time has come when this Nation must rise and vindicate her right to exist as a government in the performance of her first duty of protecting her citizens. [Applause.]

This resolution directs the President to employ our land and naval forces and all the resources of Government, and pledges them to a successful termination of the war. This relates to preparedness. We have a splendid Navy, not as large as we now wish, but it was fortunate indeed that we had the wisdom and foresight to build it.

We must increase our Army, which is only half what it ought to be in time of peace.

The duty of the hour is to get ready. This is a lesson the United States has never learned.

All our past wars are a striking proof of this. Not one of them but could have been won with one-tenth of the cost and one-hundredth part of the sacrifice if we had been in the beginning in any measure prepared. The only exception, and that a partial exception, was the Spanish-American War. Preparation for war, or against war, whichever it may be called, ought to be made in time of peace. The development of science has contributed so much to the complexities of war that no nation can make ready after the beginning of war without delays, which must add enormously to the loss in life and property.

The last Congress appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars for the Army and the Navy, and yet during the last year we increased the enlisted forces of the Army by only a few thousand men and the enlisted force of the Navy is 25,000 men short of the number needed to man our present ships. The vital need now is men, trained men. All the expenditure of lung power during the last year has brought little in actual results. On paper we have a large Army and a large Navy, but a year or two will be required to organize a real Army and twice as long to build and equip the ships authorized a year ago.

The surest and the most democratic way to preparedness is by compulsory military training and service, and if every young man of sound health is required to learn the lessons which the Army can teach—how to handle one's self and how to work with others in a common cause, lessons of self-control, reliance, health, discipline, organization, administration, military tactics—the greatest step will have been taken. Then the world will pay us the respect which it sometimes withholds from idealism but always accords to strength. Compulsory military training is a melting pot which will not merely mold us a weapon of national defense but will break down distinctions of race and class and mold us into a new Nation and bring forth the new American. [Applause.]

Another and scarcely less important phase of preparedness is industrial preparedness. We must organize our whole industrial life to serve the Nation against this hour of its need.

Democracy is on trial, and the principles of free government—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Can democracy meet the test? I believe she can, but only as she arouses herself from her lethargy.

This is a solemn and momentous occasion—when this great Nation, with the greatest reluctance and the deepest regret is about to enter this horrible and unnecessary war, which has now engaged nearly half the world.

Let it therefore be understood at the beginning that we are forced into it by repeated acts of inhumanity and the violation of our most sacred rights; that we enter it in defense of principles heretofore recognized by all civilized nations and the just rights of all mankind; that we enter it to uphold the principles of international law and order; that we enter it for our own peace and security.

We enter this war in no spirit of selfishness or ambition whatever, but with a true and devoted interest in the cause of freedom everywhere. As once our Nation drew its sword in defense of rights of man on the island of Cuba and won its independence and asked nothing in return, so now she raises her arm in defense of the freedom of the seas and human liberty which under the providence of Almighty God is enlightening the world. [Applause.]

[House of Representatives, Report No. 1, 65th Cong., 1st sess.]

WAR WITH THE IMPERIAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

Mr. FLOOD, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 24) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, having had the same under consideration, reports it back with amendment, and recommends that the resolution, as amended, do pass.

Page 1, strike out all after the title and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of this Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

It is with the deepest sense of responsibility of the momentous results which will follow the passage of this resolution that your committee reports it to the House, with the recommendation that it be passed.

The conduct of the Imperial German Government toward this Government, its citizens, and its interests has been so discourteous, unjust, cruel, barbarous, and so lacking in honesty and fair dealing that it has constituted a violation of the course of conduct which should obtain between friendly nations.

In addition to this, the German Government is actually making war upon the people and the commerce of this country, and leaves no course open to this Government but to accept its gage of battle, declare that a state of war exists, and wage that war vigorously.

On the 31st day of January, 1917, notice was given by the Imperial German Government to this Government that after the following day—

"Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk."

Since that day seven American ships flying the American flag have been sunk and between 25 and 30 American lives have been lost as a result of the prosecution of the submarine warfare in accordance with the above declaration. This is war. War waged by the Imperial German Government upon this country and its people.

A brief review of some of the hostile and illegal acts of the German Government toward this Government and its officers and its people is herewith given.

GERMANY'S CONDUCT OF SUBMARINE WARFARE.

In the memorial of the Imperial German Government accompanying its proclamation of February 4, 1915, in regard to submarine warfare, that Government declared—

"* * * the German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such."

In the note of the German Government dated February 16, 1915, in reply to the American note of February 10, it was declared that—

"It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property. * * * The commanders of German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American merchant ships when they are recognizable as such."

Nevertheless, the German Government proceeded to carry out its plans of submarine warfare and torpedoed the British passenger steamer *Falaba* on March 27, 1915, when one American life was lost, attacked the American steamer *Cushing* April 28 by airship, and made submarine attacks upon the American tank steamer *Gulflight* May 1, the British passenger steamer *Lusitania* May 7, when 114 American lives were lost, and the American steamer *Nebraskan* on May 25, in all of which over 125 citizens of the United States lost their lives, not to mention hundreds of noncombatants who were lost and hundreds of Americans and noncombatants whose lives were put in jeopardy.

The British mule boat *Armenian* was torpedoed on June 28, as a result of which 20 Americans are reported missing.

On July 8, 1915, in a note to Ambassador Gerard, arguing in defense of its method of warfare and particularly of its submarine commander in the *Lusitania* case, it is stated:

"The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

"In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, * * * the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance."

Subsequently the following vessels carrying American citizens were attacked by submarines:

British liner *Orduna* July 9.
Russian steamer *Leo* July 9.
American steamer *Leelanaw* July 25.
British passenger liner *Arabic* August 19.
British mule ship *Nicosian* August 19.
British steamer *Hesperian* September 4.

In these attacks 23 Americans lost their lives, not to mention the large number whose lives were placed in jeopardy.

Following these events, conspicuous by their wantonness and violation of every rule of humanity and maritime warfare, the German ambassador, by instructions from his Government, on September 1 gave the following assurances to the Government of the United States:

"Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

On September 9, in a reply as to the submarine attack on the *Orduna*, the German Government renewed these assurances in the following language:

"The first attack on the *Orduna* by a torpedo was not in accordance with the existing instructions, which provide that large passenger steamers are to be torpedoed only after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew. The failure to observe the instructions was based on an error which is at any rate comprehensible and the repetition of which appears to be out of the question, in view of the more explicit instructions issued in the meantime. Moreover, the commanders of the submarines have been reminded that it is their duty to exercise greater care and to observe carefully the orders issued."

The German Government could not more clearly have stated that liners or large passenger steamers would not be torpedoed except upon previous warning, and after the passengers and crew had been put in places of safety.

On November 29, the German Government states, in connection with the case of the American vessel *William P. Frye:*

* * * "the German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband, when the preconditions provided by the declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crew and passengers of a vessel to be sunk. Consequently the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into her lifeboats except when the general conditions—that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coasts—afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port."

Following this accumulative series of assurances, however, there seems to have been no abatement in the rigor of submarine warfare, for attacks were made in the Mediterranean upon the American steamer *Communipaw* on December 3, the American steamer *Petrolite* December 5, the Japanese liner *Yasaka Maru* December 21, and the passenger liner *Persia* December 30. In the sinking of the *Persia* out of a total of some 500 passengers and crew only 165 were saved. Among those lost was an American consul traveling to his post.

On January 7, eight days after the sinking of the *Persia*, the German Government notified the Government of the United States through its ambassador in Washington as follows:

"1. German submarines in the Mediterranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with the general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

"2. German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety."

Clearly the assurances of the German Government that neutral and enemy merchant vessels, passenger as well as freight ships, should not be destroyed except upon the passengers and crew being accorded safety stood as the official position of the Imperial German Government.

On February 16, 1916, the German ambassador communicated to the Department of State an expression of regret for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania*, and proposed to pay a suitable indemnity. In the course of this note he said:

"Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects."

On March 1, 1916, the unarmed French passenger steamer *Patria*, carrying a number of American citizens, was attacked without warning. On March 9 the Norwegian bark *Silius*, riding at anchor in Havre Rhodes, was torpedoed by an unseen submarine, and one of the seven Americans on board was injured. On March 16 the Dutch passenger steamer *Tubantia* was sunk in the North Sea by a torpedo. On March 16 the British steamer *Berwindale* was torpedoed without warning off Bantry Island with four Americans on board. On March 24 the British unarmed steamer *Englishman* was, after a chase, torpedoed and sunk by the submarine *U–19*, as a result of which one American on board perished. On March 24 the unarmed French cross-channel steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning, several of the 24 American passengers being injured. On March 27 the unarmed British liner *Manchester Engineer* was sunk by an explosion without prior warning, with Americans on board, and on March 28 the British steamer *Eagle Point*, carrying a Hotchkiss gun, which she did not use, was chased, overtaken, and sunk by a torpedo after the persons on board had taken to the boats.

The American note of February 10, 1915, stated that should German vessels of war "destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations so happily subsisting between the two Governments," and that if such a deplorable situation should arise, "the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities."

In the American note of May 13, 1915, the Government stated:

"The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and in safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

In the note of July 21, 1915, the United States Government said that—

"Repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels and acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

In a communication of April 18, 1916, the American Government said:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should not immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

The German Government replied to this communication on May 4, 1916, giving definite assurances that new orders had been issued to the German naval forces "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law." And this agreement was substantially complied with for many months, but finally, on January 31, 1917, notice was given that after the following day—

"Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk."

In view of this Government's warning of April 18, 1916, and the Imperial German Government's pledge of May 4 of the same year, the Government of the United States, on February 3, 1917, stated to the Imperial German Government that—

"In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

"The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and, in accordance with such announcement, to deliver to your excellency your passports."

On February 3 one American ship was sunk, and since that date six American ships flying the American flag have been torpedoed, with a loss of about 13 American citizens. In addition, 50 or more foreign vessels of both belligerent and neutral nationality with Americans on board have been torpedoed, in most cases without warning, with a consequent loss of several American citizens.

IMPROPER ACTIVITIES OF GERMAN OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Since the beginning of the war German officials in the United States have engaged in many improper activities in violation of the laws of the United States and of their obligations as officials in a neutral country. Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, Capt. von Papen, military attaché of the embassy, Capt. Boy-Ed, naval attaché, as well as various consular officers and other officials, were involved in these activities, which were very widespread.

The following instances are chosen at random from the cases which have come to the knowledge of the Government:

I. By direct instructions received from the foreign office in Berlin the German Embassy in this country furnished funds and issued orders to the Indian Independence committee of the Indian Nationalist Party in the United States. These instructions were usually conveyed to the committee by the military information bureau in New York (Von Igel) or by the German consulates in New York and San Francisco.

Dr. Chakrabarty, recently arrested in New York City, received, all in all, according to his own admission, some $60,000 from Von Igel. He claims that the greater portion of this money was used for defraying the expenses of the Indian revolutionary propaganda in this country and, as he says, for educational purposes. While this is in itself

true, it is not all that was done by the revolutionists. They have sent representatives to the Far East to stir up trouble in India, and they have attempted to ship arms and ammunition to India. These expeditions have failed. The German Embassy also employed Ernest T. Euphrat to carry instructions and information between Berlin and Washington under an American passport.

II. Officers of interned German warships have violated their word of honor and escaped. In one instance the German consul at Richmond furnished the money to purchase a boat to enable six warrant officers of the steamer *Kronprinz Wilhelm* to escape after breaking their parole.

III. Under the supervision of Capt. von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Hans von Wedell and, subsequently, Carl Ruroede maintained a regular office for the procurement of fraudulent passports for German reservists. These operations were directed and financed in part by Capt. von Papen and Wolf von Igel. Indictments were returned, Carl Ruroede sentenced to the penitentiary, and a number of German officers fined. Von Wedell escaped and has apparently been drowned at sea. Von Wedell's operations were also known to high officials in Germany. When Von Wedell became suspicious that forgeries committed by him on a passport application had become known, he conferred with Capt. von Papen and obtained money from him wherewith to make his escape.

IV. James J. F. Archibald, under cover of an American passport and in the pay of the German Government through Ambassador Bernstorff, carried dispatches for Ambassador Dumba and otherwise engaged in unneutral activities.

V. Albert Sanders, Charles Wunnonberg, and others, German agents in this country, were engaged, among other activities, in sending spies to England, equipped with American passports, for the purpose of securing military information. Several such men have been sent. Sanders and Wunnonberg have plead guilty to indictments brought against them in New York City, as has George Voux Bacon, one of the men sent abroad by them.

VI. American passports have been counterfeited and counterfeits found on German agents. Baron von Cupenberg, a German agent, when arrested abroad, bore a counterfeit of an American passport issued to Gustav C. Roeder; Irving Guy Ries received an American passport, went to Germany, where the police retained his passports for 24 hours. Later a German spy named Carl Paul Julius Hensel was arrested in London with a counterfeit of the Ries passport in his possession.

VII. Prominent officials of the Hamburg-American Line, who, under the direction of Capt. Boy-Ed, endeavored to provide German warships at sea with coal and other supplies in violation of the statutes of the United States, have been tried and convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. Some 12 or more vessels were involved in this plan.

VIII. Under the direction of Capt. Boy-Ed and the German consulate at San Francisco, and in violation of our law, the steamships *Sacramento* and *Mazatlan* carried supplies from San Francisco to German war vessels. The *Olsen and Mahoney*, which was engaged in a similar enterprise, was detained. The money for these ventures was furnished by Capt. Boy-Ed. Indictments have been returned in connection with these matters against a large number of persons.

IX. Werner Horn, a lieutenant in the German reserve, was furnished funds by Capt. Franz von Papen and sent, with dynamite, under orders to blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Me. He was partially successful. He is now under indictment for the unlawful transportation of dynamite on passenger trains and is in jail awaiting trial following the dismissal of his appeal by the Supreme Court.

X. Capt. von Papen furnished funds to Albert Kaltschmidt, of Detroit, who is involved in a plot to blow up a factory at Walkerville, Canada, and the armory at Windsor, Canada.

XI. Robert Fay, Walter Scholtz, and Paul Daeche have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary and three others are under indictment for conspiracy to prepare bombs and attach them to allied ships leaving New York Harbor. Fay, who was the principal in this scheme, was a German soldier. He testified that he received finances from a German secret agent in Brussels, and told Von Papen of his plans, who advised him that his device was not practicable, but that he should go ahead with it, and if he could make it work he would consider it.

XII. Under the direction of Capt. von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Dr. Walter T. Scheele, Capt. von Kleist, Capt. Wolpert, of the Atlas Steamship Co., and Capt. Rode, of the Hamburg-American Line, manufactured incendiary bombs and placed them on board allied vessels. The shells in which the chemicals were placed were made on board the steamship *Frederick der Grosse*. Scheele was furnished $1,000 by Von Igel wherewith to become a fugitive from justice.

XIII. Capt. Franz Rintelen, a reserve officer in the German Navy, came to this country secretly for the purpose of preventing the exportation of munitions of war to the allies and of getting to Germany needed supplies. He organized and financed Labor's National Peace Council in an effort to bring about an embargo on the shipment of munitions of war, tried to bring about strikes, etc.

XIV. Consul General Bopp, at San Francisco, Vice Consul General von Schaick, Baron George Wilhelm von Brincken (an employee of the consulate), Charles C. Crowley, and Mrs. Margaret W. Cornell (secret agents of the German consulate at San Francisco) have been convicted of conspiracy to send agents into Canada to blow up railroad tunnels and bridges, and to wreck vessels sailing from Pacific coast ports with war material for Russia and Japan.

XV. Paul Koenig, head of the secret-service work of the Hamburg-American Line, by direction of his superior officers, largely augmented his organization and under the direction of Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert carried on secret work for the German Government. He secured and sent spies to Canada to gather information concerning the Welland Canal, the movements of Canadian troops to England, bribed an employee of a bank for information concerning shipments to the allies, sent spies to Europe on American passports to secure military information, and was involved with Capt. von Papen in plans to place bombs on ships of the allies leaving New York Harbor, etc. Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert had frequent conferences with Koenig in his office, at theirs, and at outside places. Koenig and certain of his associates are under indictment.

XVI. Capt. von Papen, Capt. Hans Tauscher, Wolf von Igel, and a number of German reservists organized an expedition to go into Canada, destroy the Welland Canal, and endeavor to terrorize Canadians in order to delay the sending of troops from Canada to Europe. Indictments have been returned against these persons. Wolf von Igel furnished Fritzen, one of the conspirators in this case, money on which to flee from New York City. Fritzen is now in jail in New York City.

XVII. With money furnished by official German representatives in this country, a cargo of arms and ammunition was purchased and shipped on board the schooner *Annie Larsen*. Through the activities of German official representatives in this country and other Germans a number of Indians were procured to form an expedition to go on the steamship *Maverick*, meet the *Annie Larsen*, take over her cargo, and endeavor to bring about a revolution in India. This plan involved the sending of a German officer to drill Indian recruits and the entire plan was managed and directed by Capt. von Papen, Capt. Hanz Tauscher, and other official German representatives in this country.

XVIII. Gustav Stahl, a German reservist, made an affidavit which he admitted was false, regarding the armament of the *Lusitania*, which affidavit was forwarded to the State Department by Ambassador Bernstorff. He plead guilty to an indictment charging perjury, and was sentenced to the penitentiary. Koenig, herein mentioned, was active in securing this affidavit.

XIX. The German Embassy organized, directed, and financed the Hans Libeau Employment Agency, through which extended efforts were made to induce employees of manufacturers engaged in supplying various kinds of material to the allies to give up their positions in an effort to interfere with the output of such manufacturers. Von Papen indorsed this organization as a military measure, and it was hoped through its propaganda to cripple munition factories.

XX. The German Government has assisted financially a number of newspapers in this country in return for pro-German propaganda.

XXI. Many facts have been secured indicating that Germans have aided and encouraged financially and otherwise the activities of one or the other factions in Mexico, the purpose being to keep the United States occupied along its borders and to prevent the exportation of munitions of war to the allies; see, in this connection, the activities of Rintelen, Stallforth, Kopf, the German consul at Chihuahua, Krum-Hellen, Felix Somerfeld (Villa's representative at New York), Carl Heynen, Gustav Steinberg, and many others.

ATTACKS ON SHIPS OF THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM IN VIOLATION OF GERMAN UNDERTAKINGS.

When the Commission for Relief in Belgium began its work in October, 1914, it received from the German authorities, through the various Governments concerned, definite written assurances that ships engaged in carrying cargoes for the relief of the civil population of Belgium and northern France should be immune from attack. In order that there may be no room for attacks upon these ships through misunderstanding, each ship is given a safe-conduct by the German diplomatic representative in the country from which it sails, and, in addition, bears conspicuously upon its sides markings which have been agreed upon with the German authorities; furthermore, similar markings are painted upon the decks of the ships in order that they may be readily recognizable by aeroplanes.

Upon the rupture of relations with Germany the commission was definitely assured by the German Government that its ships would be immune from attack by following certain prescribed courses and conforming to the arrangements previously made.

Despite these solemn assurances there have been several unwarranted attacks upon ships under charter to the commission.

On March 7 or 8 the Norwegian ship *Storstad*, carrying 10,000 tons of corn from Buenos Aires to Rotterdam for the commission was sunk in broad daylight by a German submarine despite the conspicuous markings of the commission which the submarine could not help observing. The *Storstad* was repeatedly shelled without warning and finally torpedoed.

On March 19 the steamships *Tunisie* and *Haelen*, under charter to the commission, proceeded to the United States under safe-conduct and guaranties from the German minister at The Hague and bearing conspicuous marking of the commission, were attacked without warning by a German submarine outside the danger zone (56° 15′ north, 5° 32′ east). The ships were not sunk, but on the *Haelen* seven men were killed, including the first and third officers; a port boat was sunk; a hole was made in the port bunker above the water line; and the ships sustained sundry damages to decks and engines.

INDIGNITIES TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

Various consular officers have suffered indignities and humiliation at the hands of German frontier authorities. The following are illustrations:

Mr. Pike, consul at St. Gaul, Switzerland, on proceeding to his post with a passport duly indorsed by German officials in New York and Copenhagen, was on November 26, 1916, subjected to great indignities at Warnemunde on the German frontier. Mr. Pike refused to submit to search of his person, the removal of his clothing, or the seizure of his official reports and papers of a private and confidential nature. He was therefore obliged to return to Copenhagen.

Mr. Murphy, the consul general at Sofia, and his wife, provided with passports from the German legations at The Hague and Copenhagen, were on two occasions stripped and searched and subjected to great humiliation at the same frontier station. No consideration was given them because of their official position.

Such has been the behavior on the part of German officials notwithstanding that consular officials hold positions of dignity and responsibility under their Government and that during the present war Germany has been placed under deep obligation to American consular officers by their efforts in the protection of German interests.

INHUMAN TREATMENT ACCORDED "YARROWDALE" PRISONERS BY GERMAN AUTHORITIES.

On January 19 Mr. Gerard telegraphed that the evening papers contained a report that the English steamer *Yarrowdale* had been brought to Swinemunde as prize with 469 prisoners on board taken from ships captured by German auxiliary cruisers; that among these prisoners were 103 neutrals; and that such of these as had been taken on board enemy ships and had accepted pay on such ships would be held as prisoners of war.

After repeated inquiries Mr. Gerard learned that there were among the *Yarrowdale* prisoners 72 men claiming American citizenship.

On February 4 Mr. Gerard was informed by Count Montgelas of the foreign office that the Americans taken on the *Yarrowdale* would be released immediately on the ground that they could not have known at the time of sailing that it was Germany's intention to treat armed merchantmen as ships of war.

Despite this assurance the prisoners were not released, but some time prior to February 17 the German minister for foreign affairs told the Spanish ambassador that the American prisoners from the *Yarrowdale* would be liberated "in a very short time."

Upon receipt of this information a formal demand was made through the Spanish ambassador at Berlin for the immediate release of these men. The message sent the Spanish ambassador was as follows:

"If *Yarrowdale* prisoners have not been released, please make formal demand in the name of the United States for their immediate release. If they are not promptly released and allowed to cross the frontier without further delay, please state to the foreign minister that this policy of the Imperial Government, if continued, apparently without the slightest justification, will oblige the Government of the United States to consider what measures it may be necessary to take in order to obtain satisfaction for the continued detention of these innocent American citizens."

On February 25 the American ambassador at Madrid was informed by the Spanish foreign office that the *Yarrowdale* prisoners had been released on the 16th instant.

The foregoing statement appears to have been based on erroneous information, for no further report on the subject has been received.

The men finally reached Zurich, Switzerland, on the afternoon of March 11.

Official reports now in the possession of the Department of State indicate that these American sailors were from the moment of their arrival in Germany, on January 3, subjected to the most cruel and heartless treatment. Although the weather was very cold they were given no suitable clothes, and many of them stood about for hours barefoot in the snow. The food supplied them was utterly inadequate. After one cup of coffee in the morning almost the only article of food given them was boiled frosted cabbage, with mush once a week and beans once a week. One member of the crew states that he was severely kicked in the abdomen by a German officer without provocation. He appears still to be suffering severely from this assault. Another sailor is still suffering from a wound caused by shrapnel fired by the Germans at an open boat in which he and his companions had taken refuge after the sinking of the *Georgic*.

All of the men stated that their treatment had been so inhuman that should a submarine be sighted in the course of their voyage home they would prefer to be drowned rather than have any further experience in German prison camps.

It is significant that the inhuman treatment accorded these American sailors occurred a month before the break in relations and while Germany was on every occasion professing the most cordial friendship for the United States.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE COMMUNICATIONS OF THE EMBASSY AT BERLIN.

After the suspension of diplomatic relations the German authorities cut off the telephone at the embassy at Berlin and suppressed Mr. Gerard's communication by telegraph and post. Mr. Gerard was not even permitted to send to American consular officers in Germany the instructions he had received for them from the Department of State. Neither was he allowed to receive his mail. Just before he left Berlin the telephonic communication at the embassy was restored and some telegrams and letters were delivered. No apologies were offered, however.

GERMAN INTRIGUES TO INVOLVE THE UNITED STATES IN WAR WITH MEXICO AND JAPAN.

The Government of the United States is in possession of instructions addressed by the German minister for foreign affairs to the German minister to Mexico concerning a proposed alliance of Germany, Japan, and Mexico to make war on the United States. The text of this document is as follows:

BERLIN, *January 19, 1917.*

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico on his own initiative should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I desire to say in justice to the Chairman that he has recognized me in advance of other gentlemen whom he had promised to recognize to enable me to make a brief statement which I desire to make before leaving the city, which I must do within the next few minutes. I am for the resolution and have expected to vote for it, but I have received a telegram calling me to the bedside of my wife, who is dangerously ill. I had hoped that the resolution might come to a vote earlier this evening, in time for me to vote for it and leave the city at 11 o'clock. I see, however, that that is impossible, and since realizing that impossibility I have conferred with the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD], who is in charge of the resolution; also with Mr. Speaker CLARK; and they are both of the opinion that the resolution will pass by an overwhelming majority, and both advise that I leave upon the earliest train and go to the bedside of my wife. I am advised that it will be necessary for her to undergo a severe operation, to which she is unwilling to submit without my being present. I have wired my son to make arrangements for the operation to-morrow afternoon, and I must leave on the next train, which leaves at 11 o'clock, to reach her bedside by that time. But I want the House, my district, and the country to understand my absence and why I absent myself from the city at this time, and also to understand that I indorse the course the President has taken and expect to support him in the prosecution of the war into which we have been forced.

In saying that I am for the resolution I do not underestimate the responsibilities that it places upon us. Neither do I underestimate the cost that the adoption of it may mean to this country. On the other hand, I do not underestimate what its defeat would mean to this country. In fact, its defeat might ultimately lead to the overthrow of the Government. Therefore in the face of the situation with which we are now confronted there is no use in reciting the horrors of war or shuddering at its cost. We must meet the unsought and unpleasant responsibility with all of its horrors. Those of you who lived through the days of the sixties are familiar with them from personal observation, and those who came after the war are familiar with them through history. It is therefore unnecessary to refer to the sorrow and the horror and the expense that this day's work may bring upon the people of the United States; but, my friends, this Government was established through effort, sacrifice, and expenditure of that kind. Our fathers sacrificed their treasures and died to give us the freedom that we enjoy, and I feel that we are willing, if need be, to die to maintain the liberties that they purchased for us with their blood. I realize what this war may mean to us, both collectively and individually. I realize what it may mean to me. I have three sons old enough for service on the battle field, and the thought of their being sent forth tries not only my nerve and my courage but my soul as well; but yet I can not let my personal feelings come between me and my duty to my country, whose rights have been invaded and whose liberties are involved and may be destroyed if we do not act and act now. Therefore I am for the resolution, and if I were present at the time it is voted on would vote for it, and I will return at the earliest date possible to assist in the enactment of such legislation as may be necessary to the prosecution of the war into which we are about to enter. [Applause.]

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Chairman, I had hoped that the hour would never come when I would be called upon to vote upon a declaration of war against any nation. Since it became apparent that the question would come before me for my decision, I have earnestly endeavored to decide in my own mind what my duty was in the premises. There never has been a time since the sinking of the *Lusitania* when we would not have been justified in going to war with Germany. The President in his message delivered to us on Monday night brought against the German Government the most sweeping indictment that has ever been brought against a government since the dawn of civilization. Every count in the indictment is true and furnishes abundant justification for war.

But I am here as the Representative of my district, and upon such a vital matter as this I feel that I must reflect as nearly as I can the wishes of a majority of its people. Not the sentiments of the press, but the sentiments of the men, women, and children who must suffer and bear the burden of the conflict. The people of my district are loyal citizens and in the hour of trial they will fulfill every obligation. The sentiment of my district, as I understand it, is against participation in this European war. This sentiment is not unanimous, but a goodly majority, as I believe. I hope I do not misunderstand or misrepresent their sentiments. And this, further, I do know, that at this time they are overwhelmingly opposed to sending the men of this Nation to Europe to fight; that if they thought that our men were to be conscripted into the Army for foreign service there would be but a few who would sanction or approve this war upon which we are about to enter.

We live in a democracy, where the voice of the people should be heard and should rule. This is not an autocracy, such as the President so eloquently denounces and which we all abhor. The Constitution says that Congress shall declare war. I feel that to ignore the wishes of the people of my district upon such a vital question and to fail to voice their sentiments, as I understand them, would subject me to criticism as just as that which we visit upon the kings, kaisers, and emperors who decreed war without consulting the wishes of their people.

Ever since the President addressed us on Monday night, I have known that Congress would pass a war resolution. I have been much troubled over my vote, because while I am opposed to war, yet I would not want a negative vote upon my part to give any foreign enemy the comfort of a seeming division in our Nation. It would be easy for me to follow the popular sentiment in Congress and support this resolution. I know that such a course would relieve me of the criticism and even abuse that will follow a negative vote. Believing that the majority of the people of my district are against going to war, knowing that they are opposed to sending their sons and fathers and brothers to European battle fields, and positive that they would not sanction, if they could express their views, the conscription

of an army for foreign service under present conditions, I would be false to them and to my conscience, did I not vote against a war resolution.

The resolution will pass, I am sure. When it does, I know there will no longer be any division of sentiment among the people of my district and they will heroically and patriotically make every sacrifice. They will do and dare, suffer and die if need be for the Nation and the flag. They will do all these things at least as nobly and readily as the loudest who now shout for war.

Mr. Chairman, I had not intended to say anything further, but the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] and the amendment he proposed suggest to me that I had better state that I will oppose such an amendment. My opposition to this war ceases with the passage of this resolution. Congress can not manage a war, and as a Representative here, however repugnant measures may be to me and to the people of my district, I shall vote to support every recommendation made by the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy to bring the war to a successful conclusion. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, the great crisis, the crucial hour of the United States is at hand. All sane and patriotic men have sincerely wished and prayed that we might remain at peace with the nations now engaged in this the most dreadful conflict of all times. We have done more than wish and more than pray; we have suffered long and patiently. We have endured all too much.

Nearly three years ago blind blood lust struck the blow which set the world aflame. On the day of the first blow by Germany there was not a trace of feeling against her in the United States. The most prevalent sentiment was one of deep admiration for the marvelous perfection of her military establishment. The first war news lauded the efficiency of German mobilization and recounted the wonderful precision of her marching thousands.

At the beginning of this conflict the United States of America was absolutely neutral. We acknowledged to Germany the world's debt in science and the arts. We recognized her achievements and her splendid history. Her customs, many of them, had become our customs and her people had become our people. By every bond of peace, friendship, and common blood we were bound to her as much, if not more, than any other European nation.

Hardly had the shock of the various declarations of war died away before the United States stood aghast at German violation of Belgium. That the German Government could think of its solemn treaty as a "scrap of paper" came as a sharp awakening to the American public. Apologists for Germany may say what they may, military necessity may be cited as excuse, but the fact yet remains that in the violation of Belgium, the burning of her cities, the devastation of her fields, the slaughter of her women—in these things Germany laid the foundation for the present hostility of this Republic.

Germany was still exerting herself to explain away her first colossal blunder when, with monumental stupidity, she deliberately murdered 114 of our citizens on the *Lusitania*. The horror of this multimurder rocked this Nation to its foundation. The sinister warning which preceded the act showed deadly premeditation. It seemed for a time that a break with Germany must come. All the strength and courage of our President was required to avert the impending storm. He upheld our traditions and sought with diplomacy to bring the German Government to see the light of reason.

We watched and waited, hoping reason might prevail, and while we were patiently waiting on the German Government we were at length awakened to the knowledge that Germany was systematically and craftily plotting to destroy our factories, to burn our munition plants, our wharves and ships, to dynamite ships at sea after leaving our ports, to build up a "peace at any price" party in this Republic. We read day by day the long list of her crimes uncovered by our Secret Service. While we sent home the ambassador of Germany's ally, as well as Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Dernberg, yet we held to relations with Germany and finally received her solemn assurances that she would observe international law on the high seas.

She promised she would sink no merchantmen without warning and would not jeopardize the lives of our citizen passengers on ships stopped by her submarines. How did she keep that promise? She kept it by breaking it in the making; she broke it while her ambassador was in the act of delivering that promise to this Government. She broke it steadily and at deadly intervals thereafter at a cost of some 112 American lives. Her bloody total of Americans who have met their death at the hands of Prussian pirates is now 226. Men, women, and children, every one a noncombatant, many engaged in errands of mercy, all on lawful errands, slaughtered by the skulking coyote of the seas, in no better cause than in maintaining a paper blockade of England and France and in terrorizing neutrals into nonresistance.

Germany at length, emboldened by her many crimes, has grown superior to dissimulation. German belief in German power has fattened on the blood of innocents. She no longer seeks to hide behind her broken promise, but tells us she will sink on sight any ship within a certain zone, save one poor ship per week, and then only under conditions which, to accept, was to surrender each and all our dearly bought liberties.

At the same moment we caught her red-handed in the basest act of international treachery ever committed by a civilized nation. She offers as barter a part of our sovereign territory in exchange for an attack on us by two friendly nations—Mexico and Japan.

Now Germany has dropped her diplomatic mask and stands revealed in all her naked savagery. She will now kill on sight; she has run amuck on the seas; she has now treacherously sought an alliance against our peace. Throughout all this we have remained neutral, and, as a reward for our neutrality, what have we received at the hands of William the Second?

He has set the torch of the incendiary to our factories, our workshops, our ships, and our wharves.

He has laid the bomb of the assassin in our munition plants and in the holds of our ships.

He has sought to corrupt our manhood with a selfish dream of peace when there is no peace.

He has willfully butchered our citizens on the high seas.

He has destroyed our commerce.

He seeks to terrorize us with his devilish policy of frightfulness.

He has violated every canon of international decency and set at naught every solemn treaty and every precept of international law.

He has plunged the world into the maddest orgy of blood, rapine, and murder which history records.

He has intrigued against our peace at home and abroad.

He seeks to destroy our civilization. Patience is no longer a virtue, further endurance is cowardice, submission to Prussian demands is slavery.

Mr. Chairman, we have been slow to anger; but this Republic, sir, has never been prone to rush into war. In our history we have engaged in four foreign wars, including our war for independence. Preceding each war the people of this Republic have suffered and endured foreign aggression, just as we have suffered and endured since August, 1914.

Ten years of wrong, oppression, and the blood of the Boston massacre preceded armed resistance to England and led to the Revolution.

The enslavement of our seamen and the almost total destruction of our commerce were long endured before the War of 1812.

Years of border raids, destruction of property, and the blood-stained Alamo finally drove our people to the Mexican War of 1848.

We watched for years Spanish tyranny in Cuba starve and kill a brave people before the destruction of the *Maine* brought on the Spanish War of 1898.

In every instance we have been goaded to desperation before we have drawn the sword. We have ever been patient; now let Germany learn the import of the words "Beware of the anger of a patient man." The day is here! The hour has struck! It is our destiny here and now to once more draw the sword. Now as ever heretofore in defense of liberty, humanity, and peace.

We, Members of this Congress, in response to the wish of our great and patient President, stand now ready to launch into battle the mightiest Nation in the world, not the mightiest in standing armies nor in navies, nor in thirst for conquest, but in those elements which are the great foundation for victory we are the mightiest of them all. We bring to the cause of humanity more material wealth than any nation ever before in history. We bring unbounded natural resources in the very sinews of war. We bring a united Nation, strong, determined, patriotic, prepared to endure to the end. We bring 100,000,000 freemen and a flag that has never bowed in defeat.

By the iron in our mountains,
By the power in our rivers,
By the harvest of our prairies,
By the skill of our inventions,
By the courage of our fathers,
By the aid of God above us,
We shall win and we shall conquer.

Mr. Chairman, we join with the free people of the earth to resist, to overcome, and to destroy for all time that ancient and

despotic yoke, "the divine right of kings." Already have the peoples of Russia overcome the absolute power of their erstwhile Czar. Frenchmen and Englishmen are to-day living under Governments as free as ours, while Italy's broad constitutional Government springs from the will of her people. Against us will be tyranny and despotism. Two emperors, a czar, and a sultan; they are the epitome of public slavery for private glory.

No free people have ever made aggressive war on sister nations. World peace can only come when the great nations of the world are free. When Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, when czar and sultan are driven from their thrones, either from force from within or without, then there will be peace and lasting peace.

Let not this be a war upon a people, for with the German people we have no feud. Let us make clear to our people and the world that we do not seek the destruction of nor would we add to the burden of those who will be forced to fight against us. We strike to liberate, not to enslave; to free and not to burden the peoples of central Europe. We strike at the Prussian military oligarchy, at Hohenzollern and Hapsburg mad dreams of world dominion. We strike for our ancient liberties on the seas. We strike for peace.

The day will come, Mr. Chairman, when the peoples of central Europe will rise in their might and brush aside their emperors. On that day "divine right" will not aid them. They, Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, with their blood-stained plan of conquest, shall go down for ever, and out of the wreck they have wrought shall arise a great republic, dedicated to freedom and to peace.

Until then, with sorrow that we must strike a people now enslaved, for the sake of our national honor, for the sake of our very national existence, in the name of liberty and justice, in the cause of peace, let us fight the good fight; fight until the back of Prussian militarism is broken and the serpent head of war is crushed beneath the victorious heel of international liberty.

Let us now here resolve to do our full part in this battle for humanity. Let us dedicate ourselves, our country, and our manhood to the cause of freedom. Let us invest our President with every power, in arms, in munitions, in ships, and men. Let our flag wave, but never waver, until red Mars sets and the sun of international liberty rises on a free and peaceful world. [Applause.]

I recognize my stand to be strong, and for that reason I cite the following as reasons for such decision:

On the 31st day of January, 1917, notice was given by the Imperial German Government to this Government that after the following day—

"Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk."

Since that day seven American ships flying the American flag have been sunk and between 25 and 30 American lives have been lost as a result of the prosecution of the submarine warfare in accordance with the above declaration. This is war. War waged by the Imperial German Government upon this country and its people.

A brief review of some of the hostile and illegal acts of the German Government toward this Government and its officers and its people is herewith given.

GERMANY'S CONDUCT OF SUBMARINE WARFARE.

In the memorial of the Imperial German Government accompanying its proclamation of February 4, 1915, in regard to submarine warfare, that Government declared—

"* * * The German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such."

In the note of the German Government dated February 16, 1915, in reply to the American note of February 10, it was declared that—

"It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property. * * * The commanders of German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American merchant ships when they are recognizable as such."

Nevertheless the German Government proceeded to carry out its plans of submarine warfare and torpedoed the British passenger steamer *Falaba* on March 27, 1915, when 1 American life was lost, attacked the American steamer *Cushing* April 28 by airship, and made submarine attacks upon the American tank steamer *Gulflight* May 1, the British passenger liner *Lusitania* May 7, when 114 American lives were lost, and the American steamer *Nebraskan* on May 25, in all of which over 125 citizens of the United States lost their lives, not to mention hundreds of noncombatants who were lost and hundreds of Americans and noncombatants whose lives were put in jeopardy.

The British mule boat *Armenian* was torpedoed on June 28, as a result of which 20 Americans are reported missing.

On July 8, 1915, in a note to Ambassador Gerard, arguing in defense of its method of warfare and particularly of its submarine commander in the *Lusitania* case, it is stated:

"The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

"In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, * * * the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance."

Subsequently, the following vessels carrying American citizens were attacked by submarines:

British liner *Orduna* July 9.
Russian steamer *Leo* July 9.
American steamer *Leelanaw* July 25.
British passenger liner *Arabic* August 19.
British mule ship *Nicosian* August 19.
British steamer *Hesperian* September 4.

In these attacks 23 Americans lost their lives, not to mention the large number whose lives were placed in jeopardy.

Following these events, conspicuous by their wantonness and violation of every rule of humanity and maritime warfare, the German ambassador, by instructions from his Government, on September 1 gave the following assurances to the Government of the United States:

"Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

On September 9, in a reply as to the submarine attack on the *Orduna*, the German Government renewed these assurances in the following language:

"The first attack on the *Orduna* by a torpedo was not in accordance with the existing instructions, which provide that large passenger steamers are to be torpedoed only after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew. The failure to observe the instructions was based on an error which is at any rate comprehensible and the repetition of which appears to be out of the question, in view of the more explicit instructions issued in the meantime. Moreover, the commanders of the submarines have been reminded that it is their duty to exercise greater care and to observe carefully the orders issued."

The German Government could not more clearly have stated that liners or large passenger steamers would not be torpedoed except upon previous warning, and after the passengers and crew had been put in places of safety.

On November 20, the German Government states, in connection with the case of the American vessel *William P. Frye:*

"* * * The German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband, when the preconditions provided by the declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crew and passengers of a vessel to be sunk. Consequently the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into her lifeboats except when the general conditions—that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coasts—afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port."

Following this accumulative series of assurances, however, there seems to have been no abatement in the rigor of submarine warfare, for attacks were made in the Mediterranean upon the American steamer *Communipaw* on December 3, the American steamer *Petrolite* December 5, the Japanese liner *Yasaka Maru* December 21, and the passenger liner *Persia* December 30. In the sinking of the *Persia* out of a total of some 500 passengers and crew only 165 were saved. Among those lost was an American consul traveling to his post.

On January 7, eight days after the sinking of the *Persia*, the German Government notified the Government of the United States, through its ambassador in Washington, as follows:

"1. German submarines in the Mediterranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with the general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

"2. German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety."

Clearly the assurances of the German Government that neutral and enemy merchant vessels, passenger as well as freight ships, should not be destroyed except upon the passengers and crew being accorded safety stood as the official position of the Imperial German Government.

On February 16, 1916, the German ambassador communicated to the Department of State an expression of regret for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania* and proposed to pay a suitable indemnity. In the course of this note he said:

"Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects."

On March 1, 1916, the unarmed French passenger steamer *Patria*, carrying a number of American citizens, was attacked without warning. On March 9 the Norwegian bark *Silius*, riding at anchor in Havre Roads, was torpedoed by an unseen submarine and one of the seven Americans on board was injured. On March 16 the Dutch passenger steamer *Tubantia* was sunk in the North Sea by a torpedo. On March 16 the British steamer *Berwindale* was torpedoed without warning off Bantry Island with four Americans on board. On March 24 the British unarmed steamer *Englishman* was, after a chase, torpedoed and sunk by the submarine *U-19*, as a result of which one American on board perished. On March 24 the unarmed French cross-channel steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning, several of the 24 American passengers being injured. On March 27 the unarmed British liner *Manchester Engineer* was sunk by an explosion without prior warning, with Americans on board, and on March 28 the British steamer *Eagle Point*, carrying a Hotchkiss gun, which she did not use, was chased, overtaken, and sunk by a torpedo after the persons on board had taken to the boats.

The American note of February 10, 1915, stated that should German vessels of war—

"destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations so happily subsisting between the two Governments"—and that if such a deplorable situation should arise—

"the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities."

In the American note of May 13, 1915, the Government stated:

"The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or act necessary to the performance of

its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and in safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

In the note of July 21, 1915, the United States Government said that—

"Repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels and acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

In a communication of April 18, 1916, the American Government said:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should not immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

The German Government replied to this communication on May 4, 1916, giving definite assurances that new orders had been issued to the German naval forces "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law." And this agreement was substantially complied with for many months, but finally, on January 31, 1917, notice was given that after the following day—

"Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk."

In view of this Government's warning of April 18, 1916, and the Imperial German Government's pledge of May 4 of the same year, the Government of the United States, on February 3, 1917, stated to the Imperial German Government that—

"In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

"The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and, in accordance with such announcement, to deliver to your excellency your passports."

On February 3 one American ship was sunk, and since that date six American ships flying the American flag have been torpedoed, with a loss of about 13 American citizens. In addition, 50 or more foreign vessels of both belligerent and neutral nationality with Americans on board have been torpedoed, in most cases without warning, with a consequent loss of several American citizens.

IMPROPER ACTIVITIES OF GERMAN OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Since the beginning of the war German officials in the United States have engaged in many improper activities in violation of the laws of the United States and of their obligations as officials in a neutral country. Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, Capt. von Papen, military attaché of the embassy, Capt. Boy-Ed, naval attaché, as well as various consular officers and other officials, were involved in these activities, which were very widespread.

The following instances are chosen at random from the cases which have come to the knowledge of the Government:

1. By direct instructions received from the foreign office in Berlin the German Embassy in this country furnished funds and issued orders to the Indian independence committee of the Indian Nationalist Party in the United States. These instructions were usually conveyed to the committee by the military information bureau in New York (Von Igel) or by the German consulates in New York and San Francisco.

Dr. Chakrabarty, recently arrested in New York City, received, all in all, according to his own admission, some $60,000 from Von Igel. He claims that the greater portion of this money was used for defraying the expenses of the Indian revolutionary propaganda in this country, and, as he says, for educational purposes. While this is in itself true, it is not all that was done by the revolutionists. They have sent representatives to the Far East to stir up trouble in India and they have attempted to ship arms and ammunition to India. These expeditions have failed. The German Embassy also employed Ernest T. Euphrat to carry instructions and information between Berlin and Washington under an American passport.

II. Officers of interned German warships have violated their word of honor and escaped. In one instance the German consul at Richmond furnished the money to purchase a boat to enable six warrant officers of the steamer *Kronprinz Wilhelm* to escape after breaking their parole.

III. Under the supervision of Capt. von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Hans von Wedell and, subsequently, Carl Ruroede maintained a regular office for the procurement of fraudulent passports for German reservists. These operations were directed and financed in part by Capt. von Papen and Wolf von Igel. Indictments were returned, Carl Ruroede sentenced to the penitentiary, and a number of German officers fined. Von Wedell escaped and has apparently been drowned at sea. Von Wedell's operations were also known to high officials in Germany. When Von Wedell became suspicious that forgeries committed by him on a passport application had become known, he conferred with Capt. von Papen and obtained money from him wherewith to make his escape.

IV. James J. F. Archibald, under cover of an American passport and in the pay of the German Government through Ambassador Bernstorff, carried dispatches for Ambassador Dumba and otherwise engaged in unneutral activities.

V. Albert Sanders, Charles Wunnonberg, and others, German agents in this country, were engaged, among other activities, in sending spies to England equipped with American passports, for the purpose of securing military information. Several such men have been sent. Sanders and Wunnonberg have plead guilty to indictments brought against them in New York City as has George Voux Bacon, one of the men sent abroad by them.

VI. American passports have been counterfeited and counterfeits found on German agents. Baron von Cupenberg, a German agent, when arrested abroad, bore a counterfeit of an American passport issued to Gustav C. Roeder; Irving Guy Ries received an American passport, went to Germany, where the police retained his passports for 24 hours. Later a German spy named Carl Paul Julius Hensel was arrested in London with a counterfeit of the Ries passport in his possession.

VII. Prominent officials of the Hamburg-American Line, who under the direction of Capt. Boy-Ed, endeavored to provide German warships at sea with coal and other supplies in violation of the statutes of the United States, have been tried and convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. Some 12 or more vessels were involved in this plan.

VIII. Under the direction of Capt. Boy-Ed and the German consulate at San Francisco, and in violation of our law, the steamships *Sacramento* and *Mazatlan* carried supplies from San Francisco to German war vessels. The *Olsen and Mahoney*, which was engaged in a similar enterprise, was detained. The money for these ventures was furnished by Capt. Boy-Ed. Indictments have been returned in connection with these matters against a large number of persons.

IX. Werner Horn, a lieutenant in the German Reserve, was furnished funds by Capt. Franz von Papen and sent, with dynamite, under orders to blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Me. He was partially successful. He is now under indictment for the unlawful transportation of dynamite on passenger trains and is in jail awaiting trial following the dismissal of his appeal by the Supreme Court.

X. Capt. von Papen furnished funds to Albert Kaltschmidt, of Detroit, who is involved in a plot to blow up a factory at Walkerville, Canada, and the armory at Windsor, Canada.

XI. Robert Fay, Walter Scholtz, and Paul Daeche have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary and three others are under indictment for conspiracy to prepare bombs and attach them to allied ships leaving New York Harbor. Fay, who was the principal in this scheme, was a German soldier. He testified that he received finances from a German secret agent in Brussels, and told Von Papen of his plans, who advised him that his device was not practicable, but that he should go ahead with it, and if he could make it work he would consider it.

XII. Under the direction of Capt. von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Dr. Walter T. Scheele, Capt. von Kleist, Capt. Wolpert, of the Atlas Steamship Co., and Capt. Rode, of the Hamburg-American Line, manufactured incendiary bombs and placed them on board allied vessels. The shells in which the chemicals were placed were made on board the steamship *Frederick der Grosse*. Scheele was furnished $1,000 by Von Igel wherewith to become a fugitive from justice.

XIII. Capt. Franz Rintelen, a reserve officer in the German Navy, came to this country secretly for the purpose of preventing the exportation of munitions of war to the allies and of getting to Germany needed supplies. He organized and financed Labor's National Peace Council in an effort to bring about an embargo on the shipment of munitions of war, tried to bring about strikes, etc.

XIV. Consul General Bopp, at San Francisco, Vice Consul General von Schaick, Baron George Wilhelm von Brincken (an employee of the consulate), Charles C. Crowley, and Mrs. Margaret W. Cornell (secret agents of the German consulate at San Francisco) have been convicted of conspiracy to send agents into Canada to blow up railroad tunnels and bridges and to wreck vessels sailing from Pacific coast ports with war material for Russia and Japan.

XV. Paul Koenig, head of the secret-service work of the Hamburg-American Line, by direction of his superior officers, largely augmented his organization and under the direction of Von Paper, Boy-Ed, and Albert carried on secret work for the German Government. He secured and sent spies to Canada to gather information concerning the Welland Canal, the movements of Canadian troops to England, bribed an employee of a bank for information concerning shipments to the allies, sent spies to Europe on American passports to secure military information, and was involved with Capt. von Papen in plans to place bombs on ships of the allies leaving New York Harbor, etc. Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert had frequent conferences with Koenig in his office, at theirs, and at outside places. Koenig and certain of his associates are under indictment.

XVI. Capt. von Papen, Capt. Hans Tauscher, Wolf von Igel, and a number of German reservists organized an expedition to go into Canada, destroy the Welland Canal, and endeavor to terrorize Canadians in order to delay the sending of troops from Canada to Europe. Indictments have been returned against these persons. Wolf von Igel furnished Fritzen, one of the conspirators in this case, money on which to flee from New York City. Fritzen is now in jail in New York City.

XVII. With money furnished by official German representatives in this country, a cargo of arms and ammunition was purchased and shipped on board the schooner *Annie Larsen*. Through the activities of German official representatives in this country and other Germans a number of Indians were procured to form an expedition to go on the steamship *Maverick*, meet the *Annie Larsen*, take over her cargo, and endeavor to bring about a revolution in India. This plan involved the sending of a German officer to drill Indian recruits, and the entire plan was managed and directed by Capt. von Papen, Capt. Hans Tauscher, and other official German representatives in this country.

XVIII. Gustav Stahl, a German reservist, made an affidavit which he admitted was false regarding the armament of the *Lusitania*, which affidavit was forwarded to the State Department by Ambassador Bernstorff. He pleaded guilty to an indictment charging perjury, and was sentenced to the penitentiary. Koenig, herein mentioned, was active in securing this affidavit.

XIX. The German Embassy organized, directed, and financed the Hans Libeau Employment Agency, through which extended efforts were made to induce employees of manufacturers engaged in supplying various kinds of material to the allies to give up their positions in an effort to interfere with the output of such manufacturers. Von Papen indorsed this organization as a military measure, and it was hoped through its propaganda to cripple munition factories.

XX. The German Government has assisted financially a number of newspapers in this country in return for pro-German propaganda.

XXI. Many facts have been secured indicating that Germans have aided and encouraged, financially and otherwise, the activities of one or the other factions in Mexico, the purpose being to keep the United States occupied along its borders and to prevent the exportation of munitions of war to the allies; see in this connection the activities of Rintelen, Stallforth, Kopf, the German consul at Chihuahua, Krum-Hellen, Felix Somerfeld (Villa's representative at New York), Carl Heynen, Gustav Steinberg, and many others.

ATTACKS ON SHIPS OF THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM IN VIOLATION OF GERMAN UNDERTAKINGS.

When the Commission for Relief in Belgium began its work in October, 1914, it received from the German authorities, through the various Governments concerned, definite written assurances that ships

engaged in carrying cargoes for the relief of the civil population of Belgium and northern France should be immune from attack. In order that there may be no room for attacks upon these ships through misunderstanding, each ship is given a safe-conduct by the German diplomatic representative in the country from which it sails, and, in addition, bears conspicuously upon its sides markings which have been agreed upon with the German authorities; furthermore, similar markings are painted upon the decks of the ships in order that they may be readily recognizable by aeroplanes.

Upon the rupture of relations with Germany the commission was definitely assured by the German Government that its ships would be immune from attack by following certain prescribed courses and conforming to the arrangements previously made.

Despite these solemn assurances, there have been several unwarranted attacks upon ships under charter to the commission.

On March 7 or 8 the Norwegian ship *Storstad*, carrying 10,000 tons of corn from Buenos Aires to Rotterdam for the commission was sunk in broad daylight by a German submarine, despite the conspicuous markings of the commission, which the submarine could not help observing. The *Storstad* was repeatedly shelled without warning and finally torpedoed.

On March 19 the steamships *Tunisic* and *Haelen*, under charter to the commission, proceeded to the United States under safe-conducts and guaranties from the German minister at The Hague and bearing conspicuous markings of the commission, were attacked without warning by a German submarine outside the danger zone (56° 15′ north, 5° 32′ east). The ships were not sunk, but on the *Haelen* seven men were killed, including the first and third officers; a port boat was sunk; a hole was made in the port bunker above the water line; and the ships sustained sundry damages to decks and engines.

INDIGNITIES TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

Various consular officers have suffered indignities and humiliation at the hands of German frontier authorities. The following are illustrations:

Mr. Pike, consul at St. Gall, Switzerland, on proceeding to his post with a passport duly indorsed by German officials in New York and Copenhagen, was on November 26, 1916, subjected to great indignities at Warnemunde on the German frontier. Mr. Pike refused to submit to search of his person, the removal of his clothing, or the seizure of his official reports and papers of a private and confidential nature. He was therefore obliged to return to Copenhagen.

Mr. Murphy, the consul general at Sofia, and his wife, provided with passports from the German legations at The Hague and Copenhagen, were on two occasions stripped and searched and subjected to great humiliation at the same frontier station. No consideration was given them because of their official position.

Such has been the behavior on the part of German officials notwithstanding that consular officials hold positions of dignity and responsibility under their Government and that during the present war Germany has been placed under deep obligation to American consular officers by their efforts in the protection of German interests.

INHUMAN TREATMENT ACCORDED YARROWDALE PRISONERS BY GERMAN AUTHORITIES.

On January 19 Mr. Gerard telegraphed that the evening papers contained a report that the English steamer *Yarrowdale* had been brought to Swinemunde as prize with 469 prisoners on board taken from ships captured by German auxiliary cruisers; that among these prisoners were 103 neutrals; and that such of these as had been taken on board enemy ships and had accepted pay on such ships would be held as prisoners of war.

After repeated inquiries Mr. Gerard learned that there were among the *Yarrowdale* prisoners 72 men claiming American citizenship.

On February 4, Mr. Gerard was informed by Count Montgelas, of the foreign office that the Americans taken on the *Yarrowdale* would be released immediately on the ground that they could not have known at the time of sailing that it was Germany's intention to treat armed merchantment as ships of war.

Despite this assurance the prisoners were not released, but some time prior to February 17, the German minister for foreign affairs told the Spanish ambassador that the American prisoners from the *Yarrowdale* would be liberated "in a very short time."

Upon receipt of this information a formal demand was made through the Spanish ambassador at Berlin for the immediate release of these men. The message sent the Spanish ambassador was as follows:

"If *Yarrowdale* prisoners have not been released, please make formal demand in the name of the United States for their immediate release. If they are not promptly released and allowed to cross the frontier without further delay, please state to the foreign minister that this policy of the Imperial Government, if continued, apparently without the slightest justification, will oblige the Government of the United States to consider what measures it may be necessary to take in order to obtain satisfaction for the continued detention of these innocent American citizens."

On February 25 the American ambassador at Madrid was informed by the Spanish foreign office that the *Yarrowdale* prisoners had been released on the 16th instant.

The foregoing statement appears to have been based on erroneous information, for no further report on the subject has been received.

The men finally reached Zurich, Switzerland, on the afternoon of March 11.

Official reports now in the possession of the Department of State indicate that these American sailors were from the moment of their arrival in Germany, on January 3, subjected to the most cruel and heartless treatment. Although the weather was very cold they were given no suitable clothes, and many of them stood about for hours barefoot in the snow. The food supplied them was utterly inadequate. After one cup of coffee in the morning almost the only article of food given them was boiled frosted cabbage, with mush once a week and beans once a week. One member of the crew states that he was severely kicked in the abdomen by a German officer without provocation. He appears still to be suffering severely from this assault. Another sailor is still suffering from a wound caused by shrapnel fired by the Germans at an open boat in which he and his companions had taken refuge after the sinking of the *Georgic*.

All of the men stated that their treatment had been so inhuman that should a submarine be sighted in the course of their voyage home they would prefer to be drowned rather than have any further experience in German prison camps.

It is significant that the inhuman treatment accorded these American sailors occurred a month before the break in relations and while Germany was on every occasion professing the most cordial friendship for the United States.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE COMMUNICATIONS OF THE EMBASSY AT BERLIN.

After the suspension of diplomatic relations, the German authorities cut off the telephone at the embassy at Berlin and suppressed Mr. Gerard's communication by telegraph and post. Mr. Gerard was not even permitted to send to American consular officers in Germany the instructions he had received for them from the Department of State. Neither was he allowed to receive his mail. Just before he left Berlin the telephonic communication at the embassy was restored and some telegrams and letters were delivered. No apologies were offered, however.

GERMAN INTRIGUES TO INVOLVE THE UNITED STATES IN WAR WITH MEXICO AND JAPAN.

The Government of the United States is in possession of instructions addressed by the German minister for foreign affairs to the German minister to Mexico concerning a proposed alliance of Germany, Japan, and Mexico to make war on the United States. The text of this document is as follows:

BERLIN, *January 19, 1917.*

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico on his own initiative should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Mr. Chairman, I want to answer, in addition to my set remarks, the statement of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] in reference to the troublous times we had in Baltimore on Sunday last. I beg to assure the gentleman that the men who marched into the Academy of Music where that pacifist meeting was being held did not do so for the purpose of breaking up the meeting, but they went there that they also might be heard in the interests of American honor, of American liberty, and American freedom. [Applause.] They did not go there for any boisterous purpose. Those men were contending that they believed in free speech and that the other side of the question ought to be heard. I want to say in addition that it was not the descendants, as the gentleman said, of men who led the attack in the Civil War, but the man who led that procession for American honor and American liberty was a descendant of one of our best German families, who traces his ancestry back to the Fatherland. That brave and able descendant of German descent and the men with him believed that this is not the time for pacifist meetings, but that the time for the American Government to act in self-defense and in the interest of the freedom of the people not only of the United States but of the world at large had struck. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to make the same request to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the declaration of war, and will so vote. I desire to answer one very brilliant young man who appealed to us to change our votes lest we might embarrass our Government. The greatest embarrassment that comes to my Government would be that a man elected to Congress, having stood at this bar and taken the oath to discharge his duty under the Constitution, should be silent when his conscience bids him speak [applause] and submit to a denial of free speech in this country. If war is declared, we will all be united for that war; but I am against this war because under international law the Imperial Government of Germany has given us no cause for war, and I predict that in the ultimate decisions of the maritime courts of the world it will be decided that she has followed the rule laid down in the past that has been the governing and accepted rule of the world. I could cite you precedent after precedent, beginning with our own country. When Abraham Lincoln declared a blockade—aye, a paper blockade, I know; I think I know the rule and the law—when he laid a blockade that shut the southern Confederacy from receiving anything in the way of arms or ammunition or anything to eat or comfort themselves, the world accepted it as the right of one of the belligerents to keep all neutrals out.

Great Britain recognized that right. While she had her blockade runners, as we have to-day, Mr. Lincoln captured over 1,500 of them and sank upward of 450 of them, and Great Britain never brought a complaint against the United States, because we had the right to declare the blockade and use all the power that God Almighty gave us to maintain that blockade. Germany to-day treats us the same as Lincoln treated the world. He treated them all alike; and here we are declaring war, a great strong, healthy Nation, against a nation that is at war, broken, bleeding, and in trouble, because she will not vary her blockade rules to please us. If she allowed Norway or Sweden or any other country in the world to carry contraband of war through this zone and denied it to us, that would be a cause for war, but when she says every boat of every nation shall be treated alike, that is not a casus belli; it is not a declaration of war.

And I am opposed to declaring war, because she stands on her international rights. I have no apologies to make for Germany or Great Britain. They have both wronged us, they have injured us bitterly and seriously, and none more than Germany, but some of them equally with Germany. But, as a matter of fact, that was our precedent.

May I bring you down to another precedent since the beginning of this war? There is a dispute to-day by reason of nonpublication in our White Book as to what caused the sinking of the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*. But they were sunk with mines. Great Britain notified the world in November, 1914, that she would spread mines that closed the whole North Sea. And, when those two boats went down—I remember the indignation of those gentlemen who were angry with Great Britain and who would have been glad to fight her at any time with or without cause, and who wanted to hold a meeting in Chicago. I said, "No. The President is right. That is not a cause for war. Have they not violated the treaty?" Yes. But every student of international law knows that treaties fly out of the window when military necessity knocks at the door. England did violate the treaty when she laid her miles and miles of mines in the North Sea; and whether they sunk these boats by them or not, you did not call it a cause for war, gentlemen. They were clearly within their rights. They established a closed zone. I speak of a closed zone as a blockade. The submarine is a new war weapon. No court of admiralty has fixed its legal status. International law on that subject is still in the making, and arbitration and not war should settle it.

Is it possible that a precedent so lately indorsed by you and your administration is so soon forgotten? Show me one place where the Imperial Government of Germany has not accorded to American ships the same right she gives to every other neutral, and I will agree with you to vote for war.

We are told constantly and reminded by letters and telegrams to stand by the President. I remember when I read the ruling of the department in these cases that it was not a cause for war. I was with the President then in that decision, or the Secretary of State—whoever made it. And I want to stand by the President. But he is not sworn to declare war. He is not empowered to declare war. The responsibility rests here. You may believe it or not, gentlemen, but I would give my life cheerfully in defense and for the protection of our President's life while he is President of the United States, but I can not forswear myself in the discharge of my duty under the Constitution, representing people as a Member of Congress, and wash my hands and say, "Leave it to the President."

You know the gentlemen here. It is not necessary to call names. Let us see what the President wants. You wash your hands and put the responsibility upon one man who under the Constitution does not have that responsibility. If he was as wise as Solomon, as pure as Christ, and with the patriotism of Lincoln, yet the men who laid the foundations of this Government declared in the Constitution that war or peace for this Government could never rest in the hands, mind, or conscience of one man. When Christ was brought before Pontius Pilate, the latter, to relieve himself of responsibility, got a basin and washed his hands in the presence of the multitude and then turned the Master over to the mob. He was the first great hand washer in history, but not the last, by any means. [Laughter.] And if there is any place in the world where wash basins and towels are in demand it is in the city of Washington at this very hour. Mind you, gentlemen, that I do not question your patriotism when you want war. I love to hear the name of John Paul Jones and the music of the Star-Spangled Banner just as much as you do. I do not question your patriotism, and I do not permit you to question my patriotism when I say that I am not willing to give a million American boys to avenge the lives of those people who sought to run the blockade laid down either by the English or the German Government. [Applause.]

The only casus belli explained by the President is the blockade question. It is true in a report that we have this morning there is a long list of outrages committed entirely by officers and employees of the German Government. There is not a word about the suffering we have had from the English Government. I do not believe in going to war with Great Britain because of it. It is a fight between kings. Let them finish it, and let us keep the Republic's skirts clean, this spirit of democracy, so that they can look to us in helping to maintain peace.

And I am against this resolution further, Mr. Chairman, because, looking each other in the face and telling God's truth, we are not prepared for it. There are people in my town to-day who do not get enough to eat, and yet the President says we must continue shipping our foodstuffs to a foreign people and feed them while they fight. Oh, but you say, there has been a combination and a conspiracy to raise the prices to our people who are going hungry. Then, for God's sake, let us remember the oath that we took here this week to defend our Government against the domestic enemies of our country and remember the men who have conspired to raise the price of food products are greater enemies to-day than the Imperial Government of Germany that has laid down a hard and fast rule of blockades or closed ports. I say to you, and you know as well as I do the situation, that the people who work are not fed in this country as they have been used to being fed. Prices have gone beyond their reach. And you may make a declaration of war to-day, and it does seem as though, having watched the people in Poland and Germany and England starving to death, we were crazy to get into the difficulties of starvation simply to avenge some imaginary wrong or fight for lives that are gone and that our fighting will not bring back. [Applause.] I am as sorry for them as anyone else, those who have lost their lives; but you can not bring them back by giving your sons and mine to go into the fight, there in the trenches, and if you are in good faith let us vote an amendment to this declaration.

I am against this war because I know that people in my State are not for it. I am not quoting newspapers. I asked the people to write me; I wanted to know their wish, and out of a thousand letters or telegrams, not exceeding five or ten have come asking for a declaration of war, and those as a rule can be traced to gentlemen interested in war as a business.

Some one was called a traitor because he called this "a dollar war." It is a dollar war. If the Imperial German Government could have offered enough money when she talked about peace, it would have been settled. It is a war between kings for money and for territory. It does not involve a single human life that interests a great republican democracy like the United States.

Then I am against this war not only because we are not prepared for it and because of the hardships to be entailed by it, but I beg you to remember this, even if you forget everything else that I say to-day: The danger of entering into war where the entente is upon one side and the central powers are upon the other lies in the fact that it means an entrance on our part into European war and European politics, the dangers of which were foreshadowed by Washington and are familiar to every student of the history of the United States.

If this resolution passes to-day we are then in war, and we must do one of two things—either make a treaty with the entente or not make a treaty with them. If we do not make a treaty with them they may go on and finish with the central allies and settle at any time and leave your Uncle Sam on the high sea, or between wind and water, or between this earth and the sky, without consulting us. If you do make a treaty with them—for it is a treaty you stand for, most of you who stand for war—if you do make a treaty with them, then when the time comes when Washington's prophecies are fulfilled, when we might seek to make a peace that would be consistent with our honor and interests, you can not close your terms of peace until some little fellow with a crown on his head, in Serbia or Montenegro or Italy or some other place, gets his share, and you leave the interests of this great Republic tied into a treaty of peace with the entente in a way that absolutely forbids you from coming to separate terms; and if Germany were to come to-morrow or the day after that treaty was made and should concede everything on submarine war that we ask, should concede and promise to pay every bit of indemnity that we might ask, and should consent to apologize and salute our flag, when you are tied then as a matter of honor that the American people will not let us break, as kings and queens can break their treaties, we will be tied to a treaty that we can not break without dishonor to a hundred million people, and your peace and your war and the destiny of your Republic hangs in the balance and in the caprice of a few crowned heads in the Old World.

That is another reason why I am against a declaration of war against one of the nations at war. It means an alliance, either written or verbal, without which we are in danger, and with it we are in more danger than if we went in without it.

Mr. Chairman, how much time have I left?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. FITZGERALD). The gentleman has two minutes remaining.

Mr. MASON. I am against this war, Mr. Chairman, because we have had no just provocation under international law for going into the war. Both parties have insulted us. But the great broad reason is that as a student of civilization I am against this war at this time because we are a Christian Nation. Some one asked me if I believed the Christian religion was a success. I said, "I would like to see it tried." They have forgotten to try it over there. Let us not forget to try that thing here that laid the foundation for your Government and mine.

Our safety lies in the traditions, in following the teachings of the Master; and I say to you, gentlemen, before you vote to go to war, before you say, "We love the German people, but we want to kill them because we do not like the Kaiser," pity them, then, if you do not like the Kaiser. We do not hate the German people and they do not hate us; and if we go killing each other it is because the politicians and the kings forced friendly people into the trenches to take each other's life. Let us go back to the foundation of our Government, a Christian Government. Let us not forget this hour of Gethsemane. Let us not declare war in the hour they crucified the Prince of Peace. Take your mother's old Bible and read the story of the coming—the heralded message of peace, "Peace on earth, and good will to men." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman and gentleman of the House, while my own judgment has been that a course other than an immediate declaration of war against Germany might be the wisest procedure for us, nevertheless my duty in this hour is clear. I shall vote for this resolution—vote for it earnestly and with the utmost determination in my heart.

This is no time for us to quibble about procedure. This is no time for one to say that this should be done or for another to say that that should be done. This is the time for united counsel and united effort. The President of the United States, in his judgment, has seen clearly the course he recommends. I indorse his position and support him with my whole heart. [Applause.]

Gentlemen who have spoken thus far to-day in opposition to this resolution seem to be worried because nations other than Germany have inflicted wrongs upon the sovereignty of the United States. It may be true—and you and I know that it is true—that many acts of the British Government have been contrary to our rights. But this is and has been a time when trifles can be ignored. Whether they are trifles or not, the fact that we may have been slapped upon the cheek by one adversary is no reason why we should now lie down and surrender while we are mercilessly trampled upon by nailed feet.

Gentlemen may further query whether or not the entrance into a war with the Imperial German Government means that we shall become entangled with European affairs. I say not so at all. As for myself, I propose to vote for this resolution that shall pledge this country to war not because of anything the entente powers are fighting for but to vindicate the right of America and to show to the world that American life and property and sovereignty must be respected upon every sea and in every land. [Applause.] Fear not the consequences when you know you are in the right, but like high-minded and brave men dare to go where duty calls. In this hour America calls to me for American manhood to defend the heritage our fathers bequeathed unto us. We have received injuries on every hand. You and I have many times blushed for shame, as we read the morning papers, to find here and there how Americans have been abused and outraged.

It may be, my friends, that virtue has been patience and patience a virtue, but the time has now come, to my mind, when patience ceases to be a virtue. Either we must now give up our independent existence as a Nation or we must defend the Nation when thus outrageously attacked. People associate themselves into a government for but one purpose. As individuals they are pitted against the world with its rapacity and its power to destroy. They band themselves together into a commonwealth or a nation for the one purpose of securing protection to themselves and their property and immunity from destruction. A nation that fails to give this protection to its citizens fails in the important reason for its very existence, and long continuing so to fail must pass away from the earth. I firmly believe the time is here for America once more to assert the claim that she has heretofore made and supported that the seas of the world are free; that Americans in all their lawful pursuits on the high seas shall not be ruthlessly destroyed. We went to war in 1812 for one-half the cause that confronts us now. Either the reason we fought for in 1812 was wrong or it is wrong now to fail to support the claims of America for freedom of the seas. One of the great powers of the world has decreed that a portion of the high seas no longer belongs to humanity and the world. They say, "This area of the high seas belongs to us." Oh, my friends, let your thoughts run back a few centuries and behold a parallel. The great King of Spain held the same view and promulgated the same doctrine. He partitioned out the seas of the world and said that in this and that area the Spanish flag alone might fly above a ship. The valiant men of the time took issue and destroyed the power and the pretension. The blood of a Gilbert, the blood of a Drake flows in our veins to-day, and I say, let us hurl back to this presumption of the Imperial Government of Germany the reply that the seas of the world are and shall be free, and shall be free against any armed threat or against any armed power in the world. And when any government sees fit to destroy American life and property it is not alone acting against the individual but it must reckon with Uncle Sam.

My friends, we need not recite all the causes that bring us to this fateful hour. We can look back upon two or three years that fill us with sadness when we reflect. Pledges that have been made to respect American life and American property and American sovereignty have been ruthlessly disregarded and forsaken under such conditions and in such a way that we can only conclude the Imperial Government of Germany is regardless of the rights of America and careless of how she wages war on lives in times of peace. I do not believe the peace of the world, I do not believe civilization can exist in the world while such an idea or a theory prevails.

There will be mighty consequences following upon this declaration of war, but let us not falter because of them. Rather let us gird ourselves with greater determination that America may stand supreme in the world as the champion of the freedom of the seas and the rights of peaceful citizens to follow their peaceful pursuits.

We have had many and many a circumstance calculated to goad us into fury. Many of them have been misguided and have produced but feeble results. They only indicate that the purpose back of them has been one to ignore the rights of America as a Nation and the rights of Americans to be free. They only indicate it is the settled purpose of the German Government to have their imperial sway, to the destruction of other nations, commanding them to get off the earth. I am in favor of this resolution because it will vindicate those rights and hurl back the power that seeks to destroy us as a people. In the few minutes that remain to me I want to direct your attention to some things of great magnitude that may not have come to your attention. Our eyes have been directed largely to happenings upon the high seas; but, my friends, the aggressions of the Imperial German Government on the high seas are not as serious, are not as hostile, as some of the things that Government has recently done upon the American Continent. A knowledge of them clearly discloses that the Imperial Government of Germany for two months or more has been actively hostile against the sovereignty and the peace of the United States. I want to direct your attention southward, to that land that has given us so much trouble in the last three or four years. I want to direct your attention to Mexico and to give to you a brief outline of some of the things that have recently been done, which I have learned on an authority that can not be mistaken. We were all shocked—to say surprised is too mild—we were shocked beyond measure when we read in the public press of the so-called Zimmermann note, whereby it was designed to stir up Mexico and Japan against the United States. My friends, do you know that all of that note has never been published? Do you know that one paragraph has remained locked secret in the archives of our Government, for a purpose they then had which was plain and right, but which now need no longer control. I have been able to secure the substance of that unpublished part of the Zimmermann note, and I read it to you in your hearing. After that part which has been published, this is added:

Agreeably to the Mexican Government, submarine bases will be established at Mexican ports, from which will be supplied arms, ammunition, and supplies. All reservists in the United States are ordered into Mexico. Arrange to attack all along the border.

Under that what has been done?

The German reservists in the United States have been pouring into Mexico—not simply soldiers to carry a gun, but men trained and skilled in the manufacture of munitions. They are to-day establishing and operating a plant for the manufacture of munitions in the City of Mexico. Not that alone, but in the last few days three schooners have unloaded on the Pacific coast of Mexico arms and munitions. Not that alone, but I am credibly and reliably informed that Gen. Villa himself is now surrounded by a large number of German officers, who have practically taken charge of the organization and the drilling of his army.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I can not now. I am further reliably informed that the other side is no better, and that the Carranza government is to-day largely in the control of Germans and the German military officers, with a flood of money, which during the last few weeks has gone from German sources into Mexico to finance these operations against the United States.

Oh, my friends, do not pause to consider whether or not the circumstances of the hour justify the passage of this resolution. They either justify it, or we should pause till our country is destroyed. Either we must pass it in the face of the active hostility against us, or we must lie down and haul down our flag forever. I say, America and Americans, awake! The existence of this country, the purpose for which it stands among the nations of the world, are at stake! All America and Americans, I call to the noble sacrifice, to the great trial of strength, and while we are not the first to strike the blow, let us strike the hardest and the last. Let us, my good friends, not fear so much about sitting around the council table when peace shall come to decide what kings or principalities shall continue to rule elsewhere, but determine here and now, once and for all, that America shall rule in America and stand determined throughout the world where her rights and her citizens are assailed. [Applause.]

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am sorry that I could not get myself to prepare a speech. I have spoken so often on the subject that my mind has stopped creating. I can not argue with a man who favors war. War is incomprehensible to me. Nor do I hope that it will be possible at this moment to convert anybody. I feel, however, that I owe an obligation to myself to again state my position.

The greatest service to democracy that could be rendered by this Congress would be to refuse to indorse the request for war. This is the only parliament in the world to which the question of war or peace has been submitted. No other parliament has had an opportunity to vote on the question of war or peace. The German Reichstag, the British Parliament, the French Chamber of Deputies, the Russian Duma were all confronted with an accomplished fact. War had either taken place when they were called upon to vote for the military budget or the representatives of the people were told so.

Mr. QUIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. No; I can not. I am sorry, but I have not enough time. This is the only parliament, the only congress, where the representatives of the people are called upon to act. They are invited to search their minds and their consciences. Will they throw away that opportunity? If this representative body indorses the idea of war, then all hope for international peace may as well be abandoned.

Only six weeks ago the Members of this Congress had an opportunity to express themselves on the subject of war during the discussion of the armed-neutrality bill. Almost every man who favored armed neutrality argued that it excluded the idea of war; that war was inconceivable, impossible, unimaginable.

Now, the very same men who only six or eight weeks ago declared that war was inconceivable are ready to vote for war because the President asks for it. In six weeks you are invited to reverse a policy as old as this Republic; you are invited not only to defend the territory of the United States and the territorial waters of the United States as is your sworn obligation to do, but you are invited to fight for rights admitted to be disputable within the war zone thousands of miles away. You are invited within six weeks to change a policy as old as the Republic, to enter into all sorts of alliances, into all sorts of partnerships with kings, rulers by divine right, with monarchs of all sorts. Congress is vested by the Constitution with the power to declare war. Is it a mere clerical duty that we are to perform? It may be true that in the past Congresses have acted this way. Shall we now, when we are called upon to fight for democracy abroad, surrender all democracy here?

The President says we have no war with the German people. Of course we have not. The very same words were uttered by the British premier in the parliament of England; and the British premier meant it, and he was sincere about it; and the President meant what he said, and he was sincere about it. But, while you have no war to-day with the German people, and while the nations of Europe had no war in their hearts in July, 1914, and while the war was originally a war of capitalists, plutocrats, expansionists, and kings, it became a war of the people, a war of the nations themselves. With every fresh grave, with the crippled, the mutilated, and the sightless returning home, hatreds grew, bitterness grew, until men became beasts. They ceased being Germans, they ceased being Frenchmen, they ceased to be Britishers. Through hatred they reverted to the brutal instincts of the savage, and the worst animal of all animals is the human being who hates.

Of course we have no hatred of the German people, but with the first victim of the war hatred will grow and we will be at war, not with the Kaiser but with the German people. We will be at war with the people who have built up a glorious civilization, with a people among whom there are millions of social democrats, the most advanced democracy of the world, whose hearts beat in unison with ours, whose souls crave for communion with the democratic elements throughout the world.

The President referred to the Russian revolution. Nothing of greater importance has occurred during the last hundred years. A people inhabiting one-sixth of the habitable land of the world and constituting one-twelfth of the human family have overthrown autocracy and new democratic forces have been released. The effect of the revolution is already being felt throughout the Continent of Europe. For the first time since the inception of the war the German social democracy, which had up to two weeks ago been supporting the Government, unanimously voted against the military budget. Since the Russian revolution the social democracy of Austria has unanimously demanded peace. In every other country of Europe is now being heard a more insistent demand for a larger share in the participation of the people in the determining of international relations. The Russian revolution has been brought about not from the outside, not by a foreign military force, not by an army of invasion, but by a revolutionary struggle carried on for the last 60 years, by sacrifice and martyrdom in the cause of liberty by a noble people.

The question was asked here, How do we know that the people are opposed to war? Of course, we know that the people are opposed to war, and I hate to say I am afraid the President himself doubts whether the people favor war. I should hate to say so, but it is the only implication which his recommendation for compulsory military service carries. In the Spanish-American War the martyred President McKinley had no difficulty in getting volunteers. There was an ideal presented to the American young man, the delivery of an oppressed people, and 225,000 young men responded in less than six weeks to the call of the President. There was no talk of conscription then. A spiritual thing was conjured up which demanded of men to sacrifice their lives. But now nobody dares speak of volunteers. In order that we should be able to get volunteers there must be a desire in the hearts of the people to fight, to fight for the things for which the President asks us now to fight. Not on February 26, not on January 22, but now on April 2 he determined the destiny of this Republic. On April 2 he told the great mass of the American people what they should fight for—for a new idea—not to improve this Republic, not that the American people may rise to greater heights, but to change the forms of government in Turkey, in Austria, and Germany. No wonder he is compelled to recommend compulsory military service. Australia has been generous to her mother country. So has the Dominion of Canada, but neither the Dominion of Canada or Australia has tolerated the idea of compulsory service. On the contrary, when that issue was presented to the people of Australia they voted down compulsory service after two years of war.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. LONDON. No, please do not interrupt me now.

Mr. AUSTIN. It is a question on volunteer and compulsory service.

Mr. LONDON. I have so much material I desire to incorporate in my remarks I can not yield, and I have just a few more moments.

Mr. AUSTIN. I will yield the gentleman time myself.

Mr. LONDON. Pardon me. We may as well frankly admit that the great mass of the American people do sympathize with the allies. It is but natural. Every American loves France. France has exercised a noble influence upon the course of America. In the Declaration of Independence you will find the very language of the French encyclopedists and of the liberal philosophers of that day. In turn the American Declaration of Independence and the successful American Revolution have reacted upon France. It is the only great sister Republic.

This is an Anglo-Saxon country, with the great heritage of English literature, of English political institutions, and the English system of jurisprudence. Besides these spiritual causes, there are strong economic reasons why the friendship of the great naval power should be more valuable than the friendship of the central powers on the Continent of Europe. But if we are to render aid to the allies, why necessarily in the form of war? Why has no one thought of suggesting noncombatant aid? Why should we use the last and most desperate method, the unspeakable method of war, before we have tried other expedients? Why has not the President of the United States, in view of the great wave of democratic thought upon the Continent of Europe, again made his offer of peace? Why has not the President now again asked that the nations of the world make an effort to get together? Why should not we suggest a truce; why should we not suggest a three or four months stoppage of this slaughter, so that the representatives of the free people of the free democracies of which he speaks, should have an opportunity to get together and take up the question of peace and war? But I fear that the average Member of Congress will against his own convictions and against his own judgment vote as the President asks him to vote. This talk that every vote against the resolution will be helpful to Germany and the German Emperor is cheap, vulgar nonsense. That is all right on the platform before an irresponsible mob, near the door of a saloon.

The elected Representatives of the people should speak their minds freely. Our newspapers have not always reported the facts, but in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the English Parliament, in the German Reichstag, in the Austrian Reichsrath, and in the Russian Duma there have been minorities all the time during the war. Here an attempt is being made to suppress every free expression of opinion before a declaration of war.

Mr. AUSTIN. Where is the attempt made to suppress the expression of opinion?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. Not to the gentleman from Tennessee, unless he will interrupt no more. It is an extremely ungrateful task for me to take the stand that I am taking now, but I would have no respect for myself unless I voted against the resolution. The issue is not between Germany and America. The issue is between two Americas—between those who believe that it is the mission of America to influence the world for the better by being a free democracy, by growing into a genuine democracy, by marching unhindered on the road toward nobler and more beautiful ideals, and the group of men who believe that the United States must follow in the footsteps of the European countries and adopt the jargon of European diplomacy about national honor and national dignity. There is no national honor in superior physical force, there is no national honor in whipping a weaker fellow, there is no national honor in a combination with other miltary and naval forces to crush a weaker military or naval force. This country has suffered from the inroads of the Imperial German Government upon the rights of the American people.

I do not agree with those who argue that the German submarine warfare is in consonance with international law. If there were such international law, if there were international law which would permit the destruction of innocents and noncombatants, it would not be an international law to which I would subscribe. There is no doubt that the German Government has inflicted incalculable and irreparable injury, but the question is, Is revenge to be our policy, is a blow for a blow our policy, is the use of physical force the only expedient to which we are to resort, or shall we give to the world this splendid example of the humility of a great and free people, and say that we have been injured, that we are suffering to-day, but that the loss is largely commercial, and that in the interests of humanity we shall refuse to add to the work of destruction?

Let us distinguish between the two Germanies. There is the Germany of the Kaiser, there is the Germany of the landed aristocracy, there is the Germany of the Prussian military system, and there is the Germany of Freilingrath, of Heine, of Bebel, and Liebknecht, the Germany of millions of social democrats contending for the very same ideals for which the American people stand. Unfortunately we can not hurt the Kaiser without striking at the German people, without killing men whose ideals are ours, whose aspirations are the aspirations of the American people. Gentlemen, perhaps it is not too late, perhaps my voice is not as a voice in the wilderness. Perhaps you will still assert yourselves and show to the world an example in democracy for every other nation to follow.

The President, one arm of the Government, has made a request upon the elected Representatives of a free people to indorse the idea of war, and every elected Representative of the people should say, "No; I shall not kill; I shall not vote to kill; I am ready to suffer injury rather than kill; I shall not permit anyone to vote that my arm should be stretched to kill a fellow human being." Mr. Chairman, war is wrong, inexcusable, indefensible. Let us be strong men; let us throw away our political ambitions; let us throw away our chances of reelection. The people will ultimately do right; they will ultimately stand by every man who will show courage in this moment of crisis, a crisis not only for the American people but for the whole world. Let us be free, strong men, and do as men should do in momentous times like these. [Applause.]

I extend my remarks by incorporating the resolution which I introduced on the opening day of this session, and which calls for a renewed effort for peace. Is it not better to help end the war than to enter it?

Whereas the revolution in Russia has liberated new democratic forces which promise to extend beyond the boundaries of rejuvenated Russia and over the entire continent of Europe; and

Whereas the ideals of true democracy and international peace are inseparable; and

Whereas in consonance with the new wave of democracy and the universally growing demand for international peace the German Social Democracy in the German Reichstag has for the first time since the beginning of the war unanimously voted against the military budget and the Austrian Social Democracy in the Austrian Reichsrath has unanimously voted for peace, and in all other countries of Europe there has been a demand for a larger measure of the people's participation in the determining of international relations; and

Whereas these changes, that have occurred since the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, justify the hope that the declaration of the sentiments and principles of the American people on the subject of international peace as promulgated by the President of the United States before the Senate of the United States on the 22d day of January, 1917, would now receive more favorable hearing and would strike a responsive chord with all democratic elements throughout the world: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to renew his suggestion to the belligerents for a termination of the war, to the end that, as declared by the President, "there should be an organized common peace," and "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful," and to the end that the United States may be saved for the work of peace.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, this discussion has indeed assumed a very wide latitude.

I am free to confess that when war is about to be declared that considerable ramification of thought may be given to its legitimate discussion. I hold in this debate, Mr. Chairman, no brief for England or for her violations of international law. I hold no brief for the entente group or for its incursions upon our commerce and the rifling of our mails. I hold no brief for any nation now engaged in war. But in my feeble way I will endeavor to uphold the honor and the dignity of American commerce and American citizens everywhere. [Applause.]

Much has been said in this debate about the violations of international law made by England and the entente group. Doubtless much that has been said is true. But those who have hurled epithets and anathemas at the entente group have not, so far as I understand, said one word in condemnation of the Prussian autocracy that has sought to override the civilized nations of the earth. My good friend from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER], whom I love much, and who has seen a quarter century of distinguished service in this House, for 60 minutes this afternoon occupied the floor of this Chamber, and during all of his address, so far as I heard, sought to justify the attitude of the German Imperial Government and upon all occasions laid criticism at the doorway of England and her allies. But never for one moment did I hear him raise his voice in defense of American liberty, in defense of national honor or the rights of American citizens.

During the course of his address he read this as a part of a reply issued by Herr Bethmann-Hollweg as to the cordon of ships that had been placed around the German group of nations to starve her into submission. I quote the language of the gentleman literally as I got it from the reporter:

The German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision.

Mr. Chairman, is that in consonance, is that in keeping, with the established principles of international law to disregard the rights of neutrals and to arbitrarily proscribe a zone through which neutral vessels on their peaceful missions on the high seas shall be forbidden to go when unarmed and their manifests consisting of noncontraband goods? Let us repeat the concluding part of that sentence. The Imperial German Government "will reserve to itself"—not beholden to the established principles of international law, but will reserve to itself—partial? No—com-

plete "liberty of decision," however arbitrary and wanton and ruthless may be the consequences resulting from that decision.

And yet my good friend from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] quotes it and rolls it under his tongue as a sweet morsel in justification of the unlawful terrorizing of the seas by German submarine warfare.

Again, he says, "Has not the Romanoff dynasty been overthrown? Has not the Romanoff dynasty been trampled under foot?" I will tell you how that occurred, though he did not give you the answer. Those great people, struggling for liberty for hundreds of years, have had but glimpses of freedom and of civilization, but the time being opportune and ripe, when they found that the court of Russia and the armies of Russia and all the officialdom of Russia had become tinctured and impregnated with Prussianized autocracy and Prussianized money and corruption, the Russian people, the mob as they were called at first, rose overnight, so to speak, and, working in harmony with the constabulary and with the army, overthrew the Romanoff dynasty; and, thank God, in the fullness of time they will plant, as I believe they will plant, a great democracy upon the dismantled throne of that dynasty that for hundreds of years has denied to the Russian people all national aspiration. [Applause.]

So I say, Mr. Chairman, let us get down to the crux of the issue in this case. It makes no difference what the entente powers may do to the central group, so far as we are concerned. For that is their fight, if they will but let us alone. We are primarily concerned in that which affects us directly. We are, of course, concerned as to the destiny of the world. The genius of man, so to speak, has drawn us into the currents of activity. Electricity, wireless telegraphy, the submarine, the airship, commerce, commercial ties and treaties, and outstanding obligations have brought the world together as no other agencies in the past ages of the world have been able to do, and therefore we are drawn into the current of the world's affairs, whether we will it or not. All the nations of the world are interdependent; no one is independent of the rest.

But there may be said to exist this distinction between the attitude of England and the attitude of Germany. So far as I recall—and I make no defense in behalf of the English Government—so far as I recall, thus far the English people have not sunk one single, solitary neutral ship and have not taken one single neutral life. They have seized our mails and some of our goods, wares, and merchandise, but they have made partial restitution for these and finally they will make restitution for all. But there is this distinction between ruthless submarine warfare in destroying life and the capture of property: You can restore the value of property taken, but you can not restore the life of people who go to the bottom of the deep. And it is because of this ruthless, wanton, uncivilized warfare made upon us as a great people, who have been long-suffering and charitable and patient, that we have been forced to call the hand of the power that would seek to terrorize and override the world.

But what else, Mr. Chairman? It has been debated upon the floor of this Chamber to-day, and the statement has been oftentimes made, that Germany has never yet acceded to the requirements and the requests of this country when exceptions were made to her arbitrary rulings and her findings, as though Germany had constituted herself as dictator of the world and could say that so far a neutral might go and no farther. Since when—and I appeal to the candor of the Members—has any government, Germany or otherwise, been clothed with arbitrary power to draw a line through which the commerce of neutrals shall not go? Since when has there been conferred upon any great over-sea lord, who has blood in his brain and murder in his heart, the right to define and to proscribe the limitations and to sink to the bottom of the depths neutral ships bound not for an enemy country but bound for neutral nations and neutral ports, carrying not guns, but going unarmed, carrying not contraband but noncontraband products? Since when, I say, has any nation been clothed and invested with that imperious, with that defiant, with that arbitrary power?

Mr. Chairman, war indeed is an awful thing, and Gen. Sherman's description of it was a mild description. War is all that he said of it and then some. But, Mr. Chairman, there are some things worse than war. I hate it; with all the power of my soul I hate it. But abject, craven cowardice, the failure of a great nation to avenge the wrongs of its people when hundreds of lives have been wantonly taken and millions of property ruthlessly destroyed, such cowardice, I say, is worse than a just and holy war. But have we not been patient? Have we not importuned, have we not begged, have we not sought to restrain and to counsel? Have we not been charitable and forgiving?

For two long years, Mr. Chairman, the dragon's teeth of discord and of strife have been sown by the nation that we now soon will challenge; and, atrocious and as unholy as has been the submarine war conducted, unjustifiable as that has been, that within itself, Mr. Chairman, constitutes but a small paragraph in the great indictment laid at the doorway of the Imperial German Government. I send to the Clerk's desk and ask that the Clerk read the paragraph therein indicated, it being taken from the address of President Wilson delivered upon that stand less than three days ago. It constitutes, in my opinion, an unparalleled indictment, based and predicated, as are the data contained in that paragraph, not upon hearsay testimony, but upon the official records in the archives of the State Department. I ask that the Clerk read.

The Clerk read as follows:

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies [applause] and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. [Applause.] Even in checking these things and trying to extricate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, that this indictment, made officially by the President of the United States and predicated upon official testimony and official documents, has not its parallel in modern or ancient history, nor even in the dark ages, not even at a time when piracy prevailed upon the high seas. Why, in the days of piracy the pirate was content with the cargo. Upon almost all occasions he would let the ships go by, in order that he might rob them again later on. Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, the pirate very seldom, if ever, took human life. He was content with his booty, with his plunder, with that which he pillaged.

But in defiance of the established and hoary principles of international law, that great country, whose people are most generous, big people, indeed, but who unfortunately are harnessed to the juggernaut and chariot wheels of an autocratic form of government, seeks to challenge the right of neutrals to pursue their peaceful mission while carrying their legitimate commerce upon the seas. This has been an unquestioned privilege vouchsafed to all nations for hundreds of years by international law. But these rights are denied to us and wholesale destruction has been made of our property and the lives of our people. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I make no pretense of having more patriotic fervor than the average American citizen should possess, but I do believe, if I may speak rather modestly, that I am an 18-karat all-around American, without dross or alloy, 365 days in the year [applause]; and when our rights as a Nation have been challenged; when our people have been murdered and slain; when our men and women and children, who have the right to travel the sea, have been wantonly and ruthlessly killed and their bodies sunk to the bottom of the deep; when for two years these atrocities and these outrages have been going on and still continue over our protest, I contend that, as dreadful and as horrible as war is, we are obliged, in obedience to the dictates of national good faith and American honor, not to fail to unsheath the sword for the protection of American citizens and the vindication of American honor. And when the conflict is over and victory shall perch on our banner, that sword, Mr. Chairman, still stainless, will be again thrust into its scabbard and the rights of American citizens will be maintained and recognized throughout the world. [Applause.]

We have recorded for us in a mighty good Book a character known as Thomas, one of the disciples of the Lord. When the Savior had come back to earth and was here for a few days all the other disciples met Him, but Thomas came in rather late, and when he was apprised of the fact that the Savior had risen and was present he said, "Except I be permitted to place my finger in the nail print—yea, unless I be permitted to press my hand into his riven and bleeding side—I will not believe it."

And from that day to this, Mr. Chairman, there has come down through all the ages a Thomas sect, who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, and neither will they apprehend nor understand. These gentlemen pretend not to believe those German atrocities until they first thrust their un-American, Germanized hand into the bleeding and riven side of the American Republic. And in this discussion to-day I am sorry to say that certain gentlemen who are clothed with power upon this floor—American citizens who only last Monday held up their hands and, facing that flag yonder and the portrait of the Father of his Country and that other portrait over there, the great Lafayette, who came hither from abroad and gave his chivalry and services to our cause; some of these gentlemen who took the oath of office, I say, in the presence of all these stimulating suggestions and inspiring influences—have championed not American rights, but they have espoused the cause and defended the vandalism of Prussian autocracy. [Applause.] However, from this time on, when war is declared, there must be, Mr. Chairman, no divided America, because a house divided against itself can not stand. Every man must be either for his country or against his country. [Applause.]

The time will soon be here when every citizen must stand and uphold the rights and honor of an Americanized democracy or condone the piracy and vandalism of a Prussianized autocracy. And how does the Zimmermann note, an official document intercepted, written to the German minister in the City of Mexico, appeal to men of patriotic blood and American fervor?

How would it appear, Mr. Chairman, when the war is over, should we be trampled in the dust by a divided Americanism, if this country, born in the shock of battle and dedicated to the freedom of Americans and to the rights of humankind the world over—how would it appear to those Americans and to their followers and to their champions if this Republic should be Japanesed and Mexicanized and Prussianized, if you please? Yet this is the proposition officially made by Germany. I repeat, this is no time for division. Every man should stand with his face to the enemy, and give, if need be, of his blood as well as of his treasure. We have been at war for the past two years, but it has been a one-sided, a unilateral war, a war conducted by Germany against American rights and American citizens. I believe that when the sword is drawn it will be drawn in honor and sheathed in American glory. We seek no conquest, said the President the other day. We seek no territorial aggrandizement. We seek no indemnities. We will give of our blood and of our treasure that which becometh a great, free people to give, that their rights shall be maintained not only upon land but upon the seas, and that democracy finally shall inherit the earth. And with this spirit, Mr. Chairman, and animated by this fervor and this patriotic impulse, we will go forward, doing our duty as America has always done, though the very heavens fall. [Applause.] Of course I do not know the extent of the opposition to this resolution. So far as I am concerned, permit me to say that I myself have been depressed for many weeks, and have carried, indeed, a most heavy heart. This is the most solemn hour the Republic has witnessed in half a century. This will be the most solemn vote ever cast by me. The war is forced upon us, and to strike back is our only alternative; otherwise we would earn and deserve the contempt of all mankind. Every patriotic American will stand for his country and give of his mite, even to the sacrifice of his property and his life itself, if need be. And this is the appeal that the American people will make to America—that that flag, the insignia of national honor and American rights, may not trail in the dust, but may be upheld triumphant and victorious, to champion the rights of democracy and of mankind everywhere. [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 10 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, in view of the many assumptions of loyalty and patriotism on the part of some of those who favor the resolution, and insinuations by them of cowardice and disloyalty on the part of those who oppose it, offshoots, doubtless, of a passionate moment, let me at once remind the House that it takes neither moral nor physical courage to declare a war for others to fight. [Applause.] It is evidence of neither loyalty nor patriotism for one to urge others to get into a war when he knows that he himself is going to keep out.

The depth of my sorrow, the intensity of my distress in contemplating the measureless step proposed, God only knows. The right and necessity of this momentous resolution are addressed to the individual judgment of the Members of the House. Too grave is the responsibility for anyone to permit another to stand sponsor for his conscience.

Profoundly impressed with the gravity of the situation, appreciating to the fullest the penalties which a war-mad moment will impose, my conscience and judgment, after mature thought and fervent prayer for rightful guidance, have marked out clearly the path of my duty, and I have made up my mind to walk it, if I go barefooted and alone. [Applause.] I have come to the undoubting conclusion that I should vote against this resolution. [Applause.] If I had a single doubt, I would with profoundest pleasure resolve it in favor of the view of the administration and of a large majority of my colleagues, who have so recently honored me with their confidence. I know that I shall never criticize any Member for advocating this resolution. I concede—I feel—that he casts his vote in accordance with sincere conviction. I know, too, that for my vote I shall be not only criticized, but denounced from one end of the country to the other. The whole yelping pack of defamers and revilers in the Nation will at once be set upon my heels.

My friends, I can not leave my children lands and riches—I can not leave them fame—but I can leave them the name of an ancestor, who, mattering not the consequences to himself, never dared to hesitate to do his duty as God gave him to see it. [Applause.]

Half the civilized world is now a slaughterhouse for human beings. This Nation is the last hope of peace on earth, good will toward men. I am unwilling for my country by statutory command to pull up the last anchor of peace in the world and extinguish during the long night of a world-wide war the only remaining star of hope for Christendom. I am unwilling by my vote to-day for this Nation to throw away the only remaining compass to which the world can look for guidance in the paths of right and truth, of justice and humanity, and to leave only force and blood to chart hereafter the path of mankind to tread.

By passage of this resolution we enter the war, and the universe becomes one vast drama of horrors and blood—one boundless stage upon which will play all the evil spirits of earth and hell. All the demons of inhumanity will be let loose for a rampage throughout the world. Whatever be the future, whatever be the rewards or penalties of this Nation's step, I shall always believe that we could and ought to have kept out of this war.

Great Britain every day, every hour, for two years has violated American rights on the seas. We have persistently protested. She has denied us not only entrance into the ports of the central powers but has closed to us by force the ports of neutrals. She has unlawfully seized our ships and our cargoes. She has rifled our mails. She has declared a war zone sufficiently large to cover all the ports of her enemy. She made the entire North Sea a military area—strewed it with hidden mines and told the neutral nations of the world to stay out or be blown up. We protested. No American ship was sunk, no American life was destroyed, because we submitted and did not go in. We kept out of war. We sacrificed no honor. We surrendered permanently no essential rights. We knew that these acts of Great Britain, though in plain violation of international law and of our rights on the seas, were not aimed at us. They were directed at her enemy. They were inspired by military necessity. Rather than plunge this country into war, we were willing to forego for the time our rights. I approved that course then; I approve it now.

Germany declares a war zone sufficiently large to cover the ports of her enemy. She infests it with submarines and warns the neutral world to stay out, though in plain violation of our rights and of international law. We know that these acts are aimed not directly at us but intended to injure and cripple her enemy, with which she is in a death struggle.

We refuse to yield; we refuse to forego our rights for the time. We insist upon going in.

In my judgment, we could keep out of the war with Germany as we kept out of the war with Great Britain, by keeping our ships and our citizens out of the war zone of Germany as we did out of the war zone of Great Britain. And we would sacrifice no more honor, surrender no more rights in the one case than in the other. Or we could resort to armed neutrality, which the President recently urged and for which I voted on March 1.

But we are told that Germany has destroyed American lives while Great Britain destroyed only property. Great Britain destroyed no American lives, because this Nation kept her ships and her citizens out of her war zone which she sowed with hidden mines.

But are we quite sure that the real reason for war with Germany is the destruction of lives as distinguished from property, that to avenge the killing of innocent Americans and to protect American lives war becomes a duty?

Mexican bandits raided American towns, shot to death sleeping men, women, and children in their own homes. We did not go to war to avenge these deaths. We sent an armed expedition into Mexico to hunt down and punish the bandits. Away out from the American border the soldiers of Carranza, of the Mexican Government, which we had recognized, met our soldiers, shot the American flag from the hands of an American soldier, shot down to the death our soldiers, and Carranza, instead of disavowing the dastardly act, defiantly approved and ratified it. Yet we did not go to war to avenge the destruction of American lives and the insult and assault on the American flag. We were willing to forego our rights rather than plunge this country into war while half the world was in conflagration. I approved that course then; I approve it now.

Why can we not, why should we not, forego for the time being the violation of our rights by Germany, and do as we did with Great Britain, do as we did with Mexico, and thus save the universe from being wrapped in the flames of war.

I have hoped and prayed that God would forbid our country going into war with another for doing that which perhaps under the same circumstances we ourselves would do.

Are we quite sure that in a war with Germany or Japan, if our fleet was bottled up, helpless, and our ships of commerce had been swept from the seas, all our ports closed by the enemy's fleet, imports of fuel and food and clothing for our people and ammunition for our soldiers were denied, with our very life trembling in the balance, we would not, in the last struggle for existence, strike our enemy with the only weapon of the sea remaining, though in violation of international law? Would one contend that under the circumstances our submarine commanders should permit the landing at the ports of the enemy arms and ammunition with which to shoot down our brave American boys when they had it in their power to prevent it? Would we demand of our submarine commanders that they give the benefit of the doubt to questions of international law rather than to the safety of our country and the lives of our soldiers?

War upon the part of a nation is sometimes necessary and imperative. But here no invasion is threatened. Not a foot of our territory is demanded or coveted. No essential honor is required to be sacrificed. No fundamental right is asked to be permanently yielded or suspended. No national policy is contested. No part of our sovereignty is questioned. Here the overt act, ruthless and brutal though it be, is not aimed directly at us. The purpose of the proposed enemy is not our injury, either in property or life. The whole aim and purpose and effort are directed at a powerful enemy with which she is in a life and death struggle.

The causes for which we are now asked to declare war could have been given with equal—yea, greater—force 30 days or 10 days after the first step taken by the German Army in its march toward Paris. They existed then.

The House and the country should thoroughly understand that we are asked to declare war not to protect alone American lives and American rights on the high seas. We are to make the cause of Great Britain, France, and Russia, right or wrong, our cause. We are to make their quarrel, right or wrong, our quarrel. We are to help fight out, with all the resources in men, money, and credit of the Government and its people a difference between the belligerents of Europe to which we were and are utter strangers. Nothing in that cause, nothing in that quarrel, has or does involve a moral or equitable or material interest in or obligation of our Government or our people.

To this program every impulse of patriotism, every sense of right, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of loyalty, every obligation of duty within me combine in forbidding my consent until the Government and its people, through its rightful and constitutional voice—the Congress of the United States—have clearly spoken, in the passage of such a resolution as is now before the House. Then and then only will it become the patriotic duty of each Member of the House and Senate to merge his individual judgment and conviction into those so declared of his country, as it will become the duty of every American, in and out of Congress, to make the judgment and conviction of his country thus written into statute his judgment and conviction. [Applause.] The voice of law will command, and a patriotic duty will demand, loyal and earnest and active submission and obedience. Until then each should have and does have the inherent right, and it is his bounden duty to himself and to truth, to vote his conviction.

I can conceive of a brave, loyal, devoted son of a father who contemplates a personal difficulty with another begging and persuading him to refrain, even condemning, and protesting in vain against his proposed step, but when the final word is spoken and blows are about to be given, taking off his coat and struggling with all of his soul and might in defense of that father.

When this Nation, as it doubtless will to-day, speaks the final word through the Congress, I trust I will be found in relation with my Government and my country emulating the example of that son. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ROGERS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I am unreservedly in favor of the pending resolution. I had the honor of voting to report it out of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and I shall have the honor of voting to pass it through the House. And yet I realize, as every man must, the gravity and importance of the step which the Congress of the United States is taking to-day. War is at all times a frightful thing, and science and invention have combined in these recent months and years to make it doubly frightful. The toll of men, the flower of our Nation, may well be great as a result of this step; the drain upon our resources and the burden of taxation upon us will certainly be severe beyond precedent. This is a solemn hour; it is no time for heroics or hysterics, and yet, as I view the situation, no patriot can hesitate to cast his vote—and it makes no difference whether his vote be cast as a Member of this body or as a member of our body politic—in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war against Germany.

Frankly, I do not believe that the question whether Germany has given us a cause for war is arguable. For nearly two and a half years she has in the most deliberate and often in the most contemptuous way disregarded the fundamental and sacred rights of American citizens and the American Nation both at home and abroad. Almost daily for long periods of time has Germany committed at least one act against the peace and safety of the United States which was an abundant cause for war. I can not conceive how any thinking and even moderately informed man, whether in the United States or in Germany, can fail to agree that there is ample justification—that for more than two years there has at all times been ample justification—for the United States to take the step which she is taking to-day. The only possible argument, even on the part of those who are pacifists or pro-Germans, must be as to whether the present declaration that a state of war exists is hastily taken or premature. Perhaps a very brief outline of some of the high lights of the past two years will be illuminating in this connection.

On February 4, 1915, two months and two years ago, the chief of the admiral staff of the German Navy issued a proclamation, reading in part as follows:

> The waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel are hereby declared to be war zone. On and after the 18th of February, 1915, every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account.

In a memorial accompanying this proclamation it was said:

> Neutral powers are accordingly forewarned not to continue to entrust their crews, passengers, or merchandise to such vessels. * * * It will not always be possible to prevent a neutral vessel from becoming the victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy.

This entire program of Germany, of course, involved a direct violation of the principles of international law in a manner vitally dangerous to the welfare of the United States. Accordingly, on February 10, 1915, Secretary of State Bryan—not usually regarded as a jingo—transmitted to Germany a note, reading in part as follows:

> If the commanders of German vessels of war * * * should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments. If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

Germany's answer to this note was to sink the steamship *Falaba* on March 28, with the resultant drowning of an American citizen; to attack the American vessel *Cushing* on April 28; to torpedo the American vessel *Gulflight* on May 1, with the resultant death of two or more Americans; and, as a crowning horror, to torpedo and sink the steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, with the resultant loss of life of 114 American citizens. Remember the "strict accountability" phrase in the note of February 10; remember the acts by Germany which I have just related; and then remember that all these occurred two years ago. Is there any flavor of precipitation in our course to-day?

After the *Lusitania* sinking, Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State, on May 13, 1915, addressed another communication to Germany, in which he again stated that the United States—

can not admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality; and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. * * * The lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, can not lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman. * * * The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

Here again, over the signature of the pacific Mr. Bryan, we have the "strict accountability" phrase. We also have the positive and emphatic statement that the United States will not "omit any word or any act" necessary to protect the rights of the Nation or its citizens. This, again, was about two years ago. If we are to take words in their usual and literal significance, can we to-day feel that the German Government has not been fully advised of the course and purpose of the United States?

Thereafter the submarine war was prosecuted by Germany with fluctuating success for about a year. Time and time again during that period acts were committed which clearly infringed and invaded our American rights. Yet the American Nation gritted its teeth and, in spite of the strong words of the two notes which I have quoted, did nothing very definite. To many of us it seemed as if the Nation was becoming benumbed to indignity and outrage. It seemed as if prosperity had overbalanced and removed from view every consideration not of the purely material sort. Notes were exchanged now and then, but very little of a substantive nature seemed to result from the procedure.

The next high light occurred on April 19, 1916, when, for the first time, the President addressed Congress upon the subject of submarine warfare. In the course of his address, he said:

I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

Again there was a period of nearly a year of delays. Our citizens were drowned and our rights invaded, usually by retail and not by wholesale. At all events, no definite steps were taken during the period by the United States Government.

On January 31 of the present year Germany announced that on the following day a great war zone, surrounding Great Britain, France, and Italy, and applying also in the eastern Mediterranean, would be established, and stating that she would forcibly prevent all navigation in that zone, including that of neutrals. "All ships met within the zone will be sunk." President Wilson on February 3 again came before Congress and announced that he had severed diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire and had caused to be handed to the German ambassador his passports.

Germany persisted in this course, and in the next two or three weeks sank at least two American ships—the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law*. Many other ships she also sank with Americans on board, whose lives were lost as a result. Accordingly, on February 26, President Wilson came before Congress and said:

Since it is unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringement they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent. * * * I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas.

Germany, nevertheless, made no modification of her program of frightfulness, and for the last six weeks has been proceeding with a ruthlessness not previously approached. I shall include as a part of my remarks a table showing some of the violations by Germany of our rights and international law during the past two years, and more especially during the past weeks.

American ships damaged or destroyed by German submarines.

Name of vessel.	Date.	Particulars.
Gulflight	May 2, 1915	Torpedoed.
Nebraskan	May 25, 1915	Do.
Leelanaw	July 25, 1915	Torpedoed and shelled.
Seaconnet	June 16, 1916	Damaged by mine or torpedo.
Oswego	Aug. 14, 1916	Fired on 10 times by submarine.
Lanao (Philippine)	Oct. 28, 1916	Sunk by submarine.
Columbian	Nov. 7, 1916	Do.
Colena	Nov. 26, 1916	Fired on.
St. Helen's	Dec. 10, 1916	Attacked by submarine.
Rebecca Palmer	Dec. 14, 1916	Fired on; slight damage.
Sacramento	Jan. 9, 1917	Fired on.
Housatonic	Feb. 3, 1917	Sunk.
Lyman M. Law	Feb. 13, 1917	Burned by submarine.
Vigilancia	Mar. 16, 1917	Torpedoed.
City of Memphis	Mar. 17, 1917	Sunk by gunfire.
Illinois	....do.....	Torpedoed.
Aztec	Apr. 1, 1917	Do.

SHIPS SUNK WITH LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES.

British ship *Falaba*, torpedoed March 28, 1915 (warned); 1 American lost.

British ship *Lusitania*, torpedoed May 7, 1915 (no warning); 114 Americans lost.

American ship *Gulflight*, torpedoed May 1, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Armenian*, torpedoed June 28, 1915 (ordered to stop; tried to escape); 23 Americans lost.

British ship *Iberian*, sunk July 31, 1915 (tried to escape; stopped by shell fire); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Anglo-Californian*, sunk July 4, 1915; 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Hesperian*, torpedoed September 4, 1915 (no warning); 1 American lost.

British ship *Arabic*, torpedoed August 19, 1915 (no warning); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Persia*, believed to have been torpedoed; sunk December 30, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost

Italian ship *Ancona*, torpedoed November 9, 1915 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.

British ship *Englishman*, torpedoed March 27, 1916; 6 Americans lost (1 more whose nationality is doubtful).

British ship *Sabota*, sunk by gunfire October 20, 1916; 1 American lost.

British ship *Marina*, sunk by gunfire October 28, 1916 (warned); 8 Americans lost.

British ship *Russian*, torpedoed December 14, 1916 (no warning); 17 Americans lost.

British ship *Eavcston*, sunk by shell fire February 5, 1917; 1 American lost (1 other whose nationality is doubtful).

British ship *Vedamore*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 10 Americans lost.

British ship *Turino*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 1 American(?) lost.

French ship *Athos*, torpedoed February 22, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.

British ship *Laconia*, torpedoed February 26, 1917 (no warning); 8 Americans lost.

Norwegian ship *Sjostad*, believed torpedoed March 2, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.

American ship *Vigilancia*, torpedoed March 16, 1917 (no warning); 5 Americans lost.

American ship *Healdton*, torpedoed March 21, 1917 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.

British ship *Crispin*, torpedoed March 29, 1917 (no warning); 68 Americans on board, 1 killed, 18 missing.

Total, 226 American lives lost.

On the *Lusitania* there were also 24 children born of foreign parents on American soil.

It is sufficient in this connection to say that during the submarine warfare of Germany 226 American lives have been taken without justification and in direct subversion of the most elementary principles of law and of morality. And I am leaving to other speakers the recital of German outrages upon the American Continent—outrages upon the persons and property of United States citizens.

Mr. Chairman, whatever the verdict of history may be, I am satisfied that it will acquit this Government and the American people of the charge that they acted with rashness or precipitation. As I review in my own mind the dastardly career of Germany in its relation with the United States, I confess myself amazed at the moderation and forbearance of the United States. I doubt if there has ever been in the history of the world a case where so much patience has been exhibited by one nation toward another. As we consider the language of our own communications to Germany—"strict accountability," "omit no word nor act," and so forth—what must be our conclusion? Surely if men are ever again to believe that we mean what we say we must make good those ringing and patriotic declarations.

There is no question that Germany itself has been astounded that it has not long ago been at war with the United States. Its responsible officers have been unable to understand how the German program could result in any other course. They could not see how any self-respecting nation could refrain from

accepting the gauntlet which time and time again they have cast at the feet of the United States. Take, for example, the famous Zimmermann letter of instructions to the German minister in Mexico, dated January 19 of the present year. The letter reads, in part:

> On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. * * * You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States.

"As soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States." There was no suggestion of doubt in the mind of the Imperial German minister, who was very well informed as to the sentiment of this country, whether or not war would result from ruthless submarine warfare. It was perfectly clear to him on the 19th of January, two weeks before the announcement of February 1 was made, that that announcement must inevitably bring about war between the United States and Germany. He knew, of course, that there was a man in the White House who had been reelected upon a peace program, a man who stood for peace. He knew that the people of the United States desired peace, and, indeed, yearned for peace, and yet he thought it too clear for argument that war would follow the declaration of February 1.

The United States to-day is doing the inevitable thing. It is taking up arms against the pirate and the desperado of nations, which, as President Wilson said the other evening, is running amuck. It is because we are lovers of peace that we are forced to take this step. Only thus can an enduring peace be achieved. Mr. Chairman, in entering upon this conflict we are fighting the battle of democracy against autocracy, of liberty against despotism, of freedom against enslavement, of civilization against barbarism.

How shall we wage the war? The answer to this question can not be given fully or in detail. It is, of course, in a large measure an executive and not a legislative matter. But I think there are several general principles which loom large and which may perhaps be regarded as absolutely fundamental.

In the first place, I believe that we must hit hard. [Applause.] Half measures are frequently worse than no measures at all. The kindest thing we can do to our own people and to the world is so to engage in the conflict that it may be brought at the earliest possible moment to the end of its dreadful course.

In the second place, I believe that we must promptly embark upon a program of universal military training. I say this because I believe strongly that the future welfare of the Nation—indeed, its very existence—may well depend upon our adoption of universal military training as a part of our national program of defense. Now is the time to act.

In the third place, I believe that we should enter the war with the allies. This country of ours has throughout its history proceeded upon the principle that in union there is strength. It has poured out its precious blood in support of this principle. Merely fighting against Germany may be an ineffective thing. Fighting on the side of those who are fighting Germany will mean that we shall be a powerful and mighty factor in prosecuting the war to an early and definite conclusion. Of course we do not contemplate any permanent alliance with any country. To many of us such a thought would, indeed, be abhorrent; but there can, I think, be no well-founded objection to an alliance for the duration of the war. Only thus shall we have a voice in the peace conference; only thus shall we be able to insure for ourselves the permanent and satisfactory guaranties of an enduring peace, which transcends every other consideration. Just how we shall wage the war is a matter of detail.

If we are fighting squarely upon the side of the allies, we should, for our own maximum efficiency, consider their wishes in the nature of the warfare. Doubtless we can do much by granting a liberal credit to the allies. I am told that France is paying an ultimate interest rate equivalent to 25 per cent upon the bonds which she has recently disposed of in this country. If the United States lends its credit and guarantees those bonds the interest rate will instantly sink to three or three and a half per cent. No greater financial contribution to the permanent welfare of the Republic of France can well be imagined than the taking of this step. What of an expeditionary force? Frankly, I do not know. I doubt if we could send to France within a year and perhaps not within 18 months an army which would be sufficiently trained and equipped and numerous to be a real factor and a fighting force; but much can be done with our Navy; much can be done, I believe, also, by aiding the allies in their aerial warfare. These, however, are considerations which will grow out of the events of to-day but which have no necessary place in the discussion of to-day. Warfare is a serious business at best, but fighting softly is not the way to reduce its horrors. If we throw ourselves and our resources into this war I believe it well within the possibilities that we can so overbalance the scales on the side of the allies that the conflict may be brought to a conclusion during the forthcoming season. [Applause.]

April has been a momentous month in the history of our Nation. In April, 1775, the embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord struck the first blow for liberty; in April, 1812, the Congress of the United States began to voice those protests against the invasion by England of our American rights at sea, which resulted in the war sometimes called the second war of independence. In April, 1861, the first blood was shed by men of Lowell in defense of the Union; in April, 1898, Congress passed the resolution declaring that the people of Cuba should be free, thereby reaching the climax in the relations between Spain and the United States, prior to the actual declaration of war. In April, 1916, the President made the first declaration to Germany to the effect that the patience of the American Government had been exhausted. Whenever on these occasions the United States has taken up arms it has been for a righteous cause. I believe, with all my heart, that our course to-day is righteous—that it is the only course open to an honorable and self-respecting nation. I believe that it is a war not of aggression or for conquest or power, or even for expansion of trade, but a war of self-defense; a war for humanity; a war for Christianity itself. God grant that the issue be decided in accordance with the dictates of right and of humanity, and that our entrance into war to-day may aid in the wiping of wars for all time from the face of the earth. [Applause.]

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless the gentleman gets recognition from the committee he can not do that.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I can not keep faith with my people by voting for this war resolution in its present form. I will vote for it if the provision to authorize an army to be sent across the Atlantic to participate in this European conflict is stricken out. I will vote for a resolution to use the naval forces of the United States to protect American interests and safeguard our national honor on all the seas and oceans of the world. I agree with the distinguished and experienced gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] that sending untrained and unseasoned soldiers into the terrible trench battles of the allies is wholesale murder.

We have said to Germany that we have an unrestricted right to send ships to English ports. The seas are free. We have said to England that we had an unrestricted right to send ships to German ports. The seas are free. We said to England that her blockade was "illegal, indefensible, and ineffective." Therefore we were not bound by it.

We attempted to send ships to German ports. They were halted by British cruisers, and because they were not armed and did not resist, they were not sunk but towed into Kirkwall and declared British prizes. All ships that attempted to go to Hamburg or Bremen were captured and millions of dollars worth of noncontraband goods were confiscated. A matter of $17,000,000 worth of meats was made the subject of peaceful settlement with the Chicago packers, so as to silence this influential element. But the ships of the American Trans-Atlantic Co., sailing in trade between our ports and South American ports, were seized and have recently been declared lawful prizes. All our differences with Great Britain were made a subject of peaceful arbitration. In upward of two years we have not sent an American ships to German ports. If we did so, and the vessel offered resistance, it would be sunk by the British Navy just as we have always held to be the right of a belligerent nation, and as we did in the war of 1812 and 1861–65, when every blockade runner was fired upon without notice and sunk in the Atlantic Ocean with all on board, no matter if citizens of neutral nations were on ships.

Let us not fail to remember that the freedom of the seas and oceans of the world is always subject to the law of blockade.

Prof. Lawrence, lecturer on international law in the Chicago University, is recognized as the highest authority in the United States. Here is his definition of international law:

> International law may be defined as the rules which determine the conduct of the general body of civilized States in their mutual dealings. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as international law. A rule of national conduct may in time become a part of international law, but it is not law until it has met with general acceptance and been incorporated into the usages of States.

Hence, there is no international law on submarine warfare, because submarines are used in this war the first time.

The freedom of the seas is what we are now contending for, but we must remember that the law of blockade is older and better defined than any now recognized system of international law; and the freedom of the seas is always subject to the law

of blockade of belligerent nations. The law of blockade, according to Prof. Lawrence and all other recognized authorities is about 300 years old, and has not been materially changed since 1630. It owes its origin to the Dutch of 1630, when the Dutch fleet blockaded the port of Flanders.

In 1800 the Government of Great Britain claimed—and here I quote from the best-recognized authority on international law—the right to capture at any point in mid-ocean any vessel of the high seas which had for its destination a blockaded port. This position has been recognized as the law of blockade for over 100 years, and is the law to-day. Let me quote a vital instance from the law of blockade by Prof. Lawrence:

During the half century of its existence the greatest blockade ever carried on by cruising vessels was on the coast of the Southern Confederacy during the great Civil War. This was acquiesced in by neutrals without a protest. This isolation of the Confederacy contributed powerfully to the triumph of the Union cause.

While we are discussing the ruthless submarine warfare it is conceded that a mine is the most cowardly and destructive of all war's barbarities, much more so than the submarine, and yet England mined the North Sea, one of the great oceans of the world, and also mined the harbors of several neutral countries and notified the world to keep out of that zone, and we kept out. Including Austria-Hungary and the coasts blockaded by Great Britain, we lost the markets for our products for over 175,000,000 people, and yet we submitted without breaking off diplomatic relations.

Germany has established a war zone not nearly so extensive as that of Great Britain, because it is only 20 miles from shore, and notified not only the United States but all the countries of the world that vessels entering that zone, consigned to ports of England, do so at their peril. This was not aimed at the United States alone or any other country, but strictly a measure of protection and notice to all the countries of the world, and yet these war-crazed enthusiasts, who talk about national honor, would make us believe that this submarine warfare is aimed at the United States.

Germany agreed to give up her submarine campaign provided England allowed ships to reach German ports from neutral countries, including the United States. This England refused to do. Germany thereupon intensified her U-boat campaign under the law of retaliation, because the neutral nations declined to protect the law of neutral shipping, and our Government refused to take part in a coalition of neutral powers to protect themselves against British aggression upon their rights. This is history, however. We then informed Germany that she must confine her submarine campaign to limits which we held to be dictated by laws of humanity and international usage, and Germany agreed on condition that we should compel Great Britain to return to the recognized principles for the safety of neutral shipping. This reasonable request Great Britain refused to grant.

Waiting in vain nearly a year for us to effect means to let neutral ships travel the seas unrestricted by British orders, Germany announced a certain date after which all ships would be sunk without notice if they attempted to invade the German war zone, but agreed voluntarily to provide for the safety of American ships through a defined passage in their journey to British ports. As a result of this, the President broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. And the President called upon all the neutral countries of the world to also sever diplomatic relations with Germany. But not one neutral nation responded.

We are now urged to war because Germany has established a war zone 20 miles from shore around the shore line of England. During the Crimean War England blockaded the port of Riga in Russia by war vessels 120 miles from the town. This exceeds the German blockade by 100 miles.

THE TRADE IN CONTRABAND OF WAR.

On page 697 of Prof. Lawrence's great book on international law is a valuable chapter on contraband of war. I quote a paragraph:

Every belligerent may capture goods of direct or immediate use in war if he is able to intercept them on their passage to the enemy.

This principle has been recognized as international law for over 100 years. And yet we are told now that we have the right to ship munitions of war—cannon, muskets, powder, and all the instruments for wholesale murder—to Great Britain and put American citizens on board and sail into the war zone established by Germany.

Gov. Glynn, in sounding the keynote at the St. Louis convention that nominated President Wilson the second time, said of this policy of keeping us out of war:

It has freed us from the paralyzing touch of Europe's balance of power, leaving to Europe the things that are Europe's and preserving for America the independence, the peace, and the happiness that now are here.

Let me refer to a bit of vital history of over a half century ago of which I was a humble participant on the field of war—a period when the life of this Republic was in serious peril: President Lincoln called England to account for the seizure of the United States ship *Chesapeake* on the high seas, bound from New York to Portland, for the burning of the United States ship *Roanoke* off Bermuda, for the seizure on Lake Erie of the ship *Philo Parsons*, and the scuttling of the *Island Queen*, the shooting of its engineer and the wounding of its passengers; and he protested to England against the invasion of the territory of the United States by a band of southern sympathizers from Canada, who rode across the border into Vermont, burned a portion of St. Albans, looted its homes, robbed its bank of $211,000, killed one of its citizens, and wounded several more.

In stinging language Lincoln told England that she violated neutrality for permitting "the use of British ports and British borders as a base for felonious depredations against the citizens of the United States," and he wrote into history his diplomatic battle against England for letting loose the *Alabama* to prey upon our commerce, to destroy $100,000,000 worth of property, to capture 84 of our vessels and drive our flag from the seas. No nation ever inflicted upon another nation a more damnable or more maddening wrong than England inflicted upon the United States in the *Alabama* outrage.

The great Civil War ended with the United States holding the strongest and most valiant veteran Army in the world. But we did not go to war. Gen. Grant, then recognized as the foremost soldier in the world, was President; but he was not hysterical. He and his great Army and the whole American people had been saddened and sobered by war. And Gen. Grant in the White House was supported by able, sane, and experienced statesmen, and all our aggravating trouble with England was settled by arbitration. And who will say now that this was not best? At the distance of 3,500 miles the undesirable and dangerous German Kaiser looks the same to me as the great grandson of George III; in fact, all kings look alike to me. I am not willing to vote to send the gallant young manhood of America across the Atlantic Ocean to fight for either.

I remember well when Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States the German Kaiser tendered an heroic statue of Frederick the Great to the United States, which tender was accepted with gracious thanks by Theodore Roosevelt, President, and the same statue, after due formality, was set up in the White House Park in the most conspicuous spot in the city of Washington—in front of the White House. It was dedicated with heroic ceremony. Frederick the Great was a friend and defender of George Washington, and the German nation ever since the organization of the Republic has been a constant and abiding friend of the United States; that during all our wars with Great Britain Germany has stood steadfast as our friend; that in the great Civil War, when Confederate ships were being built in English shipyards and driving our commerce from the seas and oceans of the world, Germany was our fast friend.

Germany furnished 300,000 soldiers to the Union Army, and such distinguished generals as Gen. Carl Schurz, Gen. Franz Sigel, and Gen. Osterhaus, and thousands of others who offered up their lives for the Union while England was trying to destroy the Republic. I am quoting from recent history.

I have a list here of 48 generals, all Germans, who fought on the Union side in that great war, which I will print in the RECORD. Their names are not as familiar as some others, because they did not think their services entitled them to be kept on the public pay roll the remainder of their lives. But I can say this as a matter of simple justice: That they include some of the most distinguished generals of the great Civil War. Had it not been for the Germans both Missouri and Maryland would have been lost to the Union. Gen. Robert E. Lee said, and Mrs. Jefferson Davis repeated the sentiment, "Take the Dutch out of the Union Army and we could lick the Yankees easily." Here is the list:

Gen. Carl Schurz, Gen. Franz Sigel, Gen. Adolph von Steinwehr, Gen. Alex. von Schimmelpfennig, Gen. Louis Blenker, Gen. Peter Osterhaus, Gen. George von Schack, Gen. Konrad Krez, Gen. Alban Schoepf, Gen. Julius Stahel, Gen. Samuel Peter Heintzelmann, Gen. J. H. Heintzelmann, Gen. Louis Wagner, Gen. August Kautz, Gen. Hugo Wangelin, Gen. G. Pennypacker, Gen. Friedrich Hecker, Gen. Max Weber, Gen. August Willich, Gen. Friedrich Salomon, Gen. Karl Salomon, Gen. Edward S. Salomon, Gen. Isaak Wister, Gen. Heinrich von Bohlen, Gen. Adolph Hassendeubel, Gen. Louis Zahm, Gen. Gottfried Weitzel, Gen. Theodor Schwan, Gen. Adolph Buschbeck, Gen. Wilhelm Heine, Gen. Gustav Kaemmerling, Gen. Louis von Blessing, Gen. August Mohr, Gen. Julius Raith, Gen. F. C. Winkler, Gen. Johann A. Koltes, Gen. Herman Lieb, Gen. Alexander von Schrader, Gen. William C. Kueffner, Gen. George W. Mindel, Gen. Felix Salm-Salm, Gen. G. R. Paul, Gen. Karl Leopold Mathies, Gen. Edward S. Meyer, Gen. George A. Custer, Gen. Adolph Engelmann, Gen. Joseph Gerhardt, Gen. Hermann Haupt—

Forty-eight names, and there are others.

And now we are going to war as an ally of the one nation in Europe that has always been our enemy and against the nation that has always been our friend. This is the record we are making to-day. Posterity will judge our actions by this record.

I remember all this in that terrible conflict for four years, and it is burnt into my memory; and while my father was an Englishman, full bred, and my mother was a Scotch woman, full bred, I have been for strict neutrality in this great European conflict. I can not forget, because it is only a few months old, that the President of the United States was elected President because he kept us out of the European conflict. I can not forget, either, that in the speech made by the chairman of the Democratic national convention of 1916, his most forceful point in the declaration which called for the most enthusiastic applause was that we were not mixing and would not mix in this great European conflict, in this terrible holocaust of murder then in progress in Europe. I can not forget these things, because they are vital now.

Who are backing this powerful movement for war? Let me state. The report of the Du Pont Co., one of the manufacturers of explosives, shows gross receipts for 1916 of $318,845,685, and net earnings of $82,107,693. The company paid 100 per cent dividends on common stock and is constructing new plants to cost $60,000,000—getting ready for more war. The Bethlehem Steel Co. recently announced that it had placed $37,500,000 of foreign short-term notes as security for increased capital stock. New York and London financial interests are becoming identical. They are getting ready for more war, more human killings, for more bloody dollars.

Flour and potatoes are cheaper in London and Berlin, handicapped as they are by embargoes, than in the cities of the United States. This country has been drained of wheat, corn, and other food products for export to England and the allies, and we have had bread riots in New York and Philadelphia and Chicago, but we have not heeded the piteous cry of the hungry at home, while passing military appropriations liable to aggregate over three thousand five hundred millions to embroil this peaceful country in the most useless, destructive, and brutal war in all history, 3,000 miles away.

I have just been reading the Farewell Address of George Washington warning his countrymen to keep out of the struggles and conflicts of European empires. And while it is true that George Washington's sage advice and wise counsel is lightly regarded now by those who believe that war and not peace is the normal condition of our so-called Christian manhood, I still believe that George Washington was the greatest statesman and prophet of humane destiny since civilization was evolved in the womb of the dead centuries of barbarism.

CONSCRIPTION.

I have recently been reading a very valuable pamphlet by Prof. George Nasmyth, a noted writer on sociology, author of a book on social progress, and another valuable book, A Study of Force, as a factor in human relations. This pamphlet deals with the question of universal military training, or conscription, whichever you may call it. The argument for universal military service is that it treats the rich and the poor alike. This argument is not sound. Let me quote from Prof. Nasmyth, a paragraph that goes to the root of the whole question:

> Does universal military service involve equal sacrifice on the part of rich and poor alike? If both are killed, of course, both have made the last great sacrifice. But for the families of the two men the difference is very great. For the family of the poor man the loss of the bread winner means that the widow must go out to work; that the children must be deprived of an opportunity for education. For the rich man, on the contrary, no such sacrifice on the part of his family is involved. His wife is not compelled to go out and work; his children are not deprived of the opportunity of receiving a liberal education. A conscription of lives alone, such as is advocated by the believers in universal military service, is fundamentally unjust if the family, instead of the individual, is considered as the foundation of the Nation's life. But if conscription ever does become inevitable let us not add blasphemy to our other crimes by adopting militarism in the name of democracy. No; let us do it with the clear knowledge that we are dealing a death blow to the greatest experiment in democracy the human race has ever tried.

Besides, the rich man can purchase a substitute, but the poor man can not. He must go into the ranks of the killing and the killed.

Those Members of Congress who vote for this war resolution to-day are taking an awful responsibility. If this resolution was to provide for the national defense against any threatened foreign aggression I would vote for it, but we all know it is not. The President, in the presence of both Houses of Congress and the Cabinet and the Supreme Court and the bespangled Diplomatic Corps, in a spectacular and elaborately staged event, read a message to Congress and the country, declaring his purpose to enter the European conflict in the interest of a world-wide democracy. Hence every Member on this floor knows that Germany has at this very moment declared officially that she desires peace and not war with the United States; that her war blockade of England and the allies' coasts is for self-protection. Her official warning was sent to the United States and all the neutral countries of the world to keep out of this established war zone. In violation of all the most sacred traditions of the past century and in violation of the most vital and sacred admonitions of George Washington, warning this Nation to avoid the conflicts of European empires; in violation of the Monroe doctrine, we are now about to plunge this great peaceful Nation into a kings' war in Europe. This, too, in violation of our most vital and sacred promises made to the American people less than six months ago to keep this Nation out of this criminal European conflict. We are going into a world-wide war, a war of kings and emperors and czars and sultans against kings and emperors and kaisers, in which the best manhood of Europe has already been ruthlessly slaughtered. In order to add to the horrid holocaust the stalwart young manhood of America are to be forced into the conflict, and we are going to rush them into this slaughter-house against the best and highest ideals of this Republic—peace, progress, and prosperity, and a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Some kindly soul from way out West, a student of the sweeter humanities, sends me the following:

> Why attempt to overthrow "Prussian militarism" abroad and intrench it within our very doors? It is already in our midst, increasing by leaps and bounds under only the shadow of the war. Why give it the immeasurable opportunity of the war itself—the greatest of wars—which it so eagerly craves? Shall they alone be sent to the war who are willing to be killed and to kill? Shall they be given an opportunity to say whether they are willing or not? Since ours is supposed to be a government of, by, and for the people, shall the people themselves be given a chance to say whether or not their Government shall take a step of such fundamental weal or woe as is that of going into the war? Or shall it be left to 500 men out of 100,000,000? Above all, shall the mothers of men be given a chance to vote on the momentous question? The cry is being raised, "Let us stand behind the President!" Alas, that it should be most vociferously raised by those who have peace upon their lips, but war within their hearts. When the President made his great and prophetic speech to the Senate on the 22d of January, his constructive program for a durable peace for all the world was received in derision by most of those who now so violently demand that we shall "stand behind him." Their manifest purpose is to push him and the country into war. Their demand for "patriotic" support of the President is hypocrisy and a sham. The very men who sang the doxology and marched in procession through the streets in honor of his supposed defeat at the recent election, and who have consistently denounced and despised his every policy and effort during the past four years, are now loudest in their summons to "stand behind him."
>
> These men are not true patriots in this time of grave crisis which confronts our Nation and the world. This is a time that tries men's souls. The pure gold of patriotism will be found in those Americans who are loyal, even and especially in this period of military fury and jingoistic hysteria, to the best and noblest ideals of America. What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? What shall it profit us if we should gain a victory over Germany and lose the fairest fruits of our democracy?

I can not vote to send the brave and stalwart sons of my beloved country into the horrid slaughter pens of Europe, to enter the most useless, brutal, and criminal war in all history.

Let me quote here as timely a couplet from our own beloved poet, Howard S. Taylor:

> We have forgot! A Roman lust
> Profanes our ancient holy things;
> We trample justice in the dust;
> We have the rabies of the kings,
> The scarlet rage of gun and sword.
> Have mercy on Thy people, Lord!

MY SACRED CAMPAIGN PLEDGES.

I am pledged to my constituents to use every honorable means to keep this country out of war. That was the main issue in my campaign, which culminated in November, 1916. The Republicans put up their most popular man with the largest campaign fund ever known. They started it with a great parade in which 29 brass bands were hired, and all the newspapers in my district were committed for preparedness. They claimed it was the universal sentiment and a patriotic sentiment. In every campaign speech I made I said, with all the emphasis I could command, that I regarded war as the greatest crime of the human race. I have been fourteen times elected to civil office, and have never accepted a dollar from an individual or a corporation as a campaign fund. I was elected last November from a Republican district with a majority approximating 13,000, the largest majority of any Democrat running in a Republican district on that issue. I would be violating my convictions and lacking in fidelity to the patriotic and stalwart men who sent me to Congress if I did not do my utmost to keep faith with my people.

As I love my country, I would use every honorable means to keep the young manhood of America out of this horrid holocaust of European slaughter. My experience in the Civil War has saddened all my life. I had my soul rent with indescribable agony, as I stood in the presence of comrades who were maimed, mangled, and dying on 42 battle fields of this Republic. As I

love my country, I feel it my sacred duty to keep the stalwart young men of to-day out of a barbarous war 3,500 miles away, in which we have no vital interest. And I am earnestly inquiring what the harvest will be outside of a wholesale slaughter of the patriotic manhood of the Nation. As I love my country, if war is inevitable, then I will be found standing by the country as I did from '61 to '65, and I will go to the front if accepted as a soldier whenever or wherever duty calls.

APPENDIX.

Among the hundreds of letters and telegrams I have received during the past five days I print only a few. Here is a letter from that student of the humanities, Miss Elizabeth G. Bach, of Wellesley College, explaining why so many Congressmen vote for war against the convictions and interests of their constituents:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 5, 1917.*

The situation here in Washington for the last four days has been extraordinarily interesting. Members of the peace delegation have been talking with their representatives in Congress and their reports which I have been helping to tabulate are illuminating. The fact that stands out is that so many Congressmen are ready to vote against their own judgment, against their conscience, and against what they have reason to believe to be the will of their constituents.

I take up the first pile on my desk—that of a New York Congressman. He is reported to have said substantially as follows: "The people of my district are seven to one against war. But I shall vote for it. They will soon forget about it, but the men who voted in the Senate against war will go down in history in obloquy."

A Minnesota delegate reported that several Congressmen told him that they knew the constituents were opposed to war; that they themselves knew no reason why the country should enter the war, but "somehow they felt that patriotism demanded that they should vote for war."

A North Carolina Congressman is reported as saying "he would really rather be dead than vote for war," but that he proposes to do it.

Another New York Congressman said that he believed that the majority of the citizens in his district are against war, but that they could "go to hell." "Or words to that effect."

I next take up the report on two Ohio Congressmen. One is against war but calls opposition hopeless. The other is against war but will not commit himself as to how he will vote.

An Iowa Congressman is "heart-broken that it is going to happen," but it appears that he is going to vote for war.

An Arkansas man will vote for war but does not like it.

A South Carolina man "would vote for war if Wilson wanted it, even if he knew it meant the ruin of his country."

A Virginia man is "opposed to war but may have to vote for it."

Two Mississippi men take the same position.

A Michigan man is "not for war, and never has been, but the President has put us in such a position that if we do not declare war we shall be the laughing-stock of the whole world. To avoid appearing to be divided among ourselves, to save the good name of the country, it is necessary to vote for war."

Many Congressmen speak with unrestrained bitterness of the President whom they blame for the dilemma in which they thus find themselves.

Others interpret the situation in terms of the political game and say that the Republicans are jockeying the Democrats into assuming the burden of a war policy in the extreme form which the President's speech has, as they feel, now given it. They believe the war will prove most unpopular and a formidable political boomerang.

Many Congressmen are hearing what the people are thinking at their quiet firesides. Outside of uptown New York, we have not heard of any district sending in a majority of telegrams and letters favoring war, and we hear of many where the contrary is true. Unfortunately we have no complete data on this point as yet.

So far as we can learn, the various unofficial referenda show a strong preponderance for peace, with the sole exception of one in the residential town of Newton, Mass., where 55 per cent favored war. Of 12,000 replies to the same inquiry from Massachusetts at large, 65 per cent, on the other hand, are against war.

In New Ulm, Minn., out of 485 replies, 19 favored war.

The Associated Press reports the voters of Monroe, Wis., as ten to one against a declaration of war, 1,049 votes having been cast. The Sheboygan, Wis., ballot on war was 4,177 against war and 17 votes for.

The secretary of Senator LA FOLLETTE, who "represents no one but himself," estimates that the Senator has received some 15 prowar letters or cards out of about 2,000, the rest approving his course.

Many Congressmen are in the most acute distress of mind. They are white, with drawn faces. Some shed tears. They are on the rack, drawn one way by one set of considerations and in the contrary direction by another.

It is impossible to know how many would vote against war if they voted on their convictions or if they intended to represent the will of the majority in their home districts.

One Congressman claimed that a secret vote would result in a majority of two-thirds for peace. Representative BRITTEN, of Illinois, has claimed on the floor of the House that 75 per cent of the Representatives want to vote against war.

The early days of April, 1917, may appear in history as more fateful than the early days of August, 1914. A war urged by the President on a reluctant Congress upon the grounds of the most disinterested idealism will apparently be "wished upon" the country against its will by the votes of men who fear the press more than they fear their constituents, who fear the party whip more than they fear their consciences.

So nearly 1900 years after the death on the cross this is to be the celebration of Good Friday.

ELIZABETH G. BACH.

THAT MILITARY PROPAGANDA.

About the military propaganda which was started soon after the breaking out of the European war, Mr. J. L. Hughes, of Columbus, writes as follows:

We heard a minister state wtih vehemence "that we should all be willing to take up our cross and follow Jesus," that the great question to-day is "Christ or Prussianism." His idea was that we should shoot Christianity into the Germans with machine guns and cannon. Just how much Christianity he could cram into a 10 or 12 inch cannon he did not say. But I imagine that a cannon full of this so-called Christianity directed by an accurate gunner into the anatomy of some European heathen would yield forth fruit to a hundredfold. The shells and ammunition we have made and shipped to Europe in the last two years has filled thousands of graves, destroyed many homes, made thousands of widows and orphans, and kept the fires of the hell in Europe burning at a hellish heat. It is true we received big pay for this fuel of hell, but every dollar we received is dripping with the blood of our brother. You ask me where England and France would be had they not protected their homes and families. England with her navy was and is mistress of the seas. Germany was trying to outdo England, and succeeded in doing so, on land. France and the rest of the nations were trying to keep up with them. Were it not for this competitive preparation there would have been no need for any nation to defend its homes. I ask you to think seriously, has Europe protected her homes? Don't you know that nearly every family and home in Europe is stricken almost to the death and that Europe has been mortally wounded by that which (armies and navies) the jingoist told them would protect them? Armies and navies are, as used to-day, for the purpose of killing, and it takes homes, families, and blood to satisfy them.

The next time you see a thoughtless, so-called patriot get up and with swinging arms and blatant voice shout about patriotism point him to poor blood-stained, dying Europe, where the greatest armies and navies the world ever dreamed of are assembled with unlimited ammunition and show him the protection afforded by preparedness.

Truly, yours,

J. L. HUGHES.

The Rev. Patrick O'Brien, a prominent pastor of Toledo, Ohio, and a Civil War veteran, has been very active in the military propaganda, and has been marching in the preparedness parades, but he balks at the proposition to send the brave and stalwart sons of America into this European war, and sends the following telegram:

Make no alliance with England or her allies. Vote no money, munitions, or provisions. Send no troops to Europe to be slaughtered. Let America stand alone.

I also received the following telegram from Rev. J. Henry Hornung, of the Kenilworth Avenue Church, Toledo, Ohio:

War is wrong. Wrong can not bring right. Vote against the wrong. Vote for the right.

Here is a copy of a telegram received from C. J. N. Garfunkle, of Cincinnati, Ohio:

Cherishing the memories of your noble consort and as an American citizen from Cincinnati, formerly from Toledo, I ask, in the name of God and humanity as the hours pass and the world's tragedy intensifies, what gain will result if the United States enters into the world's cataclysm? Have not all belligerents violated international law? Hasn't England first instituted ruthless warfare? Has she not conspired against a nation of a handful of people in comparison defending themselves against starvation and conquest, as she publicly proclaimed the ruthlessness by Germany had been instigated and provoked? Secondarily, Germany was willing never to commence ruthless submarine warfare if Britain's violation of international law would have been stopped. I pray that Congress will listen to the fervent prayers of millions of its citizens not to drag our country into this world war, thereby avoid scuttling of ship of state on its rocks. Let us raise forever our Stars and Stripes upon the highest pinnacle to the breezes of the world, and justice and charity to all, privilege to none, will be proclaimed. Kindly read this to Congress. Believe me, sir.

Also an extract from a letter signed by Mr. J. P. Kready, of Butte, Mont.:

Will you allow me to thank you for the fight you are making against war? We who live in Montana are without representation (the Amalgamated Co. controls them all), so we are bound to turn to others for defense of American ideals and principles.

Here is a letter received from Mr. W. S. Moulton, Lima, Ohio, under date of March 27, 1917:

Permit me to say, as a citizen who inherits that citizenship from colonial forefathers, that in my humble opinion the best interests of the Nation and people lie in the path of peace while the present struggle is going on across the Atlantic.

W. S. MOULTON.

Also a telegram from Mr. Fred D. Warren, Chicago, Ill.:

Urge adoption amendment to pending war measure, "All Congressmen who vote 'yes' shall by such vote be drafted into Army as private soldiers and sent to Europe with first troops. If physically unfit, then next of kin." Let them give the country an example of real patriotism.

FRED D. WARREN,
Trenier Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

LETTER FROM REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES, OF CHICAGO.

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
Representative from Ohio:

Be not deceived by the flattering hope that the declaration of war will not involve much disaster and that such a war will come to a speedy end. The terrible demonstration in Europe, as well as our own experience, proves that "short wars" are impossible in our present stage of human development and military engineering. Beware how you start a fire that will promptly burst into a conflagration beyond your control. The 500 American lives, more or less, already lost can not be brought back by offering many thousands more of innocent lives on the Moloch altar of war.

On behalf of the many silent and suffering protestants, I plead with you to save our country from the disgraces of this unholy war. Save our country to the leadership for peace, which is its providential opportunity.

Yours, very respectfully, an humble citizen,

JENKIN LLOYD JONES.

BRIEF PROTEST FROM AKRON.

AKRON, OHIO, *March 28, 1917.*

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I earnestly suggest that you vote against a declaration of war with Germany at this time. Let not future history record the fact that we went to war to maintain our right to sell munitions to belligerents. A great majority of the people are of the same opinion, the newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Yours, very truly, A. C. HOLLOWAY.

VOICE OF A VETERAN.

STRATTON, NEBR., *March 10, 1917.*

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
Representative from Ohio.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I wish to thank you men for the stand you have taken, and may God still guide you.

For the Master.

T. E. WELLMAN,
Seventy-ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

THE VOICE OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 12, 1917.*

Congressman SHERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Complying with a motion unanimously passed by the Trades and Labor Assembly (the central labor organization of the city, representing close to 100 labor unions, with a membership of 18,000), I was instructed to commend you for your noble stand for peace and against war, in the interest of the great common people, for whom war's only rewards are hardships, pains, sorrows, and deaths.

Words fail to express our sincere appreciation for your efforts, regardless of the fact the "prostitute press," the munition manufacturers, and the patriots for profits may win in the end and bathe this Nation in a deluge of blood.

L. SINTON,
Secretary of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly.

JOHN SAMSEY, PUBLISHER, WRITES.

CLEVELAND, *April 1, 1917.*

Gen. I. R. SHERWOOD,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GENERAL: First of all, I am fully convinced that no great number of the people of Cleveland want war. Those who express themselves believe the whole proposition is to aid England and to make secure the money advances made by people of this country. This opinion is based on what I meet in my daily walks and what I hear on the street cars. The opinions of foreign-born people are not considered in coming to this conclusion. I went out to feel the "public pulse" among native born, and I firmly believe there is no real sentiment for war in this city. We have guards on bridges over railroads, and those I saw to-day were without rifles. You are one of those who can aid to prevent war, and I feel that if Congress would listen to "the noise" of the common people they would let Europe fight its own battles.

Yours, very truly, JOHN SAMSEY.

LETTER FROM A PACIFIST.

DOUGLAS, ARIZ., *April 1, 1917.*

Congressman SHERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Just a few words to say that a score of us mining, cattlemen, and merchants of this section are bitterly opposed to any declaration of war at this time against Germany, the newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding. Talking with many people all the way from New York to this place, I find a very large number of our best people opposed to a declaration of war. The proposition if it could be submitted to a vote would be defeated all the way from 8 to 12 to 1.

With kindest regards, I am, yours, respectfully,

B. A. SEITZ.

A PATRIOTIC LETTER FOR PEACE.

LIMA, OHIO, *March 29, 1917.*

Honorable SENATOR: As a descendant and historian of an American family whose sons were in the Revolution, in the War of 1812, on almost every battle field of the Civil War, as well as in various units of our Army to-day, I beg to say that the overwhelming sentiment is against a declaration of war against Germany at this time and under present circumstances. Rally 'round the flag; but let it not be carried to foreign shores contrary to the cause of liberty and freedom for which it was gloriously raised.

Very patriotically, yours, F. A. BURKHARDT.

A TOLEDO LAWYER WRITES.

TOLEDO, OHIO, *March 28, 1917.*

Gen. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Are we going to sell our young men into the European trenches to King George the Fifth, as the Hessians were sold to his great-grandfather, King George the Third? Is it possible that a small coterie of men have gotten absolute control of our Government, by which they can dominate and dictate its policy through control of the press, by which we are drawn into the conflict which we had very little interest in? Is this the new freedom that was so widely heralded several years ago? Is this the fulfillment of the covenant made with the people last fall that "As long as I am President, there will be no war." With a subsidized, venal, yellow press, absolutely controlled, the news manufactured to order at the Capital, sent out broadcast one day, heralded as public opinion the next day, proclaiming the enthusiasm of a comparatively small coterie in each community, and when you examine the names of the signers of many of these self-constituted committees or organizations, you will find a majority consisting of men perfectly safe from conscription on account of their age or their habits.

Yours, truly,

J. H. CAUFFIEL.

A WISCONSIN SOCIOLOGIST WRITES.

RIVER FALLS, WIS., *March 29, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. SHERWOOD: I beg you to take your old stand against war and against compulsory military training. Now is the time for the most controlled action and not an alliance with the jingoists.

Cordially,

ELMER WILLIS SERL.

A PROMINENT BOSTONIAN WRITES.

BOSTON, *March 31, 1917.*

Gen. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am taking the liberty of writing to you in this grave crisis to beg you earnestly to do everything in your power, by your influence, voice, and vote, to save this country from the horrors of war.

It seems to me wholly unnecessary. An unnecessary war is a crime. Four weeks ago, with the present situation in full view, armed neutrality was good enough for the President, Congress, and the country. Why, then, is it not the proper course to-day? America is a peaceable country. She wants no war for revenge, for a duelist's idea of honor, to defend her great ideals of freedom, democracy, and peace. She does not want to get mixed up in European quarrels.

And yet a wave of hysteria threatens to sweep us off our feet into the raging whirlpool of war.

Surely armed neutrality deserve at least a fair trial. Large enthusiastic mass meetings are being held in Boston to protest against war.

I appeal to you in the name of all these Boston peace people, in the name of our country and its ideals, in the name of humanity and of God to do everything in your power to promote the adoption of the policy of armed neutrality and to avert the incalculable horrors of war.

Very sincerely, yours,

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr.

LETTER FROM COMMISSION MERCHANTS.

CHICAGO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This administration was elected upon a peace platform. Therefore we must now be true to the people and not precipitate war before ascertaining by referendum whether or not the people want war, otherwise no belligerent act of any European nation could be compared in the injury done our country with this dishonor and betrayal of our Republic. We must not betray the people's trust, for if we do this Nation's blood will be upon our hands.

Have we not criticized European monarchies for forcing their subjects into war against their will? How, then, unless the will of the people is ascertained by referendum vote, do we differ from these monarchies?

Yours, truly, EARL BROS.

AN IMPORTANT REQUEST.

Hon. I. R. SHERWOOD,
Representative of Ohio, Toledo, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I respectfully request you to consider the following before voting for war:

First. If you decide for war with Germany you put the United States in the position of going to war with a country who does not desire war with us. (See official statement of Imperial German chancellor.) This would be a lamentable action for us to take after our properly exalted and humanitarian attitude of the last few years.

It would be bad enough to go to war with a nation that hated us and wanted war with us. But not an injury that has come to us has been intended against us. Every injury that we have suffered has been incidental to an injury that was intended against some one else.

Second. Furthermore, our Supreme Court has decided that this is a Christian Nation. If so, the Nation ought to act like a Christian.

There is trouble and woe and horror enough in this world now without our deliberately spreading it to our own beloved Nation, and there are ideals for us to live up to. We may never again have so favorable an opportunity to emphasize these ideals to the world as we have at this very serious day.

Yours, very respectfully, JAMES EDWARD VAN DYKE,
Of New Jersey.

LETTER FROM SECRETARY OF THE FIRST MICHIGAN CAVALRY ASSOCIATION (CUSTER'S MICHIGAN CAVALRY BRIGADE).

DETROIT, MICH., *March 31, 1917.*

To Gen. I. R. SHERWOOD,
Washington, D. C.:

May God bless you and spare you a long and happy life. You, a genuine American patriot, a grand soldier of the battle field, and a lover of peace, you know what war is. You know what peace is. I wish to God every Member of Congress was half as loyal to country and flag as you are, Gen. SHERWOOD. I voted for ex-President Taft. I voted for our President Wilson because he kept us out of war. God bless you again, Gen. SHERWOOD, for the stand you have taken trying to keep our grand and beloved country out of this European war.

Yours, in F., C. and L.,

CORNELIUS O'DWYER,
639 Lenox Avenue.

One who served our country honorably on 32 battle fields, never answered a sick call, never missed a roll call.

STAND FAST FOR PEACE.

NEW YORK, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

In behalf of the patriotic Christian Americans in all sections, who are loyal to the Government, the Christian Herald appeals to you in this crisis to stand fast for this high ideal.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD.

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Gen. I. R. SHERWOOD, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

I have plans formed for raising a regiment of volunteers in and about Toledo, and call on you as an old One hundred and eleventh man to give me all the assistance you can. Will you see Secretary Baker and find out if he will sanction such a move and recognize it. You

know I have had some organization experience and am a Spanish-War veteran. Help and we'll fight as hard as you did at Franklin and Nashville.

WES. THURSTIN.

A PEACE-LOVING WOMAN'S LETTER.

NEW YORK, *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD.

MY DEAR SIR: Being convinced of your desire to know the true sentiments of the great mass of American people in this hour of world crisis, I am writing to let you know that I have found everywhere among what is termed the "common people" a universal aversion to war. To be sure, this aversion is apathetic; not, however, the apathy of indifference, but rather that of despair; the tragic resignation of those who believe they have, and can have, no voice that will be heard.

I, therefore, in the name of those countless masses, make you this plea to do your "bit" to keep the country out of war. I feel confident that you will receive the grateful acknowledgment of your constituents in some form or other before next election day if you can accomplish this great and truly patriotic deed.

Very respectfully, yours,

Mrs. J. SERGEANT CRAM.

During the course of Mr. SHERWOOD's remarks,

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have five minutes more.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio may proceed for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to make a statement for the benefit of the committee. There seems to be some misunderstanding as to the procedure that has been adopted. Under the rules of the House members of the Committee on Military Affairs have absolute right to recognition in preference to any other Members of the House. Thus far no Members have been recognized to speak in support of the resolution excepting those who have been members of that committee. The Chair has declined to recognize Members for an hour, because to do so would be to preclude a number of gentlemen who desire to speak. The Chair has a list of seventy-odd Members who desire to make some remarks upon this resolution, and unless the Chair somewhat arbitrarily limits the time of the various Members himself a great number will be disappointed. The Chair does not seek the popularity that will follow this course, but in order to be just and fair to the members of the committee he has determined to recognize Members for definite periods and to recognize no requests for further extensions of time. [Applause.] To violate that determination in one instance will make it impractical for a large number of Members who for important reasons affecting themselves, if not affecting the interest of the country, desire to have some time to speak.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, it would be an unprofitable task to attempt to analyze all of the inconsistencies of the speeches which have been made in opposition to this resolution. Some of them have been mere tirades against the present administration, and incidentally, but nevertheless directly, against the American Government. Some of them have presented with great force and eloquence the position of Germany in this controversy. Some of them have emphasized the outrages or alleged outrages to which it is claimed we have submitted from England and other belligerent powers. Of those that I have heard only two will bear the test of logic, and those two are the speeches of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN]. Both of those speeches were eminently logical. Both of them resulted in but one thing, and that is, that no matter what the aggression might be, unless it came directly home to the fireside of the man himself, no question of national honor or national integrity was involved. To that doctrine I can not subscribe. I believe that the independence of the Nation consists in protecting the great fundamental, beneficial freedom of commerce, the intercourse of the Nation with the world, which is a blessing to mankind.

I believe that the integrity of the Nation demands that every citizen engaged in a lawful pursuit for the benefit of mankind and civilization shall have a free right to go abroad in the world. This right should not be abridged by belligerent nations under pretext of military necessity. War is the abnormal condition which must be kept within the rules of international law. The rights of neutrals are higher and more sacred than the rights of belligerents. If I believed the doctrine of those two speeches I would believe that it would be best if we were a hermit nation, having no contact or connection with the rights or pretensions of other nations, but I believe the contrary. If American citizenship means anything it means that the whole force of the organized government should be used to protect the American citizen in his lawful rights on land and on sea, on our own soil, or on the soil of our neutral neighbor. I regret that possibly the impression has grown up in the world that American citizenship is held too cheaply; that there is not back of that patent of nobility, American citizenship, a guaranty of protection which makes it of value in the eyes of men and in the eyes of the world. Now, I would not attempt to analyze such a speech as that of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] who a short while ago confessed he is ready to expend unlimited sums on naval armament and then refuses to vote to use that armament in the protection of American rights. His interest seems to cease when the people's money is expended and not to extend to the use of that expenditure in the protection of the rights of the people. But we are not called upon, gentlemen, to determine whether we shall enter upon a war. We are called upon to determine whether in a long period of forbearance the time has come when we declare a state of war to exist. I say that it lies upon the gentlemen who resist and oppose this resolution to show that their course would end the aggressions upon American citizens. If we forbear now, on how many more occasions will we be required to forbear? If we forbear for 30 days, for 10 days, for 24 hours, how are we to know that that course will secure us immunity?

I heard some of these same gentlemen argue that if we put guns upon American merchantmen that that act would invite war. Yet to give the lie to that argument those belligerent nations that have attacked our rights have attacked and sunk unarmed merchantmen; so the contention that the arming of merchantmen would invite attack has fallen to the ground. The same has been true of each of these arguments designed to paralyze the action of the American Government in extending protection to American citizens and to American commerce. Now, mark you, these gentlemen are not securing us against invasion of our rights; they are counseling submitting to it. As long ago as April 16——

Mr. FLOOD. If the gentleman will permit me to interrupt him for a moment, I want to call his attention to the fact that there was an unarmed American merchant steamer sunk to-day, the *Missourian*, probably belonging to some of the gentleman's constituents. I want to call his attention to the fact that it was bound to this country and had nothing aboard but ballast, and it was sunk without warning, and American lives were probably lost on it.

Mr. BORLAND. I am very glad to say the *Missourian* is not the property of any constituent of mine, and, so far as I know, of any citizen of Missouri. But it brings home to us the deliberate disregard of American rights involved in the present policy of Germany. Here was an unarmed ship, not carrying contraband of war, but returning empty, and yet it was sunk with the same ruthless barbarity. The contention which I have made is more than borne out by the events occurring since the sun rose this morning, that the arming of merchant vessels has not invited war. When you find unarmed merchant ships not safe from aggression, I say it lies upon those gentlemen who have opposed all means of protecting American rights to say what will do so. As long ago as April 16 we told the German Government that the pursuit of their submarine policy of ruthless and indiscriminate destruction would be regarded as an act of war against this country.

On May 4 they gave formal notice to us that they would desist from that course. On January 31, 1917, they gave notice that the former pledge had been revoked and the submarine campaign would be renewed with all its ruthless fury. Was that notice intended for our protection or given in just regard of our rights? No; it was the outcropping of their plot and design, for we find that on January 19, 12 days before the official notice was given to this Government that the submarine war would be renewed, the foreign secretary of Germany, Zimmermann, had already written to the German minister at Mexico advising him that the submarine campaign would be renewed and it would probably lead to war with the United States, and in that event the United States was to be dismembered, if possible, by a Mexican-Japanese alliance. Now, mark you, gentlemen, who are so anxious to apologize for the acts of an aggressor upon American rights and liberty, these words:

BERLIN, *January 19, 1917.*

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

Did they intend to preserve our friendship, to respect our rights? No; to keep us neutral. And how did they intend to keep us neutral? They do not say; but it is written plainly in their acts that all the world may see that they intend to keep

us neutral through the force of an army of spies and an amount of expenditure sufficient for the purpose. They seek to influence American public opinion through the same methods of corruption and intrigue that they would use in Bulgaria or Turkey. They place our Government and our national honor and our ideals of citizenship on the same plane as that which they place those of Bulgaria and Turkey. They are going to keep us neutral, but they are not going to respect our rights. Ah, no; not a word said of that, but they say that in spite of unrestricted warfare they intend to keep the United States neutral. I commend those words to gentlemen who have been so anxious to find a defense for an aggressor upon American rights. Is there any virtue in American citizenship? Does the flag mean anything? If it does, a state of war exists now, and we ought to declare it. [Applause.]

Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, I quote from Matthew xxvi, 51–52:

> And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear.
>
> Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

Mr. Chairman, since last Monday night, when the President appeared here and urged that war be made, those words, which have stood the test of centuries, have surged through my brain with a most persuasive influence, and while there may be others who can lightly overrule their philosophy, I for one can not brush aside their wisdom in the consideration of the resolution now before us.

And, Mr. Chairman, I pray you let me make it plain; there must be no misunderstanding. Should this resolution be passed by Congress I shall support the prosecution of the war to a successful issue with an unlimited devotion to my country's welfare—a devotion which I believe my colleagues here who are supporting this measure will accord me—the equal of which I freely accord to them.

We are invited to enter the European war. In other words, according to Gen. W. T. Sherman, this would ordinarily mean a polite request to submit ourselves to the tortures of the lower regions. He had seen the greatest war up to his time. He had not seen the present European war when he made his famous comparison. If he had, he would not have made it, for hell, from all reports, is a beautiful sunken garden, dotted with shrubbery and beautiful flowers when compared with the present European war. It is not war, but a conflagration—an atomization of human flesh "amid the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds." Is it a wonder that men desire to refuse such an invitation, and readily agree with Benjamin Franklin that "there never was a good war or a bad peace."

Mr. Chairman, my principal reason for opposing our entering the European war at the present time is a very simple one. We are not ready. This is well known to the apologists for war. It is not my purpose to set out the details of our unpreparedness, nor to lay the blame upon those who may be responsible. I have urged and voted for every measure tending to promote our strength in time of war that by the rules of this House I have been permitted to do. I even voted for the Kahn amendment to increase the Regular Army, which amendment was regarded with horror at the time by those who are now urging us on unprepared, and almost without discussion, into the European maelstrom. It is too late to discuss the past. The plain, cold fact is we are not ready. To show our complete helplessness I have but to quote some distinguished gentlemen whose views have already been made public.

It developed yesterday on the floor, upon inquiry by the gentleman from Illinois, that we have an insufficient number of officers to man our proposed army of conscripts. An unofficered army, then, is to march away to a foreign war! On March 22 last, in a special to the Washington Post, Maj. Gen. George W. Goethals, United States Army, retired, speaking at the regular luncheon of the Rotary Club, in the McAlpin Hotel, New York, is quoted therein as saying that—

> This country expected trouble, but did not prepare for it. Most of the expectation was taken out in talk and not action. Those in power were content to allow things to drift until the trouble was at the door. The naval appropriation of $150,000,000 is a great thing, he believes, but the ships that are to be built will not be ready until after the war is over. Land defenses have been prepared, according to the general, but he questions whether they could be put into operation.
>
> "Big guns for the Army are necessary," he says, "to oppose landing, but they are 'entirely lacking.'"
>
> "The country is sadly deficient," Gen. Goethals said. "The statement that there would be a 'million men in arms over night' was a joke," he declared, "since such a million would be merely a mob without training, clothing, or equipment, and useless for any purpose."
>
> The Spanish War taught a number of lessons, but the reports of authorities on these lessons in all branches of the service found a resting place in pigeonholes in various desks in Washington.

It was charged by the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SHALLENBERGER] in February last, and undenied, that there was an insufficiency of rifles and artillery for the troops then organized.

The War College says, concerning invasion by foreign nations, that prior to the recent vast increases in the European armies Germany, unopposed by the fleet, of course, could land 387,000 men in 15.8 days and 440,000 men in 30.8 days. Japan and England could land 2,750,000 men in 45 days.

The illustrious gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], and one of the best-posted men in the House on military affairs, in an interview given to the press within the last week on the question of preparedness said:

> In the good old American style we have put off buying our powder till we see the whites of the enemy's eyes. To be sure, seven months ago we tardily voted to build a lot of new ships and enlist a lot of new men in the Navy, but the ships are not built, many of them are not even begun, and the men are not enlisted. Even when the men are enlisted they will be only raw recruits and not good for much for about a year.
>
> Everybody knows that we have no troops ready to send into the trenches. Even our Regulars would need a good deal of training. They know nothing about bomb throwing and practically nothing about trench attack. Nevertheless I confess that I am one of those sentimental people who would like to see at least a brigade of Uncle Sam's Infantry turn up on the fighting line and give the allies a hearty slap on the back and wish them well.

And so, while we have announced our intention of whipping the earth, of turning all monarchies into republics, to which not only Germany will object, but to which possibly our proposed allies—Italy, Belgium, Japan, Serbia, Roumania, Montenegro, and San Marino—might enter a protest, it appears from the testimony of our witnesses that we are to do all this work, including repelling the invaders, with, as Gen. Goethals says, "a mere mob without training, clothing, or equipment, and useless for any purpose"; unofficered, as shown by Mr. MANN; without sufficient arms, as stated by Mr. SHALLENBERGER; with no knowledge of bomb throwing or trench attack, as reported by Mr. GARDNER; a brigade of which, so untrained, must be sent to the European trenches, singing the "Marseillaise" for the French and slapping the English heartily on the back. God of our fathers, it would be ridiculous if not so pitiful and so tragic! Truly, according to this testimony, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done and we have done those things which we ought not to have done." Yet there are those who say in big type, "Do it now!" Yesterday certain Members were loath to grant one day's delay before the consideration of this blood resolution was undertaken. Instead of rushing in unprepared, and thereby losing thousands of our young men for lack of all these essentials of modern warfare, would it not be better for the Nation that a delay at least be had for this preparation? And so, Mr. Chairman, these facts present to me an impregnable reason why I can not favor the passage of this resolution at the present time.

Mr. Chairman, the first step in raising an army for war in a republic is to win the hearts of the people to the cause for which it is asked to fight. The American people have been long trained in the art of self-government. They desire to think for themselves. Unlike the European people, the American must be shown the reason. He will fight harder if his heart is in the work. If ordered, the European fights. He has no choice. This is well illustrated in W. N. Ewer's beautiful poem, entitled "Five Souls," who meet in Spirit Land and greet each other:

FIRST SOUL.

I was a peasant of the Polish plain;
I left my plow because the message ran—
Russia in danger needed every man
To save her from the Teuton: and was slain.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

SECOND SOUL.

I was a Tyrolese, a mountaineer,
I gladly left my mountain home to fight
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;
And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

THIRD SOUL.

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
His felon blow at France and at the world;
Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

FOURTH SOUL.

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main
Until the fatherland, begirt by foes
Lusting her downfall called me, and I rose
Swift to the call, and died in fair Lorraine.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

FIFTH SOUL.

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde;
There came a sudden word of wars declared,
Of Belgium peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid. I joined the ranks and died.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

And if this resolution is passed with the proposed conscription bill, we might well add the following:

I worked upon a farm in Illinois;
The squad appeared; I marched away.
Somewhere in France, amid the trenches gray,
I met grim death with many other boys.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For he who bade me fight had told me so.

I have no reason to believe that the hearts of the people are in this proposed war. This is not true because they are afraid to fight. They are a brave and fearless people. They consider war in the enlightenment of the civilization which they still possess, of which no war has as yet deprived them. They have not fallen to barbarous ways of thinking. The days of cave-man ethics have not yet overtaken them as it has in a way overcome the people of Europe without their individual fault. The gloom of middle-age thought is not theirs. For four years they have listened to the charming voice of the Goddess of Peace. They have seen America stand like a rock, to which civilization is clinging in safety from the angry whirl about her. Like the monasteries protected and saved to humanity the art and literature of Europe during the Dark Ages, so they have hoped America, far from war, would preserve the precious legacies of a fast-passing civilization. You can not blame them now if they do not appear suddenly warlike and bloodthirsty—if they worship the ways of peace and love to quote the words of their President when he said, "The example of America must be the example of peace not merely because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not"; nor if, when they think of the contentment of the land—war in the east, peace in the west—thank God, from whom all blessings flow; and neither can you censure them if to-day their opposition to this resolution is guided by that great moral and patriotic thought—the conservation of human blood.

But while it appears that we are not ready, in men, in arms, in our hearts, let no foreign foe imagine for a moment that American genius will not overcome these obstacles in a short time and swiftly move to a rapid victory.

Mr. Chairman, I hold no brief for Germany nor for any of the belligerents. Germany has told us in so many words that when we attempt to sail our boats to Liverpool she will, when they reach the prohibited zone, sink them without warning, with all on board, with her submarines. England has told us nothing, but if we attempt to sail our same boats to Hamburg a planted English mine says to us if we approach nearer it will sink them without warning, with all on board.

I leave the difference to Hudibras, who had the ability to—

Distinguish and divide a hair
'Twixt south and southwest side.

Mr. Chairman, Edmund Burke once said—

Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chirp, whilst thousands of great cattle repose beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud, and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field.

The agitation for this war, against which the President held out so long, has not been created nor fostered by the great masses of the Nation. People who live in that strip of territory bounded on the north by New York and on the south by Washington and about the width of Manhattan Island, who by choice are provincial to that locality, who deny that there is any other railroad except the "Pennsy" and affirm that Pittsburgh is on the Pacific Ocean, have been listening to the half dozen grasshoppers under the fern leaf. But they are the strongest variety of grasshoppers and their voices are not modulated to a chirp. They consist of strenuous orators, patriots who failed to fight in sixty-one, philanthropists, bankers, and brilliant editors. Since the loan of $500,000,000 was made by Morgan to the allies their efforts have been persistent to land our soldiers in the French trenches. Step by step and inch by inch steadily they have pushed to this end, working a night and day shift. I do not charge these men with corrupt motives. I do not charge them with desiring to protect their loan. The loan was a legitimate one. They control the avenue of news. Perhaps they do not control these avenues but they are always gladly open to them. Large headlines, which supersede the old-time editorial no longer read, are theirs for the asking. It may even be conceded that these men may be patriotic and in the making and protection of the loan be acting from what they think is patriotism; nevertheless that does not alter the correctness of the observation that they and they alone and not the rank and file of the people who must die are responsible for 99 per cent of the manufactured war demands in the country to-day. It has been charged that there are 500 of them. Be that as it may, they are of the same kidney. Naturally the New Yorkers feel friendly to London, with whom they trade and barter. Frequent voyages across to London have been made by them; friends and business relations have been made and marriages entered into. It is but natural that these relations have made them sympathize with friends in other countries.

Many people say that it is their belief that this war cabal has made millions of dollars out of the war. I doubt it. If it is true, they ought to be satisfied and cease their agitation for the spilling of American blood. To-day their cry is for democracy against autocracy, while yesterday democracy was a failure. I can not believe that these men desire a republic of the common people set up against the monarchy of England. Their course in throwing this country into absolutism by the military procedure under the cry of war is dangerous to the liberties of the people. Armed plutocracy crying "Onward, Christian soldiers" is the order of the day. It is better, Mr. Philanthropist, to let the people alone and advocate the settling of differences with the European nations by arbitration, which I am satisfied the President would like to do.

The people in this country are getting hungry, Mr. Philanthropist. I speak kindly to you when I say no one can answer for the result if democracy is betrayed. One made great professions of friendship for Christ, but the Savior turned to him and said: "Before the cock crow thrice thou will betray us." I find the people are more interested in obtaining food than in the war. History is always a valuable aid. Let me read from Carlyle:

The Versailles ball and lemonade is done; the orangerie is silent except for night birds. Over in the Salle des Menus Vice President Lafayette, with unsnuffed lights, "with some hundred or so of members stretched on tables round him," sits erect, outwatching the bear. This day a second solemn deputation went to his majesty, a second, and then a third—with no effect. What will the end of these things be?

In the court all is mystery, not without whisperings of terror, though ye dream of lemonade and epaulettes, ye foolish women! His majesty, kept in happy ignorance, perhaps dreams of double-barrels and the woods of Meudon. Late at night the Duke de Liancourt, having official right of entrance, gains access to the royal apartments, unfolds, with earnest clearness, in his constitutional way, the Job's news. "Mais," said poor Louis; "c'est une révolte (Why, that is a revolt)!" "Sire," answered Liancourt; "it is not a revolt; it is a revolution."

That the news has been highly colored since the break with Germany, and even before, may be a scheme to excite the war spirit against her. The news may have been colored at the other end of the line. This would seem to be verified by the following wireless from American correspondents in Berlin August 2, 1916:

We, the undersigned American citizens, representing American newspapers in Berlin, and with the armies of the central powers, finding that many of our dispatches concerning both political and military events are suppressed, mutilated, or delayed by the London censor, call the attention of American publishers to this situation. We emphasize that under these circumstances we are unable to present to the American public a vital half or a true and fair statement of the most important events of the war.

The London censorship, which for a time treated our dispatches in a spirit of fair play, has gradually changed its policy, until to-day restrictions from an American standpoint are impossible. We have asked Ambassador Gerard to inquire if the American Government can secure to the American press the facilities for getting legitimate cable news unhampered by the handicap of the British censorship.

About the middle of last February Senator STONE made bold to charge that a cabal of great newspapers existed in this country for the purpose of coercing the Government into an attitude of hostility toward one of the warring nations. He ventured the statement that anyone making such false statement was a public enemy. For this he was not punished on the spot, but witness his trial and punishment in the press for the alleged crime of filibustering on March 4, 1917. Shortly afterwards Representative MOORE asked that the charges made by Congressman Callaway, similar to those of Senator STONE, be investigated. Soon after the break with Germany the press had our ambassador in irons—that he advised Americans not to sail with him, as he expected to be killed; that our consuls were held as hostages in Berlin. At this convenient point they began to talk about the President arming the ships; Carranza was given credit for securing the Zimmermann note; Gerard was to warn the United States on his return. It was charged that Senator STONE bared secrets of state—denied by John Hays Hammond, jr.; next a spy robs Mr. Gerard of papers; then they received a dispatch saying that Berlin admitted holding Gerard; London awaits Gerard's fate. While all this was going on tending to arouse the people, and are errors, as afterwards admitted, the speaking publicists for the philanthropists and voluntary advisers to the President warn Berlin and talk about raising troops; at this point Bernstorff gets his passports and the talk for an army of conscripts begins, and one says war is near, all arranged and prophesied to us 30 to 60 days in advance. Next our shame is appealed to by declaring that we are hiding behind the British fleet; then follows the instant and simultaneous "baiting" of Senator LA FOLLETTE and others for the defeat of the bill arming ships. Yesterday all talks for war were given prominence, while the prayers for peace could

be read in four lines. It is this combined and well-directed influence that Members hear and feel. It is not the voice of the people, nor the voice of God.

When I view the results of our action here to-day, if this resolution is passed, upon our country I could not utter the word "aye" when I should hear my name called by the Clerk. Like Macbeth, the murderer, "I could not say 'amen' when they did say, 'God bless us,' for 'amen' stuck in my throat."

The entry into the war by us means the death of the Monroe doctrine.

Thomas Jefferson said:

Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

The adoption of this resolution overrules the wisdom of this sage, patriot, and statesman, who founded a party of the people. Ah, could his voice come to us now through some of my colleagues on the Democratic side as his reincarnation!

George Washington and his great wisdom are to be cast aside in the twinkling of an eye as worthless when he said, when speaking on foreign relations—

constantly keeping in view that it is folly for one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character.

With flippant ease we tear up his Farewell Address, in which he says:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world.

Alas for Jefferson, alas for Washington, alas for our Republic!

In this moment he who hesitates barters
The rights which his forefathers won;
He forfeits all claims to charters
Transmitted from sire to son.

But, far fiercer in its results, the passage of this resolution, while we will win the war, sounds the tocsin of the coming slaughter of the common people, hurried on with deathly rapidity. Ah, that the great leaders of this House would throw off the shackles, unite, come forth, and say, "It shall not be," drive out the apologists for war, and shut off the call of the wild. Then indeed would it be true that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

The young boys between 18 and 23 conscripted soon are practically on their way to the trenches and shambles of Europe. Mr. GARDNER wants a battalion sent at once. The gas mask is being prepared for them in New Jersey. And this is to be done before Canada has furnished all her available men and while Australian youths are protected from danger under a referendum.

Never since the days of the Aztec Empire has such a cold, calculated slaughter of the multitude taken place. It is in a different form, but the result is the same—a hideous death.

Prescott says:

It was late in the afternoon when Alvarado reached his quarters, but the sun was still lingering above the western hills and poured his beams wide over the valley, lighting up the old towers and temples of Tenochtitlan with a mellow radiance that little harmonized with the dark scenes of strife in which the city had so lately been involved. The tranquillity of the hour, however, was on a sudden broken by the strange sounds of the great drum in the temple of the war god—sounds which recalled the noche triste with all its terrible images to the minds of the Spaniards, for that was the only occasion on which they had ever heard them. They intimated some solemn act of religion within the unhallowed precincts of the teocalli; and the soldiers, startled by the mournful vibrations, which might be heard for leagues across the valley, turned their eyes to the quarter whence they proceeded. They there beheld a long procession winding up the huge sides of the pyramid, for the camp of Alvarado was pitched scarcely a mile from the city, and objects are distinctly visible at a great distance in the transparent atmosphere of the table-land.

As the long file of priests and warriors reached the flat summit of the teocalli the Spaniards saw the figures of several men stripped to their waists, some of whom, by the whiteness of their skins, they recognized as their own countrymen. They were the victims of the sacrifice. Their heads were gaudily decorated with coronals of plumes and they carried fans in their hands. They were urged along by blows and compelled to take part in the dance in honor of the Aztec war god. The unfortunate captives, then stripped of their sad finery, were stretched one after another on the great stone of sacrifice. On its convex surface their breasts were heaved up conveniently for the diabolical purpose of the priestly executioner, who cut asunder the ribs by a strong blow with his sharp razor of itztli and, thrusting his hand into the wound, tore away the heart, which, hot and reeking, was deposited on the golden censer before the idol. The body of the slaughtered victim was then hurled down the steep stairs of the pyramid, which, it may be remembered, were placed at the same angle of the pile, one flight below another, and the mutilated remains were gathered up by the savages beneath, who soon prepared with them the cannibal repast which completed the work of abomination.

Mr. Chairman, Shakespeare once said, "Every subject's duty is his king's, but every subject's soul is his own." To-morrow, if this resolution passes, my duty is to the king, but to-day, I, as well as every man here, must deal with his own soul in the consideration of his vote. If you were upon a jury in a murder case you would be instructed by the judge that if you found a reasonable doubt in your mind as to the defendant's guilt you must acquit. And in passing upon these young men on the question of life and death, and while they have no spokesmen and are asking no favors, I find in my mind a reasonable doubt and release them from the ordeal. The country as a whole is overwhelmingly in favor of not entering the European war. And I would give more consideration to the prayer of a mother for her son than for a barrel full of philosophies. There is an awful responsibility resting upon us to-day.

The following poem, written in a State where women vote on war questions, should appeal to us to-day:

THE BLOOD VOTE.

[By W. R. Winspear.]

"Why is your face so white, mother?
Why do you choke for breath?"
"Oh, I have dreamt in the night, my son,
That I doomed a man to death."

"Why do you hide your hand, mother?
And crouch above it in dread?"
"It beareth a dreadful brand, my son:
With the dead man's blood 'tis red.

"I hear his widow cry in the night,
I hear his children weep,
And always within my sight, O God!
The dead man's blood doth leap.

"They put the dagger into my grasp,
It seemed but a pencil then,
I did not know it was a fiend agasp
For the priceless blood of men.

"They gave me the ballot paper,
The grim death warrant of doom,
And I smugly sentenced the man to death
In that dreadful little room.

"I put it inside the box of blood,
Nor thought of the man I'd slain,
Till at midnight came like a whelming flood
God's word—and the brand of Cain.

"O little son! O my little son!
Pray God for your mother's soul,
That the scarlet stain may be white again
In God's great judgment roll."

Mr. Speaker, I so propose to vote that in the future years no blinded boy can lift his sightless eyes to mine and say, "Thou did it without just cause."

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. SABATH). The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] is recognized for 15 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I can not tell the Committee of the Whole anything new. You understand the situation. I would to God it were different, but we can not change it by wishes. But if I were making a partisan speech, as may be made in the future when the storm clouds pass by, I could say from my standpoint some severe things, perchance.

Under our Constitution the President is Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy. This is one part of the legislative body, and the third estate is the judiciary. Presidents have made conditions time and again that have forced the legislative body to make appropriations and to declare war because a state of war did exist. Mr. Polk was the first one. He ordered the Army across the Rio Grande River into a sovereign nation. That was war, and it was declared by Mexico, and then declared upon our part by the Congress, with authority to use the Army and the Navy.

That is behind us. It is a matter of history.

I listened to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] with great interest as he recited case after case that occurred prior to the disaster to the *Lusitania*, and then the *Lusitania*, and then destruction by one submarine after another, and another and another, until I think he counted eight or nine, with loss of life, contrary to what we claimed then and claim to-day is international law.

It is true there is a new weapon employed. We take the position, and upon that position must stand and do stand, that notice must be given before the ship of a neutral is destroyed.

It is broader than that, but for the purposes of these remarks I will not take more time in giving my understanding of international law. And if I were making a partisan speech, I would say that two and one-half years ago we ought to have been getting ready for this situation. Congress has always responded by ample appropriation of whatever has been asked to support our Army and Navy.

But it does no good to criticize now. My colleague from Illinois [Mr. KING], my good friend, has stated our condition. There is the Panama Canal, the Sandwich Islands, the Philippines, the most extensive coast line of any nation on earth, with 100,000,000 people, the richest country on earth, the best raw material on earth for fighting, for army, for navy, but almost totally untrained. I believe we can train our citizens for war if necessary, and if necessary we can call for volunteers. It may go to the extent, if you please, of resort to conscription or draft. We ought to have an army under all our conditions and all our responsibilities that is permanent and well trained. A stitch in time saves nine. If we had had 150,000 men in the Regular Army when we declared war with Spain, what an immense loss of life and treasure would have been saved. But so much for that. We do not have the army now. We are to get it. We have a Navy, but with not men sufficient to man the Navy. We have no modern submarines. We are minus aeroplanes and trained aviators; but if we go at it we can train perhaps as quickly as any other nation. It has taken England, I believe, a year and a half or two years to get ready on land. She is strong on the seas, with a courageous people, yet she was untrained. But now they are fairly well trained I am told. And so with Russia. So much for all that.

Now, what is the condition? The President on the 22d of January made an address to the Senate, and I went over there to hear it. You recollect it and are familiar with it. He said that when peace came, it must come without victory. Now, if that meant consolation to anybody it ought to have meant consolation to the central powers—to Germany and to Austria. That was on the 22d of January. Notes were exchanged, you know—proposals for peace. It was answered by the allies and answered by their objections. You recollect it. You are as familiar with it as I am. What was the answer that was given by Germany? A notification that on and after the 1st of February there should be drawn a line in the sea 300, 400, 500, or 600 miles out in the sea—the world's highway—and that every neutral ship that came across that line would be destroyed by the German Navy, by the submarine, without notice and without regard as to who was on the ship or what it was loaded with. That was Germany's reply. Well, what happened? They kept their word. They began the destruction.

By descent I am one-quarter German, one-quarter Irish, one-quarter English, and another quarter French. My God, if my ancestors are privileged to look down upon me they might upbraid me, perhaps. But I am an American. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen say that we should not pass this resolution. I dare say there are people in the United States who would say we ought not to resent these outrages. I do not believe there are many, thank God, but no doubt there are some. Doubtless many of them are perfectly honest people. I am not throwing stones at them. But let me ask you if we are to reject the aid that may be given by the English Navy or the French Navy? Are we to say to the allies, "Keep off"? No. They are interested in our assertion of our rights. I am quite sure that we will not make war upon them if they help us in making war upon the central powers or upon Germany. We have not made war yet upon Austria. I do not know whether we ought to do so or not. The President withholds his power to make war on that country. I will not discuss whether it is constitutional or not. But he said he had the power to arm our merchant vessels, and did it. You know what happened. "Well," you say, "we can not help that." No. I heard a man say the other day that he ought to be impeached. Well, we would make probably poor headway in trying to impeach the President, would we not, under all the conditions? I am quite sure that if we did a two-thirds majority in the Senate would not convict him.

You must take the condition as you find it. I am awfully sorry about it. I have a constituency that is very considerably German. Then I have a constituency in one county which is, three-quarters of it, French. The German constituency is in many of the counties. Oh, I have seen them come and come and come. There are no better people than the American Germans who have come to this country and been naturalized and their children. I sometimes get angry when people doubt their loyalty. It is natural for them to sympathize with the Fatherland. Many of them have children or other relatives fighting there. But, speaking for my own German constituency, and I believe for all of them in the United States, they are six in loyalty to the flag, while the natural-born citizen, whether he is a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers or wherever he came from or whenever his forebears came, is quite six in loyalty to any other portion of our population.

Now, I do not know that I can say anything further. Gentlemen say, "Oh, our boys are apt to go over there and be sent over there untrained and into the trenches." I do not believe it. Of course, we give the President power to use the Army and the Navy. You can not very well restrict his power or cripple him by legislative provision. If we go to war with Germany, we should use all the forces necessary for success. But we will be busy, in my judgment. Possibly they may go and be sent if they are trained. I doubt if the war lasts that long. But we have got our hands full on this continent, with our Monroe doctrine, in taking proper care for our own defense and our own protection, and whenever we do that we have got an insurance policy that we will not have to use the forces that may be organized.

Therefore, after much of thought—I have given the subject attention—I shall vote for this resolution. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, how much time have I remaining?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has two minutes remaining.

Mr. CANNON. Well, I will donate that to the next brother that talks. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. DILL] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. DILL. Mr. Chairman, I ask, at the outset, unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DILL. Mr. Chairman, during the two years that I have been in this House I have heard Members repeatedly on important occasions say that we were face to face with a great crisis. But to-day, while nobody has talked particularly about that phase of it, I think everybody realizes that this is the greatest crisis that this Nation has ever faced, and probably one of the greatest crises of the world.

In the last campaign, as a candidate in the West, I went throughout my State, and from more than a hundred platforms I urged the people to vote for Mr. Wilson for reelection as President because he had kept us out of the European war and because I believed he would continue to keep us out of the European war. I am saddened to-day beyond expression that my prediction was wrong. I am disappointed more deeply than I know how to state it. But I am as certain in my mind to-day as I was then that this great free people do not want to go into that terrible holocaust across the sea; and believing that, as a Representative who pledged the people who elected me to do everything I could to keep this country from going into the European war, I intend to vote against this resolution. [Applause.]

When I have done that I shall have exhausted every power at my command to keep this country out of war, and thereafter I shall be loyal to the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, the President of the United States. I voted against—that is, in favor of tabling the McLemore resolution. I had some doubts about it then, but was led to vote to table it upon the theory advanced by the leaders of this House that that was the way by which we could keep out of war.

I voted for the armed-ship resolution the other day, again following the advice of the administration leaders that that was establishing a policy that would keep us out of this war, so far as taking sides with either group of belligerents was concerned. But they can not lead me up and vote me on this proposition on the theory that we are not going into war. You can not induce me to vote the boys of America into the very jaws of hell and then say it is for the purpose of peace. I know better. On the other occasions I saw through a glass darkly. Now I see face to face.

Oh, if we were asked simply to vote to protect American rights I would be willing and am willing to vote all the money and all the power that this Nation possesses to protect its rights. But when you ask me to vote that this country shall put its Army and Navy and all its resources in alliance with one set of these belligerents in order to destroy the Government of another, I refuse. [Applause.]

We have been told here that this is a war to establish democracy throughout the world. Well, it may be, but I have no faith in establishing democracy by joining my country's resources and its armies and navies with the Imperial Government of Japan [applause], with the monarchical Government of Italy, with the Government of England, call it what you will, a nation whose

500 years of history has left a bloody trail on every continent in the world; and I for my part will not take the step by which this resolution proposes, and go into this war on the side of the allies. This is a war upon the part of the allies and the other European countries for trade and territory. We have no interest in that. Our only interest is in the protection of our own rights.

So far as interfering with our rights is concerned, both groups of belligerents are guilty. England created a war zone, filled it with submerged mines, and warned us to keep our vessels out. We protested, but we submitted. Germany created a war zone, filled it with submarines, and warned us to keep our vessels out. We protested and sent our vessels in. They were destroyed. Had we sent our vessels into the English war zone they would have been destroyed. Under these circumstances, shall we join with the group of nations to whose affronts we submitted because we refused to submit to the affronts of one of the other nations?

I am not here to defend the actions of the German Government. I think they have been reprehensible. They constitute a just cause for war. In fact, we have had cause for war for months if the Nation desired to resort to arms. But I say to you that if this Nation, the last and only great Nation on earth still at peace, goes into this world war, what hope is there for that peace for which we have so long builded and which we have so long thought could be established throughout the world?

I do not know what other gentlemen think about this, but I can see it in only one way. When you take off all the fine-spun theories, when you strip away all the beautiful language and get down to the real reason for going into this war, it is for the purpose of trading with the allies. We try to trade with the allies, and our ships are blown up because they go into the zone which Germany forbids, although we do not go into the zone which England forbids. For my part I am unwilling to vote to send the boys to the European trenches because we can not trade with the countries now at war. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, what does this resolution propose? It declares that a state of war exists. That is a legal fiction by which we attempt to justify to the world our entering into this war. This Nation has never had a war with a foreign country that it did not begin, and if we go into this war, make no mistake about it, we begin it. Germany's attacks upon us are incidental in her attempt to destroy England and the other countries allied with England, and we take up the gage of battle on our own initiative, join the allies, and enter the European war.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DILL. I can not. I have but 10 minutes. I would gladly if I could. Gentlemen, I have thought about this as I have never thought about anything else in all my life. For nights I have been unable to sleep upon it. I have tried to bring myself to stand by the President's demand, thinking that possibly I was wrong. I thought how I might be able to go home and explain my vote for this resolution in some way or other. I thought I might say that the country had gotten into this situation, that it was every Member's duty to show a united front, and that I had to be patriotic, but I knew that if I did that I would know in my own heart it was a lie. We are not into it. The test of unity of the Nation is not before we go in; it is after we get in. This is the time when the Members of this Congress as representatives of the American people are to say whether or not we shall go in. For my part I am opposed to going in. [Applause.]

I have no illusions as to the consequences of my action. Newspapers and those who let the newspapers think for them will cry out "Traitor!" and "Poltroon!" no doubt. Many who have been my political supporters in the past will now oppose me, but that does not matter. I am a young man. Few, if any, Members of this House have had fiercer struggles to reach here than I have had. If I must leave public life because of my action to-day, I shall go; but it will be with head erect, able to look every man and woman in the face, because I have kept faith. I do not know what the future holds for me, and I do not care. I refuse to do a thing which my conscience revolts against. I refuse to do a thing which in my judgment is the greatest crime ever perpetrated upon a free people, namely, drag them into this hell of war by joining with the allies. [Applause.]

I believe more fully to-day than ever before in the powerful truth expressed in that old couplet—

> To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.

But let me say this, gentlemen, that when this resolution passes, as it probably will, my opposition is over. I am an American from Revolutionary days, and I shall vote for every measure which is designed to help in winning this war. I believe that even though we go to war, the hope of civilization and freedom will still remain with the American Continent; and once we are in the war, I shall do everything within my power to see that that war is won. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, this is a great date in the history of humanity, but a solemn moment for the Members of the American Congress who are charged with the weighty responsibility of final action on an issue of awful import. Upon the threshold of a fateful decision, our country awaits what the future may bring, unshrinking, and unafraid. Come weal, come woe, the sons of America will do their duty in their allotted stations. We are advised by the President that in his judgment the recent course of the Imperial German Government is, in fact, nothing less than war upon the Government, and the people of the United States. This being so, our country is deprived of choice. One course, and one alone is indicated. We must accept the status thrust upon us by the illegal actions of an adversary country, and take the steps which duty indicates, and our interests require. [Applause.]

American ships armed, and unarmed have been sunk without warning on the high seas, with a consequent loss of American lives. This is war, and our response is not a declaration of hostilities; it is but the formal recognition of a fact. War is already at our doors. It is true that the German Government insists that it is not making war upon the United States, that its acts are impelled by its own necessities, and that America is only one of many neutral nations that have suffered the savage strokes of unrestrained submarine warfare. It may be true that we are but one of many victims of frightfulness. But the illegality of these practices is not transformed by the claim that the blows under which the whole neutral world groans, are dealt with impartial hand. [Applause.]

> "Dark is not made light,
> Wrong is not made right,"

by the disclaimer of personal malice. The acts of the German Government in the execution of its submarine policy have thundered around the world. Hospital ships have been sunk, vessels carrying the healing gifts of gracious charity to stricken Belgium have been torpedoed without warning, hundreds of noncombatants comprising women and children have been sent to a violent, and in many instances, a painful death.

Every friend of humanity within the broad confines of the United States had hoped that this dread decision would not be thrust upon us. Our continued forbearance under circumstances of great irritation, deserved something at the hands of the German Government, and should have disposed that Government to modify toward us at least, a policy which has been a continued and insistent challenge to the whole neutral world. But it was not to be. Moved either by profound contempt for neutral opinion, or else confident in the conclusion that the rights of others were subordinate to, and fixed by its own necessities, the German Government has apparently been willing to challenge the world to arms, and commit its fortunes to the hazard of a dubious policy.

Each victim of this policy must determine its own course, having in mind its own interests, and its duties to its own people. This country does not seek war, but it does not shrink from war. It may be forbearing, it has been forbearing, but it is neither weak nor cowardly. In the interest of peace, we may be willing to long withhold insistence upon undoubted rights. No country should go to war over technical quibbles. But forbearance in time ceases to be a virtue, and becomes weakness. The exercise of forbearance by a nation is a sovereign right, and should not be prolonged to the peril of the Republic. [Applause.]

We can not admit the contention that the supposed, or the real necessities of a nation at war, are superior to the restraints imposed by civilized warfare, or that an appeal to those necessities will operate to deprive neutrals of their right to the use of the high seas, when that use is conformed to the established principles of international law.

This country does not challenge the right of blockade. But a blockade does not destroy, or suspend all neutral rights, nor does a blockade exist until it has been established according to the law of blockade. This country has never recognized the right of another country, belligerent or otherwise, to delimit great areas of the high seas, and forbid their use to neutrals seeking to approach the ports of a belligerent country, nor admitted the claim that this use would justify the destruction of neutral vessels, without warning, and in reckless disregard of the consequences to the lives of all on board. This country has heretofore asserted its right to use the highways of the

ocean, under the accepted restraints of international law. It has refused to recognize the pretended right of the German Government to sink our carriers without warning in the forbidden zone. We have notified the offending Government that we would travel these seas. We have armed our carriers, not for aggression, but for defense. By this act we have emphasized the purpose of this country to insist upon its rights. Nevertheless the sinking of our ships has continued. Within the last 48 hours the *Aztec*, an American ship armed for defense, carrying an American crew, and American bluejackets to serve its guns, has been torpedoed without warning, and sunk with loss of American lives, by a German submarine. A little later, another armed American ship, was sunk without warning. These offenses were subsequent to, and therefore not included within the indictment of the President's message. Facing this culmination of a series of like outrages, what course is open to the American people, or their representatives, save an appeal to the sword. [Applause.]

No real choice between peace, or war is presented. Our course is predetermined by the inexorable compulsion of the circumstances which confront us. A choice is possible when peace, or war, may be chosen equally with honor. When such a choice is presented, my voice will be raised for peace. I favor now and at all times, the policies which contribute to the maintenance of honorable peace, and have ever sought to develop a national attitude favorable to these policies.

But it is impossible for this country to deliberately choose the path of dishonor, by disregarding its plain duty to protect its citizens at all hazards against the unlawful attacks of other nations, when those attacks are systematically and continuously made, as an integral part of a national policy of deliberate aggression. [Applause.]

Such has been our attitude in the past, such will be our attitude in the future. We will never take counsel of timidity in order to avoid war. [Applause.]

The citizens of this country in the peaceful exercise of their vocations, must be protected by the Government alike at home and abroad, even to the extent of recourse to war, if war becomes necessary. Once the fateful die is cast, our country must make immediate use of all its powers to safeguard our interests, and calling these powers to its aid, fashion a weapon to its hand that will bring this strife to the speediest, and therefore the most merciful conclusion. [Applause.]

But while fully committed to a vigorous prosecution of this war, I can not agree in advance that I will support without modification all of the measures that will be submitted by the various departments in the name of war. Such an attitude would be an abrogation of our constitutional functions, and plain duty. The President has said, and justly, that our choice should be made with a moderation of counsel, and a temperateness of judgment, befitting our character, and motives as a Nation. These are wise words. We should, as suggested, put excited feeling away. Hence it may not be amiss for the Members of this destined-to-be-historic Congress, which will be responsible for the formal declaration of war against the great German Empire, to pause a moment on the threshold of the world-compelling drama, soon to unfold, and give serious thought to the policies that will be required to make effective the pledge of our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, to the prosecution of this high enterprise. These policies relate to the methods of raising the money, and providing the men required for the successful prosecution of the war.

What are the suggestions in this connection of moderate counsel, and temperate judgment? First and foremost we should deal exclusively with legislation related to the immediate and in view, which is the successful conduct, and speedy termination of the war. No effort should be made in the impatience, and excitement of present public opinion, to enact legislation designed to establish permanent policies, for normal conditions. Not only is it true that laws are silent amid arms, but when arms are to the front, the state of the public, and therefore of the legislative mind, is such that just and adequate consideration of the measures that relate to the normal every-day life of the Republic, is impossible. Nor should we hastily order the levy of vast armies that can not reach the firing line in Europe before the war is over. Our energies, and our means may be more effectively and immediately employed in other directions. If the statements of military men both at home and abroad are to be believed, this country can not place in the trenches of Europe an adequately trained and equipped army of a million men in less than 18 months, certainly not in less than 16 months. The most potent weapon ready to hand for immediate and effective use is our preponderance of wealth. This wealth should be promptly mobilized for the defeat of Germany. The urgent need of France, England, and the other allies, is credit, munitions and food.

Says the French minister of munitions, the United States can help us in three ways.

First, by increasing our aerial fleet. This would be a decisive element.

Second, by doubling our supply of munitions.

Third, by affording other needed supplies.

Congress can afford this credit at once, and the bulk of the money used, need not leave the United States. With but little delay, an unending stream of ships can be put in operation to carry food and munitions to Europe.

In addition the Government should call for volunteers for the Aviation Service on the western front. The value of a single trained aviator is immense. A British expert recently quoted Lord Kitchener to the effect that one trained pilot in a machine is worth 2,000 soldiers. The control of the air will be a mortal stroke to the central powers. Every one who has followed the course of operations in the war, knows that the birdmen are the eyes of the artillery. The present superiority of the French, and English artillery over the German guns, will be enormously enhanced by the practical exclusion of the German aviators from the kingdom of the air in the area of active operations.

Our aid in this direction can be speedily afforded, while its value will be beyond computation. Ten thousand American aviators operating on the battle front in France, in cooperation with the forces of France and England, would be the equivalent of a great American Army. Such a force would be readily raised, speedily dispatched, and trained for service in France and England in the greatest aviation schools in the world. These men will not be needed at home, during the period of their service abroad. Later they can be incorporated in the aerial service of this country. We should fritter away neither time nor money, in raising home guards to repel invasions, and suppress domestic insurrections. Such action on our part will represent a form of wasted energy.

"There is not the least probability of a German invasion of the United States. No matter what the alarmists may say, the landing of a German force on the shores of this country is not rationally thinkable. Nor is there any likelihood that the coasts, or the cities of the United States will be bombarded. The war is not going to be fought in the waters, nor on the land embraced within the boundaries of the United States. The domestic peace of the country will not be disturbed. People will go about their vocations, and avocations as usual." The lanes of the ocean should be kept open by the use of our fleet. To that end our submarine chasers, and smaller war craft should cooperate with the allied fleets to reduce to a negligible minimum the operations of the German submarines in the forbidden zone, since it is within that area that our ships carrying munitions, and food will be exposed to the greatest dangers. While of course adequate provision will be made for the protection of our own shores, these shores will be in no great danger. There is no reasonable ground for believing that any extensive operations in our waters can be prosecuted by German submarines at this distance from their bases. One or more German commerce raiders may conceivably escape the British cordon, but their operations in Atlantic waters would be short-lived, in the face of the allied patrols, and of the full strength of the American fleet. The effort to raise our armies by conscription should not be made, and if made, should fail. This country has hitherto waged its wars by volunteers, and the effort to impose the hateful processes of conscription would divide our counsels, and introduce an undesirable element of friction, and discord at a time when our country should present a united front. Issue a call for volunteers for an expeditionary force to France, and it will find immediate and overwhelming response. Train and equip these volunteers, put them on the firing line, and the tale of their achievements will afford priceless additions to the heritage of valor bequeathed by Bunker Hill, and Gettysburg.

This Congress will not be niggardly in providing the sinews of war, nor slow in extending much needed credits to our new allies. There is no reason to believe that this will be a long war, or that it will require a gigantic army for service in Europe. The battle of the Marne determined the outcome of the European war, without regard to the advent of the United States as a belligerent. This was the greatest battle ever waged in the open in the long history of the war, and an inferior force of French, and English soldiers out maneuvered and out fought the great army of the Kaiser, defeating it with bloody losses, and bringing to naught the cherished plans of Imperial Germany to force France to her knees by one smashing stroke. Under the blows of the allied armies, France will soon be cleared of

the invaders. The battle of the Marne destroyed forever the tradition of the invincibility of the Germany army. I have no purpose to criticize that army, or the German high command. The German army has exhibited magnificent courage, and magnificent endurance. It has been magnificently led, and has won great victories which will reflect undying luster on the skill of German leadership, and the courage of German soldiers.

In the length, extent, and character of its preparations for war, the German Empire exceeded all of its opponents. But neither in courage, nor skill, nor dash, nor endurance, have the German commanders, or the German soldiers, established their superiority over the commanders, and the soldiers of France and England. The disparity in guns, men, munitions, and means of transportation, so painfully manifest in the earlier periods of the war, has been removed. The soldiers of France, and England swarm in the trenches. The big guns of the allies thunder their defiant answer to the big guns of Germany. The shells of the allies are as effective, and more numerous than the shells of their adversary. The thrill of victory runs through the ranks of the allied armies. Their morale rises higher day by day. When they strike they go forward with the steady and resistless tread of fate itself. Given equal skill, equal valor, equal tenacity, and equal incentives to combat, and who can doubt that superior man power, superior resources, control of the sea, and the sense that they are fighting the battle of humanity, and fundamental democracy, will bring inevitable victory to the allies. That victory will be hastened by the tremendous impulse of our participation. After two years and a half of war, the distantly related features of this gigantic conflict can be seen in proper perspective, and the value of the contributing factors fairly estimated. Hunger presses upon the population of the central powers. If it has not reached the soldiers in the trenches, it is sapping the vitality of a vast host of civilians. The overthrow of autocracy in the mighty Empire of Russia, and the facility with which a popular government has been installed, teaches an obvious lesson to the people of Germany who are fast finding the authors of their misfortunes, and sufferings, in the military junta of that country. Turkey is rapidly crumbling. The Capital of the Caliphs has passed into British hands. An English Army is at the gates of Jerusalem. A combined English and Russian force is steadily advancing toward the Euphrates. Day by day the great circle about the central powers contracts. The mighty barrier that these powers have erected with infinite patience and skill can not withstand forever the assaults of the rising tides of war that beat against it continually. No prophet is needed to decipher the writing on the wall, announcing the doom of the Hohenzollerns.

It is too hopeful a view to say that Germany has reached the limit of her resources, but her high hopes of victory, and universal dominion, have long since passed, and with a shudder she realizes that the day of reckoning is at hand. She is sinking in a sea of blood.

Standing under the darkening shadows, and grim menace of approaching war, we should gird ourselves to play the part befitting this Nation in a stupendous struggle. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I deem it my duty to vote against this resolution, and shall so do. I realize that I shall be criticized for my action, and the interests that are forcing us into this war will raise the cry of disloyalty. But I believe when I vote against this resolution I will vote the sentiments of the great majority of the common people, and I count it more loyal to be their representative than to follow the mad cry of the minority who are drowning the voice of the masses. Even mere loyalty to my own conscience tells me that to vote for this resolution would be an awful mistake. One reason I must oppose this resolution is because of the unseemly way it is being railroaded through this Congress.

We are urged to stand by the President, but I believe it more befitting, as a Member of this Congress, to stand by the people. The Government of this United States is vested in the people, and I therefore believe that it is my duty to vote as I believe a majority of the people of this United States would have me vote. [Applause.] Certain it is that the people in my district are strongly opposed to war under the present conditions. They have voiced their opinions in hundreds and hundreds of letters and in floods of telegrams. These have had but one tenor and that was that we should not sacrifice the flower of American manhood to swell the fleshpots of the few. It is a dangerous matter to force an unwilling free people into an unpopular war.

We are told that American honor is at stake, and that we must protect our self-respect and dignity, but I respectfully submit that that American honor that stood the strain of two or more long years on the Mexican border has not yet been worn so thin by European intrigues that we can afford to fight the battles of other nations on foreign soil.

If we declare war, we are plunging into the depths of a cataclysm the horror of which no man can conceive. And for what? Not to protect our land against a foreign foe, not to protect our industries, our national integrity, our homes, or our people, simply to assert our power to demand a doubtful right which we have not insisted upon equally from all nations.

I am a great believer in the sober second thought of the great American people. When waves of hysteria, such as we are going through here at the Capitol, are forced upon us, it is easiest to answer the call of the biggest clamor, to follow the path of least resistance. But I believe the sober second thought of the people, the calm, impassive judgment of the masses in the United States is against the projection of this country into the European conflict.

I count it my duty to say that none is more loyal to his country than I, as I view loyalty. Should I vote for war I would deem it not an honor but an imperative duty to find myself in the front ranks with those whom my vote had aided in sending to the front to battle with a foreign foe.

But the test of loyalty is not the answer to the bugle call, but is rather in the exercise of that calm, impassive judgment that will bring health, happiness, and honor to your home, your community, your State, and your country. I have pondered the matter deep and long, and I have come to the conclusion that I can best conserve the interests of those I represent in voting against this resolution.

In closing let me state that my vote on this question does not indicate that I believe in peace at any price, nor does it indicate that I do not believe in preparedness. I am now and have been for a preparedness that will protect the United States against all foreign foes. I believe our young men should be trained to protect the land of their birth or the land of their adoption. I believe we should make and have these accouterments that make for defense and for offense if necessary, but I do not believe that our industrial life should be paralyzed, our country desolated, and our homes shorn of their manhood that we might send troops on foreign soil to fight a foreign foe. If a majority of this Congress shall decide upon war, I bow to the will of the majority. [Applause.] I am with you for a splendid preparedness, and if we must fight for all that makes a nation great God grant we fight with all our might.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] is recognized for 10 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, during the 16 years I have served in this House there has been no occasion that has filled me, and I dare say most of the Members of the House, with such distress as we feel to-day. It is easy enough to speak of war. I remember when this terrible conflagration was ignited in Europe soldiers went to the front singing—

It's a long, long way to Tipperary—

And the swing of that song went around the world. They are singing another song in the trenches over there to-day. It goes like this:

The bells of hell go ting-a-ling-a-ling
For you, but not for me.
For me the angels sing-a-ling-a-ling;
They've got the goods for me.
O, death, where is thy sting-a-ling-a-ling;
O, grave, thy victory?
For me the angels sing-a-ling-a-ling;
They've got the goods for me.

There is a great difference between the lightness of Tipperary and the despair of that trench song. But what is our duty here? The question to me is a simple one. This country can never maintain its standing among the nations of the earth if she does not protect the lives of her citizens. [Applause.] I consider one of the great illuminated pages of American history is that page which recites the activities of the American Army in China. We were over there to protect the life of the American Minister imprisoned in the foreign compounds in Peking. All the nations of the world sent their troops to defend their particular minister, and finally it was announced that there was to be a wait until the appointed commander in chief of all the allied forces could appear on the scene to lead the advance. Gen. Chaffee, representing the American troops, said in effect, "My Government intends that we shall march to Peking immediately to rescue the prisoners if no other nation follows us." That was the true American spirit. [Applause.] And the American troops were followed by the Japanese troops and by all the troops of the allies without waiting for the commander in chief to arrive. And the ministers of the foreign nations were rescued. Their lives were saved.

There is a difference of opinion upon this subject which we are debating in this country to-day. My opinion is that that difference of opinion is due to the fact that we have not protected American lives within the past four years. [Applause.] If we had gone into Mexico and told them over there that every American citizen must be protected and that our Army would come down there, if need be, to protect them, there would have been no massacre of 18 young men who were dragged from a car and shot down like dogs in Mexico. If we had theretofore protected our citizens in that Republic, that would not have occurred.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KAHN. No; I have not the time. If we had protected those 18 men as they should have been protected, we would have had no trouble in the North Sea or the English Channel, because the world would have realized that this Government was ready to protect the life of every American citizen at all hazards in whatever part of the world that citizen might be. [Applause.]

This resolution does not absolutely commit us to any foreign alliance. I for one hope that the war can be confined so that it shall be an American war. [Applause.] Let us protect American rights, let us protect American citizens, let us protect American lives, and let us protect American property. [Applause.] That is the view I take of this thing, and I hope that Congress will remain in session all through this trouble, so that the Congress, the war-making power, may keep its hands on the throttle and determine wisely and judiciously from time to time how far this Republic which we all love so dearly shall go into this matter. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, in every district in the United States there are constituents to-day who differ with the Members who represent them. Speaking for myself, I have had letters and telegrams galore on both sides of this grave question. I probably will offend many of those loyal constituents who have stood by me for many years, whichever way I may vote. I am following the dictates of my own conscience, and those alone. I am an American. To me the rights of this country are supreme. They are paramount. They transcend the rights of any other, yea, of all other countries. I do not believe that in this hour any Member should allow his sympathies for this or that set of belligerents to sway his judgment. He should look at the question purely from an American standpoint, What is best for our country in this crisis? Can we continue to stand idly by and see Americans murdered? It seems to me that our national honor demands that we must protect our citizens at all costs. As I said at the outset, there has been too much murder already. I conceive it to be my duty, therefore, in view of the situation to vote for the pending resolution.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], who has just addressed the House, has stated he hopes that if we go to war we will make it an American war, that we will fight American battles, protect American lives and American property. But I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact, and I want to call the attention of Members of this House to the fact, that if you adopt this resolution your control of the course of events will terminate. [Applause.]

From the moment you adopt this resolution the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of your Army and your Navy, under the terms of this resolution, will determine where that Army and that Navy shall go.

That Commander in Chief, addressing this House only the other day, told us in language which can not be misunderstood what he will do if this resolution is adopted. He does not propose to make this an American fight. He proposes to enter into an alliance with the entente powers. He proposes to place at the disposal of these powers our Navy, our Army, our munitions, and the food and clothing which may be produced in this country.

If necessary, he will send American boys to the trenches in Europe. And how will those American boys be assembled? Will they be consulted, will the recruiting officer ask them if they want to serve "somewhere in France"? Not at all; because the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, has told you that he wants compulsory military service. In other words, the young men of this country are to be forced into the Army and placed at the disposal of the President of the United States, to be sent wherever he may order them.

I want the Members of this House to bear that fact in mind—that when you vote for this resolution you vote to give the President of the United States the authority to send American boys to Europe. I want to ask Members of this House, on the Republican and on the Democratic side, who among you last October and November, when you were asking for the votes of you constituents, dared to suggest to them that if elected you would send their boys to Europe? [Applause.]

Why, my friends, Woodrow Wilson running on that kind of a platform could not have carried a single State in this Union. [Applause.]

Oh, my friends, men speak lightly of war, but I want to say to you that war is the most serious business in human affairs. When Congress declares war it does not mean that Congressmen are ordered to the front. Congress has declared war heretofore, but the recruiting offices of this country have not been uncomfortably crowded with Senators and Representatives who wanted to enlist. [Laughter and applause.]

When Congress declares war, it means that the boys of the country have been ordered to the front. I say the boys, because the boys always have and always will fight the battle of this land.

Gen. SHERWOOD will tell you—and I want to call your attention to the fact that when the call came to save the Union in 1861, ISAAC R. SHERWOOD did not seek political office. He did not talk war and stay at home. He enlisted and went to the front to serve his country, first as a private and eventually as a brigadier general. [Applause.] He will tell you that in that grand Army of the Union of more than 3,000,000 men perhaps 75 per cent were boys under 21 years of age.

Mr. SHERWOOD. The average age was between 18 and 19 years throughout the whole Army.

Mr. KEATING. There is the testimony—boys who had never voted for Congressmen, boys who had never voted for Senators, boys who had never had an opportunity to pass on the question of peace or war. It was decided for them by Congress, as we are deciding it here to-day.

When I heard men on this floor to-day advocate war, some of them having sons, I wondered if they thought this cause such a sacred cause that they would send their first born into the conflict.

We have here the Speaker of this House. His son is the parliamentarian of the House and he stands at his father's right hand. I want to ask the great Missourian if this cause is such a sacred cause that he would give that son to his country and say to him, "Go into the trenches of France." The man who is not prepared to place his hand on his heart and say that he is willing to give a life which is more precious to him than his own in this cause should not vote to send other men's sons to the European battle fields.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEATING. Not now. Mr. Chairman, it reminds me of a story that a brilliant English woman told me about an English general who returned from "somewhere in France." He said he had served in many lands; he was inured to all of the hardships and all of the experiences of warfare. He described those great guns that the Germans had invented—the "big Berthas" they call them—which hurled huge shells at the enemy; he described the poisonous gases which swept over the trenches asphyxiating the soldiers; he described the airships which flew back and forth, day and night, dropping bombs on the trenches. These new and terrifying vehicles of destruction did not affect him, but he said the thing that shattered his nerves was when night closed down over the battle field, "and our boys were holding their trenches and the German boys were holding their trenches, and the dead and the dying were lying out between the trenches under the stars. We could not reach our wounded and the Germans did not dare attempt to reach their wounded, and we had to stand there in the trenches during the long hours of the night and listen to those boys crying for their mothers, and we realized that the cry would never be answered." That is war, my friends; and if I understand the verdict rendered by the American people by a majority of 500,000 votes in November, we are here to-day with instructions to do all that honorable men can do to avoid such a calamity. We were not sent here to obey the instructions of some one else. We came here bound by our oath of office to discharge our constitutional functions, and I hope that every Member of this House will for the moment forget what some man or group of men outside this House may wish, and realize that the responsibility rests upon him and upon him alone, and that he can not, like Pilate, wash the blood from his hands, but that he must answer to his constituents, and eventually he must answer to the God who rules over the destinies of this Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Colorado has expired.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the American House of Representatives, as I have listened to some of the speeches made in this House to-day I have had strange feelings come over me. I was astounded as I listened to the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN]. That speech will be pleasing to Count von Bernstorff when he reads it. And, Mr. Chairman, I was surprised and utterly astounded as I

listened to the speech of the majority leader, Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina. I do not and I can not understand just why he made that speech at this time. It can serve but one purpose now, and that is to give aid and comfort to those who would handicap and hamper the President in his purpose to defend American rights and liberties. Of course, it was not made for that purpose; but that does not keep it from being used for that purpose. At this time that speech is inappropriate, out of place, and harmful to the plans and purposes of this Government. It contains many statements that the facts and the proprieties do not warrant, and it ought not to have been made.

The fact that it was made by the man designated as majority leader will give some weight to it, but the fact is, the speech did not and does not represent the views of the majority. If Mr. KITCHIN felt that he could not conscientiously lead us in this great crisis, he ought to have notified us so that we would have known what to expect and then he could have said to the House and the country that he was sorry that he could not see his way clear to vote for the resolution. If he had done that, I would not criticize his action, but when he comes in here at this critical and solemn time and makes an argument that can only serve to embarrass the President and the country in the discharge of a solemn duty, I must enter my earnest protest. I regret to have to say these things, but I feel that it is my duty to my country to say them. Mr. Chairman, if I had been majority leader and had prepared an argument arraigning the position of my Government, as he has done, I would have resigned as majority leader before I made that speech. [Applause and hisses on the floor and in the gallery.] Oh, you may hiss, you who speak for the Kaiser and not for the President of the United States. [Applause on the floor and in the gallery.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will suspend. The occupants of the gallery will refrain from manifesting their approval or disapproval; otherwise they will not be permitted to witness the proceedings of the House.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, just a few weeks ago, during the last days of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the President requested us to give him authority to arm our merchant vessels and send them through the danger zone, marked out by the German Government. The House gave him that authority, and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] voted for that bill. We said by that act to the German Government that we propose to send American ships where we, under the laws of nations, have a right to send them and we are going to place guns upon these ships. Not only that, but we are going to shoot your submarines at sight.

What did that action mean, Mr. Chairman, if it did not mean that the Government of the United States was serving notice upon Germany that we would fight rather than permit Germany to drive us, with our products of farm and factory, from the sea. The entire Alabama delegation voted for that measure. This House went on record, by a vote of more than 400 majority, favoring a bill to authorize the President to require our gunners on American ships bearing our produce to foreign markets to shoot German submarines if they undertook to interfere with our rights to use the high seas for carrying on the legitimate business of our people. I repeat that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] both voted for the measure which called for the use of the implements of war to enforce our rights upon the high seas against the brutal conduct of the German Government. When these gentlemen voted to arm our merchant vessels so that they could defend themselves against German submarines, they said by that act that it was right and proper for the Government of the United States to send its merchant ships through the so-called German war zone, and that it was also right and proper to fight if Germany undertook to prevent their passage through the prescribed zone. Since these gentlemen and the House took that position Germany has continued to dispute our right to use the high seas; she has fired upon our flag, sunk our merchant ships, and murdered American citizens in the peaceful pursuit of their legitimate business. Germany has been and is now making war upon the United States. Strange indeed it is, Mr. Chairman, but these two gentlemen, who about five weeks ago voted to arm merchant vessels so that they could by force of arms defy the German Government and continue our traffic with neutral nations, are now refusing to support the President when war has been forced upon the United States. The situation is far more serious now than when these gentlemen authorized the use of guns on merchant ships to enforce our rights against the barbaric decree of Germany.

The President of the United States, the head of our Government, the man who has done so much to keep us out of war, has requested us to acknowledge the truth and to declare that a state of war exists between this Government and Germany, so that he can use our military and naval forces to protect and defend the rights and the lives of American citizens. But these two gentlemen, who voted to arm and to authorize our merchant ships to stand for American rights in and to fight their way through the so-called German war zone, now, strange to say, refuse to authorize the use of more effective weapons in resenting and resisting the brutal, the unwarranted, and the unlawful attacks made upon us by the German Government.

Mr. Chairman, when I contrast their position on the question of arming our merchant ships for the purpose of preventing German submarines from destroying our commerce with the position that they now take of flatly refusing to give to the President authority to defend the persons and the lives of our citizens against German rapine and murder, I am more than puzzled; I am sorely shocked and grieved. These gentlemen may be able to reconcile the difference between these two positions. I can not.

Mr. Chairman, there are some strange influences at work in this country—un-American influences. A strange propaganda has been carried on here ever since Count von Bernstorff held secret conferences in New York City a year ago. It is claimed that vast sums of German money have been expended in carrying on this propaganda, so dangerous to the people of the United States. Our country is full of spies representing the German Government. Some of our munition plants have been blown up and a bomb has been fired in this very building in an effort to blow up the Capitol. Germany's spies are being arrested to-day in various sections of the country, and maps showing drawings of our wireless stations, power plants, and fortifications have been found in their possession. Right here in our own country an effort by German spies to poison the food supplies of our soldiers has been discovered and prevented by the Secret Service men of the United States, and Zimmermann, a representative of the German Government, has appealed to Japan and Mexico to join Germany in making war upon the United States, promising that the German Government would give to Japan California and territory along the Pacific coast and give to Mexico the States of Texas and New Mexico.

A German plan and conspiracy to conquer this country and to dismember this Government! God of our fathers! where is the patriotism and the courage of these gentlemen who to-day are trying to tie the hands of this Government so that it can not defend itself from the dangers that threaten it? What has become of the oath that they took last Monday to defend this country against all enemies, foreign and domestic? Gentlemen, what does it all mean? It means that the German Government has planned our destruction and is now making war upon the people of the United States, and to-day, gentlemen of the House, it means another thing, and that is that there is no chance for you to dodge or evade the issue of this hour. You are with the Kaiser and the Imperial German Government or you are standing with the President and the people of the United States. [Applause.] The man who dodges a vote on this question is untrue to his country.

Mr. Chairman, there is no middle ground. All of us know what this Government's position is going to be before this time to-morrow, and you must decide now whether you will be on the side of the autocracy of Germany or stand with the people of the United States. The position taken by the President, the Senate, and by nearly 400 Members of this House is the courageous and the righteous, the honorable and the patriotic position. It is the position that men are going to fight for and maybe die for, and, Mr. Chairman, I do not propose that that position shall be misrepresented and placed in a false light before the country and the world by men who are hunting excuses for their failure to stand by their country in the hour of its peril.

Mr. Chairman, we hear it said around here that this Member and that Member has got to oppose this measure because he has a large number of German voters in his district. I do not care who the Member is, the patriots of German blood in his district ought to resent that indictment of their loyalty and Americanism. Gentlemen, many, many thousands of men and women left Germany in order to get away from the cruelties and the curses of autocratic power. They came of their own free will and accord and cast their lot with our people, and to-day, in the main, they are a loyal part and parcel of the greatest Nation of people on the globe.

When they reached the shores of this country they consecrated themselves to its services, and they and their descendants

have contributed to the strength and the glory of the Republic. You do them wrong who insinuate that they who have shared the blessings and benefits of American liberty are not loyal to this Government. You gentlemen who have large populations of American citizens of German blood in your districts do violence to the Americanism of these people when you presume that they would have you handicap and hinder the President of their country in his efforts to protect and defend the rights and the honor of the American people. When you take that stand, prompted by what you imagine is the desire of citizens of German blood, you not only raise the question of your own loyalty and Americanism but you insult their American manhood and cast a reflection upon the honor and the patriotism of these men who have sworn allegiance to the United States.

Just a day or two ago a loyal American of German blood sent this message by his Congressman to the President:

Tell the President that I know how patient he has been and how hard he has tried to keep out of war with Germany, but that it looks like we are going to be drawn into it anyhow. Tell him that I have two sons, one 19 and one 23 years old, and in case of war they want to go and fight for the Stars and Stripes, and their mother and I have given our consent for them to do so.

Ah, Mr. Chairman, here is a sample of the courage and the loyalty of the men of German blood in America who will be found fighting for American rights and liberties. The great body of our people of German blood will be as loyal as any other portion of our population. I know of loyal Americans of German blood who have offered their services to the United States in the event of war with Germany. I wish they could be here to-day. I wish that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] could see them and hear them talk; but thank God there are those here from North Carolina who will show by their votes that the position taken to-day by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] is not the position of the North Carolina delegation. I have just listened to the speech of old Uncle JOE. He was born in North Carolina, and he is standing with the President and the country, and he will kill the vote of his colleague [Mr. BRITTEN].

Mr. Chairman, the man who is not big enough to throw his own political fortunes to the wind and stand with his country to-day is not worthy of a seat in the American Congress, and I do not propose that Members who are afraid of the voters of German blood in their districts shall put this Government in a false attitude while they, through the plea of conscientious scruples, play politics at the cost of my country.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING] said that we made the fight in the last campaign on the issue of peace. We did. On every stump we said that the President had kept us out of war, and that is true. This Nation, at the expense of its pride and independence, has paid a fearful price to remain at peace with Germany. No nation in its efforts to keep out of war has ever suffered so many indignities and permitted so many infringements upon its rights and honor as has the Government of the United States in its efforts to remain at peace with Germany. Our appeals to Germany's judgment and conscience for justice and fair treatment have been treated with contempt and scorn, and our long patience in enduring insults has been regarded as an evidence of cowardice and fear. And having satisfied herself that we would submit to any insult, outrage, and wrong rather than fight, Germany has denied us the right to travel upon the high seas—tried to prevent our trade with neutral nations, and now she has destroyed our property and murdered our citizens. The German Government smote this Nation upon the cheek, and rather than go to war with Germany this Nation turned the other cheek. Then the Kaiser thought that we stood for peace at any price and he shot down our flag and murdered our citizens. Then the President was powerless to keep us out of war after the German Government had actually made war upon us. Germany is now making war upon us and the question is, Will we fight and defend our rights or will we fold our arms and cowardly surrender our national pride and honor while Germany drives us from the high seas and strips us of our national sovereignty? This war is not of our choosing. Let me read you what a paper published in Germany says. The Frankfurter Zeitung, in March, 1917, said:

President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany not in preparation of war, but, on the contrary, as a measure to avoid war.

Continuing, the paper said:

President Wilson does not want war.

So a great German editor practically admits that Germany is responsible for war with the United States. And yet the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] does not want us to acknowledge that a state of war exists. He has criticized his own Government for the step that it is about to take and he has made excuses for the brutal and inhuman conduct of the German Government. And, Mr. Chairman, on top of all this, he expresses the opinion that this Government under similar circumstances would have done as Germany has done. The German Government has violated all the rules of civilized warfare and all the principles of international law. It has murdered women and children in Belgium and now German submarines are destroying relief ships carrying food to the starving people of unhappy Belgium. The German Government has dynamited the earth and made unfit for farming purposes the most fertile fields of France. It has destroyed the fruit trees and placed poison in the streams and wells of a portion of France, and, Mr. Chairman, I resent the statement that this Government would have been guilty of any of these brutal and inhuman things.

Let me say to you gentlemen from the East, the North, and the West, who are standing loyally by the President and the country to-day, that the South, thank God, is with you. The descendants of the men who followed Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee are ready to stand with the soldiers of New York and Massachusetts, California, Nebraska, and the other States in defending the rights and the honor of this Nation. To-day the South is saying to that flag, like Ruth to Naomi, "Whithersoever thou goest, I will go. Thy people are my people and thy God my God." [Applause.] We will not follow the suggestions of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN]. In the position that he has taken he does not speak for the people of the South. No man born south of the Mason and Dixon line is ready to surrender his country's self-respect and honor and lie down and crawl because the Kaiser has a Krupp gun and a submarine. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, let us be frank with each other to-day. Our own rights and liberties are involved in this European controversy and our safety as a nation is at stake. The success of the Kaiser means the death knell of popular government the world over. It requires no prophet to foresee the goal for which he is yearning. Nothing short of world power is his aim. Through the brute force of Prussian autocracy he hopes to rule the world. That is his dream and aim to-day. In the bloody path of this mad monarch the rights of neutrals are violated with impunity. The principles of international law and the rights of humanity no longer have weight with the Kaiser. He stands branded as an outlaw at the judgment bar of the family of nations. Mr. Chairman, in the name of democracy, liberty, and civilization, I indict this mad monarch of Germany as the most dangerous enemy to the peace and the happiness of the world.

Mr. Chairman, we will not agree that one nation in its efforts to destroy another nation shall be permitted to destroy us. The sea is the common highway of all nations, and the nation at war has no right to interfere with commerce between neutral nations. If one or two nations engaged in war can forbid trade and business intercourse between nations at peace with one another and at peace with the world, then the business of neutrals is destroyed and they are made to suffer the evil consequences of a war with which they have had no connection and for which they are in no way responsible. If Germany could have her way and stop all trade between our country and neutral nations, she would paralyze the business of our country, deprive us of our foreign markets, create stagnation in the business of farm and factory here and cause hunger and starvation among the people of neutral nations dependent upon us for their food supplies. Our Nation has the right to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked in these neutral nations, and our farmers and merchants and manufacturers have the right to carry on their business with these friendly neutrals without interference on the part of Germany.

We have said to the German Government, we have been selling to and buying from the neutral nations for years and years. We were buying from them and they were buying from us long before this war commenced. We have long-established trade relations with them, and now we are dependent upon each other for many of the necessities of life, and when you deny us the right to sell our products to neutral nations and deny us the right to buy the things that we need from neutral nations you are destroying our means of living and you are striking at our very existence. If we submit to it, we say by that act that we are not entitled to employ the means necessary to our life and well-being and that we are unworthy to have and enjoy existence as a sovereign nation. And we have said to the German Government, we have a right to use the high seas in carrying on business between this country and neutral nations, and when you sink our ships and kill our citizens for being where they have a right to be and for doing what they have a right

to do, you have become an outlaw and a murderer, challenging our national sovereignty and making war upon our people.

All that our flag stands for has been challenged by the delirium of this mad monarch of Germany. American ships returning home in ballast and flying the American flag are the prey of German submarines. They and the flag that represents our national sovereignty lie buried in the ocean. American citizens in the peaceful pursuit of their legitimate business were there standing beneath that flag, and they, too, lie buried in the ocean. If the mandate of Germany is carried out, we must sever our commercial relations with neutral nations, retire from the high seas, and stand humiliated before the world, despoiled of our national honor and stripped of our national sovereignty.

The rights and liberties that we enjoy to-day were achieved through the courage and the daring of our forefathers, and the curse of God Almighty will rest upon us if we fail to protect and defend them. [Applause.] But we are told that we should not resent the indignities, the insults, and the willful violations of our rights as a neutral nation, the sinking of American vessels flying the American flag, and the murdering of American citizens by the Imperial German Government, but that we should wait until the war is over and then take the matter up with Germany. But, Mr. Chairman, suppose Germany should be victorious in the mighty struggle now going on in Europe, and suppose she should say to us, "We have no apology to offer and no amends to make." Then and in that event what would these gentlemen have us do? They admit that we would then have to fight. If we would go to war then, why not go now, when it is certain that we can successfully resent the wrongs and outrages so contemptuously heaped upon us by the German Government, and help the allied armies of Europe to put an end to the war and at the same time destroy the most dangerous autocracy in all the world? Gentlemen of the House, if Germany, engaged in war with three of the great powers of Europe, will not now respect American rights and liberties, would you expect her to do so after she had triumphed in that war and had nothing to do but to give her whole time and attention to us? Do you not believe, gentlemen, from all that you have seen and felt for the last 12 months that if Germany is successful in this war that we will be the next nation that she will undertake to conquer? The Kaiser, with his warriors, returning home in triumph and marching through the streets of Berlin, would have as his slogan, "On to America." Do not be deceived, gentlemen. There is nothing surer in this world than if the Kaiser is successful we will have to fight him in order to preserve our rights and liberties. No thoughtful patriot can fail to see now that the welfare of the United States is vitally involved in the outcome of this war. We did not want war. War has been forced upon us, and there is no other alternative but to fight, unless we are ready to surrender our own self-respect, our honor, and rights as a nation.

If we are ready to do that, then tear down the American flag, call our ambassadors home, and write upon the Washington Monument and across the dome of this Capitol that we are the unworthy and degenerate sons of a heroic race of men who had the courage and the daring to fight and to die for our rights and liberties. [Applause.] God forbid that it shall ever be said of us that our fathers were willing to fight and to die to achieve our rights and liberties but that we were unwilling to fight and to die to preserve them. The God whose spirit brooded above the colonial battle line at Valley Forge, when we were fighting for our liberty, will not fail us now as we go forth to fight to preserve that liberty. Gentlemen of the House, I appeal to-day for an undivided loyalty for the unity of purpose and the solidarity of the American people. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the flag of our country represents the loves, the traditions, and patriotic incidents of a brave and mighty people. It stands for principles without which no republic can last and in the loss of which human liberty can not endure. All the brave spirits that have loved and cherished it encircle it now with a halo of light. Their blessings and benedictions are upon it. Look upon its sacred folds and thank God that you are an American citizen. Breathe upon it the blessings and benedictions born of love and loyalty. Its white stripes speak to us of the purity of its purpose and the justice of its cause. The red stripes remind us of the blood and tears, the sacrifice, and the suffering of those whose valor and heroism brought that flag into being. The blue plucked from the sky of the bended heavens and blossoming with stars reminds us that God's truth is everlasting—that right principles can not be shaken and that if we are true to our trust and true to ourselves we will be God's right arm in preserving our own rights and liberties and in preventing democracy and popular government from perishing from the earth. [Applause.] The hour has struck! The call of duty has sounded! America, incarnated spirit of liberty, make bare thine arm and strike for God and humanity! [Loud applause on the floor and in the gallery.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, owing to the shortage of time I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, I make the same request.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Colorado makes the same request. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to follow the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], the distinguished spokesman of the President of the United States upon the floor of this House. I thank him for his reference to the loyalty of Nebraska. It was loyal between '61 and '65, when one out of every three persons in the Territory of Nebraska was fighting for the Union. [Applause.] In 1898 and 1916 combined 49 men out of every 10,000 inhabitants served the country in the Spanish-American War and the Mexican expedition, a record unequaled by any State of equal or greater population.

I was pleased to have the gentleman, as others have done, interject the President of the United States as an issue in this cause, because, rightfully or wrongfully, it is made to serve as the most potent argument in favor of this war. It is fitting and proper that the gentleman from Alabama should make the argument that he did, because he as the spokesman last fall was one of the leading guarantors of the policy of the President of the United States. The principal claim for suffrage was that the President of the United States would keep us out of war, and they gave to this country as a hostage for that promise the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN]. [Applause.] The next time the people take a pledge from the President or anybody else they will see to it that they take more valuable security.

This is the most momentous day in the history of the Republic. Hasty action here taken by this Congress in defiance of the well-known opposition of two-thirds of the American people under a glamour of patriotism may outlast the fateful month of April, when wars have so often been declared, but beyond that will present in its seamy side of preparation considerations which will rebuke many for to-day's ill-considered action.

"Stand by the President" was practically the opening sentence of Chairman FLOOD at the beginning of this debate. That plea might be properly made to-morrow after war is declared. But not now. We should to-day stand by the Constitution and Congress in this great deliberation. No wise judge would listen to an appeal to stand by the prosecuting attorney. This plea seems well answered in the speeches this day delivered by Majority Leader KITCHIN and Messrs. KEATING, of Colorado, and DILL, of Washington, all being of the majority party, who have cited this procedure as proof of violation of a sacred pledge to keep the country out of war and upon which pledge the American electors delivered a majority of votes.

We are the Congress of the United States, Members of that body which after full debate in the Constitutional Convention was given sole power to declare war. The theory was that as war must be waged by the people, then the people through their Representatives alone should have power to declare it.

And yet from August 1, 1914, the beginning of the European war, no Congressman or Senator, so far as I have been able to learn, has prepared and presented a resolution for a declaration of war with Germany, save and except the Gardner resolution of April 2, 1917. True, in both the Senate and House identical resolutions have been filed on the same day at this session by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] and also by the majority leader of the Senate. But upon the information of a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee this resolution was prepared by the President of the United States, which was not a part of his constitutional prerogative. So that the initial step for war was not with the people nor Congress, but with the President. Let him have credit or blame, but we can not wash our hands of this deed.

For more than 32 months the great European conflict has been waged. The announcement of neutrality was made in the beginning. The observance was almost immediately abandoned and in the presidential message of April 2, 1917, formally repudiated.

The two leading participants in the war, Britain and Germany, by mine and submarine, in violation of international

law, have sunk our ships and killed our citizens. This has been going on for many months. Yes; months before the last election. That election turned upon the question of credit to the successful candidate for having "kept us out of war." I was not of those who had any illusion about having been "kept out of war." In every speech made during my campaign I met the argument "He kept us out of war" with the evidence of his desire to involve this country in war with Germany and a forecast that he would drive this country into war. The vote soon to be taken will verify or rebuke that prediction. Right glad would I be to be so rebuked. What will it profit a President that he shall dethrone an autocrat if he keep not faith with his own people?

No substantial change of policy has been made by either Germany or Britain. The former, however, in recent weeks has intensified its submarine attacks upon our shipping with a ruthlessness brutal and indefensible which calls for our response by force, but not to take charge of the affairs of the world.

Near the close of the last session of Congress the President asked our sanction to arm our merchantmen which were to sail through the proscribed zones. At the same time he indicated that under the Constitution he had the authority to do so independent of Congress. The measure failing to pass the Senate, ships were armed by the Government, and with one exception experienced immunity from attack.

Nothing has occurred since not fairly anticipated or to have been reasonably expected. To us who voted to grant the President's request to be now told that it was unwise and a failure is a humiliation to which we should not be subjected. A fair trial should be given the method before it is abandoned. May not the Congress be given some consideration for stability, even though that quality has become so unpopular in other quarters? At this time it is considered a matter of heroism to take a new position—a disgrace to stand by it. [Applause.]

I shall offer a substitute resolution amplifying the powers of the President to protect our citizens and ships with all the strength of our Army and Navy. This is broader than any resolution which came to my desk before April 2. That was the date when war madness found a voice from yonder desk. It was voiced by a man who obtained the Presidency for "keeping us out of war."

Thrice before this the Congress of the United States was asked upon patriotic grounds to back the action of the Executive when such backing was declared as unnecessary but desirable. I voted for each.

The first one was the Vera Cruz expedition, the results of which we would gladly forget. The second was the border expedition, where our gallant soldiers acquitted themselves with credit, but the handling by the administration and the general results we all deplore.

Now we are asked to write down another "failure," and by this resolution say of the moving spirit of the country and times a failure in these minor matters fits him to conduct to a triumphant conclusion the greatest enterprise organized on earth since time began.

On the 22d day of January, 1917, standing before the Senate of the United States, President Wilson said, referring to the close of the European war, "Peace without victory." The world applauded; America generally approved. But you heard Monday night—

> And that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

A denial to the belligerents that measure of conquest now to be demanded by America.

I do not know what has come over the spirit of the American dreams. If one had said last October that a loan from the National Treasury would be suggested for any Government on earth, he would have been laughed at; if anyone had suggested that we send from one to three million conscripted Americans to the shambles of Europe, he would have been denounced as a madman and would-be murderer; if it had been seriously suggested that we enter the European war as an ally of either the entente or central powers, he would have been charged with little short of crime.

Yet from yonder desk Monday night the head of our Government and Army seriously proposed doing each of them, while this House and the Senate listened with manifestations of approval and a majority of the Supreme Judges applauded.

Why is this? Are the allies about to be crushed? Then we do not want to underwrite their insolvency with our blood and treasure. If, on the contrary, as I hear and read, the central powers, from outside attack and internal disorder, are on the point of being crushed, it would be unworthy a great nation to interpose its power at this time. There would be no credit and little advantage in such a course.

This measure is an offer to wager every dollar of wealth and every American life against nothing that the allies will win. If the allies win, we save that which should never have been placed in jeopardy; if the allies are overcome, we may stand to lose.

Many of us are deeply concerned about the conditions of man power and finance as well as the attitude of the powers involved in the war toward each other. Grave rumors as to separate peace are heard. Yet I find upon inquiry that those recognized as leaders of this House have not been fully conferred with and advised as to those grave questions, which should be known and communicated to the membership of the House. The controlling facts which now determine the prospects for victory or defeat should not be withheld. The American people will not tolerate or ever condone the withholding of any important fact which might probably materially affect the results.

If the vote hereon were deferred for 10 days, this war resolution in its present scope would not be passed. Already the sober second thought of the American people, including Congressmen, is making itself felt.

Why should it not be deliberated upon for days or longer when no attack against us is threatened? All or nearly all of us agree on a reasonable measure of equipment and preparation for defense and the enforcement of our rights. We resist this resolution on account of the appalling heights we as a Nation are asked to climb, the depths we are requested to sound, and the awful risk the Republic is demanded to assume.

The resolution before the House in its innocent phraseology has probably not received the consideration which its gravity deserves. Understanding that it is a substantial product of the presidential pen, his message delivered on the same day the resolution was produced will to many become the official interpretation of the resolution. Reading the resolution in the light of the message, we find that the American people, to the extent of every dollar of their property now and to be earned during the near future and every life of their citizens, are pledged to the following:

CONSCRIPTION.

Five hundred thousand additional men for the Army, immediately to be followed by like levies apparently only limited by the number of men in the country and the field necessities of the allies anywhere on the globe.

CREDITS.

Credits to the utmost limit of taxation, and that supplemented by bonds, to furnish funds for the United States in its mighty undertaking and financing in their weakened condition Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, and perhaps some of the small nations.

SUPPLIES.

Supplies which the various allied nations need and which we may have our Government is to have control over, with power to fix prices and form of payment to be made.

ALLIANCE WITH THE ENTENTE.

A departure from and a repudiation of Washington's Farewell Address warning against entangling alliances, which to Americans for more than a century has had the force and effect of an amendment to the Constitution.

ADDITIONAL BURDEN OVER THE ALLIES.

While the allies are fighting merely for victory and are in a situation to enter into peace with Germany through the Hohenzollern dynasty, we are committed to the full task of destroying that dynasty and establishing a different governing body for Germany.

TROOPS IN EUROPE.

Organization of from 500,000 to 3,000,000 of our men must mean our European activity. Germany can not reach our shores with troop transports. To carry out the proposed undertaking we must send our troops to Europe, there to fight and be maintained. To obtain these they will attempt conscription.

SETTLEMENT OF PEACE.

About a settling board we would be but one, with many hating enemies and envying friends. What figure would the United States cut in rearranging the map of Europe, designating dynasties, and fixing indemnities, remembering always that indemnities are fixed upon those who can pay?

NATIONAL PROFITS.

I leave this blank as best expressing my estimate: _____

_____

_____

NATIONAL LOSS.

The Arabic notation can not express it. The ages can not measure it. I love my fellow man, and I quail from consider-

ing the penalty to be administered upon those responsible by a righteously wrathful judge.

The press announces this morning in advance of the action of this House, where war measures should first be heard and fully discussed, that 2,000,000 men are to be conscripted, not to defend America or any right regarded by the administration as sacred until within the last 40 days. These men are called to go from the homes of the land to the European trenches to die. What for? To drive the Hohenzollerns from the throne of Germany.

Many would like to see the Hohenzollern dynasty—every member of it—driven from court and throne to the trenches under fire of French machine guns, taking the place of the peasant soldiers of that empire. But, gentlemen of the House, my constituents gave me no authority to wager every dollar of property and every young male life of that district that that dynasty should either leave the throne or go to the trenches. That is what every Congressman will be called upon to answer, and I would rather meet the impotent sneers here to-day than the griefs of mothers, fathers, and wives at home.

We have no place in the European war outside the enforcement of our rights upon the seas, and for that the American people will gladly furnish men and means. The message tells us that the soldiers are to be conscripted, something Britain has not done at home nor yet asked from its colonies. From the homes, schools, farms, and shops the fresh, bright-faced boys will be torn, driven to the shambles of Europe, there to march with the black, the brown, and the yellow races; there to die in the face of rolling riflery, dismembered and scattered by storm of shrapnel, or choked with poisonous gases.

Cold comfort to them that the first call came from yonder platform in the voice of him trying to prove "he kept us out of war" by ordering the young men into a foreign war. [Applause.]

To their sightless eyes on an alien soil what help will it be that the Cabinet of this Government was present abetting and applauding the Executive's appeal to Congress for their young lives' risk? What music to the disconsolate mother's ear will there be in the vigorous handclapping of the members of our Supreme Court applauding this historic demand for blood risk? Will it assuage the grief of fathers that for the first time in the history of this Chamber the diplomatic corps of many nations, including, of course, the entente, were here seated during a business session? Will it calm the anguish of wife and babe to know that the Executive message was delivered in the night session with a cordon of Cavalry about the Capitol Building and hundreds of Secret Service men, who coarsely halted Congressmen in their passage in and about the building, when the first demand for her husband's life risk was made?

The glory and pomp of Monday night, April 2, resting upon the privation, suffering, and death in the European trenches will soon lose its charm.

We hear much of liberty, much of humanity, much about relieving suffering and release from tyranny and oppression. No sentiment came from that platform Monday night that might not and did not in fact come in the beginning of the great martial campaigns conducted by Tamerlane, Alexander, Pompey, Antony, Cæsar, and Napoleon. [Applause.] In every case they conscripted the young, the tender, and the brave. In each there were men charged with a duty to oppose them, but in the hour of trial too much fear or respect for authority worked their nations' undoing.

What of criticism I present is directed against a declaration of war the avowed purpose of which, as stated by its authors, is to destroy a dynasty and give a different government to a great people who have made no effort to free themselves.

Each of those whom I have named had a foreign autocrat whom he would dethrone and a people he would free from a tyrannous ruler. In fact, the enterprise has all the objections known to history of the so-called campaigns for liberation without even the element of novelty to redeem it.

I can not vote for this initial measure which will be used as the basis for extraordinary demands for human life and blood and meet with a clear eye the mothers of the land.

At this time, after all our arguments are fairly in, permit me to say, should Congress do this deed, I shall then do as best I may the duty of the hour to make our national will supreme over all that may oppose us in battle and save the Republic for a people to whom reason may yet be restored.

But until the will of Congress is crystallized let me say, as the safest, best, and truest American doctrine, for defense of American rights on land and sea, let millions be called and billions voted; for an allied European war of aggression, no men, no money. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, no Member during the entire course of his life will ever be called upon to exercise a more solemn responsibility than he will exercise before we adjourn to-night. This is not a time for one to think of self or of political consequences to oneself, but to think only of his country. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, since Congress adjourned on the 4th day of March last events have transpired. Germany has made good her threat. Since that time she has sunk American ships and destroyed American lives without warning. Mr. Chairman, that is making war upon us. [Applause.]

America is composed not of material things but of hundreds of millions of people, and when any nation by the deliberate order of the sovereign head of that nation destroys American lives without just cause, that nation makes war upon us. And the question that we have to determine now is not whether there shall be war between Germany and the United States. Whether this resolution shall pass or whether it shall fail can not change that. A vote "yea" for this resolution means—and to my mind it means only—that we, the American Congress, propose to meet the war that is made upon us by Germany by war. [Applause.] On the other hand, a vote "nay" on this resolution, to my mind—and I have no criticism for those who differ with me—means that we will submit to Germany warring upon us without using force to prevent it. And in that view of what it means, Mr. Chairman, I can not vote "no" on this resolution. I must vote "aye." [Applause.]

But, Mr. Chairman, what I especially rose to speak upon was not upon that subject, but upon the question of England's violation of international law as compared with Germany's. We all agree that there is a difference between the violation of rights involving property and the violation of rights involving human life. That is agreed. But the opponents of this resolution to-day and throughout the country have time and again declared that England is equally guilty with Germany, because she planted mines in the North Sea and created a military zone, and only because our ships kept out of that zone have lives not been lost at the hands of England. I think it ought to be said, Mr. Chairman, that the fact is that England's mining of the North Sea and the creation of the zone that she did create was not in violation of international law, and neither was Germany's mining of the sea and creation of a military zone in violation of international law. We are not complaining of military zones created by either England or Germany, but only of Germany's unlawful acts within the zone she has created. Not only is it not a violation of international law, but The Hague convention of 1907, to which we were a party, expressly recognized and regulated the planting of mines upon the high seas by a belligerent. And I want to read the first three articles of that convention. I read:

ARTICLE I.

It is forbidden—

1. To lay unanchored automatic contact mines, except when they are so constructed as to become harmless one hour at most after the person who laid them ceases to control them.

2. To lay anchored automatic contact mines which do not become harmless as soon as they have broken from their moorings.

3. To use torpedoes which do not become harmless when they have missed their mark.

ARTICLE II.

It is forbidden to lay automatic contact mines off the coast and ports of the enemy, with the sole object of intercepting commercial shipping.

ARTICLE III.

When anchored automatic contact mines are employed every possible precaution must be taken for the security of peaceful shipping.

The belligerents undertake to do their utmost to render these mines harmless within a limited time, and should they cease to be under surveillance to notify the danger zones, as soon as military exigencies permit, by a notice addressed to shipowners, which must also be communicated to the Governments through the diplomatic channel.

That is exactly what England did. She complied in every respect with The Hague convention, agreed to by the United States, by France, by Germany, and by most of the nations of the world. It is true that this convention by its terms was to last only for seven years, in this sense, that after 1914 any nation might retire from the convention and not be bound by it. But that meant, and it meant only, that if they did retire from it, they were not even bound by those restrictions. So that, as a matter of fact, in this zone in the North Sea created by England she has not violated international law. In notifying us of the zone she had created she complied with the very agreement that we were a party to.

But it can well be said that although it is not in violation of international law, the planting of mines in the high seas ought to be in violation of international law, and to that we will all agree. It may be interesting to you to know that in this Hague

conference there was a proposal to prohibit all floating mines upon the high seas and to prohibit all anchored mines upon the high seas that were not rendered innocuous within one hour after leaving their moorings; and it may be interesting to know that that proposition was made by Great Britain to the Hague conference; that it was supported by Austria-Hungary; that it was supported by Russia; and that it was supported by the United States. The opposition to that proposition was led by Germany.

I read from Westlake on International Law. He is an English writer, but this book was published in 1907, seven years before this war began:

At the opening of the conference she—

That is, Great Britain—

proposed that the employment of unanchored contact mines, or of any contact mines which do not become innocuous as soon as they get loose, shall be prohibited. * * * The opposition to the proposal was led by Germany, but received support from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the United States.

Finally, when the articles that I have read to the committee were adopted, the English delegate, Sir Ernest Satow, in a speech, used this language:

Having voted for the Mines convention, which the conference has just accepted, the British delegation desires to declare that it can not regard this arrangement as furnishing a final solution of the question, but only as marking a stage in international legislation on the subject. It does not consider that adequate account has been taken in the convention of the rights of neutrals to protection or of humanitarian sentiments which can not be neglected. The British delegation had done its best to bring the conference to share its views, but its efforts in this direction have remained without result. The high seas, gentlemen, form a great international highway. If in the present state of international laws and customs belligerents are permitted to fight out their quarrels upon the high seas, it is none the less incumbent upon them to do nothing which might, long after their departure from a particular place, render this highway dangerous for neutrals who are equally entitled to use it. We declare without hesitation that the right of the neutral to security of navigation on the high seas ought to come before the transitory right of the belligerents to employ these seas as the scene of the operation of war.

Nevertheless, the convention as adopted imposes upon the belligerent no restriction as to the placing of anchored mines, which consequently may be laid wherever the belligerent chooses—in his own waters for self-defense, in the waters of the enemy as a means of attack, or finally on the high seas, so that neutral navigation will inevitably run great risks in time of naval war and may be exposed to many a disaster. We have already on several occasions insisted upon the danger of a situation of this kind. We have endeavored to show what would be the effect produced by the loss of a great liner belonging to a neutral power. We did not fail to bring forward every argument in favor of limiting the field of action for these mines, while we called very special attention to the advantages which the civilized world would gain from this restriction, since it would be equivalent to diminishing to a certain extent the causes of warlike conflicts. It appeared to us that by acceptance of the proposal made by us at the beginning of the discussion dangers would have been obviated which in every maritime war of the future will threaten to disturb friendly relations between neutrals and belligerents. But since the conference has not shared our views, it remains for us to declare in the most formal manner that these dangers exist, and that the certainty that they will make themselves felt in the future is due to the incomplete character of the present convention.

As this convention, in our opinion, constitutes only a partial and inadequate solution of the problem, it can not, as has already been pointed out, be regarded as a complete exposition of international law on this subject. Accordingly it will not be permissible to presume the legitimacy of an action for the mere reason that this convention has not prohibited it. This is a principle which we desired to affirm, and which it will be impossible for any State to ignore whatever its power.

The speech of the English delegate was replied to by Baron von Marschall for the German delegation, and it is interesting to note what he said on the subject of mines.

He said:

That a belligerent who lays mines assumes a very heavy responsibility toward neutrals and toward peaceful shipping is a point on which we are all agreed. No one will resort to this instrument of warfare unless for military reasons of an absolutely urgent character. But military acts are not solely governed by stipulations of international law. There are other factors. Conscience, good sense, and the sense of duty imposed by principles of humanity will be the surest guides for the conduct of sailors, and will constitute the most effective guaranty against abuses. The officers of the German Navy, loudly proclaim it (je le dis à haute voix), will always fulfill in the strictest fashion the duties which emanate from the unwritten law of humanity and civilization. I have no need to tell you that I entirely recognize the importance of the codification of rules to be followed in war. But it would be a great mistake to issue rules the strict observation of which might be rendered impossible by the law of facts. It is of the first importance that the international maritime law which we desire to create should only contain clauses the execution of which is possible from a military point of view—is possible even in exceptional circumstances. Otherwise the respect for law would be lessened and its authority undermined. It would also seem to us to be preferable to maintain at present a certain reserve, in the expectation that seven years hence it will be easier to find a solution which will be acceptable to the whole world. As to the humanitarian sentiments of which the British delegate has spoken, I can not [concluded Baron von Marschall, raising his voice to an appropriate pitch], I can not admit that there is any country in the world which is superior to my country or my Government in the sentiment of humanity.

And the author uses this language in commenting upon the two positions of England and Germany, and we should remember that it was seven years before this war began that this book was written:

Thus Germany claims the right to destroy neutral shipping and fishermen if absolutely necessary in order that she may win in a war. Great Britain declines to be bound by Germany's necessity to win.

Mr. Chairman, I have quoted this language, and I have brought it before the committee because I think if the people of the country are to form correct conclusions upon the great questions involved in this crisis, they ought to have the facts upon which correct conclusions can be based.

I am no apologist for Great Britain. She has violated international law, but not in the respect charged, involving human life. And so, Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for this resolution, but in voting for it I want to say that I am not committed and shall not be committed to all of the program laid down by the President of the United States. In making his address to us he exercised his constitutional right in advising what measures he believed should be taken in the prosecution of the war; but later on we must exercise our constitutional duty in determining for ourselves what we think, in the interest of America, is necessary to be done, and not to follow blindly the orders of any man, even though he be the President of the United States, in the consideration of questions that belong alone to the legislative branch of the Government and not to the executive branch. [Applause.]

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, the far-reaching results of this legislation it is impossible for any human eye to foresee. It is one of the gravest acts in our whole national history. It not only engages us in a ruthless contest with the most powerful military nation of the world, but it necessarily makes us a prominent actor on the stage of world-wide politics. It abandons our policy of isolation. Everyone must regret the necessity of such action.

Personally I deeply deplore it. I spent a year in Germany when a boy, and I have the warmest admiration and affection for the German people. But I believe that under the military autocracy which has ruled and oppressed the spirit of that splendid nation during this war it has become a menace to democracy and to peaceful civilization. Unless that military spirit can be annihilated the whole world must continue an armed camp and dissipate its energies and fortune in accumulating vast stores of munitions and implements of war, and turn its young men from productive industry to the waste of military training.

With that martial policy which animates the German military aristocracy America can have no sympathy. We have all been hoping for months that some conciliatory disposition might be shown us and that this terrible alternative might not be forced upon us. But I agree entirely with the lucid and eloquent message which the President delivered to us. His reasoning is conclusive.

We have been so injured, insulted, and outraged that we can not longer disregard it. We are impelled to this action not only by feelings of self-respect and honor, but by a reasonable regard for our future safety.

If we do not resent these indignities now when we have allies who insure us temporary protection, we would be in the future an easy prey for hostile attack. I do not believe our helplessness against a nation equipped for modern warfare is appreciated. We are as unfit to cope with our enemy as a blind man is to fight with one who has his sight. We lack all the modern instrumentalities which make the European armies so terrible and so irresistible. To manufacture them requires months and sometimes years, and enormous expense. We are comparatively safe to-day through the protection of the allied fleet, but we can not ignore the possibility of a seperate peace in Europe, leaving us alone, and we must prepare to defend ourselves. It is dreadful to contemplate how our young men must be withdrawn from their normal tasks and trained for destruction, and what enormous expense it will involve. But there is no escape. In a spirit of solemn self-sacrifice the Nation must prepare itself for the emergency, recognizing that it is not only a patriotic but a selfish duty, for if neglected the fate of Belgium might be ours.

Though deficient to-day in all branches of military equipment, we have boundless resources. What we need now is energetically to mobilize them. In this great task I am sure there will be no division of parties or of races. I am confident that all Americans as they see that the issue is between democracy and absolutism, between permanent war and permanent peace, and that it involves both the future safety and the honor of our country, will unite in a spirit of serious determination and self-sacrifice to offer to the Government unstintedly every kind of support that the crisis shall demand.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Chairman, I make the same request.

Mr. SIEGEL. I make the same request.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HAUGEN] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL] make the same request.

Several other Members rose.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are to be a large number of these requests, the Chair desires to get all the names. Does the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] desire to make a request?

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a request for unanimous consent that general debate on this resolution close at 8 o'clock. Then we will take up the resolution for amendment and for debate under the five-minute rule.

The CHAIRMAN. We are in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. FLOOD. I thought it could be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. MANN. It can be done by unanimous consent in Committee of the Whole.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] asks unanimous consent that general debate upon this resolution shall be concluded at 8 o'clock.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Reserving the right to object, I want to ask how many men are on the list uncalled?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). The present occupant of the chair will state that he can not answer that inquiry. The permanent Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], called the present occupant of the chair temporarily to the chair.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. I merely make the interrogation because, without knowing the number of men who have not been called, I do not think we can comply intelligently with the request of the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that after we get to the five-minute debate it is not my purpose to cut it off. It can run on for two or three or four hours.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman will yield, I think it is the declared purpose to have a final vote on the resolution before we adjourn to-day. General debate has now been running for quite a while. There will undoubtedly be some amendments offered to the resolution, and I think full opportunity will be given to all Members to speak under the five-minute rule. That is the way I expect to present my views to the House. It seems to me it would be in the interest of those Members whose names are on the list to close the general debate about 8 o'clock and go ahead under the five-minute rule, even if we sit here until 11 or 12 or 1 or 2 o'clock.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. I take it that under those circumstances there will be no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. I can not speak for anybody except myself. Of course, I would not like to see the matter abused.

Mr. MANN. Oh, no. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] has stated to me, and I am sure he will make the same statement to the committee, that, while he expects to get a final vote on the resolution before we adjourn, it is his intention to allow debate under the five-minute rule to run liberally and probably as long as anybody wants to talk.

Mr. FLOOD. That was not the question of the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. O'SHAUNESSY].

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Well, practically the question. I merely wanted to be assured that there was a liberal intention to allow anybody to speak who wanted to speak.

Mr. MANN. Of course no one can say in the committee whether objection will be made in the House to granting general leave to print. So far as I am concerned, there will be no objection, but general leave can be given only in the House.

Mr. FLOOD. When we get into the House I shall ask leave that everybody who desires to do so may print remarks within five days.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] presents a request that general debate close at 8 o'clock.

Mr. CALDWELL. I reserve the right to object. I want to say that when this debate first opened I went up and got some time to talk. It came to my attention that the gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN], a new Member of this House, is in a position where it is necessary for him to have at least three minutes of the time of this House. I offered him my time and the presiding officer refused to give it to him. Under these circumstances, unless it can be agreed here that under the five-minute rule Mr. LUNN shall have at least three minutes' time, I shall certainly object. Otherwise I shall have no objection.

Mr. MANN. Probably the gentleman will not have any trouble in getting that time, but I do not see how you can make any agreements of that kind.

Mr. LANGLEY. Everybody else will ask the same privilege. I should object to that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Reserving the right to object, I want to say that I made a request to extend remarks in the RECORD. Having taken considerable interest in this matter it has been my hope that I might obtain three minutes, but being unable to obtain any satisfaction I made a request to extend my remarks. If an arrangement can be made by which gentlemen shall have an opportunity to speak, I should like to speak for three minutes. Otherwise I would like to have my request for leave to print stand, although that is a very unsatisfactory way in which to express one's views.

Mr. MANN. If there is debate under the five-minute rule from 8 o'clock until 12 or 1 or 2 or 3 o'clock, as far as I am concerned, I do not see any reason why gentlemen will not have an opportunity to be heard.

Mr. FLOOD. It seems to me we ought to conclude the matter by 12 o'clock.

Mr. MANN. There are a number of Members who want to talk. After all, we have been called in special session. A resolution is presented to declare war. There are more than 430 Members of the House.

Mr. LANGLEY. All equally interested.

Mr. MANN. Probably we will not be engaged in other business in the House to any extent for several days. I saw this House sit all night when we were discussing the question of the freedom of Cuba, and I have seen the House sit all night on various occasions. I think we can afford to stay as long as any Member wants to speak, and I am sure the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] does not feel otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). Is there objection?

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that I made timely application and thought I was on the list for 10 minutes. Since then there has been a change in the occupancy of the chair, and I am unable to find out whether I am on the list or not.

Mr. LANGLEY. I was put on the list early in the day, but now I can not find out where I am.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the permanent Chairman left with him a list saying that it is not complete, that there were many gentlemen on the list, but these names were given in the order in which the present occupant of the chair was to recognize the various gentlemen.

Mr. STEENERSON. Unfortunately when I made application the gentleman from Missouri was in the chair. I did not think it was necessary to make a new application when the permanent Chairman returned. I mention the matter now, because I want the indulgence of the House.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, my colleague, Mr. ESTOPINAL, at the instance of the Louisiana delegation, would like to have 10 minutes to express his views on the subject. I would like to know whether he will be recognized or not. Not a minute of time will be consumed by any other member of the delegation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana understands the attitude of the present occupant of the chair. He is here temporarily. The Chair is advised by gentlemen at the desk that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. ESTOPINAL] is on the list for recognition.

Mr. DUPRÉ. For 10 minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Is there objection?

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Chairman, in view of the statement of the Chair that the list is incomplete, I ask that the list be read in order to find out if we are to be recognized.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps the gentleman from Rhode Island misunderstood the present occupant of the chair. There was merely handed him by the permanent Chairman a list of six names of gentlemen who would be recognized until he returned. There is no other list in the hands of the present occupant of the chair. The Chair will state, however, that the list left with him by the permanent Chairman consists of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. REAVIS] 10 minutes, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. EAGLE] 15 minutes, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BROWN] 10 minutes, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LUNDEEN] 6 minutes, and Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky 10 minutes. They will be recognized in that order.

Mr. MONDELL. Do I understand that is all the list?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not; but this was left by the permanent Chairman for the present occupant of the chair to recognize in their order until he returned.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my request, and give notice that at 8 o'clock I will move that the committee rise.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for three minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to address the committee for three minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, one of two things has to be done. We are either going to sit here to-night until we finish or adjourn over until to-morrow, and it seems to me the sentiment of the committee is to stay here. Now, I am and always have been in favor of this House giving every man a chance to express his opinion. [Applause.] This is a free country and we have a right to talk. There is nothing to be done to-morrow, and if this resolution is disposed of to-night we can afford to stay here until a late hour in the morning and get through with this thing and sleep to-morrow. [Laughter and applause.] That is, if we can sleep after this debate to-day. Most gentlemen will be satisfied with three minutes. Of course there are some men who can not express their opinion in three minutes, but they surely will be satisfied with five minutes, and if we stay here until 2 or 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning every man in the House can have a chance to express his views on this subject. [Applause.]

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] expresses the views I have in reference to it. My proposition was to go into debate at 8 o'clock under the five-minute rule——

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is exactly right.

Mr. BURNETT. But if that was done, gentlemen who have already spoken would have an opportunity to displace gentlemen who have not spoken.

Mr. LANGLEY. Some of whom have spoken already too long.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia withdraws his request, and the regular order is the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. REAVIS].

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I despair of success in any attempt to influence the vote of the committee. I rise more in explanation of my contemplated action than with the view of adding anything of persuasive importance to this debate.

I can not refrain from saying, however, that the action and words of the majority leader, Mr. KITCHIN, on the floor this afternoon presented the finest example of sacrificial courage and statesmanship that I have ever witnessed. [Applause.] Coming as it did after a day of almost hysterical flag waving and lip service to the Republic, its calm dignity and noble poise was like "some one opening a window in a close and stifling room." I have been very fond of CLAUDE KITCHIN since I first met him, but my admiration and affection have been vastly enhanced by his conduct to-day. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] who presumed to stand in his place and criticize such conduct as this succeeded only in disclosing his inability to understand and comprehend that character of conscientious courage without which the Republic can not endure. [Applause.]

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] unwittingly did a great injustice to those who oppose this war resolution when he said that we favored doing nothing in this grave crisis. I do not stand here urging inaction on our part; I do not advocate the policy of submission to the outrages from which we suffer. I hold no brief for Germany, nor for England, nor for France. I have no time to waste at this hour in vain criticism of an inconsistent course in submitting to the denial of our rights by one belligerent while resenting the somewhat similar but more aggravated conduct of another. The time has passed for that. We deal now with Germany, not, primarily, because she has destroyed our property and taken our lives, but because she has denied to us certain sovereign privileges to which the destruction of property and the loss of life are incidental.

As has been well said, the Boston tea party was not incited because of the paltry dollars concerned in taxation, but because of the denial of a sovereign right, because of a great principle which found its expression in money. One who sees nothing in this crisis but commercialism and money fails to grasp the real contention, namely, that of a sovereign people insistent upon an undisputed and time-honored right which another nation without justification assaults.

On February 17 last I addressed myself to this body and advocated action on our part to assert our rights to the sea. I suggested the defense of armed neutrality, and I was the first in either branch of the Congress to make the suggestion.

On February 26, just nine days thereafter, the President addressed the joint session and asked authority to adopt the armed-neutrality policy, stating—and with which statement I am in full accord—that under the Constitution he had such authority, but was reluctant to exercise it in the absence of affirmative congressional action.

The House almost unanimously passed the armed-neutrality resolution, but it failed of passage in the Senate.

The President thereupon acted upon his own responsibility and ordered armament placed upon merchant ships under the implied authority granted him by the Constitution. This action was instituted, so I am informed, about two weeks before the President requested the passage of this declaration of war.

When the President addressed the Congress on February 26, but a little more than a month ago, he used this language:

> I hope that I need give no further proof and assurance than I have already given through nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace, and mean to preserve it for America as long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any step that need lead to war.

Again, he said in the same message:

> No course of my choosing * * * will lead to war.

I challenge any advocate of this resolution to arise in his place now and state the act of any belligerent occurring between February 26 and April 2 which changed the condition. Tell me and this House what transpired in the 35 days intervening between those dates that would justify one who did not "contemplate war" on the earlier date to demand war on the later date. I want to know why America should enter a war which the President said must end without victory.

Do nothing! Why, Mr. Chairman, not an opponent of this resolution has advocated doing nothing. I was the first who advocated doing something. I want every right of America protected, and those who stand with me want the same. I have always believed that armed neutrality would protect them. The President himself believed so some 30 days ago. Yet with only about two weeks trial, with nothing to disclose that the plan would not be successful, he now abandons it and demands a declaration of war.

If the logic of events should prove "armed neutrality" insufficient, I am willing to go a step beyond, but I will not go so far as war until events disclose that our rights can not be protected short of war.

I have heard the phrase, "Stand by the President," so many times to-day that I have grown weary of its repetition. The years of my life have been lived in a sphere of somewhat narrow limitations. It has been a life which some of you would regard as comparatively uneventful. Certain it is that no responsibility such as this has ever before been encountered. No man is there listening to me who has not walked alone in the night's solitude during the past week, few, very few of you, who have not looked up at the stars and asked your God where your duty lay. The burdensome responsibility makes it the one great event toward which you have journeyed since your first step. Are you to determine it in obedience to the command of another? Are you to speak the thoughts of another mind when conscience bids you speak your own? To do so would acknowledge your unfitness and to proclaim yourself unequal to the supreme test that the brooding years have reserved for you and me.

This responsibility is mine; I can not shift it. This obligation is imposed upon me by the Constitution and the suffrage of my people. I shall be true to it, else I shall prove representative government a failure by my unfitness.

Stand by the President! Oh, my colleagues, I see a long line of stalwart boys, eager, enthusiastic, full of the spirit of adventure, a line reaching from sea to sea. Lads they are whose parents by supreme sacrifice have fitted them to bear the burdens of citizenship when you and I shall have laid them down; boys whom we have equipped for the responsibilities of life while Europe has been killing hers; boys in the first flush of manhood; boys full of possibilities and promise; boys who are the hope of America; boys who would like, and who are entitled to live out their lives to the end, "even as you and I." I may be pardoned if my eyes linger upon certain forms that I see there, for in that multitude are those who are blood of my blood, who have centered upon them every enduring hope I have in this life. I think, Mr. Chairman, if I may do so without being unpatriotic, I should like to stand by them. [Applause.]

Do not delude yourself by the belief that we are not to take a full-size part in this war. You who have said that you would vote for this resolution, but would reserve to yourselves the

right of independent action on the remainder of the President's program are but deceiving yourselves. You who have said that you will oppose sending our boys to the trenches in France would better reconsider, for upon the passage of this resolution and when war is declared the disposition of the armed forces of America is under the command of the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and you will have no voice. You will enter your protest to-night or forever hold your peace.

Within a few days, so we are told, the bill calling for the conscription of 2,000,000 men will reach the House in response to the President's demands. That is approximately 4,600 boys from every congressional district in the Nation. Bear in mind that England has not conscripted a soldier, nor has France, nor has Canada, yet the great Republic is to conscript, to draft her youth for trench warfare in France or elsewhere in Europe, to fight, perhaps to die alone in a far-away land, to lay their lives on the altar of a country not their own and for nations that have declined to enforce such service upon their own citizens. I will be a party to that when it becomes necessary, but not before.

You have said you will not vote for it. Yes; you will. This war from to-night becomes our war, and no patriotic Congressman will deny his country either the men or money necessary to wage the war to a successful issue.

I am aware that one is not justified in opposing a righteous cause because of the difficulties of performance. I have briefly referred to some of the consequences of war in order to disclose more prominently my reasons for opposing war until it becomes the only means by which our rights and honor may be preserved. War with me is justifiable only as a last resort, and no student of current history can declare that all expedients short of war have been exhausted.

I regret that my time has expired, as I can not adequately catalogue my opposition in so short a period. Never again shall we pass such another night as this. Never again, I hope, will the responsibility of shaping the ages fall upon me. We are breaking from the moorings where we have spent all of our national life. We are voluntarily entering a European alliance. The sky has been gray without all the day; the rain has fallen drearily, monotonously, as though the heavens wept at the contemplated action of the Republic. But a short while ago, just before the night fell, I stood at the west terrace and looked upon the hill beyond the river where sleep the lads who gave their lives that the Republic might live, and I was not surprised to note that the towering monument, erected to him who advised against entangling alliances, had hidden its head in the mist and the fog. Oh, my country, builded into an empire in your splendid isolation, you are at the parting of the ways, and I am powerless to prevent. [Applause.]

I am not unmindful of the personal consequences of my act, but I am doing the right as God has given me to see the right, and I shall not shrink nor complain whatever the price I may be compelled to pay. [Applause.]

Mr. EAGLE. Mr. Chairman, without any mental reservation whatsoever, I give my voice and my vote to this resolution. It states the truth in plain, simple words. The Imperial German Government, without formally declaring, has nevertheless made and still is making, war upon the United States. While professing to obey international law, her submarines have sunk American ships upon the high seas without search or warning, and while professing friendship for our people and Nation, she has thus murdered our men, women, and children. While herself professing to desire a free sea and "a place in the sun," she has without authority of international law announced to us that from February 1, 1917, one American ship will each week be allowed by her to enter and one to leave a port of her enemies, provided we paint that ship such color as she may prescribe and carry such cargo as she may designate and enter such port as she may permit, and that otherwise, without any warning, search, or seizure, her submarines will sink American ships and send American citizens to instant death. And she has made good her decree to this time. Thus she has as completely blockaded our ports and shores as if her fleet rode triumphant in our waters.

At every American port great steamships, laden with the cotton of the South, the corn and wheat and cattle of the West, the multiplied products of the North, and the manufactures of the East, lie at anchor afraid to move toward their destination because the German submarine lurks beneath the sea to sink ship and cargo and murder every soul on board without warning. And at each American port each warehouse is filled with American merchandise of both the raw and finished product which can not be discharged because the steamships thus lie at anchor, although a ready foreign market awaits such legitimate products of American farms, fields, mines, and factories, and although under unbroken international law for centuries it is lawful for such commerce to move. As a result tens of thousands of freight cars are similarly loaded and at the various ports of the country, ready to discharge, but used only as warehouses, thus entailing congestion and the paralysis of the Nation's transportation business. If this situation is not relieved, the normal and proper processes of the domestic peace and prosperity of the United States must shortly cease, and endless loss, confusion, and distress must ensue. As a result factories must close down, throwing hundreds of thousands of men out of employment; strikes and riots will prevail; the prices of wheat, cattle, corn, cotton, and all other raw products must fall, to the injury, if not the ruin, of the farmers; and an indescribable list of calamities must befall our people. And hence it is true that Germany has in effect blockaded our ports and shores.

It is more distressing that a great nation should, in violation of the accepted principles of international law, for which she has herself always heretofore stood, dictate to the neutral nations of the world where their ships, cargoes, and citizens may or may not go.

But more appalling still is the fact that Germany should, in the conduct of her submarine operations, lose all regard both for neutral rights under international law and for human life itself; for, notwithstanding her note to the United States less than a year ago that she would no longer sink merchant ships of neutrals without conforming to that provision of international law requiring first warning and search and the safety of passengers and crews, she has broken that solemn promise by her decree of January 31, 1917, and since then has sunk American ships at will without warning and has thus murdered American citizens. Thus the Imperial German Government has made and is making war upon the United States. The situation is intolerable. Any other but a calm, friendly, and peace-loving nation would promptly have declared war on Germany when, by order of her Government, her merciless submarine sank the *Lusitania*, carrying over a thousand human beings to instant death, of whom more than 100 were American citizens. But, in friendship, we employed diplomacy to induce Germany to forego such barbarity, and she gave her solemn word thereafter to conform to international law. When, by her decree of January 31, she broke her plighted faith with us, ignoring our rights and the dictates of humanity, and trampled under foot our most sacred sovereign rights, there is no alternate left to us but abject debasement or resort to armed force. As for me, there is no room left for argument. They have broken faith and friendship and denied our rights, without which our national sovereignty itself would be dishonored. To me the issue appears as plain as the light of day. The cave man has once again broken loose upon the world. He is mad and crazy. He knows not the impulses of humanity; he respects neither his own treaties and agreements nor the rights of others; he feels not the sentiments of truth or sympathy or justice; he is bent on the unwavering course of brute force, pillage, and murder. That cave man is the crazy German Emperor, and the heartless Prussian military caste and oligarchy of autocratic power which surrounds, urges, and supports him.

They have uniformly perverted the truth, broken the faith of their treaties, persistently violated the law of nations, trampled under foot the highest rights of humanity, filled the world with conscienceless spies, debased the consciences of their countrymen, enslaved free peoples, violated their sacred promises to the United States, plotted to array other nations with the Imperial German Government and nation against us, violated our friendship and hospitality by constituting their Washington embassy a nest of spies and plotters against our industries, our institutions, and our sovereignty, murdered 240 of our men, women, and children upon the high seas, and persistently made war for many months upon the United States, her property, her citizens, her rights, and her sovereignty by ruthless submarine warfare upon the free high seas in admitted violation of her plighted word.

Our patient and peace-loving President, answering the united prayers of our peace-loving Nation, has uniformly pursued the methods of peace and diplomacy, making representations of our acknowledged rights, and, in the name of the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two great countries, appealed for justice, law, and the right to pursue undisturbed our acknowledged national rights. His representations have been evaded, denied, or spurned, and the sacred promises made by the Imperial German Government have been broken in an hour without warning. Further argument is in vain. The cave man with murder in his heart can not reason, will not reason. He has appealed to the elemental brute force. He must be put down or the free democracies of this world are doomed.

I am profoundly sorry for the kind and honest German people, who have been and are yet under the iron heel of the Prussian

military oligarchy. It has been forced to use the keenest development yet known of the human brain for the most diabolical purposes yet conceived in the human heart.

The issue thus forced upon the United States is whether we shall abjectly crawl before organized hostile power or whether this Nation shall preserve its interests, its self-respect, its honor, its national existence. If the allies who are fighting the battle of the free democracies of the world shall fall before the mailed fist of Prussian militarism, the United States must be the next victim.

The same Prussian military caste still controls the German Nation which pounced on little Holland in 1864 and appropriated the two States of Schleswig and Holstein; which in 1866 pounced on Austria, its neighbor and of its own blood; which in 1870, for conquest, pounced like a tiger upon France and appropriated the two States of Alsace and Lorraine and $1,000,000,000 in gold to constitute its present war chest; and which, while pretending that a grasping, barbaric Russia, a vain, revengeful France, and a selfish, plotting England brought about the present European war to dismember the German Empire, thrust itself with the thoroughness of a machine and the fury of a volcano upon an unsuspecting Europe for conquest, glory, and indemnity; and that same Prussian military caste has taught each citizen of the German Empire that but for American money and supplies victorious Germany would long since have celebrated her victory, her conquest, and her huge indemnities. They would stiffen their German people against Americans as predicate to the day of reckoning the Government is sure to plan and force if it shall continue in power, especially as half the gold of all the world is within our vaults and we are least prepared to defend our rights against the most puissant nation in all the world. I am not deluded in the task we are about to undertake nor in the burden thus thrust upon us if we are to preserve this matchless Republic from destruction.

In girding up our loins as a Nation for the serious burden cast upon us we shall need every ounce of strength of a united people. For one I am weary of hearing of antagonisms and bitterness in the United States between the North and the South, between city and country, between capital and labor, between Jew and Gentile, between Catholic and Protestant, between prohibitionist and antiprohibitionist, between railroads and employees, between the producer and the manufacturer, between borrower and banker, between different races, creeds, and interests, as if each were not desirable and necessary to the other in the free economic, intellectual, and spiritual life of our Nation. And I am weary of constantly hearing of differentiations such as Irish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, Italian-Americans, English-Americans, and German-Americans, as if any foreign-born citizen, heartily welcome to our hospitable shores, yet bore allegiance in law or heart to any other land than free America; and I fervently pray, as I devoutly believe, that one compensation for our sacrifices and sufferings will be that hereafter all hyphens will disappear and that the chief and only boast of all men beneath the Stars and Stripes will be that he is an American citizen.

Therefore, in final analysis, it is a war unto death between autocracy and democracy, and autocracy has brought the challenge to our doors.

But for the cave man the German people would resume their normal peaceful relations of friendship and honor with all the world. One of the hopes of the awful catastrophe of European war is that the cave man may be conquered and the noble German people set free. [Applause.]

The United States should do a man's part in this crisis—not a craven's part of pretended defense only. If money is needed, it should be supplied without stint; if food and clothing, then our fields and mines and factories should supply it; if ships, then the valor of the line of John Paul Jones, Farragut, Semmes, and Dewey will respond; if men, then the best blood of all the world, acting in freedom's holy cause, will respond with enthusiasm wherever duty calls.

Now that the American people must take their firm and final stand for their acknowledged rights, let timidity and diplomacy and foreign sentiment and cowardly pacifism be engulfed at once in the mighty tide of American patriotic enthusiasm to defend our national rights, to uphold international law, to preserve civilization against autocratic brute force, to overthrow the last vestige of absolutism on earth, and to maintain our national sovereignty as the last and best hope of mankind. [Applause.]

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Chairman, a nation that would condone the atrocities committed by the German Government is not entitled to endure, but should perish from the face of the earth.

By the adoption of this resolution we will have declared that the civilization and liberty of the world shall not die. The people of this Government demand the passage of this resolution and will support it with their blood and might, with all the fervor of true and loyal American citizens, fully aroused to their patriotic duty.

Forces of circumstances over which we had no control have at last aroused the greatest Nation on earth and brought us into the most colossal war of all history. This decision has been reached slowly and with reluctance; but having been determined by a mighty people, every resource of this Nation will be placed in the scales of war, and there will be no turning back until German autocracy has been beaten into the dust before the victorious armies of the world, democracy reigns in its stead, and the peace and happiness of the world is assured.

Our indictment against the German Government consists of hostility to the sovereignty of the United States, to civilization, and to all mankind. From the very beginning of the war Germany has characterized her acts by deeds of perfidy and barbarism, succeeding each other with growing circumstances of ferocity and horror; the violation of treaties—mere scraps of paper; the poisoning of wells; the burning and looting of cities; even the destruction of fields and forests and all growing plants; the wholesale murder of inoffensive civilians, both men and women; Zeppelin raids upon undefended cities and hospitals; the atrocious and heartless submarine warfare; the robbery of citizens; the enslaving of thousands upon thousands of women and children; the plotting against the integrity of our national domain; the sinking of American ships engaged in legitimate trade; our citizens murdered and their bodies become the prey for the black-winged vultures of the sea.

In every dispatch from the war-swept countries of Europe tidings of new and accumulated horrors are brought to us, until at last the German Government is now running amuck; has thrown all restraint to the wind and has utilized her great achievements and scientific learning to such destruction of human life and property as never before recorded in the history of man.

For the crime committed by Cain, God placed a mark upon him; civilization to-day places a similar mark upon the German Government for her crimes against mankind.

Her prime minister declares that the barbarous submarine warfare shall continue and that if this Government seeks to protect the lives of her people the German Government will "overcome" this Nation. There is but one choice we can make. Incapable, sir, are we of following the path of submission. We accept this insolent challenge. The sword of the Nation must now be drawn in defense of our national existence; in defense of our freedom and liberty; in defense of civilization and the peace of the world.

Terrible as the war may become, awful as the sacrifice we may be called upon to make, the time has arrived when the mailed fist of despotism and savagery will be stricken down; Prussianism must perish from the earth; Hohenzollern must go.

In this hour of our national trial, party lines are no more; party politics are obliterated; internal differences forgotten; and to-day we stand as one people against the common enemy of our country.

The President's message—a declaration of liberty and freedom to mankind in every quarter of the globe—was but the voice of the Nation. It carried cheer to the hearts of the unconquerable soldiers of glorious France. It was the breaking of a new day of peace and happiness for the millions upon millions of Russians now drinking for the first time from the fountain of liberty and freedom. It was a ray of hope and inspiration to the noble sons of Britain and all her colonies as they beat back the hordes of barbarians of central Europe.

No longer shall we refer to the entente as the allies. By our decision to-day they have become our allies; our interests are in common; and by the adoption of this resolution the doom of the autocratic misrule of the German Government is forever sealed.

The spirit of our fathers who brought forth this Nation, which was dedicated to freedom, liberty, and human progress, lives within the breast of every American citizen; and the descendants of such sires, in the hour of the country's need will not halt or hesitate to defend our proud heritage with the last drop of blood and the expending of the last resource of this great Nation.

The spirit of our heroic dead from every battle field in the history of the Republic calls upon us to-day to fight for our flag and die for our flag, for reason hath primed our rifle in a holy and righteous cause and honor hath unsheathed the Nation's sword in defense of our national existence; and may the blessing of a just and merciful God rest upon the decision of the American people.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Chairman, in speaking and voting upon this resolution I realize that it is the most important duty that

in my lifetime I have had the opportunity to perform. As a Member of that great branch of the Government in whose hands the Constitution vests the sole right to declare war, I claim the right to vote and speak my convictions.

If the conclusion reached by the majority of this Congress is that nothing but war will satisfy the Nation's honor, I say in behalf of the people of the district which I have the honor to represent that the verdict will be accepted, and no more loyal citizenship will be found following the Stars and Stripes than comes from the eighth district of Wisconsin.

This resolution, read in connection with the President's message, means an alliance with England, France, Russia, and Japan. It means the sending of an expeditionary force to Europe composed of the young manhood of America to fight under the command and direction of European officers.

No one expects that the United States, entering the war at this time, can in any way carry out an independent campaign. The great directing minds at the head of the armies of the allies will command our troops and place them where they can use them best. They will move them about in as cold and calculating a way as if they were mere pawns on a chessboard.

The program contemplated by this resolution means, Mr. Chairman, I repeat, that the United States is to enter into a European alliance. In this evening's papers you will see that France congratulates the United States upon this step and accepts that alliance. It means the sending of an expeditionary force to Europe. It means conscription. It means that the strong arm of the Government will invade the sacred precincts of every American home and snatch an American boy and take him into foreign lands to fight under the flags of kings and emperors and foreign officers.

If you are not in favor of this program, now is the time to speak out; now is the time to assert yourself. These things will surely follow, and when we are in war it will be more difficult and may be too late to speak.

For almost three years the war has been going on. Nation after nation has thrown its strength on one side or the other in the firm belief that it would bring the war to an end. It has only added fuel to the fire and made peace more difficult.

Over 30,000,000 men have been called to arms in Europe. The tremendous economic loss occasioned by the withdrawal of these men from the farms and industries is too large to estimate. It is being felt all over the world, and the prices for the necessaries of life have risen so high even in America that our people are suffering, and we are having food riots in our large cities.

ALL THE WORLD WILL BE AT WAR.

If the United States enters this war, it means that the rest of the neutrals will soon be involved on one side or another, and the whole world will be in war.

How long will the war last, how many American boys will be sacrificed, what will be the cost of the war in the suffering of the people of the United States, no one can answer. The administration is making plans for three years ahead; after recruiting the number of troops under the present law, which will give us practically 500,000, we are to have a draft of 500,000, to be followed by other drafts of God only knows how many more five hundred thousands.

How will peace come about? Who will be the arbitrator of such a peace? Will the United States be able to have a commanding voice in such a peace? No one can answer with any assurance. Under this resolution the United States is "to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination." A successful termination to the United States may not be a successful termination to Great Britain.

Germany and the United States might agree to a peace, but if Great Britain and the allies did not agree the war would go on.

If Great Britain and Russia insist on a peace that means the extermination of Germany the war must go on. Once in the United States must stay in until peace is agreed upon by the allies who are going to dictate the terms of peace.

Germany will undoubtedly fight to the last ditch before she would submit to the extreme terms of a peace that the allies propose, and the war may last for many years.

The President's plea for a peace without victory, which sentiment was applauded by the peace-loving peoples of the world, will be lost if this resolution passes.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, we should continue our armed neutrality that the President so recently advised and give it a fair trial.

During the Revolutionary War Sweden, Prussia, Austria, and Portugal accomplished their purposes by armed neutrality. During the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars armed neutrality was resorted to and Great Britain was forced to revise her rules of naval warfare.

In 1778 the United States broke off diplomatic relations with France, and Congress authorized American frigates to capture French vessels guilty of depredations on American commerce. Actual naval engagements were fought, but no formal declaration of war was made, and within a year France backed down.

Armed neutrality, which was advocated by the President only a few weeks ago, has not been sufficiently tried and no facts have been produced to show it has failed.

EFFECT OF THE WAR.

I believe that voting for this resolution means the signing of the death warrant of thousands and perhaps millions of the young men of this country and the placing of a staggering tax burden on the future generations. I believe that by entering the European war we forego the supreme vantage ground we now occupy as the one strong neutral by whom great mediatory steps may be taken in bringing about an early and lasting peace. I believe that in throwing 100,000,000 people who are now happy and at peace, who are now busily producing what is keeping the rest of the world from famine, into the world war we are wiping out the last great civilized area as yet unswept by hatred, the world's one remaining resource for reconstruction. I believe that by entering the European war we will nullify our power and postpone for maybe a century the day when international disputes shall be settled by international courts of arbitration instead of those methods that have wrecked Europe.

President Wilson in his message to Congress delivered December 7, 1915, said:

> We have stood apart studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so. Not only did we have no part or interest in the policies which seem to have brought the conflict on; it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of destructive war and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive, if only to prevent collective economic ruin and the breakdown throughout the world of the industries by which its populations are fed and sustained.

The President's statement was wise statesmanship then and it is to-day.

Every Congressman must decide this question for himself regardless of the view any other branch of the Government takes. The great popular branch of this Government, the House of Representatives, is nearer the people than any other branch of the Government and no war can be declared without its vote.

I accept the responsibility of voting against war knowing that many of my lifelong friends whose opinions I highly regard differ with me. The responsibility is mine, and I must meet it and vote according to the dictates of my conscience.

In his speech of February 11, 1847, Tom Corwin, of Ohio, said regarding our entering the Mexican War:

> If it be my duty to grant whatever the President demands, for what am I here? Have I no will upon the subject? Is it not placed at my discretion, understanding, judgment? Have an American Senate and House of Representatives nothing to do but obey the bidding of the President? With these doctrines for our guide, tell me, tell the American people, what is the difference between your American democracy and the most odious, most hateful despotism that a merciful God has ever allowed a nation to be afflicted with?

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Chairman, I had intended to say nothing upon this resolution, but one or two statements have been made to-day which ought not to be permitted to stand without correction. It has been said that there is no more reason for a war with Germany than there is for going to war with Great Britain, that both these powers have violated international law and disregarded our rights. The gentlemen who say so fail to recognize that Germany is already making war on us.

These gentlemen say that England's announcement of November 3, 1914, warning neutrals of the presence of mines in the North Sea, was as certainly a violation of American rights as Germany's course when the Imperial Government proclaimed a barred zone about the French and British coasts and proceeded to sink American ships which ventured to sail within the prohibited area. It has also been asserted that two American ships have been destroyed by British mines, and that the only reason more have not been lost in the same way is because American ships have avoided the areas mined by Great Britain.

Let me say that it is only in America that the apologists for Germany make the assertion that the *Carib* and the *Evelyn* were destroyed by British mines. The German Government has not said so. On the contrary, in a note dated March 1, 1915, and addressed to the Secretary of State, Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, explains that these ships were lost because they did not follow sailing directions published by German authority.

Here is the letter:

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1915.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: Pursuant to instructions, I have the honor to inform your excellency that the American vessels *Evelyn* and *Carib* were lost in the North Sea because, contrary to the directions given in the Nachrichten für Seefahrer (Notice to Marines) No. 2770–14 and 33–15, they ran along the East Friesian Islands by direction, as stated by the captain of the *Evelyn*, of a British warship.

The Imperial German Government urgently recommends all vessels for Helgoland Bay from the coast of the Netherlands to sail up to about the fifty-fifth degree of latitude from the Terschelling Lighthouse and then steer for Listertief and there wait for a German pilot. He alone can furnish reliable information to navigate the German Bay.

The safest course is that given in No. 3161–14 of the Nachrichten für Seefahrer.

Accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the renewed assurance of my most distinguished high consideration.

J. BERNSTORFF.

How any honest man, familiar with this letter, can assert that the *Carib* and the *Evelyn* were destroyed by British mines is beyond my comprehension.

Alike conclusive is the document which I am about to quote. It is the formal reply of the German Government to the charges made by Great Britain that Germany had been sowing the North Sea and other waters with mines in the track of neutral shipping without such warning and notification as would enable peaceful merchant ships to navigate in saftey. This statement of the German Government is dated November 7, 1914, and was communicated to the Government at Washington by the American ambassador at Berlin. The fifth paragraph of the German reply is as follows:

In the British protest the charge is made that the German Government never issued any proclamation as to the places where mines were laid. This charge is not founded in fact. On August 7, 1914, the German Government communicated to all the neutral powers that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines by Germany. Neutral shipping was therefore notified of the fact of the laying of the mines and of the zones where it had to look out for German mines. If the German Government did not give the exact situation of the various mines, this may well be understood from the conditions which forced the laying of the mines.

The German Government announces, be it remembered, that it was Germany that closed the trade routes with German mines, and that this was done August 7, 1914, three days after the German Army entered Belgium and brought Great Britain into the war. I ask you to compare with this announcement a note signed by Count von Bernstorff and addressed to the Secretary of State, bearing date of September 10, 1914. The first two paragraphs are as follows:

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: By direction of my Government I have the honor respectfully to bring the following to your excellency's knowledge:

"No foundation for the idea prevalent among neutrals abroad that because of the blockade of German ports sea trade with Germany is tied up. No port is blockaded and nothing stands in the way of neutral States' trade with Germany.

"The assertions from England that the North Sea has been infested with mines by Germany are wrong."

This statement that nothing stands in the way of neutral States' trade with Germany seems to indicate that up to the date of that note, September 10, 1914, England had not placed mines on trade routes to German ports. The last sentence seems to deny what Germany admitted later, in the "reply" of November 7, quoted above, that Germany had laid mines on trade routes to English ports as early as August 7.

England's first announcement that her authorities had adopted a mine-laying policy as a countermeasure to that of Germany was made October 2, 1914, when she announced the fact and described the limits of the mine fields. It is not this proclamation, however, but that of November 3, erroneously cited as of November 2, that Germany's apologists have most frequently referred to as justifying Germany's submarine barred zone. The proclamation did give notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area within which all vessels would be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines. So far these gentlemen have often quoted it. I wish to call your attention to the last two paragraphs of the proclamation, which must be read with the warning if one would understand the document correctly. These paragraphs are as follows:

Ships of all countries wishing to trade to and from Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, and Holland are advised to come, if inward bound, by the English Channel and the Straits of Dover. There they will be given sailing directions that will pass them safely, so far as Great Britain is concerned, up the east coast of England to Farne Island, whence safe route will, if possible, be given to Lindesnaes Lightship. From this point they should turn north or south according to their destination, keeping as near the coast as possible. Converse applies to vessels outward bound.

By strict adherence to these routes the commerce of all countries will be able to reach its destination in safety, so far as Great Britain is concerned, but any straying even for a few miles from the course thus indicated may be followed by serious consequences.

BRITISH EMBASSY, *Washington.*

In view of the sailing directions given for the purpose of passing merchant ships "in safety, so far as Great Britain is concerned," it is difficult to understand the mental processes of those who say that this notification is a violation of neutral rights and an offense against humanity which justifies Germany's announcement of January 31, 1917, one paragraph of which I quote:

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, all navigation—that of neutrals included—from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

Neither in the policy pursued under this proclamation nor in that announced February 4, 1915, before the sinking of the *Lusitania*, has Germany even claimed to be observing the principles of international law. In the correspondence with our State Department the admission is made more than once that German submarines were not regarding the law of nations. On January 7, 1916, the German ambassador, acting under instructions from the foreign office in Berlin, notified the State Department as follows:

German submarines in the Mediterranean had from the beginning orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal as applied in the war zone around the British Isles were to be excluded.

German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passengers as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

The plain statement of the German Government shows that the orders given to submarines requiring them to operate in accordance with general principles of international law applied only to those operating in the Mediterranean and not to those operating in the war zone around the British Isles.

That was the case even under the original submarine war-zone proclamation of February 4, 1915. The situation is far worse under the proclamation which went into effect February 1, 1917, little more than a month ago. Gentlemen have said in this debate that Germany has broken no pledges and has merely put into effect once more the policy of two years ago. If that were the case, the situation would be as intolerable as it was when the *Lusitania* went down, and the *Sussex;* but that is not the case. Two years ago, though admitting that her conduct was a violation of international law, Germany announced that she would destroy only enemy ships; now she announces that she will sink all ships found within the enlarged war zone, ships of neutrals included.

In a note of February 16, 1915, two years ago, the German foreign office made the following statements:

It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property. * * * The commanders of German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American merchant ships when they are recognizable as such.

Exactly one year later—February 16, 1916—the German ambassador expressed the regret of his Government for the loss of American lives on the *Lusitania*. In the course of the note he said:

Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects.

All this was under the former war-zone policy of February 4, 1915. Now the case is vastly different. The long-standing friendship with the United States is disregarded, American ships are to be sunk—have been sunk—as if they were enemy ships. Germany has made them enemy ships. She has already treated us as two years ago and one year ago she told us she could treat none but enemies. It was "far, indeed, from the intention of the German Government ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property." She is now destroying American ships, knowing that they carry American lives, and insists that she intends to continue that destruction.

If Germany were operating under the law of blockade it would be necessary for her warships to learn whether a vessel which it is proposed to capture is violating the blockade either by going to or coming from a blockaded port. If the capture is to be made under the law of contraband it is necessary to know that the vessel is proceeding to an enemy destination and is actually carrying contraband goods. Visit and search will disclose the facts, but they can never be known if the vessel and all on board are sent to the bottom without examination.

These operations are not carried on under the law of blockade, for Germany has not proclaimed a blockade, nor under the law of contraband, for ships without cargo are sunk even when

bound for American ports. Germany has adopted a policy in violation of all law and hitherto unknown and unheard of. Sink the ship and drown the crew because the cargo is contraband? Then why not wreck the trains in a neutral country and kill engineer, conductor, fireman, and brakemen because the freight is of contraband nature? Sailors have no more authority to reject any part of the ship's cargo than brakemen have to refuse freight offered for transportation. But it is not contraband cargo that Germany is sinking. She has sunk American ships without cargo, one of them to-day sailing in water ballast from Genoa to a port in this country.

Another attempt to obscure the issue and to arouse sentiment in the House and in the country favorable to the lawless submarine policy of Germany is found in the charge made by the German Government and industriously circulated in this country that the United States Government has submitted to lawless acts of Great Britain while attepting to hold Germany to a strict observance of the requirements of international law.

It would not be worth while to spend any time in replying to this charge if there were not abundant evidence that even Members of the House have been misled by it. Even in this debate gentlemen have said that there would have been no attack by Germany upon American ships if our Government had not submitted to what these gentlemen call "England's blockade of neutral ports."

It is true that Great Britain has captured vessels carrying goods from American ports to the ports of neutral countries near Germany, on the ground that the goods in question had an ultimate destination in Germany. It is also true that our Government has protested against some of these captures and has called them "illegal and indefensible."

If I had time, I should like to outline the development of the doctrine of "continuous voyage" and the later doctrine of "ultimate destination of the goods." One would have to go back to the war between France and England which began in 1756, the American phase of which is known in this country as the French and Indian War. At that time the law of France, like the law of the United States to-day, permitted no foreign vessels to engage in the trade between the home country and its island possessions. When the war broke out France opened this traffic to foreign vessels. The English prize court held that foreign vessels engaged in this trade, which was closed to them in time of peace, were practically in the service of France and subject to capture as if they were actually of French nationality. This doctrine was embodied in what is known as "the rule of the war of 1756."

The same situation arose again in the war between France and England which broke out after the French Revolution. By this time the 13 American Colonies had become independent, and it was American vessels that now began to perform French service by carrying goods from the French West Indies to France. It was not long until the ingenious Yankee skippers devised a plan for evading the rule. To avoid making a voyage from Martinique to France, they would take out clearance papers at Martinique for some American port, and there take out new clearance papers for the real destination in France.

The British prize courts held that the interposition of a neutral port between the port of origin and the true destination was a subterfuge, and that the two voyages from Martinique to Charleston and from Charleston to Marseille constituted in fact one continuous voyage. Under this doctrine vessels were condemned by the prize courts. The rule was applied also to British vessels which traded with the enemy and attempted to evade the law by interposing a neutral port between the British port from which they started and the French port which was the true destination.

By the time our Civil War broke out the doctrine of continuous voyage was fairly well established, but its application had been confined almost wholly to the rule of 1756 and the law forbidding trade with the enemy. American courts accepted the doctrine of continuous voyage and applied it in two new ways. We applied it to the law of contraband and also to the law of blockade. Vessels that sailed from England to Cardenas, in Cuba, or to Matamoros, in Mexico, and to other neutral ports, were seized by our cruisers and condemned by our prize courts on the ground that the contraband goods which they carried had an ultimate destination in the Southern Confederacy, or that the noncontraband goods were destined for blockaded territory.

The most remarkable of these cases was that of the *Springbok*, a British sailing vessel which sailed from London for Nassau, in the Bahamas. We captured this British vessel, which had sailed from one British port to another British port, on the ground that the cargo which it carried was intended for transshipment at Nassau to an unknown destination in the Southern Confederacy. The voyage of the *Springbok* was to be ended at Nassau. She was to discharge her cargo there and return to England.

In previous wars no ship had been held under the doctrine of continuous voyage until after she had cleared from the interposed port with papers which showed unmistakably an enemy destination. We captured this vessel on the first leg of the voyage, when there was no intention that the vessel should ever clear for an enemy port. The doctrine of continuous voyage had developed into the doctrine of ultimate destination of the goods.

Appeal was taken by the British owner of the vessel from the decision of the prize court in New York to the Supreme Court of the United States. While this appeal was pending the British Government, February 20, 1864, instructed Lord Lyons, its minister at Washington, that they had considered the judgment of Judge Betts in the case of the *Springbok* and had decided that they could not officially interfere in the matter, adding: "The complicity of the owners of the ship with the design of the owners of the cargo is, to say the least, so probable on the evidence that there would be great difficulty in contending that this ship and cargo had not been rightly condemned."

Those who maintain that the decision in the *Springbok* case was right do so because they believe the law is a living thing which grows and develops as conditions change. Some who believe that the decision of the Supreme Court was wrong might say that the development of the doctrine of ultimate destination of the goods out of the doctrine of continuous voyage of the vessel was a violent distortion of the law.

Great Britain in the present war has accepted the American doctrine of the ultimate destination of the goods. It is true Great Britain has applied that doctrine more extensively than we did during the Civil War, and in one or two particulars has applied it in new ways. It is also true, I believe, that our State Department has protested against these new ways of applying the doctrine, and in letters to the British Foreign Office has said that in this particular England's course has been "illegal and indefensible." This claim on the part of our Government may be compared to the action of an attorney who in trying a case finds it necessary to file an objection to a ruling of the court in order that he may have ground on which to base an appeal. But it is utterly beyond reason to say that England's extension of the doctrine of ultimate destination of the goods is an offense against the laws of humanity, or that it in any way justifies the German submarine policy. It slaughters no noncombatants; it drowns no women and children; it does not shock and horrify mankind. It is a dispute about the law which can be settled by diplomatic means. If it is ultimately determined that England's course has been wrong, any damage that has been done may be repaired by indemnities.

As a final argument to induce us to submit to Germany's attack upon our ships and the lives of our people, we are told that international law no longer exists; that the strain of the war has shattered and destroyed it. If law ceases to exist when it is defiantly and persistently broken, this argument may have some weight. A somewhat careful examination of the decisions of prize courts of England and of France, and even of the imperial supreme prize court at Berlin, will show that these courts are applying principles of international law, are deciding cases on their merits, sometimes in favor of a foreign claimant and against the contentions of their own governments.

I have time only to mention the case of the *Zamora*, a Swedish vessel which sailed from New York for Stockholm with a cargo that included copper. This vessel was captured by a British cruiser and taken into port for a hearing before the prize court on the ground that the ultimate destination of at least a portion of the cargo was Germany. Before the court reached the case the officers of the Crown issued a requisition for the copper on the authority of an order of the King in council. The court allowed the copper to be taken, but required a bond, in order that when the case should be decided the court might have the value of the copper, if not the copper itself, to turn over to the claimant in case the award should be in his favor. The Swedish claimant appealed the decision concerning the requisition, bringing it before the judiciary committee of the privy council, which is the court of last resort in prize proceedings. This court reversed the decision of the prize court on the ground that the prize court must render its decisions in accordance with international law, and that the order in council was in contravention of international law. The court declared that a British prize court had no jurisdiction over foreigners on the high seas, except the jurisdiction of international law, and that the King in international law cases was merely one of the parties to the case.

The prize court, it was added, could not take orders from one of the litigants. The order in council was void and international law was sustained.

In the dealings of nations with one another ideal standards of righteousness have not been attained, but the highest achievements of civilization are bound up in the customs and usages, the court decisions, and the codes adopted by treaties, which, taken together, constitute the rules of international law. This law will change, will grow, will adapt itself to changed circumstances and new conditions, but we must not listen to those who tell us that it does not exist. International law is not dead and we must not let it die. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. LUNDEEN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

THE WORLD WAR.

Billions for America, but not a dollar for the kings of Europe.
High cost of living oppressive now without war. If war comes, God help the poor—Congress may forget them.
The right to vote before declaring war will soon be seized by the peoples of the earth.
If you conscript men for war, conscript wealth for war.
Where Minneapolis and Minnesota stand.
Stand by the people.

Mr. LUNDEEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, these are times when the people should be consulted. Before war is declared let the American citizen express his opinion.

I have placed the ballot on war in the hands of the 54,000 voters in my district. I am breaking ground, but I do not fear. The pioneers have gone before me. The right to vote on war will soon be seized by the peoples of the earth. Since the President hurriedly advanced the special session from April 16 to April 2, and on account of the ox-team mail service now so general, my returns are not complete at this hour, but they run about 10 to 1 against declaring war on Germany. A preliminary count discloses nearly 8,000 against declaring war and less than 800 for war. The final count will not materially change the situation. We have enough ballots now to feel certain as to the result.

I do not believe a Congressman should trouble his constituents with a referendum or vote on minor questions, but questions of great national importance, such as war and conscription and any other great dominant issue, can easily be submitted by the Congressman to his people under his frank for a popular expression.

Of course, there are those who laugh at such methods and affect to deride them; but the great mass of voters are glad to take a hand in forming their own laws and express surprise that it has not been done long ago. If all of the Congressmen had placed the ballot in the hands of the voters we would never enter the world war. Let us not forget that Abraham Lincoln once said our Government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Some hot-headed critics abuse me. I bear them no ill will. They are entitled to their opinions. Some say, "As Congressman you have inside information which we can not have, and you should accept the responsibility." As a matter of fact, in this great debate, so far not one line of inside information has been given out. No executive sessions have been held. No news "scoops" have been sprung. The people of Minneapolis know just as much about this question as we do here. We have all heard, carefully read, and studied the President's speech; so have they by now. Congress can not arrogate to itself all the gray matter in the country. As for myself, I learn more from the man in the street, the shop, and office; the man on the farm and in the factory, than from any book or theory or from any debate in the Halls of Congress. The people think. Let there be no mistake about that. They are thinking more and more every day. The people have brains of their own; they are doing their own thinking, and they refuse to let a few warped and war-mad editors do their thinking for them.

The President in his message states that the German people were not consulted about getting into this world war. I ask, were the American people consulted about getting into this same world war? They were not, except in the fifth congressional district of Minnesota, where for the first time in our national history all of the voters were given the ballot on war; and there the American people, living in that district, registered themselves overwhelmingly against plunging America into war.

To my shame, I see
The imminent death of twenty thousand men,
That for a fantasy and trick of fame
Go to their graves like beds, fight for a plot
Whereon the numbers can not try the cause.
—Shakespeare.

WAR LOANS.

When you have declared war you will have to finance the struggle with billions of dollars and perhaps tens and scores of billions. Already we have loaned the allies, through our banking system, up to December 31, 1916, the enormous sum of $2,325,900,000 in formal loans. Other huge sums have been loaned and millions have been added since that date. "Where your treasures are, there will be your heart also." That is one of the reasons why we are about to enter this war. No wonder the Morgans and the munition makers desire war. The munition makers desire to make more munitions, to deliver them and receive their money in return at high war prices. Our financiers desire that Uncle Sam underwrite these and other huge loans and fight to defend their financial interests, that there may be no final loss. It is already rumored that we are to loan or give to the allies about $5,000,000,000, perhaps more. All this, when millions of our own people are in great distress, when our own program of preparedness is woefully lacking.

Washington's Farewell Address says this: "* * * There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard * * *."

And yet when the war budget comes before us we will be compelled to vote for all of its provisions, swallowing the foreign-loan paragraph with the rest because it will be interwoven with the home defense and preparedness program in one great measure. In all probability we will be given no opportunity to register our protest except in the Committee of the Whole, where there is no roll call and only a voice or standing vote. I hasten to protest now in the name of the American people against any such action, knowing that it will soon be too late. Are you going to give point to the accusation made by many patriotic citizens that this is only "a dollar war"? I am opposed to placing our credit and the American Army and Navy under foreign control. The war in Europe has now cost the nations almost $100,000,000,000. I am opposed to placing this burden of the European war on our shoulders, that we may grow weary while they grow strong. Many military experts hold that the Teutonic powers are now about to collapse. If so, why loan money to the allies or declare war on Germany unless it be to help rebuild our rivals and fit them with the tools of trade to conquer our Nation in the war after the war. These billions may even now be forging weapons to be turned against us in some future day of trial. Stranger things than that have happened in the history of nations.

As for making loans or gifts to the allies, I have but one sentiment, and that is, billions for America, but not a dollar for the kings of Europe.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

Bread and many other food products cost less to-day in Berlin and London than in our own cities. The situation is getting intolerable, and yet you are plunging us into war. The high cost of living is oppressive now without war. If war comes, God help the poor—Congress may forget them.

When the poor cry out for bread; when taxes rise beyond the power to pay; when riots for food may have to be repressed with the murder of our own people—then what will you say? What answer to the hungry? What will you say then, and what will your message be to the mother whose son dies in battle under foreign kings and emperors? What will your answer be? Already in times of peace serious riots have occurred repeatedly in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other important centers.

During the past 10 years the cost of living has steadily risen, and especially so during the great European war. If we are sincere in our effort to reduce the cost of living, we should certainly not plunge into a war that will make it almost impossible for the average American citizen and his family to live. If you insist on war, let common sense at once institute a complete Federal control over all necessary food products.

LABOR CARRIES THE HEAVY BURDEN.

In war the farmer and the laboring man must pay the heaviest toll. When killed their families suffer most. Often no means are left for their support. Do our millionaires care about this as they rush about loaning billions? Not a bit. Unless they do their bidding, they are either traitors or cowards. When conscription lays its heavy hand on their shoulder, then the worker and his son must go or be shot. How will you feed their families? Millions are now on the verge of starvation. Unheard-of prices are already oppressing the people, and yet you are plunging us into war.

VOLUNTEERS AND CONSCRIPTION.

Volunteers have always opened our great struggles. If we enter, a call for volunteers should open the world war for us. As a Spanish War veteran, holding a commission in the Guards for some years, I certainly can not be termed a pacifist. I be-

lieve in strong defense and preparedness. There are other trained Members who may command their regiments, brigades, and divisions. I volunteer here and now to lead an untrained but war-like and war-voting company of volunteer Congressmen into the trenches of Europe. Let a hundred Members enlist in some regiment for war. When you vote for war, send your name to Uncle Sam as a volunteer. The English Parliament has done as well as that; so has the German Reichstag and the National Assembly of France. Or shall we follow the example of Artemus Ward, who offered all of his wife's relatives? Let us not send our boys into foreign wars unless we are willing to go with them.

This may prove the most unpopular war in our history. Conscription, always distasteful to a free people, may soon stalk through the land, hand in hand with his brothers, war and death. If you conscript men for war, conscript wealth for war. While loudly talking of democracy, you prepare in an autocratic manner to force conscription upon the people. How many of you think a popular vote would favor conscription? Australia has just voted down conscription after two years of war. To force conscription at once upon the American people in this war, against their wishes, is to enslave millions in the interest of foreign nations. Let the American volunteer have a chance. If you have gone war mad and must fight, give the volunteer a fair chance. Then if he rebels at being slaughtered in Europe at the bidding of kings and emperors, you propose to lay the heavy hand of the law upon him and conscript these men who, through a mist of world tears, can only see America and the Star Spangled Banner of their native land.

ABSOLUTE NEUTRALITY.

We must place America first and observe absolute neutrality. The people of Minneapolis and Minnesota expressed both of these sentiments by their protests and their votes against war, emphasizing at this time that we should maintain impartial neutrality.

Great Britain and Germany have continually violated our rights on the high seas. Both have created great and dangerous war zones; both have warned us to keep out. England even closed the ports of neutrals to our shipping, unlawfully seized our ships and confiscated their cargoes. She has censored and rifled our mails; the whole of the North Sea has been made a military area by her orders. Both nations covered the ports of their enemies with war zones, strewing the seas with deadly mines and infesting them with ruthless submarines. In both of these zones we have lost American ships and American lives. Both countries openly and flagrantly violated international law, but neither aimed their warfare and weapons directly at us. They treated all neutral countries alike. They acted through necessity, self-preservation being the first law of life.

We submitted—we surrendered to Great Britain—yet we sacrificed no honor. Great Britain acted through necessity. Germany also acted through necessity. We could have remained away without loss of honor, but in the case of Germany we refuse to yield. We will not submit nor surrender, yet we did submit—we did surrender—to Great Britain.

Let us frankly admit that both sides have wronged us; both sides have sunk our ships and destroyed American lives. The Scandinavian and other countries had the good sense to put an embargo on ammunition at the beginning of the war. Let us frankly admit that these countries were right, too, in warning their citizens to keep out of the war zones. Australia and Canada, though at war and colonies of Great Britain, forbade their women and children passage on all ships to England.

Those who enter into an academic discussion of the relative merits of the European contest are wasting valuable time on problems which do not concern us in the least, and never should concern us.

Our task is in the Western Hemisphere—as yet far from completed. We can not hope to maintain the Monroe doctrine and at the same time interfere in the affairs of other continents. "Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground."

To choose between these war-mad nations and ally ourselves with one or the other is a crime against our civilization and our own citizens. I plead with you, do not permanently endanger the Republic. As between these the voice of Washington bids us not to choose. You should not choose; I will not choose. Thomas Jefferson, author of our Declaration of Independence and twice President of the United States, strongly urged Washington's policy of absolute neutrality as to foreign nations. Place America first—her honor and safety first—keep out of both war zones. Let us turn to our internal problems, holding ourselves always ready to be the Good Samaritan to a sorely wounded and tried world.

"STAND BY THE PRESIDENT."

There are those who insist on the slogan, "Stand by the President." Stand by the President! Which one—the one that "kept us out of war" or the one that plunged us in? You might as well say, "Stand by Congress." Its duties are just as important and its rights just as sacred as those of the Chief Executive. A better slogan would be, Stand by the Government. Garfield once said, "God reigns and the Government in Washington still lives." But why not have a still better and a still greater slogan and sentiment that comes out of the great American heart: Stand by the people. There are too many men who stand by Morgan; too many who stand by Rockefeller; too many, indeed, who stand by the Kaiser or the King. I choose none of these; I am for America before all—my native land. I refuse to crown the President with kingly powers. I am standing by Congress in the performance of its constitutional duties. The mandate of the people is the only command I recognize, and no one can swerve me from that position.

"HE KEPT US OUT OF WAR."

You now forget the slogan of 1914, "War in the east! Peace in the west! Thank God for Wilson." What became of the President's phrase, "Too proud to fight"? Where is the slogan of 1916, Peace, progress, and prosperity, which carried an election, coupled with that other war cry, "He kept us out of war"? The party in control would not have carried a single State in this Union on your present slogan, which seems to be: Wilson, willfulness, and war. In the campaign of 1916 these were the words of Woodrow Wilson: "In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere." Your platform pledges are null and void. You demand war at any cost. You promised peace, but war was in your hearts. I say to you, gentlemen of the majority, the ghosts of these slogans will yet rise up to haunt you. The blood of our people will be upon your hands, not mine. If defeated in our fight on this resolution, we can truly say, "We have fought a good fight; we have kept the faith."

DANGERS CONFRONTING US.

The people say:

Why should we mix in?
Let them settle their own quarrels.
Let them fight it out among themselves.
They started it; let them finish it.
Ten per cent of the people should not be permitted to plunge 100 per cent into war.
Give us the vote on war.

England thought she could settle this war with her fleet, so plunged in, declaring war on Germany. But she failed. Italy thought she could settle this war, and the allies urged her in. To-day, starving, without fuel, she trembles on the very edge of revolution. Bulgaria and Turkey thought they could settle the war—an idle dream. Poor Roumania had 600,000 stalwart men—ten times as many as we can spare for the field to-day. She chose her own time. In 100 days more than 350,000 of her best were dead, dying, or captured, and the remaining 250,000, with their fugitive king, were driven into Russia. We have never suffered a final defeat in war. We are potentially powerful, but let us not grow haughty; let us profit by their experiences.

The submarine is a real peril. In the month of February alone one-fiftieth of the entire world's tonnage went down. England's fleet has already sustained a loss equivalent to the entire American war fleet. Have you a weapon to meet the submarine? Can you meet it? Some day we may wish to use the submarine exactly as the central powers are now using the same, within our own war zones, other nations entering at their peril.

This very morning the British chief of staff, Robertson, appealed for 500,000 more men from England by July 1, stating that Germany now has 1,000,000 more men than at any other time since the war began. England at this very hour is reexamining her rejected recruits. My friends, this war will be no picnic. It will be war. Turbulent Mexico tears at our southern border; Colombia hates with a deadly hatred; all South America is suspicious of our intentions. Japan, our rival on the Pacific, is about to become our bosom friend. We are about to ally ourselves with England, with whom we have fought two deadly wars and who tried to destroy our Republic during the Civil War.

After careful reading and thorough study of the President's message I have come to the conclusion that he is now leading us into a succession of wars and unnumbered dangers. Once you have become involved in the whirlwind of war you will be swept off your feet into the general war policy of the allied nations.

"It is," indeed, "a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance."

Other nations may be drawn into this titanic struggle through our action. Men now forget that our country may perish, that some great tyranny may survive. As for me, I want America to live. I hope we will not enter, but if war is declared all will unite for that war. I have but one allegiance, and that to my native land. I have but one country, and that country is the United States.

WASHINGTON VERSUS WILSON.

In his message to Congress on the 2d of April, 1917, President Wilson states that we must make "extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credit"; we must "supply the nations already at war with Germany"; we must "help them in every way to be effective there"; we must "spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power." We are to stand behind the allies to the last dollar and back them to the last breath of man or horse. The President states explicitly and exactly that we must supply the nations already at war first, placing the United States in a secondary position, giving as the reason that they are already in the field. No other President has ever before announced such a policy. Let us seek first the good of America.

Listen to the words of Washington in his historic Farewell Address—a document which has been more widely read than any other state paper issued by a President of the United States:

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. * * *

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrel and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. * * *

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests. * * *."

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. * * *

"* * * There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard. * * *

"In offering you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend I dare not hope that they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the current of the passions or prevent our Nation from running the course which hitherto has marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated."

LETTER TO PATRICK HENRY.

"My ardent desire is and my aim has been (as far as depended upon the executive department) to comply strictly with *all* our engagements, foreign and domestic; but to keep the United States free from political connections with *every* other country, to see them independent of *all* and under the influence of *none*. In a word, I want an *American* character that the powers of Europe may be convinced that we act for *ourselves* and not for *others*. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home; and not by becoming partisans of Great Britain or France create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

(From a letter to Patrick Henry, dated from Mount Vernon, Oct. 9, 1795.)

If we are to choose between the policy of Wilson or the policy of Washington, as for me I will follow Washington.

DEMOCRACY.

We now chart a new national course. In terms of autocracy, we declare our intention to bestride the world with democracy. Our fixed determination is to thrust democracy with loving bayonets down the throats of unwilling peoples.

Let us look at the company we will keep in performing this benevolent function. We will be marching side by side with the King of Serbia; the King of Italy is our boon companion; the King of Belgium is there; so also the King of Roumania; the Emperor of India and King of England, our stalwart brother; not to mention the King of Montenegro and various other principalities and rulers, as well as chaotic Russia—only France is a Republic—and last, but not least, we are to be brothers in the blood with our dear friend the Emperor of Japan. And this our Chief Executive proposes as our "league of honor."

Their cause is made our cause, all our blood and treasure is placed at their disposal. I ask, is this the America of our fathers?

HUMANITY.

All of these nations have contributed their full share to the glory of civilization. Napoleon, incomparable in military science, a Frenchman. Shakespeare, illustrious forever, an Englishman. The very science of printing which has done more than any other one thing to perpetuate knowledge was given to the world by the German Gutenberg. Dante, Italian. Count Tolstoy, a Russian. Austria and every other nation involved has its long list of famed leaders. All of these peoples have come into our land. We are the melting pot of all of the nations. Here we have endeavored to join hands. Shall we sever these ties of a century-long friendship? Germany has never made war on us. For 140 years she has remained our steadfast friend. Hardly have the war wounds of civil strife commenced to heal before, in the words of Washington, you begin to "destroy the cement that binds the Union by becoming partisans of Great Britain and France." This war declaration may yet become a sore trial and tribulation for the spirit within you. Humanity has been the watchword before the election; why not after the election? Ideals and preachment have been freely indulged in. Why not practice as well as preach?

Let America show love, not hatred, to these battle-torn peoples. Let us show compassion, not revenge. Let sympathy and the helping hand, not death or destruction, be our motto. Let us play the part of the Good Samaritan. To miss this opportunity will be the most colossal blunder of the ages. The spirit of Christianity, peace, and sanity, its last refuge here, now makes one final plea to its only protector. Shall we answer with the sword? Shall we further bleed our own race white that the yellow peril may stand back and win in some final day of reckoning? Is that your ideal? Humanity! The word seems strangely out of place. These are disjointed times. On Good Friday, about to break, you are proceeding to add to the agony of a world already crucified by war.

The spirit of Washington seems to speak to us to-night in words of warning lest our far-flung battle lines melt away. Here in this hour I stand strong for peace with honor—the same honor that Sweden and Norway, Denmark and Holland, Spain, Switzerland, and the South American Republics regard as an honorable peace. They have refused to follow our President into war. Mr. Speaker, I vote "no" upon this resolution. God helping me, I can not do otherwise. [Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert a few wires and letters from organizations opposing this war declaration. I am omitting all of the several thousand letters and messages from individuals, a mighty chorus of protest. I am also including certain tables for reference.

Unanimous consent was granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 31, 1917.*

To whom it may concern:

This is to certify that the bearer, R. D. Cramer (editor of the Labor Review), is the official representative of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, to insist that Congress and the President keep the Nation out of war. (Representing 25,000 union men.)

DAN W. STEVENS, *President.*
LESLIE SINTON, *Secretary.*

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 2, 1917.*

Congressman ERNEST LUNDEEN,
Washington, D. C.:

Central committee of Hennepin County, Socialist Party, at a special meeting March 28, to consider the national crisis, concluded that war would not be in defense of national honor, but in defense of munition makers and food exporters. Unanimously decided to urge you to vote against declaring war.

A. E. GORGIAN, *Secretary.*

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 29, 1917.*

Mr. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Bricklayers and Masons' Union of Minneapolis, composed of an organization of 700 members, went on record protesting against this country entering into war, and we earnestly hope that when Congress meets next Monday you will not vote in favor of any measures that will throw this country in a state of war.

Yours, truly.

THE BRICKLAYERS' AND MASONS' UNION,
By WM. C. ORTLER, *Secretary.*

—

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
HENNEPIN LODGE, NO. 477,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 30, 1917.*

Mr. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the last regular meeting of Hennepin Lodge, No. 477, International Association of Machinists, the lodge representing the railroad machinists instructed me to write you asking that you use every effort to keep the United States out of war. Hoping you will give this matter your attention,

I am, yours, sincerely,

[SEAL.] A. C. TRUOG, *Recording Secretary.*

—

BROTHERHOOD OF
PAINTERS, DECORATORS, AND PAPERHANGERS,
Minneapolis, Minn., March 31, 1917.

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Local Union No. 186, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, at our regular meeting held March 27, 1917, unanimously passed a motion ordering the secretary to write the President, Senators, and Congressmen of this district, protesting against this Nation entering the European war.

Trusting that you will use every effort to prevent a declaration of war, and with best wishes, we beg to remain,

Respectfully, yours,

[SEAL.] DAN W. STEVENS,
Secretary Local Union No. 186.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Vote and work against war. If it comes, conscript all incomes over $5,000 to meet the expenses.

NELS NELSON,
President Carpenters Union No. 7.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Congressman ERNEST LUNDEEN,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The Cabinetmakers and Millmen's Local No. 1568, in executive session, have just carried a resolution unanimously which is opposed to war. We, as an organization and individually, do earnestly beseech you to use all your influence and power to avert war.

Sincerely, yours,

RAY CLOUGH, *Secretary.*

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. E. LUNDEEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the recent course of events has brought our beloved country to the brink of war with the Imperial German Government,

Resolved by the Swedish Tabernacle Church, of Minneapolis, in regular meeting assembled, That our Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, urged to use their best offices in the interception of any step of our Government tending to a formal declaration of an existing state of war.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be wired to our Representatives in Congress.

Rev. GUSTAF F. JOHNSON,
S. A. MATSON,
SAMUEL N. NICHOLS,
Committee on Resolutions.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The St. Anthony Turn Society, consisting of 265 American citizens, passed a resolution protesting against plunging this country into war with European powers.

MAX SIMON, *President.*

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
United States Representative, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned ministers of the gospel, residents of Twin Cities, and citizens, respectfully urge you to oppose a declaration of war by Congress. Humanity can not be helped nor our rights and honor vindicated by dragging our country into the war in order to help one violator of international law and American rights punish the other. This view is held widely by those with whom we come into contact.

Rev. Oscar W. Carlson, Rev. A. L. Rystrom, Rev. C. G. Strom, Rev. Gustave F. Johnson, Rev. C. Olson, Rev. Nath. N. Franklin, Rev. C. F. Sandstrom, Rev. E. Dahlhielm, Rev. A. E. Palmquist, Rev. C. Hognander, Rev. F. O. Gustafson, Rev. K. E. Peterson.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

—

ERNEST LUNDEEN,
Washington, D. C.:

Do everything against war. If it comes conscript all incomes over $5,000 to meet the expense.

NORTHWESTERN COOKS ASSOCIATION.

(Same telegram sent by: Waitresses Local, No. 593; Barbers Union, C. S. Camp, president; and Bankers Union Local, No. 222, Olof Falt, secretary.)

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *March 28, 1917.*

Mr. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed "Message from the Quaker Society of America" is sent you for your usual earnest consideration. Need it be said that the vast majority of American citizens are unqualifiedly for peace and not for war?

As the Rockies in Colorado tower over the foothills, so does the inclosed message excel the utterings of that faction which sees in the world war great financial gains and at the same time entirely discounting the means by which their ends are to be attained. War rights no wrongs. It is at best nothing more nor less than a senseless waste both on the economic field and on the greater field of human hopes and dreams for a future universal brotherhood.

It well behooves the Representatives in our Congress to ponder deeply ere plunging the Nation into this damnable insult to twentieth century intelligence.

Sincerely,

H. L. PLUMMER, *2819 Pleasant Ave. S.*
HARRY A. JOHNSON, *1518 3rd Ave. S., Flat K.*

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN, M. C.
Washington, D. C.:

You will soon be called upon to help by your vote in Congress to decide whether this country shall join in the terrible destruction of nations or refrain therefrom. We strongly urge upon you, our Representative, to use your vote and influence for peace. Adopted unanimously at regular meeting of Bernadotte Lodge Independent Order of Good Templars, Saturday, 31st, 1916.

BERNADOTTE LODGE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS,
By OSCAR SUNDBERG.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

ERNEST LUNDEEN, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Jupiter Lodge, No. 6, I. O. G. T., asks you to remember our homes and beloved country and that you kindly use your influence to prevent the threatening war.

JUPITER LODGE,
By BERT NORMAN,
505 Walnut Street SE.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

ERNEST LUNDEEN, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

For God, humanity, and the American Nation, let us have peace. Ornen Temple, Templars of Temperance, ask you to use your strong influence against war.

ORNEN TEMPLE, TEMPLARS OF TEMPERANCE.
By OSCAR G. ERICSON.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN,
Representative District No. 5 of Minnesota,
Washington, D. C.:

Faculty and students assembled resolved sending appeal to you to use utmost influence against declaration of war.

L. J. PEDERSEN, *President,*
FACULTY, AND STUDENTS,
Bible Institute and Academy, 243 Twentieth Avenue S.

—

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ERNEST LUNDEEN, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Please keep our country out of the European war. Let England and the ammunition leaders care for their own affairs.

LEBANON EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH,
Rev. C. E. ELVING,
F. T. GUSTAFSON,
OSCAR PETERSON,
Committee.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 4, 1917.*

Congressman ERNEST LUNDEEN,
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.:

Can you in justice to those democratic principles we prize vote for war without consulting your constituents? "It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance." We do not want this war to be determined upon "as wars used to be

determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers." We beg you to consult the people themselves on this vital issue by an advisory referendum, and in the meantime to appoint a joint high commission to find a sane adjustment of our difficulties.

EMERGENCY PEACE FEDERATION,
LELLA FAYE SECOR, *Secretary.*

Just before I rose to address the House the following wire was handed me:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 5, 1917.*

ERNEST LUNDEEN, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolution unanimously passed against war. We back you for peace.
YOUNG MEN'S CLUB, TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The following ballot on war was submitted to all of the registered voters of the fifth district of Minnesota:

I believe that the people should be consulted before Congress declares war.

	Yes.	No.
Shall the United States declare war on Germany?		
Do you favor universal military service for our national defense?		

Full name _____
Address _____

Clip this vote now and mail to

ERNEST LUNDEEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Your name will be held strictly confidential.

NATIONAL LEADERS OPPOSED TO THE RESOLUTION.

Gen. SHERWOOD, a Grand Army man who fought in 42 pitched battles; Col. LITTLE, of the "Fighting Twentieth" Kansas, and a number of Spanish War men oppose this war resolution. Of the Nation's four leading Democrats only the President is speaking for war. Congressman KITCHIN, Democratic floor leader, and Congressman WOODS of Iowa, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, are opposed. So also are Congressman BURNETT, author of the immigration law and chairman of the Immigration Committee; Congressman HAUGEN, for 18 years a Member of Congress from Iowa; Congressman COOPER, for 24 years a Member from Wisconsin and senior Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee; and many others of prominence. Six Senators, among whom are ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin; GRONNA, of North Dakota; NORRIS, of Nebraska; LANE, of Oregon; and VARDAMAN, of Mississippi, are outspoken in opposition. Senator STONE, of Missouri, opposes the resolution. The Senator is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate.

These men are not afraid to voice their convictions.

We will speak out; we will be heard,
Though all earth's systems crack;
We will not bate a single word,
Nor take a letter back.
* * * * *
Whatever we have dared to think
That dare we also say.

We speak the truth, and what care we
For hissing and for scorn,
While some faint gleamings we can see
Of Freedom's coming morn.

—James Russell Lowell.

STATISTICAL TABLES.

Both Germany and England have sunk American vessels, killing American citizens:

SHIPS SUNK BY BRITISH MINES, RESULTING IN LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES, IN BRITISH MILITARY AREA OF NORTH SEA.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 1, 1917, page 5200, minority report of the Foreign Affairs Committee, signed by Congressman DORSEY W. SHACKLEFORD, says:

Two of our ships, the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*, went into that (Great Britain's) war zone, where they struck mines and went down, with loss of lives of our citizens in both cases.

Edwin J. Clapp, professor of economics in New York University, in his book, Economic Aspects of the War, page 8, says:

Because of these [Great Britain's] floating mines in the North Sea literally scores of vessels were lost, mostly belonging to the Scandinavian countries and Holland. Three American vessels were included—the *Greenbrier, Carib*, and *Evelyn*. Because of the danger of mines ocean freight and war-risk insurance rates became a very heavy burden on shippers and buyers and in the case of some commodities became prohibitive of commerce; a policy of uncertainty and fear was thrown over the commercial world.

Ships sunk by German submarines, resulting in loss of American lives, beginning of war to March 29, 1917.

[State Department.]

	Vessels sunk.	Americans killed.
American vessels sunk (without warning), killing American citizens	3	
Number of Americans killed on these vessels		14
British vessels sunk (without warning), killing American citizens	11	
Number of Americans killed on these vessels		165
British vessels sunk (warned), killing American citizens	2	
Number of Americans killed on these vessels		14
British vessels sunk (shelled by submarine), killing American citizens	4	
Number of Americans killed on these vessels		24
Italian vessel sunk (without warning), killing American citizens	1	
Number of Americans killed on this vessel		7
French vessel sunk (without warning), killing American citizens	1	
Number of Americans killed on this vessel		1
Norwegian vessel sunk (without warning), killing American citizens	1	
Number of Americans killed on this vessel		1
Total	23	226

The British ship *Armenian* was ordered to stop by the submarine commander. Her captain tried to escape and the vessel was sunk by a torpedo, killing 23 Americans, June 28, 1915.

The British ship *Iberian* tried to escape from a submarine; was stopped by shell fire and sunk, killing 3 Americans, July 21, 1915.

A friend writes me:

The voice of the people is the voice of God. If the people were given to decide, there would be no war.

Votes on war.

	Votes cast.	Against war.	For war.
New Ulm, Minn	485	463	19
Monroe, Wis	1,049	954	95
County of Sheboygan, Wis	2,051	2,051	
City of Sheboygan, Wis	[1] 4,133	4,082	17
St. Peter, Minn	289	263	26
Flint, Mich	156	130	26
Minneapolis, Minn	8,809	8,000	109
Nonpartisan League and American Society of Equity meeting at Grand Forks, N. Dak	2,002	2,000	2

[1] 34 blanks.

On 20,000 post-card ballots sent out by the Emergency Peace Committee in the State of Massachusetts, 66 per cent of the returned votes were against war.

Senator LA FOLLETTE reports that out of 15,000 letters and telegrams from almost every State in the Union, 9 out of 10 are against war.

The flame of war spreads from nation to nation and leaps the oceans from continent to continent—in truth, a world war.

Declarations of war.

1914.

Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, July 28.
Germany declared war on Russia, August 1.
Germany declared war on France, August 3.
Germany declared war on Belgium, August 4.
Great Britain declared war on Germany, August 4.
France began hostilities on Germany without a formal declaration of war, August 4.
Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia, August 6.
Montenegro declared war on Austria-Hungary, August 7.
France declared war on Austria-Hungary, August 10.
Austria-Hungary declared war on France, August 10.
Great Britain declared war on Austria-Hungary, August 12.
Montenegro declared war on Germany, August 12.
Japan declared war on Germany, August 23.
Austria-Hungary declared war on Japan, August 25.
Austria-Hungary declared war on Belgium, August 28.
Turkey began war with Russia by bombarding Odessa from the sea, October 29.
Russia declared war on Turkey, November 2.
Great Britain declared war on Turkey, November 5.
France declared war on Turkey, November 5.
Belgium declared war on Turkey, November 7.
Serbia declared war on Turkey, November 7.
Montenegro declared war on Turkey, November 10.

1915.

Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary, May 23.
San Marino declared war on Austria-Hungary, June 3.
Italy declared war on Turkey, August 20.
Russia made an ultimatum to Bulgaria, October 4.
Bulgaria rejected Russian ultimatum, October 6.
Bulgaria declared war on Serbia, October 14.
Great Britain declared war on Bulgaria, October 14.
Bulgaria declared war on Russia, October 16.
France declared war on Bulgaria, October 16.
Italy declared war on Bulgaria, October 18.
Montenegro declared war on Bulgaria, October 18.

1916.

Germany declared war on Portugal, March 9.
Portugal declared war on Germany, March 10.
Austria-Hungary and Portugal began hostilities without a formal declaration of war, March 16.
Roumania declared war on Austria-Hungary, August 28.
Italy declared war on Germany, August 28.
Germany declared war on Roumania, August 28.
Roumania sent an ultimatum to Bulgaria and war began, August 30.
Turkey declared war on Roumania, August 30.
Bulgaria declared war on Roumania, September 1.

[German troops entered French territory without a declaration of war August 2, 1914, and each nation's representatives demanded his passports August 3; France held that war began automatically with the attack on her frontier. The German minister left Serbia August 9, 1914. The Turkish ambassador left Petrograd November 1, 1914. The five allies joined in a formal declaration of war against Turkey November 10, 1914.]

(From Current History and The New York Times.)

Europe has been bled white in the shell-torn trenches. The casualties in the world war, 22,853,800 men, have been more than the total number of men of military age in the United States. And, in addition to these millions, thousands lie on the bottom of the seven seas.

Casualties estimated by military experts (killed, wounded, captured).

Country.	Estimates of German experts to December, 1916.	Estimates of the Copenhagen Association for Research into the Social Consequences of War, December, 1916.		Estimates of Frank H. Simonds, military expert for the New York Tribune, Oct. 14, 1916.		Calculations of Maj. Gen. Hugh Scott, U. S. Army, for the first 2 years of war.	
		Casualties.	Killed.[1]	Casualties.	Estimate of permanent losses: Killed, invalided, captured.	Casualties.	Killed.
Russia	[2] 6,000,000	8,500,000	1,700,000	5,750,000	.....	5,000,000	1,000,000
France	3,800,000	3,700,000	740,000	2,500,000	.....	2,000,000	800,000
Great Britain	1,300,000	1,200,000	240,000	1,400,000	.....	620,000	150,000
Serbia	.....	480,000	96,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Roumania	.....	200,000	50,000	[3] 350,000	.....	.....	.....
Italy	.....	800,000	[4] 50,000	.....	.....	175,000	35,000
Belgium	.....	220,000	[4] 47,000	.....	.....	150,000	30,000
Entente	.....	15,100,000	2,923,000	.....	5,000,000	7,945,000	2,015,000
Germany	[5] 4,087,692	[4] 3,401,800	[3] 988,329	4,000,000	.....	3,162,627	907,327
Austria-Hungary	.....	[4] 3,644,000	1,000,000	4,000,000	.....	2,000,000	500,000
Bulgaria	.....	[4] 103,000	[4] 25,000	[6] 100,000	.....	150,000	40,000
Turkey	.....	[4] 605,000	[4] 150,000	.....	.....	300,000	60,000
Central Powers	.....	7,753,800	2,163,329	.....	4,500,000	5,612,627	1,507,327
Grand total	.....	22,853,800	5,086,329	.....	[7] 9,500,000	13,557,627	3,522,327

[1] Computed on a basis of 20 per cent of casualties dead; German figures show 24 per cent dead.
[2] Estimate to Oct. 2, 1916.
[3] New York Times to Jan. 1, 1917.
[4] Estimates for first 2 years of war.
[5] British calculation to Feb. 1, 1917.
[6] Hilaire Belloc in "Land and Water," Dec. 14, 1916.
[7] Simonds's estimate of the killed to Oct. 14, 1916.

In spite of these tremendous losses, the man power of the belligerents is far from exhausted. The men actually on the firing line yet total 18,150,000 soldiers. The "present effectives" number almost 34,000,000 men.

Men actually fighting, December, 1916.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 17, 1916.]

WESTERN FRONT.	
Allies	4,000,000
Germans	3,000,000
SALONIKA FRONT.	
Allies	750,000
Central powers	400,000
ROUMANIAN FRONT.	
Roumanians	600,000
Central powers	400,000
RUSSIAN FRONT.	
Russians	5,000,000
Central powers	4,000,000
Grand total	18,150,000

"Present effectives" at end of second year.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 17, 1916.]

Entente		23,300,000
Russia	9,000,000	
France	6,000,000	
Great Britain	5,000,000	
Italy	3,000,000	
Serbia and Belgium	300,000	
Central powers		10,600,000
Germany	7,000,000	
Austria-Hungary	3,000,000	
Turkey	300,000	
Bulgaria	300,000	
Grand total		33,900,000

Roumania in August and September, 1916, mobilized 600,000 men.

What the belligerents have occupied of rival territory:

Territory captured by central powers in Europe.

	Square miles.
Roumania (estimate of the New York Times)	42,000
All of Servia	34,000
All of Montenegro	5,650
Albania	8,000
Belgium (estimate of the American Association of Commerce and Trade, Berlin)	11,197
Russia (almost)	100,000
France (about)	7,000
Italy (estimate of the New York Times)	60

Territory captured by the entente allies in Europe.

(With the exception of a part of German East Africa, the whole of the German colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific are now in possession of either Great Britain, France, or Japan.)

	Square miles.
Austria-Hungary (Italian front) (estimate of the New York Times)	3,030
Alsace (estimate of the American Association of Commerce and Trade, Berlin)	405
Austria-Hungary (eastern front) (about)	8,000

The sudden drive of Germany through Belgium cost France the greater part of her resources in coal and iron ore, and took from her the equipment and skilled labor of the great industrial centers of the north and northeast. Here is an estimate of what France lost:

Forty-nine per cent of her coal resources.
Ninety per cent of her iron ore.
Eighty per cent of her coke, cast iron, steel, and equipment. Out of 112,000 workers in metals, France lost 60,000.

(From Swiss Military Review, December, 1916.)

The world war is costing the belligerents the sum of $105,000,000 a day. For the first 28 months the total cost is estimated at a figure close to $62,000,000,000.

Daily and total cost of the world war to January 1, 1917.

[From The New International Encyclopedia, 1917, and the Wall Street Journal.]

Country.	Total cost to Dec. 31, 1916.	Average cost per day, Dec. 31, 1916.
Great Britain:		
United Kingdom	$14,374,000,000	$23,500,000
Canada	400,000,000	900,000
Other colonies	600,000,000	600,000
Total Great Britain	15,374,000,000	25,000,000
Russia	8,500,000,000	16,000,000
France	12,200,000,000	18,000,000
Italy	4,000,000,000	7,000,000
Belgium	490,000,000	1,000,000
Serbia	330,000,000	1,000,000
Roumania	250,000,000	2,000,000
Total entente allies	41,144,000,000	70,000,000
Germany	14,600,000,000	21,000,000
Austria-Hungary	5,000,000,000	11,000,000
Turkey	650,000,000	1,500,000
Bulgaria	375,000,000	1,500,000
Total central powers	20,625,000,000	35,000,000
Grand total all nations	61,769,000,000	105,000,000

To carry on the war the belligerent nations have placed the following formal loans at home and abroad:

Entente allies		$37,365,400,000
British Empire	$16,021,400,000	
France	12,040,000,000	
Russia	7,035,000,000	
Italy	2,125,000,000	
Belgium	100,000,000	
Japan	26,000,000	
Serbia	18,000,000	
Central powers		16,353,000,000
Germany	11,833,000,000	
Austria-Hungary	4,140,000,000	
Turkey	350,000,000	
Bulgaria	30,000,000	
Grand total, belligerents		53,718,400,000

(From records kept by the Wall Street Journal.)

As a result of the disrupted financial relations of the world and the demand for military expansion, neutral nations have placed formal loans aggregating $459,380,000 since the beginning of the war.

—

Morgan and his bankers bet their money on the allies—

Writes a farmer—

And now they want the Government to underwrite their loans.

Loans floated in the United States by belligerent and neutral nations since the beginning of the world war to December 31, 1916, total $2,325,900,000.

The loans are classified as follows:

Belligerents		$2,078,900,000
Great Britain	$908,400,000	
France	695,000,000	
Canada	270,500,000	
Russia	160,000,000	
Germany	45,000,000	
European neutrals		85,000,000
Latin America		157,000,000
China		5,000,000
Total foreign loans		2,325,900,000
Less estimated amount paid		175,000,000
Net foreign indebtedness		2,150,900,000

(From records kept by the Wall Street Journal.)

—

Estimated expenditure for direct military purposes if the war lasts three years (exclusive of cost to United States.)

[From figures computed by experts of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, New York.]

Country.	Daily cost.	For 3 years.	Per capita.
Great Britain	$25,000,000	$16,500,000,000	$351.00
France	18,000,000	14,000,000,000	350.00
Russia	16,000,000	11,750,000,000	67.10
Italy	7,000,000	3,900,000,000	108.00
Rumania	2,000,000	450,000,000	59.30
Belgium and Serbia	2,000,000	1,600,000,000	133.40
Entente allies	70,000,000	48,200,000,000	151.50
Germany	21,000,000	16,500,000,000	242.60
Austria-Hungary	11,000,000	9,250,000,000	174.50
Turkey and Bulgaria	3,000,000	2,000,000,000	75.50
Central powers	35,000,000	27,750,000,000	188.10
All belligerents	105,000,000	75,950,000,000	163.30

If the war lasts three years, according to these figures, it will have cost, exclusive of the expense to the United States, three times the Napoleonic Wars, the Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, the Boer War, and the Russo-Japanese War combined.

The experts' total is twice as large as the total indebtedness of every nation in the world, as that debt stood in 1914. It will represent a sum seven times greater than the combined deposits of all the 7,600 national banks in the United States, and also seven times greater than all the world's supply of minted gold.

THE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN.

Many experts predict that the submarine will rebuild the navies of the world, just as Ericsson's *Monitor* scrapped the "wooden bottoms" in Civil War days.

Far called, our navies melt away.

—Kipling.

Naval warfare—Year's loss in capital ships, 1916.

[From the New York Times.]	Tons.
Great Britain, 8 capital ships	110,350
Germany, 2 capital ships	28,000
France, 1 capital ship	12,728
Italy, 1 capital ship	22,000
Russia, 1 capital ship	22,500

The world's merchant marine, as well as the world's navies, is disappearing under the U-boat campaign.

Merchantmen sunk by German submarines during February, 1917.

	Gross tons.
Germany's claim, 368 vessels	781,500
Admiral Bereford's estimate, 281 vessels	500,000

More than 1,000,000 tons of merchant shipping has been destroyed by German submarines and mines since February 1," said the New York Journal of Commerce at the end of the second month of the U-boat campaign.

This total shows that the loss of the first two months of the unrestricted U-boat campaign have been more than one-fifth as great as the total losses of the preceding 30 months of the war, which were something less than 4,500,000 gross tons. Germany has officially reported, so far, the destruction of 444 vessels of 861,500 gross tons, of which it is claimed that 368 vessels of 781,500 gross tons were destroyed in February. Of the February losses, 292 vessels of 644,000 tons are reported to have belonged to the allies and 76 vessels of 137,500 tons to neutral nations.

Merchantmen and tonnage lost from beginning of war to March 1, 1917, due to war causes.

Vessels sunk	2,558
Gross tonnage	4,811,100

These figures represent 10 per cent of the world's merchant marine at the beginning of the war.

Country.	Number of vessels.	Gross tonnage represented.
Entente losses:		
Great Britain	1,276	2,821,849
France	164	294,338
Italy	121	225,114
Russia	64	77,803
Japan	9	31,901
Belgium	16	23,683
Portugal	9	10,879
Roumania	1	3,688
Canada	1	3,461
Total entente losses	1,661	3,492,722
Teuton losses:		
Germany	83	195,887
Turkey	101	55,282
Austria-Hungary	11	22,439
Total Teuton losses	195	293,608
Neutral losses:		
Norway	340	464,560
Holland	68	165,146
Denmark	96	101,475
Greece	52	100,972
Sweden	97	95,332
Spain	35	64,607
United States	12	29,001
Brazil	1	2,258
Peru	1	1,419
Total neutral losses	702	1,024,770
Grand total shipping lost	2,558	4,811,100

The Teutonic losses are 5 per cent of the total.
The allies' losses are 75 per cent of the total.
Neutrals' losses are 20 per cent of the total.
(From the New York Journal of Commerce records.)

Eight leading nations spent the following amounts in the two years previous to the world war:

Cost of armament.

[From the World Almanacs, 1913, 1914.]

Country.	Fiscal year 1913-14.	Fiscal year 1912-13.
Great Britain	$448,440,000	$359,727,000
Russia	440,300,000	370,471,538
United States[1]	409,238,448	379,593,645
Germany	294,390,000	350,130,000
France	311,142,800	296,583,500
Italy	133,928,000	121,072,000
Austria-Hungary	124,300,000	119,274,570
Japan	95,500,000	101,079,050

[1] Includes pensions.

The armed strength of leading nations at beginning of the world war (United States excepted).

[From the World Almanac, 1914.]

Country.	Peace strength.	Reserves.[1]	Total war strength.	Available for duty; unorganized.[2]
Russia	1,290,000	3,300,000	5,500,000	5,200,000
Germany	870,000	4,430,000	5,200,000	1,000,000
France	[3] 720,000	3,280,000	4,000,000	1,000,000
Turkey	400,000	300,000	700,000	2,000,000
Austria-Hungary	390,000	1,610,000	2,000,000	3,000,000
Great Britain	[4] 254,500	[5] 476,500	730,000	2,000,000
Japan	250,000	950,000	1,200,000	2,000,000
Italy	250,000	950,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
Roumania	95,000	100,000	500,000	175,000
Sweden	84,459	551,541	600,000	[6]
Bulgaria	60,500	320,500	380,000	100,000
Servia	32,000	208,000	240,000	60,000
Norway	18,000	92,000	110,000	129,178
Denmark	14,000	69,000	83,000	192,708

[1] Except as to some of the principal and a few of the minor States, it is doubtful whether the numbers given of the reserves or auxiliary forces could be mobilized and made effective within a considerable period of time.
[2] These figures are based on estimated male population of military age, deducting "total war strength." In some States all men of military age are enrolled in national militia and are partly trained.
[3] Including colonial troops.
[4] Including regular forces at home, in the colonies, and 76,000 men in India and excluding the native Indian army of about 175,000.
[5] Includes army reserves and territorial force.
[6] Every able-bodied man is liable for military duty.

Leading navies of the world at the beginning of the world war.

[From the World Almanac, 1914.]

Country.	Modern battleships.	Cruiser battleships.	Older battleships.	First-class cruisers.	Second-class cruisers.	Third-class cruisers.	Gunboats.	Monitors.	Destroyers.	Torpedo boats.	Submarines.	Personnel: Officers and men.
Great Britain	29	10	38	42	37	33	10	....	227	58	85	[1] 137,500
Germany	19	7	20	9	6	39	7	....	141	47	30	[2] 66,783
United States	14	....	25	5	5	15	28	9	62	27	50	[3] 64,780
France	17	....	15	18	4	9	6	....	87	173	90	60,621
Japan	9	5	13	12	10	9	5	....	60	54	15	[4] 51,054
Russia	9	4	8	6	6	3	8	....	105	23	48	52,463
Italy	8	....	8	7	3	10	5	....	35	73	20	33,095
Denmark	....	....	1	....	....	3	....	3	8	15	3	4,000
Austria-Hungary	4	....	9	3	2	7	3	....	18	53	15	17,581
Sweden	....	....	....	1	....	....	9	....	8	33	6	5,715
Norway	....	....	....	1	....	....	15	2	4	28	5	1,003

[1] Naval Reserve seamen, 26,200.
[2] Reserve of 110,000 men.
[3] Naval militia, 7,526.
[4] Reserve of 114,000 men.

Air craft in the world war.

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained ghastly dew,
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue.
Tennyson: Locksley Hall.

Country.	August, 1914.		April, 1913.[1]	
	Military dirigibles.[2]	Military aeroplanes.[3]	Military dirigibles.	Military aeroplanes.
France	31	1,400	13	450
Germany	35	1,000	17	152
Russia	16	800	9	250
Great Britain	15	400	3	141
Austria-Hungary	10	[3] 350	5	46
United States	....	23	(4)	25

[1] U. S. Navy Dept., Oct., 1915.
[2] Estimate of Henry Woodhouse, editor, "Flying."
[3] From U. S. Advisory Board for Aeronautics, Feb. 2, 1915.
[4] One dirigible, practically useless, on hand.

Statistics as to the present size of the belligerents' aerial fleets are not available, having been suppressed by official censors.

Waldemar Kaempffert, in the Review of Reviews, March, 1916, states that "there are certainly no fewer than 5,000 aeroplanes in actual use, and such is the wastage of battle that their flying life is not longer than a fortnight." He estimates that it is necessary to build 50,000 machines a year to repair the ravages of war.

The United States had 125 aeroplanes and 3 war balloons on hand January 1, 1917, according to the World Almanac. One dirigible was under construction.

Here is a statement of the yearly per capita cost of armament in the leading belligerent nations and the United States previous to the world war:

Total armament charge per unit of population—Nine nations (fiscal year 1912–13).

[From the World Peace Foundation Publication, June, 1913.]

Country.	Estimated population.	Cost of Army and Navy.	Cost per unit of population.
Great Britain	45,000,000	$351,000,000	$7.80
France	39,000,000	259,000,000	6.64
Germany	65,000,000	313,000,000	4.81
Italy	35,000,000	125,000,000	3.57
United States	92,000,000	[1] 244,000,000	2.65
Austria-Hungary	51,000,000	131,000,000	2.56
Spain	20,000,000	50,000,000	2.50
Russia	160,000,000	372,000,000	2.32
Japan	52,000,000	94,000,000	1.81
Total	559,000,000	1,939,000,000	3.47

[1] Exclusive of pensions.

The United States spent vast sums for armament in the years preceding the outbreak of the world war, yet is unprepared. This was due in part to the high cost per man in the Army. Official estimates, says former Congressman Clyde Tavenner, are that the actual cost of a ton of armor plate is $247.17 per ton, but the Government has been paying the armor ring $440.04 per ton since 1887.

Cost of armies per unit of fighting force.

[From the World's Peace Foundation publication, 1913.]

Country.	Fighting force.	Cost of army.	Cost per man.
Austria-Hungary	415,000	$115,381,000	$278
France	610,000	177,656,000	291
Germany	656,000	201,033,000	306
Great Britain	262,000	[1] 98,963,000	378
Italy	305,000	83,284,000	273
Japan	[2] 225,000	47,066,000	[2] 209
Russia	[2] 1,250,000	289,911,000	232
Spain	129,000	36,353,000	282
United States	82,000	107,787,000	1,314
Total	3,934,000	1,157,404,000	294

[1] Omitting charges for noneffectives (pensioners, etc.) $18,803,000
Omitting charges for special reserves and territorials 17,084,000
Total 35,887,000
[2] Approximate.

The Armies of the United States at the beginning of the world war.

[From the report of the War Department.]

REGULAR ARMY.

Officers	4,701
Enlisted men	87,781
Total	92,482
Average strength (including cadets, Hospital Corps, and Philippine Scouts)	97,120
State Militia (total commissioned officers and enlisted men, World Almanac)	122,674
Total	219,794

Although her armies are small, the man power of the United States is tremendous.

Man power in the United States, 1910.

[From the Bureau of Census Report, 1910.]

Male citizens and prospective male citizens of ages 18 to 45 years:

Native whites	14,224,000
Foreign-born whites	2,857,000
Negroes	2,052,000
Indians	50,000
Total	19,183,000
Alien whites	1,796,000
Other aliens	92,000
Total	1,888,000
Grand total	21,071,000

Wars of the United States.

Wars.	War declared.	Treaty of peace.	Immediate cost.	Loss of life.	Total forces.
Revolutionary War.	Apr. 19, 1775	Sept. 3, 1783	[1] $170,000,000	[2] 6,500	[3] 395,858
War of 1812	June 18, 1812	Dec. 24, 1814	[3] 198,000,000	[4] 3,177	[3] 521,622
War with Mexico.	May 13, 1846	.....do.....	[5] 63,605,000	[3] 13,780	[3] 104,284
Civil War	[9] Apr. 12, 1861	[6] Apr. 9, 1865	[7] 5,000,000,000	{[8] 349,944 [8] 133,821	[8] 2,772,408
Spanish-American War.	Apr. 21, 1898	Dec. 10, 1898	[7] 1,165,000,000	[7] 20,000	[8] 274,717

[1] Thomas Jefferson's estimate.
[2] Killed in 20 important engagements.
[3] Source: Military Hist. of U. S., Maj. Gen. Emory Upton.
[4] Killed in battle only; Heitman's figure.
[5] Source: Financial Hist. of U. S., Prof. D. R. Dewey.
[6] Surrender of Lee at Appomattox.
[7] Source: Mass. Com. on Cost of Living, Report 1910.
[8] Source: World Almanac.
[9] Fort Sumter fired on.

After war, the deluge of pensions:

Amounts paid to pensioners of five United States wars (1790–1915, inclusive).

[From the Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1915, p. 18.]

War of the Revolution (estimated)	$70,000,000.00
War of 1812 (service pension)	45,972,895.76
War with Mexico (service pension)	49,618,948.68
Civil War	4,614,643,267.43
War with Spain and the Philippine insurrection	49,944,441.84
Total	4,830,179,553.71

VOLUNTEERS VS. CONCRIPTION.

Without the compulsion of a draft law there has come forward in the British Empire for duty over seas a mighty volunteer army of 6,664,000 men.

British volunteers in the world war.

England (approximately)	6,000,000
Canada	400,000
Australia	264,000

Figures on England from London Army and Navy Gazette, January 8, 1916. Figures on Canada from Sir Herbert Ames, March 27, 1917. Figures on Australia from Premier Hughes, September 18, 1916.

On October 28, 1916, after 26 months of war the people of Australia rejected conscription by a majority of 81,280, when it was referred to them for a referendum vote.

The Australian soldiers in the trenches, all volunteers, returned a majority of 20,000 against conscription.

Volunteers in American wars.

Uncle Sam's armies have all been volunteer forces, except for the 52,000 conscripts in the Civil War.

Wars.	Volunteers.[1]	Conscripts.
Revolutionary War [2]	395,564	.....
War of 1812	471,622	.....
War with Mexico	101,282	.....
Civil War (Union Army)	2,707,012	52,037
Spanish-American War	216,029	.....

Figures from American Almanac, compiled from official sources and edited by Ainsworth R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, 1889; and from reports of the Secretary of War.

[1] Exclusive of volunteers in Regular Army.
[2] Includes Continental soldiers and volunteers.

For the Mexican War, President Polk called for 50,000 volunteers; double that number responded. In four months President McKinley's call for 200,000 volunteers for the Spanish-American War had been reached, and exceeded by more than 16,000 men.

During the revolution, the Original Thirteen States, with a population of 3,231,980 (exclusive of slaves), raised an army of 395,064 men—a soldier for every 10 persons. On that basis to-day the United States would raise an army of 10,000,000 fighting men.

On the basis of enlistments in the War of 1812, in proportion to the population of that time, America to-day would get a volunteer army of 7,000,000.

Under the voluntary system Australia has sent over seas a number of men that, in proportion to population, represents a United States army of 6,000,000; Canada, an army which on a similar proportion of volunteers would give Uncle Sam a fighting force of 7,000,000 soldiers.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

We don't want war—
Writes a mother—
I have war enough trying to feed my babies.

A comparison of prices on December 15, 1912, and December 15, 1916, shows an advance in the prices of all articles combined of 29 per cent.

Every article, without exception, for which prices are shown for the four-year period were higher on December 15, 1916, than on December 15, 1912:

	Per cent.
Potatoes increased	120
Flour increased	66
Lard increased	37
Butter increased	9

[From the Monthly Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, February, 1917.]

Article.	Unit.	Average money price Dec. 15.				
		1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
		Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Sirloin steak	Pound	23.2	25.0	25.5	25.0	26.8
Round steak	...do	20.0	22.5	22.8	22.3	23.7
Pork chops	...do	18.1	20.3	19.5	18.5	21.5
Bacon, smoked	...do	26.2	27.1	28.1	27.6	30.1
Ham, smoked	...do	24.8	26.3	26.6	26.6	30.2
Lard, pure	...do	15.8	15.8	15.4	14.5	21.7
Eggs, strictly fresh	Dozen	41.5	46.9	46.9	45.9	51.9
Butter, creamery	Pound	41.8	40.0	39.6	38.9	45.4
Cheese	...do	.....	.....	.....	23.6	31.0
Milk, fresh	Quart	9.1	9.3	9.2	9.0	10.2
Bread	Loaf [1]	.....	.....	5.2	5.6	6.9
Flour, wheat	½-bbl. bag	80.3	78.3	90.3	91.3	$1.334
Corn meal	Pound	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.8
Rice	...do	.....	.....	.....	9.1	9.2
Potatoes	Peck	23.1	27.3	21.5	27.5	50.9
Sugar, granulated	Pound	6.0	5.4	6.1	6.8	8.3
Coffee	...do	.....	.....	.....	30.2	30.2
Tea	...do	.....	.....	.....	55.1	55.1

[1] 16 ounces.

Bread costs less in Berlin and London than in New York and Philadelphia.

Cost of certain staple articles of food here and in the warring capitals.

[From the monthly reports of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.]

	New York.[1]	Philadelphia.[1]	Average United States.	London.	Berlin.[2]	Italy.[3]
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Bread .....16-ounce loaf	7.1	5.7	6.9	[4] 5	[5] 5.9	4.1
Potatoes.....peck	59.4	64.6	50.9	.....	[6] 27.1	.....
Beef.....pound	27.1	27.2	26.8	.....	27	20.7
Lard.....do	22.5	21.5	22.5	.....	43.3	.....
Milk.....quart	9.9	8.8	10.2	.....	.....	7.1
Eggs.....dozen	61.6	48.1	51.9	.....	45.7	.....

[1] December 15, 1916.
[2] Berlin prices are for week of Oct. 23, 1915.
[3] Italy prices are for October, 1916.
[4] When purchased in 4-pound loaves.
[5] Average price, wheat and rye breads.
[6] Price October, 1916.

A laboring man asks:

What glory from this war; what will history say? For if the United States becomes involved more than half the population of the world will be arrayed against less than one-tenth.

How the population and wealth of the world is divided in the great struggle.

[From Theodore H. Price in the Outlook, Dec. 27, 1916.]

Resources controlled by—	Habitable area of world is—		Population of the world is—		World's economic wealth is valued at—
	Sq. miles.	*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*	
Central powers	2,960,082	5.60	164,000,000	9.38	$108,000,000,000
Entente allies	29,208,528	55.29	862,200,000	49.24	272,500,000,000
United States	3,741,828	7.08	110,000,000	6.30	250,000,000,000
Other neutrals	16,914,095	32.03	615,500,000	35.08	67,400,000,000
	52,824,533		1,751,700,000		697,900,000,000

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. JOHNSON] is recognized for seven minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, those of us who address the House to-day, before war is formally declared, do so, in so far as the practical situation is concerned, just as if the addresses were made after the war has been formally declared. In other words, every man, woman and child in the Nation, as well as those throughout the civilized world, already knows that a determination has been reached by the American Congress, and that but a mere formality now stands between us and a declaration of war, and that that formality will be behind us within a few hours.

With that situation standing out before me, I shall refrain from saying what I might have said if the die already had not been cast.

Since everybody knows what will be done within a few hours, for all practical purposes we are in exactly the same position now as we will be after those few hours have elapsed.

If any hope whatever for peace were left I might argue, plead and pray for peace; but, with all hope gone, I still shall not join the advocates of war, but I am willing to go with the warriors, even to death itself, to preserve this great Republic. As I have just said, our country will be no more at war when this resolution has been adopted than it is now, for the reason that it is an absolute certainty that the resolution declaring that a state of war exists will be adopted. In consequence I shall not discuss what Germany has done, what England has done, or what our own country has or has not done.

Those, during the two and a half years just passed, who have demanded that the United States go into this world war have divided American citizenship into two classes—patriots and cowards. If, for no other reason, at least for discussion's sake, until the President came before the Congress with his message of war, I willingly and cheerfully admitted myself as belonging to the jingo's class of cowards. In doing so I did not doubt that I possessed sufficient physical courage to defend myself, my neighbor and my country against aggression. As an individual I have defended my personal rights against all comers, but in doing so invariably I have been too "cowardly" to involve others in trouble or in danger because of any impending peril of my own. During the months gone by this same spirit of alleged "cowardice" many times has made me shudder with fear at the idea of involving my fellow countrymen in a war which I know they have not wanted, but which now both they and I must support. I have been too much of a "coward" to counsel a situation which, in my apprehension, meant a toll of treasure and blood unparalleled in the history of the world.

While admitting my "cowardice" in these respects, at this time I can but proclaim my own patriotism as well as that of those whom I represent in this Chamber. They and I have longed and prayed fervently for continued peace. But now that no hope for peace is left we have changed our prayers, and pray for the success of our country in the unfortunate struggle upon which we enter. [Applause.] Before this declaration of war they and I were genuinely for our country, but now we are more for our country, because our country needs us more now than then. [Applause.]

During the days of uncertainty I was the "coward" I have just admitted myself to be. I am as much a "coward" now as I was then, and I am "coward" now only to the extent that I am ready to give my life and my all for my country. [Applause.]

It is folly for me or for any other man to stand in this Chamber to-day and say what might have been. Now it is our duty to say what shall be. And instead of that dissension which now can serve no purpose other than to give comfort to those who from to-day on are our enemies, we must patriotically show a solid front, with no man shirking his country's cause.

Again accepting for myself the epithet applied by those who have claimed to have a corner upon all of the patriotism of the country, I will say that I have been too "cowardly" to help set a prairie afire, which when once afire becomes beyond human control. [Applause.]

It is but an easy reach of the imagination to see those Americans who, out of reckless abandon, lost their lives at sea, and upon whose account this war is largely to be waged, looking back from the "other side" upon bended knee and with uplifted arms imploring a merciful God to save themselves and their country from the consequences of their own acts.

But, the die is cast; war is on; and no man should be heard to say else than "It is my country for which I live and am willing to die." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, I ask permission at the outset to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, when history records the truth about this awful act we are about to commit here, which means the maiming and dismembering of thousands of our noble boys and the deaths of thousands more, it will record that the Congress of the United States made this declaration of war under a misapprehension of the facts inexcusable in itself and that the people at large acquiesced in it on the theory that the Congress should have the facts, and would not make a declaration of war not justified by every rule of equity and fair dealing between nations, impartially applied by this country to all belligerents, and that after our following that course one of these contesting nations, despite our impartial action, had wantonly destroyed our legitimate commerce and destroyed the lives of some of our people.

I say the people acquiesce in our actions here to-day on exactly that false assumption of the facts. We have not treated, as a Government, these belligerents with any degree of impartiality; but, on the contrary, have demanded of one of them absolute obedience to our ideas and interpretations of international law, and have allowed at least one of the other belligerents to override at will the established rules and practice of all the civilized nations of the world for a hundred years with but feeble protest, and, in many cases, with no protest at all.

We surrendered to Great Britain practically all we contested for in the War of 1812. It is true, as far as we know, that she has not impressed our seamen, but she has seized and appropriated to her own use entire cargoes and the ships that carried them. Not carriers in European trade, but carriers to South America.

One of the undelying causes of the awful holocaust in Europe was because Germany had by her systematized reductions in cost of manufacturing, by subsidization of transportation lines and methods of credits made such serious inroads on Great Britain's trade in South America as to seriously disturb her equanimity and threaten her prestige as well as attendant profits.

Mr. Chairman, this war now devastating Europe so ruthlessly is not a war of humanity, but a war of commercialism, and there is not a student of economic conditions within the sound of my voice but knows that to be the fundamental cause of that war, although there are many primary and intermediate questions entering into it. But I digress, Mr. Chairman. I have said that Great Britain has seized our ships engaged in peaceful commerce on the Western Hemisphere, surrounded by all the hallowed shades of the Monroe doctrine, which we are about to abrogate; has taken them to England and impressed them into her own service, and apparently without protest from our Government now demanding a strict accounting by Germany.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt in my mind but that Germany's action in regard to her submarine warfare is reprehensible, is wrong, and would merit punishment; but, Mr. Chairman, can we consistently declare war on Germany and enter into an alliance with "perfidious Albion," who, without regard to international law, laid down a prescribed zone in the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea sowing those waters with deadly contact mines. Three of our vessels were sunk in this prescribed zone with attendant loss of life; many other vessels were likewise destroyed without protest by our Government, which by indisputable evidence has, to some extent at least, suppressed the facts in regard to the matter.

Mr. Chairman, is a life lost by the destruction of a vessel coming in contact with a floating mine less dear than one lost on a vessel sunk by a torpedo fired by a submarine? Is the water less cold or wet?

Mr. Chairman, the highwayman who holds you up is less culpable than the coward who sends you a bomb by express or through the mail or sets a spring gun. The floating mine, in my judgment, is more despicable than the submarine, whose operators are at least taking some chances of losing their own lives. We are asked to go into partnership with the belligerent who prescribed a zone and sowed it full of mines to help it destroy the belligerent who prescribed a zone and in that zone uses submarines. Oh, consistency, thou art a jewel! * * *

Mr. Chairman, the President of the United States in his message to Congress intimated that Germany had maintained a spy system in the United States, even to the extent of having spies in some of our departments. Mr. Chairman, that declaration was made no doubt for what it was worth, as far as affecting the judgment of Congress was concerned, but it was really meant for the consumption of the people at large, who are mostly unaware that the State Department of the United States Government has a secret fund for paying our own secret spies throughout the world, maintained in time of peace as well as in war time. Are our boys to be sent to punish Germany for doing that which, to some extent at least, we practice ourselves?

Mr. Chairman, this is probably no time for recrimination nor for referring to past mistakes, in my judgment, of the administration; but, Mr. Chairman, an administration which can not stand fair and open criticism of its action as an administration is unworthy of the respect of a democracy, and an attempt to stifle in any way such criticism is an attempt to shackle the

liberties for which our forefathers contended, and future generations will pass judgment, probably unerringly, on an Executive who classed as willfully expressing no opinion but their own 12 men in one of the branches of the American Congress who did not supinely agree with him in a course that he himself subsequently characterized as ineffective and futile. These men had taken the same oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States as had the President. Their prerogative was legislative, his was executive. He has under the Constitution a right to advise, but that does not carry with it the right to criticize because his advice is not acquiesced in by all the Members of the Congress. Such criticism is, in fact, an attempt at coercion and intimidation which augurs but illy for our liberty if supinely submitted to.

The President of the United States in his message of the 2d of April said that the European war was brought on by Germany's rulers without the sanction or will of the people. For God's sake, what are we doing now? Does the President of the United States feel that the will of the American people is being consulted in regard to this declaration of war? The people of Germany surely had as much consideration as he has given the people of the United States. He has heard the cry of the Shylocks calling for their pound of flesh; later on he will hear the cry of Rachel weeping for her children and mourning because they are not, sacrificed to make good the pound of flesh in the name of liberty. The exclamation "O Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!" was well made.

Ours is the greatest Nation on the face of the globe. We have had a chance, if we had maintained a strict neutrality, to have bound up the wounds of the oppressed and to have upheld the tenets of the highest civilization throughout the world. But, no; we are asked to go into partnership with the country that has never allowed justice and right to have any weight with her when conquest and gold were placed in the balance. In India, which she held by right of conquest, as a punishment to those natives of that country who desired to be free of England's yoke and rebelled, even as did we in our Revolutionary period, she mercifully tied many of the rebels to the mouths of her cannon and humanely blew them to atoms as a sample of English Christianity. She destroyed the Boer Republic by intrigue and force of arms; she forced, for love of gold, the opium trade on China. Christian England, our would-be partner! In the Napoleonic wars she, by force of arms, confiscated the entire shipping of small but neutral nations to her own use, just as she has in a smaller degree appropriated ships of our citizens to her own use within the past two years. During the Civil War she fell over herself to recognize the Confederacy, and gave it every encouragement possible. Now we are asked to become her faithful ally against a country that, whatever her faults, surely has no blacker record than that of Christian England; to contribute our money and our people in the holy name of liberty to destroy one belligerent, which the President designates as Prussian militarism, a menace to the world; but English navalism, which is surely as great a menace, we enter into partnership with. George Washington said, "Avoid European entanglements," but we are recklessly entering a path to the end of which no man can foresee or comprehend, at the behest of, in many cases, a venal press and of a pacifist President.

God pity our country, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, if you desire that this cup be placed to our country's lips to quaff for crimes committed by a country for unneutral actions and that we enter into an alliance with another country which has been much less neutral. You may do so; I can not so vote at this time.

Mr. Chairman, I am of French extraction; my forefathers fled from France to escape the ax after the edict of Nantes. I hate oppression; I hate deceit; I love liberty as my life. My ancestor after fleeing from France came to this country and settled in New Jersey when it was a wilderness, and gave his life in trying to conquer it. He escaped the ax in France, but was burned at the stake by the Indians in the then wilderness west of the settlements in New Jersey. He left three boys, all of whom took part in the Revolutionary War, and the one from whom I descended has his name inscribed on a tablet in the courthouse of the county seat of Putnam County, Ind., as one of the Revolutionary soldiers residing and dying in that county.

Mr. Chairman, I have one uncle lying in a soldier's grave at Marietta, Ga., who was with Sherman on his march to the sea and who gave up his life that Old Glory and all she represents should not perish from the earth. Mr. Chairman, the man who says I am not as patriotic as he lies in his throat. Is it a gauge of patriotism to vote calamity, debt, death, and destruction on our country in the judgment of a man who is not himself infallible? Have not those who view it the other way the same right to consideration and respect as those who see relief only through a sea of blood? God forbid that in free America such an unjust discrimination can ever be made. Yet the press is holding up to ridicule and contempt those of our citizens who counsel against entering into this awful carnival of death. They are sowing the wind, and later on will reap the whirlwind in all probability. The American people, if they value their freedom, will not long tolerate such a spirit of nontoleration.

Mr. Chairman, throughout the country patriotic meetings are being held to encourage enlistments of our young men and boys into the Army to engage in this war in advance of our declaration.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest a resolution, which should be passed and adhered to by the young men of our country and by our soldiers who are asked to enter the trenches of Europe:

"I hereby pledge myself to the service of my country and will guarantee to go and uphold its honor and its flag as soon as the sons of all the newspaper editors who have stood out for our entering the war, and who are of age for enlistment, have enlisted for the cause and the proprietors and editors themselves have patriotically enlisted, on the theory that they should feel it their duty to do so as instigators of the act."

Likewise, Mr. Chairman, the sons of manufacturers of ammunition and war supplies, and all stockholders making profits from such trade. They should freely offer their sons on the altar of their country and, in case of their being under military age, go themselves. Likewise, Mr. Chairman, the J. Pierpont Morgans and their associates, who have floated war loans running into millions which they now want the United States to guarantee by entering the European war; after they and all the holders of such securities have offered their sons and themselves, when of military age, on the altar of their country, and, Mr. Chairman, when the above-mentioned persons have no sons and are too old themselves to accept military service, then they shall, to make good their desire for the upholding of American honor and American rights, donate in lieu of such service of selves or sons one-half of all their worldly goods to make good their patriotic desire for our entering the European war in the name of liberty and patriotism.

Mr. Chairman, it will be fitting for those who have really nothing at stake in this war but death to enter into it and give their lives in the name of liberty and patriotism, after the persons covered by the above resolution have done their part as above suggested and many thousands of our citizens will see it that way ere long.

Mr. Chairman, I have voted since I have been a Member of Congress at all times for the largest supply bills offered to take care of and build up our Army and Navy and put ourselves into a state of reasonable preparedness for any difficulties which may arise, and I shall, while I am a Member of the House, in case this cup is put to our country's lips, vote for everything which in my judgment is essential to her success, keeping in mind always the fundamentals of our liberties; but, Mr. Chairman, while I am a Member I shall claim the same right to free speech and expression I am willing to accord to my compeers.

May God guide us and keep us. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Such an important question as this we can not have any time to discuss.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I have tried for several days to work myself up to a conclusion that it was my duty to support this resolution. I believed even in the early part of to-day's session that I had reached that conclusion, but, gentlemen, the longer I have thought about it the bigger the question grew, and the more doubt I have had on the question, until I have reached the deliberate conclusion that, let come what may, I can not stultify my conscience by voting for this declaration of war. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I am English, so far as my ancestry is concerned, all the way through. My ancestors on both sides come down from the Revolutionary sires, and the very natural impulse of heredity would cause me to desire to be with those people who gave birth to that ancestry. But, Mr. Chairman, I have seen one war. I was a boy 7 years old when the first gun was fired at Sumter. I saw the first company of gray jackets that went out from my native town and county. I saw them as they went out to follow the Stars and Bars in the Maytime of 1861, hopeful and happy and buoyant. I saw them as they came back in the springtime of 1865, the few that did come back, but oh, how changed. Running back through the vista of these 60 years I remember then, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, hearing the same kind of war-mad speeches that I have

heard to-day on the floor of this House. I heard men who declared that they would wade up to their armpits in blood; that they would catch all the bullets that were fired and drink all the blood that was shed. But, Mr. Chairman, when the tocsin of real war was sounded, when brave men that wore the blue met the brave men that wore the gray in the death grapple, these men who made those declarations were never the ones that smelled gunpowder. [Applause.] I undertake the prediction, Mr. Chairman, that you will find some of these Members of Congress who to-day call the men who differ with them cowards and traitors will not be willing to risk themselves in war and will not be among the men who face the bullets in real war. [Applause.]

Oh, gentlemen have inveighed—my colleague from Alabama, whom I love and honor and respect, has undertaken to attack the leader of the Democratic Party here because he had the courage of his convictions to declare his principles here.

Mr. HEFLIN. I did not assault him for speaking his convictions but as the majority leader arraigning this country for the course that it has taken.

Mr. BURNETT. The gentleman from Alabama said that the gentleman from North Carolina ought to resign his position in Congress and resign his position as the leader of his party. Now, then, I challenge the gentleman on to-morrow to start his petition asking the Democrats of this House to ask the gentleman from North Carolina to resign and see if he will not be the lone man on the petition. [Applause.] I invite my friend on to-morrow, when war is declared—and it will be, and the resolution will be signed on Good Friday, that day which commemorates the death and crucifixion of Him against whom the mob cried, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"—by the same token I invite my colleague to go back to Randolph and Coosa Counties and take his place among the privates and those good people there who will go into the Army. [Applause.] We will see whether he will do it or not. We will see whether he is war mad. Let those and their sons and sons-in-law go to war and face the bullets there.

Mr. HEFLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNETT. I would like to, and if I can have five minutes more I will be glad to yield and yield and yield to my friend.

Mr. HEFLIN. Just one question.

Mr. BURNETT. I will yield for one question.

Mr. HEFLIN. I am willing to resign and fight for my country——

Mr. BURNETT. That is not a question.

Mr. HEFLIN. One son of my only sister has come from the border. I have another nephew that will go, and now my only son——

Mr. BURNETT. Oh, I object, Mr. Chairman; that is not the question. I decline to yield further for a speech. Oh, yes; these fellows who were going to drink all the blood were willing to send somebody else to war. [Laughter and applause.] They were willing to have their sister's sons go; they were willing to have their neighbors' boys go; but they never got where the death grapple raged between brave men who wore the blue and the brave men who wore the gray.

What will result? I will vote for this resolution if we can have an amendment as suggested by the gentleman from Illinois, which says that we must not send these brave sons of America to fight the battles of England, the ancient enemy of this country, that has given us more trouble than any other. I will vote for that.

As I started to say, Mr. Chairman, conscription is coming this week or the week after. Read the resolution; see the power that is given by Congress to the President; and next week we will be asked to carry out the provisions of this resolution by conscription. Why conscription, if the country wants war? [Applause.] Oh, gentlemen say they are going to vote for it because the people want it. If that be true, the patriotic impulse of the American boys will cause them to enlist without conscription.

Now I want to submit to my colleague, and I will give him half a minute to answer it, when they bring in the bill for conscription of the boys in his congressional district, will he vote to conscript them and send them to war? [Applause.]

Mr. HEFLIN. I have not reached that question yet, and I want to do anything for the good of my country, to help it beat Germany. [Applause and cheers.]

Mr. BURNETT. Oh, your country! Then you ought to go and fight for your country. [Applause and cheers.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired. The committee will be in order.

Mr. HEFLIN. I ask you to pay as much attention to your constituents as you do to the Germans. [Applause and cheers.]

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. HEFLIN. And to speak for your own people and not for Germany.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I speak——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is out of order. Both gentlemen will take their seats. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. BURNETT. I speak for the women and children of my country, and not for King George.

[The Sergeant at Arms approached Mr. BURNETT with the mace.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] is recognized.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Are we not in the Committee of the Whole?

The CHAIRMAN. We are.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. What authority has the Sergeant at Arms to produce the mace in the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Under the direction of the Chair, under the rules of the House.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The Chair has no such power.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is mistaken. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I desire to apologize to the Chair. I did not know that my time had expired. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURNETT. Under the leave to extend, I desire briefly to review the recent history which has led up to this declaration.

During the campaign last fall some of the war-mad patriots of the East were reviling our President because they said he would not fight. The States, the cities, the city papers, and the private interests which have fed and nourished this war propaganda were all against them, and none of their electoral votes were cast for him. The peace-loving West and South elected him. In the States where women vote thousands of noble wives and mothers and sisters voted for him, although the Republican candidate declared for woman suffrage. This because they did not want to see their loved ones torn from their homes and butchered in a war for which we were not responsible. I believe that our great President still wants peace, but he has been badgered and abused and slandered until he has taken a step from which I feel that this Congress ought to save him. But for the people's love of peace he would not be in the White House to-day. But for your promises to keep the peace many of you Democrats would not be here to-day.

Your people trusted you to keep their sons out of war, and now will you observe that trust?

Had you told them that you were going to tear the young men of America from the hearts of the mothers who passed through the very shadow of death to give them birth, and have them butchered 3,000 miles from their homes, do you believe you would have been in this hall to-night?

I admit that the provocation is great. I am no German sympathizer. I believe that they have cruelly violated the laws of God and of nations. But, gentlemen, England has done the same. For nearly three years she has treated with comtempt and scorn our protests against her assaults upon our ships and the products of our land. In order to beat down the price of the cotton of our southern farmer and rob him of his honest sweat and toil, she has seized and searched our ships and confiscated their cargoes. For three years she has robbed the western farmer of his corn and wheat and meat. The Secretary of State said it was wrong and sent notes of protest time and time again, but she gave heed to none of these. Did the war dogs of the East then rush from their kennels and loudly bark for war? Did the metropolitan press then urge war in behalf of the southern and western farmer? I myself wrote the Secretary of State condemning these wrongs to my people, and others did the same, who to-day stand on this floor as the apologists for those buccaneers, and are willing to send the sons of the farmers whom they robbed to fight beside theirs and die with them, and be buried with them 3,000 miles from a mother's gentle hand to wipe the death damp from the brow of those for whom she would gladly die.

True England did not destroy our ships or murder our people, but she was ready to do so. She laid the mines in the

North Sea to keep our commerce out of even neutral ports, and would have blown up our ships and slaughtered our men had they not observed her warning to stay out. When we have permitted all these outrages from England are we willing for her unholy hands to touch honest American boys in a war where she in the end will demand whatever advantage she may gain even over her allies? She has been the ancient enemy of the United States, and hates any nation that vies with her in commerce and in trade.

In 1776 she was our enemy, in 1812 the same, and in President Cleveland's administration had to be brought to her knees. Who can trust her in war or peace?

Her centuries of wrong to poor, oppressed old Ireland would mar the page of even pagan history; and yet men talk about her Government being a democracy and this war being a war for democratic ideals.

I tried hard to square my convictions with our great President's views. But when I read this resolution and realized what it commits us to, when I heard the great and candid speech of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs [Mr. FLOOD], the able representative of the President in this contest, and heard him declare the extent to which he and the President expect us to go, I determined that, come what may, I can not help to put this yoke upon people who have trusted me for 18 years.

Gentlemen, the country does not approve this war. If it did, the patriotic hearts of those who love our fair land would burn to enter the fray and the talk of conscription would be an insult to those brave hearts.

In some of the towns in my district good people are urging war, but the quiet man behind the plow who trusts his cause with me does not want it.

I insert a letter from an old Confederate soldier, Mr. G. M. Simpson, who followed the Stars and Bars from Sumter to Appomattox. Read what he says. I quote from a letter of R. A. Statham, another friend, who sees with a prophet's eye the starving babes in our land while our food is sent to feed the warring world. I have many more letters of like kind. I append a petition from Collinsville, a beautiful little town in my district nestled between the towering crags of old Lookout and Big Sandy. Read what they say.

Were our land invaded by a foreign foe, from every home and hamlet would spring the sturdy sons of toil to strike down the foul invader, and into the very jaws of death and hell they would rush to defend their homes and flag.

The great masses of the people believe in the sincerity of our President, but they believe that he is being misled by those whose interest it is to have war.

Then let us look well, gentlemen, before we take this leap. It is easy to bring on war, but, oh, how hard it may be to woo back the soft-winged dove of peace.

By whose side will our brave boys have to fight? Who will be their allies? The proud and treacherous Jap that has long looked with covetous eyes upon our islands in Pacific Seas; the cruel Cossack that amid the centuries has driven Jew and Gentile alike who dared even hope for liberty through Siberian snows to rot inside dungeon walls; the Sicilian who, with bomb and stiletto, carries robbery and death at every secret step; the swarthy Hindu, another victim of John Bull's boasted democracy.

With the Germans and Austrians is the unthinkable Turk, and others almost as bad. I would oppose an alliance with them, were it contemplated, just as I do with the entente allies. The grievance is against us; let us make no entangling alliance with any, but let it be our war, and ours alone. This was Washington's advice, and could his voice be heard I doubt not that would be his warning still.

The country press and those whom they represent do not want us to rush madly into this holocaust of men.

From the Farmers' Tribune, of Anderson, S. C., I clip the following:

Why should we fight England's battles? Has not she persistently and outrageously, from the very start of this awful war, raped our neutral rights and impudently interfered with our commerce with other neutral nations, like Holland, Sweden, and Norway, merely because she did not want us to establish trade relations and found a line of credits which might result in our increasing trade with those countries that would continue after this European rumpus was a thing of the past? What about our cotton? What about other noncontraband articles which England just went and took from us on the high seas in our vessels destined to merchants in those neutral countries, on the theory that some of those noncontraband articles might be shipped from those neutral countries to Germany?

I give one among many articles opposing war which appears in the Farmers' Fireside Bulletin, the official organ of the Farmers' Union of Texas and several other Southwestern States:

My work puts me in touch with farm audiences and country schoolhouses nearly every night in the week. We always discuss the war question and universal military service. I know nine out of ten farmers are absolutely opposed to both. We farmers are unalterably opposed to war unless an enemy lands on our shores.

JOHN A. SIMPSON,
President Oklahoma Farmers' Union.

Gentlemen may ingratiate themselves with the President and with the metropolitan press and the gamblers of Wall Street by a vote for war, but for my part I had rather have the knowledge that my vote represents the wishes of the poor and oppressed of my people and the approval of my own conscience than to have the plaudits of a war-mad horde.

ODENVILLE, ALA., *March 22, 1917.*

Hon. J. L. BURNETT.

DEAR FRIEND: It seems that we are on the verge of war. I see from the statement of Vice President Marshall and Senator UNDERWOOD that the tendency is to call out an army of 1,000,000 men and send them to Europe. Had pleasure seekers and munitions merchants kept off the seas we would not have been in any way involved. Now have we got to have our sons conscripted and forced to leave the home land and go across the ocean just to let rich people get richer, and our dear boys never see home again? Let the allies do their own fighting. In the war of 1860 England blockaded every seaport on the ocean and then allowed the skim of Europe to slip through the blockade and join the Yankee Army, and we had to fight the very element that you have been trying to prevent from coming over here. And now send our sons to help such people? No! Arm merchant ships if thought best, and if any man is big enough fool to go out on one of them, let him go, but more will have to be done than is done or he will land in the bottom of the ocean. Raise the old Confederate flag and play Dixie, and we old Confederate veterans will make an army, and if you will let Germany come over here we will whip them before breakfast. We know how it is done, for we have tried it, and our blood still runs hot for Dixie Land, and if we could not shoot them out we will charge them and stick bayonets in them as we did in the sixties, but by all means let them come here. We have had to whip England twice and did it when they came over here, and now propose to go over there and help them, our oldest enemies. No, never; no, never! Sure, 'tis this way: If we have war stuff to sell, let any nation of the world come over here after it, and if she can get home with it all right, but never raise an army to help her home. And besides, you see that Germany is hard to handle, and for the United States to join the allies against them will incur the ill will of Germany as long as time lasts. I am willing to allow that you are in a position to see farther than I do, but a numbskull can know some things. I hope when you have time you will read this, and if thought worth anything give it due consideration, for evidently we are confronted with the most serious proposition that ever came before a nation.

Your old tried friend,

G. M. SIMPSON.

LEHIGH, ALA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN L. BURNETT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BURNETT: I hope you will view this war question from all the sides it has got. Secretary of War Baker said in Birmingham a few weeks ago that there was not a child under 6 years of age in Poland and Belgium, Serbia and Roumania. I suppose this was caused by lack of food. You know the price of food in our country. If we are to have war with Germany, will prices go higher? If they do, our babies will die. They are starving now. This is a terrible price to pay for national honor when our country has not been invaded. If you people who are the Government will keep cool, probably you can avoid war. Let us hope so. But if us men have to go to France to the trenches, protect our women and babies from these thieves who have our food stocks cornered, or there will be very few to go until conscripted.

Very truly,

R. A. STATHAM.

COLLINSVILLE, ALA., *March 26, 1917.*

To the Hon. JOHN L. BURNETT,
Representative of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama:

We the undersigned ask your honor to use all your influence to prevent war between the United States and Germany because Germany sinks any merchant ship loaded with war munitions or supplies to be shipped to the allies.

The above adopted by the undersigned in mass meeting.

J. O. Meadows, A. A. Madden, J. E. Farmer, W. A. Cleland, J. F. Meadows, J. A. Reece, C. M. Ayers, N. C. Meadows, T. V. Gipson, G. C. Hawthorne, R. W. Brock, Dock Kelley, S. T. Everett, G. N. Cleland, M. T. Oliver, C. E. Oliver, M. H. Hairell, W. M. Brock, W. G. Lawson, Ellis Hairell, J. B. Bates, E. D. Whorton, H. M. Smith, L. E. Camp, S. M. Meadows, Carl Smith, M. J. Green, L. M. Smith, A. E. Smith, R. L. Lee, D. S. Sayre, John Meadows, W. B. Anderson, F. M. Davis, E. B. Oliver, F. D. Oliver, J. M. Sims, S. H. Everette, J. E. Fitzpatrick, R. E. Henderson, J. T. Rowan, W. H. Wood, R. T. Smith, E. T. Hearrill, W. F. Reeves, J. B. Reeves, T. H. Gipson, Harvey Gipson, J. L. Cox, A. L. Barkley, V. H. Cox, S. T. Meadows, J. W. Cox, David Bobo, G. W. Cox, Day Gladden, C. M. Cox, Lee Day, G. T. Cox, Joe Bobo, John Bobo, R. L. Johnson, Virgie Bobo, J. A. Bobo, J. S. Johnson, Jeff Bobo, G. W. Wright, Smillie Wright, J. J. Everetts, F. T. Kirby, A. E. Reagan, L. E. Hardin, Larkin Henderson, C. L. Reagan, Grady Reagan, Chester Kirby, William Brock, Walas Gregory, E. B. Battles, C. C. Woodall, R. L. Goza, W. T. Reagan, J. A. Reagan, J. L. Rice, G. W. Bachelor, J. M. Bachelor, J. L. Fox, W. J. Oliver, W. J. Morgan, W. A. McKee, J. H. Oliver, J. H. Sheppard, J. H. Mitchell, Alex. J. Graves, H. F. Smith, M. C. Kirby, O. L. Hall, H. H. Smith, J. M. Collins, J. V. Mitchell.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Chairman, I hope that during the brief time which I shall occupy I may discuss the question now under consideration without excitement or agitation. I am mindful of the fearful responsibility which must burden the heart of every Member of this House at this hour. I feel its weight as others feel it. I have hoped and prayed that this hour might not come, and even now I wish that the cup might pass from me. But the time has come when we must act. We must meet the responsibility and perform the duty like men. It can not be dodged. It ought not to be evaded.

It is not an easy thing nor is it a matter of light consequence to vote a nation into war. It is a step which ought not to be taken, except as a last resort, after every other means of adjustment of the difficulties has been exhausted. That time, however, has arrived in our relations with Germany. Every art of diplomacy has been tried. They have failed. Every power of persuasion has been invoked. That, too, has failed. Every appeal to justice, to international law, to the humane instincts of the heart has fallen on irresponsive ears. For nearly three years our Government has sought to protect our just rights among the family of nations. We were not responsible for the European war. We had no part in the things which produced it. All we have sought has been the preservation of the undisputed rights of a free people, rights for which our forefathers suffered and died, and rights which have been universally recognized by every civilized nation under heaven.

While we have for these many months sought to protect our people and preserve our national integrity by peaceful and patient methods, the German Government has murdered our citizens without warning; has violated our neutrality in countless ways; has sought to destroy our property on land and sea; has filled our friendly and hospitable land with spies; has made her embassy and consulates the nesting places for conspiracy and vicious intrigues; has sought to drive us and every other neutral nation from the high seas, the God-given highway of the nations; has sought to undermine the loyalty and devotion of our own citizens; and by the most brazen and astounding proposal of modern times has sought to array against us in bloody conflict two friendly nations with whom we are at peace, offering as a reward to one the partial dismemberment of our Republic.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not impugn the motives of any man who represents a constituency upon this floor. I like to believe that men are governed by their consciences in the performance of their public duties. But I have listened in vain for those who oppose their Government to-day to tell us what will be our status at home and before the world if this resolution declaring a state of war to exist shall be defeated. Must we not only continue to submit to injuries and insults and invasions of our sacred rights, but shall we by our vote give encouragement to greater brutality and hold our Nation up before the world as divided, impotent, and contemptible? Shall we give notice to the world in general and Germany in particular that we repudiate our President, the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, and brand him as being no longer worthy of confidence either at home or abroad? He has told us repeatedly the unparalleled efforts he has made to keep us out of war, and all who have been in touch with conditions have known that he has told the truth. We know that not since the great Lincoln has any President in the face of insult and injury manifested the sublime patience manifested by President Wilson. He has told us what we all must now acknowledge, that we can not longer choose the path of submission without surrendering, at the command of brute force, the cherished rights for the enjoyment of which our forefathers, through blood and sacrifice, set up this Nation, nearly a century and a half ago, and for the enjoyment of which the enlightened democracy of the world is yearning and fighting.

What, then, shall we do in this crisis? Shall we support our Government or shall we betray it? Shall we uphold the hands and the efforts of the President to maintain our rights, our honor, and our sacred traditions, or shall we haul down the flag and give universal notice that it is without meaning? Others may choose such course as their judgment may dictate, but as for me, I take my stand, without reservation and without apology, beside the President of my country and the flag of our fathers. [Applause.]

This conflict is not of our choosing. It has been forced upon us not by the will of the great German people, whom we have long admired, but by that ruthless, vain, inhuman, and barbarous remnant of the Middle Ages, which calls itself the Imperial German Government by right divine. To submit to such an autocracy or to consent that it shall impose its cruel and inhuman will or its debased standards upon a civilized world in which we are a part would be to repudiate the achievements of a glorious past and shame the memory of unnumbered heroes who have died in freedom's battles to rid the world of such a scourge, and while I abhor war and love peace, and have striven as best I could to help preserve our peaceful relations in the family of nations, in the crisis which now confronts our Nation I can not do less than my duty as God in His mercy and wisdom has given me light to see it. Wherefore I support the resolution and am ready to give whatever may be my portion, in sacrifice or service, to the cause of my country. [Applause.]

We are told that the step which we shall take to-day will involve the destruction of property and the loss of life. We are told by those who are not in harmony with the policy of their Government that to maintain our rights and our sovereignty and to protect our citizens in the enjoyment of freedom and their peaceful pursuits will involve the expenditure of money. No honest man will delude himself into the belief that war can be conducted without the expenditure of money, the destruction of property, and the loss of human life. No sincere man can fail to deplore the necessity for such a step. But if our forefathers, who established this Nation, had stopped to count the cost in money or property or in human lives we might not now be citizens of the greatest and freest Republic in the world's history. As I have listened during this debate to those who oppose this resolution, I have been wondering if they would have been opposed to a declaration of war if they had been members of the Continental Congress in 1776 because it would have involved the destruction of property and loss of life to have voted for independence of Great Britain, the mother country. There was no Nation, in the true sense of the word, in those days; there was no Republic; there was no Army and no Navy. It would have involved less danger to have submitted to the wrongs sustained by the Colonies at the hands of Great Britain. But they did not submit, and their heroic deeds have been the inspiration which has guided us in emulating their example in sacrifice and devotion to the cause of freedom. I have been wondering what would have been the result if the Members of Congress in 1812, when our seamen were impressed and our rights invaded by Great Britain, had raised their voices then against war with Great Britain, as these gentlemen raise theirs now against war with Germany, because it might entail destruction of property and loss of life.

When I hear gentlemen here say that in order to keep out of this conflagration we ought to withdraw our ships and our sailors from the high seas, or, if they are to be sent out with the products of our industry, that we should withdraw from them protection against cruel and unlawful assassination, I have been wondering whether 105 years ago to-day there were men in the American Congress who were willing to keep our sailors, then, from traversing the highway of nations, in order to keep out of war with Great Britain; and I have been wondering what would have been the result if, instead of fighting for our rights, we had cravenly abandoned them. I have been wondering what would have been the attitude of these gentlemen, if they had been Members of Congress in 1861, when the great War between the States was breaking upon our Nation. I have wondered if those who came from the North would have been willing to let the Southern States secede, or whether those who came from the South would have been willing to submit to what they believed was an unjust and unconstitutional invasion of their rights, as the price of peace between the two great sections. To ask this question is to answer it. On both sides of this great struggle, great principles, dear to the hearts of the people, were involved, and in asserting and maintaining those principles they lost sight of the material considerations that might be involved.

As I have listened to those who sought to excuse the German Government for the wrongs which have been perpetrated upon our citizens and upon our Nation, I have wondered whether they would have stood on the floor of this House in the Congress of 1898 and opposed war with the Kingdom of Spain, which was about to be fought in an unselfish way for the freedom of a brave and downtrodden people, because to enter such an undertaking meant the destruction of property or the loss of life.

And when I recall the statement of some that they would be in favor of upholding our rights and sustaining our Government if we were about to be actually invaded by a foreign enemy I would recall that Spain was not then either attempting or threatening to invade the United States. Neither had Mexico invaded the United States when we declared a state of war to exist with that Republic in 1846; neither had we been invaded by Great Britain, when we declared war upon her in 1812, and there had been no invasion of the thirteen Colonies by force of arms when they declared war against Great Britain in 1776 and started out on the perilous course of es-

tablishing their independence as a free nation. To say that war would only be justified in case of actual invasion would be to say that our Nation would only fight when our property was about to be taken and our ease and comfort about to be disturbed. Every war which we have been forced to fight since the Declaration of Independence has centered around the rights of humanity and the liberty of mankind. From the Revolutionary struggle on through every war, great and small, which has been fought by our Nation our flag has never been unfurled in battle nor our sword drawn in conflict except to strike shackles from the limbs of humanity or to give greater freedom to the hopes of men. [Applause.] Whether we have fought Great Britain or Spain, Mexico or among the Boxers of China our strength has always been exerted to free men from the burdens of tyranny, never stopping to count the cost to ourselves, if only we might carry the light of freedom and of hope to the people of the world, on land and sea alike. [Applause.]

Since the outbreak of the great war in Europe, the details of which have been so far beyond our comprehension, I have wondered if there might be back of it all some great divine purpose. It has appeared impossible that such sacrifice could be endured without affording some compensation to the people upon whom the burdens must fall. It has been my hope that out of it there might come a greater freedom, a greater portion of self-government among all the peoples of the world. And while the sacrifice has been untold and the burden heavy, if a great world-wide democracy should arise from the ashes, making it impossible in the future for autocratic rulers to engulf the world, or any portion of it, in the vortex of bloody war without the consent of the people, we may console ourselves with the feeling that, though the price has been great, the reward also will be great, not only for this generation but for countless generations yet unborn.

If this world war, as now appears, has resolved itself into a conflict between autocracy and democracy, between the rule of kings and the rule of the people, there is but one side upon which this Nation can take its stand and feel at home. That side is the side of democracy and the people. There ought to be no division among us upon such a question nor at such a time. As the President so feelingly and so truly said in his great message, we have no quarrel with the people of Germany. We hope that in the fullness of time they themselves may rise among the family of nations as a great republic, denying, as we have done, the right of any man to govern by mere accident of birth; and if at the end of this great conflict that shall be their portion, we shall be glad to welcome them among the world's republics. [Applause.]

It is against the wrongs of their autocratic and ruthless Government that we protest. It is in behalf of the inalienable rights of free peoples that we shall strike, if strike we must; and I hope and believe that when the clouds have cleared away, when the battle drums are hushed and the flags are furled again in peace, when the czars and kings, the emperors and kaisers shall have been dethroned and their malicious and secret diplomacy shall have been spewed from the mouths of men we may behold a self-governed, liberty-loving democracy set up in Europe and in all the world; and if our sword must be drawn in such a conflict, God grant that it may shine as with the light of heaven, and that our sacrifice and sorrow, and all that we are and all that we hope to be, may be sanctified and consecrated in the cause of a true civilization, hoping yet to see the dawn of that day of which the Master Himself was the great Advocate and Exemplar, "Peace on earth, good will to men." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nevada [Mr. ROBERTS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to talk very long. I merely want to express the conviction of an humble Member of this House who feels deeply the responsibility resting upon him at this hour. It is true that politics makes strange bedfellows; but I am led to the conclusion that war makes still stranger bedfellows. All crowned heads look alike to me, and I do not want to sleep with any of them [applause], whether it be the Kaiser, the Mikado, John Bull, or even the Sultan of Turkey. This fight is not of our own making, and we had better keep out of it. I do not think Uncle Sam looks good mixed up with any of them. [Applause.] I come from the "battle-torn" State of this Nation, a State which has never shirked its responsibilities in time of war and never will; and if this Congress passes this resolution to-night I know that the people of my State will prove loyal and back up the administration, even if they do not approve of it. I am opposed to becoming allied with any foreign power, and that is what will happen. I have had three years of military training, and whatever that may mean for the good of my country I am ready to do. If it is necessary, I am ready to do my part, even to shouldering a musket, if we adopt this resolution. We have no quarrel with the German people themselves. As I stand here on the floor of this House and look at that picture of the Father of His Country looking down upon us I am thinking of his admonition to the people of this country to beware of entangling foreign alliances, and I can not lead myself to believe that we are following out his precepts.

I believe, my friends, we will get into trouble that will never end and which we will ever regret. You can not measure this matter in dollars, however; neither can you measure it in blood. It means that our children and our children's children will be paying for this war for years to come. For my part I shall oppose the resolution. I do not intend to vote my people into this awful affair. The people of Nevada gave Mr. Wilson a majority of 6,000 because they thought he would keep us out of war, while they gave me a majority of 1,000 because they were afraid I would get them into war. I tell you the people of this country do not want any war unless they know what they are warring about. They do not want to go to war on doubtful issues. Whenever the issue comes as it did in 1776 and 1861 they will arise to the occasion.

One distinguished gentleman here, for whom I have the highest regard, a moment ago said that this country was not invaded in 1776. If he will read his history, he will find out it was. I want to tell you that every man, woman, and child in this country would applaud if we would take both John Bull and the Kaiser and bump their royal noodles together, open up all seas, and treat them both alike. The average American citizen wants to do about what is right. He does not want to play any favorites. The average Congressman wants to do about what is right. He does not want to play any favorites, and, like the little schoolboy, if he has any sympathies at all they are always on the side of the "under dog." Ah, my friends, I want you to stop and think a moment. Do you want to send our boys to the trenches in Europe? I do not. These war germs are both epidemic and contagious. They are in the air, but somehow or other they multiply fastest in the fumes around the munition factories. You will not find many in our climate. They also multiply pretty fast in Wall Street and other money centers. I am opposed to declaring war to save the speculators.

I am not convinced that it is necessary for this Nation to become involved in war in order to maintain a strict neutrality. This awful European war was not based upon any just cause. No one contemplated its awful consequences. It came about by somebody going off "half cocked." Let us see to it that we do not do likewise. Remember that the lives we lost were only incidental to a fight being waged between other parties, neither of which desired to injure us. Both sides since the beginning of this war treated all neutrals with absolute disregard. Each party to the controversy has construed international law to suit itself.

Are we prepared to become the world's "big stick"? I think not. We are, however, not "going to go to sleep at the switch," but will prepare ourselves. We will support the administration with all our might as long as this fight is being waged, regardless of what our individual opinion may be at the time of the adoption of this resolution. It will go through and go through with a rush, but I do not feel justified in involving my people in war with all its awful consequences to maintain what to my mind, to say the least, are doubtful rights. Let our people who want to "joy ride" or trade or traffic in the war zones of either of the belligerents do so, but at their own peril and not with the sanction of this country.

I want to say to you I am going to act according to the dictates of my own conscience. I suppose some fellow will say that I am a coward. I hope he will do it to my face. I do not care whether he is in the House or where he is. I am voting as I believe for the best interests of the State I represent and the country I love. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is recognized for 10 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I wish to pay a tribute to the courage of those Members of the House who in the exercise of the responsibility cast upon them have had the courage to express their opposition to the pending resolution, and I want particularly to pay my tribute to the rare courage of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN]. [Loud applause.] I do not agree with them [applause], but this is a time when the Members of this body, aye, all the citizens of the country, have the right to express their opposition to the war, for to-morrow, when the war is declared, it will become the duty of all citizens to hold up the honor and the power of the Republic. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, for two years and a half I have done everything within my power, by voice and vote, to keep this country out of the European war. I have believed it was to the advantage not only of our people and our country, but to the advantage of civilization and humanity, that we should keep our skirts clear of war at this time. But, after all, it was not because I fear war. The American people may prefer peace, but not from cowardice. [Applause.] It is not because we are afraid to fight that we may have preferred to avoid a fight. But now, Mr. Chairman, the situation is changed. The President of the United States, who represents us in our dealings with foreign countries and who is the spokesman of the American people to the nations of the world, has asked us to declare war. We have a resolution to that effect pending before us, upon which we must vote. We must vote authority to declare war or must vote down the resolution. In either case we make a declaration to the world. What position will we be in both as to our own self-respect and the self-respect of the world if we should vote down the recommendation of the President and declare in effect to the world that we are afraid to go to war? [Applause.]

In my judgment, the only thing left for us to do is to stand by the President, elected by the people, carrying on the negotiations with the world [applause], and when we have declared the war, prosecute it as best we may.

I know the agony that comes from war. I am one of the few Members of this House who have voted once before to declare war, and many times since then I have almost regretted that vote. And yet we can not say to the world that our only goal is gold, that our only desire is wealth. We must, it seems to me, when the question is presented to us declare that we will maintain the rights of Americans abroad as well as at home. [Applause.] There is a difference between a deliberate affront to a nation and an incidental injury. We have had many incidental injuries both from England and Germany. A direct affront from either nation would have brought war long ago. Perhaps what we have suffered may have been incidental injuries. We know we have suffered many incidental injuries from Great Britain. We know we have suffered many incidental injuries from Germany. And yet, it seems to me, that now we are required to say a deliberate affront has been made to our Nation by the German Government, and having a deliberate affront there is nothing left for us to do but to follow the recommendation of the Chief Magistrate and engage in war and maintain our rights, our honor, our dignity, our civilization. [Loud applause.]

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. FITZGERALD, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration Senate joint resolution No. 1, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, and had come to no resolution thereon.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the Senate joint resolution No. 1.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, pending that I move that all general debate on that resolution be closed.

The SPEAKER. And pending that the gentleman from Virginia moves that general debate on the resolution be closed.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, of course, anybody can cut it off. If the gentleman goes back into the Committee of the Whole under the five-minute rule, is it his intention to let the committee run along for such time as will probably be necessary to accommodate the wishes of all the Members who desire to speak?

Mr. FLOOD. That is my wish and my purpose. I call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that to-morrow is Good Friday, and some gentlemen would like to finish this bill before 12 o'clock.

Mr. MANN. It would be the legislative day of Thursday. A large number of the Members of the House early to-day gave their names to the Chairman, and it does seem to me that on a matter like this every Member of the House who desires to express his opinion should have at least a brief opportunity. I suggest to the gentleman from Virginia in advance that if nobody objects he might ask for general leave to extend now.

Mr. TALBOTT. I am not going to object, but I would like to have from three to five minutes, and I want it understood that I can have it.

Mr. MANN. I think we ought to stay here until every Member has had a chance to express his views.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, pending the motion to go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, I make the request that every Member who desires to do so may have five legislative days in which to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. TALBOTT. I want to say what I have to say on the floor of the House.

Mr. FLOOD. I am not referring to the gentleman's remarks.

Mr. MANN. I suggest 10 days.

Mr. FLOOD. Well, 10 days, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] asks unanimous consent that all gentlemen may have 10 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this resolution. Is there objection?

Mr. DUPRÉ. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana reserves the right to object——

Mr. DUPRÉ. Do I understand the proceedings will follow after the agreement?

The SPEAKER. The debate will be under the five-minute rule.

Mr. MANN. Let us stay here long enough to give everybody a fair chance.

Mr. DUPRÉ. The gentleman from Illinois answered me in the way I expected him to answer.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia asks unanimous consent that all Members may have 10 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this resolution. Is there objection?

Mr. FIELDS. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, that includes those who have not spoken as well as those who have?

The SPEAKER. Of course; it embraces 433 men.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask if it is the present intention of the committee, if this measure does not reach a stage where a vote can be taken to-night, to press its consideration to-morrow, in view of the fact that to-morrow will be Good Friday?

Mr. FLOOD. I made that suggestion. I would be very glad to have unanimous consent that a vote be taken at a quarter to 12 to-night.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. DUPRÉ. Reserving again the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have an understanding as to whether my colleague, Gen. ESTOPINAL, shall be allowed to speak 10 minutes on this subject?

The SPEAKER. The Chair can not answer.

Mr. MANN. It is to be hoped so, but we can not tell.

The SPEAKER. I shall not be presiding in the Committee of the Whole. Otherwise I could answer the gentleman's question. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Now the gentleman from Virginia moves that general debate close. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The general debate is closed. Now the question is on the motion that the House go into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of Senate resolution No. 1.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] stated what seems to be the idea of the House, that all gentlemen should have the opportunity to express themselves. We go into the committee now under the 5-minute rule?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Necessarily an amendment, pro forma or otherwise, will have to be offered. Is that correct?

The SPEAKER. An amendment must be authorized to what?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. An amendment to the resolution, as I understand, whether it is pro forma or not. When an amendment is offered the mover of the amendment will have five minutes?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. And some other Member will have five minutes in which to reply?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Will not that necessarily cut the participants down to a very few Members?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks not.

Mr. MANN. Not under the proposition.

The SPEAKER. We can continue these proceedings until sunup. [Applause.] The question is on agreeing to the motion to go into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] will take the chair.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of Senate joint resolution 1, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, with Mr. FITZGERALD in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1. The Clerk will report the resolution for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves to strike out the last word.

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Chairman, after eight years in which I have gone up and down this country talking against war, being opposed to war under any form or for any reason, when after that position a man can come to the place where he is willing to admit that there are occasions when war is the only arbitrament and makes that decision, it takes as great or greater courage than it would take at this time to vote against this resolution. I say that it would be easier for me a thousand times to vote "no" than to vote "aye."

But, Mr. Chairman, we are facing the greatest national crisis in our history, and we have only two ways open to us. One is to accept a war, thrust upon us by the repeated aggressions of a power which recognizes no law but its own imperial will. The other is to defeat the resolution and adopt the policy of absolute submission.

The latter course to my mind is unthinkable. We simply can not and must not submit. Let anyone on the other side persuade me that we can preserve our principles, that we can stand by the ideals of our fathers and not forfeit anything in the way of national honor or sacrifice the principles of democracy in government, and I will vote "no," because I do not want to vote "yes." It is well enough for some men to get up here, as some have done, and argue for war; men who had no effect on me; not so much effect as that splendid gentleman, the leader of the majority, who showed by his remarks his absolute conviction and his absolute devotion to his ideal.

While I can not agree with him I am more influenced by him than by those who have been yelling war without giving any impression that they realize the tremendous issues involved. I know what war is from my experience as a volunteer in 1898, when the other side, who had charge of the administration, fed us rotten meat and embalmed food. We want none of that kind of management of military affairs. In supporting this resolution I want to say that while some here on this floor have intimated that we can not object in the future to what the administration may do I reserve the right and any man has the right to oppose by the strength of one vote at least any proposition which does not carry with it his own convictions.

To my mind, the time has come for action. We can not submit without denying the fundamental principles on which this Nation is based. I have listened to those gentlemen who vividly picture the horrors of war, but, Mr. Chairman, there are things in life worse than war. So thought our fathers who founded this Republic; so thought the great Lincoln when reluctantly he called the Nation to defend the principle of national unity. President Lincoln exercised the greatest patience before he made the final decision which meant for our people sacrifice and suffering which we in this day can only dimly realize. I am one of those who believe that there is no man in this Nation who would rather see this country kept out of war than President Wilson. He has patiently submitted to aggressions, endured insults to this country, hoping against hope that these aggressions and these insults would cease. Certain of our people have clamored for war almost from the beginning of the terrible European conflict. He has stood steadfast.

The President has been accused of vacillation when he should have been appreciated for his noble patience. The time has now come to act according to the decision of that man on whose heart the horrible possibilities of war rest with as heavy a burden as can possibly rest upon you and me. Every possible avenue of honorable escape has been scrutinized. Everything humanly possible to preserve this Nation in peace has been done by the President. I do not support his course blindly. I support his course because I can see no other way except that of submission to the tyranny of the autocratic Imperial German Government, whose heart has turned to stone, whose soul has become atrophied.

Some have asserted that our entrance into war means a departure from the wise counsels of Washington in his Farewell Address. I do not so construe it. To my mind we are not entering into foreign alliances, but we are resisting the attempt of a mad Government in its determination not only to deny all our rights upon the high seas but even dares through its spy system to disrupt our domestic affairs.

Mr. Chairman, I hate war. I hate war as Washington hated war. I hate war as Lincoln hated war. I hate war as President Wilson hates war; but there is no other way. The Imperial German Government has run amuck. Mad men are destroying civilization. Tyrants are threatening every principle and ideal of democracy. We must resist, and in resisting, in defending our national right, in standing for the higher ideals of humanity, we must do so with a full realization that it means consecrated service and genuine sacrifice. And in that sacrifice let us determine that our patriotism shall allow no special privilege. Let not wealth escape its responsibility. In behalf of the thousands who toil I urge that the present wealth of this country shall bear the present burden. Those who want conscription of men must insist on the conscription of gold. Labor will show its patriotism. Will wealth as faithfully accept its duty? If not, let this body in its revenue measures compel it.

Mr. Chairman, I will vote aye for this resolution, but I do so with a heavy heart, a saddened soul. I, too, have hoped for peace, prayed for peace, but I can not be of the number who cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen in and out of Congress who oppose this war resolution find solace in an argument which runs somewhat like this: "Because some 200 Americans have been killed is it right to sacrifice the lives of countless thousands of the flower of our youth, only to slake our thirst for vengeance?"

My friends, the American people have no blood lust. No thirst for vengeance animates us. Deeply as we lament the loss of our dead, it is not to avenge them that we put our armor on. A higher purpose animates us. Shoulder to shoulder with the world's democracies we go to war for the rights of man.

In 1775 the embattled farmers of Massachusetts lighted the fire of war because they loved liberty. Doubtless the pacifists of those days, in the name of American mothers, protested against the slaughter of our manhood. Doubtless they told their countrymen that a sordid question of taxation was not worth the bloodshed which war entailed. Patrick Henry in the Virginia House of Burgesses gave to history the tale of those timid souls who cried "Peace, peace, when there is no peace."

In 1861 the Southern Confederacy fired on the Union flag at Fort Sumter. Not a single life was lost; only a flexible fabric was shot to pieces. Yet we went to war. Perhaps the pacifists of those days thought at heart that the difficulty could readily be settled for the cost of a new fort and the price of a new flag. But the North and the South, brothers in character and in manhood, settled their differences in no such mean fashion. They settled their differences like men, not like money changers on the corners of the streets.

For two years on the battle fields of Europe autocracy trampled on democracy, but to-day democracy all the wide world over is struggling to its feet, and now it is autocracy's turn to tremble. Too long have we allowed other nations to fight our

battle for civilization and popular government. Too long have we occupied the spectator's slothful seat. To-day we leave that seat of ease and we enter the arena of blood and lust, where true men are to be found.

To-day I listened when that great North Carolinian who leads the Democratic side of this House spoke so movingly against this resolution. I know full well how much his decision cost him; I know full well that nothing but his conscience dictated his course. Politically his interests must needs lie in the opposite direction. Men in this House who to-day will vote against the war will when the die is cast outstrip in patriotism many of us whose beliefs lead us to vote for this resolution. From the time that war is declared the United States will have no stouter champions than some of the men who to-day will vote for peace. As for the rest, we shall not heed them.

Let him who wavers lag behind. It is nothing to us whether he follows the fanciful mirage of pacifism or the yellow banner of timidity, or whether he displays the red flag of socialism. We fight for the Stars and Stripes.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for this resolution as a patriotic duty. I shall vote for it in the same spirit with which over half a century ago I offered my young manhood to my country on a similar call from President Lincoln, although I fully realize that our action to-day will bring more rejoicing to the descendants of old King George III at London than any act in the world's history since Wellington's victory at Waterloo and Napoleon's exile to St. Helena.

I shall vote for it because our present duly elected Chief Magistrate has said to us, in effect, that he has exhausted all proper means of avoiding war with a nation which, happily, heretofore has been at peace with us during all our national life. As the President has well said, "It is a most fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war," but his is the responsibility; our duty, in a sense, is of lesser degree—that common to all official and patriotic citizenship.

I represent a district in which there are many so-called pacifists, sturdy, rugged, conscientious believers in the peaceful doctrines of William Penn, nonresistants, if you please, and yet men and women of the type of martyrs, unafraid in any human presence. I honor them. Family traditions and teaching point me in the same direction; and yet, as in the lurid days of the Civil War, placing country above family ties or personal considerations, I must respond to duty as I understand it, answer the call of the President, and stand by him in matters of immediate concern such as the resolution we are now considering, reserving only matters of conscience and the future exercise of deliberation and judgment on doubtful governmental policies which may or may not arise after the exigencies of the hour shall have passed.

With me it is not a matter of excitement or hysteria caused by war propagandists or aroused by the more serious and burning words of the President. I do not agree in sentiment with all he has said; I have felt that absolute neutrality, even to the extent of an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerents, was the duty of this great Republic, and I am loth to waiver in judgment in this respect, yet when I returned to Washington on the day before the meeting of this extraordinary session of Congress and found on my office desk awaiting me many friendly letters and telegrams of advice, some making demands with which I could not comply, and a few making threats, which were ignored as unworthy, I at once, without hesitancy or doubt, wrote to my good friends of peace the following letter, omitting only the names:

OFFICE OF D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, M. C.,
EIGHTEENTH OHIO DISTRICT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 1, 1917.*

RESPECTED FRIENDS: I have your interesting and, I assure you, most appreciated letter on peace and good will among men and nations, now in imminent danger of being broken, which I regret certainly as much as anyone can, my own early training, environment, and feelings being much like your own, but I fear we are approaching a condition where not to stand by the President—elected for four years by the people, and the only one we have or can have in the present emergency—would be like attempting to tie the hands and embarrass the executive branch of the Government, a thing which I feel no Member of Congress ought to be expected to do in such an hour of national peril.

This does not mean that all Members of Congress should follow him in extreme ideas for the future, such as the construction of big battleships in large numbers which can not possibly be put in commission until after present dangers are past, or in big standing armies for the future formed by compulsory military training; in other words, abandoning the ideals of the Republic for the reactionary ideals of monarchy. My hope has been that permanent peace and disarmament might come together.

And, writing on the eve of a possibly fateful to-morrow, I yet have hope that the dire extremity of war may be avoided with honor, and that America may yet be able to lead the nations upward by means other than the sword.

But if war comes, or the alternative of national dishonor be presented, my instincts, feelings, and endeavors will be with my country, its flag, and American ideals.

Very respectfully, D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. I do not think I will need that much time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER] asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DECKER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Congress, the time has come for us all to stand by that flag. [Applause.] But let us not forget what that flag stands for. That flag stands for a constitutional government. [Applause.] That flag stands for a free government. That flag stands for a government where the President executes the laws, where the Supreme Court interprets the laws, where the Congress makes the laws, and one of those laws is the law that says peace or war. A Representative is not a traitor who stands to-night and voices his honest convictions on the questions of peace or war. I do not insinuate against my fellow men. It takes courage for an honest man to vote for war, and I pause to pay some of you men, all in fact, my tribute. But I say a Representative is a traitor and a coward who believes as I believe and does not say so to-night, the last chance on earth which I may have to protest against this war and still be a loyal American. [Applause.] The argument of the gentleman from Illinois, and I respect him greatly, was the one that made me pass these sleepless nights this week. All of you know how I feel on this question, but I kept saying to myself, "What can I do, I do not want to cast a vote that may do harm, but I do not want to cast a dishonest vote." You told me a year ago when I raised my voice against what I thought would lead to war, that I was premature. To-night you can not tell me I am too late. There must be a proper time somewhere, as a situation like this develops, for a Representative to speak for or against war. [Applause.] When I speak to-night I speak as a man who loves his country. I have but one question to decide. Is this war a good thing for my country? I do not believe it is a good thing for my country, for my country's honor. I do not think it is a good thing for the world and I love the people of the world, although I have not seen much of it, but they are all human, made by the same God. I suppose when I say this the gentleman from Alabama will say I am affected by propaganda. It may be a propaganda, but it is a propaganda that started over nineteen hundred years ago to-morrow when One died that men might live and love one another.

You may say I am not good enough to refer to Him, but even the wicked sailor in the storm at sea has the right to pray. I can not forget that next Sunday is Easter morning. I do not believe this war is a good thing for my country. I believe in national honor; yes, I do. I have yielded my rights sometimes, and so have you, and still not sacrificed my honor. I have voted to yield rights for the sake of peace. I do not believe I have voted to sacrifice honor. Sometimes we have to pay a price for peace. You can not maintain every national right all the time and still not have war most of the time. I would not intentionally sacrifice national honor. You can call it submission if you please, but I do not believe that we would sacrifice the national honor if we refused to go to war at this time, because if a nation sacrifices its right for an honorable purpose, no man can say that that nation has dishonored itself. England can not dishonor us, Italy can not dishonor us, Germany can not dishonor us; we alone can dishonor ourselves. We may give up some of our rights for a noble purpose—that is not dishonor.

Ah, gentlemen, many have asked the question, which I asked myself day and night since the President came, what will they say if we should defeat this resolution? What would Germany say, what would proud, haughty Germany and the German people whom the President says we love, but are ruled by a madman, say? What would the German people say, what would the Italians say? What would England say? I do not mean King George; I do not mean alone the men that sit around the cabinet table, but I want to know what the English people would say. I think I know what they would say; I think I know what the people of Germany would say if the American Congress should exercise its power—a power that it can not delegate—and defeat this resolution. I think I know what they would say.

They might not say it to-night when the blood lust is on. They might not say it when the storm of war is on. But after the war is over I think I know what they would say. After they begin to stagger home with eyes that can not see, begin to stagger home with bodies partly shot away, begin to stagger home to firesides where the chairs are empty, when they begin to take up the burdens of this war I think I know what they would say. They would say, "Would to God that we, too, had

lived in a Republic like America, where the American Congress before it voted for war kept in mind the wishes and welfare of the people who have to do the dying when the war has come." [Applause.]

Oh, I do not mean that the rich men will not die. God knows they are patriotic men, the most of them. They will give up their money and some of them will bare their breasts. My friends, look to the future of your country and be careful not to confuse vanity and honor. I am for my country, Mr. Chairman; yes, I am. I am for my country. This is my last argument against this war if this resolution passes.

To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

I shall vote against this resolution. I wish that I had the power to defeat this resolution. I would if I could, and assume the responsibility before my God and my fellow man. But if I can not, you will have to admit I have done all I could in my humble way.

To-morrow I am like you; I am for the prosecution of the war which my country has declared. Let me tell you something. Some who are for this war say they will vote against conscription. I will not say that. It may be necessary. I am the son of a Union soldier. We had conscription during the Civil War. They had it in the South the first year and in the North the second year of the war. They are bleeding France white; they are bleeding England white; they are bleeding Germany white; and yet if you go into this war I can not say that I will not vote to bleed my own people white for the sake of that flag, because when we are in the war all will have to admit that it is a democracy against imperial Germany, and I am for my country, God helping me. [Applause.]

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, I have felt from the first that if this great war in Europe lasted long enough we were almost sure to be drawn into it, just as we were drawn into the last great European war in the days of Napoleon, and I have at times criticized the President for what seemed to me his lack of vision, in delaying preparedness for a whole year, and for utterances that could have no other effect in a world of war madness than to make the belligerent nations think that America had lost entirely the spirit of '76, and was so engulfed in prosperity and pleasure seeking, and in dreams of world peace, that it would allow itself to be trampled upon and its rights invaded indefinitely without resistance. But since the magnificent address that was delivered by the President to this Congress on Monday evening last I am sure no one can have any disposition to criticize. I do not see how anybody who listened to his words on that memorable occasion can hesitate for a moment as to his duty. We should be glad, "now that we see the facts with no veil of pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world."

We have been patient, altogether too patient, in the face of a long series of outrages and murders of our citizens on the great ocean highway. The list of Americans who have lost their lives, and of American ships destroyed, as set forth in the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, is appalling, and it seems incredible to me that there can still be men in this House who seek to find excuses for these things, and intimate that we should continue to temporize over them and submit to them. Now that we are on the verge of war I think it should be said that these gentlemen who have been continually crying "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," are not without a share of responsibility for bringing on war. They have at times made so much noise that the Imperial Government of Germany has in all probability been led to doubt whether the Congress would support the President in a declaration of war.

Mr. Chairman, a year ago, on March 6, 1916, when the discussion began on the McLemore resolution, which would have served notice upon the world that our American Nation did not propose to give any measure of protection to its citizens going about their business by way of the sea, I said:

If we are going to be so cowardly as to say in advance that we are not going to give them any protection, I, for one, feel as though I should like to renounce my American citizenship. I do not like to belong to a Nation of such cowards.

But this is not a Nation of cowards. Of course nobody wants war, but that does not mean that we should keep out of war at the cost of national respect, at the cost of everlasting dishonor and disgrace. There appear to be still some people who do not understand the situation, but the American people have always risen nobly to face every other crisis, and they will not be found wanting in this one when they, too, "see the facts with no veil of pretense about them."

Mr. Chairman, we ought to pass this resolution unanimously. [Applause.]

Mr. ESTOPINAL. Mr. Chairman, this is not the time for words; it is the time for action. We have been very patient with both the allies and the central powers in their interference with our rights on the seas. But the allies have had the color of international law for their acts, and their transgressions, beyond the plain provisions of that law, were more or less of minor significance and amenable to processes of arbitration and discussion. They did not involve the intent of hostility, the wanton destruction of life and property. They were irritating, but not sinister. But the actions of Germany are, and have been for some time past, sinister attacks, not to say open warfare, which have destroyed without warning the lives and the property of American citizens.

There is no justification in international law for a mandate which forbids our ships to sail the open seas. We can not recognize the closing of open trade channels by mere declaration, and we would be but a collection of cravens should we submit to such imposition from any nation on earth.

What Germany has been imposing on us is so patent a violation of American rights and of international law that it is bootless to even discuss it. It is as plain as the noonday sun.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote for the pending resolution, but it is with a feeling of deep sorrow that I shall do so, notwithstanding my indignation at the causeless murders, wanton destruction and contempt for our rights which have called us to action. Warfare is such an inconclusive method for human adjustments. In the civilized world science has brought life to such a fullness—such a state of repletion of opportunity—that it seems almost beyond reason that we should have to hark back to the savagery of warfare.

At this time the world is progressing in the discovery and utilization of those things which contribute to human advancement, and which should contribute to a new spirituality more in generations than it formerly progressed in millenials. But instead of science, with all its achievements in linking people together, rescuing us from this relapse to barbarism, it is contributing to make this war a hell of ingenious destructiveness.

And it is not only, Mr. Chairman, with a feeling of sorrow that I shall vote for this resolution, but equally with a sense of humiliation that this great Nation, which was founded on a manhood basis for human rights and dedicated to the purpose of promoting freedom, justice, and equality, should not have been able by example and precept to bring harmony of purpose and action to the world.

But, Mr. Chairman, we have no alternative. A great people not ready and willing to maintain their rights are no longer a great people. And a nation filled with such people must inevitably finally dissolve of its own weaknesses, of its own ineptness, and sink to oblivion under the weight of the contempt of the world and its impositions.

As we enter this war it will be with no illusions. We know that our opponents are still strong, notwithstanding the depletions of war. We know that Germany has mobilized her entire civil population, to support her military forces. They have hundreds of thousands of prisoners whom they are compelling to labor, and they have expatriated from the conquered sections hundreds of thousands of French, Belgians, Poles, and so forth, as additional economic support to their armed forces.

We may have to use tens of billions of dollars, millions of men, and a vast aggregation of mechanical instruments of destruction. We will be in actual alliance with nations, both of the east and the west, which have vast reserve forces of men more or less untrained and unequipped and without competent machinery to make them capable of extending the aid which they will be ambitious to give and which the situation may require from them. These nations must look in part to our vast mechanical energy, our engineering skill, and our science to prepare them for the first and second line of offense; and we must respond to their needs to the fullest extent. These combined powers may be needed to literally blast a way through the German ring of men and steel and concrete—to project through this ring a weight of steel from batteries of artillery the like of which the world has never imagined.

We must be prepared to pay this price to relieve the world of the menace of a whole people gone mad. That this can be done and will be done, if necessary, is as certain as that the sun will shine to-morrow.

But the earnest prayer of these United States will be, Mr. Chairman, that a sober thought of the German people will cause them to rise against the cruel military machine which holds them and halt this enormous preparation for destruction by a demand for peace.

Mr. Chairman, as my time is very short, I wish to make just a few remarks in response to some statements I heard upon this floor to-day in respect to the youth of the country. One

man depicted the battle field and the scenes upon the battle field between the lines, the horrors of the battle field, and he pointed to the Speaker and said that he had a son who stood beside him all day long in his position in this House, and asked him if he would send that son to the war. I say to you that the youth of this country are prepared to defend their country. It is not true that the youth of this land will not respond to the country's call. [Applause.] It is not true that we will have to resort to conscription. I believe that 500,000 men will be raised in 30 days when the President calls for volunteers. I believe that the northern boys and the southern boys and the western boys and the eastern boys will respond to their country's call, and I would be humiliated and would want to change my citizenship if I thought the youth of our country would not respond to that call to defend the country's honor and its rights. [Applause.]

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Chairman, I think I realize as fully as I am capable of realizing anything the great responsibility which rests upon this House to-night. I think I appreciate the awful character of modern war and what it means to those engaged therein, whether on the battle field, in the walks of industry, or in the homes of anxiety and sorrow. I recognize the dreadful toll that war exacts of human life, shattered bodies, sightless eyes, and broken hearts; but, as much as I realize and appreciate these things, I shall support the resolution. I shall do so without hesitation, with the firm conviction that I am acting in accordance with my duty as a Member of this House, for I deeply feel that our Nation has gone as far to preserve peace as any nation can go without forfeiting the right to the confidence and respect of its citizens; that this war is not of our making, but has been forced upon us; and if we free Americans are to continue to breathe the air of freedom and independence that we can not ignobly submit, but must accept the gage of battle so unfairly, so unjustly, and so brutally cast at our feet, and we must fight with all our strength and all our resources, at whatever sacrifice it may be necessary to make, that we may maintain our rights, uphold the cause of civilization and humanity, preserve our liberties, and safeguard our institutions, so that our beloved country, with undiminished power for usefulness, for human happiness, and for good, may endure to bless the countless generations yet to be. [Applause.]

Mr. TALBOTT. Mr. Chairman, I had not intended to address the House on this resolution, because every man, woman, and child in the congressional district that I represent knows as well as they know that they live that I am for my country and for every right that belongs to it on the land or on the sea. [Applause.] I would not make an address at all, except some gentlemen have addressed the House and have indicated that there is a lack of preparation for this emergency. That is not correct. This Nation to-day is prepared to meet any other naval power on the globe except England. Man for man, gun for gun, ship for ship, we can lick the world; and it is not good taste and it is not patriotism to try to convey to the people of this land that we are not prepared when we are. [Applause.] We are a great deal better prepared than the world knows of, and it is good policy that the world should not know all that we are doing and have been doing in the past. This resolution is going to be adopted, and it is a very serious and a very critical time in the history of this Nation. War is all that Gen. Sherman said it was, and he helped to make it so [laughter], and I would tell him so if he were alive.

I had a little something to do with it, not very much, but in my humble way I did, and I do not wish to talk about it. What in the world is this Nation to do? What in the world can we do except fight, and we know how? We have got to fight. Now, do not be uneasy, do not be at all uneasy, about the outcome. It is going to cost some money and it is going to cost some lives. Now, this war is not half as vital as some people think. It is not half as dangerous just now as some people think. We had a hearing in the Committee on Naval Affairs where everybody asked questions, although I did not ask many. Admiral Benson, I think, was on the witness stand. I said to him, "Admiral, if this country was to get into trouble and we had to transport an army to the Philippines or to Hawaii or to some place and as admiral of the Navy you would be called upon to see that they got there safely, what is the first thing you would do?" He said, "The first thing I would do would be to clear the ocean of the enemy's fleet." Now, that is all in a nutshell. [Laughter and applause.] That is the whole case. Now, before the enemy gets here they must clear the ocean of our fleet. For God's sake, let us have a fleet and have one that they never will clear off the ocean. [Applause.] Now, that is all of it. We need not fear invasion.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TALBOTT. I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes additional. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. TALBOTT. We need not fear any power on earth so long as we have a Navy, one that can not be cleared off the sea. It is the duty of our people to see that we have a Navy like that and to maintain it. You know I am the proudest man in this House, and I have a right to be. I introduced in the Forty-seventh Congress the original resolution giving authority to the Naval Affairs Committee to take up the question of the rehabilitation of the Navy of the United States and had it passed, and introduced an amendment that established the gun factories. I am a Navy man, and I believe a navy is the one safeguard of this Nation [applause], and if you will only have a Navy you can lick the world. [Applause.] Now, I am not going to talk about the resolution. Everybody knows who knows anything about me that I am ready to fight at the drop of a hat. [Applause.] And I am ready for my country to fight at the drop of a hat, and I am going to maintain that position as long as I represent my people, and I do not believe my people will ever change me as long as I say that. [Applause.] Now, some gentlemen may for various reasons vote against this resolution. Some people may say, I have got this kind of a constituency or that kind of a constituency. They are all mistaken. Any man who votes here because he has got a constituency of a certain nationality and votes to please them makes a mistake. [Applause.] I want him to know that the people who he is voting to please came here to get rid of that kind of a government. [Applause.] That is why they are here. They are not here because they love us so much, but they hated where they came from. [Laughter and applause.] I want to tell you one thing. Do not you think for a moment that by so voting you are going to please them. They will not respect you for that vote. [Applause.] And the people that agree with the President of the United States and me will not respect you. [Applause and laughter.] So you are going to be caught, like the nigger's coon trap, agwine and acomin'.

I did not intend to talk at all if certain gentlemen had not insinuated that we were not prepared and that the Democratic administration had not done its duty. Otherwise I would not have opened my mouth. They have been doing nothing for the last four years except getting ready for this thing. [Applause.] That is all. For four years they have been getting ready for this condition. You rascals, you had control of the country for 40 or 50 or 60 years and you did not prepare. You had the House and Senate, and the distinguished ex-Speaker [Mr. CANNON] stated he did not want any partisan discussion. Why, the gentleman was Speaker of the Republican House for six years. Why in the devil did not you get ready for this thing? [Applause.] But, gentlemen, let us all forget our shortcomings. It is the right thing to do—forget our shortcomings. There is no particular credit to our party and no credit at all to yours for this condition. We are now on the verge of war, and it is going to be a big war I expect, if it is one at all, and we must all stand together, man to man and shoulder to shoulder. The old Confederate will join the old Union soldier, the sons of the old Confederates and the sons of the old Union veterans will all join together and we will have a great big United States victory as the outcome of this war. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Chairman, the real ring of Americanism appears in the following words of the President in his message on Monday:

> There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our Nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

The plaudits of the American people responded to that sentiment in the most patriotic spirit. During the progress of the debate in the Senate, as well as in the debate here to-day, the events which have led up to the momentous action we are soon to take have been thoroughly explained and brought forth in chronological order. It is unnecessary for me to rehearse them. Wanton destruction of American property, official intrigue with spies, insults to American citizens and representatives, loss of American lives on foreign and American ships tend to one end indicative of the evident feeling toward this country of the ruling power in Germany.

The Imperial German Government has shown its absolute disregard for its treaties and its promises to this Government since

the war began. The crisis came when the German Government notified this Government that it would no longer respect the rights of the American flag on the high seas and would destroy American commerce and American life in its submarine warfare.

We are proud that there are in this country to-day thousands of loyal Americans who either by birth or ancestry have German blood in their veins. We will find none more loyal to the Stars and Stripes than these very men and women.

We have been too patient and too long suffering as a Nation. If I were to offer any criticism of the conduct of the administration, it would be that it too long delayed taking the step it did on Monday in asking Congress to declare war upon Germany. We are to-day only in a formal manner performing the duty we owe to our country and our flag in placing them above German threats and treacherous conduct.

In the destruction of American property and the taking of American lives Germany has waged war upon us too long without resistance. A one-sided war is an impossibility, and a continuation of this condition would simply mean that we intended to make exactly the choice the President said we were incapable of making, namely, "submission."

The President well said that we have little concern over the loss of property—

> Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be.

A few sentences further on he said:

> Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the Nation, but only the vindication of right, or human right, of which we are only a single champion.

We realize that we are right, that this country has done its full duty in the vigorous effort to avoid the step we take to-day, but I for one feel that never has a nation become involved in a conflict with a more just cause than ours. The accumulation of insults and indignities has now gathered for nearly two years, and when the so-called war zone was established and notification given that "all ships met within that zone will be sunk," we reached the point where forbearance could no longer be expected and patience ceased to be a virtue. Nothing more can be expected of this Government; nothing less would be either patriotic or human. This Nation has never yet failed in any undertaking, and it will not fail in the present one. By the adoption of this resolution to-night we give notice to the Imperial German Government that every resource with which we are possessed is to be used in carrying out the purpose of the resolution. The sooner that Government awakens to this fact the shorter will be the duration of the struggle and less the cost in lives and money.

We know not whither the emergency of the hour will lead us, but we do know that it will eventually bring us to the goal of a triumphant peace. The way has been pointed out, and the President's address receives an almost unanimous response from the Congress and from the American people.

It is true our hearts are heavy. Such action as we are about to take can not bring joyful exuberance, but we, as the representatives of the American people, could be almost classed as cowardly were we not willing to-day to face our responsibility and vote for the adoption of the resolution. [Applause.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, this is not a time for recriminations. It is not a time to speculate upon what might be under different conditions. It is not a time to criticize, to find fault with what has been done and can not be undone. It is not a time to present our personal views as to what we might have done if charged with the responsibility in the place of what others have done charged with that responsibility. We are to-night facing one of the most momentous occasions in the history of the American people. We are called upon to perform one of the most solemn and one of the most difficult duties that devolves upon men in public life.

Following the address of the President of the United States, we are asked to say by our votes that as a matter of fact the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war upon the American people. That is the one single question before the House at this time. Has the Imperial German Government committed repeated acts of war against the American Government and the American people, and are we to have the manhood and the courage to meet the situation and to accept the challenge that has been thrown at us by that Government? [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I abhor war. I have hoped that our people might escape being embroiled in any of the existing conflicts. My sympathies are not sufficiently with some of the parties to this conflict to make me wish that our people should in any way contribute to their success. But this is not a time for personal prejudice or inherited bias to affect Members of this House in the discharge of their solemn responsibilities and duties. We are a great, powerful, and a patient—very patient people. All of the belligerents, practically, have infringed our rights; but the one belligerent that has defiantly and arrogantly and contemptuously committed act after act in derogation of our rights and in contempt of our power is now arraigned at the bar of public opinion, and we are called upon to pass judgment upon it. I have heard it urged as an objection to the adoption of this resolution that we are to be embroiled in entangling alliances with foreign nations.

Mr. Chairman, I sometimes delight in wondering whether the spirits of the immortal great revisit the scenes of their activities. I attempt to picture what they might do under the changed conditions which they would find. And I feel to-night that it would be intensely interesting to know that if the spirit of Washington should look down upon us what it would prompt us to do at this time. He did not hesitate to engage in deadly conflict in order to free the American people and to erect for the admiration of mankind this free Government so beneficial to our own people and so inspiring to peoples aspiring to freedom the world over. After he had gone into retirement enshrined in the hearts of the American people for his disinterested and patriotic services, he was called out to take command of the military forces of our Government when it appeared that war would be the only way in order to resist what then threatened to be an invasion of our rights.

Sometimes I speculate upon what would happen if the spirit of the immortal La Fayette would come into our presence to-night. [Applause.] Those companion pictures set upon either side of the Speaker's desk should be an inspiration upon this occasion. There was no question of an entangling alliance with France during the dark days of our revolution. There was no fear that some foreign power might be united with us in a common purpose. In this great and solemn hour of our existence, looked down upon as we are in spirit by Washington and La Fayette, and recalling those early days of our struggle for our freedom, we should be strengthened in the determination to unite for the destruction of the great outlaw nation of the world. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, if we do what we should do to-night, it is not an inconsiderate thing. It means sacrifice. It means heartrendings. It means bloodshed. It means overwhelming burdens of taxation for the American people. But there are some things worse than war, worse than sacrifice, worse than toil and burdens and hardships. Nothing is more contemptible or to be more condemned than that state of a people when they have so lost their self-respect that they will not uphold and maintain those rights and those things which alone entitled them to rank with the independent, self-respecting nations of the world. [Applause.]

Our relations with Germany are different from those existing with France and Great Britain. They have done us grievous wrong, largely wrongs to our property rights. They can be and should be, and, if I know the temper of the American people, will be redressed within reasonable time.

The situation which we are confronting is not identical with the Mexican situation. The organized and constituted authorities of Mexico did not commit repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States. There were expeditions against our people. They were by bandits and lawless bands. There were attacks against our people by irresponsible factions. There was one act that might have been considered an act of war by the American Government; but great, powerful, long-suffering, and ever patient, our people have endeavored to avoid being precipitated into conflict. We have not been quick to take offense. They have ignored acts which justified forcible resentment. No one can charge that Woodrow Wilson has hurried this Nation into war. [Applause.] Only the imperative and unavoidable necessity of the occasion compelled him to lay before us these unanswerable arguments in his memorable address of April 2 and to ask the action we are now about to take.

I regret that we are to have war; but if we are to maintain our self-respect, if we are to encourage the cultivation and development of those virile and patriotic virtues among our citizens, without which our Government can not and should not survive, if we are not to become the laughing stock of mankind, mocked at and reviled by every other nation of the world, if we

are not to be derided and sneered at as a Nation of degenerates, of money changers, and of cowards, is anything left to do consistent with a decent self-respect than to acknowledge the unquestioned fact that the German Government has waged war against us, to accept the challenge that has been so recklessly repeated in continued acts of war and aggression against us, and to meet it like and in the only manner befitting a great and a patriotic and a manly Nation? [Applause.]

I shall vote for the pending resolution. But more will be necessary. I am ready to pledge to the administration, in the words of the resolution, all of the resources of the country in order to bring this conflict to a successful termination.

This is a critical occasion. It calls for the exercise of courage. I concede to all the same conscientious and patriotic motives that I know actuate my action. Fully conscious of the grave responsibility resting upon me, realizing the seriousness of the action proposed, I shall support the resolution because of an overwhelming conviction that it is the imperative duty of the United States to cooperate with every nation in making common warfare against the common enemy of the civilized world. [Loud applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL] is recognized.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Chairman, on March 1 I voted for the armed-ship resolution. I pointed out then that under international law and under the very terms of the treaty existing between the United States and Germany we were acting strictly within our rights. I expressed the hope that the effect of the passage of the resolution might be the means of saving us from being participants in the most terrible conflict that man has witnessed. It is, however, now evident that merely arming our ships is of no avail. At the very moment that the President was delivering his message came the news that the *Aztec*, supposedly protected by having naval guns and gunners on board, had been torpedoed at night without warning and a number of American citizens killed. Is there any Representative here who can truly deny that the German Government has committed many wrongful acts against our people; that it has tried to create trouble for us with Japan and Mexico; that it has permitted its submarines to torpedo our vessels, killing Americans regardless of whether they were men, women, or children and, according to its own announcement, is prepared to sink American ships on their way to Europe and return without notice and without warning, whether in the restricted area or without?

Let me call your attention to an additional fact, not generally known. At my request we sent the cruiser *Des Moines* and the collier *Caesar* to Alexandria, from which port they were to proceed to Beirut to rescue about 1,000 women and children in order to have them reembark in Spain for the United States. Does Germany guarantee the safety of these American women and children? No. She declines to expressly guarantee their safety from attack by her submarines. I have been repeatedly asked for months whether this intolerable condition was to be endured forever. Let me say to the credit of the men in the Department of State that they have begged and beseeched for action. They have shared our belief that Americans abroad must be protected. Weighing all these facts, is there any man who can upon his conscience say that these acts do not constitute war? It does not require any legal acumen or stretching of the reasoning powers to immediately reach that conclusion. What more shall we allow Germany to do before recognizing the true state of affairs?

The lives of our citizens have been systematically taken from us, our commerce has been violently interfered with, and our rights as men and citizens have been trampled upon. History will record that we were extremely patient under these most trying circumstances. The mission of the United States is peace. I have come from a people that for thousands of years have been taught to love peace. I can not shut my eyes or close my ears to the fact that, though we cry peace, Germany answers by warring against us.

No man who will cast his vote here to-day has given more consideration and deliberate thinking to this most serious problem than I have. I shall not hide the fact that I have spent several sleepless nights pondering over what was the best course to pursue in this great crisis. My final decision was greatly strengthened by these words of Col. Roosevelt:

> We are the citizens of a mighty Republic consecrated to the service of God above, through the service of man on this earth. We are the heirs of a great heritage bequeathed to us by statesmen who saw with the eyes of the seer and the prophet. We must not prove false to the memories of the Nation's past. We must not prove false to the fathers from whose loins we sprang, and to their fathers, the stern men who dared greatly and risked all things that freedom should hold aloft an undimmed torch in this wide land. They held their worldly well-being as dust in the balance when weighed against their sense of high duty, their fealty to lofty ideals. Let us show ourselves worthy to be their sons. Let us care, as is right, for the things of the body; but let us show that we care even more for the things of the soul. Stout of heart and pledged to the valor of righteousness, let us stand four-square to the winds of destiny, from whatever corner of the world they blow. Let us keep untarnished, unstained, the honor of the flag our fathers bore aloft in the teeth of the wildest storm, the flag that shall float above the solid files of a united people, a people sworn to the great cause of liberty and of justice, for themselves, and for all the sons and daughters of men.

That there is no other alternative is now being recognized by all men who have the best interests of the Nation at heart, and although they may have heretofore differed regarding the policy to be adopted with Germany, they are now united, and one striking example of that is shown in the attitude of the New York American, which yesterday printed a long editorial upholding the President and closing with these words:

> The American has stood for the postponement of war to the last possible moment of postponement. The President has declared convincingly that the last moment has passed.
>
> We are now for the strongest and most effective war that it is possible for our great Nation to make.
>
> When the President, with all the information that we can have and with other information that we can not have, solemnly declares that the German Government means to make war upon us at a moment which will be most opportune for it, the only possible course of sense and safety is for us to make war at the moment which is most opportune for us.
>
> That strategic moment is now.
>
> War it is. So be it! Let us make ready with all possible haste, counting no cost, to wage a powerful war, an overwhelming war, a war that will bring victory to our standards and, please God, universal freedom and permanent peace to the inhabitants of the world.

Mr. Chairman, the American Hebrew of this week will contain the following editorial statement by Herman Bernstein:

> Not with hatred, nor with malice, not with vengeance nor with greedy lust for greater power, is the United States entering the war.
>
> America goes into the war for the sake of peace, for the sake of establishing a lasting universal peace based upon justice, liberty, and equality.
>
> America now takes its place beside the democracies of the world against the autocracy which has deliberately misled even its own people into this universal slaughter.
>
> America is entering the war for the purpose of liberating the world from the menace that is threatening the peace of the democratic lands on both sides of the Atlantic.
>
> By defending the rights of America she will also protect the rights of mankind everywhere.
>
> Our great peace President has exhausted every means at his command to bring about peace among the warring nations; he has been supremely patient, strong, and energetic in his efforts to end the European catastrophe.
>
> Now, the cup of patience is full. The head of the American people can no longer tolerate the German policy of duplicity and subterfuge, a policy which has meant the killing of innocent babies and women, of the destruction of the lives of noncombatants without any warning upon the seas, the spreading of hatred, and the stirring of nation against nation—the policy pursued by the Kaiser's Government systematically, deliberately, and efficiently.
>
> America is entering this war with clean hands and a clear conscience, with the highest purpose and the loftiest ideals for which men ever shed their blood.
>
> America is entering the struggle to war on war, to war on the forces that stand in the way of the liberation of the world, to war on a system that in its blind arrogance is sacrificing millions of human lives even now that Germany's alleged excuse for the war is removed by the overthrow of the Russian autocracy.
>
> The unprecedented sacrifices made in this war have already been partly justified by the liberation of the Russian people.
>
> Russia has become a democracy before America enters this war, so that now we can throw our powers on the side of the democracies for the liberation of the world, the emancipation of the peoples, for a lasting peace.
>
> The freeing of mankind from a system that, through mere caprice or whim, can hurl millions of human beings into slaughter, is the only justification for America to enter the war. Such a cause is worthy of our greatest sacrifices.
>
> It is hardly necessary to say that the Jews of America love America and her ideals with an undivided love.
>
> I feel certain that American Israel is ready for any sacrifices the American people may be called upon to make for the sake of American rights, for the sake of justice, liberty, and equality.

We are entering this war without a desire of spoils or conquest, and the spirit is best exemplified by the words of Abraham Lincoln, when said:

> The issue before us is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and settled by victory. The war will cease on the part of this Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it. * * * We accepted war rather than let the Nation perish. With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, and to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among all nations.
>
> HERMAN BERNSTEIN.

Mr. Chairman, whether one is in private or public life he must be imbued with the idea that his duty to his country is paramount and above all other considerations. During this week intimations have come to me that political expediency required me to cast my vote against this resolution, and that contrary action on my part would mean a general effort from now on to end my congressional career. If such it be, I shall at no time

regret having performed the duty that I had hoped would never fall to my lot. I would be unworthy of American citizenship were I to be deterred from acting by such warnings.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that I know the citizenship of my congressional district far better than the gentlemen who have seen fit to tell me what is going to occur there. I know that the twentieth congressional district is just as loyal and just as devoted to American institutions and our country as any in the whole of the United States. The records of the War Department and of the Navy show that this district has more than furnished its quota in times of peace, and when the clarion note of duty is sounded by Congress and the President that it will not fail the Nation in its day of need.

I say to my colleagues who are now hesitating as to what they shall do that by their acts the people will know whether they are for this great land of freedom and religious liberty or whether they are going to be guided simply by the selfish question as to whether they will obtain more votes in 1918 by standing on the side of our foe. I say to them that the time has arrived for American citizens to realize that with the common benefits and opportunities which this great and prosperous country affords them comes the common duty and obligation to serve it in every way in its hour of danger. Let us give evidence to the world that we are united and standing shoulder to shoulder, prepared to make those sacrifices which a free people are called upon to do, to sustain their very existence as a nation. It is not a time for hesitancy. It is a time to go forward, placing reliance in God, who is the final arbiter of the destinies of both nations and men. [Applause.]

Let us give notice to the world that in this Republic of ours at least that we are all American citizens of equal rank, character, and quality, whether that citizenship be lately acquired or whether it be by birthright, and that in the defense of our flag and country we recognize no distinction of wealth or position; and that we shall be guided in our actions with the one common thought of victory in the conflict that we are now entering. Mr. Speaker, we shall not rest until we shall have achieved those objects which we are seeking, namely, the same equal rights for all men whether on land or on sea. God grant that the struggle may be short; but, no matter how long it may last, let us constantly bear in mind that the duty of the hour requires us to be courageous and firm in our convictions that America is right, and "that wrong backed by might" must fail.

Let me also add that I have many intimate friends and associates of German descent among the people of my city, and you will find them loyal in every respect.

Mr. Chairman, I can not conclude without reading two poems which I hope will stir American youth into action. They are entitled—

"EACH AMERICAN'S OFFERING."

[By Calvin Dill Wilson, Glendale, Ohio.]

Great land for which our fathers bled,
That men might live with unbowed head,
Now to thine altars, without price,
I bring my all for sacrifice.

For thee, America, I'd die
And with thine elder soldiers lie;
That harm be far from thy blest shore
I offer here my life and store.

That thy pure flag be free from stain
I'll stand where all the bullets rain.
What is my life or what am I
That I should fear for thee to die?

Accept me in thine hour of need;
Give me the joy for thee to bleed;
Great mother, hear my earnest prayer
And let me boldly do my share.

Give me a heart, an iron will,
That's worthy of the fathers still,
As son of them who cast out kings
And died that men be more than things.

In thy wide bosom grant a grave,
A resting place among the brave,
And near thy heart, where heroes slept,
That thou in hour of stress be kept.

Avert, O God, the need of sword;
But, called, may I not shrink, O Lord.
Forever, fronting both our shores,
May taintless flag guard all our doors.

"AMERICA, MY COUNTRY."

[By Jens K. Grondahl.]

America, my country, I come at thy call,
I plight thee my troth and I give thee my all;
In peace or in war I am wed to thy weal,
I'll carry thy flag through the fire and the steel;
On sea nor on land shall it suffer disgrace,
Unsullied it floats o'er our peace-loving race;
In reverence I kneel at sweet liberty's shrine—
America, my country, command, I am thine.

America, my country, brave souls gave thee birth,
Who yearned for a haven of freedom on earth,
And when thy dear flag to the winds was unfurled
There came to thy shores the oppressed of the world;
Thy milk and thy honey flow freely for all—
Who takes of thy bounty shall come at thy call,
Who quaffs of thy nectar of freedom shall say,
"America, my country, command, I obey."

America, my country, thy flag I adore,
It glories in peace but it fears not in war;
When tyrants would trample its folds in the dust,
Old Glory, undaunted, is true to its trust;
Its stars ever twinkle from liberty's dome
A message of hope to mankind through the gloom;
And children of men bless the red, white, and blue—
America, my country, the tried and the true.

America, my country, now come is thy hour—
The Lord of Hosts recks on thy courage and power;
Humanity pleads for the strength of thy hand
Lest liberty perish on sea and on land;
Thou guardian of freedom, thou keeper of right,
When liberty bleeds there is task for thy might;
"Divine right" of kings or our freedom must fall—
America, my country, I come at thy call.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARD] is recognized.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Chairman, I had hoped that our country for all time might remain at peace with all the countries of the world, for I have believed it the province of America to extend the benefits of the policies of our republican form of government to all nations by example and precept.

American honor in government and the high character, enterprise, and industry of its citizens compose the strength of our national appeal.

All war is abhorrent not only because of its tremendous cost in men and money, its destruction of life and home, its ravages of illness and disease, but that it brings the peoples of nations to hate, and just now the people of America entertain no feeling of hatred for any people.

The complete realization I have for the dire calamities of war impresses me with the solemnity and responsibility of a finding of the Congress of the United States declaring a state of war to exist.

I am still hopeful that the miracle of Russia may be reenacted in other European countries, for what there happened is the greatest triumph for governmental freedom since Cornwallis surrendered to Washington. What was thought impossible in Russia has come to pass almost in a day and with universal acclaim.

When the bleak road to Siberia was opened and men and women who suffered imprisonment and torture because they believed they had a right to participate in the government of the country in which they lived came back to their families and friends they carried a message of hope and confidence which is destined to extend broadly and firmly the principles of self-governing nations, those who derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

But now, after months and months of patience and forbearance, we are brought by the declaration of the Imperial German Government to the gauge of battle or the acceptance of a submission amounting to our national humiliation.

Distinctly, then, we realize the difference between the republic and the autocracy.

Without any quarrel with the German people, we recognize its sons and daughters among our most valued citizens, and they, many of them, came to America to escape the military autocracy which holds subject the people it rules and now seeks to hold subject likewise the peoples of the world.

I stand firm for the observance and protection of American rights, and I believe the American flag should be a sanctuary and that its folds should protect to the last ounce of the power of this great Government every law-abiding American citizen, on land or on sea. [Applause.]

To cast a vote for war at any time is a momentous thing, but to cast a vote against war at this time would be a futile thing, for war has been forced upon us as the sole method of defense of our rights.

The United States must take its rightful place at the very forefront among the nations, unafraid, and carry on, even through the clash of arms, to all peoples our national message of liberty, freedom, and equality under the law.

Marred by no selfish taint of aggression or conquest, we are conscious only of the highest purpose and that the extension and maintenance of governmental liberty to all peoples. [Applause.]

In this purpose we are united, and whenever the Congress of the United States has spoken throughout all this broad land there will be no division of devotion, only a devotion in patriot-

ism to our country that our country in asserting the rights of free men may bring freedom and liberty and peace to all others. [Applause.]

I ask to have read in my time one letter, which I send to the Clerk's desk, and which I have this day mailed.

The Clerk read as follows:

APRIL 5, 1917.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I herewith tender my services to the support of American liberty and freedom whenever and wherever called.

Very truly,

WARREN GARD.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH].

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for this resolution as a patriotic duty. I shall vote for it in the same spirit in which, over 50 years ago, I offered my young manhood to my country on a similar call from Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] And I shall do so although I realize that our action here to-night will give more joy to the descendants of old King George III than anything that has happened in history since Wellington's victory at Waterloo and Napoleon's banishment to St. Helena.

I shall not take up further time of the House, but ask, Mr. Chairman, that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman already has that privilege. The Chair will next recognize the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY].

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Chairman, to the thrice-repeated question, "What is oratory?" the greatest master of the greatest art replied, "Action, action, action." If the eloquent expression of patriotism is action, patriotism itself can be nothing less than action—action intensified, glorified, and effective.

On this occasion words, in comparison with deeds, are but "sounding brass" and prolonged speeches are but "tinkling cymbals." Therefore I shall not consume all of my time, but shall content myself in this, the most solemn, sad, and serious hour in the life of the Republic by voting to enter this war. [Applause.] Not against the oppressed and bleeding people of Germany, but against the most despotic, cruel, and destructive military autocracy that has ever existed since the birth of time.

We shall go into this bloodiest of all bloody struggles seeking no territory, no spoils, and no reward, but solely seeking to annihilate a military system which has usurped the liberty of mankind and devastated more than half the world with fire and sword.

Diplomacy, pleadings, and supplications have failed us in our earnest effort to live our life in peace. The Imperial German Government, by its wanton violation of our rights of property, by its willful insults to our flag, and by its ruthless destruction of the lives of our people, has at last forced us into war.

We are now compelled to fight. The honor of the Nation, the institutions of civilization, the ghosts of murdered men, and the spirits of slaughtered women and butchered children are pleading with us to draw the sword. We shall not turn a deafened ear to this pathetic appeal. We shall—

Strike till the last armed foe expires,
Strike for the green graves of our sires,
God, and our native land!

And as we go forth to battle with this mailed monster of Prussian militarism, in order that tyranny may die and liberty may live, I thank God that the German-Americans of my district will be found marching by the side of those who were born on American soil. [Applause.] Those whose ancestors came from the banks of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Rhine will keep step with those who first saw the light of day on the banks of the Potomac, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. They will fight loyally, enthusiastically, and courageously for the American flag, under which they have found prosperity, security, and peace. They will fight for—

Your flag and my flag—
And, oh, how much it holds!
Your land and my land
Secure within its folds.

Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at the sight;
Sun kissed and wind tossed,
The red and blue and white.

The one flag! the great flag!
The flag for me and you!
Glorified, all else beside,
The red and white and blue.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SWITZER] is recognized.

Mr. SWITZER. Mr. Chairman, I recognize that this is not the time to indulge in criticism. But I have listened to the vehement denunciation of many of our citizens made by Members of Congress during the past two days at both ends of this Capitol, and I feel it my duty to raise my voice against such an exhibition of intolerance. It certainly can do no good and can have no effect other than to arouse and stir up animosities and tend to drive people to be disloyal. It certainly ill becomes any representative of the Democratic Party to participate in such denunciation, for no party, sect, or ism has done more to spread throughout the length and breadth of this land the spirit of pacifism than the Democratic Party. In support of this assertion I cite you to your national campaign textbook of 1914 and invite you to read it again and again.

I shall support the resolution, but in doing so I do not want it understood that I believe that this great and powerful Nation has been absolutely neutral between the two groups of European belligerents. I am one of those who believe that had we been strictly neutral, had we been prompt and firm in the assertion of our rights under international law, firm in resisting the aggressions of both Great Britain and Germany, we would not be confronted with the situation that faces us to-day. The standard of neutrality advocated by the party in power immediately following the breaking out of the European war in 1914 has been trampled in the mud and mire of humble submission so deeply that it can be no longer recognized; and in the last political campaign, as a compensation and justification for the complete surrender of American rights upon land and sea it was pointed out that the "President had kept us out of war." On this party slogan he was reelected and his party continued in power. The people by a referendum have publicly expressed their confidence in the ability of the President to keep us out of war. And while I recognize that the method that he now recommends for our future safety, for the future security of this Nation, is in radical disagreement with the policy he advocated back in 1914, I also recognize that world conditions have changed.

The Imperial German Government now insists on the ruthless hunting down of our merchant ships and assassinating our citizens; and I feel it to be my duty as a Member of this Congress to vote to give the President the active and full use of our Army and Navy for the purpose of maintaining American rights and protecting American lives upon the high seas, even if it leads us into the very jaws of the terrible European conflagration. [Applause.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, in the few minutes allotted me I can not, of course, make any elaborate expression of views on the causes of the war that Congress is about to declare. It would not be a pleasant task if I had the time. I have hoped against hope that this cup might pass. But it must be drained, bitter as it is.

I have no doubt about the result of the war, which I have striven so hard to avoid, which I have so devoutly prayed we might escape. But even that impression does not make me happy, and I think no unhappier lot of men ever assembled under this roof than the Members of this House. They approach their solemn duty to-day with the seriousness that befits the occasion even if they apprehend no military disaster.

As a result of our action to-day, other consequences even more disastrous than defeat in battle may come. In its far-reaching influence on the future of our country no vote cast in the American Congress since the great Civil War has been so important. That the decision to engage in a European war, a war that had its origin in purely European and dynastic questions, will immediately and seriously imperil our independence I do not believe. That it will have a tremendous influence on the future of our Republic no thoughtful student of history and world politics will deny. Whether that influence will be for good or evil only the future can disclose, for the conditions that will flow from our decision to-day must be met and the questions they create solved by later generations.

On some of the results of our participation in a European war, not directly aimed at us, I believe we may all agree. It involves a reversal of the policy of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution down to this moment. Contrary to the advice of George Washington, we are about to make an entangling alliance with certain European Governments. In promoting the purposes of that alliance we are asked to help with credit and money, and to supply our allies with food, munitions, and other material essential in war. Their leaders become our leaders, their policies our policies, and their plans for the post bellum settlement our plans. Whether they will be

wise only the event will disclose; but wise or unwise we are in for it. It is an absolutely entangling alliance.

That it will make an end of the Monroe doctrine seems very clear to me. How can we claim and exercise the right to hold colonies in Asia? How can we claim and exercise the right to interfere in the political affairs of Europe and consistently deny the right of European countries to have a part in the settlement of American questions? I do not believe that we can hold so illogical and selfish a position, and so I look upon this entrance into the great world war as the passing of the Monroe doctrine. Being an American and sincerely loving my country and its representative, democratic government, I shall hope and try to believe that it is all for the best. I shall try to comfort myself with the thought that whatever additional perils we are bringing to America may be compensated in the development of a world-wide democracy. With that done wars will almost cease, for they are made by and for kings and the people can be trusted not to condemn themselves to destruction.

I have labored humbly but persistently, Mr. Chairman, to prevent all wars, this war in particular, for it has threatened us since the *Lusitania* went down. For more than two years I have been oppressed by the horrors of European battle fields. I have spent anxious days and sleepless nights trying in vain to devise some means by which my country might be spared this trial. The President has tried to avoid what is about to happen—what in fact has happened. I believe that all Americans, except that limited although influential class which is willing to go on shedding other men's blood to protect its investments and add to its accursed profits, have abhorred the thought of war. But the fates have decreed otherwise. My efforts and the efforts of millions of others who stood for peace have been in vain. We have been at war for more than a month. We have been at war since Germany decided to adhere to her submarine war plans regardless of the rights of neutrals to navigate the seas she had warned them not to enter. It was a challenge that was sure to be accepted, and we are now to have the consequences that all expected, that even those of us who tried to avoid them expected. We have lost the opportunity to play the great part of mediator between our unfortunate brothers in Europe. They will probably go on with the struggle to exhaustion, until all are bled white, until all countries are bankrupt and the comfort and happiness of unborn generations shall be mortgaged to the money lenders, who thrive in the misery of fellow men.

It is no longer a question of whether we shall have war. That is settled, and the vote to be taken here is the merest formality. The only thing to be considered now is, What is one's duty under the circumstances? I am an American, and, greatly as I deplore the situation, I shall, much as it distresses me, stand by my country. If my vote could avoid war, there would be none; but I realize that the President was right when he said that we had in fact been at war since the 1st of February. When the United States are in peril we must stand as one man.

For the time being, Mr. Chairman, the preachers of the gospel of peace are beaten back, but they are not destroyed. The war is pleading their cause; its horrors emphasize their arguments. After it is over, when the crippled and bankrupt survivors look about and consider the restoration of orderly and civilized society, they will realize the horror of it all, and they will forbid its recurrence. That can only be done by taking arms from the nations, for while nations have weapons and men trained to use them they will be used. As an assurance of peace big armies and navies have failed dismally, utterly. Men and women who are working so unselfishly for peace must devote themselves very earnestly to the task of disarming the nations.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I propose to vote for this resolution. That war exists between this country and Germany there is no question; the passing of the resolution is the declaration of a self-evident truth. In the few minutes that are allotted me I wish to give some of the reasons why I propose to vote for it. Whenever opportunity has afforded itself in the past three years, I have advocated the enforcement of American rights wherever those rights have been transgressed. I have insisted that our rights in Mexico, as to individual American citizens resident there, should be protected, and that those rights guaranteed by solemn treaty should not be withheld from them.

During all this time I have also advocated that the rights of American citizens upon land and sea transgressed by the British Empire should also be redressed by the United States. During all this time I have also advocated that the rights of the American people, on land or sea, that have been infracted and transgressed by the central powers should likewise be redressed by the United States Government. I am glad, though late as it is, to see that this Government, which owes to our citizens, wherever they may be, that protection guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States and the flag, is awakening to the fact that if we are to survive as an independent Nation it needs to give them that protection.

I am voting for this resolution in the hope and belief that we have awakened to the duty we owe our citizenship, and that the rights that have so long been infracted and transgressed in Mexico will likewise be redressed.

I am also led to believe that this Government that has now awakened to the duty it owes to its citizenship will redress the wrongs that have been done to American citizens by the British Empire.

While I have committed myself to this resolution and shall support it, I wish it to be understood that I do not commit myself to the propaganda announced by the President of the United States here when he delivered his message. By voting for this resolution I do not propose to commit myself to the support of the suggestion that we should become the guardian of the nations of the world. I do not propose that we shall depart from the teachings of Washington, when he said that we should be careful about our foreign entanglements and alliances. I do not propose to commit myself to a propaganda that will mean the abandonment of the Monroe doctrine.

We will sail upon an unknown sea, without chart or rudder, whenever we break away from the traditions and teachings of the past. Ours, the greatest republican Government ever formed for a liberty-loving people, by its precepts and teachings, should be an example to the nations of the earth, inspiring them to follow us, rather than by force of arms compelling them to do as we are doing. I believe that every people on the face of the earth have the right to choose their own form of government. If people desire to live under monarchies, that is their business and not ours. If they desire to live as the people in China have lived throughout all these centuries, that is their business and not ours. If they wish to reform their government and become republican, like China did, they should do it by virtue of their own right, of their own convictions, and not by reason of the dictation of any other nation upon the face of the earth. Therefore I say that when I commit myself to this resolution I do not propose to commit myself to the theory that this Government of ours should be the keeper of the peace of the world or dictate to the nations of the earth what their forms of government shall be.

When this war is on, from its start to its finish, the yeomanry of the Union will stand in solid phalanx in support of their country. And whether the trial be long or short, they will persevere to a successful end. Whether born on the native heath or transplanted from foreign soil, all will prove themselves Americans, true to the country of their birth or of their adoption, with one aim and one purpose—the triumph of the land they love.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, during the 12 years that I have served in this House I have never met so awful a responsibility as rests upon me to-night. The eyes of the world are fixed upon this House of Representatives, and the electric wires are waiting to flash to the uttermost corners of the earth the action taken by the American Congress. The responsibility might not seem to me so grave if the flush of youth were upon my checks and I could go into the service, and I would feel less reluctant to vote to send others into this awful struggle if it was so that I could go with them. It is an awful responsibility to throw this country into the great holocaust in Europe. It is a responsibility, however, that this Congress must shoulder, and I have simply risen at this time to say, whatever may be my individual abhorrence of war, whatever may be my personal opinion as to all the facts leading up to it, we are confronted to-night by a condition and not a theory. The war does exist. We are in it, and it is incumbent upon every American citizen to do his full duty in whatever sphere he may be placed. [Applause.]

I shall vote for the resolution regretfully, reluctantly, but the die is cast. My country is involved, and wherever the flag of the Union floats it is my duty and your duty to take our stand beneath its ample folds. America first, American rights first, should be uppermost in the mind of every real American in this hour. The passage of this resolution to-night will send the word around the world that the old spirit of the fathers still survives and that we intend to protect the citizens of this country upon land and upon sea in the enjoyment of their just rights, no matter what country may dispute those rights.

America's answer to-night to the challenge of Germany will be in keeping with the spirit of '76. The resolution must be passed. We have no time to halt, no time to parley. Wherever the flag leads let us follow. Let us make a record that will be in keeping with our honorable past. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the people of these United States are a peace-loving, patient, forbearing people. We know what war is and

we dread to engage in it. We dread to send the flower of our young manhood to fields of carnage and death, and for this reason the great apostle of peace, who is to-day President of the United States, has for the past two years given to the world the most sublime exhibition of patience recorded in the annals of time. The Imperial German Government has misinterpreted the motives of Woodrow Wilson. His long forbearance, his unexampled patience, his submission in many instances to indignities and insults have all been attributed to the cowardice of the President and the people for whom he speaks. Mr. Chairman, we knew that our great leader was actuated solely by a desire to preserve the peace of America, and aid, if he might be able, in bringing back peace, contentment, and happiness to the war stricken and blood stained countries of Europe. The fates have decreed against our dream of universal peace and our beloved country against our will has been drawn into the awful struggle. Our hands are upon the plow, and now there will be no turning back. The command is "Forward!" and America wants no laggard among her people.

I desire to call attention to a telegram I received from a man at Daytona, Fla., which is demonstrative of the fact that we are harboring some traitorous souls in our midst. Let us hope that in all the broad domain of the Republic there are exceedingly few of the pusillaminous breed of this man O'Boyle. God knows, I sincerely hope he is only a temporary sojourner in my beloved and patriotic Florida. Here is the creature's telegram:

DAYTONA, FLA., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK CLARK, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Floridians want no war at best; Wall Street and munition manufacturers, stop blockade running by Anglo-Americans on munition-laden ships for allies, and represent your constituents instead of J. P. Morgan & Co. Show some independence and cease following one who is practically a traitor to our country.

J. F. O'BOYLE.

Mr. Chairman, I immediately replied to this telegram, as follows:

WASHINGTON, *April 4, 1917.*

To J. F. O'BOYLE,
Daytona, Fla.:

Real Floridians are with Woodrow Wilson and other patriotic Americans who, while not seeking war, will not shirk it, and will, to the last man, defend American rights. Your infamous reference to the President is treasonable, and I would advise you to seek a more healthy location than Florida for your traitorous utterances.

FRANK CLARK, *M. C.*

After dealing with a character like O'Boyle, it is certainly refreshing and inspiring, Mr. Chairman, to receive such patriotic messages as one from the exalted ruler of the Lodge of Elks at Tampa, Fla., and one from the mayor of the city of Ocala, Fla., both of which I shall print as part of my remarks.

TAMPA, FLA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK CLARK, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Tampa Lodge No. 708, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, with a membership of over 500 of this city's leading citizens, pledges its unqualified support to you in taking steps not only to put the country in thorough state of defense but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government, and bring the conflict to a successful termination.

P. J. VANPELT, *Exalted Ruler.*

OCALA, FLA., *April 2, 1917.*

Congressman FRANK CLARK,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the sinking of American vessels without warning, causing the loss of American lives, constitutes under the laws of nations acts of war levied against the United States, to which there can be but one reply in honor, in dignity, and in sacred duty to civilization; and

Whereas the President of the United States has called Congress to meet in extraordinary session to deliberate upon and determine what action should be taken to put an end to the outrages committed against American citizens by the German Empire: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Ocala, Fla., urge Congress to prompt action, and recognizing our full duty to God and country hereby offer our entire support to President Wilson in whatever course Congress may direct him for the protection of American rights.

Resolved further, That copies of these resolutions be telegraphed to President Wilson and to our delegation in Congress.

J. E. CHASE,
Mayor, Chairman Citizens' Mass Meeting.

Mr. Chairman, the patriotic people of my district and State are ready to make sacrifice of life and fortune in defense of "Old Glory." Realizing the tremendous responsibility resting on me as a Member of this great body and the representative of a quarter of a million of brave, chivalrous people, I shall cast my vote for this resolution in the confident assurance that my people will approve my course, in the fervent hope that it will result in an early termination of the ruthless slaughter across the seas, and in the solemn conviction that it will make for a prouder, grander, nobler, and more indestructible Union.

Mr. STERLING of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, at no time during my service in this House has my duty seemed so clear nor my task so hard as it does to-night. I have approached this day, which all of us have thought would come, with a resolute mind to resolve all doubts in favor of peace. I have been firm in the conviction that I should not vote for war against Germany until I was impelled to do so to maintain the honor of our Nation. I say to you frankly that from the very beginning I have felt, and do now feel, a deep sympathy for the German people, but the Imperial Government of Germany has made willful and deliberate war on us, and our national integrity demands that the American people strike back. It is sad that our blows will fall on those against whom we have no malice and who, I believe, have none against us. It is plainly the Government and not the people of Germany that compels us to this resolution of war.

What is the proposition that is submitted to us to-night? This resolution contains two simple questions. The first is a declaration of an evident fact. It simply states that Germany has made war on the United States. I marvel that some gentlemen to-day have dared to say to this House that Germany has given us no cause for war.

In all the history of our Republic, in the history of every war in which we have been engaged, we do not find recorded so plain a cause for war as we find in the events which have happened on the seas in recent months. They have sunk our ships and destroyed the lives of American citizens, the gravest offense that may be committed by one nation against another and an offense which, if borne without resistance, must speedily result in the ignoble extinction of the nation who suffers it to be done. A nation who will not protect the lives of its people can not and is not worthy to endure.

It is a maxim of the law—an ancient maxim observed by all nations—that a ship on the high seas is a part of the territory of the nation whose flag it floats. The law writers and teachers so state the law, and the Supreme Court of the United States have so announced it many times. These ships floated the American flag, and these sailors were on American territory. These American sailors, as they walked the decks, were trodding American soil just as you and I are trodding American soil to-night. They were entitled to the protection of their Government just as much as you and I sitting in this Chamber to-night are entitled to the protection of our Government. Who is there in this House to-night that will deny that an American citizen on American territory on the high seas is not equally entitled to the same protection to which we are entitled? The assault on these ships was as much an act of war as though Germany had landed an armed force on our shores and burned our cities and destroyed our citizens.

Germany has made war on us. When we have reached that inevitable conclusion, what must we say as to the second question involved in the resolution? Shall we resist? Shall we make war against war? The President was right when he said "the American people will not choose the path of submission." He need not tell us that. When the American people by the logic of events know that they have been assailed they answer, "We will resist." Gentlemen who imagaine that this people, in order to escape the costs and the horrors of war, will submit to the destruction of American lives and to a denial of American rights on the highways of the nations, do not understand the temper of the American people. We will not lie supinely by and see our most sacred ideals of liberty and freedom destroyed by the despots of European autocracy. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty now as it was in the days of the Revolution, and it is in the hearts and souls of Americans to preserve that liberty.

Let us think for a minute what a negative answer to this second question means. Shall we, by the rejection of this resolution, answer to the world that America will not resist? Shall we say to all the peoples of the earth—for all the peoples of the earth are listening for this roll call to-night—that America does not intend to defend the rights and the lives of its citizens against foreign aggression? Shall we say, what is a thousand times more infamous, to the people of America that their Government does not owe and will not give them protection against a foreign foe? That is not my country; that is not this country. I still cling to the faith which was given me when a child, that America is strong enough and proud enough to assert its rights against every enemy who dares dispute them. Let us say by the passage of this resolution the plain and simple truth, that Germany has made war on America and that America will resist.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, let no man in this House underestimate the importance of the step we take this night. We are preparing to enter into armed combat with a nation which for 20 years has carefully prepared itself for this spring at the throats of the civilized nations of the world.

The condition in which we find ourselves to-day is not without its parallel and its precedent in the history of this Republic. At the beginning of our national life we found the Mediter-

ranean Sea closed by the piratical States comprising the Barbary confederacy. The smaller nations of the world paid tribute and the larger nations of the world made treaties.

We were protected before the Revolutionary War from their depredations by the treaties that England had entered into with Morocco and the other States. At the beginning of our career as a Nation we heard arguments throughout the land similar to these arguments advanced here this evening. Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli, and Tunis are 4,000 miles away; they said, we are an isolated Nation, our business is here and not there; it is cheaper to stay out of war, and we did. We concluded with the pirates of the Barbary States in 1785 a most disgraceful treaty, because it was the easiest way, because it meant no sacrifice of human life, it meant only a sacrifice of our national honor, it meant only an abandonment of the right of our merchant vessels to sail the seas, and we submitted to the exactions of these piratical States until the victories of Dale and Morris and Preble in the early years of the last century opened up again to us the Mediterranean Sea.

Then followed that disgraceful period of the embargo lasting until 1815, when we voluntarily submitted to the same conditions that Germany is attempting to force upon us to-day, and during that period of time our trade and our shipping suffered almost irreparable damage and loss.

After the conclusion of the War of 1812, which we believed gave us the right to sail our ships upon the ocean highways of the world, we submitted again to the closed seas of the piratical States until we sent an expedition under the younger Decatur 4,000 miles through the oceans of the world—in opposition to the wishes of the pacifists of the country and in opposition to those who pointed out the horrors of war, but in the defense of the rights of this young Republic. The victory we gained on the Barbary coast, the success of this expedition, struck the first successful blow against that kind of piracy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. RAINEY. I ask for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks that his time be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RAINEY. To-day we find ourselves face to face with almost the same conditions, except that the enemy we face across the seas fights not under the sun of the day but fights in the nighttime. The enemy when we fought the Algerian pirates fought on the surface of the sea, and every man had his opportunity to resist and to defend his life. The enemy against whom we declare war this night fights under the sea, strikes without warning, in violation of all of the precedents of war which have governed civilized nations since the end of the dark ages. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, there are men here who speak for Germany. There are men who call attention to the accomplishments of the Germans here on this continent. I yield to no man in my admiration for the career of Steuben, for the German regiment at Brandywine, at Princeton, and at Valley Forge; for Armand's Legion at Savannah in the war for our independence; for the 53 men and 14 officers who comprised Washington's bodyguard, every one of them a German, selected because they were Germans. But I remember that in the war for our independence there were 29,000 Hessians brought over here at an expense to our enemy in eight years of $170,000,000, and the wounds inflicted by Hessian bayonets have barely healed. I remember that it was Germans under Steuben who opposed the Prussianism represented by the Hessians. The Germans who came here came here for the purpose of avoiding the Prussianization of Germany; came here for the purpose of escaping from the rule of the Hohenzollerns. As this debate proceeds I am reminded that we did not get our Magna Charta or our Bill of Rights from Prussia.

A great American writer, careful always and accurate in his facts, has made a compilation of recent utterances of the German Emperor and German officers and German leaders. He has compiled them—every one of these utterances was actually made, and made with the approval of the Hohenzollern rulers of Germany. I desire now to read some of them, and I read from the Pentecost of Calamity, by Owen Wister. I quote:

"We Hohenzollerns take our crown from God alone. On me the spirit of God has descended. I regard my whole task as appointed by Heaven."

Does that sound like the principles we stand for? I read further:

"The efforts directed toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish, but absolutely immoral. The peace of Europe is only a secondary matter for us. The sight of suffering does one good; the infliction of suffering does one more good."

"The Belgians should not be shot dead. They should be so left as to make impossible all hope of recovery."

"German should replace English as the world language. English, the bastard tongue, must be swept into the remotest corners until it has returned to its original elements of an insignificant pirate dialect."

"The civilization of mankind suffers every time a German becomes an American."

"They call us barbarians. What of it? The German claim must be education to hate, organization of hatred, education to the desire for hatred. Let us abolish unripe and false shame. To us is given faith, hope, and hatred; but hatred is the greatest among them."

Mr. Chairman, this is the Prussian creed, this is the Prussian ideal. We war not against the German people; we war against the Hohenzollerns and all they stand for. [Applause.]

It has been seriously contended that our real enemy is England on account of the events of a hundred years ago. The battles of a hundred years ago have passed into history. We can not fight them over again. We are face to face with the events of the present. No allied nation has deliberately planned the dismemberment of the United States, giving to barbarous Mexico a part, to Japan a part, keeping the best part for herself. No other nation than Prussianized Germany has brazenly admitted that in time of peace, while professing friendship, she has deliberately attempted to induce nations at peace with us to invade our territory. We war against that nation which wars against us.

Fathoms deep under the seas lie our great merchant ships, victims of German submarines, the American flag still floating from their mastheads, the American flag still painted on their hulls, sepulchers for the bodies of American citizens, while we build memorials for them on the land; and yet we hear to-night a defense of the German submarine warfare. My sympathy is with my murdered fellow citizens, not with their murderers.

We are to-day loaning money to France in her dire extremity at usurious rates of interest. In our struggle for independence France loaned us millions of money without interest and expended from $400,000,000 to $700,000,000 in material aid for our young Republic, which we have to this day never repaid. France gave us Lafayette, whose picture hangs here on this wall side by side with the picture of the great Washington. Prussia sent us the Hessians—mercenary soldiers—the murderers of our Revolutionary War. My sympathies are with France in this struggle, not with Prussianized Germany.

We are to-day the richest, the most powerful Nation the world has ever seen; we are to-day the greatest exporting nation in all the world. In the temple of the Omnipotent the clock of the centuries has struck the hour. This night we throw aside the grave clothes of our isolation and take our proper place among the nations of the world.

We fight for our rights upon the seas. We fight the battle for civilization, for humanity, for free Governments in central Europe and against the tyranny of the Hohenzollerns which has come down to us from the darkness, the murder, and the bloodshed of the Middle Ages and which has no place in this new century. We do not enter this war for territorial aggrandizement or for money indemnities. We enter this war for the purpose of keeping the lights of civilization burning brightly on the ocean highways of the world, for the purpose of keeping the nations of the world from slipping back into the darkness of the Middle Ages. We fight for the flag upon whose starry folds the sun never sets. We fight for the flag which brings freedom wherever it goes. Having full confidence in the justness of our cause, we bring now into this war all the tremendous resources of the greatest and most powerful Nation in all the world. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Chairman, I am for this resolution. Almost from the very inception of the European conflict the rights of this countrty as a neutral have been to greater or less degree violated on the seas. Such violations have for the most part occurred under color of law and were at times simply illegal extensions of recognized belligerent measures. They occasioned no loss of life but resulted in the destruction of property, confiscation of ships and cargoes, and interference with our legitimate commerce with neutrals. These invasions of our rights were made by our Government the subject matter of protest, diplomatic negotiation, and prospective adjudication. It was recognized that they were not actuated by malice or hostile intent toward us, and that they were incidents, ultralegal to be sure, of a policy of blockade fundamentally based on recognized principles. It is worse than idle; it is mischievous at this

time to conjecture whether it would have been the part of wisdom to have resisted these infractions more forcefully and by measures of retaliation sought to end them.

The German Government instituted its U-boat warfare. It made no pretense that such operations had the sanction of either the law of nations or the principles of humanity, but sought to justify them on the ground of necessity. Necessity may know no law, but the Government of the United States does and intends to enforce it in behalf of the American people. These operations, resulting in the loss of American lives, were likewise made the subject matter of protest and diplomatic negotiation. On only one theory can this course of our Government be justified, that the wrongs inflicted by the German submarines were likewise not actuated by malice or hostile intent toward us and that they were incidental to the desperate conflict.

But in the first month of this year the German Government formally and solemnly announced to us that after the 1st day of February it intended, by the use of its U boats, deliberately and intentionally to sink without warning every American vessel sailing a large portion of the high seas adjacent to the western coast of Europe and the eastern part of the Mediterranean. This policy the German Government has subsequently pursued to the best of its ability, sinking American ships and destroying numbers of American lives. Previous to the declaration Germany's U-boat activities may well have constituted a cause for war. But the declaration and its execution are not incidental to its operations against the allies; they spring from hostile intent and are directed deliberately against the American people. In other words, the German Government has found it expedient in the struggle with the allies to declare and make war upon us.

Thus we, seeking only the paths of peace and having suffered much to continue therein, are wrongfully and wantonly attacked by an enemy, the Imperial German Government. Shall we, craven, cringe supinely and bend our backs submissively to the blows? Shall we limit our defense to means similar to those our enemy has for the moment found it convenient to employ? The sword has been thrust in our hand. Let us wield it with the full strength of the Nation. Let us have universal service, in one capacity or another, by every American. Let us use every resource at our command to bring this issue to such a conclusion that never again the right of America to peace and freedom will be challenged. [Applause.]

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HULBERT. It is apparent, unless the previous question is moved, that the debate will not be exhausted before 12 o'clock, and we will then be on the morning of Good Friday. I would like to ask, if it is in order, if a vote is not reached by 12 o'clock that this question be laid over until Saturday or Monday for final determination. [Cries of "No!"]

The CHAIRMAN. Such a motion would not be in order in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. SIMS. But it will be in order to make points of order against further debate, as the debate on the pro forma amendment is exhausted, and all this debate is now on one side. It is really no debate.

Mr. DILLON. Oh, no it is not.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SIMS. Has not debate upon this paragraph in the Committee of the Whole been exhausted?

The CHAIRMAN. It has not.

Mr. SIMS. What is before the committee, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I thought I had been recognized.

Mr. SIMS. What motion is there before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. A motion to strike out the last word, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, the President has asked Congress for its support in a war which in his address of April 2 he declared exists with the Government but not with the people of Germany.

Proclaiming that peace, democracy, and civilization are threatened by German Government aggressions, the President invokes immediate action on the part of Congress to maintain those ideals, not only for the United States, but for all of the world.

The resolution now before the House, which the Senate has adopted, is appropriate to the maintenance of the honor and the dignity of our country, if our country has been wronged and defied as indicated in the President's address. It does not, however, as I understand it, deprive Congress of its constitutional right to receive further information from the President as to such war measures as he may have in contemplation, to consider them, or to amend or reject them as it may deem proper.

Personally I had hoped the President, by diplomatic negotiations or otherwise, would have kept us out of a European war. I had hoped he would steer us clear of "entangling alliances" with foreign nations, and that if he found it necessary to proceed to war it would be for the preservation of American rights upon every sea and in every land. Our experience in Mexico also led me to hope for an early and substantial preparedness that would sustain the country's honor and reduce to a minimum the dangers and sacrifices of war.

But these questions and others of relative importance which appeal to our sympathies and our hearts can not now be adequately discussed. We must face the inexorable condition. We must vote yea or nay upon the resolution which the President holds necessary to put this Government in a position to war for its rights.

The President's plans are not fully before us. They may put the country through the severest ordeal of its history; but there is no escape now from the responsibility that confronts us.

If our institutions are menaced, if our liberties are threatened by Germany or by any other foreign power, we must unite for "the common defense." [Applause.]

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I realize, as every Member of this House must realize, the grave responsibility of this hour. I am by instinct and training a man of peace, but we all know that we are to-day upon the threshold of war. Our peace-loving President has made every possible effort and used every proper influence and power of his great office to keep us out of war, but the Imperial German Government has heaped insult, injury, and injustice upon the United States until the limit of our countrymen's forbearance has been reached. That Government has destroyed many of our ships; it has murdered hundreds of our citizens, men, women, and children, without warning and without giving them a chance to either fight or flee; it has denied us the just right to sail the open seas under threat of death and destruction; it has undertaken by secret plot to form an alliance with Japan and the Republic of Mexico upon our southern border for the future destruction of this Government.

The President of the United States has solemnly declared to us that a state of war between the United States and the German Government now exists and that it was brought on by that Government's ruthless disregard of international law.

What shall we do? I have confidence in the ability, the integrity, and the patriotism of the President of the United States, and for my part I shall stand by him and his recommendation, and vote to hold up his hands in this hour of our national peril.

I have no feeling against the German people, and especially against those who have come to our shores to make their homes among us. I have lived among German-American citizens as neighbors and friends, and have found them to be industrious, honest, and a thrifty people. This is not to be a war against German-American citizens. I believe they will be loyal to their adopted country and its flag.

I realize the momentous consequences that may follow our action to-day, and look to the future with fear and trembling. As a boy I saw enough of our own fratracidal strife in the sixties to know something of the horrors of war; but as one who has enjoyed the liberty for which our revolutionary fathers fought, I have always been impressed with the belief that I and all of us should as patriots stand ready at all times when necessary to aid in every way possible to preserve this priceless inheritance for those who shall come after us. I vote for this resolution to-day conscious of its possible serious consequences, but I do so because I believe the honor of our flag and the liberties of our American citizens are involved, and because I believe war is preferable to dishonorable peace, and cowardly submission and national disgrace worse than war. [Applause.]

I will vote for the resolution.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HULBERT. For a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HULBERT. If the chairman of the committee does not now desire to move that the committee rise, I would like to ask if it is not in order that I move that the committee rise and report the resolution with sundry amendments and with the recommendation that it do pass?

The CHAIRMAN. That motion is not in order at this time. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio——

Mr. HULBERT. Why is not that motion in order, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. COOPER]. The motion is not in order. The Chair can not undertake to explain why every motion is not in order. [Laughter.]

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I feel a great responsibility——

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Is there an amendment now pending?

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. COOPER] has the floor.

Mr. HULBERT. Is an amendment pending?

The CHAIRMAN. It is.

Mr. HULBERT. What is the amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. COOPER] has the floor, and the gentleman can not take him off the floor by an inquiry of this character.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I am not unmindful of the great responsibility that rests upon me when I vote for this resolution to-night. There is not a Member of this Congress, as a Representative of the people, but what for the last two or three days has felt heavily a great responsibility tugging at his very heartstrings. Aye, we have got down on our knees and we have asked Almighty God for His guidance during this hour, while our Nation is passing through what I believe to be the most critical period in the history of our national life and our Nation. For two years I have cherished the hope that we would be kept out of this bloody war in Europe. It was my earnest prayer that we would be spared from entering into this great conflict. The American people do not want war. They do not want war to-day. For the last two years, though, they have been very patient. Our property has been destroyed and our citizens have been killed by the hundreds by the Imperial Government of Germany. Therefore it seems to me that the question which this Congress is facing to-night is not a question as to whether or not we are going to go to war with Germany. That is not the question we are facing to-night. The question which we are facing to-night is as to whether or not we, as a free, independent people are going to stand as one body to maintain our national honor and protect the lives of American citizens wherever they may lawfully be. Therefore I feel it to be my duty as a Representative of the people, coming from a district which gave to this country Garfield and McKinley, to cast my vote for this resolution and stand by the President, while he is passing through this critical hour. Ah, this afternoon we heard some graphic descriptions of the American boys if sent to the European trenches. I do not want the boys to go to the European trenches. Over there in Ohio to-night in a humble little home is a mother and five boys. They come very near and dear to my heart. The oldest boy, the pride and joy and life of our home, last summer, when the President issued his call, was one of the first to volunteer to go to the border in Mexico, and he served his country in the sand hills of Arizona until last December.

I do not want to see that boy go to the trenches; but if it is necessary for him to go there to protect the lives of defenseless American women and innocent little children, I say, "God speed you, my boy. Go to-morrow." [Applause.]

Ah, there is something worse than sending our boys into the trenches. What is it? Ah, it is the willful murder of defenseless American women and innocent little children. Ah, the gurgle and the cry of those little children as they went down into the icy waters of the Atlantic was far worse than sending the American boys into the trenches. [Applause.] Mr. Chairman, we are to-night face to face with the greatest crisis that we as a nation have met in the history of our country. Oh, that we may quit ourselves like men and face this issue as true Americans! And I pray to God that when this great conflict shall have passed away that the world will see the dawning of a brighter day, when all the people of the earth can look forward to an everlasting peace and good will on earth toward all men. [Applause.]

Mr. HULBERT. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman. Has debate on this amendment been concluded?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is inclined to think that debate upon the pending amendment has been concluded.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. O'SHAUNESSY] is recognized.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, let us proceed in order about this matter. The Chairman does not want to make an absolutely improper ruling here without giving any reason for it. There has not been any motion before the committee except to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that it is not the province of the Chair to suggest either the rights or the duties or the privileges of Members under the rule. He is not expected to furnish information. All the Chair is required to do is to rule upon questions presented, and the Chair does that accurately and impartially under the rules. The gentleman from Rhode Island is recognized.

Mr. SIMS. I make the point of order that the debate has been exhausted on the motion to strike out the last word, because there have been four speeches on that amendment.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard a moment on the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman that whether the debate is exhausted or not it can only be raised in one way, and unless some gentleman desires to raise that question it is not the duty of the Chair to do it under the usages of the House.

Mr. SIMS. I ask for a vote on the amendment.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard on the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no point of order pending.

Mr. SIMS. I made a point of order and asked for a ruling.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman made a point of order. Now, if we are going into war, as we are—and this may not be strictly on the point of order—we will all have to exercise a good deal of patience and give a good deal of time, and I think we might well afford before we declare war, before we vote upon the resolution, to give all Members of the House that want to be briefly heard upon it an opportunity. Why not? We can stay here.

Mr. SIMS. I know the gentleman is fair; but let me just say that when a similar resolution came before this House prior to the War with Spain, when Mr. McKinley was President, and the Republicans were in power, that every Democrat voted "yea" and no dilatory tactics were resorted to. We are frittering away the time here when every speech is in favor of this resolution. Why is it done, unless there is some purpose to delay the action which the House by an overwhelming majority is anxious to take without further delay? [Applause.]

Mr. MANN. Oh, the gentlemen who applaud that have not a sufficient patience to go into war.

Mr. SIMS. Well, this night some American citizen may be in the cold, icy ocean as the result of a torpedo from a submarine while we stand here and talk. [Applause.] If we are going to pass this resolution, let us do it quickly.

Mr. MANN. This resolution will not go to the President any quicker if we pass it now than if we pass it to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock, so far as that is concerned.

Mr. SIMS. Nearly 14 hours of debate have already been exhausted.

Mr. MANN. And if we had 40 hours of debate it would not hurt the country.

Mr. SIMS. But the gentleman did not favor such delay in the War with Spain when the resolution was before the House. I do not understand the unnecessary delay now.

Mr. MANN. The delay is caused by the desire of gentlemen to express themselves.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Did not the House practically unanimously agree that all the gentlemen should be heard?

Mr. MANN. I think that was the understanding. It was not objected to, and the general debate ran a long time with that understanding. Now it is not possible to get a vote upon the resolution, a final vote, before 12 o'clock.

Mr. SIMS. When will it ever be possible to get a final vote proceeding as we are now?

Mr. MANN. No gentleman has been recognized twice up to this present time.

Mr. SIMS. But time has been extended frequently.

Mr. MANN. In one or two cases.

Mr. SIMS. I do not think there is a man in favor of this resolution to-night that wants to delay the vote further in order to talk in favor of it for five minutes.

Mr. MANN. There are many of them who want to be heard, and if I had not been heard I would want to be heard before I voted for it. Give the other boys a chance to be heard. [Applause.]

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, 10 days has been given to every man to print remarks in the RECORD, and those in favor of this

resolution do not want to fritter away any more time uselessly.

Mr. MANN. They want to be heard before the vote is had. Let us have the patience to hear them if we are going into war. We will need a great deal more patience afterwards to carry it on. We have all got to be patient.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] makes the point of order that debate has been exhausted.

Mr. SIMS. And I make it most seriously.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the pending amendment, to strike out the last word.

Mr. MANN. The first amendment was to strike out the last word.

Mr. SIMS. I demand a vote on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the pending amendment, to strike out the last word.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that that amendment be withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] asks unanimous consent that that amendment be withdrawn.

Mr. SIMS. I consent for this time, but this is the last one. We are frittering away our time, and I am getting tired of it.

Mr. MANN. What the gentleman needs is sleep.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. O'SHAUNESSY] is recognized to strike out the last word.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, had it not been for the interruption of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SIMS] I would have concluded my remarks long ago. I merely wish to say, in company with a large majority of this committee, that I shall support this resolution, and I am very proud of the fact that considerable time is being taken by the committee to give the resolution its earnest consideration.

War is too serious a question to be lightly considered. Even if we stayed here another day I would be in favor of every man expressing himself; and at this moment I want to say, even though I favor the resolution, and even though I believe that the time has come for America to assert her rights and to stop being patient and to say to the world that the indignities that have been offered her should be redressed and that her rights should be sustained, that I wish to pay my tribute of respect, nevertheless, to the conscientious Members of this House who believe in their hearts that there is not a cause for war and who have the manhood and the courage to say so. [Applause.]

It would be a sad day for the American Government if men refused in this representative body to express their real convictions and permitted themselves to be guided by the thought, the action, or the domination of some other person.

And so I join in loving tribute to the Democratic leader of the majority in this House, the Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN, than whom there is no more lovable person on the face of God's earth. [Applause.]

However, I favor this resolution. When the war began it did not enlist our sympathies as it does to-day. The situation was paradoxical, so far as the allies were concerned. We hesitated to believe that the nations of the entente were struggling for liberty and fighting for freedom when they were tied up with autocratic Russia. But if this war has done nothing else in the world, it has brought to that benighted country liberty and freedom; and it is my earnest wish and prayer to-night that the new-found thought of that revolution that has come into the hearts of the Russian people will stay there forever, and that it has come permanently to join with this great Republic of ours. [Applause.]

I wish to voice another thought. It comes from the bottom of my heart. Oh, if America is to join the allies and go into this great war, if that flag, perchance, should go across the sea—and it may be necessary for it to go with our troops—I hope that wherever it is seen it shall awaken in the hearts of men a longing for real liberty, a desire for real freedom! Oh, how I pray that the revolution among men will grow, and that kings, no matter where, shall totter from their thrones.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. I regret that I can not yield. I exempt no king; I exempt no czar; I exempt no emperor—the Czar of Russia, the Emporer of Germany, or the King of England, if you please. Oh, I hope that this revolution will grow! How I hope that it will bourgeon beyond the fight of an emperor against a czar, or of a czar against a king, and that the mighty voice of the people will be heard throughout the world giving to the people of the belligerent powers and their possessions the sovereign power.

And so I say in the American House of Representatives to-night, when we are about to join the allies, Long live the people and forward the revolution of the masses! [Applause.]

Mr. SMITH of Michigan and Mr. DILLON rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is recognized.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Chairman, I rose to oppose the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I do not underestimate the great importance of the measure we are now considering. I have given it careful, prayerful, and most serious consideration. It has for days weighed heavily on my heart. I had hoped that our country might have escaped the horrors of war. But that was hoping against hope, and to-day we are at war. If I had my choice, I do not think I would have declared war in the first instance, but I would have mobilized our industries and supplies of every kind and nature, called our citizenry to training, and made unequaled and unheard of preparation; then when we struck we could have set the sword aflame. It seems to me that our participation in this struggle should have been avoided. All that would have been necessary was for Germany to have given our ships notice of attack and a chance for our citizens to save their lives. The rules of civilized warfare, of international law, and of humanity entitled them to this notice and this opportunity, and I think that where an unarmed merchantman is attacked and sunk without this notice and this opportunity it is not only an act of war but of barbarity, piracy, and relates back to the Dark Ages.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened to the various Members address this Chamber on the causes of war. We will often be asked to explain the reason of going to war. To me we have passed the stage of what the causes of war were. We are now at war. We are at war with a great empire. What matters it now that we had a cause for war with Mexico or England, or it was munition makers or the press? We are to-day at war with Germany. Two wrongs never made a right. Because we did not war with Mexico or England or stop munitions or the press are things of the past. Our Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has asked for the use of the Army and Navy to defend and maintain the rights and institutions of the Republic. He has given the reasons to the Congress and the country. Now is the time for action. I for myself will grant his request and vote for the resolution. I do not want it said of me that as one of the Representatives of my country I was wanting in the hour of need to sustain the honor and integrity of our free institutions. I may go down to my grave unknown and missing, but it will not be said of me that I failed to sustain, as far as in me lies, the glory and honor of the Nation. We are now, as I speak, at war. Germany has waged ruthless, barbaric war on us. She has given us servile and subversive orders. Orders from an emperor to keep out of the public domain. Such orders as will best fit an autocrat and a monarch. We are a free people. If we would not fight for our freedom and our rights, we are not true descendants of our forefathers or loyal American citizens. Let us present a united front to the world.

How easily Germany could have satisfied the country and kept us out of war. All this by observing the law to which she agreed. I do not overlook the splendid German citizenry of our land, loyal and true. To them it will be an added burden. They will come to the colors at the first call. They are patriotic and ready to uphold and maintain and fight for the perpetuity of our institutions. They are fighting the cause of liberty and justice that their children and our children may have a safe and happy abode. I stand by such loyal German Americans, and know full well that they do not agree with or approve of the course of the Emperor. Like one man, with one single purpose, do we rally again around the flag. And, now that we are in, let us adopt the watchword "Everything for victory." God bless our land! [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD] is recognized.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I pray that I fully comprehend the gravity of this occasion that all hoped we might avert.

No sane man wants war. Practically every nation on the civilized globe has witnessed its horrors and keenly felt its harrowing consequences.

It is my wish to reflect the sentiment of a patriotic constituency in what I shall say upon this solemn occasion.

Mr. Chairman, we are a peace-loving people, a Christian-spirited people, and yet in the life of our Republic we have entered five great wars, and in each instance we entered it to vindicate human liberty and sustain democratic government.

Gentlemen seem to justify their vote against this resolution upon the fact that we have suffered injustices and wrongs from nations other than Germany. That may be true; neutrals always suffer materially in great wars. But there is a great distinction between the character of wrongs we have suffered from other nations and those inflicted upon us by Germany. In the one case they were reparable wrongs; in the case of Germany they were irreparable. In the one case money as damages could repair the wrong; in the other case no amount of money could repair the injury.

Mr. Chairman, in like manner gentlemen have called attention to the taking of the lives of American citizens in Mexico, and say that as we failed to declare war against Mexico we should permit Germany to take as many lives of American citizens as the exigencies of war may demand. These gentlemen seem to be unable to differentiate between a government in the process of reconstruction and wrongs committed by bandits and outlaws and the same acts committed by and with the consent of a well-organized, responsible, and civilized Government—the one an irresponsible, unorganized, and weak government; the other a highly responsible and strong nation.

We have endured with patience and forbearance an almost unbroken chain of overt acts in violation of our rights upon the high seas on the part of the German Government. We have shown by many generous expressions of a great peace-loving President that we did not want war with Germany. Our entreaties and demands would be met with promises by Germany to adhere to the rules of civilized warfare and international law, only to be broken time after time.

Our President was severely criticized for his forbearance with and credulity in the pledges of the German Government. He had received assurances that our rights upon the seas would be respected and the lives and property of our citizens held inviolate.

In the face of these pledges our country was filled with spies attempting to destroy by violence our industries and to foment strikes and industrial unrest. The German Government attempted to form alliances in contiguous and noncontiguous countries to declare war upon us, going so far as to mention specifically the prize they would draw in territory if we were conquered. She has violated our neutrality by disabling interned vessels, and even sinking them in the channels of our ports. She has ruthlessly destroyed our commerce legitimately upon the high seas, and engaged in the dastardly murder of men, women, and children, citizens of our country, who under the law of nations had as much right upon such vessels as they had upon any foot of soil in this Union. Only the mercy of God has saved hundreds of our citizens who have been turned adrift upon the sea in open boats without aid or succor, to be tossed about by the storm-swept waves, exposed to icy winds and snow.

Mr. Chairman, we are not the instigators of this war. Germany has driven us into it. Even at the hour the President was delivering his great message to the American people Germany reiterated her intention to destroy our commerce and the lives of our citizens wherever found, whether engaged in legitimate or contraband trade.

Germany has laid off a zone 1,500 miles long and demanded that ships flying the Stars and Stripes shall not come in except at the risk of the cargo and every American life aboard. If we, sir, ignominiously surrender such rights as we have always maintained upon the seas, and be run from the seas to our land, I predict that it will not be many years before this haughty and autocratic government will attempt to drive our people from the land into the sea.

If we permit a destruction of our right to trade with the world, then you destroy our prestige and greatness as a Nation. To the degree of the usurpation of this right upon the high seas are our agricultural, industrial, and financial resources made impotent.

Mr. Chairman, we have won our place among the great civilized Christian nations of the world. For our eternal peace; for God and the Christian faith; for a civilization that stands for that which is nearest and dearest in every human breast—liberty, freedom in religious worship and democratic government—we must maintain that place at any cost.

Mr. Chairman, this vote to-night is only a formality. We are at war now. Germany has coolly and deliberately chosen this course. In this hour of the Nation's peril no time should be given for consideration as to whether our action will please a constituency who have an allegiance across the seas. Let the clarion voices of Americans only be heard to-night.

Let us adopt no weak-kneed policy toward the enemy. Let a great Nation raise its massive head above the clouds of dissension and political differences and draw the sword of a mighty Nation in defense of peace—world-wide peace; freedom—world-wide freedom; Christianity throughout the world, for the perpetuity of the principles for which our forefathers died.

To the accomplishment of which, Mr. Chairman, Georgia, the Empire State of the South, consecrates her patriotic services to the Nation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I have not supported many of the policies of Woodrow Wilson, but I shall support this resolution with all my might. That is the only step now. Further, I shall support Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, in every act that he shall perform for the successful prosecution of this war which is now upon us and which can not be avoided. [Applause.] I give the President full credit for having tried to keep this Nation out of it. I believe that the people of my part of the great State of Washington have realized for a considerable time that this conflict was inevitable. The reason why I think our people knew that it was sure to come is because our legislature, last winter, made a very large appropriation for the maintenance of the armed forces of the State of Washington. Also, by resolution, the legislature pledged the entire resources of that State to the Federal Government in the maintenance of its honor.

In addition to that, Mr. Chairman, the people of Tacoma and Pierce County have bonded themselves in the sum of $2,000,000 in order to enlarge the Government's encampment ground there at American Lake and provide the Government with a great training ground of 80,000 acres—a tract about 15 miles one way and 12 miles another in area—and they are presenting it to the Government absolutely free. The people of the district I have the honor to represent are 27 per cent foreign born. I have just come from that district, and I pledge to the full support of the Government in this tremendous and unsought emergency the whole people of that patriotic district, although many of them have stood firmly, until the President's address of April 2, against war. [Applause.] Mr. Chairman, I shall avail myself later of the opportunity which has been offered to extend these remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we go to war this day with the German Empire because for two and a half years she has wantonly committed acts of war against us.

Second. We go to war this day because on January 31, 1917, the Imperial German Government notified us in writing that she would sink on sight any ships in certain areas, and later, on March 16, 1917, she did sink three American merchant ships—the *Vigilancia*, the *Illinois*, and the *City of Memphis*—engaged in legitimate commerce.

Third. We go to war to-day because war has, amidst all our prayers and appeals for peace, been willfully and wantonly thrust upon us.

Fourth. We go to war to-day because the merchant ships *Falaba* and the *Lusitania* were sunk and the lives of 115 American citizens were snuffed out without warning and without provocation.

Fifth. We go to war to-day because 15 American ships engaged in legitimate errands upon the high seas have been sunk without warning, without cause, and without mercy.

Sixth. We go to war to-day, not for dollars nor for the 15 ships sunk, grave as that offense may be, but because with the sinking of those 15 ships the lives of 224 innocent men, women, and children were lost, whose only crime was the traveling where they had a right to travel, transacting business they had the right to transact, molesting no one, and whose only desire was to be let alone and be free in the tasks and business they were undertaking to do.

Seventh. We go to war to-day because of the Zimmermann plot, which sought, by intrigue, sinister motives, fraud, deceit, wantonness, to dismember the Republic and carve from our very boundaries the States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona and hold them up as a price for the perfidy they sought to have carried out. The fact that the effort aborted and failed does not in any way lessen the gravity of the offense.

Eighth. We go to war to-day because of the crimes, arson, rape, and inhuman warfare visited upon poor little Belgium, whose only crime was her desire to live in peace and attend strictly to her own affairs.

Ninth. We go to war to-day because the Imperial German Government has invaded every right vouchsafed to us by the fathers who founded our Constitution and the Republic in which we live.

Tenth. We go to war to-day because for almost three years Germany has carried on an inhuman warfare against civilization, humanity, and the world.

Eleventh. We go to war to-day because submission to wrongs and dishonor heaped upon us by the German Empire will not and

can not beget a lasting peace, but will surely reduce us, disintegrate us, and undermine us.

Twelfth. We go to war to-day because for more than two years President Wilson has faithfully, earnestly, patiently plead with the German Government to respect our rights; to allow us the blessings of peace and the right to enjoy the public thoroughfare of the high seas free from assault, free from submarines and the ensuing death and disaster that follow in their wake; because he has been patient, because he has counseled patience, because he and his Nation are worshipers at the shrine of peace, all of those pleadings, all of those protestations and appeals, have gone unheeded, ignored, and been trampled under foot.

Thirteenth. We go to war to-day because it is our belief that the sturdy sons of this day would have us, acting as their representatives, stand true, stand erect, stand strong, and spare succeedings generations the bitter cup of dishonor, disintegration, cowardice, and disgrace.

Fourteenth. We go to war to-day because there comes to our ears in this trying hour a sound clear and emphatic from the long-ago, which bids us stand true, stand strong, that the Republic, conceived in liberty, freedom, and equality shall not perish from the earth.

Fifteenth. We go to war this day because the issue is not one of peace or war; it is a question of standing erect against a war that has been and is still being waged against us.

Sixteenth. We go to war to-day because patriotism is not dead and because we are still the sturdy and worthy sons of our sires who founded a Republic conceived in liberty and equality, and because we desire to preserve it as a haven for the oppressed for all the people of the earth.

I have enumerated but a portion of the indignities and wrongs heaped upon us by Germany. I have but scratched the surface of the far-reaching plots, intrigues, and crimes committed against us.

WHAT WOULD SUBMISSION MEAN?

It means the United States can not ship products of the mine, field, forest, or factory through an arbitrary, proscribed zone on the high seas 1,200 miles in length and 1,000 miles in width without being sunk on sight by German submarines. Through this zone three-fifths of all our export commerce passed last year.

Second. It means we must abandon the shipment of $3,382,000,000, out of a total of $5,481,000,000, of export products for the ensuing year and either allow such products to go unmarketed or find markets for them we know not where. It means that of our export business two-thirds of our wheat, five-sixths of our hog products, six-sevenths of our cotton products, seven-eighths of our beef products, three-fifths of our tobacco products will be without a market they have at all times enjoyed in the past—without a market they are now entitled to enjoy.

Third. This could mean nothing but paralysis and disaster to our 6,500,000 farmers; destitution and want to our 20,000,000 toilers who earn their living by their daily wage, a closing of our factories, depression, panic, disaster, injustice, deterioration and want to a Republic whose only wrong is to carry on its legitimate business molesting or interfering with the rights of no one.

Fourth. It means that the proud young Republic will sit in ease and plenty and allow innocent American-born men, women, and children to be slaughtered, murdered, drowned, without hope, without warning, and without God. It means the withdrawal of the advantages of the high seas furnished to all mankind as an open thoroughfare by the God of the Universe.

Fifth. It means that the blood of our fathers no longer courses through our veins, and that patriotism is withered, disintegrated, and gone.

Sixth. It means that virility, ambition, hope, and determination that democracy, liberty, freedom, and justice shall reign shall receive no word of hope or defense from us.

Seventh. It means that we would follow in the wake of the pacifist who may be honest of thought and sincere of purpose, but whose whisperings of timidity, cowardice, and craven would furnish but a dim light to lead the Republic during this trying hour.

Eighth. It means that lasting peace shall be imperiled by the comforts of the day; that fallacy, pacifism, and misconception of duty shall prevail and that peace will be but fleeting rather than permanent and lasting.

Ninth. It means that liberty and justice shall cringingly give way to Prussianism, militarism, kaiserism.

Tenth. That submission to such wrongs would publish to the world our degeneracy, inferiority, disintegration, and dishonor.

To such a course of submission I can not subscribe; such a course of submission I can not believe the thoughtful, teeming millions of the Republic would have their President and the Congress this day traverse. Peace is and has always been a controlling passion with me. It is a passion with the people I represent. I abhor war. They abhor war. Still there is something in the blood that tingles when Old Glory is unjustly attacked. There is something in our love of country that makes us wonder if a Republic conceived in liberty and resting upon a foundation of equality can survive. There is something that seems to speak to us out of the long ago that the Republic can only live by the preservation of its every right, and that timidity, cowardice, and submission to the invasion of our well-established rights will bring about disintegration, will disrupt and dissolve us, will cause us to wither and die.

WHO CAN DEFEND GERMANY'S CONDUCT?

Who can rise in his place and defend the Imperial Government of Germany in its submarine policy that has caused the sinking of 1,276 merchant vessels, 425 of which were sailing under neutral flags? The following is a list of the ships sunk under this policy:

Great Britain, 369; Norway, 410; Italy, 137; France, 90; Denmark, 44; Holland, 61; Greece, 50; Sweden, 111; Spain, 33; Russia, 24; United States, 15; Portugal, 6; Belgium, 5; Peru, 1; Brazil, 1; Japan, 1; Argentina, 1.

This ghastly toll of life and property can not longer be endured by the civilized world. Germany has neither spared life, property, nor humanity. Her career has been one of butchery, slaughter, and disgrace. Excuse might be offered, vicious and inhumane as it may be, against belligerents, but surely there can be no adequate defense conjured up for her attacks upon the neutral countries of the world, who neither desire to harm her nor injure her, but whose only passion is peace on earth, good will to men.

WE ENTER THE WAR FOR NO SELFISH PURPOSE.

In entering this unjust and inhuman war, ruthlessly thrust upon us by the Imperial German Government, we differ from all the rest. France fights because she is being invaded and seeks to recover her lost Provinces; England fights in support of her treaty relations with bleeding Belgium; Russia fights to gain Constantinople; Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey are fighting with some hope of reward. Germany fights to control central Europe and conquer the world. We enter the war not for dollars, not for empire, not for conquest or hope of reward, but only for the preservation of our modest and undoubted right to be free, to be let alone, and only after an unholy war has been waged against us for more than two years. Could any nation enter a war so completely without selfishness and without guile? Ours is a war against crime, against murder, against autocracy, against militarism, against the overthrow of our freedom and our liberty, against imperialism; ours is a war for democracy, for justice, for freedom, for liberty, and that the republics of the world may endure and live.

THE REPUBLIC IS NOT A MILITARY NATION.

Our Republic has never been a military Nation. Our people do not lean toward militarism, imperialism, and conquest. We have never believed in large standing armies or great navies. We are a giant, young Republic, whose only purpose has been to build and perpetuate the freest, truest, and bravest Republic in all the world. We have preferred to lean on the pent-up fires of patriotism that burn in the hearts of our citizens. The time has come for patriotism of the truest sort to assert itself. The best, the truest, the bravest, are none too good to serve the Republic this day.

The policy of this Nation in the past has been to avoid tax burdens incident to military preparedness, and it is not sufficiently prepared from a military standpoint to enter a world war. It therefore becomes the patent duty of our citizens to rise in unison and accord and generously give of our time and means such services as the Nation deserves and demands.

WILL OUR CITIZENSHIP MEASURE UP TO THE STANDARD?

We are told that our citizenship, busy with the affairs of the day, will not respond to the call of their country, in peril though it be. For me and mine I adopt no such conclusion. I am as firm in the belief that our citizenship will stand true as I am that I live. I am as certain as that I live that the fathers did not build this Republic in vain. I am as certain as that I live that in Dixie land in the South, on the broad prairies of the West, in the factories and congested centers of the North and East that patriotism is not dead. I am as certain as that I live that from mine, field, forest, factory, bench, and bar will come teeming responses to the country's call to defend it, to uphold it, to protect it.

SHALL WE SUCCEED?

We shall succeed in the defense of our rights, but in so doing we must wage no timid or hesitating warfare. We shall succeed, but it will be by the brave and concerted effort of patriotic hearts who are unwilling to listen to words of cowardice, pacifism, and degeneracy which have emerged from the darkness but to strike and which on the coming morrow will retire to the darkness from whence they came.

We shall succeed because we ask only justice and to be let alone. A war so waged can not fail, it must not fail. With justice, liberty, democracy, and freedom from any selfish purpose as our only goal, in the words of the gifted ex-Gov. Glynn, "Let us wage a victorious war while reason primes the rifle and honor draws the sword."

Therefore, not in gladness but in sorrow, not in pleasure but in pain, I am standing not alone with President Wilson and the perpetuity of the Republic, but with the fathers who have gone on before who have decreed that this Republic shall live. I take my stand and vote for this resolution to-day, believing that it is the only honorable course consistent with every teaching that we know, with every idea of liberty and freedom that we enjoy. [Applause.]

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am going to vote for this resolution, but I am going to reserve the right to oppose in the future any attempts to send American boys to European trenches. I do not believe that any American soldier should be drafted to be sent to the battle fields of England to fight Great Britain's battles that her own sons have refused to fight. [Applause.]

I do not want to vote to send any American boy to listen and keep step to the strains of "God save the King."

Mr. CALDWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEARNS. Yes.

Mr. CALDWELL. I want to ask the gentleman if he has read section 79 of the national-defense act passed June 3, 1916, which I believe the gentleman voted for, and which provides for the draft in the event that this country gets into war?

Mr. KEARNS. Yes; I am willing whenever my country goes into war to draft our boys if they refuse to volunteer to fight the battles of America, but I am not willing that our boys be drafted and sent to England to fight her battles, as I said before, the battles that her own sons have refused to fight. [Applause.]

If I get an opportunity to-night—and I am willing to stay here until morning in order to vote for an amendment that will not give any one man in this country the power to take the young men from their homes and send them to foreign trenches. I am going to pause here in my own time and ask the Members of this Congress how many of them, if we should declare war to-night—which we will, as it is our duty to declare it, because we are in a position where we betray our own country if we do not—I am going to pause here and ask all of you who are willing to volunteer as privates to rise to your feet.

I want it to go to the country that I paused and asked the question and only three Members have arisen to their feet. I want the country to know this.

A MEMBER. We will all go.

Mr. KEARNS. I want to know whether you are going as privates. I have had letters from my district from men who want commissions, but I have never yet received a letter or telegram from anybody who wanted to volunteer as a private. I want to say here, in passing, that when it comes to fighting in the quarrels of America there is not a man or boy in all my country, of fighting age and health, but would rise as one man in defense of that flag.

I am not going to ask the boys of this country to go onto a foreign soil and fight some other man's trouble and to battle in some other man's quarrel unless gentlemen who vote that way are willing to go themselves. I want to go on record here by saying that I believe that when war is declared we will be a united people. I have a German constituency, in part, and I know that these men are just as loyal and just as patriotic as some gentlemen are who have by innuendo, at least, challenged their patriotism. They have proven their love for that flag on a hundred battle fields and I can not quite understand when Germany and England met on the field of battle, at a time when we at least professed a neutrality, why you challenge their right to sympathize with their brothers, uncles, and cousins over there who are engaged in that awful struggle that is destroying Europe.

I have in my own family a relative who was born on English soil and up to this moment she has been a bitter British partisan and I could not, and neither could my family, love her with the devotion that we do had she forgotten the home of her birth, or had she forgotten the country where the bodies of her father and mother were buried and where she has a brother engaged in that awful struggle.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. Chairman, the Committee of the Whole has under consideration the following resolution, which reads:

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

If this resolution does not state the truth, it is the duty of every Member of this House to vote against it. On the other hand, if the facts as stated are correct, there is no alternative for a brave and patriotic people but to resort to armed force to repel the attack which has been wantonly and ruthlessly made.

When the issue comes the American people will be found as loyal and true as they have ever been in the defense of their country. The people of the North, South, East, and West will all rally beneath the one flag of our reunited country in its common defense.

The first "preparedness" parade in the United States was held at Shreveport, La., in the fourth congressional district, which I have the honor to represent. The magnificent floats used on that occasion were placed on exhibition at the Louisiana State Fair at Shreveport and attracted great attention. The mayor of that city has ordered the United States flag displayed from all public buildings, and a magnificent electric flag, displaying in flashing lights the red, white, and blue, is to be placed on the courthouse there. They are to have a large patriotic demonstration there to-morrow night when the passage of the resolution we are now considering is flashed over the wires. Only last week the medical society for the fourth congressional district of Louisiana passed resolutions indorsing the acts of President Wilson and offering their services in the event of war.

These instances are cited to show the patriotic sentiment which prevails in the South. Only a few minutes ago we listened to the patriotic speech of the gentleman from Louisiana, Gen. ESTOPINAL, who is a veteran of the Civil War. He has nine sons eligible for enlistment, and his declaration in favor of the passage of this resolution came after the most mature deliberation.

The intrigues of the German Government, in an effort to effect plans with the Mexican Government to form an offensive alliance with Japan against our Government, indicate her animosity toward us, and the explosions of munitions plants in the United States show the desperate measures to which they will resort. The effort to incite the negroes against the whites in the South confirms the view of the deep-seated animosity which the German Government bears toward the people of the United States.

A simple embargo on our ships, preventing the carrying of our cotton and other agricultural products to the markets of the world would be bad enough, but when a dead line is made hundreds of miles out in the ocean and all the world is forbidden under penalty of death from passing over it, the time is at hand to call a halt. Men, women, and innocent children have been ruthlessly and unmercifully blown into eternity by the German submarines without warning while they were traveling on the high seas on peaceful errands, where all people have a perfect right to go.

Since the beginning of hostilities in Europe, according to Associated Press dispatches, 226 Americans have gone to their death through German and Austrian submarine operations. Most of these Americans were traveling on unarmed merchant ships, and, under the rules of international law and humanity, believed themselves secure. The first American to lose his life was Leon T. Thresher.

The first American ship attacked was the *Gulflight*, an oil tanker, from Port Arthur, Tex., to Rouen, France, torpedoed without warning off the Scilly Islands May 1, 1915. The destruction of the *Lusitania* occurred May 7, 1915. She was unarmed and carried between twelve and thirteen hundred passengers, of whom 159 were Americans; was sunk as she was nearing Liverpool, and of the 1,198 lives lost 114 were Americans, many of them being men of national prominence. Everything pointed to a prearranged German plan to torpedo the ship.

While the *Lusitania* case still was fresh in the public mind, a German submarine torpedoed the American ship, the *Nebraskan*, without warning on May 25, 1915. Though, as in the case of the *Gulflight*, she did not sink but owed her safety to her seaworthiness and reached port, damaged, under her own steam. The *Nebraskan's* name was painted on her sides in letters 6 feet high. The German Government expressed its regret, claiming a mistake, and promised to pay damages.

On June 28, 1915, 23 American muleteers on the Leyland liner *Armenian* were killed by shell fire and drowning when the *Armenian* failed to escape with her cargo.

The American sailing ship *William P. Frye* was the first American vessel sunk in the war.

Another crisis came on August 19, 1915, when the White Star liner *Arabic*, from Liverpool to New York, was torpedoed without warning near the *Lusitania's* grave and sunk in about 10 minutes. Out of the 375 passengers and crew 48 were lost. There were 30 Americans on board and 3 lost their lives. Germany again expressed regret and gave assurance for the future safety of passenger ships.

Austria's first submarine operations began with the destruction of the Italian liner *Ancona* in the Mediterranean Sea November 7, 1915. She carried hundreds of passengers, many of them being women and children, bound from Naples to New York. Twelve Americans were on board and nine lost their lives.

Another crisis was developed by the destruction of the British liner *Persia*, December 30, 1915. American Consul McNeeley, on his way to his post at Aden, was among the 335 persons who lost their lives, of which two or more were Americans.

On March 27, 1916, a German submarine sank the Dominion liner *Englishman*. Six Americans were lost; many other Americans were on board. One of the rescued Americans testified that the submarine was the *U–19*. On the same day came the destruction of the French steamer *Sussex*, and this was the culmination of the long list of submarine outrages which caused President Wilson to lay the situation before Congress and to notify Germany that unless these methods were discontinued the United States would be compelled to break off diplomatic relations with her.

On April 18, 1916, the President delivered his message to Congress, relating to the sinking on the 24th of March, 1916, of the steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without warning, resulting in the loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States, at which time the President addressed a note to the German Government, protesting against the further destruction of vessels by indiscriminate use of submarines, in which he stated that unless the German Government should immediately declare and effect an abandonment of the submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels the Government of the United States could have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire.

To this note the German Government gave an assurance of the freedom of the seas, stating that instructions had been given her officials to recognize the international law and not to destroy merchant vessels outside of the war zone without warning and without saving human life, unless these ships attempted to escape or offer resistance. On the 18th of May, 1916, the Government of the United States replied, accepting the statement of the German Government as sincere and as made in good faith.

On the 31st of January, 1917, the German Government served notice upon our Government that after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and the eastern Mediterranean all ships, including those of neutrals, from and to England and from and to France would be sunk.

The President of the United States on January 22, 1917, had made his address to the United States Senate for a league for peace, in which he submitted proposals intended to procure and preserve universal peace; and this note of the German Government on the 31st of January, 1917, was, in effect and to all intents and purposes, a reply to this humane address of the President.

In his address to the joint session of the two Houses of Congress, February 3, 1917, the President of the United States announced the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire, in which address the President deplored the renunciation by the German Government of its assurances and stated that he refused to believe that it was the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they warned us they would feel at liberty to do and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they had announced their intention to adopt.

However, in spite of this confidence expressed by the President, they proceeded with the indiscriminate destruction of our vessels upon the high seas, which are free to all peoples of the world, and proceeded to destroy the lives of the citizens of the United States with a wanton disregard of the laws of nations as well as the treaties existing between our country and Germany.

Following is an approximately correct list of all American ships damaged or destroyed by German submarines and ships sunk with loss of American lives:

American ships damaged or destroyed by German submarines.

Name of vessel.	Date.	Particulars.
Gulflight	May 2,1915	Torpedoed.
Nebraskan	May 25,1915	Do.
Leelanaw	July 25,1915	Torpedoed and shelled.
Seaconnet	June 16,1916	Damaged by mine or torpedo.
Oswego	Aug. 14,1916	Fired on 10 times by submarine.
Lanao (Philippine)	Oct. 28,1916	Sunk by submarine.
Columbian	Nov. 7,1916	Do.
Colena	Nov. 26,1916	Fired on.
St. Helen's	Dec. 10,1916	Attacked by submarine.
Rebecca Palmer	Dec. 14,1916	Fired on; slight damage.
Sacramento	Jan. 9,1917	Fired on.
Housatonic	Feb. 3,1917	Sunk.
Lyman M. Law	Feb. 13,1917	Burned by submarine.
Vigilancia	Mar. 16,1917	Torpedoed.
City of Memphis	Mar. 17,1917	Sunk by gunfire.
Illinois	....do.....	Torpedoed.
Aztec	Apr. 1,1917	Do.

SHIPS SUNK WITH LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES.

British ship *Falaba*, torpedoed March 28, 1915 (warned); 1 American lost.

British ship *Lusitania*, torpedoed May 7, 1915 (no warning); 114 Americans lost.

American ship *Gulflight*, torpedoed May 1, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Armenian*, torpedoed June 28, 1915 (ordered to stop; tried to escape); 23 Americans lost.

British ship *Iberian*, sunk July 31, 1915 (tried to escape; stopped by shell fire); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Anglo-Californian*, sunk July 4, 1915; 2 Americans lost.

British ship *Hesperian*, torpedoed September 4, 1915 (no warning); 1 American lost.

British ship *Arabic*, torpedoed August 19, 1915 (no warning); 3 Americans lost.

British ship *Persia*, believed to have been torpedoed; sunk December 30, 1915 (no warning); 2 Americans lost.

Italian ship *Ancona*, torpedoed November 9, 1915 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.

British ship *Englishman*, torpedoed March 27, 1916; 6 Americans lost (1 more whose nationality is doubtful).

British ship *Sabota*, sunk by gunfire October 20, 1916; 1 American lost.

British ship *Marina*, sunk by gunfire October 28, 1916 (warned); 8 Americans lost.

British ship *Russian*, torpedoed December 14, 1916 (no warning); 17 Americans lost.

British ship *Eaveston*, sunk by shell fire February 5, 1917; 1 American lost (1 other whose nationality is doubtful).

British ship *Vedamore*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 10 Americans lost.

British ship *Turino*, torpedoed February 7, 1917 (no warning); 1 American (?) lost.

French ship *Athos*, torpedoed February 22, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.

British ship *Laconia*, torpedoed February 26, 1917 (no warning); 8 Americans lost.

Norwegian ship *Sjostad*, believed torpedoed March 2, 1917 (no warning); 1 American lost.

American ship *Vigilancia*, torpedoed March 16, 1917 (no warning); 5 Americans lost.

American ship *Healdton*, torpedoed March 21, 1917 (no warning); 7 Americans lost.

British ship *Crispin*, torpedoed March 29, 1917 (no warning); 68 Americans on board, 1 killed, 18 missing.

Total, 226 American lives lost.

On the *Lusitania* there were also 24 children born of foreign parents on American soil.

In committing these outrages the German Government not only violated international law but the pledges contained in her solemn treaty with the United States:

The twelfth article of the treaty concluded between the parties in 1785 and the articles from the thirteenth to the twenty-fourth, inclusive, of that which was concluded at Berlin in 1799 * * * are hereby revived with the same force and virtue as if they made part of the context of the present treaty.

ART. 12. If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with any other power, the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neuter with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted. On the contrary, in that case, as in full peace, the vessels of the neutral party may navigate freely to and from the ports and on the coasts of the belligerent parties, free vessels making free goods, in so much as all things may be adjudged free which shall be on board any vessel belonging to the neutral party, although such things belong to an enemy of the other; and the same freedom shall be extended to persons who shall be on board a free vessel, although they should be enemies to the other party, unless they be soldiers in actual service of such enemy.

The President of the United States on last Monday, in his address to Congress, portrayed in vivid language the outrages perpetrated upon this country by Germany and called upon us to adopt the necessary measures to vindicate our honor and preserve our integrity as a nation.

With this duty confronting us, our answer should be—

READY!

We are with you, Mr. President, whatever you may do,
Though in the past, perhaps, we oft have disagreed with you.
The time has come for bickering and argument to cease,
For threats of war loom ominous where formerly was peace.
Behind you we are standing,
To pursue the course you wend.
We are with you, Woodrow Wilson—
We are with you to the end!

From Vermont's green cragged mountains to the California shore
Stand the people of the Nation as they oft have stood before;
From the northern barren stretches to the sunlands of the South,
They are ready, though the order calls them to the cannon's mouth.
'Tis no no time for hesitation,
With a matter thus to mend.
We are with you, Woodrow Wilson—
We are with you to the end!

We have neither creed nor tenet when a crisis bids us come,
For all questioning dissension has been silenced and is dumb.
The melting pot has bubbled long its finished cast to yield,
A people of one purpose, that will neither give nor yield.
And a Nation undivided,
That no foreign foe can rend,
Stands behind you, Woodrow Wilson—
It is with you to the end!

The Austrian prince was assassinated by the Serbians and war was declared by Austria against Serbia.

The battleship *Maine* was sunk and the United States Government declared war against Spain.

We have heard to-day recitals of the most blood-curdling character, relating the atrocities of the Germans in Belgium, France, and upon the high seas. Every impulse of our nature impels us toward a resentment of these outrages; but above and beyond everything else the love of our country and the desire to perpetuate its institutions and that love for freedom and justice with which our hearts are imbued impels us to resent to the uttermost the depredations of a foreign foe.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BORLAND). The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] is recognized.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I should prefer to be heard in opposition to the amendment about to be offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] if I may be. If not, then I should like to be heard now.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

Mr. DILLON rose.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the Chair if I will be recognized in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. At 11 o'clock I asked the then occupant of the chair for recognition, and I have been waiting ever since to be recognized.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair regrets to inform the gentleman that that is not a parliamentary inquiry.

As the Chair understands the situation, the gentleman from Illinois desires to offer an amendment without debate, being the amendment to which he referred at the time he had the floor. Is that correct?

Mr. BRITTEN. That is not quite correct, Mr. Chairman. I do not know on what the Chairman is basing that statement. I desire to use five minutes upon my amendment, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair's recollection is that the gentleman offered an amendment or had an amendment read in his time which he proposed to offer.

Mr. BRITTEN. The amendment was merely read in my time. The Chair is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I understand the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois is offered?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not offered. The gentleman from Illinois has been recognized once, and until gentlemen who have asked for recognition——

Mr. LONGWORTH. As I stated to the Chair, I would prefer to be recognized in opposition to the amendment if I can be assured that I will be recognized after that. I prefer it to being recognized at this time.

Mr. BRITTEN. If the Chairman pleases, I will offer the amendment to be read at this time.

Mr. LONGWORTH. May I be recognized in opposition to the amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks that the amendment be read——

Mr. MANN. It has been read.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. LONGWORTH. Is it necessary to have unanimous consent in order to present the amendment?

Mr. MANN. There is an amendment pending now.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair so understands that there is an amendment pending now. The Chair is prepared to recognize gentlemen in opposition to that amendment.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Chairman, I ask recognition in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio has been recognized.

Mr. SIMS. Has the amendment been read?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio has been recognized in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. SIMS. But the amendment has not been read.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. The regular order is for gentlemen to take their seats and give attention to who has the floor.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SIMS. Has the amendment been offered and read as an amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The present occupant of the Chair so understands.

Mr. SIMS. I understood it was only offered and read in debate, for information only.

Mr. MANN. The only amendment offered is to strike out the last two words, and let us see whether we will strike them out.

Mr. SIMS. I make the point of order that debate on the amendment has been exhausted.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is overruled.

Mr. SIMS. Then I appeal from the decision of the Chair, because there have been a dozen speeches——

Mr. MANN. I do not think the gentleman ought to filibuster.

Mr. SIMS. I know exactly what the gentleman from Ohio desires to debate. He desires to debate the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois; that is what he wants to discuss, and not the motion to strike out the last two words.

Mr. MANN. Do not take up time that way.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, in order to obviate all discussion, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. MANN. There is an amendment to strike out the last two words.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, if I could permit myself to be influenced as gentlemen in this body have indicated that they are influenced and as gentlemen in another body have indicated that they are influenced by a census taken of messages they have received for and against war; if I were to permit any solicitude for my immediate political future based upon that census to govern my action to-night, I might, I do not say that I would, but I might hesitate as to what course to pursue. But, gentlemen of the House, this occasion is too big, the issues confronting us are too overwhelmingly important to allow any petty thing like personal interest to influence my vote. The only interest to which I give heed to-night is the interest, as I see it, of the American people. [Applause.] The only future to which I look is the future of my country. From that standpoint but one course seems clear to me, and that is to resist all amendments to this resolution, including the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [applause], and to vote for it exactly as it comes to us from the Senate of the United States. It is true that we give the President of the United States enormous powers under this resolution. It is true that we give him almost unlimited discretion, for we pledge to him the entire strength of the military and material resources of the American Nation. We could hardly do more; but, gentlemen, we ought not to do less. [Applause.]

If we are to take part in this gigantic conflict we ought to take a man's part. [Applause.] If we are to make war, let us make war with what energy and efficiency we may. To make war feebly in this crisis would be nothing short of folly. America, gentlemen, is not responsible for the situation we are facing. God knows we have been patient, but always the time may come when patience ceases to be a virtue, and that time is now. The one recourse that we have is to pass this resolution unamended.

We accept the responsibility and we accept it with no ambition or desire except to preserve the rights of the people of the United States and to uphold Christian civilization. Mr. Chairman, I am ready to vote. [Applause.]

Mr. BRITTEN. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman. The amendment pending is a pro forma amendment. I desire to offer a bona fide amendment, which I think should be recognized by the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. DYER. I make the point of order there is an amendment pending.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no amendment pending except a pro forma one.

Mr. DYER. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] is not in order.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the pro forma amendment, which has not been disposed of.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. BRITTEN: On page 2, after line 16, add a new paragraph, as follows:

"*Provided, however*, That no part of the military forces of the United States shall be ordered to do land duty in any part of Europe, Asia, or Africa until so directed by act of Congress, excepting those troops who specifically volunteer for such service."

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, the amendment just read by the Clerk is the same amendment that was read during my time in the general debate this morning, with the exception that on the advice of several Members of the House, on both sides of the Chamber, who desired to vote for an amendment of this character I have added the last two lines, "excepting those troops who specifically volunteer for such service." Now, there may be men in the New England States, young men of valor and of vim, who desire to go to Europe, who desire to enter into this trench warfare and fight the Germans. Let them go if they wish. The boys of my district do not want to go. The boys of many of your districts do not want to go. There is going to be a conscription forced upon them. Their people do not want them to go to Europe, but they are willing to give every ounce of blood in their bodies in defense of America on American soil.

Mr. FARR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. Not just now.

If my amendment is added to this declaration of war it will give the country and Congress time to deliberate. We can not possibly recruit 500,000 or a million men in a year under volunteer service. It has got to be conscription, and in six or eight months from now you and I may feel that we do not want our boys to go against this awful slaughter. Suppose the near future should bring about the downfall of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and the Hapsburgs in Austria-Hungary, and the people of a new duo of republics arranged for a separate peace with the new Republic of Russia? Would you still feel inclined to send our troops into France or Saloniki because England would not agree to a separate peace? Would you then favor sending our boys into the fertile fields of Mesopotamia in order to gratify England's wishes? Surely nothing can be further from your desires; and yet that very condition is as likely to occur as many others suggested on the floor of this House to-day. Military experts advise us that it takes three years to make a good soldier, and still a distinguished Member of the Senate suggested the other day that we ought to send 10,000 of our men at once to France—for the moral effect—at once. Send 10,000 of the finest specimens of American manhood to France at once to be slaughtered for the moral effect it will have on certain European nations now in a bloody death struggle. Are we too becoming war mad? The people of the country are against entering this war by a majority of from a hundred to a thousand to one. You owe it to the mothers, the sisters, the families of these boys to adopt my amendment.

Last Saturday I drove up Michigan Avenue and I saw some of our boys being taught to drive a bayonet through a ring of that size [indicating]. It was instruction in bayonet warfare. Do you know what that means? That means "going over the top" and landing on a human being and stabbing him with a bayonet. That is what our boys are practicing to-day in Chicago. It is not fair nor humane to send our soldiers up against those trained forces in Europe. It is like throwing a fine greyhound into a pit for a death struggle with a trained bulldog who has seen many victories.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I can not. I have only five minutes. I do not desire to be discourteous at all.

I think we owe it to our own people to adopt an amendment, not necessarily mine, but an amendment of this character. A thousand things may be done in the next 12 months that will justify us in keeping our boys here. Suppose we have a terrible conflict with Mexico, or as terrible as Mexico can make it, we will need our soldiers here and not in France.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE], a member of the committee, is recognized.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE], a member of the committee, is recognized.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Chairman, I do not come from a district such as the gentleman represents. I come from a State the people of which do not want war, but when once that flag is given to the breeze it means that when they come into the service of these United States they come to serve where their services are needed. [Applause.] Our people know, and every Member of Congress here knows, that with the great waters between us and Europe there can be no service limited to this land. Does the gentleman want the boys from the other parts of this country to go across the water and do real service while his "slackers" stay at home in places of security and safety and get the name of heroes who are serving their country? [Applause.]

I come from a State that does not want war, but we do not want to reconsider once we go to war. The President of the United States has said there must be war. There is war, and we say that there is war by this declaration. When we take that position, so far as I am concerned it means that every particle of power that I should give from my State to this Government to defend that flag at home, on the high seas, or elsewhere, shall be given. I stand with those with whom we fight on any soil under the sun, and all the aid in my power shall be given to the President to bring this war to a successful conclusion in order that that flag may be what it has been in the past [applause], a flag that fears no foeman, a flag that will be waved in the face of Imperial Germany and not kept at home where shells may not reach the hands that hold it. [Applause.]

South Carolina does not want war, but when war comes South Carolina is for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and her sons will go where the flag goes. Men and treasure shall be given from her, if the President wants them, in unstinted measure, even if it requires conscription and burdensome taxes, to uphold that flag and all that it stands for in these United States in association with the allies with whom she must fight in this tremendous conflict. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] is recognized.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, the resolution we are now considering truthfully states that the Imperial Government of Germany has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and people of the United States. The free seas of the world have been closed to us and the lives of our citizens ruthlessly destroyed. From almost the beginning of the European war accredited officials of Germany to this country and their agents have committed, in violation of our rights as a neutral nation, acts of the gravest character. No recital of them need now be made; the memory of them is fresh with all who are willing to know. The patience of a people loving peace as a passion has endured these wrongs until further forbearance would be cowardice. If the soul of a free nation is not to be destroyed and those ideals for the attainment of which our Government came into being lost, we must draw the sword and with all our might and at whatever sacrifice make secure that freedom which is our birthright and without which national life is vain.

We shall not go into this war out of any careful weighing of cost, of profit and loss. I repeat, we go into it because those things that make life worth living, that make a nation's true greatness, have been challenged, and men are not worthy of the heritage of freemen who are not willing, by their lives if need be, to preserve for those who follow after the heritage that has been handed down to them.

I should deplore that my country should not have the courage and the manhood to accept the gage of battle that has been thrown down. War exists. We must fight or be craven. And if we are to fight, let us fight as men. Let us not undertake to cripple this declaration of war by conditions as to its terms. [Applause.] We have no power as legislators to pass the amendment that is offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN]. The President of the United States is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and when war is declared this Congress can not, by such a proposal as is here offered, control his power to direct how that Army and that Navy shall be used. But if it had the power I should scorn to exercise it in so ignoble a manner. [Applause.]

In the wars of the past that this country has engaged in we have never stopped to say that our men should fight only on our soil. We have sought our enemy, and we have sought him though he might be at the ends of the earth. While we go into

this war because of many wrongs to America and American sovereignty; while as justification of our action we need not recite, though we unfortunately may not forget, the barbarities committed by the German Government against the civilization of the world; it is to me a matter of splendid satisfaction that in fighting to redress our wrongs we are also fighting to redress the wrongs of outraged humanity [applause]; that in fighting to preserve our civilization we are paying back in some small degree the debt we have owed for a century to heroic France [applause]; and that the men of America, in standing for the ideals of America, will help to preserve the ideals of free people everywhere. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] is recognized.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, if I understood correctly the reading of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] and interpreted it properly, it means that while we shall declare war, we will not fight. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Chairman, if upon this dark day I could catch a glimpse of a rainbow that gives or would give reasonable promise, I should take the course of opposing the resolution that is before the House. If lingering hope could see a star amid all this gloom, I should be delighted to see it. If the gentlemen who to-day have opposed the adoption of this resolution could give to me a reasonable assurance that by not adopting it there were a hope for peace with justice; if the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], whom all of us admire and whom most of us love, could have given an assurance that by the voting down of this resolution our situation would be improved, I should be glad to cast my lot with him, while waiting to hear this as a result of the fact that the resolution had not passed. But there is no such assurance given, either in the addresses made here or in the developments of events.

The issue is very clear to my mind, and very simple. The freedom of the seas is a right recognized by every precept of international law, and those American citizens who went down to sea in ships not bearing contraband and were sunk without warning or notice had their rights violated as much as would my rights be violated if my life were taken as I walked across the street this evening upon a peaceful mission.

Does any gentleman deny that? Is there anywhere to be found a voice that will declare that to be not a sound and recognized principle of law? If it be the law, if that legal right exists, then, sir, how long can a nation stand which declares that it will not protect its citizens in the exercise of a legal right? [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Is it possible, Mr. Chairman, for me to have five minutes more?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for five minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. STEENERSON. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota objects. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN]. As many as are in favor of the amendment will signify that fact by saying "aye."

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to oppose the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CALDWELL] is recognized to oppose the amendment.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, when the military appropriation bill was before this House in May, 1916, the gentleman who wishes to amend this resolution [Mr. BRITTEN] claimed that the bill did not produce the kind of an army or an army of the size that we needed. Yet that bill provides for the use, in time of need, of all the men and money of our country. To make this possible, section 111 provides that all the organized forces of this country not in the Regular Army and Navy may be drafted in time of war by the President of the United States and thereon become a part of the Army of the United States, which may be sent to the four corners of the earth in defense of American rights.

By section 79 of that act it is provided that a reserve force shall be created, out of the unorganized militia, as fast as the armed forces are drawn to the National Army from the States by draft, if necessary, and are to be armed, equipped, and trained. When ready they, too, can be drafted by the President of the United States and sent to the four corners of this earth in defense of American rights whenever the American people say that this country is to engage in war.

The act also provides that the Government may take over any and all industrial plants required to produce necessary supplies and equipment for the Army.

The gentleman says we should declare that a state of war exists, and yet he urges that after that the Army shall stay here. That would nullify the very resolution he offers.

The national-defense act was not at the time of passage big enough and strong enough to suit him, and it was not the kind of preparedness that he was advocating here on the floor of this House. How does the gentleman explain his position? Is he consistent? Why should a man come here and ask that the citizenship of the United States be armed, equipped, and trained to the fullest extent—even complain that the preparedness we gave was not big enough for him—then vote for war and at the same time demand that the force that has been organized for this very purpose should be kept at home and not used [applause], basing his suggestion upon the belief that the people of his district so desired him to vote?

I will vote for this resolution without amendment, fully realizing the responsibility that rests upon me and the consequences of my act. If I would give up my life for my country, how willingly should I risk my political future in the discharge of my official duty to the Nation. Germany has directed its U-boats to sink American ships whenever found within the war zone. She has declared her intention to continue to do so as long as the war lasts, and has sunk at least one outside of the zone. The American ships have been armed by the Government and directed to repel German attack. That is armed conflict between Governments and is therefore war. The condition has been forced by Germany and is not of our choosing. The resolution therefore speaks nothing but the naked truth. The resolution makes no war; it recognizes conditions as they are and releases the unconquered strength and spirit of the American people and pledges our lives and fortunes to support the American ideal. If necessary, let us train all our men and mortgage posterity for the preservation of our national character.

No war has ever terminated until one side or the other surrendered. For my part America will not surrender till the last dollar is spent, the last grain of powder shot, and the last man has fallen. I vote for this resolution as it is written, in sadness but whole-heartedly; and, come weal come woe, I shall never regret my decision, for I would be unworthy of my name and ancestry were I to hesitate in the discharge of this my plain duty to my country. [Applause.]

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, is this a substitute?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Yes.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. McCULLOCH: Page 2, at the end of line 8, add the following:

"*Provided*, That none of the military forces of the United States shall be transported for service in any European country without the express authorization of Congress."

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, the distinction between the two amendments, as I understand it, is that my amendment eliminates the volunteer feature of the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN]. Now, there are one or two features in connection with this matter that I want to call to the attention of the House.

Should this amendment be adopted, it will at least express the intention of Congress that it is not the purpose of Congress in passing this war resolution to send the military forces of the United States to foreign countries, and it will prove to the country and be a notice to the President that in passing this war resolution it is the intent and purpose of the Congress that the President should confine the use of the military forces of the United States to protecting the rights and liberties of Americans and in defense of our country, and that it is not the intention or the purpose of Congress in passing this war resolution that we should assist any foreign countries by sending soldiers to such countries to help fight their battles, and if it should become necessary later to send soldiers abroad, that it can only be done upon the authorization of Congress.

If it should be contended that this amendment will have no binding effect, it must at least be admitted that it will express, if adopted, the intent of Congress.

I regard the action I am called upon to take to-day as one involving the most solemn responsibility that has ever been laid upon me, and I would feel that I were untrue to the oath of office I have taken if I were influenced in the slightest by preju-

dice, by partisanship, or by a feeling of sympathy for any of the powers engaged in the European war.

I have faith in my country and its people and in their ability to meet and deal intelligently and wisely with every question that may affect the future of this country as a Nation. So much faith have I in America, in its institutions, and in the principles upon which our Government was founded and has been maintained, that I feel we could live and exist in prosperity, in happiness, and contentment if we were cut off absolutely from the rest of the world.

But we are one of the great family of nations, and as such, under the rules of international law, have certain rights. One of these rights is the free and unrestricted use of the seas—the great public highways of nations.

The executive branch of our Government has endeavored to maintain our rights upon the seas through diplomacy and has failed, and because our rights on the seas have been violated the Congress is now called upon to declare that a state of war exists and to authorize the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government, which Government has disregarded those rights.

I shall not review the course of events which have step by step led us up to this present crisis and to the consideration of the resolution now before the House; but as a basis for my saying that it had been my purpose and constant desire as a Member of Congress to do everything in my power to keep this country out of war, I desire to refer to one or two of the steps which were taken in connection with the international situation and my attitude in regard to them.

When the McLemore resolution was under consideration by the House I voted not to table that resolution, and favored a resolution of warning to American citizens to keep out of the danger zone and the use of every means within the power of the Government to dissuade Americans from entering the danger zone. My action was heralded as being in opposition to the President and to what he desired; but I believe that had such a resolution of warning been adopted and had Congress refused to sustain the President in the policy he was carrying out in the beginning that we might not to-day find ourselves in the situation we are in.

I opposed the President because I believed that he was wrong and because I was not willing to vote to sustain him in the carrying out of what he himself declared to be a doubtful legal right.

When the armed-neutrality bill was up for consideration in the House I supported the Cooper amendment, providing that munition ships should not be armed. When that amendment was defeated I then supported the bill. I voted for that bill because there can be no doubt that the announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the 1st day of February, this year, it was its purpose to use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the west coast of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean was in violation of our rights and an infringement of our liberties.

This announcement, it was apparent, could not be carried out without a loss of American lives and the destruction of American property. Therefore I felt that if we were to continue to maintain ourselves as a nation we must protect American lives and American property against such interference, and that perhaps the best way to protect American lives and American property in that situation was by arming vessels for defensive battle against submarines.

The President now says that armed neutrality is ineffective, and he desires that Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be nothing less than war against the Government and the people of the United States.

The President recites and reviews the history of the overt acts of the Imperial German Government which has brought us to the present crisis. It is clear from the address of the President that our one sole complaint against the Imperial German Government which would lead us to a declaration of war against that Government is the unrestricted use of the submarine against neutrals and the effect of the unrestricted use of submarines upon American lives and property.

But the President, it would seem, is unwilling to confine the war which we are to wage to the enforcement of our rights and to the protection of American lives and property upon the high seas. In his address before the joint session of Congress he made it clear that it is his intention that this Government should become allied with the powers now fighting Germany, not alone for the purpose of protecting American rights, but for the purpose of ending the war and for the purpose of establishing a world-wide democracy.

I trust that this war resolution will be amended so as to limit our action and our course to standing for the enforcement of the rights and liberties of America, and that we will go no further. I can not agree with the course outlined by the President, that we should enter into this war for reasons other than or in addition to those of maintaining our rights; but I believe that we should enter this war, if we enter it at all, merely for the purpose of protecting our rights, and when we have succeeded in forcing Germany, if we should so succeed, in recognizing our rights on the seas and in modifying her submarine warfare, then we should withdraw and have nothing further to do with the controversy.

If we only go this far, it will not mean that we intend to intervene in the European war; it will not mean that we intend to send men into the trenches of Europe; it will not mean that we intend to sit in and help determine the terms of the settlement of the European war; but it will mean that the American people intend to maintain by force the liberty and rights of American people on the high seas, and when these liberties and rights have been recognized that we will be through with the conflict.

Nothing that has been done up to this time obligates this country, morally or otherwise, to do more than protect the rights upon the high seas which it claims have been violated by Germany.

By her own admission the Imperial German Government has become an outlaw, and there is no pretention made upon the part of the Imperial German Government that her submarine warfare can be justified under international law, because the Imperial German Government has announced that she will sink without warning neutral ships and destroy neutral lives within certain zones, and I should not have so much hesitancy in voting for the resolution should it be amended so that it would be understood that we will go no further in this controversy than to protect our rights which have been violated.

I shall therefore support any amendment properly designed to restrict and limit our activities in this war to a protection of American rights. I believe that we should do everything in our power to prepare to protect this country in a defensive way. I am in entire accord with the recommendations of the President that the Army and Navy should be made as efficient as possible for the purpose of defense and for the purpose of insisting on and securing the recognition of our rights upon the seas. To go further than that is to involve ourselves in a controversy on another continent where we have no direct interest, which is a contest that is no quarrel of ours, and which we are under no obligation either to end or to continue.

I do not believe that this country is under any moral obligation to help fight to a successful conclusion that war in the interest of any foreign country. We will do well to look after America and the interests of the American people by insisting upon our rights and by keeping out of this European quarrel except only in so far as our rights are involved.

Should an amendment to this resolution not be adopted limiting the power granted to the President I shall still vote for the resolution, but I shall do so with the deepest mental reservation, and only because I desire that this country should show a united front to the nations of the world upon any policy which we may determine upon.

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, this is indeed a sad day for me, the early dawn of Good Friday, the day our Lord was crucified upon Calvary. On this day we have our country weighing in the balance.

President Wilson has called on us—stated the facts—and requested Congress to declare a state of war existing with Germany. I trust the President and shall stand by him. All through my career as a Member of this House I have been a man of peace, and have on all occasions done all in my power to prevent anything that tended toward war. But, gentlemen, according to my conception of the state of affairs this country is now at war with Germany; not a war of our own making, but already the war is upon us. The Kaiser's henchmen are at our gates. We have had in this country spies from the German Government, in the very Capital of this Nation, in all the cities of this Republic, and even throughout all the territory of the United States spies have been present for many months from the German Government to undermine the Republic of America. You have had in this great Capital conspirators, the accredited representatives of the German Government, intriguing and plotting with Mexico and Japan to make war on this Nation while pretending to be on friendly relations with our country. Two hundred and forty American citizens have been slaughtered on

the high seas by the assassins of the Kaiser, the iniquitous submarines. American commerce has been destroyed on every hand. All the indignities and outrages conceivable to an independent Republic have been perpetrated by the autocracy of Germany. The Kaiser has even taken hold of the chin whiskers of Uncle Sam, pulled open his mouth, and spat in it. I think it is time for the American people to resent this. Are we to be so craven as to allow American manhood to be debased in this hour of our Nation's trial? Are we to be so ignoble as to prove ourselves unworthy of the splendid heritage left us by our fathers? Shall this Republic submit to any more barbarities, outrages, and insults and indignities, and still cry for peace? We all want peace; we all love peace; but America has suffered enough. It is time to fight! [Applause.] I stand by this resolution. I say do not let our soldiers stand around idle in our great cities, but if we are going to be true to our country, and to the ideals of this Republic, let us not wait for the enemy to come and run his saber through the heart of the Nation, but beat him to it, and get there first. [Applause.]

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, as I stand in the somber shadows of this awful war that we are preparing to enter, wondering how much it will involve and where it may end, I wish that I could fitly express, as some of you have the gift to do, the thoughts in my mind and the sentiments in my heart regarding the past and the future of our country.

That Germany has ruthlessly trampled upon our rights and forced upon us the status of belligerents can not be denied. That our dignity and honor as a great Nation demand action on our part is to me conclusive. The only question with me is as to how far we should go. If it be prudent and proper for an individual, acting for himself alone, to hesitate and count the cost of a step upon which his whole future vitally depends, surely it can not be deemed unpatriotic for one to do likewise when acting for and as the chosen representative of hundreds of thousands of people. It is manifestly the well-nigh unanimous judgment of the body in which the organic law of the land wisely vests the power to declare war that this resolution should be adopted, and I feel it my duty to acquiesce in that judgment. At the same time I can not refrain from expressing my profound conviction that the necessity does not now exist for going as far as some contend we should go, nor as far as the broad terms of this resolution might admit of. Reference has been made by my colleague from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] and others to our obligation to France. I am not unmindful of the debt of gratitude we owe to certain nations for their sympathy and aid in the dark days of the Revolution and later, but there is a limit to the sacrifices that should be made in the payment of such a debt.

I can not believe that it requires us to abandon all of the sacred traditions of the Republic. I can not believe that it requires us to cast aside the time-honored doctrine of Monroe and substitute for it the chimerical scheme of a "Monroe doctrine of the world," or to take a step that may make this God-given land of the free a mere satellite of the monarchies of Europe, or, forgetting the admonitions of the fathers, to turn the picture of Washington to the wall and put in its place the visage of King George. The history of civilization shows that every great principle of liberty has been purchased by the shedding of human blood. The people of Europe are paying that price for their liberties now, just as we have paid it for the liberties we enjoy. I have too much faith in the inscrutable justice of Divinity's decrees to believe that we must pay it in full measure again for the liberty which has already cost us so many hecatombs of lives and so many billions of treasure. I can not believe, as some say they believe, that the civilization of the world is in the balance or that the perpetuity of our own form of government is at stake. On no other grounds would I ever give my assent to sending our American boys to the death trenches—those slaughter pens across the sea.

Mr. Chairman, sorrowfully and with aching heart I shall support the resolution, but in voting to confer this unrivaled power upon the legally constituted authorities of our Government, I beg them, in the name of the people I represent, constantly to remember, while exercising that power, that in conservatism there is national safety and that in the multitude of counsel there is always wisdom. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman and Members of the committee. I have listened, I believe, to this debate as attentively as one well could, with an earnest desire to see both sides of the question, if two sides there are; and now, with this debate almost closing, I say to you from my heart that I can see only one course open to me as an American Representative, and that is to vote for the passage of this resolution without any amendment and just as it came to us from the Senate. [Applause.]

I am firm in the conviction that this solemn day in American history is not so much a day of decision as a day of consecration. Before us lies no confusing choice of perplexing alternatives. The die is already cast. We are in a state of war, and the question is whether or not we shall recognize a self-evident fact. Surely there can be no choice of a murderous peace based on the surrender of every American right.

Pitiless necessity makes armed conflict inevitable. Our action to-day means the recognition of war, but we shall not war against any people, but against ruthless violation of sacred rights, against defiant aggression, against the brutal use of evil power. It will be our war against war and for peace. It will be our war for the freedom of the world, the future of democracy, and the rights of every nation and of all mankind.

Since August 1, 1914, we have lived in a world made strange and terrible by the conflict of mighty powers. World events have been crowding so swiftly that they could scarcely be realized. Dynasties have fallen while we watched; governments have been raised up and thrown down; cities have been destroyed in a day; rivers of blood have been shed in vastly separated quarters of the globe. Millions of men, women, and children have been enslaved in one place while other millions have been emancipated elsewhere. Age-old customs, creeds, and traditions have shriveled in the fire of new conditions, and the entire relationships of mankind have undergone vital and fundamental changes.

In the midst of this welter of world war the American Republic has been guided by the hand of a Chief Magistrate raised up, I believe, by divine providence for this perilous time in the history of the new land of promise.

President Wilson has done all that mortal could do to hold to ancient landmarks of peace and righteousness. As the embodiment of the great Republic of the West, he held out both hands to the warring world in a plea for peace. Nobly has he sought to steer the ship of state through the tempests, past the rocks and false lights, to a peaceful harbor. With patient and steadfast purpose he sought to prevent America's entrance into the inferno of strife. He has been long-suffering, enduring great provocations in firm perseverance toward the goal of honorable peace. Harassed by hands that hindered, both militarist and pacifist, he has been clear of vision and steady in judgment. Bearing a burden greater than any since the immortal Lincoln, he has been calm and serene and unhurried by any false cries of hurrah patriotism. With malice for none and charity for all, he has followed the right as God gave him to see it and as the great heart of America desired.

Now that he has reluctantly and with stern regret come to the decision that war is the only solution for an intolerable situation and has so informed this Congress, there can be no wavering. His clear and convincing summary of the record since February, 1915, is an indictment which is conclusive. The clear call to American duty must be answered, and with the sword of justice in hand we must carve out an enduring peace as a united people and an undivided Nation.

I am not seeking to evade my responsibility as a Member of the legislative body of this Nation, but I demand that those opposed to this resolution accept their responsibility and not attempt to put it upon the majority of this body, which, they say, is certain to vote for this resolution. [Applause.]

I am standing by President Wilson, because I believe he speaks true for America. He is interpreter and voice for this Nation now no less than during his steadfast efforts of peace.

The American people realize all the horrors and frightful waste of war under twentieth century conditions. They have seen European history written with the sword point for two and a half years. They have listened in anguish to the thunders from battle fields 150 miles wide, while whole countries were turned from hives of industry to heaps of wreckage. They have seen blood and treasure poured out in profligate abandon in a conflict on many lands and the seven seas.

They have striven and prayed for peace as their very hearts' desire, willing to suffer and endure much to be spared entrance into such a death drama.

But make no mistake. The American people, peace loving as they have been and are to-day, have demanded that their peace be one of righteousness. They have never imagined that strife is to be stilled by self-betrayal and wrong conquered by submission. They have known that there are worse things than war. They have known that our independence as a Nation was won with the sword and, if necessary, must be preserved with the sword. They have known that the liberties, painfully created through long years of travail, are too sacred to be thrown away, even though their continued possession entail the last full measure of devotion. They have always believed that dishonor is too dangerous a flame to burn at a nation's heart. Deep

underneath their love for peace has ever been a willingness to sacrifice money rather than the things that money can never restore, lives rather than the things which make American life possible. This very love of peace, cherished by Americans, compels conflict now. For if the "first duty of mankind is peace, the second duty is to fight to secure it."

Americans demanded of their Government from the beginning of this world conflict such conduct of their international relations that war would come only when peace became impossible. Faithfully has President Wilson carried out their will. With each advancing step of the complications leading to this fateful hour he set a high standard of honor, with no bitterness or rancor to mar future developments.

But all efforts were unavailing in the face of a determination on the part of the insane militarism of German autocracy to force this Nation to defend its rights as a sovereign State. Wantonly and deliberately the Kaiser has forced the issue upon us. No man can deny the intent of the policies put into force by the Imperial German Government. Even Count von Bernstoff, former German ambassador, when informed of the severance of diplomatic relations between his country and ours, frankly remarked, "I am not surprised. There was nothing else left for the United States to do."

In view of the events since that time, the slimy trail of intrigue, the prosecution of the ruthless submarine warfare, whose threat led to the breaking of relations, no one can fail to recognize that the passage of this resolution is our only answer that "there is nothing else left for the United States to do."

I believe that the American people know this fact. No one who has mingled with the people in home and shop and store and mill during the past few weeks could fail to feel that throb of heart whereby a great peace-loving people rises in noble anger against brutal wrong. Everywhere has been the choice of sacrifice and danger rather than sloth and shame. Everywhere has been evidenced faith in the ideals of America and stamina to stand for them, whatever may befall. In the beating of America's mighty heart comes the ringing declaration that this is still "the land of the free and home of the brave."

I have had that experience and felt that inspiration. I stand here to speak for the Pittsburgh district, the "workshop of the world." Those who have given it that name are ready to answer every challenge to their patriotism with vigor and virility. That district has witnessed countless victories of peace by workers marshalled in the army of human service. Its production of the countless products that make for the comfort and convenience of mankind has astonished the world. Not less inspiring is their loyalty to America and the ideals embodied in that hallowed name.

The district which I have the honor to represent here was the scene of the first exploits of George Washington in those far-off days of the French and Indian War. Its men have followed the banner of the stars in every war since independence was proclaimed. They have fought in foreign wars and civil strife for the Republic and its unity. They have stood firm for national freedom and justice, and they will stand firm for international freedom and justice.

That district is the "melting pot" of the Nation. Into its life enters the blood of every nation on earth. Since this world war broke out many of its people have agonized over the recital of tragic deeds enacted in home lands across the seas. While this Nation was officially neutral they gave expression to their sympathy for the cause they held dear. Those of German ancestry as well as those of other lineage have hoped and prayed that America might be spared participation in the strife. They have spoken and written in every possible effort to preserve peace.

But to-day, when hope has become a coward's refuge and peace a futile cry, they have enshrined America's banner of freedom in their hearts and are ready to do all and dare all for the land of their choice and supreme love. They are pro-American and nothing else and they will help to defend, safeguard, and preserve this Nation against any and all foes.

The Pittsburgh district can be mobilized for America the moment the Nation calls. There are in war three graces—Army, Navy, and industry—and the greatest of these is industry. The greatest industries of the world are located there, and they are at the command of the Nation. Manufacturers and mill men, employers and employees are ready to meet governmental needs and the vast resources for producing equipment of every kind can be used as Uncle Sam deems best. Partisanship has disappeared before patriotism and faction and division have perished in the flame of a common love for country.

But it is not one district that is loyal. All districts are loyal. I am firm in my faith that the declaration made by this Congress to-day, in the passage of this resolution, to be sealed in all human probability with fire and blood, will prove for this Nation a new birth of freedom. Democracy is in a death grapple with despotism, and in such a conflict there can be, in Divine purpose, but one result. The tide of the common rights of man will not be stayed by any word or deed of absolutism. Despotic institutions and imperial systems are doomed. Autocracy, irresponsible and absolute in its control of human destinies, is a menace to civilization, a burden upon humanity, not longer to be endured. In the fiery light of this world conflict this system is seen to be a deadly danger, not only to the subjects of the despot, but to all men and women everywhere, none of whom can be assured of safety from the perils of royal greed and unbalanced ambition. We may rest assured that the downfall of that system is but another step in the way of human progress; it is the onward stride of Almighty God Himself.

America, too, in this action moves onward and upward on the difficult, rugged path, marked out for her by the founders—the path of justice and democracy, tenderness for the weak and restraint in the strong. A united people testify to their willingness to serve this righteous cause. We must not repay them for their altruism with shameful neglect at home. It will be the final tragedy of ingratitude if America fails to resolve definitely now that every American is entitled to all the rights of true democracy at home. If she does not do that, she will slay the very soul of America, this soul now so chivalric and devoted, so careless of every danger before the summons of duty.

Under the shadow of these new and fateful responsibilities we must make a new pledge of faith. Right is right, and this Nation can not afford to compromise with wrong and oppression within her own borders while she wars against them abroad. We must take from the throat of the Republic the fingers of organized greed. We must see that justice is done the common manhood and womanhood and childhood of this country. We must see that no gold-lustful men build traitorous fortunes from the Nation's necessities. We must prevent the exploitation of the people by pirates of unjust prices and manipulators of produce. We must make it assured, both now and in the future, that those who are willing to sacrifice all, if need be, for their country shall have a country worthy of such devotion, its gratitude proven by its protection of their rights against every power that might seek to prey upon them.

In this war there must be no shirking on the part of the wealth of the country. It is not just, when the manhood of the country fights its battles to load them and their children with a war debt to be paid to those who profited during the hour of peril. There are incomes which must be shared with the Government, profits to be regulated. The incomes must be enlisted in this war as well as the men.

Let this war witness the adoption of the principle that those who have money must give it, not only for war debt but to make this country worthy of devotion on the part of those who offer their lives in its behalf. Then, indeed, will its result be commensurate with the cost of the effort made.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, let us act now. We are compelled to make a momentous decision, the most important that any of us will make in all our lives. But it is made here in the open, not by stealthy agreement between despot and subservient creatures. It will be the act of the chosen representatives of a free people, after every resource of long enduring diplomacy has failed.

We enter upon a conflict forced upon us. We shall fight, but not for conquest. There is not a dollar nor a square mile nor a right of any nation that we desire or would destroy. It is not for the subjugation of any people but for the liberty of all. It is not for vengeance, but for the right of the law abiding to go about their business unmolested by lawless arrogance. It is not for any self-interest, but for an orderly world, a community of nations, all standing equal before the law of nations.

We enter upon the armed conflict because we are willing to pay again the price of liberty; because America is true to herself and what she has dared to dream of in the past dares to do in the present. In this hour the duty of every American Representative is to the Nation and the duty of the Nation is to civilization. I do not doubt but that the end of this epoch on which we enter to-day will be the beginning of a new and better time for America and for the world. And the determination of this Nation to have its place in a forward movement for the world of such magnitude as this is but the fulfillment of its destined purpose, it is the choice of that "wisdom which is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold." [Applause.]

Mr. VARE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, I have listened with much interest and with great care to the

discussion that has been made for and against this resolution. I want to call attention to a statement made by the distinguished Member from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] when he cast a reflection upon the city of Philadelphia, in which I live, saying that on last Sunday night free speech had been interfered with by the police authorities. I want him to understand that the people of Philadelphia are law-abiding, God-loving, and God-fearing people. They devote the first day in the week to the exercise of their religious rites. We have a regulation in that city that when any extraordinary meetings are held there must be permission applied for to the regular authorities. I will ask the Clerk to read a telegram from the Director of Public Safety in Philadelphia.

The Clerk read as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Hon. WILLIAM S. VARE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Under the rules of the department of public safety meetings in theaters on Sunday are forbidden unless a request for same is approved by the department, and then only when no charge for admission is made. No application for the peace meeting of Sunday last, scheduled to take place at the Broad Street Theater, was made to the department. That no intention to abridge the right of free speech existed is established by the fact that those interested in the peace meeting went to the Forrest Theater, one city block away, where a permit had been issued for a religious service, and the leaders of the peace meeting were permitted without interference to address the audience.

WILLIAM H. WILSON,
Director of Public Safety.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] spoke of a parade in the great city of Chicago on Saturday last. He said a great multitude of people had lined up on the sidewalk and there were no demonstrations and no applause. I was not present, but I am quite convinced as a patriotic Member of this House that his statement is correct, but I do not believe that that silence was from lack of sympathy with this Government. I do not believe that the silence was a lack of sympathy for the President of these great United States. At the same time the parade was going on in the city of Chicago there was a great meeting in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, within the shadow of the liberty bell, within a stone's throw of where the Declaration of Independence was signed, and hundreds of thousands of Philadelphia citizens turned out in a mass and pledged their loyalty to this great Nation of ours and to the President of the United States. [Applause.]

I represent in this House the most stalwart Republican district in this whole country, a district in what is known as the southern part of Philadelphia, which gave Charles E. Hughes nearly 40,000 Republican majority as candidate for President of the United States. Last Saturday a Republican club, of which I have the honor to be a member, paraded upon our streets, and 5,000 men marched behind a picture of Woodrow Wilson, testifying their loyalty to the President in this crisis. We have heard much about peace. We are all for peace. God grant it might be possible to secure it, but we are beyond that stage. Our country is in a state of war now, and we will be officially in a state of war to-morrow.

The only question which this House is called upon to answer, to my mind, is whether the Nation is to preserve its rights under international law or whether it is to submit tamely to the deliberate abrogation of these rights?

Upon the answer to this question, which the Members of Congress will give, depends not merely the security and welfare of native-born Americans, but the security and welfare of naturalized citizens, and even those who, although not citizens, have sought liberty and freedom in the United States.

Most of the immigrants who came here did so because they wanted greater freedom and liberty in the pursuit of happiness. Their interest in the maintenance of the rights of America is as clear and definite as that of the native-born citizen.

For months a state of war has existed between the United States and Germany. The situation has not been of the choosing of the United States. Germany has admitted that she has disregarded our rights under international law. She has said that she has been forced to her course of ruthless submarine warfare to protect her own rights. She has forced a situation in which we are now compelled to protect our rights.

The passage of a resolution proclaiming to the world that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany will not be the act that provokes war. It will merely be a formal recognition of what the people of this country and the whole world already know. The acts that brought about the state of war which now exists were committed by Germany. She knew the result of those acts when they were committed, because this Government warned her of the consequences, not once, but many times through a period of two years.

There is but one way to preserve peace now and that is by tame submission to aggression. If we are willing to see our ports blockaded, our ships swept from the seas, and hundreds more of our citizens killed without a chance for escape, we can defeat the President's effort to uphold the honor of the Nation. But if we want to preserve American lives and American rights we must deal with a big problem in a big way.

There should be no half-hearted measures, based upon a hope that the situation will right itself. That hope, entertained as it has been for more than three years, has left us unprepared.

If there had been more foresight, if Germany had been convinced at the beginning that this country was prepared to defend its rights aggressively, I doubt whether there would have been the violation of our rights that has brought about a state of war.

Now that the situation is here, we should face it frankly and unhesitatingly. The natural leader of the country at a time like this is the President of the United States. He has shown such infinite patience that there can be no question now that if there were any other way out consistent with the national honor he would have found it. But there is no other way out. We are formally recognizing a condition which is already existent. Germany is making war against the United States. She is torpedoing our vessels on sight. She has announced that she would do it, and she is doing it. The Chancellor of Germany has notified the world that there will be no change in this policy, which provides for the ruthless sinking of American ships. There is but one answer we can make to this war against us, and that is to defend ourselves with all the strength at our command.

So long as there was any hope of peace, with honor, I was for peace. I urged with all my strength that in these times of world stress we should prepare for national defense. Little was done because of the vague hope that peace might be disturbed by preparedness. That foolish belief has made doubly necessary the preparations that are being made now. But in preparing fully for the present situation we will prevent the recurrence of the present dangerous situation in the years to come. If we prepare fully now, no nation can say in the future that hasty remedies are directed against any particular nation.

I believe we should go into the contest that has been forced upon us face forward. We should not back in. I believe we should be prompt and liberal with appropriations. Preparedness costs more to-day than it would have cost three years ago, but we can not count the cost for preserving American lives and American honor.

Since war has been thrust upon us we must organize efficiently, so that the sacrifices which must be made will not be made in vain. In all belligerent nations the highest form of efficiency has been demanded by the people from the government. Officials who have not been efficient have been swept aside. Inequalities and special privileges have been eradicated. So it must be in the United States.

I believe in universal military service, because it is the only military system suitable to a democracy, because it involves the least amount of hardship and an equal distribution of the burden. Under any other system there is danger that the men most needed at home, those, for instance, who are trained in the manufacture of munitions, would be the first to respond to a call for volunteers, while those who should enroll, those without responsibilities, would be the ones to stay at home. Personal convenience must be subordinated to the national welfare, and universal military service should be adopted at once, so that equality may be the order of our national life in this trying period.

There should also be a thorough understanding and working agreement between the United States and the other allies; otherwise we will become a hindrance rather than a help. If we go about it the right way we can equip and supply an Army of our own without withholding the supplies we are now sending to the allies, whose men are already trained. A department of munitions should be created at once, separate from the War Department. Muntions and supplies constitute a manufacturing problem. The War Department has enough to do in handling the problems of organization and strategy. England learned this lesson a year after the war began. We should profit by England's experience and handle the problem in the right way without loss of time or energy.

We should stand with the President and cooperate with all who are reaching for one common purpose. Let us pray that the combination of all the resources at our command will bring the conflict to a successful, speedy conclusion. [Applause.]

Some one has said that "if you have a wishbone where your backbone ought to be, then you should wish for peace; but if you

have a backbone where your backbone ought to be, then you must fight for peace," and I believe the American manhood will support the President for peace. [Applause.]

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Chairman, Congress has the sole power to declare war. This responsibility rests upon this membership and not upon the President. This, the greatest of all questions, rests heavily upon my conscience. I stand here to-day in a representative capacity. My vote is the vote of my people. My conviction is that a great majority are opposed to this broad declaration of war.

I know that we stand upon the brink of war, but it has not yet been declared, and until it is declared we hope that it may yet be avoided. If this matter could be postponed for 10 days, this awful tragedy might be avoided. Germany has again and again declared that she has no hostile intent against our people. The press reports from Berlin state that "Germany will not declare war nor take any steps to wage war against the United States."

These people bear no enmity toward our people. Why, then, should we hasten this sweeping declaration of war? Is there no escape from this tragedy? The door is still open; let us not close it. The statesmanship of this country ought to find some way to avoid it.

I do not seek to justify the belligerent nations that have trampled upon our international rights. We know that they have sorely tried the patience of all neutral nations.

This resolution is unlimited in its powers. It directs the President to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and all its resources to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Germany and pledges the resources of the country to an unlimited warfare.

It means the sending of thousands of our young men into the European trenches, there to offer up their lives in a combat against a people that bears us no evil. It means a European partnership and an entangling alliance, which we have avoided since the days of Washington. It means we are to finance the allies' campaign and become a full partner in this awful strife. It means that we will prolong the war and stir up strife and hate among the people of the world. It will put to a severe test our own democracy.

It is said that we must establish a world democracy, yet the morning papers state that the Reichstag by a vote of 277 to 38 passed a measure providing for the appointment of a constitutional committee of 28 members to revise and liberalize the constitution of the German Empire.

In my judgment it is a fateful blunder to shoot universal democracy into the people of the Old World; a big task, one that is not easily consummated. We ought to content ourselves with enforcing the Monroe doctrine on this continent and leave the Old World countries to manage their own affairs. For 2,000 years we have had the teachings of Christ, founded on love, and they have failed to establish universal democracy. Why, then, do we think that Congress can establish it by its decrees?

Thirty million people are now engaged on the battle fields. Why is it that we long so to get into a fight that does not concern us? Five million men have already lost their lives, and we must now call on the youth of our own country for a greater sacrifice.

I do not at this time approve of sending our boys to the trenches of Europe nor the forming of a partnership alliance with any nation of Europe. We have in the past successfully gone alone; let us continue that policy.

If any nation sought to invade our country we could raise an Army of 25,000,000 men for defensive purposes, to eject those who would set hostile foot upon our soil.

In view of these facts, I shall exercise my constitutional right of voting against a resolution giving unlimited powers.

I know this resolution is going to pass, but it is too broad; it has no limit. It means everything to this Nation. But when it does pass it will become the duty of every citizen to uphold the hands of the Executive. Their loyalty, their Americanism will not be questioned. We will all remain a unit in giving support to the war and will remain a united people with common purposes and aspirations. [Applause.]

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I am perfectly well aware that anything that I may say at this late hour will not have any influence upon the action of the House on this resolution; but this resolution is a matter of such tremendous importance that I am not willing to vote upon it without being allowed to give some of the reasons influencing my action, even though the time afforded me be very brief. No more important resolution could possibly come before Congress. No resolution of such great importance has come before Congress during the service of even the oldest Member upon the floor of this House, and it does seem to me that Members should be patient and should permit the representatives of the people upon a matter of this importance to express their views upon it before they are called to vote.

I shall vote for the resolution as it came from the Senate. I am opposed to the pending amendment. As stated, Congress has no authority, in my opinion, to limit the power of the President in the disposition of the Army and the Navy after war has been declared. I do not believe that it will be necessary to send our troops to Europe. I certainly trust that it will not be necessary and that it will not be done; but neither do I believe that in the very beginning of the conflict, which I hope will be short, and which may be long, the Congress by solemn act should indicate to Germany and to the world that it does not intend in this war to do everything necessary to carry it to a successful conclusion. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, as I say, I shall vote for the pending resolution. I shall do so with a full and solemn sense of the responsibility resting upon me as a Member of Congress. I do not in any way seek to deceive my own mind as to the possibilities which may follow a declaration of war, although I have no doubt as to the ultimate result. If the United States enters the war, it must be with a firm purpose to achieve its object and make every necessary sacrifice to that end. We hope for an early and favorable conclusion, resulting in the destruction of militarism and the establishment of a durable peace throughout the world. We hope that in the full performances of its duty our country may not be called upon to sacrifice much, either in blood or in money; but, having entered, we must be prepared to pursue it to the end and until the honor of the Nation has been vindicated and the purpose of our participation accomplished. Personally, Mr. Chairman, I have been very much opposed to our country becoming involved in the hostilities of Europe. I had fondly hoped that war might be averted with entire honor to our Nation, and have contributed what I could to that end. For nearly three years the President of the United States, with a patience and forbearance, a wisdom and a patriotism which stamp him one of the greatest Presidents this country has ever had, has stood like a rock for the preservation of our peace and at the same time to maintain our national honor and the respect of all the other nations of the world, which is so essential to the future existence and influence of our own Nation. In his address to Congress he has furnished facts showing that war has been made upon us in the slaughter of our citizens and the destruction of our ships and commerce, and has declared that he has information, as the head of the Nation, which requires this step to be taken in defense of our plain international rights and in the cause of humanity. That Congress will follow his counsel and advice there can be no doubt. We are already actually in a state of war; and I believe it to be the duty of every Representative to vote for this resolution. There should be no division in this crisis.

The impression should not be given to the world that there are any serious differences existing among the Members of Congress. On the contrary, the world should know that we are united in support of our flag and all that it symbolizes, for in that fact lies our greatest strength and force in the serious and solemn undertaking which now confronts us. The President, as the accepted and trusted head of the Nation, has declared its policy and attitude with respect to its rights upon the seas. There are but two courses for Congress to pursue—either to sound a retreat and abjectly surrender the rights which have been so firmly asserted, or to stand firmly in support of them. For my part, I propose to stand by the President of the United States and my country.

I am fully aware that Germany is not the only one of the belligerents which has been disregardful of the rights of our commerce upon the high seas, as has been shown by the treatment accorded to the shipments of a great product of the soil of the section from which I come. But, Mr. Chairman, commerce is not to be considered on the same plane as human life and the rights of humanity. The President has declared that this is not to be a war for the acquisition of either territory or power; it is not to be a war against the people of any nation. It is to be a war against the autocratic government of a nation which has defied the international rights of our people and the rights of humanity in general. If our participation in this war will result in the lasting and durable peace of the world during the years to come, the dethronement of autocratic rule and militarism, and the enthronement of democracy among all the nations of the world, then, indeed, will our sacrifices, whatever they may be, not have been in vain. These things are worth while, even though it may be necessary to fight for them.

As I have stated, Mr. Chairman, this action has been thrust upon us. It is not of our choosing. We are now in a state of war. Conditions have been brought about so that there is noth-

ing else that Congress can do. It will be an American war for the preservation of American rights and ideas, and with no other object or purpose.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Chairman, it is impossible to exaggerate the gravity and importance of the step we are about to take. On the passage of this resolution we instantly change from a neutral to a belligerent power. We declare war on Germany, and from that moment every man, woman, and child within our dominions and owing allegiance becomes an enemy of the German Government and nation, and to bring the conflict to a successful termination the lives of our citizens and all the resources of our country are pledged. It is impossible to avoid this result. The President has already decided that a state of war exists, and has recommended this action in the strongest possible terms. The Senate, by an overwhelming majority, has voted it. This body in a few hours will also pass the resolution.

The President has conducted the affairs of this Nation with relation to those engaged in that great war in Europe to the best of his judgment. He has tried his best, he has said, to keep us out of that war. I have believed, and now believe, that a better way might be found out of our present difficulties, and, if it were in my power to choose such a way, I would gladly do it. During years that I have been a Member of Congress I have sought to promote the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. I voted for the McLemore resolution to warn our citizens off belligerent ships. That was to avoid occasion for war. Had that course been followed, we might not now be confronted with this crisis. On the 26th of February last the President of the United States addressed Congress, and, after recounting the relations between Germany and the United States and the failure of diplomatic means to protect neutral rights, he said:

> There may be no course but to armed neutrality which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

He further said:

> I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

I voted for the bill embodying these recommendations, and I took occasion to say that it did not mean authority to begin war, but was a peace measure. Now the President says armed neutrality is impracticable. Evidently he was mistaken when he thought there was great efficacy in it and when it was almost treason for Senators to filibuster against it.

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. DILLON] reminded us of the fact that the war power is in the Congress. That is true, theoretically. He overlooked the fact, however, that the authority and power of the Chief Executive of the Nation over the foreign affairs and relations of the Nation are so complete that he can and sometimes does create situations that make it the imperative duty of Congress to support him. Otherwise we would occupy an impossible position toward the rest of the world. For instance, take the situation two or three years ago when a resolution was asked by the President authorizing him to employ the military and naval forces of the United States to demand reparation for indignities suffered in Mexico. Before that resolution had passed the Senate our military forces had entered the domain of that nation and hostilities had been commenced. How could the Senate of the United States, in the face of that situation, refuse to pass the resolution giving the Chief Executive authority to employ those military forces? To have done so would have been to place us in a most embarrassing attitude, for killing under such circumstances would be unlawful.

In the present situation Congress must follow his recommendations to—

> declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States.

To repudiate his management of our foreign relations would be a course so humiliating before the world that no patriotic citizen would follow it except under circumstances so extraordinary as to be inconceivable. The result is that Congress practically has no choice, for the Nation has already been committed to a definite course. The President's address begins with the following sentence:

> I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

Then follows a recital of the grievances against Germany and the conclusion that Congress must declare war and the country assume the status of a belligerent.

I have read the address most carefully, but I am unable to see wherein Congress has been left any choice of policy whatever. He states that there are serious "choices of policy" to be made, but the only conclusion to which he comes is that Germany has committed acts of war, has actually begun war on us, and he recommends that we recognize and declare this fact. The only allusion there is to any other course is in the following words:

> There is one choice we can not make we are incapable of making—we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our Nation and our people to be ignored or violated.

No patriotic citizen can choose this course. I submit therefore that in the present situation, Congress has not the free choice of declaring or not declaring war. The truth is that so complete and all-embracing has the control of our Chief Executive over our foreign relations become that the power to declare war, vested in Congress by the Constitution, has become practically impossible of exercise. I regret that the representatives of the people are thus placed; that they have no choice except between repudiation of the whole administration of our foreign affairs and supporting what is proposed to be done. In these circumstances, knowing that it is impossible to avoid war and that it is a time when every loyal citizen must support the Government, I feel in duty bound to vote for this resolution. The people of Minnesota are for peace, but, having reached a position through the leadership of our chosen Executive where we have no choice except between our country and its enemies, they stand as one man for the flag. In the War of the Rebellion, when Abraham Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers, Minnesota, then a new State, was the first to offer a regiment in defense of the Union, and out of its frontier homes came the men who constituted the First Minnesota, whose undying fame at Gettysburg and other bloody fields of battle constitute a rich legacy of honor and glory to the people of the State and Nation. So, when the first call comes in this war, Minnesota will respond gallantly and bravely and do its full share in the great struggle to come.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Chairman, it was a matter of keen regret to me that the vote upon this resolution could not have been taken before the hands of the clock passed the hour of midnight, and I felt that it were better if its further consideration and final vote might be delayed until Saturday or even Monday, because, Mr. Chairman, in the trenches, where death stalks about in a grim and ghastly search for his victims, the religious fervor of those so solemnly engaged there, no matter what their respective creeds may be, is especially intensified upon this, the sacred anniversary of the crucifixion of Christ and the glorious ascension of our Redeemer. So, Mr. Chairman, if by chance the wonderful epistle to humanity delivered by the President in this Chamber last Monday evening has been disseminated among or its spirit has even permeated the ranks of the forces of the central powers, it may have the effect of arousing the German Government, which I do not use in the sense of including the German people, from their barbaric trance, restore their enlightened senses, and reestablish the precepts of civilization, just as the beacon light of divine right of the people set all Russia aflame with a new era of liberty and freedom.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is no prejudice, no superstition, or call it what you will, that I will not endeavor to cast out or put aside to discharge upon such a solemn and serious occasion as this what is first above all my bounden duty to my country and the constituency which I represent, and come what may I now have no hesitancy in voting for the right upon the consideration of this resolution, no difference what the day or what the hour. For, Mr. Chairman, as I have sat here and reflected upon this momentous question, there has appeared to me to be great significance in the fact that nearly 19 centuries ago Christ gave His life upon the cross that mankind might gain the Kingdom of Heaven, while to-night we shall solemnly decree the sublimest sacrifice ever made by a nation for the salvation of humanity, the institution of world-wide liberty and freedom.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] referred rather disparagingly to the practice of taking a census of one's constituency. It is a practice which I adopted in my first term as a Member of this House. Last Friday I again sent a communication to every one of the 32,700 registered voters in my district, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 29, 1917.*

MY DEAR SIR: The President of the United States has called a special session of the Sixty-fifth Congress to convene on Monday, April 2, 1917. In conformity with the precedent which I established when I took office as a Member of Congress two years ago, I am writing to invite

you to give me your opinion with respect to the international situation, which will be presented to the Congress for its determination.

The point upon which I should like chiefly to hear from my constituents is whether, in the event of a declaration of war by or against the German Empire, the United States should (1) afford the allies financial assistance, (2) send an expeditionary military force to Europe, or (3) confine our activities to the operations of our Navy, retaining our land forces to repel invasion or for other domestic protection?

* * * * * * *

Yours, very truly,

MURRAY HULBERT.
Representative Twenty-first Congressional District, New York.

This is "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and I have a very high estimate of the intelligence of my constituents, and justified confidence in their good judgment, and sincerely appreciate their earnest desire to be helpful to me in the discharge of the sacred trust they have reposed in me. From the thousands of replies that have been received, the greater number of which indicate a clear conception of the issues involved, and, except in a few cases, a sincere, unselfish, and patriotic opinion thereon, it is apparent to me that the people of the twenty-first congressional district are in favor of a declaration of war, and while the majority are now opposed to sending American boys to the trenches, their devotion to their country and their loyalty to its Chief Magistrate when the declaration of war has been formally made will prompt them to support whatever may be necessary in order to achieve the complete success of our forces.

I had hoped that the President would be able to keep us out of war, as I am satisfied that he has done his best to do; I have always been opposed to any entangling alliances with foreign nations. But we are confronted with a condition and not a theory which, in my opinion, can best and only properly be made by a union for "the common defense." In his last address to the Congress the President said:

> There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission, and suffer the most sacred rights of our Nation and our people to be ignored and violated.

As the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy he has, in the exercise of his constitutional right, informed us what measures he believes should be taken in the maintenance and defense of those rights; but we, in the exercise of our constitutional rights, have a duty to perform in determining what in the interest of our country is necessary to be done, and my vote with this reservation shall be for the resolution as it passed the Senate.

In conclusion, I desire to submit the following tribute to

OUR FLAG.

[By D. R. O'Brien.]

The Red, the White, the Blue,
Our flag, Red, White, and Blue,
To thee, fair flag, we are, and always will be true.
Through all our days
To thee
The loyalty that's due
We'll pay eternally,
Our flag, Red, White, and Blue,
Our treasured banner fair, the Red, the White, the Blue.

In all the changing years,
Befraught with hopes and fears,
No stain upon thy glorious field appears;
Ah! dear Red, White, and Blue,
Our loved Red, White, and Blue,
To thee fair flag, we are, and always will be true.
Time only brought
To thee
A fame that fairer grew
With each new century.
Old flag, Red, White, and Blue,
The flag of freedom's cause, the Red, the White, the Blue.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Chairman, I shall support this resolution and vote against any amendment to it. [Applause.] Intimations have been held out that the Members of this great body would not be willing to fight for their country. That is a reflection upon every Member of this House that is without justification. The men who are willing to fight through the ranks, who accept the opportunities that our splendid Government affords them to become Members of this great body, are not selfish enough to be slackers and not be willing to perpetuate those opportunities for others who may follow. We went to Cuba and to the Philippines to free the people there and to enable them to enjoy the opportunities that we have. If necessary to maintain the freedom of this glorious country, there is no place to which we would not go. I hope that it will not be necessary to leave our country, but I vote for this resolution with the full realization of that possibility. I hope that this great war will come to a close within six months, as some predict. I do not believe that it will. I do not think that our entrance into it will shorten it to any great degree.

Germany has been the wonder of this great war. Numerically she is stronger to-day in the field than she was when she started, and on the sea she is more powerful than before the war. She may be retreating now, but it is for a better foothold, and we must not be deceived into thinking that we are going into a ping-pong game when we enter into this great tragedy. We have been a peaceful nation, a patient, forbearing one. We have endured many insults. We have had women, children, and men ruthlessly killed. We have seen our ships torpedoed one after the other, and every effort has been made in our endeavors to induce Germany to cease her warfare upon us, but without avail. There is only one thing for us to do now, and that is stand up and defend our rights, protect the lives of our citizens, or lie down and permit a further trampling upon us, a further killing of our people, and a further destruction of our property. We must fight or run. I believe the time has come for us to fight, to insist upon our rights being respected, to insist on the protection of our property, to insist that our people shall not be killed. I represent a district in which there are many thousands of Germans and the sons and daughters of Germany, splendid citizens. Naturally they have been in sympathy with the fatherland. I know how their heartstrings will be hurt; but they are Americans. They have not defended the ruthless conduct of Germany. They are not in sympathy with its attacks upon us, and when we announce to-morrow morning that we are at war with Germany their duty will be clear and their allegiance unquestioned. [Applause.]

Permit me to sound a note of warning. One of the great, vital questions immediately confronting us is that of food. Wheat has already gone above the $2 mark per bushel. Cotton is up to 20 cents. Foodstuffs must be conserved and the people safeguarded against those who would take advantage of this crisis to enrich themselves. The world faces a shortage of food that will become more acute. The surpluses of the past bountiful seasons have been exhausted. Crops of the extent of other years will not be sufficient, and every effort must be made to increase them, that our people may have proper sustenance at reasonable prices. It is the duty of the Government at once to give thought to this question and to benefit by the experience of the countries in Europe now at war. Action can not safely be postponed. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, the time for talking, for discussion, for argument, for differences of opinion as to war or peace has passed. The imperative duty of the hour is for every true American to do a man's part for the honor of the Nation, for the glory of the flag, for the triumph of law and humanity, for the vindication of the rights of every citizen of the Republic. The President who kept us out of war for more than two years now sounds the tocsin of war. He appeals to the Congress and the American people to follow him in a contest to maintain the invaluable and time-honored rights of our citizens, to uphold and make good the blessings of justice, liberty, and protection beneath the glorious flag of our country on land and sea. In this Republic of free speech, where political and other differences exist, on the passage of the pending declaration of war there will be but one sentiment, one thought, one united, harmonious people, from ocean to ocean, willing and ready to make every human, every earthly sacrifice for the honor, dignity, and glory of the Nation; for world-wide democracy, for the universal brotherhood of mankind, for a boundless humanity, for the vindication and enforcement of international law, for equal and exact justice to all men. We can not escape our solemn responsibility to maintain and safeguard the priceless Government established by Washington, and his compatriots, and preserved by Lincoln and his invincible heroes. Such a Government is worth fighting for, worth dying for. If necessary, every patriot, every freeman, every American, will draw his sword to uphold, vindicate, and make good the wise and patriotic stand taken by our President in his address to Congress on last Monday.

Our great leaders Wilson, Taft, and Roosevelt insist we can not shirk, we can not retreat, we can not back down.

The brave, generous, and patriotic people I represent as a Member of this House desire peace with all the world, but peace only with honor, without yielding a single cherished right, without compromising the dignity of the Nation, without confessing to the world our unwillingness to protect the lives of American men, women, and children, at home or abroad, without admitting that we are too cowardly to fight when, without cause or excuse, war is made upon us. For Tennesseeans not to do their loyal and patriotic duty under the circumstances history would justly brand us as unworthy of the rich heritage, the imperishable glory handed down to us by countless thousands of heroes, who fought with John Sevier at Kings Mountain, Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, Farragut and Forrest in the Civil War.

The Volunteer State, which in every war has furnished more than its quota of soldiers for the armies of the Republic, will maintain its unsullied record in the coming war with Germany. Its splendid people are not lacking in love of country, devotion to the flag, unceasing fidelity, and exalted patriotism. [Applause.]

Mr. MAGEE. Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to make a speech. The pending question is too serious and momentous to create such desire. I merely want to say a word, stating my position, because I feel it my duty to do so.

I have always been against war. Any war of aggression is, in my judgment, barbarous, un-Christian, and uncivilized. It shocks the sense of right and justice to see great nations using and concentrating their tremendous power solely in the destruction of property and of human life.

The question, however, "Can war be averted?" has been answered, because a state of war has existed for some time between Germany and the United States. The Stars and Stripes flying upon merchant ships, unarmed and engaged in peaceful pursuits upon the high seas where they had the lawful right to be, have been ruthlessly attacked without warning, the ships and their contents sent to the bottom of the sea, with the resultant loss of the lives of many American citizens.

While under the Constitution the power to declare war is vested in Congress, yet the policy of the executive branch of the Government may create such a condition of affairs as to leave no discretion to Members of Congress in the premises. Such a condition exists to-day. There is no alternative.

One of Rome's famous legends says, "Let what each man thinks of the Republic be written on his brow." I speak in the spirit of that injunction, with malice toward none and charity for all. We are willing to make all necessary sacrifices for our country. We have not been proally nor pro-German; we have been Americans, for America first, last, and all the time. [Applause.]

I have always been fond of the German people, and I can not believe that they approve of the murder and assassination of women and children and noncombatants upon the high seas.

I deeply feel that this is a time when we should show not by words but by action that we are Americans in the fullest sense of the word; that we are worthy of American citizenship; and that we are determined to uphold at all times, at all places, at all cost, and at all hazards the dignity, the honor, the rights, and the traditions of our country. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. DALE] is recognized.

Mr. DALE of Vermont. Mr. Chairman, for our country, which has never lowered its flag to another, there are but two courses through an international crisis. With it, in a vital issue, where diplomacy ends war begins. The German Empire had the impression that diplomacy would reach with our Government far beyond the limit endurable to a self-respecting nation, or else the imperial statesmen directed affairs with a purpose to end with our country diplomatic relations. It matters not to us whether in Germany the impression that would hold this Government in dishonor or the purpose to force us to the defense of our national obligations was the final cause of the present necessity. It is not material now whether on the part of either Government negotiation more skillful or perception more clear might have avoided the conclusion that has been reached.

The discussion of causes is not important, for the time is passed for the selection of a course. An American would die rather than lower the flag. Diplomacy has been exhausted to keep it afloat unstained. All the logic of statesmanship opens but one way. Members who say they will not vote for the pending resolution stand on a rule of conduct that has been discarded—it was diplomacy. The conditions of the time demand a new rule of action—it is war. Before the declaration that opens to that inevitable course I stand appalled. I approach it in expectation that it will lead to all that the President indicated in his message. The flag on land, on sea, and overseas, and with it learning the deepest sense of adoration for—

Your flag and my flag,
Your boys and my boys.

I stand in awe before the requirement, but face it as I would death shorn of its doubt of immortality. I can not evade the call; it is useless to question as to the reason, and I respond to it in the spirit of the immortal hope without which men ought not to live or die.

Supporting this responsibility, than which none of more public consequence can ever be required of me, I feel the influence of all the history of my State and I know what is desired and expected of me by its people. Vermont, constant to the basic principles of the Government by having transmitted through generations the heroic traits of forebears from the fields of the Revolution; faithful to the Union by sacrifice of more men in proportion to its population than any other State; loyal to the cause of human liberty in 1898 by quick response of volunteers and service of a native son whose name will live to inspire the Navy; Vermont, still true to Americanism by appropriating a million dollars for defense and calmly turning to the business of raising regiments after its legislators had sung—

My country, 'tis of thee,
Land of the noble free.

There is with me no difficulty of decision or fear of consequences. This Nation, the first permanent Republic, is now ready to maintain its principles, protect its citizens, and accept the opportunity to help liberate the last oppressed people on the earth. As the Speaker has said, "We will stay here till sun-up to complete our duty," for we believe that here begins the end of that day's business which will make true democracy a defense to our own people, an unconquerable desire in all the nations of the earth, and the first real hope of the sun-up of universal, lasting peace. When American citizens shall again feel that their lives are sacred to their Government and their flag is respected in every land and on the sea; when political and religious liberty in Russia shall have swept the Siberian prisons to their place in history with the Bastile; when all the skill and power of the German people shall have failed in tyranny and become strong in benevolence; when the hand of the Turk shall have been struck from the throat of the Armenian and the shrine of Christendom this Nation will be proud that the Stars and Stripes went anywhere with the colors of any ally to help bring this to pass. To the accomplishment of all this, and much more, we dedicate this Nation to-night, believing that from our action there will come forth a more united, heroic, and spiritual America that freely met the requirement to give of its immense resources and splendid manhood and womanhood unto the death for the sublime result to the world. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. PRICE] is recognized.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, at this late hour I shall not take more than a minute or two of the time of the committee.

This is a solemn hour in the history of this country, and I do not feel that I should cast my vote on this resolution without saying a word.

I represent a constituency as peace-loving and as peaceful as any constituency in this Republic. And yet they do not want peace at any price. I agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN] when he says that 90 per cent of the American people want peace. But, my friends, there is a big difference between wanting peace and refusing to fight when we are insulted. Of course we want peace. The American people all want it. There is not a man within the sound of my voice who does not desire peace, and yet that does not feel that we should subject ourselves to insult and injury without resenting it. I just want to leave this thought with you, that to refuse to pass this resolution would be a national humiliation. To pass it with a large vote against it would be a national calamity. To pass this amendment that is offered here would be a national shame and humiliation, for to-morrow morning on the bulletin boards in Berlin and all over Germany would be standing out the news that the American people and the American Congress were divided and that they were not standing solidly behind the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of this great country. [Applause.]

Do you want to offer encouragement to the enemy? Three days ago we stood here and held up our hands to heaven and took the oath that we would defend and protect the Constitution of the United States against all foreign and domestic enemies. [Applause.] Does any man in the sound of my voice pretend that Germany is a friend of this country? Can any man read the history of her doings during these past few months and say that she is our friend? Would you say that a country which had murdered our citizens, which had sunk several of our ships without warning and in violation of all law and of the laws of humanity, was our friend? Would you say that a Government which had plotted in our country to destroy our sovereignty was our friend? I say to you, my fellow citizens and gentlemen of this House, that when you cast a vote against this resolution you are casting a vote to encourage the enemies of your country. [Applause.] And just in proportion as the vote is cast against this resolution, just so far are you encouraging the enemies of the American Nation. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] is recognized.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, every Member here fully realizes that it is now beyond the power of argument to stay the passage of this resolution. In so far as the admittedly inevitable result of this debate is concerned it is but a painful waste of time to speak upon the question. But, Mr. Chairman, it is a vital issue of such tremendous importance that I feel it is the duty of every Member, one that he owes to himself, to the good people whom it is his honor to represent, and to his country, not to conceal but fearlessly to make known his stand upon this momentous question.

While I differ with them and shall vote for the resolution, nevertheless my heart has been stirred to its uttermost recesses, and I have been deeply and profoundly impressed with the opposing position first outlined so masterfully in this debate by the eminent gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER]. I can not agree with the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] that such position is one of disloyalty to this Nation, for in my judgment it is one born of deep, conscientious conviction, prompted by a courageous heart bravely pulsating with love for and duty to humanity. It does not require strong men to drift with the tide, and none less than the bravest of the brave can fight a losing battle, knowing beforehand its outcome and probable future personal disaster. And, Mr. Chairman, I desire to predict that after this resolution has been passed, which it will be with few dissenting votes, and war has been declared, none but a loyal, valorous patriot will be able to follow the illustrious gentleman from North Carolina, our honored, beloved, and distinguished Democratic leader of the House [Mr. KITCHIN] in his hearty support of that star-spangled flag, which in all of its history has never yet been conquered or dishonored with impunity.

I shall support the resolution, not merely because it is the President's policy, for each of us can not escape the constitutional responsibility placed upon us individually, but more because I believe that it is the policy of our peace and liberty loving, peace and liberty establishing, peace and liberty compelling Nation of American people.

The opposition does not argue that our boys are unwilling to die in defense of their country, or that a declaration of war should be withheld when the provocation is without extenuation, but practically all of the argument massed against the resolution is based upon the following: (1) That the provocation is over 3,000 miles away; (2) that England has many times violated international laws and trampled upon our rights with respect to commercial enterprises, yet during this war we have continued to extend forbearance; (3) that no ordinary situation exists in Europe, but the two great contending combatants, the entente allies and the central powers, are engaged in a life struggle, upon the termination of which depends their future existence, and that the danger zone is dangerous because just now it is a battle field of nations, which extenuates the provocation; (4) that considering the great necessities of the warring factions we might afford just now to waive and not insist upon our commercial rights and our right to travel upon the high seas; (5) that we can not afford to put our boys in one side of the scale against the protection of commercial rights upon a world's battle field in the other; and (6) that the lives of American boys are far more valuable than the privilege of traveling just now in a zone 3,000 miles from home, which has been proscribed and marked off as the battle ground of warring adversaries, which privilege we should be willing to waive, and which provocation we should be willing to forbear temporarily while lasts this great life struggle of the world.

It is a fact that no ordinary situation exists in Europe. It is a fact that half the world is fighting for its very existence. It is a fact that England during this war has many times trampled upon our rights with impunity. It is a fact that if we saw fit we could waive our right to commercial privileges in the war zone and to our privilege of traveling just now upon that portion of the high seas where goes on this struggle. If this were all, I would be willing to listen to the doctrine of extending forbearance during this crisis. And, Mr. Chairman, if it resolved itself into a question of voting my four boys and the boys of my people and my Nation into the trenches merely to protect commercial rights 3,000 miles away, in a tremendous world's crisis like Europe now faces, I would not do it; and, further, if it were merely a question of voting the splendid young manhood of my district and Nation of patriots into a cruel war, to which is known the most modern of all the barbarous and tortuous instruments of death and cruelty, merely to protect the privilege of traveling upon the high sea several thousand miles away, when the life exigencies of nations has made such privilege dangerous, right at this particular time I would not do it. But, Mr. Chairman, there are two reasons, from the compelling influence of which I can not escape, that force me to support the resolution. One is that Germany has deliberately done that which we told her emphatically the doing of which would mean war, and the other is that the crucial provocation is not 3,000 miles away, but exists upon our own soil.

No nation should ever demand of another that which it does not intend to enforce. While I have always believed that the impulsive Mayo demand upon Huerta on April 9, 1914, to salute our flag was trivial, yet when made its compliance should have been enforced. We have made requests of, and protests to, but no demands upon, England. We have made a demand upon Germany in the nature of an ultimatum, and Germany has not only ignored and disregarded it, but premeditatively has done that which she full well realized meant war. To forbear now means dishonor to our country. As the second reason I mentioned that the final provocation was here in our own land.

What means this great hegira of German reservists to Mexico? What means this wholesale drawing of gold from El Paso and American banks and accumulating it across the Rio Grande? What means that purported undisclosed part of the Zimmermann note, kept secret until recently, conveying the startling intelligence that the Imperial German Government will establish submarine bases at Mexican ports, from which will be supplied arms, ammunition, and supplies, ordering all German reservists in the United States to Mexico, with instructions to arrange attacks all along the border? What means this pouring into Mexico, not merely of German soldiers able to fight and carry a gun, but well-trained German officers able to mobilize and train the seasoned battle-field-experienced Mexicans, who not only cherish hatred of generations against us, but who are willing to fight, pillage, and murder under any banner when a small stipend of gold is the daily reward? What means the establishing and operating by skilled Germans of a plant for the manufacture of war munitions in the City of Mexico? What means the unloading by schooners on the Pacific coast within the past few days of German arms and munitions for Mexico? What means the daily organizing and drilling of Mexican soldiers, Villa and Carranza alike, by seasoned German officers? What means the infamous, inconceivable conduct of Count von Bernstorff, Capt. von Papen, Capt. Boy-Ed, and other accredited representatives of the Kaiser in the United States in violating every right recognized by civilized nations with respect to deceit and intrigue? What means the purposed scuttling and deliberate demolishing under orders of German ships interned in our harbors and the ruthless breaking of paroles by German officers and sailors interned on our soil and their escape into Mexico? In my judgment, Mr. Chairman, it unmistakably means but one thing, and that is war. Not war in the limited zone 3,000 miles away, but war by the Imperial German Government upon the Government and erstwhile peaceful and peace-loving people of the United States within our very borders and upon our own sacred soil.

Are we particularly uneasy about the Atlantic coast, fearing the landing there of German spies or armies? No! Are we anticipating danger from the 3,000 miles of Canadian border? No! Are we especially apprehensive about the invasion of our country from that portion of the Pacific coast not contiguous to Mexican possessions? No! But where is our uneasiness, if any we have? In what direction lies our first danger? Where is the mobilization ground for enemy troops, warships, submarine bases, Zeppelins, aeroplanes, munitions, invasions? There is but one answer—Mexico. It is mainly through the land of my birth that our Army is to take its first stand. It is the brave Texas boys who are to see the first active service upon native soil. It is the American citizens who live in Texas who are likely first to realize the great horrors of war, not war which before the dawn of day we are to vote upon our Nation, but grim-visaged war which by German selection has already fastened its fangs into the vitals of our country.

Let us briefly review a few recent border conditions to ascertain what may be expected of Mexico. During the years 1910, 1911, and 1912, 47 American citizens were murdered in Mexico. During the years 1913, 1914, and 1915 the lives of 76 Americans, murdered in cold blood, paid tribute to lawless conditions in Mexico, and during the last three years mentioned 20 civilian Americans and 16 American soldiers were brutally murdered on American soil by Mexicans from across the Rio Grande.

On January 10, 1916, the Santa Ysabel massacre occurred. C. R. Watson and 19 United States citizens, with accredited passports in their pockets, were taken from a train by Mexican bandits, stripped of their clothing and belongings, and then foully murdered. On March 9, 1916, in the darkness of the night, Mexican cutthroats crossed the Rio Grande and upon American soil in Columbus, N. Mex., murdered 17 Americans, and but for timely and efficient resistance would have pillaged and murdered the entire citizenship, including men, women,

and little children. On May 7, 1916, 200 Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande in their raid on Glen Springs, and, by reason of the want of a needed military highway along the border, it took our Cavalry 11 days to go out from Marathon and overtake the leader on May 18, 1916, only 135 miles from the border. Notwithstanding our expenditure of $129,000,000 on the Pershing expedition, Villa, still alive, is apparently ready to join hands with Carranza, under German organization, against us. As far back as the Gadsden treaty of December 30, 1853, Mexico agreed—

that whenever the tranquillity and interior repose of either country shall be threatened or disturbed by unlawful invasions of any of the citizens or subjects of either power against the territory of the other, respectively, they will cheerfully cooperate in their endeavors to suppress all such attempts.

Yet Carranza not only failed to suppress Villa himself but in many instances refused to cooperate with us, and in every way possible hindered and retarded the United States in its efforts to capture him.

On June 2, 1915, the President directed a communication to Mexico, which concluded as follows:

I, therefore, publicly and very solemnly call upon the leaders of factions in Mexico to act, to act together, and to act promptly for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country. I feel it to be my duty to tell them that if they can not accommodate their differences and unite for this great purpose within a short time this Government will be constrained to decide what means should be employed by the United States in order to help Mexico save herself and serve her people.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that by taking prompt and decisive steps to prevent the Imperial German Government from overwhelming Mexico and using its resources in an apparent attempt to Belgiumize the peoples of both Mexico and Texas, the time has come to help Mexico save herself and serve her people, and at the same time reestablish our long-suspended legal rights, ignored and trampled upon by said country.

Let us remember that with a population of 15,000,000, 12,000,000 are poor, ignorant peons. With 30,027,500 acres in cultivation, 43,933,200 acres of forest lands and 120,444,200 acres of pastoral lands, the great mass of Mexican peoples own not a foot of soil and are forced to daily slave for worse than masters at 10 cents a day remuneration. Mexico has 1,572 gold mines, 5,461 silver mines, 970 copper mines, 383 iron mines, 151 mercury mines, 94 lead mines, 86 sulphur mines, 49 zinc mines, 40 tin mines, 21 opal mines, and 73 other mines, yet thousands of her ignorant peoples are starving to death. Their judicial system is one in which the courts decide according to the desires of those in authority and not according to law. Americans have invested in Mexico $500,000,000 in railroads, $125,000,000 in oil, and $50,000,000 in lands, cattle, rubber, and agriculture pursuits, yet to-day the stability of American investments in Mexico is absolutely without rating. Under the newly promulgated constitution vast holdings of American citizens have been unjustly confiscated without notice or hearing.

Let me remind you that when on August 11, 1915, the United States, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Guatemala invited the two warring factions to meet in conference on Mexican frontier to exchange ideas and, if possible, to reach an agreement of peace, Carranza refused. It was Carranza also who refused to ratify the protocol agreed to at Atlantic City on November 24, 1916, and after four months of fruitless efforts the dissolution of the American-Mexican Joint Commission thereby resulted on January 15, 1917.

Let me remind you further that on May 31, 1916, Carranza sent to our Government a sharp note at the same time massing 40,000 troops near the American border.

I mention all of these facts in answering the question, if all of the foregoing has occurred when we were at peace with all the world, what may we not expect now from Germany and Mexico with access to all of the Mexican resources whether we should pass this resolution or not.

What is the portent of the note sent by Carranza to our Government on February 12, 1917? In the light of the chronology I have mentioned, in my judgment, it was incited by and written in the behalf of the German Government, and taken altogether it means war on American soil by the Kaiser from Mexico across the Rio Grande. In such a crisis no Texan will dodge the issue.

I intend to vote for the resolution without amendments, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Congress, realizing full well the awful, dreadful consequences of war, for it can not be avoided honorably; and in passing subsequent legislation to provide necessary means to prosecute this war, I intend to vote to make the factories, commercial enterprises, and railroads that have profited most by this great world war stand the greatest portion of the incident expenses. And I sincerely hope that if Mexico is to be taken charge of by any outside Government it will be done by the United States and not by the Imperial German Government.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. FAIRFIELD] is recognized.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Chairman, at this late hour I shall not take up the time of the House. I shall vote for the resolution. [Applause.]

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I am a new Member of this body. This is my fifth day in Congress, and it would be presumptuous, indeed, in me to address this body did I not think, did I not realize and know that I am right in supporting this resolution. [Applause.]

I come from the far Northwest of this Republic, from Puget Sound, and I bring the greeting that we have patriotism on Puget Sound, in the wonderful young State of Washington, as well as you have and as much as you have in the good old State of North Carolina or in the good old State of Pennsylvania. My people are patriotic to a fault. They will support the President of our country. I did not and do not agree with him politically, but in this controversy I stand by him and my people stand by him. [Applause.]

In his international policy my district believes in him. Last November the good men and women of my congressional district gave him over 12 000 majority; they expressed confidence in him; they emphasized their full and abiding faith in his judgment, and their overflowing confidence in his sagacity and leadership. I can do nothing else than carry out their direction as indicated by their votes. While I have received hundreds of letters and telegrams from the people of my own home city of Seattle not one person in word or suggestion has expressed a lack of faith in the good judgment of the foreign policy of the President. On the contrary over half of these people have asked me to stand by the President and in this crisis support his policy. This I shall do. I have no right, moral or legal, not to do so. My pathway is pointed out to me, my duty is made plain. Had I been left undirected by such an overwhelming expression of confidence in him, I might and perhaps should have considered many things now behind me. My vote shall therefore be in favor of this resolution, and I will take my chance in whatever destiny it may yield. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the hour is late. This resolution has been under continuous debate since mid forenoon. I have heard much bitter denunciation of the conduct of Germany, of its mode of warfare, and of its ultimate purpose. In much of this I agree. There is no doubt of the commission on her part of this long list of violations of the rules of international law. She admits it and pleads military expediency and necessity.

No necessity can apologize for violations of law; no pardon or excuse can come from such sources; no justification for the killing of our people can satisfy our understanding. The President on last Monday stated the position of the American Government and its people. There is a limit to the patience of finite men, and when patience is outworn resentment and punishment are the only recourse.

This is not a war of sentiment. This is a war brought about by the repeated unlawful acts of a nation seemingly wholly reckless of its international obligations. For weeks and weeks acts of war on the part of Germany have filled our Republic with astonishment, even with horror. These must end, Mr. Chairman; no honorable, self-respecting nation can further endure them. America did not bring this war upon the world; we have not brought ourselves into it. Another's hand, not ours, is the hand covered with blood. We have not drawn the sword until after the dagger has been repeatedly thrust at our breast. We have bandaged our wounds; we have undertaken to hide our scars.

We shall bandage no longer; we shall now cease to hide; it is cut and scar in the great open field from now until such wrongs shall not only cease but the nation that brought this conflict on shall be stripped of its sword.

Mr. Chairman, our people have the right to trade with the world. We have the right, undoubted right, to send the produce of the fields and mills throughout the world. The agreed and written law of our civilization—of humanity, if you please—gives us this right.

Germany has agreed to this and has long taken advantage of the same or similar world-wide right. We have done nothing and are doing nothing but that which we have the right to do under the code of civilization—the only rule for the conduct of the world.

Because the Imperial Government of Germany finds it convenient—necessary, if you please—as a military expedient she violates these precepts that she herself has long recognized and which she assisted in having ordained. In these repeated violations she has not only destroyed the property, millions of it,

of our citizens but has taken the lives of our countrymen. No other nation in all the world would have been so patient as ours; no people so slow to utter a protest. The cold facts of events proclaim to a candid world this traditional quality, if I can call it such, of the American Nation and its people. Not only this, but my own city has repeatedly suffered, my people placed in terror. On land and sea one wrong after another have we suffered.

Tell me, Mr. Chairman, by what right, by whose code of ethics, are these things to be justified? No nation has the right to undo of its own volition, however founded in necessity, the rules of safe conduct on the high seas which our civilization was a thousand years in obtaining. No nation has the right to change at her convenience the recognized laws of humanity. I am not for war; no self-poised nor self-controlled person is; no American ever should be. But war is here; it is now and has been thundering at our gates. War long since—acts of war, "overt acts," if you please—overflowing in number, all-abounding in cruelty and wrong.

Mr. Chairman, let every American give ear to the recital by the President of these repeated acts; let every countryman of ours—East, West, North, and South—read them and write the answer in his own heart. Suppose we had been guilty of like acts to Germany and her national rights; suppose the case was reversed and the American Nation had been the guilty party and Germany the sufferer, how long would she have endured such conduct? The answer is written in the instant policy of the German Government.

America is a peaceful Nation. If there is any one great fact that fact is the nonmilitary character of our people. No time nor circumstance can change us; it is inherent in our character, molded in our institutions. We know it, the world knows it. This war is not cast upon us by the German people; it is not their work nor their war. No argument, however subtle, can convince me that the German people would have brought it upon us. The fault lies not with the people but with their Government. The acts of the German Government are not the acts of the German people, for if left to themselves, or had they been consulted, the necessity of this action of defense on our part would never have come about. 'Way back yonder my ancestors came from the valley of the beautiful Rhine. Many, many of us trace our blood to the fatherland; true it is many generations back of us, but it is there just the same. We all regret that we are compelled by the very nature of the acts committed to take this stand so at variance with our natural drift. The remedy is for the German people to direct their Government as we do, and not the Government to direct the people, as is the rule amongst them to-day.

Mr. Chairman, I stand for my country and my country's rights on the high seas, the land, under the sea, and in the air. [Applause.] I vote for this resolution only after the candid consideration of all the facts which our natural patience has endured. I am not impelled by any impulse. My desire is to harm no people, my hope is to injure no institution out of which freedom can possibly have its birth. The conduct of that offending Government alone brings us into this conflict. God grant that all this shall in His good time be changed, until the people who alone do the suffering and who alone do the dying shall rule themselves and be the full and undisputed masters of their course as nations of the earth. Our leadership in the free democracies of the earth must not be taken from us; the corner stone of our national institutions shall not fall.

Mr. Chairman, this is the solemn hour of my life, the darkest day of my existence; the heaviest heart that has ever beaten in my breast is beating now. I think I know, I think I realize, what war means. This war will test the strength of free institutions; it will test the might of our people, but we shall pass that test with every national fiber, however small, securely in its place.

We know not what the future holds for us; we know not what star shall guide us; we can not foretell our destiny; such are the plans of the Infinite. But let us all hope and pray that the Great Unseen Power who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand will guide us, protect us, and bring us unto His keeping with victory and in glory. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. NORTON] is recognized.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, the time for any extended discussion of the question now before the House has passed. It is as certain as that night follows day that the resolution before the House will be adopted, as it has already been adopted by the Senate. War is an abhorrent and terrible thing. Everyone who votes upon this resolution must realize that stupendous and momentous responsibility attending the hurling of this Nation of 100,000,000 people into the inferno of strife and slaughter that the many nations across the Atlantic have engaged in for the past two years. Since the beginning of the European war I have labored unceasingly in every way within my power as a citizen of this country and as a Member of this body to the purpose and to the end that this Nation might not become actively involved in this world war. But unwelcome and abhorrent as it is, war is now inevitable. With the condition that confronts us, now is no time for criticism as to whether a different policy than that which has been pursued might have avoided this war. Now is no time to cry "Peace!" Others may cry peace, but the fact is war is upon us and this fact must be met squarely.

Through no act and through no desire of the people of this country, war has been thrust upon us. We have long patiently borne the insults, the attacks, and the aggressions of the Imperial German Government. Our peaceful merchant ships have been and are being destroyed; our citizens have been and are being sent to eternity without warning and with a wanton ruthlessness such as the civilized world has never before known.

The resolution before the House is plain and explicit in its terms. It commits the country to a policy in defense of American rights and American principals. It proposes no aggression. It is a resolution wholly and entirely in defense of inalienable rights of our citizens which have been ignored and trampled upon upon by the war lords of the Imperial German Government. I shall give my full support to the resolution, because, at this time, as an American citizen, loving my country above all things, no act or action of mine shall be permitted to give aid or comfort to the common enemy. My sentiments on this occasion accord with the words of Decatur: "Our country in her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be right; but our countrty right or wrong."

The paramount question to be kept in mind after this day until the close of this war is to see that the war is conducted by this Nation in such a way as to cause the least possible suffering and hardship to the common people of our country. The burdens of the war should be as evenly distributed among our people as in human nature it is possible to do this. I believe that the financial expense of this war should be placed for the most part upon those who are most able to bear these expenses, and that in so far as it is possible to prevent it no citizen nor group of citizens should be permitted to profit financially from this war and thereby place a heavier burden upon other citizens of the country.

The necessities of this war will require a broad, general, and much-needed adjustment of our systems of production, distribution, transportation, manufacturing, and trade. In accordance with views I hold to be for the best interests of the great mass of the American people, I shall at a proper time present to the Congress for its consideration measures for the taking over and operation by the Government of the railroads, munition plants, and other large industries of the country, and for the establishment of a more thorough nation-wide marketing system to aid in the most efficient and economic production and distribution of food products; such a system to include Federal-owned and controlled elevators, warehouses, and cold-storage plants, to the end that the distribution of all food products shall be made between the producer and consumer with a greater facility and with the least waste and cost. Only under the most efficient organization of our resources of production and our methods of distribution can we most quickly and with the least difficulty carry this war to an early and successful conclusion.

Let us all as true loyal American citizens join heart and hand in this great struggle which is upon us. Let us go forward united in this common cause for humanity and civilization. Let us pursue this war to victorious conclusion, so that a lasting peace, truer happiness and contentment, and greater liberty and freedom may come to all the people of all the nations involved. Let us conduct this war with a spirit and a purpose that will cause future generations in this free land of ours, in all the lands of the entente allies, and as well in all the fair lands of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Danube to long honor and commemorate our course here to-day. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DALLINGER] is recognized.

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for this resolution without amendment, and in so doing I believe I shall represent the wishes of the people of the old historic district of Massachusetts in which is included the route of the famous ride of Paul Revere.

I shall not attempt at this late hour to make a speech, but I shall send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read a letter from the town clerk of the town of Lexington, with accom-

panying resolutions passed by the town meeting of that town in which was shed the first blood in the great struggle for American independence. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

LEXINGTON, MASS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a copy of the resolutions which were passed by the voters of Lexington, Mass., at a town meeting held on March 26, 1917.

A copy has been sent to the President and the town officials thought you might be glad to receive a copy.

Yours, truly,

CHARLES W. SWAN, *Clerk.*

Whereas we, citizens of Lexington, Mass., in town meeting assembled, are ever mindful of the unremitting vigilance and fearless action of those who dwelt here in 1775; and

Whereas we desire to fulfill our responsibility of remaining true and loyal to their memory; and

Whereas, although bearing no malicious hatred toward any ruler, class, race, or nation, we yet determinedly and advisedly condemn the cause of a Government whose present policy is flagrantly abhorrent to American principles; and

Whereas we would not seem ungrateful to those Governments which serve our highest interests and the highest interests of mankind: Therefore be it

Resolved—

First. That we do hereby express our entire and hearty sympathy with the cause of liberty against tyranny, the cause for which the allied Governments of the entente are now fighting;

Second. That we thankfully acknowledge whatever debt we already owe to the armies and to the navies of the said Governments;

Third. That we cordially favor serving the said Governments by granting them loans of money on such favorable terms as shall show our gratitude for their help in the past and in the present;

Fourth. That we openly challenge the attention of such inhabitants of the United States of America as are not, even at this late hour, fully alive to the dangers that threaten the life of the Nation, a challenge uttered to these ends:

(a) That sleeping patriotism may everywhere awaken to an intelligent and loyal public spirit, which shall actively carry out whatever measures are most conducive to the national welfare;

(b) That the foundations of our Government, as laid by the men of old, be not shaken, but that the President and the Congress of the United States of America be consistently supported; and

(c) That the American people, who in 1775 had no difficulty in seeing across the Atlantic Ocean, may have less difficulty in determining their duty while endeavoring to serve, to the extent of their power, the righteous interests of democracy as against autocracy throughout the entire world.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] is recognized.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, from where I stand I am looking upon the emblem back of the Speaker's desk. That is the only flag unfurled to the breeze by any nation now in existence that never bowed to a conqueror. [Applause.] It is 141 years old; and during all of those years it has passed through many struggles and has never been lowered.

Our principles to-day are the same as they were when that flag was given to the world. They were expressed in two world-famous documents. The first was—

Life, liberty, and opportunity for all men.

The second was—

Justice, man to man; welfare to every citizen; and the guaranty of the fruits of freedom to our posterity.

To establish those principles, our forefathers, standing with a scattered 3,000,000 people—men, women, and children—all told, went to war with the Mistress of the Sea. It was not long after that until 10,000,000 went to war again with the Mistress of the Sea for the freedom of the sea. Later on it went through the fires of the greatest civil war that was ever known to man, and to-day it represents more than 100,000,000 of people, no less patriotic, no less courageous, no less American then were they who gave the flag to the country.

And when the challenge comes, from whatever quarter of the world, to defend the principles that that flag stands for, the Nation will be united. We will not know Democrat or Republican and we will know no Jew nor Gentile. We will not be German-Americans, French-Americans, Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, or what not, but it will be Americans, standing for the principles of that flag. [Applause.]

And I believe that while it means war—for this resolution will be passed, and I will vote for it without any amendment—the flag will still be the flag of an unconquered people, because it stands for the rights of all men and asks for wrongs against no man. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Oregon [Mr. SINNOTT] is recognized.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Chairman, in entering into or waging a war other things are necessary besides mere sentiment and oratory. [Applause.] I represent a State which is fourth on the list of States producing wool. For this reason I ask to have read in my time a telegram which I received this evening from the Oregon Wool Growers' Association, showing the wave of patriotism sweeping over my State.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

HEPPNER, OREG., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. N. J. SINNOTT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Notify national defense committee that Oregon wool growers have resolved to act in conjunction with the committee in every way possible. We will urge our members to hold their wool, making the Government a preferred purchaser. We are heart and hand with everything to aid our country in this hour of crisis.

OREGON WOOL GROWERS' ASSOCIATION,
W. B. BARRETT, *President.*

[Applause.]

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Chairman, I desire to refer to another patriotic incident which occurred in my State, in my home town, the town of my birth, on last Sunday. I refer to this incident in view of the fact that the newspapers report that when Ambassador Gerard was leaving Germany one of the German officials insinuatingly referred to the fact that in the United States there were 1,000,000 German citizens, and Ambassador Gerard is said to have retorted, "There are also 1,000,000 lamp-posts in the United States." The remark of the German official would not have been made with such gusto, and the retort of Ambassador Gerard would not have been necessary had the German official known what was to take place in my home town on last Sunday indicative of our German citizens' patriotism. Last Sunday, in my home town of 6,000 inhabitants, there was held a patriotic demonstration attended by 3,000 citizens. Before the demonstration there was a parade. That parade was led by the German citizens of my town, old veterans of the Franco-Prussian war, and their sons. At the head of that parade was carried an American flag, purchased for the purpose by the German citizens of my town. That flag was proudly carried at the head of the procession by a schoolmate of mine, a man born in Germany and educated in my home town.

Ah, the Imperial German Government will get no comfort when it learns the throb of patriotism that will course through the veins of our German citizens to-day. I believe every American citizen of German birth or extraction will exclaim, in the language of the poet:

Though my father's father
Felt hale German blood
Course through his veins,
A satisfying flood;
Yet as for me,
Strong limbed and free,
I'll face the war a man;
Not alien, but American.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oregon has expired. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CAMPBELL] is recognized.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, if my vote against this resolution would avert war I would vote against it. It would not. We are already in a state of war with the Imperial Government of Germany. I am unwilling, therefore, that my vote should be construed as comfort to the enemy that the entire Republic will face when the sun shall rise in the morning. After the adoption of this resolution by the House there will be but one sentiment from sea to sea in the mind of every citizen, whether native or foreign born, within the confines of the Republic, and that will be the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. Therefore, much as I deplore war, I shall record my vote in support of the resolution.

Mr. REED. Mr. Chairman, I feel that my colleagues will be pleased to know that the messages that I get from the western and eastern slopes of the Alleghenies and from the upper valley of the Shenandoah all advise me that West Virginians want to uphold the dignity and honor of the mightiest Republic of time. [Applause.]

And, sir, that is not strange when we recall that about 10 years ago Congress made an appropriation to build a monument the purpose of which was to commemorate the first battle of the Revolution, and that monument was placed on West Virginia soil at Point Pleasant. And in this connection may I remind you that the last battle of the Revolution was fought at Wheeling, on West Virginia soil? And again may I remind you that the first battle of the Civil War was at Philippi, W. Va., where the guns of the Union answered the challenge of Fort Sumter? More than three hundred battles and skirmishes took place on the soil of my native State, and soldiers from the same territory have been on every battle field in defense of human liberty since American independence was proclaimed.

A distinguished gentleman has just referred to that dramatic occasion when the sailors and marines of the several nations

left their battleships and marched to the ancient capital of China to rescue the legations from the Boxer madness. Ah, that was a great procession, with the American marines marching at the head of the column; and it makes the blood course faster in my veins, as I remember, and as history records, that when the rescuers neared Peking, that ancient, walled capital of China, there rushed ahead of the naval forces of the world, Cal Titus, a West Virginia boy, with his mother's Bible in his pocket, who climbed the old wall and was the first to plant Old Glory on the top, a harbinger of hope, an apotheosis of liberty and victory to all the world. [Applause.] I am sure you would expect West Virginia to be loyal in the future as she has been in the past.

The most forceful appeal made by the President's friends in my district in the last campaign was that the election of a Democrat was necessary to back up the President's peace propaganda. As a Republican Member of this House I am now asked to stand by him in a war which he says has already commenced. This I shall do. The people I represent do not want war. God knows I do not want it; but the President says "We are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights." He has presented facts and evidence to sustain his position. Under our form of government to which we acknowledge allegiance the people, every four years, select a President, who is also, under our Constitution, Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. However much we may differ from him on matters relating to our fiscal or internal affairs, it is our duty as Americans to stand loyally by the President in his efforts to protect our country against her enemies wherever they may be found. Our fight, as the President suggests, is not against the great mass of the German people, but against the most conscienceless, cruel, unrelenting form of militarism and despotism known on the face of the earth.

War in any form has always been hideous enough, but language fails us in describing the methods of the Kaiser. He sends demons in human form up into the azure blue of heaven to nullify all of Heaven's precepts and drop missiles of death and destruction upon hospitals that shelter the sick and helpless and upon schoolhouses where little children are singing songs of peace. He crushes Belgium, a friendly little neutral country against which he had no possible grievance, and then sends to the bottom of the sea the food and hospital ships destined to relieve the awful suffering of that brave people. He fills America with spies and sends his hellish emissaries here to stalk through our land with torch and bomb and plan sinister intrigues with Mexico and Japan.

No longer shall we refer to the inquisition and the dark ages as prefiguring the heights and depths of human cruelty and depravity. The Kaiser has shifted the wretched scene to the twentieth century.

I have taken some pains to glean from what I consider reliable sources a few of the public declarations of the Kaiser, made several years prior to this war.

In March, 1905, in a speech at Bremen, the German Emperor declared the aim of the Hohenzollerns to be "a world-wide dominion." In speech after speech, says his biographer, he proclaimed the world-mission of Germany, of which he himself was the divinely appointed instrument; and at Poland, in August, 1905, he said in a public speech, "Germanism, like the spirit of imperial Rome, must expand and impose itself."

America welcomes the advance of German science and German art, even to a "world dominion," provided such expansion promotes the world's progress and happiness without encroaching upon its liberties.

It is difficult to understand why the Imperial German Government should at this time seek by her atrocious acts to draw the United States into this conflict on the side of the allies. The German Emperor may be basing his hopes upon some recent events that do not constitute a very luminous page of our history. It has gone out to the world that we were hopelessly unprepared; that in our recent efforts to capture a lone bandit our Treasury was depleted, our military strategists baffled, and our diplomacy wearied, while the bandit laughed at our vexations and experienced no loss of health or liberty. But if any think that undertaking measures our strength they are grievously mistaken. A job of the kind usually turned over to a detective agency may not deeply stir the patriotic impulses of the American people; but mark my prediction, an issue in which the perpetuity of free government is involved will transform them into the most aggressive defenders of liberty the world has ever known.

The tremendous task of quick mobilization of men and munitions, the hurry to pass emergency legislation to facilitate our giving aid to those now at war with Germany, and for the protection of life and property at home and abroad bring us face to face with the problem of future preparedness. I believe in preparedness by universal military training, not that I look for wars in the future, but because the best thought of the day is that it will be the surest guaranty of peace.

No nation in Christendom will want to attack a country as rich in resources and men as the United States if they know we are prepared. The bringing together of our young men from the homes of the rich and poor, training them side by side, without reference to rank or station in life, ought to promote a better understanding among all classes and strengthen and unify the spirit of democracy in our land.

I believe this preparedness can be attained without the accompanying spirit of "militarism" that has been in evidence in Europe, and which is so repugnant to our own people. I abhor anything that smacks of a military aristocracy or snobbery among that element that happens to be favored with official positions in the Army or Navy, and I hope this sentiment will be kept at the forefront in putting into operation any laws that may be enacted relating to training and preparedness. It is a serious, an awful thing, Mr. Chairman, to send the boys from American firesides to the slaughter trenches of the Old World. And while we must take no chances and should in the shortest possible time train and equip the most formidable army ever recruited on American soil, I am nevertheless consoled by the thought that it may not be necessary to send our troops to the Old World. I am informed by the military experts that no army recruited for the war could be adequately trained under a year, and that it would be at least 16 months before such troops could be placed on the firing line of the allies. My hope is that before 16 months have passed the war will be ended, and instead of the call for American troops it will be the call for an American commission to sit with the victors around the council table of nations when the civilization of Europe is reconstructed along lines that will dethrone the god of war forever.

Some will say I am visionary; others will doubt our ability to prepare for this fight. I can not, it is true, pierce the veil of the future. I do not know what waits in the antechamber of time, but I have not forgotten the faith of the fathers of the Republic. May I here quote the eloquent words of Patrick Henry in 1775, when he was told that America would fail—words that I presume everyone here has declaimed in his boyhood: "We shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us."

The friends were provided and the patriots were successful. Who will say, Mr. Chairman, that the Nation which was handed the torch of liberty in the eighteenth century has been found so recreant to the trust that the God of nations will desert it in the twentieth century?

America has engaged in several wars which cost much and sacrificed many lives. They were wars waged to maintain principles that were just. They are a part of the Nation's glory, and who says we were wrong? Who would blot any of these struggles and the victories achieved from our wondrous history?

Man has always been a fighting animal. Human history opens with a tragedy. There was a murderer in the earth's first family. Christ had to endure the agony of Gethsemane and the torture of the cross in order that humanity might find the way of everlasting life. All the shrines of progress have been drenched with tears or stained with blood. But always there have been serious sentinels along the picket lines of civilization anxiously watching the horizon for gleams of the dawning of the day of "universal peace."

We believe in our country and its destiny. We believe the American Republic, enriched by contributions from all the past, is the highest forum in which the genius of man for self-government has found expression. We have gathered men from the ends of the earth and builded a temple of civilization grander than any ever before "touched by human hands or conceived by human intellect." But thinkers of renown tell us that "government of the people by the people" is still an experiment. Give sufficient time, they say, and no government has yet been established that has been immune from a recrudescence of barbarism. Our hope has been that America would be the exception to this rule. The decision we make to-day may be for weal or woe. Shall we be "heirs of all the ages" or laggards in the vanguard of civilization?

There are those among us who are prone to look for guidance to the sayings and teachings of the founders of our Government. I do not impugn their wisdom as applied to the conditions that existed then, but we know it is not the world of Washington and Jefferson that furnishes the momentous problems of this hour.

Nations have been brought into one great neighborhood. The pulsing waves of ether sending messages and warnings around the globe have made the earth a vast whispering gallery. The ocean depths and the circumambient cloudland are both utilized

to-day to meet the exigencies of war and commerce. The North Pole and the South Pole have divulged their secrets. Where is there an unexplored continent or an unvisited land? The world is no longer divided into two hemispheres. Its limits are reached and its depths are fathomed.

Figuratively speaking, science has created a new heaven and a new earth. And just when all the wonderful forces of material and social invention are playing upon our bewildered senses with titanic energy over half of Christendom becomes a seething, furious, flame-swept area of agony, hate, and murder.

Is it too much to believe that the present saturnalia of war and destruction is a necessary prelude to a new harmony which is to follow? Out of it all may we hope there will come eventually the swelling rythm of a grand march, to which all the peoples of the earth by common impulses will step forward to a common destiny characterized by democracy, freedom, and light?

In the light of the President's message, this is no time for negative, easy-going, complacent pacifism. It is no time for laying that flattering unction to our souls that some way, some time all will be well. If we remain inactive now and the German Emperor acquires dominion over Europe, would not our turn come next? We would then have to fight alone.

What shall America do? Play a dirge? No. Give utterance to a jeremiad? No. The old timepiece of the centuries has struck the hour for a charge.

Some one has said "great tasks create and challenge great folks," and the task before the American people this day is to make the world's crisis the world's opportunity.

Ah, my friends, there is something more to this war now than securing indemnity for a few American merchantmen that have been sunk. Something more than dollars, something more than the profits of munition makers and greater than keeping unobstructed the pathway of the seas. It is a momentous question. It is grander than the things we have spent most time in discussing to-day. Victor Hugo once said that in the sweep of the ages there come times when events constitute the hinges upon which the centuries swing. Such a hinge is being made to-day. America is getting ready to help inaugurate a new era in which the insiduous doctrine of the "divine right of kings" shall be taken from the book of civilization and written on the page of retrogression. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, as I said in the beginning, the people of West Virginia will be loyal in this crisis, and her legions will be ready to go forward, if needed, to help carry the Old Flag to every land and float it on every breeze, the unchallenged symbol of "man's humanity to man." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. If the Chair has overlooked anyone, he will be glad to recognize him now.

Mr. MANN. I ask for a vote, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon agreeing to the substitute offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH] to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN].

The question being taken, the substitute was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BRITTEN].

The question being taken, the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SLOAN: Strike out all of the resolution, beginning on page 1, line 1, and substitute therefor the following:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the said state of war between the United States and certain citizens on the one hand and the Imperial German Government, brought about by the Imperial German Government, is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take immediate steps to place the country in a thorough state of defense and enforce American rights both as to citizens and ships on land and on the high seas, and especially within the zones where said rights have heretofore been interfered with, and to that end the President is authorized to use the military and naval forces of the United States, together with all the immediately available resources of the Government."

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I will not use all the time that is allotted to me, but there are two propositions: First, in the resolution before the House there is no provision for placing this country in a state of defense, which, in my opinion, will, during the next six months, be found to be of more importance than the prosecution of a foreign war.

The second proposition is that the war to be prosecuted is restricted to meeting the injuries or attacks which we have suffered. With these propositions I simply ask for a vote on the amendment. I think it expresses more fairly the wish of the American people than the prosecution of a foreign war for the regulation of European affairs; that is, the redress of our own grievances and the preparation for a defense of the United States against attacks which we may have within the next few months.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MEEKER] is confined to his bed in a hospital by illness. He has sent word to me asking to be paired in favor of the resolution, which, I think, can not be done; but he desires me to announce that if it were possible for him to be here and vote he would vote for the resolution. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Chairman, my colleague [Mr. FIELDS] received a telegram announcing the serious illness of his wife——

Mr. MANN. He made that announcement here.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS] made that announcement.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the resolution to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. FITZGERALD, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration Senate joint resolution 1 declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same, had directed him to report the resolution back with the recommendation that it do pass.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution and the preamble to its final passage.

The question was taken, and the previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the preamble and the resolution.

The resolution and preamble was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BRITTEN moves to recommit the resolution back to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to report the same back forthwith with the following amendment:

On page 2, after line 16, add a new paragraph, as follows:

"*Provided, however,* That no part of the military forces of the United States shall be ordered to do land duty in any part of Europe, Asia, or Africa until so directed by act of Congress, excepting those troops who specifically volunteer for such foreign service."

Mr. FLOOD. On that, Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands the yeas and nays. All those in favor of taking the vote by yeas and nays will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Thirty-three gentlemen have arisen, not a sufficient number, and the yeas and nays are refused. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken and the motion to recommit was refused.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the resolution.

Mr. FLOOD. Upon that, Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 373, nays 50, not voting 9, as follows:

YEAS—373.

Adamson	Brumbaugh	Connally, Tex.	Doolittle
Alexander	Buchanan	Cooper, Ohio	Doremus
Anderson	Butler	Cooper, W. Va.	Doughton
Anthony	Byrnes, S. C.	Copley	Dowell
Ashbrook	Byrns, Tenn.	Costello	Drane
Aswell	Caldwell	Cox	Drukker
Austin	Campbell, Kans.	Crago	Dunn
Ayres	Campbell, Pa.	Cramton	Dupré
Bacharach	Candler, Miss.	Crisp	Dyer
Bankhead	Cannon	Crosser	Eagan
Barkley	Cantrill	Currie, Mich.	Eagle
Barnhart	Caraway	Curry, Cal.	Edmonds
Bathrick	Carew	Dale, N. Y.	Ellsworth
Bell	Carlin	Dale, Vt.	Elston
Black	Carter, Mass.	Dallinger	Emerson
Blackmon	Carter, Okla.	Darrow	Estopinal
Bland	Chandler, N. Y.	Dempsey	Evans
Blanton	Chandler, Okla.	Denison	Fairchild, B. L.
Booher	Clark, Fla.	Dent	Fairchild, G. W.
Borland	Clark, Pa.	Denton	Fairfield
Bowers	Classon	Dewalt	Farr
Brand	Claypool	Dickinson	Ferris
Brodbeck	Coady	Dies	Fess
Browning	Collier	Dixon	Fisher
Bruckner	Comstock	Dooling	Fitzgerald

Flood	Jacoway	Nolan	Smith, N. Y.
Flynn	James	Norton	Snell
Focht	Johnson, Ky.	Oldfield	Snook
Fordney	Johnson, Wash.	Oliver, Ala.	Snyder
Foss	Jones, Tex.	Oliver, N. Y.	Steagall
Foster	Jones, Va.	Olney	Stedman
Francis	Juul	Osborne	Steele
Freeman	Kahn	O'Shaunessy	Steenerson
French	Kearns	Overmyer	Stephens, Miss.
Fuller, Mass.	Kehoe	Overstreet	Stephens, Nebr.
Gallagher	Kelley, Mich.	Padgett	Sterling, Ill.
Gallivan	Kelly, Pa.	Paige	Sterling, Pa.
Gandy	Kennedy, Iowa	Park	Stevenson
Gard	Kennedy, R. I.	Parker, N. J.	Stiness
Gardner	Kettner	Parker, N. Y.	Strong
Garland	Key, Ohio	Peters	Sullivan
Garner	Kiess, Pa.	Phelan	Sumners
Garrett, Tenn.	Kincheloe	Platt	Sweet
Garrett, Tex.	Kraus	Polk	Swift
Gillett	Kreider	Porter	Switzer
Glass	La Guardia	Pou	Tague
Glynn	Langley	Pratt	Talbott
Godwin, N. C.	Larsen	Price	Taylor, Ark.
Good	Lazaro	Purnell	Taylor, Colo.
Goodall	Lea, Cal.	Quin	Temple
Goodwin, Ark.	Lehlbach	Ragsdale	Templeton
Gordon	Lenroot	Rainey	Thomas
Gould	Lesher	Raker	Thompson
Graham, Ill.	Lever	Ramsey	Tillman
Graham, Pa.	Linthicum	Ramseyer	Tilson
Gray, Ala.	Littlepage	Rayburn	Timberlake
Gray, N. J.	Lobeck	Reed	Tinkham
Green, Iowa	Lonergan	Riordan	Towner
Greene, Mass.	Longworth	Robbins	Treadway
Greene, Vt.	Lunn	Robinson	Vare
Gregg	McAndrews	Rogers	Venable
Griest	McArthur	Romjue	Vestal
Griffin	McClintic	Rose	Vinson
Hadley	McCormick	Rouse	Volstead
Hamill	McCulloch	Rowe	Waldow
Hamilton, Mich.	McFadden	Rowland	Walker
Hamilton, N. Y.	McKenzie	Rubey	Walsh
Hamlin	McKeown	Rucker	Walton
Hardy	McKinley	Russell	Ward
Harrison, Miss.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sabath	Wason
Harrison, Va.	McLaughlin, Pa.	Sanders, Ind.	Watkins
Haskell	Madden	Sanders, La.	Watson, Pa.
Hastings	Magee	Sanders, N. Y.	Watson, Va.
Hawley	Maher	Sanford	Weaver
Hayden	Mann	Saunders, Va.	Welling
Heaton	Mansfield	Schall	Welty
Heflin	Mapes	Scott, Iowa	Whaley
Heintz	Martin, Ill.	Scott, Mich.	White, Me.
Helm	Martin, La.	Scott, Pa.	White, Ohio
Helvering	Mays	Scully	Williams
Hersey	Miller, Minn.	Sears	Wilson, Ill.
Hicks	Miller, Wash.	Sells	Wilson, La.
Holland	Mondell	Shallenberger	Wilson, Tex.
Hollingsworth	Montague	Sherley	Wingo
Hood	Moon	Shouse	Winslow
Houston	Moore, Pa.	Siegel	Wise
Howard	Moores, Ind.	Sims	Wood, Ind.
Huddleston	Morgan	Sinnott	Woodyard
Hulbert	Morin	Sisson	Young, N. Dak.
Hull, Tenn.	Mott	Slayden	Young, Tex.
Humphreys	Mudd	Slemp	Zihlman
Husted	Neely	Small	
Hutchinson	Nicholls, S. C.	Smith, Idaho	
Ireland	Nichols, Mich.	Smith, Mich.	

NAYS—50.

Almon	Dillon	King	Reavis
Bacon	Dominick	Kinkaid	Roberts
Britten	Esch	Kitchin	Rodenberg
Browne	Frear	Knutson	Shackleford
Burnett	Fuller, Ill.	La Follette	Sherwood
Cary	Haugen	Little	Sloan
Church	Hayes	London	Stafford
Connelly, Kans.	Hensley	Lundeen	Van Dyke
Cooper, Wis.	Hilliard	McLemore	Voigt
Davidson	Hull, Iowa	Mason	Wheeler
Davis	Igoe	Nelson	Woods, Iowa
Decker	Johnson, S. Dak.	Randall	
Dill	Keating	Rankin	

NOT VOTING—9.

Bleakley	Helgesen	Lee, Ga.	Powers
Capstick	Hill	Meeker	Webb
Fields			

So the Senate joint resolution was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Until further notice:

Mr. HILL with Mr. WEBB.

Mr. FIELDS with Mr. MEEKER.

Mr. LEE of Georgia with Mr. POWERS.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to make a statement. My colleague, Mr. LEE, as the membership of the House knows, is sick, just recovering from pneumonia. I have talked to him over the phone to-night. He was anxious to be present, but could not be. If he could have been present, he would have voted "yea."

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I desire to make a statement also. The gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. HILL, as we all know, is ill, though he is here part of the time. He came here to-night thinking that he would be able to vote, but on account of his health I sent him home. If he had been here, he would have voted for the resolution.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

On motion of Mr. FLOOD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed was laid on the table.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The Speaker announced his signature to enrolled joint resolution of the following title:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. FIELDS, by unanimous consent, was granted leave of absence indefinitely on account of the sickness of his wife.

ADJOURNMENT OVER.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO WITHDRAW PAPERS—LYMAN F. GRAY.

By unanimous consent, leave was granted, at the request of Mr. PETERS, to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, the papers in the case of Lyman F. Gray (H. R. 20526), Sixty-fourth Congress, no adverse report having been made thereon.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 14 minutes a. m., Friday, April 6, 1917) the House adjourned until Monday, April 9, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the president of the United States Civil Service Commission submitting an urgent estimate of appropriation for necessary additional employees, printing, stationery, travel, contingent, and other necessary expenses for the United States Civil Service Commission (H. Doc. No. 2); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the superintendent of the State, War, and Navy Department Building submitting supplemental estimates of appropriations required for additional watchmen for the State, War, and Navy Department Building from April 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 3); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Interior submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation, not heretofore submitted, for additional force for the Patent Office, fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 4); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of Commerce submitting supplemental estimates of appropriations required by the Department of Commerce, the same to be made immediately available and to remain available until expended (H. Doc. No. 5); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Attorney General submitting supplemental and deficiency estimates required by the Department of Justice for the service of the fiscal years 1917 and 1918 (H. Doc. No. 6); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

6. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of the Navy submitting an estimate of appropriation required to provide for an increase in the authorized enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps to 150,000 men and 30,000 men, respectively (H. Doc. No. 7); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

7. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of the Navy submitting an estimate of appropriation immediately required to defray extraordinary expenses of the Naval Establishment and the Navy Department (H. Doc. No. 8); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

8. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of War submitting a special estimate of appropriation for national defense, War Department, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended (H. Doc. No. 9); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

9. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an estimate of appropriation to enable the Coast Guard to bring its present teleghone system of coastal communication to a high state of efficiency, to extend such system to include all Coast Guard stations not now connected, and to include the most important light stations which have at present no means for rapid communication (H. Doc. No. 10); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

10. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting an estimate of appropriation for the national security and defense, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President, and to be made immediately available and to remain available until December 31, 1917, $100,000,000 (H. Doc. No. 11); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CARLIN: A bill (H. R. 1998) for the purpose of limiting the activities of certain officers and employees of the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FIELDS: A bill (H. R. 1999) to create a commission on illiteracy, to be known as the American Illiteracy Commission; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. OLDFIELD: A bill (H. R. 2000) providing for the purchase of certain inventions and designs of aircraft parts of Edwin Fairfax Naulty; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 2001) to increase the quartermaster's depot at Jeffersonville, Ind., making appropriation for the erection thereon of a building; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 2002) providing for a memorial to Clara Barton in the building occupied by the American National Red Cross; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 2003) for the improvement of the East River, N. Y., including Hell Gate, Diamond Reef, and Buttermilk Channels, that will best provide adequate facilities for operations of the fleet for defense of New York Harbor; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 2004) to enlarge, extend, and make additions to, fireproof, and further improve the postoffice building at Shenandoah, Iowa; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. STEVENSON: A bill (H. R. 2005) to create two divisions in the western judicial district of South Carolina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASWELL: A bill (H. R. 2006) for the relief of settlers within the limits of the grant to the New Orleans, Baton Rouge & Vicksburg Railroad Co.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. WALTON: A bill (H. R. 2007) to provide for the purchase of a site and for the erection of a public building thereon at Silver City, N. Mex.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 2008) to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 2009) for continuing work on the Indian highway extending from the Mesa Verde National Park, Colo., to Gallup, N. Mex., on the Navajo Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HAYDEN (by request): A bill (H. R. 2010) granting public lands to certain soldiers and sailors and their widows and minor children; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. McANDREWS: A bill (H. R. 2295) to pay letter carriers the amounts deducted from their salaries through an order of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ROWE: A bill (H. R. 2296) to authorize the appointment in the Army, and the immediate retirement, with the rank of captain, of Robert Armour, who was a captain in the Civil War, an employee of the War Department for 50 years, and 75 years of age; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 2297) providing for pensions for all American citizens who have reached the age of 65 years, and who are incapable of manual labor, and whose incomes are less than $200 per annum; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 2298) to authorize aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2299) extending benefits of care and treatment by the Public Health Service to seamen on vessels used in the service of the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 2300) providing a building for post-office and other purposes at San Bernardino, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2301) for the purchase of a site for a public building at Redlands, San Bernardino County, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 2302) for the erection of a public building at Dodge City, Kans.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LITTLE: A bill (H. R. 2308) to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor within 20 miles of any camp, barracks, fort, post, navy yard, school, or station of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States of America; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 2309) to regulate promotion in the Regular Army of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 39) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLER of Minnesota: Concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 6) authorizing the printing of certain military regulations; to the Committee on Printing.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 2011) granting a pension to Mary Elizabeth Presnell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2012) for the relief of Mrs. W. E. Crawford; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2013) to reimburse J. B. Patterson, postmaster of Lacon, Morgan County, Ala., for certain postage stamps stolen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 2014) granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Butts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2015) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOWERS: A bill (H. R. 2016) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Thurston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2017) to remove the charge of desertion from John Lyons; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2018) granting an increase of pension to Pary McNair; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2019) granting a pension to Isaac D. Caldwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2020) granting a pension to M. M. Sayers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2021) granting a pension to William C. Shaffer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2022) granting a pension to A. J. Cline; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 2023) to reinstate Elwin Carlton Taylor as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CARLIN: A bill (H. R. 2024) for the relief of the estate of Antonio Sousa, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2025) to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Alice E. Davis, heir at law of John C. Davis, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2026) to appoint Allen M. Sumner a captain on the active list of the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2027) to execute the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the heirs of William Pollock, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. COADY: A bill (H. R. 2028) granting a pension to George F. Kratz; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2029) granting a pension to William J. Fitzpatrick; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2030) granting a pension to John C. Finck; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2031) granting a pension to Henry P. McElroy, alias Patrick McElroy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2032) granting a pension to Edward G. Dalton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2033) granting a pension to William McClaskey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2034) granting a pension to Joseph W. Connolly; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2035) granting a pension to Ida L. Carter; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2036) granting a pension to Robert B. Bowie; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2037) granting a pension to Margaret J. Gissel; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2038) granting a pension to Isabella C. Waddell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2039) granting a pension to William L. Buck; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2040) granting an increase of pension to Henry Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2041) granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Rarick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2042) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Nossek; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2043) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Shipley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2044) granting an increase of pension to Francis C. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2045) granting an increase of pension to Albert M. Butts, alias Albert J. Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2046) granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Erdman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2047) granting an increase of pension to Louis Irons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2048) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2049) granting a pension to Marmaduke R. Goodman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2050) granting a pension to Mary J. Wilbur; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2051) granting a pension to Eva E. Schildgen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2052) granting a pension to Sophia Everett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ESCH: A bill (H. R. 2053) granting an increase of pension to William L. Tate; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EVANS: A bill (H. R. 2054) for the relief of James Duffy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 2055) granting an increase of pension to Greenbury Vickery; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2056) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin N. Trout; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAMLIN: A bill (H. R. 2057) granting a pension to Thomas E. Eagan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2058) granting a pension to Nancy C. Mays; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2059) granting a pension to Elizabeth Dickens; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2060) granting a pension to Lewis J. Moore; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2061) granting a pension to Amanda L. Dodson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2062) granting a pension to Martha Hoover; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2063) granting a pension to Christiana Oetting; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2064) granting a pension to Conrad F. Korthanke; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2065) granting a pension to Frank C. Barron; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2066) granting a pension to Stella Griffitts; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2067) granting a pension to Martha E. A. Ackerman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2068) granting a pension to Joseph T. Kerby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2069) granting a pension to James T. Calvin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2070) granting a pension to John W. Lightfoot; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2071) granting a pension to S. C. Gold; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2072) granting a pension to Mary A. Manuel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2073) granting a pension to Hannah Seward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2074) granting a pension to Ellen S. Bradley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2075) granting an increase of pension to Columbus L. Reese; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2076) granting an increase of pension to John G. Monroe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2077) granting a pension to Thomas Stephenson; to the Committe on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2078) granting a pension to Lydia Elliott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2079) granting a pension to M. F. Allyn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2080) granting a pension to Maria C. Vance; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2081) granting a pension to James L. Coffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2082) granting a pension to James G. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2083) granting a pension to John R. Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2084) granting a pension to John Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2085) granting a pension to Samuel Adams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2086) granting a pension to A. A. McAlister; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2087) granting a pension to James G. Munday; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2088) granting a pension to John Gerdts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2089) granting a pension to John I. Chapman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2090) granting a pension to Mary U. Isenberg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2091) granting a pension to James McCabe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2092) granting a pension to Carrie Hollenbeck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2093) granting a pension to Thomas B. Maberry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2094) granting a pension to John M. Jackson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2095) granting a pension to Wilhelmina Haesemeyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2096) granting a pension to Lida Beal; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2097) granting a pension to Thomas F. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2098) granting a pension to William England; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2099) granting a pension to J. B. Ashbrooke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2100) granting a pension to Maria Lohmann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2101) granting a pension to Tim Clifford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2102) granting a pension to James J. Davison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2103) granting a pension to Austin Watson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2104) granting a pension to August Brockman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2105) granting a pension to John B. Clements; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2106) granting a pension to James W. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2107) granting a pension to J. J. Gilliland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2108) granting a pension to Sarah F. Preston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2109) granting a pension to Alonzo C. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2110) granting a pension to Joseph Caton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2111) granting a pension to Claus Henning; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2112) granting a pension to Easter Henson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2113) granting a pension to Samuel Moser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2114) granting a pension to George W. Drake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2115) granting a pension to Henry B. Meyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2116) granting a pension to Minnie D. Mitchell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2117) granting a pension to Mrs. M. C. Bixby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2118) granting a pension to Samuel M. Coleman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2119) granting a pension to Joseph L. Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2120) granting a pension to Henry Otting; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2121) granting a pension to Louis Legune; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2122) granting a pension to Ozias Hawkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2123) granting a pension to W. K. Whittaker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2124) granting a pension to James Holmes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2125) granting a pension to Matilda J. Sweaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2126) granting a pension to B. F. Warner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2127) granting a pension to Mary E. Dixon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2128) granting a pension to Louise Bredehoft; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2129) granting a pension to James W. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2130) granting a pension to Thomas Payne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2131) granting a pension to Hannah P. Edwards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2132) granting a pension to Louisa K. Holbert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2133) granting a pension to Solomon Coan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2134) granting a pension to William W. Burke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2135) granting a pension to Emma J. Fitzwater; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2136) granting a pension to Tazwell T. Ward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2137) granting a pension to Peter Z. T. Lane; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2138) granting a pension to Rhoda A. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2139) granting a pension to James M. Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2140) granting an increase of pension to James Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2141) granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2142) granting and increase of pension to John W. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2143) granting an increase of pension to David W. Bachelder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2144) granting an increase of pension to Stephen Routh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2145) granting an increase of pension to Cassius M. Myers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2146) granting an increase of pension to Alphonso G. Andrews; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2147) granting an increase of pension to Robert N. Hawkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2148) granting an increase of pension to Ananias B. Reeser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2149) granting an increase of pension to Luther Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2150) granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Craig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2151) granting an increase of pension to William W. Hendricks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2152) granting an increase of pension to Louisa Mawhinney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2153) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Harlan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2154) granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Wriston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2155) granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Wilkerson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2156) granting an increase of pension to James C. Haden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2157) granting an increase of pension to Oscar M. Peck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2158) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Davison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2159) granting an increase of pension to Logan Hughes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2160) granting an increase of pension to W. R. Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2161) granting an increase of pension to Nancy C. McCurdy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2162) granting an increase of pension to Samuel W. Sheridan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2163) granting an increase of pension to James D. Ramey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2164) granting an increase of pension to John F. Mahnken; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2165) granting an increase of pension to R. H. Askew; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2166) granting an increase of pension to John T. Norris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2167) granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Hoag; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2168) granting an increase of pension to Charles Van Buren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2169) granting an increase of pension to Louis F. Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2170) granting an increase of pension to William B. Gist; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2171) granting an increase of pension to Henry Bedwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2172) granting an increase of pension to George Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2173) granting an increase of pension to Henry G. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2174) granting an increase of pension to John Echoff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2175) granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Saylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2176) to correct the military record of Andrew Ballon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2177) for the relief of T. M. Marsh; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2178) for the relief of John Beverly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2179) for the relief of R. D. Shackleford; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2180) for the relief of Joseph W. Hawkins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2181) for the relief of John Thomas; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2182) for the relief of Dennis Sullivan; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2183) for the relief of the estate of William Morrison; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2184) for the relief of Harriett A. Randle, John W. Randle, and James C. Randle, heirs at law of Spencer C. Randle, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2185) for the relief of J. H. Alexander; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2186) for the relief of A. P. Holcomb and the heirs of Samuel Thompson, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2187) to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Thomas A. Wakefield; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2188) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the city of Glasgow, Mo.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 2189) granting a pension to James H. Daniel; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2190) granting a pension to Lewis J. Crider; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2191) granting a pension to Samuel E. Spencer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2192) granting a pension to Christopher C. Hamilton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2193) granting a pension to Charles W. Gunter; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2194) granting a pension to W. W. Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2195) granting an increase of pension to David R. Trotten; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2196) granting an increase of pension to James H. Mayes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2197) granting an increase of pension to George W. Kinzley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2198) granting an increase of pension to Willis G. Craddock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2199) for the relief of Pleasant M. Heath; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2200) for the relief of John T. Warden; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2201) for the relief of Franklin Nix; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2202) for the relief of Charles T. Jackson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 2203) granting an increase of pension to Edward M. Jurin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2204) granting an increase of pension to Edwin Bates; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 2205) to transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the retired list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LEA of California: A bill (H. R. 2206) authorizing the payment of salary due J. A. McCreary, of Forestville, Cal.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2207) for the relief of Arthur Wendle Englert; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEVER: A bill (H. R. 2208) granting a pension to Pickens C. Cullum; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2209) granting a pension to Joseph M. Caughman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2210) granting a pension to Andrew E. Younginer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2211) granting a pension to Jesse H. Hutto; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2212) granting a pension to John B. McCravy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2213) granting a pension to Annie I. Rembert; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2214) granting a pension to Lucy T. Read; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2215) granting a pension to Mary Kinder; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McANDREWS: A bill (H. R. 2216) granting a pension to P. H. Dennison; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKINLEY: A bill (H. R. 2217) granting an increase of pension to Adaline L. Black; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORES of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 2218) granting a pension to Mollie W. Springer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2219) granting a pension to Katharine Schellschmidt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2220) granting an increase of pension to William D. Patterson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2221) granting an increase of pension to Joseph F. Wilkinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2222) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Buchanan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2223) granting an increase of pension to Samuel W. Vest; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2224) granting an increase of pension to Mary Pickens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2225) granting an increase of pension to Upton J. Hammond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2226) granting an increase of pension to Daniel H. Wise; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2227) granting an increase of pension to George A. Rubush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2228) for the relief of Americus A. Gordon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OLDFIELD: A bill (H. R. 2229) granting an increase of pension to Margaret McHenley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2230) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Frizzell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2231) granting an increase of pension to A. N. Day; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2232) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Crews; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2233) granting an increase of pension to Minerva J. Gardner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2234) granting an increase of pension to Henry E. Garber; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2235) granting an increase of pension to Alfred M. Wheeler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Bertha Oglesby; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2237) granting a pension to George H. McCauley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2238) granting a pension to John P. Kirby; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2239) granting a pension to George W. Douthitt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2240) granting a pension to Tilman L. Crafton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2241) granting a pension to C. B. Chamness; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2242) granting a pension to George Bostater, jr.; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2243) granting a pension to Charles C. Abernathy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2244) granting a pension to Thomas E. Tanner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2245) granting a pension to James W. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2246) granting a pension to Leslie G. Phillips; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2247) to correct the military record of Joseph R. (Riley) McVey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 2248) for the relief of the legal representative of Nathaniel F. Chears, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RUCKER: A bill (H. R. 2249) granting an increase of pension to Henry Eby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 2250) granting an increase of pension to Nicholi L. Nelson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2251) granting an increase of pension to Valentine B. Bailey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2252) granting an increase on pension to William Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2253) granting an increase of pension to William W. Barney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2254) granting an increase of pension to Hiram M. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2255) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Carrigg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2256) granting an increase of pension to Rufus G. Cook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2257) granting an increase of pension to Richard A. Chamness; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2258) granting an increase of pension to John W. Craig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2259) granting an increase of pension to Levi G. Hake; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2260) granting an increase of pension to Anderson Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2261) granting an increase of pension to John M. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2262) granting an increase of pension to Abijah E. King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2263) granting an increase of pension to Jefferson W. Lewelling; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2264) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. McClintick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2265) granting an increase of pension to Cyrus C. Marston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2266) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2267) granting an increase of pension to George F. Minturn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2268) granting an increase of pension to John M. Prouty; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2269) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Plotner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2270) granting an increase of pension to Enos Pearce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2271) granting an increase of pension to Wiltsey E. Sivers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2272) granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah R. Sencenich; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2273) granting an increase of pension to Edwin A. Welch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2274) granting an increase of pension to John P. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2275) granting an honorable discharge to Edwin Wallace Coberly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 2276) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Freed; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2277) granting a pension to George Zederbaum; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 2278) granting an increase of pension to John Pool; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2279) granting a pension to Margaret Seery; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILSON of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2280) granting a pension to James A. Annas; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2281) granting a pension to Carl B. Traver; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2282) granting a pension to Inger Nass; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2283) granting a pension to Nellie L. Benton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2284) granting a pension to Abner L. Tuttle; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2285) granting an increase of pension to Emily M. Furber; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2286) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Cuddigan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2287) granting an increase of pension to Eli House; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2288) granting an increase of pension to James H. Flynn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2289) granting an increase of pension to John Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2290) granting an increase of pension to Girard C. Geisse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2291) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Washburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2292) for the relief of Michael Carter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2293) for the relief of John M. Green; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: A bill (H. R. 2294) to correct the military record of Alfred J. Henry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CANTRILL: A bill (H. R. 2303) for the relief of the legal representatives of James H. Holladay, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 2304) granting an honorable discharge to Andrew Jackson Hendrickson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2305) granting an honorable discharge to James Campbell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2306) for the relief of Frank Andress; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2307) for the relief of P. C. Trump; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of D. Weber, of Washington, Mo., against United States in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Eastern Division Conference Delta Tau Delta, Philadelphia, Pa., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of pupils of schools of Olean, N. Y., pledging their loyalty to the President and Congressmen in the great crisis which confronts the Nation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of business men of New York City, representing many churches, pledging their honor to the cause of the Republic, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), petitions of sundry American citizens in Washington, D. C.; citizens of Morgantown, W. Va.; Wise & Lichtenstein, of New York; students and faculty of West Virginia University; mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, N. Y.; Harvard Club, of Boston; Union Club, of Boston; board of trustees of George Washington University, Washington, D. C.; Princeton Alumni Association, of Montclair and vicinity, N. J.; District of Columbia Christian Endeavor Union; mass meeting of citizens of Denver, Colo.; Rotary Clubs of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma, pledging support to the President of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Hamilton Club, of Chicago, Ill., and governors of States of New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, favoring preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Highland Park Methodist Episcopal Church Brotherhood, of Los Angeles, Cal., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), petitions of Federation of Missouri Commercial Clubs, of St. Louis, Mo., and the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, favoring passage of a rivers and harbors bill similar to one that failed last session; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Memorial of Richland County (Ohio) Bar Association, indorsing the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and the declaration of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BACON: Memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Ann Arbor, Mich., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAREW: Memorial of Eastern Division Conference of Delta Tau, pledging support to the President and country; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of board of trustees of the College of the City of New York, pledging support to the President of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by St. Botolph Club, Boston, Mass., pledging support to the Government of the United States in all measures it may take for the protection of our citizens, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Eastern Division Conference Delta Tau Delta, Philadelphia, Pa., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DOOLING: Memorial of mass meeting at Madison Square, New York, in re foreign situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FARR: Memorial of members of the Harvard Club, of New York City, approving of the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, etc., and urging adequate preparations for the national defense; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of W. S. Stevens, secretary, and W. I. Tauer, president, and other members of the Yale Alumni Association, of Scranton, Pa., favoring the utmost preparation for our Army and Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FOSTER: Petition of citizens of Centralia, Keensbury, Breese, Hoffman, and Germantown, all in the State of Illinois, and 16 members of Southern Illinois Mill Producers' Association, against war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of New Hampshire Committee of Public Safety, pledging loyalty and support in present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Somerset Club, of Boston, pledging loyal support to the President of the United States in all measures which he shall take in the defense of our country's honor and protection of rights of citizens; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania: Petition from St. John's Lutheran Church and Zion's Evangelical Lutheran Church, of Reno, Pa., opposing war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McKINLEY: Petition of sundry citizens of Urbana, Ill., favoring war against Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Memorial of Philadelphia Maritime Exchange and Philadelphia Board of Trade, favoring passage of a rivers and harbors bill; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MOORES of Indiana: Petition of more than 5,000 citizens of Indianapolis, for passage of resolution declaring a state of war with the German Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MORIN: Petition of 62 citizens of Pittsburgh, Pa., protesting against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of the council of the borough of Duquesne, Pa., supporting the President of the United States in all matters pertaining to the welfare of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of John Kiesel, of Pittsburgh, Pa., supporting the President, although favoring peace; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 200 members of the Gateway Club, of Pittsburgh, Pa., urging in the name of suffering humanity that we be kept out of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 800 members of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, of Pittsburgh, Pa., Rev. William Lochner, pastor, protesting against plunging this country into war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 600 members of the Second St. Paul's Lutheran Church, insisting that some way can be found out of the present crisis without loss of honor, and urging that the

country be kept out of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SNELL: Petition of Andrew J. Hanmer, E. B. Crosby, R. C. Dewey, A. P. Bero, C. T. Young, F. E. Bailey, Isaac Friedman, Joseph Stone, G. W. Ball, Allan P. Sill, W. A. Taylor, J. J. Taylor, F. E. Horton, J. H. Holliday, M. J. Stearns, E. C. Hubbard, J. C. Crapser, R. A. Newton, P. F. Churchill, B. S. O'Neill, J. F. McCarthy, F. B. Hawley, E. W. Kinney, J. F. Lantry, Thomas E. Shean, H. A. Little, C. F. Fuller, B. Carroll, George H. Russell, A. J. Westcott, D. Carbun, James H. Warren, F. L. Babcock, C. H. Everett, Franklin Delain, J. L. Dishaw, W. G. Smith, A. B. Cook, Charles A. Ross, E. F. McDonald, and W. L. Smith, citizens of Massena, N. Y., for national enfranchisement of women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SNYDER: Memorial of Little Falls (N. Y.) Lodge, No. 42, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, affirming its loyalty and support in the present international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of patriotic rallies of the villages of Waterville and Mohawk and the Retail Grocers' Association of Utica, N. Y., pledging support and loyalty to the country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. STINESS: Petition of board of assistants of the Society of *Mayflower* Descendants, relative to the invasion of Belgium, indorsing the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, in favor of preparedness, and urging a compulsory military training law; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of City Council of Providence, R. I., urging passage of the daylight-saving law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorials of Somerset Club, of Boston; Union Club, of Boston; Tavern Club, of Boston; and German Civic Association of Roxbury, all in the State of Massachusetts, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WALDOW: Petition of sundry citizens and organizations of Buffalo, N. Y., favoring passage of war resolution; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens and organizations of Buffalo, N. Y., opposing war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WASON: Memorial of the Committee of Public Safety of the State of New Hampshire, urging the National Government to recognize that a state of war exists and to take immediate action in maintaining our honor and safeguarding our interests, and pledging to the Government full loyalty and support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Harvard Club, of Keene, N. H., favoring the immediate passage of a bill for universal military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Concord (N. H.) Branch of the National Security League, resenting the un-American propaganda circulation by the Emergency Peace Federation and pledging its support to defend the national honor; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Preparedness Day Committee of the City of Portsmouth, N. H., favoring action to uphold and support the dignity of our country and flag, and assuring hearty support in the effort to uphold the honor of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the executive committee of the New Hampshire State Grange, taking a strong stand for preparedness and tendering its good offices to the State and Nation for any service which it can render in the present situation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the faculty of Dartmouth College, of New Hampshire, recording their emphatic conviction that a state of war exists by repeated acts of Germany, and that a declaration to this effect be made at once, to be followed by immediate and whole-hearted support of the allied cause on both land and sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, favoring universal military and naval training and service under the direction of the Federal Government; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: Petition of Richard H. Lansdale, of Sandy Springs, Md., and 61 other citizens, opposed to a declaration of war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Emmanuel Lutheran Church, Bittinger, Md., by the pastor, to prevent this country being plunged into European war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of bishop and 10 ministers and deacons of the Washington-Franklin County (Md.) Mennonite Conference, protesting against war and universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, resolutions adopted by the Maryland Branch of the Woman's Peace Party, protesting that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany, and urging the appointment of a joint high commission to attempt settlement of issues involved; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, declaration signed by 252 members of the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce, pledging their earnest support in protecting the rights of Americans and upholding the honor of this country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 50 citizens of Rock Ridge, Frederick County, Md., urging Congress to keep the United States out of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolutions of Allegany Trades Council, Cumberland, Md., offering their services to the country in every field of activity to defend and safeguard the United States of America; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution by the Society of Colonial Wars of the State of Maryland, urging Congress to immediately enact a universal military training service law; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Hess Carriage Co. and its 35 employees, urging Congress "to use every honorable means possible to preserve peace and save the country from war"; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *April 6, 1917.*

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

O God, our heavenly Father, unworthy though we be, we still lift our eyes unto the hills from whence cometh our help. In this time of appalling war, and our entrance into the awful struggle, we realize our need of Thee, O God, more than ever before. Our country needs Thee; our President, our Congress, our governors, our soldiers, and all our people scattered over our vast territory need Thy overruling providence, Thy wisdom, and grace, and power.

Thou hast sustained us in the past and blessed us with great progress because we trusted in Thee and built our foundation upon Thy principles. Surely Thou hast not dealt thus with any nation. We have stood before the world as a God-fearing people, and, therefore, we have been a God-honored people.

O God, may we not forget Thy mercies, which have been ever of old. May we remember that Thou hast pronounced Thy blessing upon that nation whose God is the Lord. Wherever our people and our soldiers may go may the world still read our shining motto upon our coin, "In God we trust."

May we not lose sight of our dependence upon Thee, O God. If we must go forth to war, oh grant that we may receive our orders from the skies and look confidently to Thee as our great leader. As Thou didst divide the sea and saved Thy people Israel from their enemies, so do Thou remove our difficulties and deliver us from all our foes. O Thou great Jehovah, be with us still and guide us safely through every peril, and if it be Thy way to bring peace and liberty to the world, we pray Thee give speedy triumph to our arms. We ask it in the name of Him who is strong to save and mighty to deliver, Jesus Christ the Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday last was read and approved.

PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Public Utilities Commission, which will be inserted in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

The communication is as follows:

PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, April 5, 1917.

The honorable the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In accordance with paragraph 14 of section 8 of "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, and for other purposes," approved March 4, 1913, which reads as follows: "That the accounts shall be closed annually on the 31st day of December, and a balance sheet of that date promptly taken therefrom. On or about the 1st day of February following such balance sheet, together with such other information as the commission shall prescribe, verified by an owner or officer of the public utility, shall be filed with the commission and a copy thereof transmitted to Congress." I have the honor to inform you that the balance sheet for the year ended December 31, 1916, and other information required by the Public Utilities Commission of the various utilities under its jurisdiction, which have been received since March 3, 1917, have been submitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Very respectfully, C. W. KUTZ, *Chairman.*

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 11. An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes;

H. R. 13. An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 14. An act making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The VICE PRESIDENT announced his signature to the enrolled joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a telegram addressed to the Senate of the United States, which will be printed in the RECORD.

The telegram is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 4, 1917.*

The SENATE,
Care Vice President Marshall, Washington, D. C.

The following has been introduced in the House by our committee. Would you kindly have same read to your honorable body:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be, and hereby is, created a commission similar to the commission which averted war with Mexico when that seemed inevitable, which shall consider differences between this Government and Governments of belligerent nations, and which shall endeavor to reach settlement of such difficulties on the basis of peaceful adjustment without recourse to the horrors of war. That this commission shall be appointed at once by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and that this commission shall proceed immediately to do work in advance of war which such commission must necessarily do to conclude terms of peace after war has been waged."

JAS. EADES HOW,
Of International Brotherhood Welfare Association.

Mr. HARDWICK. I present resolutions adopted at a meeting of citizens of Augusta, Ga., which I ask to have read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the resolutions were read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

AUGUSTA, GA., *April 2, 1917.*

THOMAS W. HARDWICK,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a large and overwhelming gathering of Augusta men and women to-night, which was attended by several thousand loyal citizens, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted with a fervent outburst of patriotism:

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of this meeting that the German Government has during the whole course of the present war by its declarations and actions avowed and maintained principles fatal to freedom; with atrocities contrary to every sentiment of civilization, has disregarded and destroyed lives most precious and possessions most cherished, and has, notwithstanding the unexampled patience and forbearance on the part of the United States persisted in its wrongs until without provocation it has waged, is now waging, and has manifested its purpose to continue to wage, war against the United States; therefore the latter will go to war not only because it is warred against but also in the performance of a high duty, the duty to take sides in a world controversy, in which are to be decided fundamental rights of nations and of humanity, the duty to do our part in a war which is as much our war as that of the entente allies. It is, therefore, the sense of this meeting that the Congress of the United States should immediately make a formal declaration of war against Germany and enact such legislation as will make all the resources of the country in material and men available on the side of the entente allies; and it is further

"*Resolved,* That the good of the country and its future safety can be best conserved by the prompt adoption of compulsory universal military service under Federal control.

"*Resolved further,* That a copy of the foregoing be immediately furnished to the President and our Representatives and Senators with the request that the same be presented to the House and Senate."

D. G. FOGARTY, *Chairman.*

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have a telegram from the Employers' Association of the Inland Empire, of Spokane, Wash., indorsing universal military training, and also a telegram from the Everett Rotary Club, of my State, which I ask may be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The telegrams will be so referred.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have a telegram from a mass meeting of citizens at Montesano, Wash., which I ask may be read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The telegram was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

MONTESANO, WASH., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
Care Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the United States to-day faces the greatest crisis of half century and must defend its national honor and liberties against a foreign foe, it becomes the duty of all true Americans to pledge their loyalty to our Government, and as a united Nation face calmly the issue which have been forced upon us: Therefore be it

Resolved by the citizens of Montesano here assembled, That we heartily approve of the action of President Wilson and our Government in declaring a state of war after exhausting every effort to maintain peace with honor, and pledge our lives and resources to the cause of our country; and be further

Resolved, That plans for universal military training are indorsed and approved.

A. G. CHENEY,
Chairman Citizens' Mass Meeting.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I present a telegram from Rev. J. M. Regier, of Freeman, S. Dak., and one from Winfred Lodge, No. 148, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Winfred, S. Dak., which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEMAN, S. DAK., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. EDWIN S. JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory. Signed by pastors of 14 churches near Freeman, S. Dak., representng 1,700 members.

Rev. J. M. REGIER.

—

WINFRED, S. DAK., *Aprl 3, 1917.*

Whereas it seems that there is a movement in progress by the Emergency Peace Federation, which misrepresents our sentiment of national honor in this hour of peril; and

Whereas for months past a strained condition of affairs has existed between the Government of the United States and those warring nations known as the central powers, owing to the inhuman and illegal measures the said central powers have resorted to, together with their total disregard for the fundamental rights of free and sovereign people: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of Lodge No. 148 of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Winfred, S. Dak., in executive session assembled, That we hereby express to the President of the United States and his advisors our hearty appreciation for the stand they have taken, and pledge to them our undivided cooperation and support in whatever measures they and the Congress may deem necessary, to maintain the national ideals and the untrammeled freedom and self-respect of all our citizens, and the ultimate peace of the world based upon justice; be it further

Resolved, That we send a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, one to each of the Members of Congress from South Dakota, and that one be placed on file with the records of this lodge.

BERT A. HESTER,
E. L. SMITH,
W. B. BEDDOW,
Committee.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I present a telegram from the Commercial Association of Yankton, which I ask may be read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

YANKTON, S. DAK., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. EDWIN S. JOHNSON,
Senator, Washington, D. C.:

We, the Commercial Association of Yankton, S. Dak., in special session assembled, in this national crisis pledge to the President our earnest support and urge the employment of the entire Navy and military force of the United States and every resource of the Government in waging war against the Imperial German Government.

S. M. HOHF,
President Yankton Commercial Association.

Mr. LODGE. I present sundry resolutions in support of the President and the Government and two protesting against war. I ask that the resolutions, of course without the names, may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORWOOD, MASS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, The Norwood Board of Trade tenders its hearty approval and unswerving support to the President of the United States and the American Congress in the position taken and measures proposed to uphold and defend the honor and rights of our country; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be telegraphed to President Wilson, Senators LODGE and WEEKS, and Congressman OLNEY.

B. A. ROWE, *Secretary.*

—

Whereas we, citizens of Lexington, Mass., in town meeting assembled, are ever mindful of the unremitting vigilance and fearless action of those who dwelt here in 1775; and

Whereas we desire to fulfill our responsibility of remaining true and loyal to their memory; and

Whereas, although bearing no malicious hatred toward any ruler, class, race, or nation, we yet determinedly and advisedly condemn the cause of a government whose present policy is flagrantly abhorent to American principles; and

Whereas we would not seem ungrateful to those Governments which serve our highest interests and the highest interests of mankind: Therefore be it

Resolved—

First. That we do hereby express our entire and hearty sympathy with the cause of liberty against tyranny, the cause for which the allied Governments of the entente are now fighting;

Second. That we thankfully acknowledge whatever debt we already owe to the armies and to the navies of the said Governments;

Third. That we cordially favor serving the said Governments by granting them loans of money on such favorable terms as shall show our gratitude for their help in the past and in the present;

Fourth. That we openly challenge the attention of such inhabitants of the United States of America as are not, even at this late hour, fully alive to the dangers that threaten the life of the Nation; a challenge uttered to these ends:

(a) That sleeping patriotism may everywhere awaken to an intelligent and loyal public spirit, which shall actively carry out whatever measures are most conducive to the national welfare;

(b) That the foundations of our Government, as laid by the men of old, be not shaken, but that the President and the Congress of the United States of America be consistently supported; and

(c) That the American people, which in 1775 had no difficulty in seeing across the Atlantic Ocean, may have less difficulty in determining its duty while endeavoring to serve to the extent of its power the righteous interests of democracy as against autocracy throughout the entire world.

—

THE MASSACHUSETTS CLUB,
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL,
Washington, April 4, 1917.

Whereas our President has done everything within his power to create a permanent peace, not only between our own country and Germany, but between the European nations as well; and

Whereas Germany, unmindful of the neutral position maintained by the United States, has in contravention of international law, and the laws of humanity, willfully and wantonly violated the rights of American citizens upon the high seas; and

Whereas such action by Germany has compelled the President, in order that the honor and dignity of the United States may be upheld, to ask Congress to declare that a state of war now exists between the United States and that nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Massachusetts Club, of Georgetown University Law School, being imbued with that spirit of loyalty which now permeates the citizenry of our beloved State, and endeavoring to emulate our ancestors, who, at other critical times in the history of our Government, were so quick to respond to their country's call, and who by their unstinted efforts, materially aided in the perpetuation of respect for our rights as one of the family of nations, pledge our unfaltering loyalty and earnest support to the President and Government in any steps which they may take for the protection of the sacred rights of our citizens and the upholding of our honor and dignity before the world; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Wilson, the honorable Senators and Representatives in Congress from Massachusetts, and his excellency, the Governor of Massachusetts.

ROBERT E. J. WHALEN, *President.*

—

Whereas our Government, following its traditional policy of restraint and extending "a helping hand" to all nations in distress or in the throes of conflict, has long and patiently borne the accumulating wrongs and aggressions of the German Government violating the laws of nations and the more deep and fundamental laws of humanity, resulting not only in the destruction of property, but the very lives of our citizens, as well as those of other neutral nations; and

Whereas the President, after exhausting all diplomatic and peaceful means, found it necessary to sever diplomatic relations with the German Government, and later authorized the arming of our merchant vessels in order to protect the lives and property of our citizens from the ruthless submarine warfare; and

Whereas it now appears that nothing short of a surrender of the principles of right, justice, and independence upon which this Government is founded can keep our country out of the conflict, and as the President has in the maintenance of these rights found it necessary to recommend to Congress that a declaration of a state of war now exists with the German Government.

Resolved, That we, the members of the Lowell Fish and Game Association in annual meeting assembled, recognizing the gravity of the present situation, but believing that the ideals of American citizenship and patriotism are being upheld by the President, hereby indorse his action in severing diplomatic relations with Germany and authorizing the arming of our merchant marine in order to protect the lives and property of our citizens on the high seas; and while we with true American spirit deplore war, yet we recognize that thus was our country established, and by the same means, if necessary, must the rights and liberties of our citizens be preserved, and to that end we unhesitatingly sustain the President in his recommendation to Congress.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the president and secretary, be sent to the President of the United States, and a copy to each of our two Senators and Congressmen.

Lowell, Mass., April 3, 1917.

SIMON B. HARRIS,
President.
WILLIS S. HOLT,
Secretary.

THE SOUTHBRIDGE RIFLES,
NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION,
Southbridge, Mass., April 3, 1917.

From: O. B. Carson, secretary executive committee.
To: Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, Washington, D. C.
Subject: Resolutions adopted by the Southbridge Rifles April 2, 1917.

Whereas Germany has destroyed our ships, murdered our citizens, restricted our commerce, and attempted to dismember our Union by arraying against us the friendly nations of Japan and Mexico; and

Whereas by these and other hostile acts Germany has in effect declared war against the United States and is now and has been for some time in war against us: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we approve of the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, of deciding to arm our merchant ships, and to take all measures practicable to ward off the dangers of ruthless submarine warfare.

Resolved, That we approve of the universal training and service act recommended by the General Staff, providing for permanent national defense, and that the Southbridge Rifles continue, as in the past year or more, to offer military training to all young men who desire it, to the end that they may be better fitted for any service that they may be called upon to give to the town, the State, or the Nation.

Resolved, That we unalterably stand for the principles of democracy as exemplified by our Government since its foundation to the present hour, and that we are opposed to military autocracy with unshakable firmness, such autocracy being inconsistent with democracy and the purposes and aspirations of this Republic.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every citizen to take part in whatever way he can that is lawful to ward off the aggressions of Germany or any other nation that may attack this Nation.

Resolved, That the Southbridge Rifles call upon the selectmen to make arrangements for a mass meeting, to be held at as early a date as practicable, and that a committee of two members of the company be authorized to cooperate with the selectmen and such members of a general committee as the selectmen may name to meet with the selectmen in conference as to ways and means for holding said mass meeting.

Resolved, That in the event of a call for volunteers the Southbridge Rifles do undertake to organize a war-strength company of infantry, to be composed of and officered by men from Southbridge and its immediate vicinity.

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Senators of the State, and the Congressmen from this district, to the governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to the senator and representative in the general court from this district.

O. B. CARSON, *Secretary.*

—

BOSTON, MASS., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

We, citizens of Boston and New England, who have gathered together this evening (Mar. 31, 1917) to demonstrate our unswerving loyalty to our country and to the President of the United States, do hereby adopt and pass the following resolutions, which we believe express not only our sentiments but those of the overwhelming majority of the American people:

"*Resolved*, That we approve the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, in arming American vessels, and in calling Congress in extra session.

"*Resolved*, That we call upon our Government for prompt, vigorous, and courageous leadership in the immediate mobilizing of the naval, military, and industrial strength of the Nation, for the effective protection of American rights and American lives on land and sea.

"*Resolved*, That we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a universal military service bill providing for permanent national defense based upon the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country.

"*Resolved*, That upon the people of this country there has now devolved the solemn duty of doing their part in the common task of defending freedom and democracy against the attacks of autocracy and militarism exemplified by the conduct and practices of the present Imperial German Government, which leaves Congress no alternative but to declare the existence of a state of war between the United States of America and Germany.

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the Members of Congress."

ALEXANDER SEDGEWICK.

—

QUINCY, MASS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

Quincy Lodge, No. 943, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, at special meeting this evening adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has by its deeds, both here and abroad, forced our United States of America, after justly protesting against Germany's indefensible violation of the hitherto universally admitted right, into war to maintain the integrity of our Nation: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That Quincy Lodge, No. 943, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America, does hereby heartily indorse the action of our President in urging preparedness by our country for the proper assertion of and the securing and maintaining, at any cost, of the free exercise by all nations and their inalienable right; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That Quincy Lodge, No. 943, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, does hereby pledge to the President and our country our united support in upholding the principles for which the United States has ever stood."

QUINCY LODGE, NO. 943, B. P. O. ELKS,
J. J. O'HARA, *Secretary.*

—

BOSTON, MASS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, members of the Liberty Club of Boston, organized in 1909 and consisting of members of American birth, do hereby pledge allegiance to our flag and are ready to fight in behalf of same at our country's call.

LIBERTY CLUB,
Elizabeth Peabody House.
LAWRENCE B. GOLDBERG, *Secretary.*

Mr. GERRY. I have here a resolution from the General Assembly of Rhode Island indorsing military training, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, ETC.,
IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
JANUARY SESSION, A. D. 1917.

Resolution indorsing universal obligatory military and naval training.

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island hereby declares that it is in favor of universal obligatory military and naval training under the directions of the Federal Government; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, directed to send a certified copy of this resolution to each of the Senators and Representatives from this State in the Congress of the United States.

—

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
PROVIDENCE.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original resolution approved by his excellency the governor on the 28th day of March, in the year 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Rhode Island this 31st day of March, in the year 1917.

[SEAL.] J. FRED PARKER,
Secretary of State.

Mr. NEW. I present a number of petitions and memorials, most of them of a patriotic character, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the appropriate committee.

There being no objection, the petitions and memorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

WARSAW, IND., LODGE, NO. 802,
Warsaw, Ind., April 2, 1917.

Hon. HARRY S. NEW,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: At a special session of Warsaw, Ind., Lodge, No. 802, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, the inclosed resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Very respectfully, C. EDWIN STOUT,
Exalted Ruler.

Attest:
[SEAL.] C. S. BRENNEMAN,
Secretary.

Resolutions adopted by Warsaw, Ind., Lodge No. 802, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, in special session, April 2, 1917.

Whereas for more than two years and one-half the most powerful nations of the earth have been struggling in the most gigantic war of time; and

Whereas this ambitious Hohenzollern has enlisted under his bloody banner the degenerate Hapsburg and the murderous Turk; and

Whereas this vile trio has ignored treaties, disregarded international law, trampled humanity under foot, deported the heads of families, murdered the innocent, and violated the wives and daughters of their victims; and

Whereas they have for more than two years been riding over the rights of Americans, and have sunk our boats, drowned our men, women, and even our children, and have insulted our flag; and

Whereas for more than two years we have suffered these insults and have borne these indignities in the vain hope that our rights might be enforced and our flag be kept in the sky without the arbitraments of arms; and

Whereas our efforts toward peace have been unavailing, and have brought only additional encroachments and insults from these monarchs run amuck; and

Whereas the time has come when forbearance has ceased to be a virtue, and when every true American should take his stand against these bloodthirsty monarchs to the end that the European allies, with our aid, may banish them and their kind from the earth forever: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Warsaw, Ind., Lodge 802, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, in special meeting assembled, extends its sympathy to the German people, the victims of an outrageous system of government which has permitted the greed of one man to involve a large part of the world in a needless war; and be it further

Resolved, That said lodge stands firmly back of the President of the United States of America in his attitude toward the German Empire and her colleagues, and pledges to the President and the country its unqualified support, and the individual support of its members and their property and lives, if necessary, and urge that he proceed as rapidly as possible to wage against the allied aggressors a vigorous and unrelenting war until a lasting peace has been accomplished and civilization and humanity have been assured the rights for which the world has been struggling for 2,000 years; and be it further

Resolved, That this lodge favors universal military training, and urges its adoption by the Congress just assembled; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the records of this organization, that the same be published in each of the daily and weekly newspapers published in the city of Warsaw, and that copies be transmitted to our Representative in Congress and to each of our Senators.

—

HEADQUARTERS ELMER POST, NO. 37,
DEPARTMENT OF INDIANA, G. A. R.,
Elkhart, Ind., March 25, 1917.

At a regular meeting of Elmer Post, No. 37, a committee of three comrades was appointed to report resolutions on the state of the country, and the following resolutions were reported and unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*—

"First. That as the survivors of the War for the Union we recognize that our time for service in the field has passed, but we are yet anxious to render to our country full and efficient service to the extent of our ability;

"Second. That we are firmly convinced that if a state of war between our country and a foreign power does not actually exist, that war is imminent, and that it is the duty of all American citizens, regardless of age, sex, color, or previous nationality, to now stand unitedly for the United States of America, for our country, and our flag, and by eternal vigilance preserve the rights and liberties of our citizens, either at home or abroad, and insist that the American flag shall be permitted to float in safety wherever it has a right to float, and that wherever it floats the lives and property of American citizens will be protected;

"Third. That this is the time to indict and drive out of this country every man and every actual or pretended federation that attempts in any manner longer to delay preparations or the enforcement of the most stringent regulations with reference to all spies and traitors in whatever guise;

"Fourth. That we will support the President and Congress in any and all vigorous and effective steps to vindicate the honor of our Nation, and that all people within the United States who are not willing to contribute their money, their influence, their sacred honor, and their lives if need be toward that end, should at once leave our shores for a country, if any such there exist, which will appreciate their sniveling, cowardly selfishness; and

"Fifth. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senators and Representatives from Indiana and tendered to the local press for publication."

GEORGE WHIPPERT,
JAMES D. BRADEN,
JAMES S. DODGE,
Committee.

—

PATRIOTIC RESOLUTIONS.

The citizens of Washington Township, Marion County, State of Indiana, in public meeting assembled, on this 2d day of April, 1917, for the purpose of raising a flag, as a slight token of their loyalty to the Government of the United States of America, adopt the following as a declaration of their sentiment:

"Whereas as a state of war has been forced upon the United States by the Imperial Government of Germany; and

"Whereas justice and citizenship demand that the burdens and sacrifices of the Nation must be borne by every citizen to keep inviolate his rights as well as the common weal; and

"Whereas the Army and Navy must at once be greatly increased to safeguard our national welfare: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we as American citizens, confident that our Government has exerted every effort to keep us at peace with the world, but realizing that these efforts have been in vain, hereby declare our unfaltering allegiance to the President of the United States and to all constituted authority charged with the administration of national affairs. We believe that the honor and safety of our Government demand prompt and united action in maintaining our relations with other nations the inviolability of those principles of human freedom in which the United States of America was born. We favor an immediate declaration by Congress that a state of war exists between the United States and the German Empire; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that the destruction of the Hohenzollern dynasty will alone assure to the Teutonic peoples the right to freedom and self-government such as millions of their countrymen have sought and found in the United States of America; and further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President and the Vice President of the United States and to each of the Senators from Indiana, and to the Representative in Congress from this district."

O. E. ALLISON,
Chairman.
R. E. WIGGINS,
Secretary.
F. A. WALKER.
JOHN A. MARSH.
S. H. SHEARER.

Mr. NEW. I also present resolutions adopted by the faculty of Purdue University, La Fayette, Ind., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The faculty of Purdue University, assembled in special session on March 29, 1917, deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation confronting the United States of America, and holding that at this time all considerations of party, doctrines, or prejudices should yield to the single patriotic ideal of a united country, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we affirm our unfaltering allegiance to the President of the United States and to all constituted authority charged with the administration of national affairs. We believe that the honor and safety of our country demand prompt and united action by the Government in maintaining, in our relations with other nations, the inviolability of those principles of human freedom in which the United States of America was born. We are in favor of universal military training and service as in our opinion the only equitable, effective, and feasible plan for providing for the future an adequate system of national defense and a citizenship united for action in national affairs.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to each Senator and Representative from Indiana."

Mr. VARDAMAN. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a telegram from the acting president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi, asking that provision be made for instruction of the students in military affairs.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, MISS.,
April 5, 1917.

Senator JAMES K. VARDAMAN,
Washington, D. C.:

This college has reserve officers' training corps already established and in operation under command Capt. A. W. Foreman, of United States Army. Our students receiving military training under two commis-

sioned and three noncommissioned Regular Army officers. If possible please include in universal-service bill provision exempting military schools of this class. Training given here now good as can be given recruits anywhere. Classes should not be disrupted unless our boys needed at front, and they will be ready if called out.

B. M. WALKER,
Acting President.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I also present, and ask to have printed in the RECORD, a telegram from the chancellor of the State university and a telegram from the president of Millsaps College, at Jackson, Miss., asking for the training in military affairs of the students at those institutions. They desire to have such instruction so given as not to interfere with class work.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OXFORD, MISS., *April 5, 1917.*

JAMES K. VARDAMAN,
Washington, D. C.:

I respectfully suggest the universal service will provide for the training of students on the campuses. Otherwise the schools and colleges will be seriously crippled. This institution stands ready to serve the country.

J. N. POWERS.

JACKSON, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator J. K. VARDAMAN,
Washington, D. C.:

Suggest that universal service bill be amended so as to train students at their schools and prevent disruption of classes.

DR. A. F. WATKINS.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, my colleague [Mr. BANKHEAD] this morning received a telegram from Mobile, Ala., transmitting a resolution passed by a mass meeting in Mobile pledging the citizens of that town to the support of the Government in the present war. I ask that the telegram may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOBILE, ALA., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN H. BANKHEAD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The people of Mobile, in mass meeting assembled this date above, 5,000 strong, adopted by acclamation the following resolution:

"Whereas our country now finds itself forced, however unwillingly, into war by the aggressions of the German Government:

"Now, therefore, the people of Mobile, in mass meeting assembled, hereby declare their profound and unswerving loyalty to the Government in the measures which it may take for the due and energetic conduct of the war, and urge, for the protection of our homes and institutions, the adoption of a system of universal military training and the amplest provision of war materials by the Congress of the United States."

H. PILLANS, *Mayor.*

Mr. JAMES. I present a telegram, which I desire to have printed in the RECORD, adopted by the Rotary Club of Louisville, Ky., expressing their loyalty and support of the Government.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOUISVILLE, KY., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.:

Following resolution adopted enthusiastically at meeting of Rotary Club of Louisville to-day:

"Whereas our country, despite the efforts of the President and the patience of our people, has been forced into war to protect the rights, the lives, and the property of our citizens: Be it

"*Resolved*, That the Rotary Club of Louisville pledge its unqualified support of our Government in the prosecution of this war; that we renew our allegiance to the flag, and that we reconsecrate ourselves to the foundation principles of our national life, justice, and democracy; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we indorse the action of our President in this crisis and his firm and righteous challenge as the leader of a free people; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and another to the congressional delegation from Kentucky."

ROTARY CLUB OF LOUISVILLE.

Mr. JAMES. I also present a telegram signed by various citizens of London, Ky., which I ask to have inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LONDON, KY., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Your patriotic acts and loyalty to our country is approved by every citizen in this county. Our county stands as a unit in support of you, our President, and the country.

E. W. Brunner, Shelby Post, J. M. Young, H. J. Johnson, R. H. McFee, J. M. Harper, W. H. Pointer, E. W. Hackney, Nat B. Sewell, R. E. Baldwin, W. R. Hackney, J. C. Johnson, Oscar Bryant, C. C. Woodward, Chas. G. Pearl, Joe Baldwin, E. A. Pollard, Crede Russell.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, without taking up the time of the Senate in reading them, I present quite a number of telegrams and communications, which came to my office this morning—something over a hundred of them, I should say, without having counted them—congratulating the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States upon the stand which they have taken in defense of American honor and safety.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The telegrams will be received and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I desire at this time to read to the Senate a communication in poetry which I have received and which I think is somewhat above the average measure of good expression. It is written by Charles Pressley Simonton, of Covington, Tenn.:

ARMAGEDDON.

[By Charles Pressley Simonton.]

From centuries of slumber, waked by world-wide war's
Deep thunder tones, blest Liberty arose full armed
From Russia's barren steppes. One bugle blast, and like
The walls of Jericho down fell the ancient throne
And hoary palace of the Romanoff. Not he—
The people reign in Petrograd. By right divine
None but the people rule. She saw a world in which
Gaunt hunger stalks where plenty once did smile, a world
With human blood encrimsoned, and with women's tears
Bedewed, and billowed with the graves of fratricides;
For, travesty of all the ages, brothers did
Each other slay, while each did blindly grope, contend
For universal brotherhood and Liberty.
And each one died—God grant 'twas not in vain—for that
Which unto each the other would have gladly giv'n.

Yet they are not the fratricides, but rather they
Who wield the cruel sceptre of despotic power.
And with false cry of "liberty and fatherland"
Did drive them on, for in their tyrant foreheads, just,
Omniscient God hath burned the livid mark of Cain.
Ye blood-drenched, iron thrones of Hohenzollern and
Of Hapsburg quake! Ye, too, shall fall; for Liberty
E'en now does ope the eyes of men, unshackle minds
For ages bound with chains of slavery which ye
Did forge, and misery, pain, and poverty, which they
In ignorance ascribed to God. They now perceive
These are but children of your adamantine hearts
And calloused souls. Upon your fallen palaces
Brave freemen yet shall build a temple and a shrine
To universal brotherhood and Liberty.

The glorious seeds of Liberty which Washington
And Lafayette did sow in fair Columbia's rich
And fertile fields, long since did germinante, mature;
Eternal blossom in the red and white and blue
Of stars and stripes of Liberty. Borne by God's winds
Across the sea, they long did lie in Europe's vales
And serf-tilled plains, 'til, fertilized and quickened by
The blood of millions slain and by the tears of those
Bereft and left behind, the fields are white with flow'rs,
And now humanity the harvest garners in.
Though many fall beneath the blazing harvest sun
And burdens of the day—for 'tis not giv'n to all
To labor in the fields 'til eve—the Master of
The harvest calls some toilers home, yet millions of
The laborers and countless millions yet unborn,
At eventide again will sing the harvest home.

Was Liberty asleep? She never sleeps, or, like
The faithful soldier, sleeps upon her arms; she did
But 'wait the fullness of God's time, that of the blood
And toil and travail of the nations might be born
Beneath the star of Bethlehem returned, good will
To men, enduring peace on earth. Then fear not ye
Of little faith; God reigneth still, hath ever reigned,
Will ever reign in heav'n and o'er affairs of men,
For from beginning 'twas decreed that God shall lead
Humanity e'er onward, upward, 'til beneath
Blest Eden's tree of life all men shall brethren be
In brotherhood of mutual love and trust and peace.

Now and then a man of some poetical genius presents himself in the newspapers of the country. As I have stated, this was written by Charles Pressley Simonton, of Covington, Tenn. I think it is worthy to be a sort of battle hymn of this Republic as we enter into this unknown and unknowable conflict.

Mr. FLETCHER. I present and ask to have printed in the RECORD a telegram from the Tampa Lodge of Elks.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAMPA, FLA., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. DUNCAN FLETCHER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Tampa Lodge, No. 708, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, with a membership of over 500 of this city's leading citizens, pledges its unqualified support to you in taking steps not only to put the country in thorough state of defense but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and bring the conflict to a successful termination.

P. J. VAN PELT,
Exalted Ruler.

Mr. MYERS. I send to the desk two telegrams, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD, together with the signatures. I will say that they have my very hearty approval.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELENA, MONT., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. H. L. MYERS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a special meeting of Helena Lodge, No. 193, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, held this evening, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"With its birth on American soil in the afterglow of the civil strife, love of country has become a fundamental tenet of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. Its membership is composed solely of American citizens, and the Nation's call reaches their minds and hearts. Mindful of patriotic obligations which our order inspires in this solemn hour of our country's history, the membership of Helena Lodge, No. 193, stand ready to discharge cheerfully the duties which the national call demands, whatever they may be: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That Helena Lodge, No. 193, of Helena, Mont., heartily indorses the sentiments expressed by our President in his latest message to Congress and tenders its manhood and substance to the American people in defense of American ideals and in making liberty and freedom the heritage of all the peoples of the earth; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

R. N. HITCHCOCK,
Exalted Ruler, Helena Lodge, No. 193.

MILES CITY, MONT., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That Miles City Lodge, No. 537, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America, are in favor of quick and effective preparedness for our country, and that we pledge our undivided support to the President of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be immediately wired to each of our Representatives in Congress from Montana.

H. D. MCKINNON,
Exalted Ruler.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. I present sundry patriotic telegrams from organizations and mass meetings in the State of New Mexico. I ask that they be printed in the RECORD, together with the signatures which they bear.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. A. A. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

The following message has been forwarded to President Wilson by Albuquerque Lodge, No. 461, B. P. O. E., consisting of 800 members, in extraordinary session assembled:

"*Resolved*, That we indorse the action you have taken in the present crisis and pledge our loyalty and support to the course that you have adopted, and will lend aid and assistance in whatever avenue is necessary."

H. F. FAGAN,
Exalted Ruler.

Attest:

F. A. STORTZ,
Secretary.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *April 4, 1917.*

A. A. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

The Bernalillo County Medical Society, Albuquerque, N. Mex., passed a resolution unanimously indorsing the President's message to Congress, of April 2, advising that a state of war exists between the United States of America and Germany, and tenders the society's service as may be required by the President.

JOS. S. CIPERS, *President.*
FRANK E. TULL, *Secretary.*

ALAMOGORDO, N. MEX., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator A. A. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

That the citizens of Alamogordo extend their unwavering support in all efforts to maintain the honor of our country and to safeguard the lives and rights of our common humanity was demonstrated at a patriotic meeting last night.

G. E. MOFFETT, *Chairman.*

TAOS, N. MEX., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. A. A. JONES,
Care United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, 500 citizens of Taos in mass meeting assembled, request you to convey to President Wilson our pledge of unqualified support in any action he may take in the impending crisis.

T. P. MARTIN, *Chairman.*

Mr. POMERENE. I present sundry telegrams and resolutions in the nature of petitions relating to the President's address and the recent action of the Congress thereon. I ask that they be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Archbishop Elder Council, Knights of Columbus, of Cincinnati, in session to-night has learned that you have asked Congress to declare that a state of war exists with Germany. The council assures you of its unswerving loyalty in the present crisis and heartily indorses the action you have taken.

JOHN H. DRUFFEL,
Grand Knight.

OBERLIN, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

A meeting of Oberlin business men and members of the faculty of Oberlin College to-day indorsed unanimously the President's firm determination to defend the national honor and protect the rights of American citizens from German aggression. At a mass meeting Wednesday night resolutions will be adopted expressing a like sentiment on the part of the citizenship of Oberlin and approving the promised action of Congress declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany. Oberlin will do all in her power to aid in the successful prosecution of hostilities.

COMMITTEE.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved, That we, the trustees of the Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, an organization composed of 1,000 Youngstown business and professional men, pledge ourselves to approve whatever program looking to the defense of American rights and lives the President of the United States may advocate and to use all of the means and influences at our command to further the prompt and thorough carrying out of such program: Be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this chamber be, and he is hereby, instructed to transmit by wire copies of this resolution to both President Wilson and our Representatives in Congress.

ROBERT S. WADSWORTH,
Secretary Youngstown Chamber of Commerce.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

The following message was sent to-day to the President:

"Nine hundred Cleveland American citizens of Italian birth and descent gathered together in Murray Hill School pledge their loyal support to you in every measure you take to protect the liberty and ideals which it is our joy to have found in our country, and we instruct the chairman of this meeting to send a copy of this message to our Senators and Representatives in Congress informing them we desire them to do their part to commit this country to the action recommended in your message of April 2."

E. M. WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*

KENT, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolution resolved by the Kent Board of Trade, Kent, Ohio, in meeting assembled this 4th day of April, 1917, that President Wilson be assured of our admiration and gratitude for the amazing efforts which he had made to keep us at peace with the whole world in the face of most trying conditions; that we are fully conscious of the futility of further efforts toward peace and the necessity of lending giant strength of this great Republic to the defeat of modern barbarism and tyranny, and in the name of democracy and freedom to help curb the despots of the Old World and loosen the shackles for ever that we as citizens of the United States and the world democracy pledge our hearts and hands, our wealth and our production, one and all, in the full strength of manhood and in the glory of our citizenship to our President in his just and righteous blow for world peace and universal freedom; that we commend and approve the course and action of Senators HARDING and POMERENE and Congressman BATHRICK in voting to sustain the President in his commendable efforts.

THE KENT BOARD OF TRADE,
R. S. SMITH, *President.*

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The board of directors of the Business Men's Club of Cincinnati, an organization, as you know, of representative business men of this city, at a regular meeting passed resolutions approving universal compulsory training and service, which were heartily indorsed at a patriotic meeting of over 500 of the leading business men of the city, in the club, Saturday evening, March 31. A report of the action of the board of directors, at the meeting above referred to, with a copy of the resolutions, was telegraphed Saturday night to the President of the United States.

The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas America is a democracy in which all share equally opportunity and liberty and which all, and not a few, therefore, are equally obligated to defend; and

"Whereas justice demands that there should be a fair and equitable distribution of the burdens of national defense so that those who ought to be the last to go should not be the first; and

"Whereas we believe that the Government should have the power to determine the needs of the Nation and to supply these needs according to the ability of American citizenship to fill them; and

"Whereas a national emergency exists wherein the time for debate has ended and the time for action has come: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the board of directors of the Business Men's Club of Cincinnati, Ohio, hereby approve universal compulsory training and service as the only democratic, just, equitable, and American method of national defense; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we hereby again pledge to the President of the United States in this trying hour our sincere, hearty and undivided cooperation and support in any action he may deem advisable to take."

Very respectfully,

THE BUSINESS MEN'S CLUB,
RUTHERFORD H. COX,
Executive Secretary.

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: At the annual meeting of the Toledo Bar Association held March 31, 1917, a resolution, copy of which is inclosed herewith, was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted. At this meeting approximately 100 lawyers were present, and the resolution was

adopted without a dissenting vote. We are pleased to call your attention to the action taken by our association, and inclose copy for your information.

Very respectfully, yours,

AMOS L. CONN,
Secretary, Toledo Bar Association.

—

Whereas our President, Woodrow Wilson, has used his utmost endeavor to keep this country out of the European holocaust; and

Whereas notwithstanding the President's endeavor to the contrary, it has become quite evident that this country is becoming involved in war with certain European nations; and

Whereas it has also become evident that our present volunteer military system is grossly inadequate in case of serious emergency, and it is also unfair to them to rely on only our most patriotic young men for national protection: Now, therefore, it is hereby

Resolved, That the Toledo Bar Association of Toledo, Ohio, in meeting assembled, do hereby express our appreciation and confidence in President Wilson and pledge to him and his almost unanimous confrères in both Houses of Congress our support in upholding and carrying out the measures they shall deem wise in the premises; and be it further

Resolved, That Congress should immediately enact proper laws providing for universal preliminary education and training to commence in youth and be continued, with organization and equipment, at stated periods for a reasonable time thereafter; and be it

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the occasion and a certified copy thereof be mailed to President Wilson, to Senators POMERENE and HARDING, and to Congressman SHERWOOD.

MARCH 31, 1917.

—

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with the instructions given me at a mass meeting of Toledo patriotic citizens, Saturday evening, March 31, I am inclosing copy of resolutions adopted at this meeting.

Respectfully,

TOLEDO PATRIOTIC LEAGUE,
JAMES DUNN, *Secretary.*

Whereas a system of universal military training will not only prepare the citizens of this Nation for efficient service in the event of war but when properly administered will promote the beneficial physical development of those subject to such training, and will instill in the citizens of our country a sense of democracy, patriotism, discipline, and responsibility to duty; and

Whereas the want of lack of such a system of universal training may result in disaster to our country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the citizens of Toledo, this day assembled at a meeting of the Toledo Patriotic League, is in accord with and favors the principle of universal training, and requests the two United States Senators from the State of Ohio and the Congressman from this district to use every effort on their part to secure the enactment by Congress of Senate bill 1695 by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Toledo Patriotic League be, and is hereby, requested to forward copies of these resolutions to Senator CHAMBERLAIN and to the public officials herein mentioned.

—

At this time of crisis in the affairs of the Nation, when at any moment we may find ourselves forced into a war that we have steadfastly sought to avoid, it is fitting that American men and women should have the opportunity, as unquestionably they have the will, to give assurance of their loyal support to the Government in its measures to uphold American rights and protest the lives of American citizens.

Therefore, be it resolved by the citizens (men and women) of Newport News, Va., in mass meeting assembled, That, as Americans, faithful to American ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity, and confident that the Government has exerted its most earnest efforts to keep us at peace with the world, we hereby declare our absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States and pledge our support to the President of the United States in protecting American rights against unlawful violence upon land and sea, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international right.

Unanimously adopted at Newport News, Va., this 1st day of April, 1917.

H. L. FERGUSON,
Chairman of Mass Meeting.

Attest:

ANNIE C. PERKINS,
Secretary.

Mr. KELLOGG. I present resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the Patriotic League of St. Paul, Minn., and ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. PAUL, MINN., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. KNUTE NELSON,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions were adopted to-day at a mass meeting of the Patriotic League of St. Paul. The President in his message to Congress has given expression to the principles and to the united will of the American people, we believe that the right is more precious than peace. We are ready to fight in defense of American right and honor and for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts for democracy for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments; for the rights and liberties of small nations; for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Therefore, be it resolved by the Patriotic League of St. Paul in mass meeting assembled this 3d day of April, 1917, That we urge the Congress to act upon the advice of the President, and that, accordingly, it do declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of a belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and to end the war.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be telegraphed to the Senators from Minnesota and to the Representative of this district in the House of Representatives.

ARTHUR H. SAVAGE, *Secretary.*

Mr. HALE. I present a resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Maine indorsing universal military training, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MAINE,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Augusta, March 1½, 1917.

Hon. FREDERICK HALE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to herewith transmit to you an attested copy of the joint resolution in favor of "Universal military training under the Federal Government."

This resolution was unanimously passed by both branches of the seventy-eighth legislature of our State and is self-explanatory.

Very respectfully, yours,

FRANK W. BALL,
Secretary of State.

Joint resolution by Senate and House of the Seventy-eighth Legislature of Maine in favor of universal military training under the Federal Government.

Whereas the necessity of adequate military defense is the most vital issue before the American people; and

Whereas the permanent safety of the Nation demands efficient training of the young men of the country that they may be properly prepared to render instantly effective military service in time of war: Be it

Resolved, That the senate and house of representatives in legislature assembled are heartily in favor of any fair and equitable law establishing a system of universal military training under the direction of the Federal Government; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress by the secretary of state.

IN SENATE CHAMBER,
March 7, 1917.

Read and passed.
Sent down for concurrence.

TABER D. BAILEY, *President.*
W. E. LAWRY, *Secretary.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
March 8, 1917.

Read and passed in concurrence.

WILLIAM L. BONNEY, *Speaker.*
W. R. ROIX, *Clerk.*

—

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
STATE OF MAINE,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, Frank W. Ball, secretary of state of the State of Maine and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify:

That I have carefully compared the annexed copy of joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maine in legislature assembled with the original thereof as filed in the office of the secretary of state of the State of Maine, on the 9th day of March, 1917, and that it is a full, true, and complete transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the State to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at Augusta this 14th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1917 and in the one hundred and forty-first year of the independence of the United States of America.

[SEAL.]

FRANK W. BALL,
Secretary of State.

Mr. HALE. I also present a resolution adopted by the entire faculty of the Bangor Theological Seminary, of Maine, urging that vigorous measures be taken to bring to an end the present submarine warfare. I ask that the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Bangor, Me., March 28, 1917.

Hon. FREDERICK HALE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the entire faculty of Bangor Theological Seminary, express to you our conviction that vigorous measures should be employed to bring the present submarine war to an end, and also effectually to check the German attempt to dominate over other nations.

We believe that the submarine war of Germany is a menace to the civilized life of the world, more serious than open piracy. It is our conviction that the United States owes it to its own future and to that of the world to intervene with all needed forces to help destroy this warfare on merchant and passenger vessels and the rights of neutrals, and to secure the outlawry of the use of submarines against any vessels not directly used in warfare.

Respectfully,

DAVID N. BEACH, *President.*
FRANCIS B. DENIO.
WARREN J. MOULTON.
CALVIN M. CLARK.
JOHN J. MARTIN.
FREDERICK T. PERSONS.

Mr. STERLING. I have here a telegram, signed by the dean and 41 members of the faculty of the State Agricultural College of South Dakota, which I ask may be read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

BROOKINGS, S. DAK., *April 5, 1917.*

SOUTH DAKOTA CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION,
Care of Senator Thomas Sterling, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned members of the faculty of the South Dakota State College, wish to express our concurrence in the avowed aim of the administration to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world and pledge our support of any measures taken in defense of American rights and liberties.

G. L. Brown, H. C. Solberg, B. A. Dunbar, A. J. Willis, C. H. Brady, W. H. Powers, A. S. Harding, F. E. Brown, W. M. Mair, Agnes Mortan, J. E. Dunwoodie, R. L. Patty, C. Larsen, B. B. Brackett, G. A. Starring, J. Matson, M. Ward, Dilla Wimple, Louise Leaton, Catherine Swift, M. Champlin, R. L. Welch, C. F. Schlatter, G. E. Morrison, G. C. Phillips, J. W. Wilson, N. E. Hansen, J. A. Bonell, B. I. Thompson, B. A. Larson, M. C. Bates, H. C. Severin H. Lomis, R. T. Elliot, George Gillbertson, E. D. Stivers, Robertson Cook, A. B. Calliwell, C. N. Mills, H. B. Mathews, R. B. Forze.

Mr. STERLING. I also present a communication from Winfred Lodge, No. 148, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of South Dakota, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINFRED, S. DAK., *April 3, 1917.*

Whereas it seems that there is a movement in progress by the Emergency Peace Federation which misrepresents our sentiment of national honor in this hour of peril; and

Whereas for months past a strained condition of affairs has existed between the Government of the United States and those warring nations known as the central powers, owing to the inhuman and illegal measures the said central powers have resorted to, together with their total disregard for the fundamental rights of free and sovereign peoples: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of Lodge No. 148, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, of Winfred, S. Dak., in executive session assembled, That we hereby express to the President of the United States and his advisors our hearty appreciation for the stand they have taken, and pledge to them our undivided cooperation and support in whatever measures they and the Congress may deem necessary to maintain the national ideals and the untrammeled freedom and self-respect of all our citizens and the ultimate peace of the world based upon justice and honor; and be it further

Resolved, That we send a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, one to each Member of Congress from South Dakota, and that one be placed on file with the records of this lodge.

BERT A. HESTER,
E. L. SMITH,
W. B. BEDDOW,
Committee.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a telegram announcing the action of the faculty of Norwich University, Northfield, Vt. I desire to say that this university is a military college in the pure sense of the word. It has been in existence three-quarters of a century, and has distinguished itself by the officers it has furnished the Army of the United States. I desire to have its action incorporated in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTHFIELD, VT.

Senator W. P. DILLINGHAM,
Washington, D. C.:

The faculty of Norwich University at a meeting held on the morning of April 4 adopted the following resolutions:

"First. We heartily indorse the message of the President to the National Congress delivered April 2.

"Second. It is the unanimous sentiment of this body and we strongly recommend that we enter into the war in the most aggressive manner possible, and that we throw into it every resource in man power and in material which may be available.

"Third. We firmly indorse the principle of universal military training.

"Fourth. We join in encouraging the American people to exercise the greatest economy, dispensing with all luxuries, and making every effort to increase the production of the necessities of life.

"Fifth. We strongly recommend that the Nation take action at once to limit the use of alcoholic liquors to actual medicinal and mechanical necessities.

"Sixth. That we wish to join all American citizens in displaying the United States flag from sunrise to sunset at our homes and places of business.

"Seventh. We hereby offer the services of the institution and the faculty for any duty, military or civic, for which we may be competent."

IRA L. REEVES, *President,*
H. R. ROBERTS, *Dean,*
G. S. CARLTON,
J. H. BASSERNO,
ROBIN BEACH,
Committee.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a petition of sundry citizens of Ann Arbor, Mich., praying for universal compulsory military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. McLEAN presented petitions of sundry citizens of New Haven and Ridgefield, in the State of Connecticut, praying for universal compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WEEKS presented petitions of the Pittsfield (Mass.) Branch of the New England Military Training Camps Association, and the Warren Brothers Co., of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, offering support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Portland, Oreg., offering support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Portland, Oreg., praying for the enactment of legislation to provide for conscription of property, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Newport, Oreg., praying for the arming of merchantmen, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Fir Club, of Portland, Oreg., praying for the enactment of legislation to permit combination in export trade, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. ROBINSON. I have a telegram from Mr. Ray Gill, of Fort Smith, Ark., stating that the Fort Smith Biscuit Co. plants have been tendered to the Government for its use in the existing emergency. I ask that the telegram be printed in the RECORD.

I have also a telegram from Rev. C. F. Collins and others, of Jonesboro, Ark., relating to a mass meeting held in that city, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORT SMITH, ARK., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
Congress Hall Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

I am sending the following telegram to Secretary of War:

"The Fort Smith Business Men's Club takes pleasure in forwarding to you the offer of Mr. C. H. Wortz, a splendid citizen and sincere patriot, the use of the Fort Smith Biscuit Co.'s plants, located at Fort Smith, Ark., and St. Joseph, Mo., for the use of the Government in making hardtack or for any other purpose."

RAY GILL.

—

JONESBORO, ARK., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Two thousand citizens of Jonesboro, in mass meeting assembled this afternoon, unanimously pledge to the President their unqualified support in upholding and maintaining our national honor and dignity, and in preserving all rights of citizenship which our flag symbolizes, and urge your hearty cooperation.

REV. C. F. COLLINS,
H. H. DOUGHTON,
H. J. SPENCER,
E. L. WESTBROOKE,
Committee.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I send to the desk resolutions passed by the Rotary Club of the city of Augusta, Ga., and ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROTARY CLUB OF AUGUSTA,
Augusta, Ga., April 4, 1917.

Senator HOKE SMITH,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor of sending you a resolution passed at a meeting of the Rotary Club of Augusta, held April 3, 1917, as follows:

"Whereas the President of the United States has splendidly voiced those high purposes and principles for which the people of this country are ready to make all needful sacrifices; and

"Whereas the Rotary Club of Augusta believes that universal military training, under Federal control, is the best and most democratic means by which to maintain those principles and preserve the future peace of this country in security and honor: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That we earnestly urge our Representative and the Senators of this State to give their support to the speedy enactment of a law providing for compulsory military service under direct Federal control; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Woodrow Wilson, Congressman CARL VINSON, Senator HOKE SMITH, and Senator THOMAS W. HARDWICK.

Yours, very truly,
M. G. RIDGELY, *Secretary.*

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present sundry telegrams from various organizations and citizens of the State of Washington in relation to the President's message and the recent action of Congress declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany. They indicate in general the public opinion of the State of Washington and the desire of the people there, almost without exception, to contribute to the needs of the country in this emergency. I ask that the telegrams be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPOKANE, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions adopted without dissent at committee meeting:

"*Resolved,* That we immediately wire our Congressmen and Senators at Washington as follows: Two hundred men and women of opportunity, assembled here to-night, call upon you to stand firmly with the President for human rights and national honor."

EDWARD PIERCE.

SPOKANE, WASH., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

We have unanimously adopted the following resolution: That we favor universal training and legislation designed to increase pay of enlisted men with a view of minimizing the sacrifices of most of them.

EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE INLAND EMPIRE.

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the committee representing nearly all civic and fraternal organizations of the city of Seattle, in executive session, hereby adopt the following resolution, instructing the chairman and secretary to forward copies of the same immediately to the President of the United States and Congress:

"Whereas this Nation is passing through a world crisis and needs the united and loyal support of all of its people, we deem it a privilege as citizens of this great Republic to extend to the administration and Congress our unqualified confidence and support to the end that we retain our rightful place among the nations of the earth; that we courageously and honorably demand recognition of the freedom of the high seas with all other nations; that we will brook no interference of those rights and, if necessary employ force of arms to meet the issue of a free people, not for conquest but to sustain and continue advancing civilization and our principles until they encircle the world. To that end we pledge anew our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honor."

LOUIS WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*
RICHARD SEELY E. JONES, *Secretary.*

SPOKANE, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That Spokane Council of the Knights of Columbus, in regular meeting assembled, pledges support to the President and Congress, the representatives of the American people, in any action they may take to uphold the honor of our country and to protect the lives and property of our citizens.

Dated at Spokane, Wash., this 3d day of April, 1917.

M. J. LUEY, *Grand Knight.*

Attest:

MARTIN MEEHAN, *Secretary.*

VANCOUVER, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Vancouver Lodge, No. 823, with membership of 650 patriot Americans, have passed to-day the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That Vancouver Lodge, No. 823, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, pledges the President of the United States its unanimous support in upholding the honor and dignity of our country and in protecting the lives and property of our citizens at home and abroad, and especially upon the high seas; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we favor a strong preparedness program."

These resolutions reflect the unanimous sentiment of the people of the West.

JOS. J. DONOVAN, *Exalted Ruler.*
C. A. HASSON, *Secretary.*

DEER PARK, WASH., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

Deer Park's answer to the pacifists' propaganda is the organization this afternoon of a drill squad of 50 members, which will be tripled at a general patriotic meeting to be held Wednesday. Meanwhile we expect you to take prompt action to punish the many insults to our flag and coutnry.

DR. H. H. SLATER.

TEKOA, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting at this city, which was attended by almost entire population, we were instructed to send you the following resolution, knowing the great crisis that is to confront our President and Congress to-morrow. We expect our Representatives to stand behind the President in his effort to protect our lives and homes and show by their actions that they are worthy descendants of their forefathers, who were Americans.

D. CAMPBELL.
J. E. REILLY.
H. G. LUCAS.

EVERETT, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

At a special meeting of the Everett Lodge of Elks, held to-night, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved by Everett Lodge, No. 479, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America*, That we favor immediate vigorous and practical preparedness of the country's manhood and industrial strength to meet any national peril, and that the entire membership of this lodge, 1,000 Americans, strongly and unitedly support the President in any steps he may take in the preservation and defense of American rights, and that a copy of this resolution be forthwith transmitted to the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States."

T. H. BOWDEN, *Exalted Ruler.*
J. T. ROGERS, *Secretary.*

SEATTLE, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

The King County Medical Society heartily approves the stand taken by President Wilson in the present crisis and urges support of an adequate bill for universal military training and service.

LOUIS H. MAXSON, *Secretary.*

WILBUR, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator MILES W. POINDEXTER,
United States Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Certain elements telegraphing the administration at Washington at various times in the recent past do not represent the loyal patriotic people of this vicinity; on the contrary, we, your constituents, business men of Wilbur, believe that the time has come for action without any referendum nonsense.

Howard Spining, publisher; F. P. Monteith; W. S. Lauritzen, farmer; F. W. Owen, manager M. E. & E. T. Hay store; W. P. Gray, merchant; A. Alexander, manager Columbia River Milling Co.; J. J. Montgomery, assistant manager Columbia River Milling Co.; A. B. Foley, postmaster, Wilbur, Wash.; J. McPherson, president State Bank of Wilbur; Charles Hudkins, cashier State Bank of Wilbur; C. H. Edwurds; George E. Shaw, manager of F. R. Woodbury Lumber Co.; Lloyd Harris, McGovern-Harris Drug Co.; W. A. Richardson, McGovern-Harris Drug Co.; David Thomson; Carl H. Leidorf, meats; S. H. Cutting; Carl Lauritzen, farmer; Frank Madsen, hotel keeper; William Willford, merchant; H. F. Ruthven, manager Enterprise Garage Co.; Niels Hansen, blacksmith; J. H. Spangel, theater; A. W. Austin, hotel; C. H. Holmes, merchant; A. S. Williams, physician; R. J. Reeves, United States commissioner; R. P. Short, farmer; Lawrence Howell Hardware Co.; H. E. Jones, real estate; J. A. Muir, grain dealer; J. F. Kunz, auto dealer; F. B. Squire, farmer.

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

At this most critical period in the history of our country we American citizens most earnestly request that legislation covering compulsory military training and service be immediately passed by Congress. Let us no longer procrastinate, but act for the honor of this Nation and for the further protection of our homes. The above expresses not only our own firm convictions but those of the great majority of our friends and associates. We earnestly request your active cooperation in a strong American policy.

T. S. LIBBY,
A. MEYERS,
J. V. A. SMITH,
R. W. SPRAGUE,
D. L. DAVIS,
Officers Northwest Trust & Savings Bank.

SEATTLE, WASH., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

At this most critical period in the history of our country we American citizens most earnestly request that legislation covering compulsory military training and service be immediately passed by Congress. Let us no longer procrastinate, but act for the honor of this Nation and for the future protection of our homes. The above expresses not only our own firm convictions but those of the great majority of our friends and associates. We earnestly request your active cooperation in a strong American policy.

M. F. Backus, R. S. Walker, R. P. Callahan, H. C. Davison, Henry M. Rosen, O. B. Hilton, A. E. Spear, L. N. Riley, C. L. Minahan, J. T. Hall, V. Sutcliff, H. C. Bryant, W. H. Overton, G. A. McGuire, H. O. Johnson, E. Morehead, C. L. Stickney, jr., S. S. Helliwell, A. M. Farrah, G. W. Reif, Ruth Maurer, Hilda C. Haar, William Crawford, F. H. Luce, A. R. Morton, R. W. Smith, James Shea, L. N. L. Davis, D. F. Stuart, Barrett Green, B. J. Williams, Stanley R. Scott, W. T. Marsh, H. W. Jensen, L. L. Sasnett, Ralph Beddow, W. D. Courtney, Joseph G. Croasdill, Albert B. Whitwam, Dorothy M. Douthitt, Edna M. McElwain, Irene Helliwell, E. W. Brownell, George A. Skrivanie, J. L. Platt, L. F. Kellogg, F. A. McVeasy, E. W. Burns, C. L. Phillips, M. P. Maine, L. M. Cornwall, L. Moore, H. T. Miller, R. G. Hewitt, O. G. Graves, A. J. Mabbuth, G. C. Bringolf, Joseph W. Winston, R. A. Russell.

PORTLAND, OREG., *April 2, 1917.*

MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Five hundred business men in training at armory last night, incensed by unpatriotic advertisement in western papers signed by Emergency Peace Federation, beg you not to be unduly influenced by such untimely propaganda manifestly circulated by those who do not represent the true, loyal far-western sentiment. Believing you have exhausted every means to maintain peace, if you decide upon war the Northwest is with you, desiring war rather than peace with dishonor. Urge universal training, with strongest alliance with the entente, without separate peace, with object of permanent world peace.

WALTER TAYLOR SUMNER,
A. W. ORTON,
LLOYD R. SMITH,
C. W. GARLAND,
Committee.

AUBURN, WASH., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. LINDLEY H. HADLEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The Auburn Commercial Club, at its weekly luncheon to-day; the Auburn City Council, at its regular meeting to-night; and the citizens of Auburn, at a patriotic mass meeting which to-night crowded Terminal Theater to the doors and out into the streets, each unanimously adopted the following resolution, which was also to-night indorsed by the German Singing Society:

"*Resolved*, That we heartily indorse the patient efforts of President Wilson to maintain peace with honor with each of the warring European nations; that we believe that a state of war now exists between the United States and Germany, for which the German naval and military authorities are wholly responsible; that we believe that the President is in a position to know best the course our country should take in this world-wide crisis; that we pledge to him our undivided support in his announced intention to do all in his power to protect the lives

and property of our citizens and the integrity and honor of our country; and that we urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to loyally support him in this policy.

"*Resolved further*, That we unqualifiedly condemn as un-American and as an effort to mislead the President and Congress as to the sentiment of our western people the expensive newspaper advertising propaganda now appearing in our daily newspapers addressed to Americans of the West and purporting to be issued by a so-called Emergency Peace Federation of New York.

"*Resolved further*, That we heartily indorse every act of the President and the various departments of the Government looking toward preparedness; that we urge that efforts along this line be speeded up in every way practicable, and in furtherance of this end we favor the immediate passage by Congress of a comprehensive universal military-training law.

"*Resolved further*, That these resolutions be telegraphed to Congressman HADLEY, with the request that the President and each Member of the Washington congressional delegation be furnished with a copy thereof."

S. CAVANAUGH, *President*,
HARRY M. LESLIE, *Secretary*,
Auburn Commercial Club.
W. E. ESTER, *Mayor*,
ANNA A. CORBETT, *City Clerk*,
City of Auburn.
M. WILLS LAWRENCE,
Chairman Patriotic Mass Meeting.
I. B. KNICKERBOCKER,
Chairman Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. COLT presented resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island favoring universal compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 137) granting a pension to George Zederbaum, which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

ATTITUDE OF NORTH DAKOTA IN THE WAR.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, so far I do not think there have been any of the resolutions or petitions from my State in support of the Government in its course entered in the RECORD.

I therefore feel justified in desiring to put my State on record, and fairly so, in asking that resolutions from the Knights of Columbus of the State and also a portion of a copy of two letters may at this time be read; and at the close of the reading, in order to place my State rightly, I wish to ask permission to take three minutes of the time of the Senate in placing the attitude of the State upon the record.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WILLISTON, N. DAK.

Hon. P. J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution was passed at the regular meeting of Williston Council, No. 1798, Knights of Columbus, on April 2, 1917:

"Whereas our country is now in the shadow of a crisis fraught with greater possibilities of danger than any that has faced the country during the entire period of its international relations, a state of war with a foreign power, it is proper that all patriotic Americans should give expression of their loyalty to the Government and the course which it has chosen to pursue in the conflict which has been thrust upon us; although the Knights of Columbus is an international organization one of its cardinal principles and virtues is respect for and maintenance of properly constituted authority, no Knight of Columbus living under the American flag, obedient to the teachings of the order, can be anything but a good and patriotic American: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of Williston Council, No. 1798, in regular meeting assembled, this 2d day of April, A. D. 1917, do hereby give expression of our utmost loyalty to and support of the course our Government has deemed wise to pursue in this our hour of trial, and our friendly assurance of the hearty cooperation of our order to achieve the ultimate object for which our President stands; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and that a copy thereof be transmitted to our senior Senator, Hon. P. J. McCUMBER, to be delivered to the President of the United States."

WILLISTON COUNCIL KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS,
THOMAS M. COONEY, *Grand Knight.*
THOMAS B. MURPHY, *District Deputy.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA, *March 28, 1917.*

Hon. P. J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

* * * * * * *

I am convinced that the time has come for Congress to make a declaration of war. It is not merely a question of American rights, although that must enter into the case and be the point that is largely emphasized. But I feel there are much larger grounds than this. The fact is that the world is in the midst of a tremendous and epoch-making conflict, upon the decision of which tremendous consequences depend. I believe that it is to result in the downfall of autocracy and the spread of liberty, equality, and fraternity throughout the world.

At such a time I feel that the United States can not afford to sit idly by while other nations are struggling, sacrificing, and suffering to the limit for the world's betterment. We shall be held up to the scorn of mankind by historians of the future if we do not play our part like men in this gigantic conflict. Militarism, autocracy, the exploitation of alien peoples, the divine right of kings—these things must be put down forever, and if our great, rich, and influential Nation is to be able to look in the face of the world with self-respect in the years to come she must align herself with the progressive forces of civilization.

* * * * * * *

Yours, very cordially,

VERNON P. SQUIRES.

FARGO, N. DAK., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. P. J. McCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I notice by the papers that the President has urged Congress to declare war on the German Government, and I presume action will be taken in accordance with his wish and that active war by this time will be a settled fact. I feel as every loyal American should feel, that we must aid our country to the best of our ability and our fullest capacity; that is my desire and the desire of my sons. As you know, I am engaged in road building, construction of sewers and waterworks, and have a large equipment in various States from Wisconsin to California, and I wish to offer for the use of the Government, in case they need me or my equipment, my services and full use of my equipment if it be needed. I wish that you would make a tender of my services and equipment to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and the Hon. D. F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture.

I wish to further add that I have a letter from Mr. G. C. Warren, of Boston, president of Warren Bros. Co., stating that they have also made an offer of their equipment in case of need. I mention this fact for the reason that I am connected with and doing work with the Warren Bros. Co. at the present time.

In case it is required, I will send an itemized list of the equipment and horses which I have at my command.

Yours, very truly. JAMES KENNEDY.

Mr. McCUMBER. I ask permission to speak about three minutes on the matter of the attitude of our own State.

Mr. President, there have been so many petitions and resolutions from the State of North Dakota, praying that this country might avoid entering into this war that I fear the country may have a wrong impression of the sentiment of the people of the State and might possibly question their patriotism and loyalty.

Mr. President, our people did desire, and deeply desire, to avoid entering into this war if we could honorably escape it, and I am certain that the adoption of the substitute for the Senate resolution, which I offered, giving the central powers one more opportunity to abandon unrestricted warfare on American ships and citizens, and to conduct their blockade in accordance with well recognized international rules, and thereby avoid a war with this country, would have been most gratifying to the vast majority of our people. But while so desiring to avoid a war, I am certain that few, if any, would uphold the military authorities of Germany in directing the indiscriminate sinking of American vessels without notice and without any attempt to ascertain the character of their cargoes or their destination.

Mr. President, probably more than one-fourth of the population of our State are of German birth or parentage, and most naturally their sympathies were with the fatherland so long as this war was confined to the great European powers; but now that a state of war exists between this country and Germany, you will find our people united as American citizens in defense of the principles for which we battle.

When this country in 1776 declared her independence and severed her relations with the mother country, the American people were compelled to war against their own blood and kinsmen. Let us not think for a moment that those were not days of deepest sorrow for them when compelled to draw the sword against people of their own blood. But a great political principle was at stake, a principle just as dear to Britons themselves as to the British colonials across the seas. It was the aristocracy of England and not the English people who attempted to subordinate that principle of English liberty; and so we, battling against our ancestors and our own kindred, with the aid of France, fought the War of the Revolution to a finish.

So, Mr. President, now that the die is cast and the great principle of freedom of the seas is at stake—the question of whether any nation in the world shall have the right to declare that any vast section of the ocean shall be a death zone, and that any neutral ship, no matter how innocent her cargo or what her destination may be, shall be destroyed and her crew and passengers sent down to death without notice and even without an opportunity to establish their innocent purpose—must be settled by the arbitrament of arms, we shall find that all the American people, no matter what their ancestry, will stand united—one country, with one purpose, and with but one flag in the skies. And in making this declaration I know I am expressing the sentiment, the fidelity, and the patriotism of all the people of North Dakota.

WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Mr. President, I have received, as other Senators have, hundreds of petitions and memorials, some appealing to Senators and Representatives to sustain the Presi-

dent in the present trying hour, and others protesting against any step which would involve our country in war, and I desire, if I may have the consent of my colleagues, to say just a few words touching the attitude of my State as I interpret it in the present situation.

Our State, as most of you know, has in the past shown its patriotism and loyalty to the Government in every crisis which we have faced. Solemnly and unitedly the entire delegation from the State of Michigan, in House and Senate, has recorded its faith in the leadership of the President of the United States in the present crisis. I would not have any of my colleagues understand for one moment that this responsibility rests lightly upon me. This is the second time during my service in this Capitol when I have been called upon to vote a declaration of war. Eighteen years ago we approached a national crisis with patriotism and courage, and to-day we launch the ship of state upon an unknown sea, deeply impressed with the responsibility which we are assuming. What sufferings will be endured; what trials we will be subjected to; what changes will be wrought in our international relations and in our domestic affairs no man can foretell. The Government is now committed to a new course of conduct, fraught with danger to our institutions and affecting even the progress of civilized government. Ours, indeed, is a most disagreeable duty.

Eighteen years ago Congress forced the President of the United States into war. Perhaps I should take my share of the responsibility for that course, because I thought then, and I still think, that it was the duty of this Government to rid the Western Hemisphere of the difficulties and the dangers which menaced our national peace and the health and good order of our countrymen. I have never regretted the course which I then took, although, as I saw our brave boys go forth to battle, my heart was heavy and my eyes filled with tears. Their mission, however, was a holy one, and Providence kindly spared most of them to their loved ones.

We had a very safe and courageous and prudent pilot then—a soldier who had for four years carried a musket in defense of his country. He was opposed to war, but when the hour struck President McKinley assumed all of the responsibility which fell to his high office and did his duty with a breadth of view and a courage and a patriotism and a generosity which found reflection in every American heart and stimulated our countrymen to the highest evidences of loyalty.

If any Senator had told me a year ago that our country would to-day be involved in the European war, I would have thought him a madman. At no period in this discussion have I, by word or act, encouraged the present deplorable situation. I have been the critic of the President many times. I have disagreed with him in almost everything he has done since he became the official head of our Government. Perhaps I have been wrong and the President has been right; but, Mr. President, from this moment I bow in loyalty to the President of the United States, and never again, while this burden rests upon him, will I lay even a feather's weight upon his shoulders. He is carrying our burden for us and I pray God to give him strength to bear it; he has responsibilities enough; and he understands the delicacy and the importance of our country's position better than we do. The fathers of the Republic specially enjoined upon him the conduct of our foreign affairs. Henceforth with me politics and factionalism, discord and sectionalism, will be strangers to my public code, while my heart shall beat responsive to his every need.

This must be no partisan war. I sat beside gallant Joe Wheeler when President McKinley called him to the White House and placed the suit of blue upon him. McKinley was broad enough and generous enough and far-sighted enough to call around him men of all political parties—Fitzhugh Lee and Senator Butler, of South Carolina, men of opposite political faith to himself; and unless I am mistaken in the high character and the generous purpose and the broad Americanism of the President of the United States in this trying time he will know no section, no party, no faction of his countrymen; he will summon to the colors men of might and men of power who can aid him in guiding the old ship of state once piloted by Washington, Lincoln, and McKinley through troublous waters and past dangerous shoals.

If he needs the advice of experienced men, he can, for the asking, quickly obtain it. There are in this Chamber men of large experience whose services he can instantly command. In statecraft and diplomacy, in foreign relations, we have in our membership the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], fit to be the premier in any cabinet or Government of the world. We have in the new Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] an experienced and able lawyer who in the Cabinet of McKinley and in the Cabinet of Taft showed his qualifications for leadership. There are two former Presidents of the Republic now living whom President Wilson can command. He should promptly call to the council chamber the dauntless and the intrepid Roosevelt and use him wherever he is willing to go and in the performance of any service of which he is capable; and he should use the services of the calm and able and prudent Taft, who as jurist, Secretary of War, and President solved many difficulties with honor. He can call for his assistants great men upon both sides of this Chamber, and if the far-seeing and sagacious Root will be helpful in this crisis, the President has but to command, and I am sure he will obey.

This is no time for partisanship. For myself and my State, we shall never think of it again. The loyal people of Michigan who would have kept our country out of war will now rally to our flag and sustain the Government in its trying hour; and voicing their sentiments, representing them in part as I do, I have risen this morning simply to pledge my earnest cooperation in every measure that is intended to strengthen the arm of Government in this crisis and lend encouragement to the patriotic men and women of our country.

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE—WAR WITH GERMANY.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Secretary of State addressed to the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], and also, following that letter, a translation of a letter from the Imperial German Embassy, dated March 1, to the Secretary of State, and following that another letter from the Imperial German Embassy here, dated March 26, to the Secretary of State.

I shall not ask to have these documents read, but I should like the privilege of saying that they have been prepared, and were sent to Senator KING for the purpose of correcting certain inaccuracies which developed here in debate and which have been published widely concerning the mining of the North Sea and the highways of the ocean.

The letter shows, in the first place, why the Department of State did not officially publish the British Admiralty order alleged to have been prepared November 2, but which actually was dated November 3, namely, that it had been previously made public. It shows, furthermore, that the first mining of the high seas was done and officially announced on August 7, 1914, by the German Admiralty, which then mined the trade routes to Great Britain. It shows that on August 11 the British Admiralty reserved its right to do likewise in retaliation for what the German Admiralty had done. It shows that on August 13, 1914, the United States protested to Great Britain against mining the high seas, even though Germany had done so. It shows that on August 19 Great Britain notified us that Germany was placing mines on the high seas; that on August 23 Great Britain again notified us that Germany was laying mines, and that Great Britain still reserved the right to do likewise, although it had not yet done so; that on August 30 further notice to the same effect was given by Great Britain to the United States; that on October 2, 1914, some two months after Germany had acted, Great Britain notified us that the British Admiralty had laid mines in certain waters of the North Sea, and outlined the area covered by latitude and longitude.

The note which I have sent to the desk from the German Embassy in Washington explains, from the German standpoint, to the United States why the American ships *Evelyn* and *Carib* were sunk, and gives as a reason that they did not obey the orders of the German Admiralty as to sailing in safe waters; that they had Dutch pilots, secured through English authority, instead of having German pilots, and therefore could not know where the German mines were. The other note of March 26 from the Germany Embassy explains that the two ships should have had German pilots, and would then have known the safe course to pursue in seeking German ports. These two notes indicate, at least, that the German Government held that the two American vessels were sunk by German mines and not by British mines.

These are offered, Mr. President, for publication in the RECORD, in order that the State Department may not be misrepresented, and in order that the facts may be accurately and officially known.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Nebraska in this connection if it is not also true that Great Britain furnished pilots to all of our ships approaching her shores so that they could be safely carried through that part of the sea which was mined by her?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is true.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the documents referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 5, 1917.

The Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
United States Senate.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of a letter dated March 28, 1917, signed by Mr. Samuel Russell, clerk of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, with which was inclosed a copy of a letter from Mr. Emil Ahlborn, of Boston, Mass., imputing bad faith to the Department of State for failure to include in its publication of the diplomatic correspondence with belligerent Governments relating to neutral rights and duties the British Admiralty order of November 2, 1914, declaring the North Sea a military area. The department has also received from other sources a facsimile of its letter of March 9, 1917, regarding the publication of this order. The fact that these facsimiles are being broadcasted over the country, accompanied by palpable misstatements over the name of Emil Ahlborn, indicates the scope, origin, and purpose of this propaganda and renders a further statement by the department on this matter desirable.

On November 3, 1914, the British ambassador transmitted in a note of that date to the department a copy of a telegram dated November 3, 1914 (instead of Nov. 2, 1914, as supposed), and received by him from the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, "recommending certain routes to be followed for ships wishing to trade to and from Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, and Holland." (A copy of this note is printed in the inclosed document.) On November 4, 1914, this telegram was given to the press, and subsequently a copy was sent to the Secretary of Commerce for his information.

While it is true that for the reasons stated in my letter of March 9, 1917, this telegram of November 3, 1914, was not included in the published diplomatic correspondence, it is also true that other documents with reference to the laying of mines on the high seas were not published in the White Books, as, for instance, the notice issued by Germany on August 7, 1914, that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by German mines In regard to this notice the German Government in its communication of November 7, 1914, replying to the British protest to neutral powers against the laying of German mines, stated:

"In the British protest the charge is made that the German Government never issued any proclamation as to the places where mines were laid. This charge is not founded in fact. On August 7, 1914, the German Government communicated to all the neutral powers that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines by Germany. Neutral shipping was therefore notified of the fact of the laying of the mines and the zones where it had to look out for German mines. If the German Government did not give the exact situation of the various mines, this may well be understood from the conditions which forced the laying of the mines."

So far as the department is advised, the German notice of August 7, 1914, referred to is the first one of its kind issued by any belligerent Government during the war. Notwithstanding this fact, and notwithstanding that Germany subsequently sowed mine fields on the high seas, no protest has been made by this Government to the German Government against such action. (A copy of the German communication of Nov. 7, 1914, is printed in the inclosed documents.)

In a memorandum dated August 11, 1914, the British ambassador alleged that Germany was scattering contact mines indiscriminately about the North Sea and informed this Government that the British Admiralty held themselves fully at liberty to adopt similar measures in self-defense. (A copy of this communication is printed in the inclosed document.)

In reply to this, on August 13, 1914, this Government protested against such action on the part of the British Admiralty, as follows:

"If an enemy of His Majesty's Government has, as asserted, endangered neutral commerce by an act in violation of the Hague Convention, which can not be justified on the ground of military necessity, the Secretary of State perceives no reason for His Majesty's Government adopting a similar course, which would add further to the dangers to peaceful navigation of the high seas by vessels of neutral powers.

"The Secretary of State, therefore, expresses the earnest and confident hope that His Majesty's Government may not feel compelled to resort, as a defensive measure, to a method of naval warfare which would appear to be contrary to the terms of the Hague Convention, and impose upon ships and lives of neutrals a needless menace when peaceably navigating the high seas."

The British ambassador acknowledged this in a memorandum dated August 19, 1914, and stated that Germany was placing automatic contact mines on the high seas, where they were dangerous to merchant shipping, and that a German mine-laying vessel had been caught in the act.

In the memorandum dated August 23, 1914, the British ambassador stated:

"The Germans are continuing their practice of laying mines indiscriminately upon the ordinary trade routes," and that "The admiralty, while reserving to themselves the utmost liberty of retaliatory action against this new form of warfare, announce that they have not so far laid any mines during the present war, and that they are endeavoring to keep the sea routes open for peaceful commerce."

In a further memorandum, dated August 30, he stated:

"Although the German action in laying mines has forced the admiralty to reserve to themselves the right to do likewise, the statement already made by His Majesty's Government that no British mines have been laid remains absolutely true at this moment. The mines off the Tyne were laid 30 miles to the seaward, not as part of any definite military operations nor by German ships of war, but by German trawlers of which a considerable number appear to have been engaged in the work; the number of one such trawler actually seen to be doing this was *A.E.* 2½, Emden."

(Copies of these memoranda, dated August 23 and 30, 1914, are printed in the inclosed document.)

On October 2, 1914, approximately two months after the notice of Germany of August 7, 1914, that she would lay mines on the trade routes to English ports, the British Government first notified this country that mines had been laid by the British Admiralty, and the area in which these mines were laid was set forth by latitude and longitude. Subsequent to the notice of October 2, 1914, the British Government issued, from time to time, notice of changes in British mine areas and of provisions made for pilots to conduct merchant vessels through them. (A copy of this notice is printed in the inclosed document.)

Subsequent representations to Great Britain on the subject as well as the other correspondence on mine areas will be found in the inclosed document.

As to the American ships *Carib* and *Evelyn*, which were sunk in February, 1915, with loss of American lives, and which are claimed in the propaganda circular mentioned to have been sunk by British mines, it may be stated that in contemporaneous German communications the sinking of these vessels is apparently assumed to have been caused by German mines; for the responsibility for their loss is laid on the captains for not following German sailing directions and taking on German pilots. Copies inclosed. (German notes, Mar. 1 and 26, 1915.)

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

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[Translation.]

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1915.

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE: Pursuant to instructions, I have the honor to inform your excellency that the American vessels *Evelyn* and *Carib* were lost in the North Sea because, contrary to the direction given in the Nachrichten für Seefahrer (Notice to Mariners) Nos. 2770–14, 3093–14, and 33–15, they ran along the East Friesian Islands by direction, as stated by the captain of the *Evelyn*, of a British warship.

The Imperial Government urgently recommends all vessels for Helgoland Bay from the coast of the Netherlands to sail up to about the fifty-fifth degree of latitude from the Terschelling Lighthouse and then steer for Lister Tief and there wait for a German pilot. He alone can furnish reliable information to navigate the German Bay.

The safest course is that given in No. 3161–14 of the Nachrichten für Seefahrer.

Accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the renewed assurance of my most distinguished high consideration.

J. BERNSTORFF.

His excellency the Secretary of State of the United States,
Mr. W. J. BRYAN.

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[Translation.]

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D. C., March 26, 1915.

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE: Referring to your excellency's kind note of the 5th instant about the sinking of the American steamer *Evelyn*, I have the honor to make to your excellency the following communication:

The investigation of the *Evelyn* and *Carib* casualties brought to light the fact that the vessels had on board Dutch, not German, pilots. Those pilots appear to have been furnished by the Rotterdam branch of the English Furness Steamship Co. Those pilots, according to the inquiries made, are not competent to navigate German waters. It was found, for instance, that H. Benne, the pilot taken by the steamer *Osmulgu*, who was formerly a Dutch district pilot, but is already on the pension list, declared he knew nothing of a certain sailing direction for the German coast, which is enough to show that he is not fit to steer a vessel to Germany. As a matter of fact, he did not even observe the sailing directions issued by the German Admiralty for the German coast, and it was just luck that saved the *Osmulgu* from the fate of the *Evelyn*.

The master of the *Evelyn* declared that he sailed through the channel and had a mine pilot along the English coast. It seems that the English officer who came on board with the pilot told him that he should steer not the northern course but the southerly course, below the East Friesian Islands, which was the course taken by the other steamers.

Whereupon they steamed for Rotterdam and there took a pilot. On being asked why he had not steered for Lister Tief, he replied that he had left everything to the pilot.

According to his chart the casualty occurred 53° 52′ north, 6° 7′ east. The pilot, who had the looks of an old Dutch fisherman and made a rather unfavorable impression, declared that he had steered that course because he had heard that other ships had taken it. In reply to a question he said that he had never come with a ship into the German Bay since the war began.

In order to avert further casualties as much as possible I have the honor to leave it to your excellency kindly to consider whether it may not be advisable to warn in such manner as may seem appropriate the American steamship companies concerned against applying to the above-mentioned firms for pilots. I make this recommendation all the stronger, as there is reason to suspect that the enemy will spare no efforts to expose ships bound for Germany to danger and that influence is possibly brought to bear on the pilot service. I would in this connection again repeat that the course recommended in the Nachrichten für Seefahrer No. 3161–14, north around Scotland to the guiding buoys of Lister Tief.

Accept, etc.,

J. BERNSTORFF.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN. From the Committee on Appropriations I report back favorably with amendments the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriation to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 2) thereon.

I will state that when the routine morning business has been concluded I shall ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill.

ALICE CANNING.

Mr. THOMPSON, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution No. 22, submitted by Mr. HUGHES on the 4th instant, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Alice Canning, widow of Thomas A. Canning, late conductor of elevator in the employ of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary, at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

DENNIS M. KERR.

Mr. HUGHES, from the Committee on Pensions, to which was referred the amendment submitted by himself on the 4th instant proposing to appropriate $1,200 to pay Dennis M. Kerr for extra and expert services rendered the Committee on Pensions during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress as assistant clerk, etc., reported favorably thereon and moved that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and printed, which was agreed to.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LANE:

A bill (S. 722) to authorize the establishment of a Coast Guard station on the coast of Curry County at or near Port Orford, Oreg.; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 723) authorizing the establishment of a naval base on the Columbia River, near Astoria, Oreg., and making appropriation for the beginning of construction; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WARREN:

A bill (S. 724) to provide for the award of medals of honor and distinguished-service medals; and

A bill (S. 725) to make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 726) to amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated";

A bill (S. 727) granting to the State of Wyoming title to certain lands in said State for use in connection with the Big Horn Hot Springs State Reserve;

A bill (S. 728) to permit the State of Wyoming to relinquish to the United States lands heretofore selected and to select other lands from the public domain in lieu thereof;

A bill (S. 729) granting to the State of Wyoming 1,000,000 acres of public land to aid in the maintenance of a system of public roads;

A bill (S. 730) granting certain coal lands to the town of Kaycee, Wyo.; and

A bill (S. 731) to patent certain lands to the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 732) to promote the settlement and agricultural development of United States reclamation projects; and

A bill (S. 733) providing for the construction of bridges and culverts or roads under reclamation projects; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 734) to establish a mining experiment station in the State of Wyoming, to aid in the proper development of the mineral resources of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

A bill (S. 735) to create two additional associate justices of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia and two associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 736) for the relief of Thomas Drury and others;

A bill (S. 737) for the relief of Edward B. Fox, administrator of the last surviving partner of the firm of Child, Pratt & Fox; and

A bill (S. 738) for the relief of the owners of lighter *No. 128;* to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 739) granting an increase of pension to Daisy S. Phillips; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WILLIAMS:

A bill (S. 740) to erect a monument to Ferdinand de Lesseps; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 741) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to accept the bonds of certain cities as security for crop-moving deposits; and

A bill (S. 742) to found and maintain a mutual insurance fund for depositors in national banks, to be kept available in the United States Treasury and to be administered by a bureau in the Treasury Department organized and regulated for that purpose; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 743) to reimburse T. C. Barrier, postmaster, Philadelphia, Miss., for registered money stolen in transit; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 744) to provide for a commission to investigate commissions and to make recommendations concerning the same; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 745) to authorize certain late physicians and surgeons of the United States Volunteer Army in the War with Spain to practice their respective professions in any Territory, District, dependency, or possession of the United States under the constitutional jurisdiction of Congress upon the presentation and proof of certain facts; to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine.

A bill (S. 746) to provide for the appointment of a district judge in the northern and southern judicial districts in the State of Mississippi, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 747) to revive the right of action under the captured and abandoned property acts, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 748) to confirm and ratify the sale of the Federal building site at Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 749) waiving the age limit for admission in the United States Marine Corps in the case of Bartley Bull; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 750) to place Lieut. Col. Junius L. Powell on the retired list of the Army with the rank of brigadier general; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 751) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and adjudicate claims for the destruction of private property and damage thereto as the result of the construction of levees along, and other improvements of, the Mississippi River; and

A bill (S. 752) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and adjudicate claims for the destruction of private property and damage thereto as the result of the construction of levees along, and other improvements of, the Mississippi River; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 753) to establish a drainage fund and to provide for the reclamation of swamp and overflowed lands in certain States; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SAULSBURY:

A bill (S. 754) for the relief of Edward H. Dennison; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 755) for the relief of Robert S. Emerson; and

A bill (S. 756) to authorize the appointment of Charles Gilbert Thayer, jr., as a second lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 757) authorizing the reinstatement of J. A. B. Sinclair as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 758) to increase the productive agricultural area of the United States by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 759) for the relief of W. R. Wells;

A bill (S. 760) for the relief of George R. Campbell, Milton B. Germond, and Walter D. Long; and

A bill (S. 761) for the relief of Capt. Thomas R. Clark; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 762) to establish game sanctuaries in national forests, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

A bill (S. 763) granting a pension to Michael Smyth;

A bill (S. 764) granting a pension to Richard Trombley;

A bill (S. 765) granting a pension to Minnie H. Wolf;

A bill (S. 766) granting an increase of pension to Frederick J. Young;

A bill (S. 767) granting an increase of pension to Frederick S. Webber;

A bill (S. 768) granting an increase of pension to Emmett L. Warren; and

A bill (S. 769) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. I. Barnett (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CULBERSON:

A bill (S. 770) to provide for the punishment of officers of United States courts wrongfully converting moneys coming into their possession, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBINSON:

A bill (S. 771) to authorize the employment of persons in the District of Columbia and in the field and other necessary expenses in the administration of the national parks and the Hot Springs Reservation; to the Committee on Appropriations;

A bill (S. 772) to establish a bureau for the study of the criminal, pauper, and defective classes; and

A bill (S. 773) forbidding judges to charge juries with regard to matters of fact, but requiring judges to declare the law, and in jury trials to reduce their charge or instructions to writing on the request of either party; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 774) to authorize and provide for the investigation and survey of swamp, wet, and overflowed lands in the Mississippi Valley susceptible of drainage, and to devise plans and systems therefor; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 775) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Monticello, in the State of Arkansas; and

A bill (S. 776) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Forrest City, in the State of Arkansas; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 777) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant permission for utilization of water power at locks and dams constructed by the Government on navigable rivers of the United States; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 778) to prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 779) to amend the act to regulate commerce as amended, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 780) to amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases," approved April 22, 1908, and amended April 5, 1910; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 781) granting lands to Wade Pemberton and others, of Hot Springs Lodge, No. 62, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of Hot Springs, Ark.;

A bill (S. 782) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to certain lands of James Payne, his heirs and assigns;

A bill (S. 783) releasing the claim of the United States Government to the block or square of land in the city of Fort Smith, in the State of Arkansas, upon which is situated the old Federal jail, to the State of Arkansas for a site for an armory and training camp of the Arkansas National Guard;

A bill (S. 784) granting lands to Hot Springs Lodge, No. 62, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of Hot Springs, Ark.;

A bill (S. 785) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause to be made certain improvements on the Government reservation at Hot Springs, Ark.; and

A bill (S. 786) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct a new bathhouse on the Hot Springs Reservation, Ark., for the accommodation of indigents; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 787) to relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government;

A bill (S. 788) for the relief of William Ramsey and others;

A bill (S. 789) for the relief of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Arkansas;

A bill (S. 790) for the relief of John W. Fein;

A bill (S. 791) for the relief of the heirs of the late Hugh Rowen;

A bill (S. 792) for the relief of the heirs or estate of Wesley W. Wallace, deceased;

A bill (S. 793) for the relief of the heirs or estate of Samuel N. Pryor, deceased;

A bill (S. 794) for the relief of the heirs of the late Jennie Hunter;

A bill (S. 795) for the relief of heirs of James Thompson, deceased;

A bill (S. 796) for the relief of heirs or estate of Thomas Daly, deceased;

A bill (S. 797) for the relief of Lizzie E. McCord, administratrix of Moses S. McCord, deceased;

A bill (S. 798) for the relief of the heirs of William H. Harvey, deceased;

A bill (S. 799) for the relief of the heirs of J. S. Morton, deceased;

A bill (S. 800) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to adjust the accounts of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co. in accordance with the decision of the Court of Claims in case No. 24409;

A bill (S. 801) for the relief of the heirs of John Kirk; and

A bill (S. 802) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of W. W. Busby, administrator of the estate of Evelina V. Busby, deceased, against the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 803) granting a pension to A. G. Hamilton, alias Garland Hammond;

A bill (S. 804) granting an increase of pension to John F. Spence;

A bill (S. 805) granting a pension to William H. Tucker;

A bill (S. 806) granting a pension to Ada Jernigen;

A bill (S. 807) granting a pension to Stephen Konicka;

A bill (S. 808) granting an increase of pension to B. E. Benton;

A bill (S. 809) granting a pension to Samuel M. McKinney;

A bill (S. 810) granting a pension to John A. Pryor;

A bill (S. 811) granting a pension to James E. Dickerson;

A bill (S. 812) granting a pension to Philip S. Herron;

A bill (S. 813) granting an increase of pension to Frank Plumlee;

A bill (S. 814) granting a pension to J. A. Swaim;

A bill (S. 815) granting a pension to John S. Hope;

A bill (S. 816) granting an increase of pension to Zora W. Elder;

A bill (S. 817) granting a pension to Thomas S. Garen; and

A bill (S. 818) granting a pension to Minnie Bryant; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 819) to relinquish, release, and quitclaim to the trustees of the Hatchie Coon Hunting and Fishing Club title to certain lands in Poinsett County, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. BROUSSARD:

A bill (S. 820) to amend the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stats., 869), to increase the limit of cost for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, rebuilding, and reconstruction of the post office and courthouse at Alexandria, La.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 821) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to certify to the Secretary of the Interior, for restoration to the public domain, lands in the State of Louisiana not needed for naval purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 822) for the relief of the heirs of Joseph Piernas, deceased;

A bill (S. 823) for the relief of the heirs of Myra Clark Gaines, deceased;

A bill (S. 824) for the relief of the heirs of Henry Ware; and

A bill (S. 825) for the relief of the estate of Loyeau Berhel, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 826) granting an increase of pension to Jules Toffier; and

A bill (S. 827) granting a pension to Marcelle M. Muller, Anthony N. Muller, jr., and Maud Muller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HITCHCOCK:

A bill (S. 828) to give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds, the ratifications whereof were exchanged on the 7th day of December, 1916, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 829) to authorize the employment of Federal prisoners on public roads within the States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 830) to provide for the purchase of ground and the erection of a Weather Bureau observatory building at Jackson, Tenn.; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 831) providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

A bill (S. 832) to amend an act approved March 4, 1915, abolishing the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims in certain cases involving claims against the United States for property destroyed or appropriated by the Federal Army during the Civil War; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 833) to establish an additional fish-cultural station in the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 834) to provide for the erection of a public building at Kingsport, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 835) to provide for the erection of a public building at Newport, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 836) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Erwin, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 837) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at South Pittsburg, Tenn.; and

A bill (S. 838) to provide for the erection of a public building at Dayton, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 839) to retire Dr. Charles Lee Baker on pay; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 840) for the relief of Patrick McNamee; and

A bill (S. 841) to provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a naval and aviation academy on the Pacific coast of the United States, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 842) to provide for the establishment of a National Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill (S. 843) to cancel allotments made to three members of the Wintu Tribe of Indians on the public domain, California; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 844) granting consent to the county of Madera, Cal., and its successors and assigns the right to construct a dam across the San Joaquin, Fresno, and Chowchilla Rivers; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 845) for the relief of Francis Nicholson (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 846) for the relief of Edward F. McDermott, alias James Williams;

A bill (S. 847) for the relief of Arthur R. Aldworth;

A bill (S. 848) authorizing the construction and equipment of an ammunition-manufacturing plant at the United States Arsenal at Benicia, Cal.; and

A bill (S. 849) providing for the construction and equipment of a storehouse at Benicia Arsenal, State of California; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 850) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Marysville, Cal.;

A bill (S. 851) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of San Mateo, Cal.;

A bill (S. 852) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the present Federal building and site at San Jose, Cal., and to acquire a new site and to provide for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the said city of San Jose, Cal.;

A bill (S. 853) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Vallejo, Cal.;

A bill (S. 854) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Richmond, Cal.;

A bill (S. 855) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Palo Alto, Cal.;

A bill (S. 856) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Placerville, Cal.;

A bill (S. 857) providing for the erection and completion of a building for post office and other purposes at Oakland, Cal., and making appropriation therefor; and

A bill (S. 858) to provide for the fitting up of quarters in the post-office building at the city of Sacramento for the accommodation of the district court of the northern district of California and its officers, and making appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 859) for the relief of J. G. Swinney;

A bill (S. 860) for the relief of Katie Norvall;

A bill (S. 861) for the relief of Augusta Reiter;

A bill (S. 862) for the relief of Mary Jordan, widow of Dennis Jordan;

A bill (S. 863) for the relief of the Western Grain & Sugar Products Co. of California;

A bill (S. 864) for the relief of Albert Edgerton Buckman and others;

A bill (S. 865) for the relief of John Brodie;

A bill (S. 866) for the relief of Elizabeth J. Bishop;

A bill (S. 867) for the relief of the Gilroy Winery & Distillery Co., Gilroy, Cal.; and

A bill (S. 868) for the relief of John Horgan; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 869) granting a pension to William C. Slaper;

A bill (S. 870) granting a pension to George Casseboom;

A bill (S. 871) granting an increase of pension to Lucinda A. Sullivan;

A bill (S. 872) granting a pension to John McMunn, alias Frank Shields;

A bill (S. 873) granting an increase of pension to Nathan W. Fitz-Gerald;

A bill (S. 874) granting a pension to Arthur Kavanagh;

A bill (S. 875) granting an increase of pension to John E. Jones;

A bill (S. 876) granting an increase of pension to John E. Jones;

A bill (S. 877) granting a pension to Mary E. Dollard;

A bill (S. 878) granting an increase of pension to Henry Harrison;

A bill (S. 879) granting a pension to Julius Wolbrecht;

A bill (S. 880) granting an increase of pension to Jerome McWethy;

A bill (S. 881) granting a pension to Hugh Mackay;

A bill (S. 882) granting a pension to Willis S. Harris, alias Charles E. Sanders;

A bill (S. 883) granting a pension to Thomas G. Cockings;

A bill (S. 884) granting a pension to Martin Forrest;

A bill (S. 885) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Jenkins;

A bill (S. 886) granting a pension to George D. Doble;

A bill (S. 887) granting a pension to Jennie E. Kidd;

A bill (S. 888) granting a pension to John J. Callanan;

A bill (S. 889) granting a pension to John F. Crowley;

A bill (S. 890) granting a pension to Moetia Atwater;

A bill (S. 891) granting an increase of pension to John C. Johnson;

A bill (S. 892) granting a pension to William Lynch;

A bill (S. 893) granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Cruess;

A bill (S. 894) granting a pension to Raymon M. Smith;

A bill (S. 895) granting a pension to H. F. E. Schroer;

A bill (S. 896) granting a pension to James A. Gibson;

A bill (S. 897) granting a pension to Hiram A. Williams;

A bill (S. 898) granting a pension to John E. Markley;

A bill (S. 899) granting a pension to Katherine S. Neeland;

A bill (S. 900) granting a pension to Justine M. Thrift;

A bill (S. 901) granting an increase of pension to D. A. Gray;

A bill (S. 902) granting a pension to Frederick Ditmars Skinner;

A bill (S. 903) granting a pension to George B. Haight;

A bill (S. 904) granting a pension to Margaret F. La Blanc;

A bill (S. 905) granting a pension to Emma A. Smith;

A bill (S. 906) granting a pension to George F. Stedman;

A bill (S. 907) granting a pension to John Heikkila;

A bill (S. 908) granting a pension to Susan E. Cline;

A bill (S. 909) granting a pension to Rose Butcher;

A bill (S. 910) granting an increase of pension to Viola E. Webster;

A bill (S. 911) granting a pension to Harriet F. Kidd;

A bill (S. 912) granting an increase of pension to John M. Dikes; and

A bill (S. 913) granting an increase of pension to J. H. Farnsworth; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MYERS:

A bill (S. 914) to amend the acts to regulate commerce so as to provide that publishers of newspapers and periodicals may enter into advertising contracts with common carriers and receive payment for such advertisements in transportation; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 915) regulating sale of timber on forest reserves in Montana; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 916) to close the allotment roll of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 917) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Anaconda, in the State of Montana;

A bill (S. 918) providing for the enlargement of the Federal building at Missoula, Mont.;

A bill (S. 919) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Havre, in the State of Montana; and

A bill (S. 920) to increase the limit of cost of public buildings at Great Falls, Mont.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 921) for the relief of James Duffy;

A bill (S. 922) for the relief of Orion Mathews; and

A bill (S. 923) for the relief of Henry J. Davis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 924) for the relief of Delilah Siebenaler;

A bill (S. 925) for the relief of Benjamine O. Kerlee;

A bill (S. 926) for the relief of F. A. Carnal and Ada Lewis;

A bill (S. 927) for the relief of George A. Robertson;

A bill (S. 928) for the relief of G. W. Kates;

A bill (S. 929) for the relief of the Jefferson Lime Co.;

A bill (S. 930) for the relief of Joseph E. Lamb; and

A bill (S. 931) for the relief of Joseph C. Cosley; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 932) to provide for stock-watering privileges on certain unallotted lands on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.;

A bill (S. 933) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.;

A bill (S. 934) authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation in said State;

A bill (S. 935) for the relief of the settlers on certain railroad lands in Montana;

A bill (S. 936) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to convey to the city of Bozeman, Mont., certain land for alley purposes;

A bill (S. 937) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend sections 2291 and 2297 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to homesteads";

A bill (S. 938) for the relief of A. J. Lowary;

A bill (S. 939) relating to the duties of registers of United States land offices and the publication in newspapers of official land-office notices;

A bill (S. 940) to provide for the payment for certain lands within the former Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana;

A bill (S. 941) granting to the city of Billings, Mont., certain lands for public park purposes;

A bill (S. 942) for the relief of Edward Vanderhoof;

A bill (S. 943) for the relief of William W. Rust;

A bill (S. 944) for the relief of Frederick Tessman;

A bill (S. 945) for the relief of William F. Carter;

A bill (S. 946) to validate the homestead entries of Anna W. Thrailkill;

A bill (S. 947) validating certain homestead entries;

A bill (S. 948) providing for additional homestead entries in certain cases;

A bill (S. 949) giving the right to an additional homestead to all persons who have exhausted or who shall exhaust their original right of entry through the purchases of Indian lands;

A bill (S. 950) to provide for the nonmineral entry of lands withdrawn, classified, or reported as containing coal, phosphate, nitrate, potash, oil, gas, or asphaltic minerals in Alaska;

A bill (S. 951) to provide for the sinking of artesian wells, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 952) providing for enlarged homesteads in forest reserves and for additional homesteads;

A bill (S. 953) to amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated," and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the States of Montana and Wyoming;

A bill (S. 954) to amend an act approved June 22, 1910, entitled "An act to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands"; and

A bill (S. 955) providing for noncontiguous homestead entries within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont., of land of the character described in the enlarged-homestead act of February 19, 1909; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 956) granting a pension to Emma B. Williams;

A bill (S. 957) granting a pension to Sarah A. Ives;

A bill (S. 958) granting a pension to Charles B. Wemple;

A bill (S. 959) granting an increase of pension to Hettie Fletcher;

A bill (S. 960) granting an increase of pension to Edward Love;

A bill (S. 961) granting a pension to Augusta Costello;

A bill (S. 962) granting a pension to Kizziah Morris;

A bill (S. 963) granting a pension to Frank Benoit;

A bill (S. 964) granting an increase of pension to Roswell B. Van Wagenen;

A bill (S. 965) granting a pension to George Walters;

A bill (S. 966) granting a pension to Sophie Lizotte;

A bill (S. 967) granting a pension to Willis McAfee;

A bill (S. 968) granting a pension to Mary A. Walter;

A bill (S. 969) granting a pension to John Fitzgerald;

A bill (S. 970) granting a pension to John R. Rodgers; and

A bill (S. 971) granting a pension to George W. Bowley; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 972) to authorize an exchange of lands with Henry Blackburn; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 973) providing for the leasing of arid lands which are irrigable, belonging to Indian allottees, and fixing the maximum time for which such leases may run; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 974) to provide for the erection of a public building at Price, Utah;

A bill (S. 975) to increase the limit of cost of public building at Park City, Utah;

A bill (S. 976) to provide for the erection of a public building at Nephi, Utah; and

A bill (S. 977) to provide for the erection of a public building at Cedar City, Utah; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 978) for the relief of Watson B. Dickerman, administrator of the estate of Charles Backman, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 979) for the promotion and retirement of Col. David L. Brainard, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army; and

A bill (S. 980) for the relief of Hector A. Robichon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COLT:

A bill (S. 981) granting a pension to James W. McKay; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Georgia:

A bill (S. 982) to amend an act entitled "An act for the erection of United States prisons and for the imprisonment of United States prisoners, and for other purposes," to fix the terms of office of the superintendent of prisons and the wardens, to provide for their appointment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 983) to establish engineering experiment stations in the States and Territories in connection with State universities or engineering schools for the promotion of engineering and industrial research; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 984) authorizing the conveyance of certain land to the city of Miles City, State of Montana, for park purposes;

A bill (S. 985) granting to the county of Custer, State of Montana, certain land in said county for use as a fairground; and

A bill (S. 986) to amend an act approved February 22, 1889, entitled "An act to provide for the division of Dakota into two States and to enable the people of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington to form constitutions and State governments, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to make donations of public lands to such States"; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 987) for the relief of Grace Brewster Arnold, administratrix of the estate of George W. Brewster, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 988) providing for the payment of certain interest on items 1 and 4 of the judgment of the Court of Claims of May 18, 1905, in favor of the Cherokee Nation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 989) granting an increase of pension to Catherine F. Edsall; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 990) granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Evans (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 991) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Cook (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. POMERENE:

A bill (S. 992) to enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of November 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 993) to authorize aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 994) extending the benefits of care and treatment by the Public Health Service to seamen on vessels used in the service of the United States; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 995) to authorize the issue to States and Territories of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 996) granting an increase of pension to Adam S. Bridgefarmer; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NEW:

A bill (S. 997) to increase the quartermaster's depot at Jeffersonville, Ind., and to make an appropriation for the erection thereof; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 998) to grant unsurveyed islands to the State of Minnesota for forestry purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 999) for the relief of Stephen Reed; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1000) to amend section 3928 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 1001) for the relief of A. M. and R. A. Darling; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1002) to establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Minnesota; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 1003) to reimburse the First National Bank of Owatonna, Minn., for revenue stamps stolen or lost in transit; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 1004) to provide for the retirement of officers and employees of the Bureau of Lighthouses and the Lighthouse Service;

A bill (S. 1005) to regulate the salaries of keepers of lighthouses;

A bill (S. 1006) authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county; and

A bill (S. 1007) authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 1008) granting a pension to Caroline Fust;

A bill (S. 1009) granting a pension to Margaret J. Davis;

A bill (S. 1010) granting a pension to Annie Ackerman;

A bill (S. 1011) granting an increase of pension to David Liddell;

A bill (S. 1012) granting an increase of pension to Mary L. King;

A bill (S. 1013) granting a pension to Levi A. Cooley;

A bill (S. 1014) granting a pension to Martha Hellen Sture;

A bill (S. 1015) granting a pension to Mary Johnson;

A bill (S. 1016) granting a pension to Almira D. Pettingill;

A bill (S. 1017) granting an increase of pension to John T. Fort;

A bill (S. 1018) granting an increase of pension to Delia A. Rogers; and

A bill (S. 1019) granting an increase of pension to Mattie L. Longfellow; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. REED:

A bill (S. 1020) to provide an additional judge for the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Missouri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1021) providing for the purchase of the portrait of Samuel Blodget, jr.; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 1022) to purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Fredericktown, Mo.; and

A bill (S. 1023) to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, additional land for the post office at Columbia, Mo.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1024) to provide for the filling of vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant in the United States Army;

A bill (S. 1025) removing the disabilities of Thomas B. Cassel;

A bill (S. 1026) for the relief of Charles W. Howard; and

A bill (S. 1027) to correct the military record of J. W. Metler; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1028) for the relief of John H. Rheinlander;

A bill (S. 1029) making appropriation for the improvement of Marine Avenue, in the city of St. Louis, Mo.;

A bill (S. 1030) for the relief of Katherine J. Parker;

A bill (S. 1031) for the relief of the heirs of Patrick McIntyre, deceased;

A bill (S. 1032) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of city of Glasgow, Mo.;

A bill (S. 1033) for the relief of John W. Moore;

A bill (S. 1034) vesting jurisdiction in the Court of Claims to entertain the claim of Charles A. Morrison as administrator de bonis non of the estate of William Morrison, deceased, against the United States, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 1035) for the relief of Mrs. George C. Maynard, widow of George C. Maynard; and

A bill (S. 1036) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the claim of Mary Clerkin; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1037) granting a pension to Mrs. Amelia Perry;

A bill (S. 1038) granting a pension to C. A. Sheets;

A bill (S. 1039) granting a pension to James Grogan;

A bill (S. 1040) granting a pension to Judith Robinson;

A bill (S. 1041) granting an increase of pension to Christopher Darien;

A bill (S. 1042) granting a pension to H. H. Hedges;

A bill (S. 1043) granting a pension to Augustus Thompson;

A bill (S. 1044) granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Adams;

A bill (S. 1045) granting an increase of pension to Eliza J. Stillwell;

A bill (S. 1046) granting a pension to Daniel Donohoe;

A bill (S. 1047) granting an increase of pension to Frank Morgan;

A bill (S. 1048) granting an increase of pension to Louisa E. McMillen;

A bill (S. 1049) granting a pension to Louise Brown;

A bill (S. 1050) granting a pension to Emma Runyan;

A bill (S. 1051) granting a pension to Maria Gille;

A bill (S. 1052) granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Tanner;

A bill (S. 1053) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan J. Ragner;

A bill (S. 1054) granting an increase of pension to Annie A. Weegar;

A bill (S. 1055) granting an increase of pension to Julius Cohn;

A bill (S. 1056) granting a pension to Daniel Wootan;

A bill (S. 1057) granting a pension to Tressie Bratton;

A bill (S. 1058) granting a pension to Mable V. Rake;

A bill (S. 1059) granting an increase of pension to Matilda A. Reid;

A bill (S. 1060) granting a pension to William N. Griffing;

A bill (S. 1061) granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Woodworth;

A bill (S. 1062) granting a pension to Byron Sherry;

A bill (S. 1063) granting an increase of pension to Anthony C. Crane;

A bill (S. 1064) granting an increase of pension to Caroline Coleman;

A bill (S. 1065) granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Carlysle;

A bill (S. 1066) granting a pension to Ethel M. Kurfiss;

A bill (S. 1067) granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Householder;

A bill (S. 1068) granting a pension to Mary E. Likes;

A bill (S. 1069) granting a pension to Julia M. Anderson;

A bill (S. 1070) granting a pension to Eliza E. Miller;

A bill (S. 1071) granting a pension to Hugh Kesterson;

A bill (S. 1072) granting a pension to James Enloe;

A bill (S. 1073) granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Smith;

A bill (S. 1074) granting an increase of pension to John T. Quinby;

A bill (S. 1075) granting an increase of pension to Tulula V. M. Bortsfield;

A bill (S. 1076) granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Moore; and

A bill (S. 1077) granting an increase of pension to Henry Barber; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 1079) to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill (S. 1080) retiring Thomas Harrison, a clerk in the Naval Observatory, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 1081) awarding a medal of honor to George Murphy, late private, United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 1082) for the relief of Henry States;

A bill (S. 1083) authorizing the issuance of patent to the heirs of James Longmire;

A bill (S. 1084) for the relief of J. G. Seupelt; and

A bill (S. 1085) for the relief of George L. Neff; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1086) for the relief of the heirs of Ko-mo-dal-kiah, Moses agreement allottee No. 33; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1087) granting permission to Capt. Dorr F. Tozier to accept a gift from the King of Great Britain; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 1088) for the relief of Fanny A. Crocker; and

A bill (S. 1089) for the relief of the heirs of Ari Cantrell; to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

A bill (S. 1090) for the relief of the Alaska Steamship Co.;

A bill (S. 1091) for the relief of the estate of Frederick Heisinger;

A bill (S. 1092) for the relief of C. G. Wilford;

A bill (S. 1093) for the relief of the heirs of L. A. Davis;

A bill (S. 1094) for the relief of Matilda Elizabeth West;

A bill (S. 1095) for the relief of the Pacific Creosoting Co.;

A bill (S. 1096) for the relief of Ira M. Krutz;

A bill (S. 1097) for the relief of the M. A. Phelps Lumber Co.;

A bill (S. 1098) for the relief of William H. Hare;

A bill (S. 1099) for the relief of Nellie Harrington;

A bill (S. 1100) for the relief of Carolina M. Killough;

A bill (S. 1101) for the relief of the heirs of Joshua Curtis, deceased; and

A bill (S. 1102) for the relief of Simon M. Preston; to the Committee on Claims.
A bill (S. 1103) for the relief of Willson Douglass;
A bill (S. 1104) for the relief of Edward Stewart;
A bill (S. 1105) for the relief of John Dalton;
A bill (S. 1106) for the relief of Adam Culp;
A bill (S. 1107) for the relief of Thomas Huggins; and
A bill (S. 1108) for the relief of James S. Huntington; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
A bill (S. 1109) granting an increase of pension to John Patty (with accompanying papers);
A bill (S. 1110) granting an increase of pension to Ira S. Bier;
A bill (S. 1111) granting an increase of pension to George W. Boring;
A bill (S. 1112) granting an increase of pension to Martin H. Conger;
A bill (S. 1113) granting a pension to William J. Cook;
A bill (S. 1114) granting a pension to James B. Gillick;
A bill (S. 1115) granting an increase of pension to Henry Mygatt;
A bill (S. 1116) granting an increase of pension to Asa M. Van Cleave;
A bill (S. 1117) granting an increase of pension to Mitchell Larock;
A bill (S. 1118) granting an increase of pension to Lewis T. Holstin;
A bill (S. 1119) granting an increase of pension to John W. Mowrey;
A bill (S. 1120) granting a pension to John S. Gilliland;
A bill (S. 1121) granting an increase of pension to Rufus Mapes;
A bill S. 1122) granting an increase of pension to Horatio N. Merritt;
A bill (S. 1123) granting an increase of pension to William G. Simpson;
A bill (S. 1124) granting an increase of pension to William M. Taylor;
A bill (S. 1125) granting a pension to Alfred E. Scott;
A bill (S. 1126) granting an increase of pension to James H. Hopkins;
A bill (S. 1127) granting an increase of pension to Henry Felton;
A bill (S. 1128) granting a pension to Penelopie S. Miller;
A bill (S. 1129) granting a pension to Michael Maloney;
A bill (S. 1130) granting a pension to Fred T. Macomber;
A bill (S. 1131) granting a pension to Ella S. Kyes;
A bill (S. 1132) granting an increase of pension to Thomas McGooden;
A bill (S. 1133) granting an increase of pension to Adam Eckert;
A bill (S. 1134) granting an increase of pension to Frederick L. Ballou;
A bill (S. 1135) granting an increase of pension to George W. Welch;
A bill (S. 1136) granting an increase of pension to Rodney Wampole;
A bill (S. 1137) granting an increase of pension to Thomas R. Alway;
A bill (S. 1138) granting a pension to Everett L. Stokes;
A bill (S. 1139) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Jacks;
A bill (S. 1140) granting an increase of pension to William D. M. Davis;
A bill (S. 1141) granting a pension to Catherine E. Ranney;
A bill (S. 1142) granting an increase of pension to Lydia A. Belknap;
A bill (S. 1143) granting a pension to Lora W. Hughes;
A bill (S. 1144) granting a pension to James Turner;
A bill (S. 1145) granting an increase of pension to Roxey Pierce;
A bill (S. 1146) granting an increase of pension to Lucy C. Smith;
A bill (S. 1147) granting an increase of pension to James H. Colby;
A bill (S. 1148) granting an increase of pension to Commodore P. White;
A bill (S. 1149) granting an increase of pension to Josephine Cooley;
A bill (S. 1150) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Carroll;
A bill (S. 1151) granting an increase of pension to William H. Thompson;
A bill (S. 1152) granting an increase of pension to James W. Higgins;
A bill (S. 1153) granting a pension to Edward Madden;
A bill (S. 1154) granting an increase of pension to Timothy Hireen;
A bill (S. 1155) granting an increase of pension to John L. Fisher;
A bill (S. 1156) granting an increase of pension to Green B. Riggs;
A bill (S. 1157) granting a pension to Alice Gunn;
A bill (S. 1158) granting an increase of pension to John D. Brooks;
A bill (S. 1159) granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Johnson;
A bill (S. 1160) granting an increase of pension to James W. Dorman;
A bill (S. 1161) granting an increase of pension to John C. Vennum;
A bill (S. 1162) granting an increase of pension to Henry Perrine;
A bill (S. 1163) granting an increase of pension to Jacob A. Kenoyer;
A bill (S. 1164) granting an increase of pension to Eliza Williams;
A bill (S. 1165) granting an increase of pension to Orin Tucker;
A bill (S. 1166) granting a pension to William Chambers;
A bill (S. 1167) granting an increase of pension to Jonas H. Evans;
A bill (S. 1168) granting a pension to Sarah E. Muzy;
A bill (S. 1169) granting a pension to Rachel J. Burnham;
A bill (S. 1170) granting a pension to Patrick Kneasey;
A bill (S. 1171) granting an increase of pension to Elias Morrison;
A bill (S. 1172) granting an increase of pension to John Zellers;
A bill (S. 1173) granting a pension to Samuel P. Johns, jr.;
A bill (S. 1174) granting a pension to Charles H. Ferris;
A bill (S. 1175) granting a pension to Ole Field;
A bill (S. 1176) granting a pension to Ann L. Elliott;
A bill (S. 1177) granting an increase of pension to Van Ogle;
A bill (S. 1178) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. O'Heron;
A bill (S. 1179) granting an increase of pension to James Campbell;
A bill (S. 1180) granting a pension to Augustus S. Hall;
A bill (S. 1181) granting an increase of pension to Alfa V. Freeman;
A bill (S. 1182) granting a pension to Charles B. Syphert;
A bill (S. 1183) granting a pension to Marie L. Graves;
A bill (S. 1184) granting a pension to Helen A. Burrill;
A bill (S. 1185) granting an increase of pension to Jens C. Jensen;
A bill (S. 1186) granting a pension to Delia E. Wall;
A bill (S. 1187) granting a pension to Isaac N. Troutman;
A bill (S. 1188) granting a pension to George A. Torchio;
A bill (S. 1189) granting a pension to Mary Standifer;
A bill (S. 1190) granting a pension to George W. Smith, alias George Smith;
A bill (S. 1191) granting a pension to Dollie E. A. Smith;
A bill (S. 1192) granting an increase of pension to Joanna Dean;
A bill (S. 1193) granting an increase of pension to Patrick J. Conway;
A bill (S. 1194) granting an increase of pension to John R. Randall;
A bill (S. 1195) granting an increase of pension to Anstress L. Hendricks;
A bill (S. 1196) granting an increase of pension to Martha Gardner;
A bill (S. 1197) granting a pension to Leander Alexander;
A bill (S. 1198) granting a pension to Charles A. Barthrop;
A bill (S. 1199) granting a pension to William W. Batterton;
A bill (S. 1200) granting a pension to Thomas Baxter;
A bill (S. 1201) granting an increase of pension to Canrisa R. H. Richey;
A bill (S. 1202) granting a pension to Preston S. Atchison;
A bill (S. 1203) granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Rutter;
A bill (S. 1204) granting an increase of pension to Charles N. Schreiber;
A bill (S. 1205) granting an increase of pension to George M. Titus;
A bill (S. 1206) granting an increase of pension to John M. Turner;
A bill (S. 1207) granting an increase of pension to Hulda L. Winter;

A bill (S. 1208) granting a pension to Rudolph Kals;
A bill (S. 1209) granting a pension to Lucina C. Hatch;
A bill (S. 1210) granting a pension to Elizabeth E. Harris;
A bill (S. 1211) granting a pension to Charles H. Eyerman;
A bill (S. 1212) granting a pension to Willie J. Etheridge;
A bill (S. 1213) granting a pension to Fannie S. Douglass;
A bill (S. 1214) granting a pension to Effie M. Crail;
A bill (S. 1215) granting a pension to Catherine N. Burlingame;
A bill (S. 1216) granting a pension to Lottie Short;
A bill (S. 1217) granting an increase of pension to Susan J. Cantrell;
A bill (S. 1218) granting an increase of pension to Mahala Clemons;
A bill (S. 1219) granting an increase of pension to Pedro B. de G. Fernandez;
A bill (S. 1220) granting an increase of pension to Ida J. Morey;
A bill (S. 1221) granting an increase of pension to Anna L. Phillips;
A bill (S. 1222) granting an increase of pension to Emiles Pomeroy;
A bill (S. 1223) granting an increase of pension to Louis W. Pryor;
A bill (S. 1224) granting an increase of pension to Augustus A. Rice;
A bill (S. 1225) granting an increase of pension to Ezra Rice;
A bill (S. 1226) granting a pension to Albert F. Pray;
A bill (S. 1227) granting a pension to Elisha Painter;
A bill (S. 1228) granting a pension to Frances M. Burroughs;
A bill (S. 1229) granting an increase of pension to Clara Stout;
A bill (S. 1230) granting an increase of pension to Johanna S. C. Saling;
A bill (S. 1231) granting an increase of pension to Katherine R. Doolittle;
A bill (S. 1232) granting an increase of pension to William Sheldon;
A bill (S. 1233) granting an increase of pension to Helen E. Blinn;
A bill (S. 1234) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie G. Bennett;
A bill (S. 1235) granting an increase of pension to Edward Patrick;
A bill (S. 1236) granting an increase of pension to Philip J. Wickard; and
A bill (S. 1237) granting an increase of pension to William H. Wyckoff; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARDWICK:

A bill (S. 1238) for the relief of the legal representatives of Henry G. Geddings; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 1239) to pension widows, minor children, and dependent relatives of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China, and for other purposes;
A bill (S. 1240) to amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the late Civil War," approved September 8, 1916, and for other purposes;
A bill (S. 1241) granting an increase of pension to John M. Wandel;
A bill (S. 1242) granting an increase of pension to Reuben Waller;
A bill (S. 1243) granting a pension to Daniel B. Waggoner;
A bill (S. 1244) granting an increase of pension to Davis B. Wilcoxson;
A bill (S. 1245) granting an increase of pension to Minard Van Patten;
A bill (S. 1246) granting a pension to George E. Vale;
A bill (S. 1247) granting an increase of pension to John F. M. Todd;
A bill (S. 1248) granting a pension to Lyman E. Tibbits;
A bill (S. 1249) granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Thorp;
A bill (S. 1250) granting an increase of pension to Henry Thompson;
A bill (S. 1251) granting an increase of pension to Jasper Taylor;
A bill (S. 1252) granting a pension to Henry Taylor;
A bill (S. 1253) granting an increase of pension to Luther M. Summers;
A bill (S. 1254) granting a pension to Francis Sullivan;
A bill (S. 1255) granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Strohm;
A bill (S. 1256) granting a pension to Henry Weese;
A bill (S. 1257) granting a pension to Joseph Warner;
A bill (S. 1258) granting a pension to John T. Peet;
A bill (S. 1259) granting an increase of pension to Marion Pierce;
A bill (S. 1260) granting an increase of pension to Martin Parker;
A bill (S. 1261) granting an increase of pension to Ephraim Otto;
A bill (S. 1262) granting an increase of pension to Lewis Norman;
A bill (S. 1263) granting a pension to George A. Noblet;
A bill (S. 1264) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Newby;
A bill (S. 1265) granting an increase of pension to Alexander F. Neely;
A bill (S. 1266) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Nauerth;
A bill (S. 1267) granting an increase of pension to Joseph McCoy;
A bill (S. 1268) granting a pension to Jesse McAllister;
A bill (S. 1269) granting an increase of pension to Lorenzo D. McClain;
A bill (S. 1270) granting an increase of pension to William L. McClellan;
A bill (S. 1271) granting an increase of pension to Amos N. McReynolds;
A bill (S. 1272) granting an increase of pension to Albert G. McQuiddy;
A bill (S. 1273) granting an increase of pension to Henry Mott;
A bill (S. 1274) granting an increase of pension to Ludwell J. Mosher;
A bill (S. 1275) granting an increase of pension to William C. Moran;
A bill (S. 1276) granting a pension to John F. Smith;
A bill (S. 1277) granting an increase of pension to Robert F. Shinn;
A bill (S. 1278) granting an increase of pension to James N. Seip;
A bill (S. 1279) granting a pension to Henry Scott;
A bill (S. 1280) granting an increase of pension to Hugh S. Ryan;
A bill (S. 1281) granting an increase of pension to James B. Rutherford;
A bill (S. 1282) granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Rowland;
A bill (S. 1283) granting an increase of pension to Wesley Rowland;
A bill (S. 1284) granting an increase of pension to John Rogers;
A bill (S. 1285) granting an increase of pension to Frank Rogers;
A bill (S. 1286) granting an increase of pension to Charles Riggs;
A bill (S. 1287) granting an increase of pension to Charles Rhodes;
A bill (S. 1288) granting an increase of pension to H. C. Rowley;
A bill (S. 1289) granting a pension to William E. Puett;
A bill (S. 1290) granting an increase of pension to Joshua Puckett;
A bill (S. 1291) granting a pension to John A. Pryor;
A bill (S. 1292) granting an increase of pension to Arthur M. Phillips;
A bill (S. 1293) granting a pension to William W. Peyton;
A bill (S. 1294) granting a pension to Niels Pedersen;
A bill (S. 1295) granting an increase of pension to Stephen Patterson;
A bill (S. 1296) granting an increase of pension to John D. Patterson;
A bill (S. 1297) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Carpenter Moore;
A bill (S. 1298) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Parks;
A bill (S. 1299) granting a pension to David Mitchell;
A bill (S. 1300) granting an increase of pension to Elcazar L. Miner;
A bill (S. 1301) granting an increase of pension to Willis Mills;
A bill (S. 1302) granting an increase of pension to Stephen A. Miller;

A bill (S. 1303) granting a pension to John R. Martin;
A bill (S. 1304) granting an increase of pension to Francis Marsh;
A bill (S. 1305) granting a pension to John Mahafa;
A bill (S. 1306) granting an increase of pension to Henry D. Macomber;
A bill (S. 1307) granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Mackey;
A bill (S. 1308) granting an increase of pension to Andrew F. Maxwell;
A bill (S. 1309) granting an increase of pension to Payton S. Lynn;
A bill (S. 1310) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Lowery;
A bill (S. 1311) granting a pension to Robert E. Longbothom;
A bill (S. 1312) granting a pension to Fred M. Livingston;
A bill (S. 1313) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Linn;
A bill (S. 1314) granting an increase of pension to Peter L. Leuszler;
A bill (S. 1315) granting an increase of pension to John W. Lesh;
A bill (S. 1316) granting an increase of pension to Albert P. Leavitt;
A bill (S. 1317) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lathrop;
A bill (S. 1318) granting an increase of pension to John S. Lane;
A bill (S. 1319) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Stanfield;
A bill (S. 1320) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Snyder;
A bill (S. 1321) granting an increase of pension to James M. Adkins;
A bill (S. 1322) granting a pension to John M. Abney;
A bill (S. 1323) granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Abeles;
A bill (S. 1324) granting a pension to Lemuel Abbott;
A bill (S. 1325) granting a pension to Perry Abbott;
A bill (S. 1326) granting an increase of pension to James N. Yates;
A bill (S. 1327) granting an increase of pension to William M. Wright;
A bill (S. 1328) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Wright;
A bill (S. 1329) granting a pension to Joseph J. Wood;
A bill (S. 1330) granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Wilson;
A bill (S. 1331) granting a pension to George W. Williams;
A bill (S. 1332) granting an increase of pension to Dennis Willard;
A bill (S. 1333) granting a pension to William A. Wilburn;
A bill (S. 1334) granting an increase of pension to Harrison White;
A bill (S. 1335) granting an increase of pension to Silas Clyde Whitcomb;
A bill (S. 1336) granting an increase of pension to John Gates;
A bill (S. 1337) granting an increase of pension to Robert P. Gailer;
A bill (S. 1338) granting an increase of pension to James M. Friels;
A bill (S. 1339) granting an increase of pension to Ambrose Forkner;
A bill (S. 1340) granting an increase of pension to John Fitch;
A bill (S. 1341) granting a pension to David Feighny;
A bill (S. 1342) granting an increase of pension to T. Ewing W. Elliott;
A bill (S. 1343) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Edens;
A bill (S. 1344) granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Ela;
A bill (S. 1345) granting a pension to Daniel Dye;
A bill (S. 1346) granting an increase of pension to R. W. Duncan, alias "Pack" Duncan;
A bill (S. 1347) granting an increase of pension to James Devine;
A bill (S. 1348) granting an increase of pension to James W. Dougherty;
A bill (S. 1349) granting an increase of pension to Harrison A. Donals;
A bill (S. 1350) granting an increase of pension to John F. Dixon;
A bill (S. 1351) granting an increase of pension to John Dodgion;
A bill (S. 1352) granting an increase of pension to Stephen Lampman;
A bill (S. 1353) granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Kunkel;
A bill (S. 1354) granting an increase of pension to Edgar A. Kesler;
A bill (S. 1355) granting a pension to George J. Jones;
A bill (S. 1356) granting an increase of pension to Harvey Johnson;
A bill (S. 1357) granting an increase of pension to George W. Jackson;
A bill (S. 1358) granting a pension to Henry Johns;
A bill (S. 1359) granting an increase of pension to Elijah Thompson Hurst;
A bill (S. 1360) granting an increase of pension to David Hood;
A bill (S. 1361) granting an increase of pension to Jesse Holt;
A bill (S. 1362) granting a pension to John W. Hill;
A bill (S. 1363) granting an increase of pension to Christian Hildebrand;
A bill (S. 1364) granting a pension to William M. Hiett;
A bill (S. 1365) granting an increase of pension to William Henthorn;
A bill (S. 1366) granting an increase of pension to Jacob L. Hatton;
A bill (S. 1367) granting an increase of pension to William H. Harris;
A bill (S. 1368) granting a pension to James F. Hargett;
A bill (S. 1369) granting an increase of pension to Jefferson Hurst;
A bill (S. 1370) granting an increase of pension to James H. Gunion;
A bill (S. 1371) granting an increase of pension to Alfred H. Guest;
A bill (S. 1372) granting a pension to Charles Grunert;
A bill (S. 1373) granting an increase of pension to J. C. Griffith;
A bill (S. 1374) granting an increase of pension to William B. Gray;
A bill (S. 1375) granting an increase of pension to Myron Gillmore;
A bill (S. 1376) granting an increase of pension to William P. Gilbert;
A bill (S. 1377) granting an increase of pension to John Gibson;
A bill (S. 1378) granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Caton;
A bill (S. 1379) granting an increase of pension to Arba Capron;
A bill (S. 1380) granting an increase of pension to George W. Carroll;
A bill (S. 1381) granting an increase of pension to Reuben H. Chapel;
A bill (S. 1382) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Choat;
A bill (S. 1383) granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Cook;
A bill (S. 1384) granting an increase of pension to William T. Cowan;
A bill (S. 1385) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Cramer;
A bill (S. 1386) granting an increase of pension to Smith Culler;
A bill (S. 1387) granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Cunningham;
A bill (S. 1388) granting an increase of pension to William H. Culter;
A bill (S. 1389) granting a pension to John Cropper;
A bill (S. 1390) granting a pension to John N. Baker;
A bill (S. 1391) granting an increase of pension to Marion A. Babcock;
A bill (S. 1392) granting an increase of pension to S. S. Baird;
A bill (S. 1393) granting an increase of pension to Wiley J. Baldwin, jr.;
A bill (S. 1394) granting an increase of pension to John C. Ball;
A bill (S. 1395) granting a pension to Alexander R. Banks;
A bill (S. 1396) granting a pension to Stephen J. Batchelder;
A bill (S. 1397) granting an increase of pension to John W. Baughman;
A bill (S. 1398) granting an increase of pension to John A. Bell;

A bill (S. 1399) granting a pension to Frederick Besancon;
A bill (S. 1400) granting an increase of pension to Fermon L. Botkin;
A bill (S. 1401) granting an increase of pension to Johiel Bowers;
A bill (S. 1402) granting an increase of pension to Hugh Brady;
A bill (S. 1403) granting an increase of pension to Samuel N. Bridgman;
A bill (S. 1404) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Brock;
A bill (S. 1405) granting an increase of pension to Richard Brookins;
A bill (S. 1406) granting an increase of pension to Allen Brown;
A bill (S. 1407) granting an increase of pension to David Brown;
A bill (S. 1408) granting a pension to Joshua Brown;
A bill (S. 1409) granting a pension to William Bruce;
A bill (S. 1410) granting an increase of pension to Wesley Burford;
A bill (S. 1411) granting an increase of pension to Lewis Atkinson;
A bill (S. 1412) granting an increase of pension to Elias Andrew;
A bill (S. 1413) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Anderson;
A bill (S. 1414) granting an increase of pension to James S. Ames;
A bill (S. 1415) granting an increase of pension to Justin W. Allen; and
A bill (S. 1416) granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Alexander; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 18) authorizing the printing of additional copies of the hearing on universal military training; to the Commtttee on Printing.

By Mr. ROBINSON:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 19) to authorize and provide for a joint assembly and meeting of representatives of the parliaments and national legislative bodies of the nations of the world in the United States, and to extend an invitation to said parliaments and legislative bodies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. WARREN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 20) appropriating money for the payment of certain claims on account of labor, supplies, materials, and cash furnished in the construction of the Corbett Tunnel; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROUSSARD:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 21) granting permission for the erection of a monument in the Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia, to the memory and in honor of the members of the various orders of sisters who gave their services as nurses on battle fields, in hospitals, and on floating hospitals during the Civil War; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 22) proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale, manufacture, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquor, except for mechanical, scientific, sacramental, and medicinal purposes, under proper regulation by Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MYERS:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 23) appropriating money for the payment of certain claims on account of labor, supplies, materials, and cash furnished in the construction of the Corbett Tunnel; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 24) to permit of the disposition of certain lands in Montana ceded by the Crow Indians; to the Committee on Public Lands.

EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANTS.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I introduce a bill for reference to the Committee on Immigration. I wish to call the attention of the chairman of that committee, if he is present, and if not to call the attention of the committee to the fact that it is a bill I introduced near the close of the last Congress. It was referred to the Committee on Immigration and favorably reported, with a recommendation that it go to the Committee on Appropriations for action. It relates to the maintenance of schools for the instruction of immigrants foreign born.

The bill (S. 1078) to amend section 1 of the act approved July 1, 1916, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I desire to call attention, particularly of the chairman of the Committee on Immigration, to the bill which I introduced on April 4, being Senate bill 124. I have received several letters in behalf of this measure, one of which I desire to read, as it is short and expresses the ideas which I had in mind. It is dated at Chicago, and is addressed to me. It reads as follows:

CHICAGO, *April 4, 1917.*

United States Senator TOWNSEND, of Michigan,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I read in to-night's Chicago News of your introduction of a bill to allow all Germans who have been in this country five years to become citizens of the United States. Voicing the sentiments of many Germans I know here in Chicago, and no doubt of thousands more I don't know, permit me, first of all, to thank you for your thoughtfulness, and, secondly, to express the hope that the bill will become a law. I, like many, many of my friends, have been in this country longer than the required period for obtaining citizenship, but have, through laxity and not lack of patriotism, neglected to take out our papers. We now have our first papers, and surely would become so much more loyal citizens if we were allowed to save the two years' waiting according to the present law. Let me tell you, Mr. Senator, that while there may be some black sheep who by underhanded acts try to do harm against our Government and who thereby do more harm to the loyal and law-abiding Germans here, that such black sheep do not (and would not be allowed to) exist in the working class of the Germans here, to which I also belong. We are all for the country we live in and will die in, the country that feeds and clothes us. Your bill would have a wonderful moral effect, if it became a law, which would easily be seen by the thousands and thousands of Germans who would flock to get their papers and who would thus swell the ranks of Uncle Sam's best and most useful citizens.

Respectfully, yours,

M. J. DREHER.

Mr. President, as I have said, I call the attention of the Committee on Immigration to this matter, because I, in common with other Senators, have received many such letters, and, if I am not mistaken, I can conceive of nothing at this time that would tend more to harmonize our people than the passage of this particular bill, amended as may be necessary.

AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. SAULSBURY submitted an amendment authorizing the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to completely report on certain portions of the improvements relating to the purchase of the existing Cape Cod Canal and the existing Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, respectively, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment proposing to include certain ground in the District of Columbia as a part of the connecting parkway between the Potomac Park, Zoological Park, and Rock Creek Park, intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. PHELAN submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $60,000 for the installation of a hydroelectric power plant in the Yosemite National Park, Cal., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. OWEN submitted an amendment providing that officers of the Army with the rank of colonel who shall have served faithfully for 45 years on the active list shall, when retired, have the rank of brigadier general, intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. BROUSSARD submitted an amendment providing that no officer of the Medical Reserve Corps shall be entitled to retirement or retirement pay, nor shall he be entitled to pension except for physical disability incurred in the line of duty while on active duty, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CURTIS submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $5,000 to appropriately mark the place at Medicine Lodge, Kans., where the council was held and treaties made with the Plains Indians in 1867, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. POINDEXTER submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $50,000 for the purchase of a rifle range for the District of Columbia National Guard, intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was

referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. WARREN submitted an amendment providing that the salary of the adjutant general of the National Guard of the Territory of Hawaii which shall be that of a brigadier general of the United States Army, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. PENROSE submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $135,000 for a general storehouse, intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $250 for the purchase of the ground known as the O'Neal property, in High Street, adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa., etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment authorizing the President to appoint Brig. Gen. Chambers McKibbin, United States Army, retired, to the position and rank of major general on the retired list of the Army, intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment providing that Cornet John Conyngham Stevens, First Troops, City Cavalry, shall receive pay at the rate allowed a second lieutenant, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was ordered to be printed and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $30,000 for the acquisition by purchase of certain land composing the right of way of the Gettysburg Railway Co., etc., for the Gettysburg National Military Park, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. JONES of Washington submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $46,920 to enable the Secretary of Labor to carry into effect the provisions of the act of March 4, 1913, to create a Department of Labor to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners of the United States as applied to women, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. WALSH submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate not exceeding $10,000 for an administration building for office of the supervisor, etc.; not exceeding $25,000 for construction of a bridge across the Flathead at Belton, Mont.; and not exceeding $2,000 for ranger cabin and auto-checking station at Glacier Park Station, Mont., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SWANSON submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $500,000 for a George Washington memorial building, intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Mr. BORAH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 27), which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed:

Whereas, in September, 1796, George Washington, then President of the United States, declared, "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible * * *." And that "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities"; and

Whereas, in response to a letter addressed to him by James Monroe, then President of the United States, concerning the policy afterwards declared by President Monroe, and since then known as the Monroe doctrine, Thomas Jefferson said in reply: "The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a Nation. This sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark upon it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and particularly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe"; and

Whereas James Monroe, President of the United States, afterwards amplified this policy, incorporating it in a message to the Congress of the United States, declaring in effect that any attempt on the part of foreign Governments to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and setting forth in full the policy which was afterwards and ever since has been known as the Monroe doctrine; and

Whereas the policies thus early announced by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and ever since adhered to by this country, regardless of political parties, have contributed greatly to the peace and happiness of the people of the United States; and

Whereas we believe any material departure from these policies would be fraught with danger to the peace and happiness of the people of the United States, involving us in all probability in the controversies of other nations: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States reaffirm its faith and confidence in the permanent worth and wisdom of these policies and shall seek in all matters coming before it touching the interests or affairs of foreign countries to conform its acts to these time-honored principles so long and so happily a part of our foreign policy.

PRINTING OF PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS (S. DOC. NO. 5.)

Mr. FLETCHER. I submit a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration. It provides for the printing to the limit allowed by the Senate of the President's address, namely, 129,000 copies.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 25) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That the address of the President of the United States delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress April 2, 1917, be printed as a Senate document, and that 129,000 additional copies be printed for the use of the Senate document room.

SAND DUNES IN NORTHERN INDIANA.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask for the adoption of an order withdrawing from the files of the Senate the communication from the Secretary of the Interior relating to the sand dunes in northern Indiana, which was submitted to the Senate February 28, 1917, and referred to the Committee on Printing but was not acted upon. The Interior Department desires to have this matter printed by the department, and I therefore ask for the adoption of the order.

The order was read and agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That the papers accompanying the communication from the Secretary of the Interior relating to the sand dunes in northern Indiana, submitted on February 28, 1917, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. SMOOT, it was

Ordered, That the papers accompanying the bill S. 8, Sixty-fourth Congress, granting a pension to Louis Hagenbucher, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

On motion of Mr. JONES of Washington, it was

Ordered, That the papers accompanying the bill S. 3822, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, granting a pension to Ottiwell M. Roberts, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate, no adverse report having been made thereon.

ATTITUDE OF GERMAN-AMERICANS.

Mr. SHAFROTH. There is a distinguished citizen in Denver, Mr. Godfrey Schirmer, who is president of the German-American Trust Co., of that city. He has issued a statement, published in the Denver Post of April 3 last, a part of which I will ask to have placed in the RECORD. I will read the statement:

I believe that every German in this country, native born or naturalized, is just as good and honorable and patriotic an American as am I. And, for myself and all of those men and women, I can pledge to this Nation, here and now, our undivided and unquestioning loyalty and patriotism. This is our country. It is about to be engaged in a war with Germany. And to this, our country, we pledge our unswerving service and all that we have and are in wealth and courage and devotion. We are American citizens and we shall work and fight for America. So much, and not less than that, should be understood.

Now that we are in this war, we must keep in it until it is won by the cause we are fighting for. And the cause we are fighting for is the cause of universal democracy. I have read more than once to-day the special message of President Wilson delivered to Congress last night. I feel that he has been patient under much provocation. I feel that he has exhausted all the principles and expedients of diplomacy. I feel that he is not advising us to enter this war to subjugate the German people, but to defend and uphold the principles of international law and international justice and humanity. And I am confident that he will receive the absolute support of every German-American in the United States.

Of course, there may be unfortunate exceptions to that general rule. There are intemperate and hot-headed and foolish people in every country. And they are not limited to any one class or to any one race. But Americans who are not of German birth or German descent should preserve an attitude of toleration and self-control when they are tempted to passion by such persons. They should remember that in this coming war hundreds of thousands of German-Americans will tear out their hearts to lay them on the altar of this Republic. And, remembering that, they should be patient and understanding, not for the sake of the people who are foolish or disloyal, but for the sake of the far, far greater number who are, even now, preparing to offer their services to the United States.

It is a troubled and a trying time that is before us all to-day. This war may go on for one or two or three years. Before it is over it may engage every nation in the world. It has done almost that already. And before it is over we of the United States, each last man of us, will need all our patience and all our self-restraint and all

our courage and all our spirit of self-sacrifice. We shall need that, and we must remember that we shall need it. We shall need it for ourselves and for our neighbors. Wars are fought by nations, and not by armies or navies, and, as we are in this war, we should be in it as one people—citizens of the United States of America, consecrating ourselves to this world-wide war for democracy.

To all German-Americans I want to send this message of patience and self-sacrifice and devotion and patriotism to-day. And I want to send it to all Americans of every race. The cause is now our common cause; we must meet it with a united front; all that we have we must give to make it succeed; for it is the cause of the United States and we of the United States are all Americans to-day.

Mr. Godfrey Schirmer is one of the leading citizens of Denver and president of the largest German-American financial institution of Colorado. His admirable patriotism, as shown in this statement, is sure to have a great influence with Germans in the Rocky Mountain region.

INCREASED FOOD SUPPLY.

Mr. REED. I send to the desk a Senate resolution, for which I ask present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 26), as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby requested to immediately submit to the Senate a comprehensive plan for increasing the production of food supplies, especially by the cultivation of town lots and unused lands adjacent to towns, and by promoting the raising of all classes of food or food-producing animals, and for the creation of an organization to promote and in a practical and effective way carry out the purposes aforesaid, together with his estimate of the amount of moneys necessary to be appropriated by Congress for the promotion of the purposes aforesaid.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. BORAH. I am not going to object to the consideration of the resolution, but I wish the Senator to include in it a statement from the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior as to how we can effectively get under cultivation our vast areas of arid and semiarid land. I say this in perfect good faith. There are vast areas of land upon which settlers have already taken their homes, where great crops could be raised within the next year, or two years at most; and I say seriously I think under present conditions it is imperative that we should do something to deal with that situation.

Mr. REED. I think that will be covered by the general language of the resolution.

Mr. BORAH. Very well.

Mr. REED. I am quite willing the Senator should have it included if it is not. Is unanimous consent given for the consideration of the resolution?

Mr. BORAH. I will not object to its consideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

Mr. BORAH subsequently said:

By the consent of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], I ask for a reconsideration of the vote by which the resolution he offered was adopted, in order that I may insert a few words, which have been agreed upon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the vote by which the resolution was adopted is reconsidered.

Mr. BORAH. I ask, after the word "towns," in line 5, that the words "and of the arid or semiarid lands" be inserted as an amendment.

Mr. REED. I have no objection to that, except that I do not want to delay a report by the Secretary to us on the other proposition.

Mr. LANE. We should surely do everything possible to ameliorate the conditions due to a lack of the food supply. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri if he will not introduce a clause in the resolution to arm each member of the Senate with a hoe, so that if they begin work about 6 o'clock in the morning they could hoe up enough ground before noon, when they take up their duties in the Senate, to feed a good many soldiers.

Mr. REED. Judging from the remark of the Senator I imagine that that would be a very suitable change for him to make in his occupation.

Mr. BORAH. I do not think this amendment will delay the report, because they can report upon this proposition much more quickly than upon the other.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Is it not true, let me ask the Senator, that the Interior Department has charge of the arid lands rather than the Agriculture Department?

Mr. BORAH. Precisely.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Should not the resolution be directed to the Interior Department? Would not that be the proper way to reach that problem, if it is reached?

Mr. BORAH. The Secretary of the Interior would have charge of the actual performance of the work, but the facts could be gathered by the Secretary of Agriculture just as effectively as by the Secretary of the Interior. I ask for the adoption of the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Idaho.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BORAH. I have no objection now to the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I want to say just one word in regard to the resolution, particularly since the Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE] has undertaken to make it a matter of jest.

I can remember only a few years ago when almost every man living in a small country town cultivated a town lot, grew a portion of the vegetables for his family, and raised pigs and chickens; but afterwards we progressed so far as to regard the raising on a town lot of anything to eat as quite beneath the dignity of the ordinary citizen.

Mr. President, I believe, and have for many years believed, that one of the causes of food shortage in the United States is to be found in the particular fact I have mentioned. I have not the slightest doubt but that if the Secretary of Agriculture can devise a plan that will result in all the governors of States taking hold of this proposition and if the movement is carried on by the mayors of all our cities and by them be extended so that the people will actually take hold there can be raised in the aggregate in the United States upon the vacant lots of towns and upon the farm lands which are unused that are immediately adjacent to towns enough food supplies to very materially affect not only the price of food but the convenience and the happiness of the people.

I think it is a very material thing for us to consider. We know that in Germany, after the Government has done all that it can do, the food supplies are nevertheless so short that the people are actually starving. We know that in England by a recent order the food supply has been limited. We know that this war we are entering upon may call from industrial and productive pursuits millions of men. We should begin to understand how grim the task is that we are entering upon. We may as well begin to understand that hands hitherto unaccustomed to toil will be obliged to assume the tasks of labor; that the delicate fingers of many a woman, which have scarcely ever been employed in any productive capacity, will be called upon to engage in earnest the work of creating things of use and necessity; that children who have hitherto spent all of their hours in play may be called upon to work in order to contribute to the support of families.

We may as well understand that the burdens of taxation will be enormous, oppressive, in many instances almost crushing; the man who supports the family must in many cases be sent to the training camp, and from the training camp to the war trench, and that those who remain at home must sustain the home and also help sustain the absent one.

We have declared war, none of us with a light heart, but I fear few of us have conceived all that this war we are entering upon may mean. God knows we hope it may never become for us an actual war. We hope that before we shall really enter upon it the power of the German Empire will have been broken and we shall escape the frightfulness of the struggle; but no wise man will rely upon that hope. Wise men will understand to-day that the only thing we can do in prudence is to prepare for every exigency, for every possibility, for every danger; and that at this moment we must begin girding our loins for a fray that may last not for a few months but that may run into the years; that may be fought out with nations we do not conceive of as antagonists; that may call for the best of our blood, the best of the youth, and finally demand gray-haired men. It may sap the very foundation of our industrial structure. It may inflict sacrifices in this country similar to those that are being borne in other lands. Under such circumstances it does not do to smile at a proposition which proposes to evolve a plan to increase production in the United States.

I believe, sir, that the governors of States can be enlisted; I believe that States can be induced to appropriate money to furnish free seed, and where they fail that the Congress ought to respond. I believe that millions of boys and girls can be induced by the mayors of cities and by civic organizations and societies to enter contests for the raising of all kinds of vegetables; and I believe in the aggregate it will be one of the great things that can be done in the way of genuine preparedness. So I offered the resolution. I am glad that it passed without opposition, and I hope that we shall, when the information comes, find an equally responsive spirit in the carrying out of its purposes.

Mr. McCUMBER and Mr. LANE addressed the Chair.

Mr. LANE. I should like an opportunity to reply——

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I feel that I ought to say just one word——

Mr. LANE. Will the Senator from North Dakota yield to me a moment? I desire to make an answer to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. McCUMBER. I wish myself to answer, and that is my reason for taking the floor. The Senator from Oregon can make his answer afterwards.

Mr. LANE. Very well.

Mr. McCUMBER. I feel that I ought to say one word to banish the phantom of starvation which some seem to think is hanging over the American people.

Mr. President, we are not suffering from the want of food because of the shortage in the number of acres which was seeded during the last year. In 1915 there were raised in the United States 1,100,000,000 bushels of wheat. Our home consumption is from six hundred to six hundred and fifty million bushels. So we raised in 1915 nearly double what we annually consume in the United States.

In 1916, however, on account of floods, droughts, hot winds, and rust in some sections, the wheat crop was destroyed in the Dakotas, in eastern Montana, and in western Minnesota, which raise the great bulk of the spring wheat. That, perhaps, will not happen more than once in 40 years. So if in 1917 we sow the same acreage which we sowed in 1915 we shall probably raise nearly a billion bushels of wheat in the United States, or nearly double what we need for our own consumption.

If the Department of Agriculture would call the attention of the farmers of our State and of other States of the Union to the prices of the products, which at the present time are short, and thereby encourage them to plant and raise more onions, potatoes, and other things besides wheat, especially beans, which are now exceptionally high, showing the good prices which they command, and in all probability will command next year, I think we could raise in the United States at least double the quantity of foodstuffs which we shall consume.

The great danger to-day is that of meat shortage. The high price of land to-day and the high cost of labor have been such that the American farmers are not keeping up with the demands of the population in the raising of meat products. There ought to be encouragement along this line. If there is, and if the proper information is given over the country as to prices and assurance is given that if the farmer plants beans, or onions, or potatoes, or cabbages, or turnips, or any of the ordinary food products he will be assured reasonable prices for them, there will be no danger on earth of a food shortage in the United States, unless we should have another year like last year of flood and drought and rust and hot winds to destroy our spring grains.

Mr. LANE. Mr. President, I desire to say in relation to the resolution offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], that it seemed to me, on the eve of a war which may search this country to its innermost heart and bring upon it great distress, when we are attempting to raise now $6,000,000,000, or thereabouts, and 2,000,000 men, to offer a resolution for somebody to go out and raise food supplies from town lots was trivial and fiddling with the question. That was the idea I had in mind. That would add a little help—just a little—and it would be a good example if the Members of the Senate tackled the hoe themselves and dug up a lot or two. That would help somewhat, though it would not amount to much.

We have a war on our hands, or it has been declared on our part to be a war; and it may be a war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt; and you had as well prepare for it. Two million men are to be raised to do the fighting, and it would not be out of proportion to make arrangements for 500,000 more men, carefully selected, to search this country over, and in the arid lands where water is needed to put the water on and to raise crops there; and in the South, where there is too much water, to drain the lands. The necessity for that may be seen all through this country as you go through it on trains and as you go over it on the street cars. Those lands should be put under cultivation. Hundreds of thousands of acres of unused lands all over the country are not being cultivated. That is the fortification that in the long run will save this country in case of war. It will sustain the Army; it will sustain those who are not engaged in war, those embracing the various communities and the masses of the people. That would be the foundation of their salvation.

Town lots! You could paint them red and do just as much good in the ultimate in this war, as to fool with them for raising potatoes and other basic crops. There is a larger and a better way of handling that matter than depending on town lots. Do what the Germans do. Go to it from its foundations. Peel your potatoes and plant the peelings. They will produce potatoes. Do it systematically, as any good farmer would. Increase the ratio of your crops. "Every army travels on its belly," as Napoleon said a hundred years ago and more.

I object to starting a war with any powerful nation such as Germany unless we get at the foundation and realize what we are up against and prepare from the foundation up. It has been coming upon us for months and for years. We should have been prepared, and we can not prepare too quickly. The women, with their delicate hands, are not going to have to do the necessary work in the soil, but they are going to put their babies to their breasts. Give them food to nourish them, put cattle and sheep on the ranches, and get the farm lands under cultivation. Do it scientifically, do it on merit, and do it efficiently.

What I objected to was that this proposition seemed merely like a drop in that kind of a bucket. Give each one of us a hoe. I can handle a hoe; I have done it all my life; I have kept my family in their vegetable products with the hoe; I did it for years and can do it again; but that will not help out my neighbor's family. Take these lands and put them under the control of a number of men. We should do that. It would be one of the greatest things we could do. It would be just as valuable as raising an army to raise the food supplies for it. Without such supplies we will fail. I should like to see this done in a methodical way and on a scale which would produce results. You may laught at it; you may smile at it now; but you will see the day when our people may go hungry if we are crowded to the wall in this coming war. I wanted to help prepare for it in that form. I therefore had a little bit, I must say, of impatience with the suggestion of going around and enlisting food supplies to be obtained from town lots. That is the reason why I called attention to it.

Mr. REED. If the Senator had read the resolution, he would have seen that it covered even the arid land.

Mr. LANE. I think perhaps I have looked a little further into the question than has the Senator from Missouri, for the reason that I have raised more crops in times gone by, perhaps, than he, and have been more intimately engaged in handling land than he has. I know what it means. I know how many bushels of potatoes grow to the acre; I know the proper time to plant them; and I think the time has come now to get busy and stimulate those processes and that art.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I desire to ask the Senator a question before he takes his seat. I simply wish to ask the Senator the number of the bill which he has introduced for the purpose he states?

Mr. LANE. What purpose?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The purpose the Senator has outlined.

Mr. LANE. Introduced a bill?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes.

Mr. LANE. Since when?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I asked what was the number of the bill the Senator had introduced for the purpose that he outlined. He has objected to the resolution offered by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. LANE. I think it must have been about the time when the Senator was working on the bill governing the mail charges on newspapers, which would bring an increased income to certain gentlemen who would profit by the differences in rates. The Senator may remember that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I merely should like to know concerning the bill the Senator has introduced.

Mr. LANE. Surely the Senator can not have forgotten that illuminating episode in which he showed so much interest and took such an active part.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Morning business is closed.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

H. R. 13. An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 14. An act making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

H. R. 11. An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 12, being the general deficiency appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that it be read for amendment, the amendments of the committee to be first considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "Bureau of Efficiency," on page 3, after line 16, to strike out:

Not less than 5,000 square feet of the space now occupied by, and to be made vacant by the removal of, the Federal Trade Commission from the building rented for the use of the Department of Commerce, is transferred to, and for the accommodation of, the Bureau of Efficiency.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Treasury Department," subhead "Contingent expenses," on page 4, after line 21, to insert:

For purchase, exchange, maintenance, and repair of motor trucks; purchase, exchange, and maintenance of horses, including shoeing; purchase and repair of wagons, horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, and harness, all to be used for official purposes only, $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Internal Revenue," on page 6, line 10, after the date "1918," to strike out "$1,500,000" and insert "$3,000,000," and in line 11, after the words "more than," to strike out "$125,000" and insert "$250,000," so as to make the clause read:

Income tax, excess-profits tax, etc.: For expenses of the assessment and collection of the taxes provided by the act approved March 3, 1917, entitled "An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes," and by the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, including the employment of agents, inspectors, attorneys, deputy collectors, experts, clerks, messengers, and janitors, to be appointed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and for supplies, equipment, mechanical devices, telegraph and telephone service, and rent of quarters in the District of Columbia, and the several collection districts, fiscal year 1918, $3,000,000: *Provided*, That not more than $250,000 of this sum may be used for personal services, supplies, equipment, and mechanical devices in the District of Columbia: *Provided further*, That not to exceed $10,000 (which shall be available immediately) may be used for rent of quarters in the District of Columbia for such bureaus or divisions of the Treasury Department as the Secretary may determine to move out of the Treasury Building to accommodate the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Miscellaneous objects," on page 6, after line 23, to strike out:

Independent Treasury: Packages of coin and currency hereafter shall be admitted to the mails and transported under the penalty privilege governing their transportation prior to the passage of the act of May 18, 1916.

And insert:

Independent Treasury: For contingent expenses under the requirements of section 3653 of the Revised Statutes, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $75,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, line 16, after the word "coin," to strike out "$5,000" and insert "$7,500," so as to make the clause read:

Recoinage of minor coins: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to continue the recoinage of worn and uncurrent minor coins of the United States now in the Treasury or hereafter received, and to reimburse the Treasurer of the United States for the difference between the nominal or face value of such coin and the amount the same will produce in new coin, $7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Public buildings," on page 8, after line 5, to insert:

Mount Clemens, Mich., post office: Authority is granted to pay Frank N. Vannater the sum of $4.50, out of any moneys heretofore appropriated and remaining unexpended on the books of the Treasury Department, for the construction of the post-office building at Mount Clemens, Mich., the same representing an expense incurred by him prior to the abrogation of his contract by the Government.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Coast Guard," on page 9, after line 9, to insert:

For pay and allowances prescribed by law for commissioned officers, warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men, active and retired, temporary and substitute surfmen, not exceeding 21 cadets and cadet engineers who are hereby authorized, and 1 civilian instructor, $94,000.

For rations or commutation thereof for warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men, $12,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, line 8, after the words "in all," to strike out "$61,800" and insert "$167,800."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "District of Columbia," on page 16, after line 14, to strike out:

Court fines: The sum of $24,300.76, representing fines in United States cases collected on judgments of the criminal division of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, during the period from July 1, 1878, to September 30, 1908, inclusive, and deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the District of Columbia, shall be transferred from the credit of the District of Columbia to the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, after line 23, to strike out:

The sum of $211,450.12, representing fines in United States cases collected on judgments of the police court of the District of Columbia, during the period from July 1, 1878, to January 1, 1902, inclusive, and deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the District of Columbia, shall be transferred from the credit of the District of Columbia to the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 21, before the word "session," to strike out "this" and insert "the Sixty-fourth Congress, second," so as to make the clause read:

Judgments: For payment of judgments, including costs, against the District of Columbia, set forth in House Document No. 2029 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, except the judgments with interest and costs in favor of Samuel T. Kalbfus and Edward S. Wood, $6,877.95, together with a further sum to pay the interest at not exceeding 4 per cent on said judgments, as provided by law, from the date the same became due until the date of payment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 21, after line 2, to insert:

Payment to Littlefield, Alvord & Co. and others: To satisfy the awards made in pursuance of the act approved April 25, 1912, by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, in the suit of the United States of America, plaintiff, against Littlefield, Alvord & Co. and others, equity No. 33898, for the value of the wharves, bulkheads, wharf structures, buildings and improvements within the limits of the land, water, and land under water, whereof the paramount title was decreed in said suit to be in the United States as follows: Littlefield, Alvord & Co., a corporation, $1,479.80; Christian Heurich, $1,581.36; the Cranford Paving Co., a corporation, $16,766.66; in all, $19,827.82.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "War Department," subhead "River and harbor work," on page 23, line 17, before the word "session," to strike out "at the present" and insert "of the Sixty-fourth Congress, second," so as to make the clause read:

To pay the claims adjusted and settled under section 4 of the river and harbor appropriation act approved June 25, 1910, and certified to Congress in House Document No. 2040 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, $363.70.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of the "Navy Department," subhead "Claims for damages," on page 34, line 1, before the word "session," to strike out "at the present" and insert "during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second," so as to make the clause read:

For the payment of the claim adjusted and settled in accordance with naval appropriation act, approved June 24, 1910 (36 Stats., 607), and certified to Congress during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, in House Document No. 2104, $128.18.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 39, after line 7, to insert:

The foregoing appropriations for the Naval Establishment, which are for the completion of the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, are made available until June 30, 1918.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of the Interior," subhead "Public buildings," on page 39, after line 18, to insert:

For overhauling the elevator machinery in the Senate wing of the Capitol and installation of new control boards, fiscal years 1917 and 1918, $4,360, and the $3,000 appropriated for said purposes for the fiscal year 1917 is hereby made available for the fiscal year 1918.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have adopted at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Following the amendment just agreed to it is proposed to insert:

For labor and material for the protection of the Capitol Building and Grounds, including the Senate and House Office Buildings and the Capitol power plant, and for emergencies, and for each and every item incident thereto, $23,000, to be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 40, to insert:

Senate Office Building: For maintenance, miscellaneous items and supplies, and for all necessary personal and other services for the care and operation of the Senate Office Building, under the direction and supervision of the Senate Committee on Rules, $6,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 41, after line 21, to insert:

Authority is granted the Secretary of the Interior to expend such additional sums as, in his judgment, may be necessary for the purchase of furniture and laboratory equipment that may be required by the Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, General Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, and the National Park Service, in the new Interior Department Building in Washington, D. C., the cost of these purchases to be paid from appropriations for the fiscal years 1917 and 1918, respectively, as follows: Geological Survey: For topographic surveys, for geologic surveys, for investigation of mineral resources of Alaska, for chemical and physical researches, for preparation of illustrations, for preparation of report on mineral resources, for gauging streams, for purchase of necessary books for the library, for engraving and printing geologic maps, and for topographic surveys of national forests. Bureau of Mines: General expenses, for investigating mine accidents, for testing fuel, for mineral mining investigations, for investigations of petroleum and natural gas, for purchase, equipment, and operating of mine rescue cars, for expenses mining experiment stations. Office of Indian Affairs: Surveying and allotting Indian reservations, and for irrigation, Indian reservations. General Land Office: Surveying the public lands, for depredations on public timber, protecting public lands, etc., for contingent expenses of land offices. National Park Service, from the appropriations and revenues for the several national parks and national monuments.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 43, to insert:

So much of the sundry civil act approved June 23, 1913 (38 Stat., p. 25), which directs the Secretary of the Treasury to construct a central heating, lighting, and power plant and to furnish heat, light, and power for the various buildings therein mentioned is hereby amended so as to require the Secretary of the Treasury upon the completion of such plant to furnish heat, light, and power for the new building for the Interior Department offices.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 47, after line 21, to insert:

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

To enable the Secretary of the Interior to carry into effect the provisions of the act approved August 25, 1916, entitled "An act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," and to pay during the period from March 1 to June 30, 1917, the salaries of the officers and employees authorized in said act, in lieu of salaries during such period of the Superintendent of National Parks and four other persons authorized to be employed in the District of Columbia during the fiscal year 1917 by the sundry civil appropriation act approved July 1, 1916, $6,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the heading "Department of Justice," subhead "Contingent expenses," on page 49, line 17, after the word "exceed," to strike out "$2,000" and insert "$6,000," and on line 19, after the word "government," to strike out "$50,000" and insert "$150,000," so as to make the clause read:

Detection and prosecution of crimes: For the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States, including the same objects specified under this head in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, and including not to exceed $6,000 additional for necessary employees at the seat of government, $150,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 50, to insert:

Traveling and miscellaneous expenses: For traveling and other miscellaneous and emergency expenses, including advances made by the disbursing clerk, authorized and approved by the Attorney General, to be expended at his discretion, the provisions of the first paragraph of section 3648, Revised Statutes, to the contrary notwithstanding, including also personal services or extraordinary expenses at the seat of government heretofore or hereafter rendered or incurred, confidential, legal, or otherwise, the approval of the Attorney General hereunder to be conclusive, to be immediately available and to remain available during the fiscal year 1918, $35,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Judicial," subhead "United States courts," after line 15, to insert:

For salary of the additional United States district judge in the State of Texas, to be appointed under the act of February 26, 1917, from April 1 to June 30, 1917, $1,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 50, after line 19, to insert:

For salary of the United States district judge for the district of Porto Rico from March 2, 1917, to June 30, 1917, at the rate of $5,000 per annum, $1,652.78.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 50, after line 23, to insert:

For salary of the clerk of the United States district court for the district of Porto Rico from March 2, 1917, to June 30, 1917, at the rate of $3,000 per annum, $992.67.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of Commerce," subhead "Lighthouse Service," on page 56, after line 20, to strike out:

Lighthouse vessels: For salaries and wages of officers and crews of light vessels and lighthouse tenders, including temporary employment when necessary, $23,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 57, line 7, before the word "session," to strike out "Congress at its present" and insert "the Sixty-fourth Congress, second," so as to make the clause read:

Claims for damages: To pay the claims for damages which have been considered, adjusted, and determined to be due to the claimants by the Commissioner of Lighthouses, under authority of the provisions of section 4 of the act of June 17, 1910 (36 Stats., p. 537), on account of damages occasioned by collision for which vessels of the Lighthouse Service have been found responsible, certified to the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, in House Document No. 1770, $56.88.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Coast and Geodetic Survey," on page 57, after line 14, to insert:

One power lithographic press with offset attachment, $10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 57, line 21, after the word "shift," to strike out "$25,000" and insert "$35,000," so as to make the clause read:

Charts: For materials, supplies, and equipment for printing charts, including the employment in the District of Columbia of such personal services, other than clerical, as may be needed for the additional work required and to operate the printing plant on one night shift, $35,000, to continue available during the fiscal year 1918.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Steamboat-Inspection Service," on page 58, line 12, after the date "1917," to strike out "$15,000" and insert "$19,400," so as to make the clause read:

Contingent expenses: For contingent expenses, including the same objects specified under this head in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917, $19,400.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Legislative," on page 60, after line 7, to insert:

Joint Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: To carry out the provisions of public resolution No. 25, Sixty-fourth Congress, creating a joint subcommittee from the membership of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the conditions relating to interstate and foreign commerce, and the necessity of further legislation relating thereto, and defining the powers and duties of such subcommittee, as extended by public resolution No. 44, Sixty-fourth Congress, to be immediately available, $20,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 60, after line 20, to insert:

Statement of appropriations: The statement of appropriations, etc., for the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress shall include the Army, general deficiency, Military Academy, river and harbor, and sundry civil appropriation acts as passed at the extraordinary session of the Sixty-fifth Congress; and all other appropriations made at the latter session shall be compiled and published with the statement to be prepared of the appropriation acts for the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 62, to insert:

SENATE.

To pay Sallie M. Clarke, widow of Hon. James P. Clarke, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas, $7,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, after line 3, to insert:

To reimburse the official reporters of the proceedings and debates of the Senate for expenses incurred from July 1, 1916, to March 4, 1917, $3,300.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, after line 7, to insert:

To pay Dennis M. Kerr for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress as assistant clerk to said committee by detail from the Bureau of Pensions, $1,200.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, after line 11, to insert:

For driving, maintenance, and care of automobile for the Vice President, for the fiscal year 1917, $300.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment which I should like to have adopted, to come in after line 14.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 62, after the amendment just agreed to, it is proposed to insert the following:

Authority is hereby given to expend not to exceed $250 of the appropriation of $35,000 to pay the necessary expenses of the inaugural ceremonies made in the act approved February 3, 1917, regardless of the provisions of section 1765 of the Revised Statutes.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, after line 14, to insert:

For compensation of officers, clerks, messengers, and others in the service of the Senate, namely: Sixteen pages for the Senate Chamber, at the rate of $2.50 per day each during the session, from April 2 to June 30, 1917, $3,600, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment to come in after the one just adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the amendment just agreed to, after line 20, on page 62, it is proposed to insert:

For miscellaneous items, exclusive of labor, fiscal year 1916, $1,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, after line 20, to insert:

To enable the Secretary of the Senate to pay from the appropriation for 1917 for compensation of officers, clerks, messengers, and others, the following clerks, assistant clerks, and messengers to Senators not chairmen of committees, to wit: Sam E. Conner, clerk to Senator FERNALD from September 12, 1916, to December 4, 1916; John F. Hayes, clerk to Senator WATSON from November 8, 1916, to December 4, 1916; Grady Hays, clerk to Senator KIRBY from November 15, 1916, to December 4, 1916; Charles W. Hall, jr., clerk to Senator CALDER from March 4 to 13, 1917; Wilson C. Hefner, clerk to Senator SUTHERLAND from March 4 to 13, 1917; Samuel Russell, clerk to Senator KING from March 4 to 12, 1917; James A. Norton, clerk to Senator HALE from March 4 to 12, 1917; James L. Wolcott, clerk to Senator WOLCOTT from March 4 to 12, 1917; Amos W. W. Woodcock, clerk to Senator FRANCE from March 4 to 12, 1917; Edward Albright, clerk to Senator MCKELLAR from March 4 to 12, 1917; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, clerk to Senator KENDRICK from March 4 to 12, 1917; Frederick E. Schortemeier, clerk to Senator NEW from March 4 to 12, 1917; at the rate of $2,000 per annum each; John H. Ericksen, assistant clerk to Senator CALDER from March 4 to 13, 1917; C. B. Smith, assistant clerk to Senator SUTHERLAND from March 4 to 16, 1917; Lorenzo Richards, assistant clerk to Senator KING from March 4 to 12, 1917; Edw. C. Wrede, assistant clerk to Senator WOLCOTT from March 4 to 12, 1917; Wallace Williams, assistant clerk to Senator FRANCE from March 4 to 12, 1917; James Coates, assistant clerk to Senator MCKELLAR from March 4 to 12, 1917; Robert L. Stancill, assistant clerk to Senator NEW from March 4 to 12, 1917; at the rate of $1,200 per annum each; Gertrude O'Connell, messenger to Senator CALDER from March 4 to 13, 1917; Walter P. Scott, messenger to Senator SUTHERLAND from March 4 to 13, 1917; Agnes E. Locke, messenger to Senator HALE from March 4 to 30, 1917; Margaret B. Buchanan, messenger to Senator KENDRICK from March 10 to 13, 1917; Robert J. Twyman, messenger to Senator NEW from March 4 to 12, 1917; at the rate of $1,200 per annum each.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Government Printing Office," on page 68, line 24, after the words "during the," to strike out "present session of Congress" and insert "Sixty-fourth Congress, second session," so as to make the clause read:

To pay Samuel Robinson, William Madden, and Joseph De Fontes, messengers on night duty during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, for extra services, $700 each; in all, $2,100.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to the amendment just stated from the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 68, line 23, after the name "William Madden," it is proposed to insert the name "Charles C. Allen," and in line 26 it is proposed to correct the total so that it will read "$2,800."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 70, after line 2, to insert:

PANAMA CANAL.

For the fortification of the Panama Canal as follows: For the operation and maintenance of fire-control installations at seacoast defenses, Panama Canal, under the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 70, after line 7, to insert:

NATIONAL DEFENSE.

For the national security and defense, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President, and to be immediately available and to remain available until December 31, 1917, $100,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 70, after line 13, to insert:

JUDGMENTS, UNITED STATES COURTS.

For payment of the final judgments and decrees, including cost of suit, which has been rendered under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1887, entitled "An act to provide for the bringing of suits against the Government of the United States," certified to the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, by the Attorney General in Senate Document No. 731, and which has not been appealed, namely:

Under the Treasury Department, $1,879.68.
Under the War Department, $8,005.15.
In all, $9,884.83, together with such additional sum as may be necessary to pay interest on the judgment at the rate of 4 per cent per annum from the date thereof until the time this appropriation is made.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to make a correction in the language of the amendment just stated. The word "has" is used in two places where the word "have" should have been used.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On line 16, after the word "which," strike out "has" and insert "have."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. And on line 22, after the word "which," strike out "has" and insert "have."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Judgments, Court of Claims," on page 71, line 8, before the word "session" to strike out "Congress at its present" and insert "the Sixty-fourth Congress, second," and, in line 9, after the words "thirty-one," to insert "and Senate Document No. 732," so as to make the clause read:

For the payment of the judgments rendered by the Court of Claims, reported to the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, in House Document No. 2031 and Senate Document No. 732, namely:

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 71, line 11, after the words "War Department," to strike out "$18,810.71" and insert "$92,-106.27," so as to make the clause read:

Under the War Department, $92,106.27.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 71, line 12, after the words "Navy Department," to strike out "$49,031.04" and insert "$52,-165.91," so as to make the clause read:

Under the Navy Department, $52,165.91.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 71, after line 13, to insert:

Under the Department of Justice, $5,881.41.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 71, line 15, after the words "In all," to strike out "$80,778.63" and insert "$162,190.47," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $162,190.47.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Judgments in Indian depredation claims," on page 71, line 19, after the word "thirty," to strike out "at its present session, $24,927.50" and insert "and Senate Document No. 730 during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, $46,927.50," so as to make the clause read:

JUDGMENTS IN INDIAN DEPREDATION CLAIMS.

For payment of judgments rendered by the Court of Claims in Indian depredation cases, certified to Congress in House Document No. 2030 and Senate Document No. 730 during the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, $46,927.50, said judgments to be paid after the deductions required to be made under the provisions of section 6 of the act approved March 3, 1891, entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," shall have been ascertained and duly certified by the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of the Treasury, which certification shall be made as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, and such deductions shall be made according to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, having due regard to the educational and other necessary requirements of the tribe or tribes affected; and the amounts paid shall be reimbursed to the United States at such times and in such proportions as the Secretary of the Interior may decide to be for the interests of the Indian Service: *Provided*, That no one of said judgments provided in this paragraph shall be paid until the Attorney General shall have certified to the Secretary of the Treasury that there exists no grounds sufficient, in his opinion, to support a motion for a new trial or an appeal of said cause.

None of the judgments contained in this act shall be paid until the right of appeal shall have expired.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 2, under the head of "Audited claims," on page 73, line 9, before the word "session," to strike out "Congress at its present" and insert "the Sixty-fourth Congress, second," so as to make the clause read:

AUDITED CLAIMS.

SEC. 2. That for the payment of the following claims, certified to be due by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874, and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1914 and other years, unless otherwise stated, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884, as fully set forth in House Document No. 2028, reported to the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, there is appropriated as follows:

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to insert as a new section the following, beginning at the top of page 82:

AUDITED CLAIMS.

SEC. 3. That for the payment of the following claims, certified to be due by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874, and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1914 and other years, unless otherwise stated, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884, as fully set forth in Senate Document No. 729, reported to the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, there is appropriated as follows:

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

For refunding taxes illegally collected, $29,187.65.
For redemption of stamps, $226.44.
For payment of judgments against internal-revenue officers, $159,-733.40.

For pay of crews, miscellaneous expenses, etc., Life-Saving Service, $399.68.
For operating supplies for public buildings, 95 cents.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

For pay, etc., of the Army, $2,888.23.
For extra-duty pay to enlisted men as clerks, etc., at Army division and department headquarters, $30.
For contingencies, Military Information Section, General Staff Corps, 1916, $512.35.
For incidental expenses, Quartermaster's Department, $185.85.
For transportation of the Army and its supplies, $866.92.
For headstones for graves of soldiers, $1.56.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

For pay, miscellaneous, $24.
For pay, Marine Corps, $252.38.
For transportation and recruiting, Marine Corps, $56.70.
For pay, Naval Academy, $32.
For pay of the Navy, $2,923.56.
For freight, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, 1916, $6,076.21.
For construction and repair, Bureau of Construction and Repair, $45.
For indemnity for lost property, naval service, act March 2, 1895, $3,747.24.
For destruction of clothing and bedding for sanitary reasons, $53.30.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

For surveying the public lands, $31.18.
For Geological Survey, 45 cents.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, 1916, $2,550.59.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, 1915, $26.20.
For purchase and transportation of Indian supplies, $462.05.
For Indian school, Wahpeton, N. Dak., 1916, $129.18.
For support of Indians of Klamath Agency, Oreg., 1916, $50.82.
For Indian school, Salem, Oreg., repairs and improvements, 1916, $135.57.
For indemnity to certain Chickasaw Indians for losses, treaty of June 22, 1855, $2,585.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE STATE AND OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

For salaries of vice consuls (act of Feb. 5, 1915), 1915, $58.34.
For transportation of diplomatic and consular officers, $138.95.
For miscellaneous expenses, Supreme Court, District of Columbia, 1915, $350.
For general expenses, Bureau of Biological Survey, $40.
For general expenses, Lighthouse Service, $37.80.
For contingent expenses, Department of Labor, $3.70.
For contingent expenses, Department of Commerce and Labor, 50 cents.
For fees of clerks, United States courts, $72.33.
For fees of commissioners, United States courts, 1915, $97.20.
For miscellaneous expenses, United States courts, $600.

CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

For shipment of supplies, 36 cents.
For compensation to postmasters, $318.74.
For clerks, first and second class post offices, $200.
For temporary and auxiliary clerks in post offices, $45.60.
For Railway Mail Service, salaries, $10.
For Rural Delivery Service, carriers, $36.90.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This concludes the amendments of the committee.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After line 19, page 8, add the following:

Durango (Colo.) public building: For construction of work, $50,000, and the limit of cost is hereby increased from $100,000 to $175,000 in order to provide court room, judges' chambers, clerk's offices, and other necessary offices to comply with the act of June 12, 1916, authorizing the holding of court at Durango, Colo.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I am very much surprised that the Senator from Colorado should offer an amendment like that, when he knows there were a great many other amendments offered and the committee rejected them all. I think it is very extraordinary that a member of the committee should expect to come in now and get an item like this allowed. It is absolutely, in my judgment, wrong. This is not a public-building bill.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I want to be heard on the amendment. I should like to make a statement.

Mr. MARTIN. I make a point of order that the amendment has not been estimated for.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia makes a point of order against the amendment, and it is sustained.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I wish to make a statement anyway.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know of any way by which I can stop the Senator from speaking If I did, I would certainly resort to it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the committee and of the Senate to the circumstances connected with this case. It is certified. Here is an estimate which is made by the Secretary of the Treasury. I will state the circumstances:

Some years ago an appropriation was made of $100,000 for the construction of a public building at Durango, Colo., for post-office purposes. In June, 1916, there was an act passed by the Congress of the United States which provided for the holding of the United States court in Durango. I want to call attention to that act. I want to call the attention of the Senator from Virginia particularly to this part of the act:

That the Secretary of the Treasury, in constructing the public buildings heretofore authorized to be constructed at the cities of Grand Junction and Durango, be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to provide accommodations in each of said buildings for post office, United States court, and other governmental offices, and the existing authorizations for said buildings be, and the same are hereby, respectively amended accordingly.

Mr. President, that was an authorization directly upon the part of Congress for the purpose of having the building finished in a manner that would accommodate the court, which was provided for by this very act passed by Congress.

This item was placed on the emergency bill a year ago and it went out in conference. Then a bill was introduced for the purpose of increasing the appropriation for the building, and that was passed by the Senate of the United States.

If there is a clear case where, as a matter of fact, a deficiency exists by reason of which this item should be put in the bill it seems to me this is the instance. This is for a public building. There are other public buildings that are provided for in this bill where emergency exists, and it seems to me this item ought to be recognized. Here is one item in the bill on page 8:

New Haven, Conn., post office: For completion under limit of cost established in the act approved March 4, 1913, $200,000, or so much thereof, together with the sum of $100,000 appropriated in the act approved July 1, 1916, as may be realized from the sale of the old post-office and customhouse building and the site theerof.

There is some emergency matter, no doubt, in that; but I maintain that there is not a single instance in this bill or in any other bill that I know of where there is a clearer case or a stronger reason why such an item should be put on such a bill than the one now pending to provide for deficiencies. Here is an act really authorizing the construction of a building for a courthouse in addition to the post office, which has been passed by Congress, and the very act provides that it shall be taken by the officers of the Government as a change of the previous law which authorized the building to be constructed only for post-office purposes.

The Supervising Architect estimates that there should be an increase here of a certain amount, and he sends that down under a statement made by the Secretary of the Treasury:

Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting letter with statement in regard to deficiencies in certain public-building appropriations.

Here is a statement made by the Secretary of the Treasury:

The attention of Congress is respectfully invited to the following list of public-building propositions for which, for the reasons stated, additional legislation as indicated is considered necessary.

Now comes this one:

DURANGO, COLO.

The act of July 25, 1910—

That is seven years ago—

The act of June 25, 1910, authorized the acquisition of a site at a limit of cost of $10,000. The act of March 4, 1913, authorized the construction of a post-office building at a limit of cost of $100,000. The act of June 12, 1916, authorized the holding of courts at Durango, and directed that accommodations for said courts and other governmental offices be provided in the post-office building. One hundred thousand dollars, as authorized, is not sufficient to construct a building to include accommodations for the courts. In a letter addressed to the Committee on Appropriations, under date of February 15, 1917, it was recommended that the limit of cost be increased to $175,000, and an appropriation of $50,000 within this limit be made before the close of this session of Congress.

Of course this bill did not get through at that session of Congress, and consequently it was not presented. Mr. President, it comes up here. Here is a letter stating that it is properly within the deficiency appropriations. It is one of the instances where Congress had provided that it should be done. I can not see, for the life of me, if there is a single item relating to public buildings to go into the bill, why this Durango item should not go in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order has been made and sustained.

Mr. WEEKS. I offer the following amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read it.

The SECRETARY. On line 19, page 6, after the word "revenue," insert the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That the agents, inspectors, attorneys, deputy collectors, experts, clerks, messengers, and janitors employed under this appropriation shall be selected from persons eligible on any civil-service register.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, that is legislation. I make a point of order against it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to say that I do not think the Senator from Virginia is justified in making a point of order on such an amendment. It is the well-established policy of the Government that such employees shall be employed under the provisions of the civil service, and, in my judgment, it is not only the well-established policy but one which should be continued. I am surprised that the Senator from Virginia is willing to put himself or his party on record by making a point of order against such an amendment.

Mr. KENYON. I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KENYON. I wish to inquire of the Senator how much in the bill in the way of appropriations goes to new positions? How many positions are created?

Mr. WEEKS. The bill carries an appropriation of $3,000,000 for new employees. If they were given an average pay, say, of $1,000 apiece, the number would be 3,000.

Mr. SMOOT. That is in only one department.

Mr. WEEKS. That is in one department.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 9, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 9, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we lift our hearts to Thee in humble, earnest prayer that Thou wilt guide us aright as we stand face to face with the problems of this day. We thank Thee for the spirit Thou hast given to us, the spirit that Thou hast breathed into our national life. To-day we fear no foe; we fear that we may disappoint Thy love, Thy mercy, Thy grace. To Thy hand we commit ourselves with our interests. We pray that Thou wouldst guide us according to the divine counsels and purpose. For Jesus' sake. Amen.

CHARLES S. THOMAS, a Senator from the State of Colorado, appeared in his seat to-day.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Friday last, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

SUBMARINE BASE, PANAMA CANAL (S. DOC. NO. 6).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of War resubmitting an estimate of appropriation in the sum of $1,573,950 for the fiscal year 1918 to be immediately available for the establishment and equipment of a submarine base, Panama Canal, etc., which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, requests a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. EAGAN, and Mr. CANNON managers at the conference on the part of the House.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution adopted by the Ninth Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, expressing condolences on the death of Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, United States Army, which will be inserted in the RECORD.

The concurrent resolution is as follows:

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *March 10, 1917.*

The Honorable PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to forward you herewith certified copy of house concurrent resolution No. 2, which was adopted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii.

Very respectfully,
EDWARD WOODWARD,
Clerk House of Representatives.

Whereas Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, United States Army, has been called to join the ranks of the heavenly hosts; and

Whereas this distinguished soldier and useful citizen made several visits to these islands and was for a period in command of the Department of Hawaii; and

Whereas while a resident of the Territory Maj. Gen. Funston was ever jealous of our interests, amiable and courteous to all our people, and in every way a true friend to Hawaii: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii (the Senate concurring), That in the death of Maj. Gen. Funston our Nation loses one of its most notable and valuable men, one whose counsel and services were of utmost worth, one who was a true and unselfish patriot, standing always with distinction and ability for all that is best and most emblematic of true democracy and genuine Americanism;

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the journals of the house and senate, and that copies thereof be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the presiding officers of the Congress of the United States, the commanding officer of the Department of Hawaii, and the widow of the late Maj. Gen. Funston.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, Hawaii, February 26, 1917.

We hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was adopted in the House of Representatives of the Territory of Hawaii on February 26, 1917.

H. L. HOLSTEIN,
Speaker House of Representatives.
EDWARD WOODWARD,
Clerk House of Representatives.

—

THE SENATE OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, Hawaii, February 27, 1917.

We hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was adopted in the Senate of the Territory of Hawaii on February 27, 1917.

CHAS. T. CHILLINGWORTH,
President of the Senate.
O. TOARIS,
Clerk of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a communication from the board of trustees of the German Liederkranz, of the city of New York, pledging support to the President and the Government and tendering, in case of need, their clubhouse as a hospital unit, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. SMOOT. On March 26, 1917, there was a most enthusiastic mass meeting of citizens of Utah held at the tabernacle, Salt Lake City, at which certain resolutions were adopted. I present a copy of the resolutions and ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UTAH STANDS BEHIND THE PRESIDENT—MASS MEETING SWEARS LOYAL SUPPORT.

Following are the resolutions adopted by last night's mass meeting at the Tabernacle:

"The United States of America is not a warlike or military Government. It has engaged in four wars with foreign powers—the first for independence, the second for freedom of the seas and the right of American sailors and citizens to enjoy that freedom, the third for the protection of Americans on neutral or foreign soil, the fourth in the interest of suffering humanity.

"Whereas the United States Government now appears to be on the eve of another war into which it is being forced to reassert all these principles of national right and honor, to safeguard our prestige and perpetuity as a Nation, to defend the freedom of our commerce, to compel respect for our long-established rights, to protect the lives and liberties of our citizens on the high seas, to rebuke aggressive tyranny for its brutal disregard of the claims and pleadings of humanity; and

"Whereas, in its relation to other Governments, the United States for two years past has borne, and is now bearing, with dignity and credit the gravest responsibilities this or any other republic has ever been called upon to face; and

"Whereas every honorable effort has been made conscientiously to keep this country from being drawn into this most savage, sanguinary, destructive, and unnecessary, but far-reaching, war the world has ever witnessed; and

"Whereas the German Government has denied to us the freedom of the seas, has destroyed our ships and shipping, and, without justification or warning, has ordered or approved the treacherous assassination of American seamen and citizens on neutral waters outside of any defined or pretended zone of danger; and

"Whereas, under the guise of friendship and the hospitality of the United States, the German Government has, through its accredited official representatives, plotted to embarrass and injure this Nation by fomenting racial and political intrigues among our people, by the use of money or the promise of support, by the establishment of secret cabals, hostile organizations, and schools of spies within our borders, by inflaming the minds of people in foreign lands and inciting them to make war upon this country; and

"Whereas every open or covert attack on this Government or on those who direct its destinies in war, naturally construed by enemies as furnishing evidence of disunion and weakness, invites insult and attack and should be rebuked and suppressed as a potential cause leading to war; and

"Whereas the loyalty, unity, and solidarity of the American people in support of the President and Congress in such a grave crisis is a most effective barrier to the insolence, oppression, and assault of foreign foes; and

"Whereas the time has now come for all patriotic Americans to take a stand with the Republic and the flag and the President, and to so announce their decision to the world: Therefore be it

"Resolved by this mass meeting of representative citizens of the State of Utah, assembled in the Tabernacle at Salt Lake City on this, the 26th day of March, 1917, That we solemnly reaffirm our allegiance to the flag and the Republic, our faith in the Constitution of the United States, our confidence in the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, our devotion to the principles of human liberty and to the rights of the weak to immunity from torture, slavery, debasement, and destruction by the strong, and we solemnly pledge ourselves here and now to loyally support the President of this Republic in whatever course may become necessary to enforce our rights as a people, to preserve our honor as a Nation, and to protect the lives of our fellow citizens at home or abroad, on land or sea.

"Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be prepared for presentation to the President of the United States by the congressional delegation from this State on behalf of the patriotic citizenship of Utah."

Mr. TOWNSEND. I have received a petition from the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Marquette, Mich., signed by the pastor of that church and many other citizens of that place, relative to universal military training, which I desire to have read.

There being no objection, the petition was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
Marquette, Mich.

We express our conviction that the safety and security of our Republic requires that we definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service. We would earnestly urge, therefore, that measures be taken for the immediate establishment of a permanent, adequate, and democratic system of national defense based upon universal military, industrial, and scientific service according to the capacity of each citizen.

We also express our conviction that if the United States of America speak as a nation fully prepared for defense it can best serve the cause of international righteousness and universal peace.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I present a memorial from the National Legal Fraternity of Phi Delta Phi in province convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., March 30 and 31, 1917, pledging support to the President, and also a communication from the Volante, University of South Dakota, at Vermilion, pledging support to the President, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VOLANTE,
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA,
Vermilion, S. Dak., April 5, 1917.

Hon. E. S. JOHNSON
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed copy of a resolution sent to the President of the United States is sent you in pursuance of an order by the National Legal Fraternity of Phi Delta Phi in province convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., March 30 and 31. The Senators from each State which was represented at the convention will receive the resolution, and with this from South Dakota we are glad to extend the heartiest congratulations for the stand taken by you in support of the rights of America, and again pledge our loyalty and support.

Respectfully, yours,
H. R. HANLEY,
Secretary of Convention.

In this grave international crisis, when the whole-souled loyalty and support of every American is demanded, the International Legal Fraternity of Phi Delta Phi in province convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., March 31, 1917, representing the States of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and South Dakota, pledges its support to the President and our Congress in upholding American rights against all violators thereof by whatsoever means they may deem necessary.

K. W. PRINGLE,
WM. L. EAGLETON, Jr.,
W. O. HAKE,
Committee.
ELMER N. POWELL,
President of Province VI.
H. R. HANLEY,
Secretary of Convention.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I also present memorials of pastors of several Mennonite Brethren Churches within Turner and Hutchinson Counties, S. Dak., representing 1,127 members, opposing legislation making military training within the United States compulsory or legislation which fosters a military spirit. I ask that the memorials be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the memorials were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

JOHANN L. WIPF, *Pastor.*
JOHANN P. HOFER.
J. W. KLEINSASSER.

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Hutterthal Mennonite Church of 200 members, Freeman, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

REV. PETER J. STAHL, *Pastor.*

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Hutterdorf Mennonite Church of 98 members, Freeman, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

J. M. REGIER, *Pastor.*

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Bethany Mennonite Church of 160 members, Freeman, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

Rev. J. J. ADRIAN, *Pastor.*

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Mennonite Brethren Church of 28 members, Dolton, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

JOHANN C. UNRUH, *Pastor.*

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Bruderthal Mennonite Church of 15 members, Marion, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

GOTTLIEB ARBEITER, *Pastor.*

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Church of God of 26 members, Marion, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

DAVID A. SCHULTZ, *Pastor.*
H. P. UNRUH.
CORNELIUS EWERT.

Dated this 2d day of April, 1917. Friedensberger Mennonite Church of 85 members, Avon, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

Rev. ALFRED P. WALTNER,
Marion, S. Dak.
Rev. JOHN SCHRAG.

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Salem Zion Mennonite Church of 265 members, Freeman, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

DERK P. FIESZEN, *Pastor.*
DIETRICH D. ENGBRECHT.

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Salem Zion Mennonite Church of 180 members, Marion, S. Dak.

—

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

Rev. PAUL P. TRELCHER, *Pastor.*
Rev. DAVID J. WIPF.
Rev. JACOB I. WALTER.

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. New Hutterthal Mennonite Church of 300 members, Freeman, S. Dak.

To the President of the United States of America and Congress:

Prompted by deep religious convictions of our Mennonite Church and by true patriotism, we humbly petition our honored President and Congress to exert all possible influence against any legislation fostering military spirit or making military training compulsory.

JACOB J. HOFER, *Pastor.*

Dated this 1st day of April, 1917. Salem Mennonite Church of 80 members, Freeman, S. Dak.

Mr. THOMPSON. I present petitions in the form of telegrams and resolutions passed by the Kansas State Normal School, of Emporia; the Saline County Patriotic Defense League, of Salina; and of Elks lodges at Fort Scott, Emporia, Great Bend, and Wichita, all in the State of Kansas, declaring faith and allegiance and pledging support to the President and the Congress of the United States. I will not take the time to have them read, but I should like to have them printed in the RECORD, and where the petitions are signed by more than one person, I wish the first signature to be shown and the number of signatures.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMPORIA, KANS., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator WILLIAM THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That Emporia Lodge, No. 633, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, hereby pledges our President its loyal and unwavering support in this grave crisis in the life of our Nation.

O. L. JILLSON,
Secretary Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 633.

—

FORT SCOTT, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. W. H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Greetings. In times like these we know no party, no creed, no division. The flag of our country is now over our altar, and we have all sworn to stand by it, and we will all stand by you and our President, to a man. Done by the order of the lodge, Fort Scott, Kans., April 3, 1917.

C. W. CRAIN,
Secretary Scott Lodge, No. 579,
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

—

EMPORIA, KANS., *April 6, 1917.*

Senator WILLIAM H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

We pledge our loyal support to the President and Congress of the United States in this supreme struggle to bring peace and safety to all nations, and to make the world itself at last free.

KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

—

GREAT BEND, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator W. H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BROTHER:

"Whereas by the request of the grand exalted ruler we are met in special session for the purpose of expressing our loyalty to the President of the United States in such action as he shall take in the present national emergency: Now, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That Great Bend Lodge, No. 1127, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, hereby renews its allegiance to the Government of the United States of America and the flag of our country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we hereby pledge our support to the President and Congress in such action as they may deem essential for the protection of our country and maintenance of its honor and integrity."

CHAS. LISCHSKY, *Exalted Ruler.*
STANLEY HILL, *Secretary.*

—

WICHITA, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

The Elks' 1,000-strong host heartily indorse President Wilson's policy of preparedness and appreciate your support of him, and strongly recommend any resolution which tends to protect the honor, glory, and defense of our beloved country.

E. L. BROOKS, *Exalted Ruler.*

—

SALINA, KANS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. W. H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

The Saline County Patriotic Defense League assures you of its devotion to the flag and the principles it represents, and that it is now preparing itself for actual military training, to be thereby better able to meet any eventuality requiring its service, and we are authorized to inform you that such services are at the disposal of the Government.

F. D. BLUNDON,
President of the League.
JAMES A. KIMBALL,
W. L. GANSSLE,
RALPH ANDERSON,
Committee.

Mr. THOMPSON. I also present resolutions adopted at a conference of the Eleventh District Rotary Clubs, offered by Rotarian George T. McDermott, of the Topeka (Kans.) Rotary Club, pledging their undivided and enthusiastic support to the administration, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution of conference of Eleventh District Rotary Clubs, offered by Rotarian George T. McDermott, of the Topeka (Kans.) Rotary Club, and passed at Tulsa, Okla., on March 20, 1917.

Whereas on this 20th day of March, 1917, this country is horrified by the news that the war lords of a great empire have shot down the American flag while that flag was protecting American lives and legitimate and peaceful commerce; and it now seems inevitable that this Nation shall be plunged into the cataclysm of war which has stunned the conscience of the world: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Eleventh District of Rotarians in conference assembled, That in event the American Nation becomes engaged in the world war now being waged across the seas, each club of this district give its undivided and enthusiastic support to the administration of this Government; and that, laying aside all other things, the first and best endeavors of each club here assembled shall be directed to the achievement of industrial and military efficiency, and, by precept and example, encourage that rigid economy necessary to such achievement; and to offer to the President of the United States the assistance of such clubs throughout the struggle; all to the end that the civilization which has come to us from the Cross of Calvary shall not perish from the earth.

Be it further resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to each Member of Congress from the States of Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kansas.

M. L. ALDEN, *Chairman.*
ROBT. L. MORTON,
FAY THOMPSON,
THOMAS E. WAGSTAFF,
W. F. STAHL,
Committee on Resolutions.
ROBERT STONE,
District Governor.
ADOLPH SCHOENHERR,
Secretary of District Conference.

Approved:

ARCH C. KLUMPH,
President of International Association of Rotary Clubs.

Mr. THOMPSON. I also present telegrams from the rotarians of the first and second congressional districts of Kansas, in attendance at the organization of the Lawrence (Kans.) Rotary Club, and also resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Stafford, Kans., and vicinity, declaring faith and allegiance and pledging support to the President and the Congress of the United States, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objections, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWRENCE, KANS., *April 8, 1917.*

Hon. WM. H. THOMPSON,
The Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At the organization of the Lawrence, Kans., Rotary Club on one of our country's most momentous days, Friday, April 6, the Rotarians in attendance from the first and second congressional districts of Kansas subscribed to the following oath of allegiance and directed that a copy be sent to the President, the Senators, and the Congressmen from the first and second districts of Kansas:

"I, mindful of the solemn duty which confronts my country, hereby renew my undivided allegiance to the Government of the United States and reconsecrate myself to its great principles of justice and equality, and I do hereby solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the State of Kansas and obey all lawful commands of those in charge of the affairs of my Government; and in furtherance of this obligation I hereby pledge my whole-hearted support to the President of the United States in his efforts to preserve to posterity the blessings of civilization."

Robert Stone, H. B. Ober, Fred Folland, F. W. Jaedicke, F. A. Gibson, T. V. Weinhold, Thomas A. Moseley, C. N. Leinbach, Wilbur A. Weston, Geo. W. Miller, Ed. Draper, Vernet D. Edwards, T. H. Prest, C. F. Peterson, H. S. Towner, F. L. Pinet, W. O. Hamilton, Leroy Powell, C. E. Friend, Warren Henley, Geo. A. Esterly, C. J. Kapka, S. D. Chadbury, C. W. Blomquist, C. H. Poindexter, M. L. Alden, H. A. Mandenhall, Wm. W. Rose, H. S. Martin, Ford J. Funk, H. W. McAfee, O. K. Arnett, Eyblum, S. L. Courtney, Walter Walter, A. Johnson, C. S. Emmert, P. C. Lyon, Clement Williams, W. C. Carswell, F. E. Olson, B. C. Twenhofel, W. W. Yager, E. R. Callender, F. C. Beck, D. O. Coe, Henry Bennett, Charles S. Elliott, C. A. Karlall, Fred A. Clarke, Otto A. Fischer, Ed. W. Parson, R. C. Ellis, W. C. Cox, Frank Jones, George O. Foster, Walter C. Kern, Geo. Darsie, C. A. Lowder, J. M. Brunt, W. T. Beerbohm, Frank H. David, Geo. M. Stone, K. D. Klemmk, J. L. Brown, J. Sanderson, C. D. Parnham, B. P. Beall, S. H. Reynolds, A. J. Anderson, Jack P. Miller, W. C. Simons, J. W. Gifsburg, J. S. St. Clair, M. H. Blandford, W. E. A. Nottord, R. C. Manley, W. G. Hutson, Talmadge D. Funk, A. B. Weaver, I. J. Meace, W. H. Vanum.

—

STAFFORD, KANS., *April 8, 1917.*

Senator WM. H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions adopted by the citizens of Stafford and vicinity, State of Kansas, April 6, 1917:

"Whereas by the request of Gov. Arthur Capper, of the State of Kansas, we have met to observe 'loyalty day,' and in this manner to express our loyalty to the President of the United States in such action as he shall take in the present national emergency: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of Stafford and vicinity hereby renew their allegiance to the Government of the United States of America and the flag of our country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we hereby pledge our support to the President and Congress in such action as they may deem essential for the protection of our country and the maintenance of its honor and integrity."

R. J. McMULLEN,
E. A. BRILES,
NATE E. REECE,
Committee.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I present sundry telegrams, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOLEDO, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the Rosewood Avenue Presbyterian Church, in annual congregational meeting, present the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That as a church we stand by the President of the United States in this great crisis, and that we also heartily indorse as a means of safety first Senator SHEPPARD'S prohibition amendment as a war measure, and ask its passage immediately."

D. H. JOHNSTON, *Pastor.*
GEO. B. COLE,
Moderator of Meeting.

—

CLEBURNE, TEX., *April 6, 1917.*

MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

The Cleburne Rotary Club to a man stands behind you in all of your efforts to maintain the honor and dignity of the United States and uphold and maintain international law and the rights of humanity.

THE ROTARY CLUB OF CLEBURNE, TEX.,
E. B. FRISINGER,
J. R. RANSONE, Jr.,
O. H. POOLE, *Committee.*

—

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
1620 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned were appointed by a mass meeting of the citizens of Austin held to-day, and presided over by the mayor, with instructions to advise you for your guidance as our representative that we heartily indorse President Wilson's message to Congress requesting Congress to declare that a state of war exists between this Government and the Imperial German Government. We trust that your vote and influence will be used without qualification to uphold our President, whose message finds a response in the heart of every true American.

GEO. MENDELL, Jr.,
CHESTER T. CROWELL,
JAMES W. McCLENDON,
Committee.

—

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

The President's message is great. Prompt indorsement and cooperation by Congress will undoubtedly meet with a whole-hearted approval and enthusiastic support by an overwhelming majority of the Texas people.

R. W. FINLEY.

—

KINGSVILLE, TEX., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

Kleberg County and Kingsville citizens are one with the President and their representatives in Congress on war measures. We congratulate the President and our Senators and Congressmen on the stand they have taken to fight for world democracy. We are for universal military training.

BEN F. WILSON,
County Judge of Kleberg County.
E. B. ERARD,
Mayor of Kingsville.

—

ANSON, TEX., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The entire citizenship of our community has implicit faith in our President and his policies in this international crisis and we tender him our loyal support. We urge you to support every measure proposed by him, giving him your unqualified support at all times.

GEORGE H. BROCKETT, *Mayor.*

—

BEAUMONT, TEX., *April 7, 1917.*

MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C:

W. A. Ives Lodge, Knights of Pythias, extends to you our unqualified support in this crisis of our Nation.

M. S. GARDNER, *C. C.*
A. L. LEONARD, *K. R. and S.*

Mr. JAMES. I present a letter from citizens of German birth, which I desire to have printed in the RECORD together with other resolutions adopted by various organizations of Kentucky, pledging loyalty and support to the Government.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOUISVILLE, KY., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Both Louis and I want to express to you our appreciation and gratitude at the fairness, sentiment, and feeling you displayed in your forceful and splendid indorsement of President Wilson's call to our country to enter a war which he has so long and so patiently evaded.

In our personal talks with you at different times, you have said to us how deeply the President felt the responsibility resting upon him and how hard he was striving to keep our country from being forced into this most unfortunate and bloody war, and we can and do sympathize with him in this hour of stress.

It is fortunate for the foreign-born citizens of our State that they have such a spokesman as you, and I only wish your eloquence and belief could reach every native citizen. There are, unfortunately, some who allow their prejudice and patriotism to overshadow their usual clearer vision, and in their enthusiasm and fervor attribute lack of American principles to loyal American subjects. Forbearance is a virtue that should and must be cultivated now in order to prevent any and all estrangements of the people of our country during the trying times to come.

During the past two and a half years it was only natural that citizens of this country had, and showed, a preference for that nation, in conflict, from which they sprung or immigrated. To do otherwise would have been unnatural; but, now, that our country has been forced to take part, the loyalty of all of these citizens, be they of German, English, French, or other birth, is, in the main, true to their new country and flag, and the few isolated instances of disloyalty should not be held against the many.

I speak of this at such length because even Louis and I have been slandered and accused of disloyalty and sedition, and such attacks mischievously or maliciously, but always secretively made, have caused us sorrow, more than anger, but we feel that those that know us do not question us. As to those who do not know us we need not care what their opinions are. It would be laughable if it were not serious, but we have been reported arrested, put under bond, and the Lord knows what all and, unfortunately, these reports have spread throughout the State and we receive letters daily asking us of the source of such reports and assuring us of the unbelief of them; but, like chaff before the wind, they are carried from place to place and, you may be sure, they lose nothing in volume or otherwise in the carrying.

Please pardon the length of this letter, but you know and understand us and we want you to know how we appreciated your speech.

With kindest personal regards from us both, I am,

Yours, sincerely,

OTTO SEELBACH.

—

LEXINGTON, KY., *April 6, 1917.*

Senator OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SENATOR JAMES: I am inclosing herein the resolution adopted by the Get In And Get Out Club, composed of 100 of the youngest professional men in the city, at a special meeting for that purpose.

And I assure you you have the support of all the young men here in any course you may suggest to the Senate that will preserve the honor and integrity of the country.

Very respectfully,

GET IN AND GET OUT CLUB,
By JEFF T. JONES,
Corresponding Secretary.

Resolved, That we, members of the Get In And Get Out Club, of Lexington, Ky., regardless of whether war ensues between this country and Germany, or any other foreign power, do favor the immediate adoption by the United States Government of an approved system of universal and mandatory military training, providing for the disciplining and training of the youth of America, with subsequent liability to active service, and thus create a ready, efficient, and dependable reserve force for the national defense; and

Resolved, That we urge upon the President and Congress the prompt enactment of legislation which will adequately provide for such a system of universal and compulsory military training and the adoption at the same time of measures designed and calculated to secure the safety of the Republic and the maintenance of its integrity and honor both at home and abroad; and

Resolved, That we pledge to the President and the Government of the United States our loyal, cordial, and unfaltering support in the present crisis and solemnly declare, without condition or reservation, that we are for free America first, last, and at all times; and

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President and to the Senators and Representatives from Kentucky in the National Congress and that a copy be also furnished to the press.

—

COVINGTON, KY., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE JAMES,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR:—

Whereas our country is on the verge of a great crisis, upon the outcome of which depends the future welfare of our Nation; and

Whereas we approve the stand that our able President has taken and are united in our support of President Woodrow Wilson and his policies pertaining to international affairs: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Old Kentucky Lodge, No. 1359, Loyal Order of Moose, located at Covington, Ky., do hereby indorse our President and his international policy and stand firmly and solidly behind him and give him our hearty support; and be it further

Resolved, That we spread this motion upon our minutes; and be it finally

Resolved, That we send a copy of these resolutions to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and copies to United States Senators OLLIE JAMES and J. C. W. BECKHAM and Hon. A. B. ROUSE, our Representative in Congress.

Fraternally,

TRACY PALMER, *Secretary.*

—

COVINGTON (KY.) LODGE, NO. 314.
BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS.
Covington, Ky., April 6, 1917.

Senator OLLIE JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am inclosing herewith a copy of resolution adopted by Covington Lodge of Elks at a meeting held last night upholding the course of the President and pledging him the loyal and active support of the lodge.

Yours, very truly, R. T. VON HOENE, *Secretary.*

Whereas our country is now facing a crisis which demands not only the undivided loyalty of all its citizens but their outspoken support of those directing the affairs of our Government as well; and

Whereas from the very nature of its organization the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks is under a peculiar obligation to help quicken the spirit of American patriotism: Therefore be it

Resolved at a regular meeting of the Covington (Ky.) Lodge of Elks, No. 314, held April 4, 1917, That this lodge fully indorses the patient and determined course of our President, Woodrow Wilson, in seeking to preserve American rights by peaceful means, and, the possibilities of negotiation having been exhausted, that it firmly stands behind him in every step he has taken to maintain those rights, including the breach of diplomatic relations with Germany and his address to Congress on April 2 and pledges its loyal and active support to the President and the Congress of the United States in whatever action they may take to uphold the rights, welfare, dignity, and the honor of America; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President and the Senators from Kentucky and the Representative from this district.

THEO. VON HOENE,
H. G. MEINERS,
GEO. E. PHILLIPS.

—

SOMERSET, KY., *April 6, 1917.*

President WOODROW WILSON,
Washington, D. C.:

EDWARD RIGHTOR,
Grand Exalted Ruler,
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks,
New Orleans, La.:

Somerset (Ky.) Lodge B. P. O. Elks, in session assembled, hereby reaffirm our allegiance to the flag of our country.

We fully indorse the wise and patriotic course of our President and his message to Congress and pledge our support to any and all steps he may take to carry out the will of the people in defense of our national honor.

We believe in full and adequate preparedness and we urge our Senators and Representative in Congress to support any and all measures to this end.

M. E. TATE, *Exalted Ruler.*
C. D. CUNDIFF, *Secretary.*

Copy mailed Hon. OLLIE C. JAMES and J. C. W. BECKHAM.

—

ASHLAND ROTARY CLUB,
Ashland, Ky., April 5, 1917.

Hon. OLLIE JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a recent meeting of the Ashland Rotary Club I was directed to extend to the President and Representatives in Congress the unwavering support of its members in all efforts to uphold the honor of our country and their readiness to render any service and make any sacrifice demanded by the needs of the Nation.

Very respectfully, yours,

CHAS. B. DICKSON, *Secretary.*

—

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Senator OLLIE JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

Dear SENATOR JAMES: I was instructed by the executive committee of the Federation of Churches of Cincinnati and Vicinity, which includes the churches of Covington and Newport, to send you the inclosed set of resolutions and to express to you our appreciation of the patriotic stand you have taken in support of the President.

With personal good wishes, I am,

Very truly, yours, FREDERICK L. FAGLEY.

THE POSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF CINCINNATI AND VICINITY WITH REGARD TO THE PRESENT NATIONAL CRISIS.

Whereas the President of the United States has, "with a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step" he was taking, declared a state of war to exist between Germany and the United States; and

Whereas there is much confusion in the minds of many as to the Christian ethics of war and the relation of the Christian Church thereto, the Federation of Churches of Cincinnati and Vicinity desire to give expression to what it believes is the mind of the spirit within its members in relation to the great crisis confronting the Nation.

We must remind ourselves that there are inevitable differences of conviction and judgment among equally good and patriotic men, and it is not to be expected that there will be unanimity of feeling as to the righteousness of this war. We have no desire to defend one or to deplore another set of honest convictions. We are chiefly concerned that we shall maintain the Christian spirit of love and brotherliness in the presence of differences of judgment and of interpretation of the mind of Christ, our common Lord.

As Christians we can not but lament the necessity for war. As a method of determining the course of history, it carries us back to the days before civilization dawned, to the method of the jungle; in its appeal to physical force rather than to moral suasion, enlightened reason, and spiritual idealism it is subversive of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion. Christianity seeks to win men by love; its ends are constructive and not destructive; its method is self-sacrifice. Even in the time of war, and however strongly convinced of the inevitableness of the present situation, the Christian Church will continue to bear witness to its high hope of the coming of a day of the Lord when men shall learn and resort to war no more.

But we are in the dilemma of the great prophet-statesman of Israel who first uttered the clear hope of a day of universal peace, who, in his messages to his people, alternated visions of the ideal with the fearful realities which surrounded him in his nation's life. The Christian ideal can be realized only by slow progress, and to admit that we have not yet progressed to the realization of the ideal is not to be disloyal to it or to deny its desirability. The sad fact confronting us is that our Lord Christ has not yet come in triumph into the political kingdom of this world. Wrong and injustice and oppression must still be dealt with in individuals and in nations. The State must punish its individual criminals. We would that there were no criminals. And if we admit that fact, must we not allow a nation to resist by physical force a criminal government which attempts to inflict violence and injustice upon it? We would that there were no criminal nation. And so the time unhappily has not yet come when physical force, even from the practical Christian viewpoint, can be replaced wholly by the moral and spiritual appeal.

We may take courage in that the Christian ideal is so far realized that a war of offense is unqualifiedly condemned. And while perhaps no war is to be justified from the standpoint of the absolute Christian ideal, one can not read with an informed and unbiased mind President Wilson's message to Congress without feeling satisfied beyond the shadow of a doubt that from the standpoint of Christian morality relative to the stage of our present human development this Nation's course with reference to the German Government is completely justified. As Christians, therefore, with the vision of peace in a world at war, under the burden of the provocations of the Nation, and with a realization of the necessity to defend our liberties and to resist intolerable crimes against God and man, we can not, we dare not, condemn this war, much as we love peace and pray for its universal reign. Indeed, if we catch the spirit of the splendid idealism of the President's message, and feel anything of his sincerity in his interpretation of the high spirit and the unselfish purpose of the Nation in meeting with the challenge of the German Government without rancor and without vengeance, we feel assured not only that our cause is just but that it is Christian in aim and motive. Without hypocrisy or self-delusion, we may in an exalted Christian spirit of sacrifice accept the burden the Nation lays upon us in the defense of honor and freedom and in the promotion of the principles of democracy and of permanent peace throughout the world.

We would, therefore, urge upon the members of our churches every possible cooperation with the Government in promoting the efficiency of its war measures, in lending aid to soldiers and sailors through the work of the Red Cross Society, in promoting economic welfare by the cultivation of vegetable gardens, and in whatever other way appeal may be made or opportunity offered. We recommend that rooms in church buildings and parish houses be placed at the disposal of communities and groups of people who may desire to meet together for united effort of whatever kind. And, above all, we urge that all our work and plans be consecrated by a spirit of deep seriousness and with the sense of grave responsibility as to all that is involved in the war, and that to this end special meetings for prayer as well as for work be held, so that we may be saved from bitterness, hatred, and the spirit of revenge, and from everything unworthy of the high motives and aims to which the war is undertaken, and that we may unite our petitions to Almighty God "that overruling the counsel of men, setting straight the things they can not govern or alter, taking pity on the nations now in the throes of conflict, in His mercy and goodness, showing a way where man can see none, He may vouchsafe His children healing peace again, and restore once more that concord among men and nations without which there can be neither happiness nor true friendship, nor any wholesome fruit of toil or thought in the world, praying also to this end that He forgive us our sins, our ignorance of His holy will, our willfulness and many errors, and lead us in paths of obedience to places of vision and to thoughts and counsels that purge and make wise."

FREDERICK L. FLINCHBAUGH.
JOHN F. HERGET.
FREDERICK L. FAGLEY.

Unanimously adopted by the executive committee of the Federation of Churches, April 4, 1917.

—

LOUISVILLE, KY., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator OLLIE JAMES,
Washington, D. C.:

The Woman's Club of Louisville, Ky., stands by the President in upholding the honor of our Nation, and offers its assistance and use of its clubhouse when needed.

Mrs. PIERCE BUTLER, *President.*
Mrs. MORRIS GIFFORD, *Secretary.*

Mr. FLETCHER. I present a resolution adopted by the Board of Trade of Tampa, Fla., and a resolution adopted by the City Council of Gainesville, Fla., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution adopted by Board of Trade of Tampa, Fla.

Whereas the improvement of waterways of this country is one of the most vital needs of the Nation for the development of its commerce, both in peace and in time of war; and

Whereas at this particular time the development of our waterways is one of the most important pieces of work that the Federal Government could undertake; and

Whereas the rivers and harbors bill which failed to pass during the last session of Congress was the most constructive piece of legislation ever attempted along this line, and its failure to pass meant that millions of dollars' worth of work would be left uncompleted at the end of the fiscal year, which would necessitate additional expense in taking the work up anew when appropriations are again made: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Tampa Board of Trade urges our Representatives in Congress to use every effort to have a bill, in substance, similar to the one drafted at the last session of Congress and passed by the House of Representatives enacted into law at this special session of the Sixty-fifth Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to our Representatives in Congress and to the Chief of Engineers, Washington.

Passed this 2d day of April, 1917.

[SEAL.]

W. G. BROWN, *President.*

Attest:

L. P. DICKIE, *Secretary.*

—

GAINESVILLE, FLA., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. D. U. FLETCHER, Senator,
Hon. PARK TRAMMEL, Senator,
Hon. FRANK CLARK, Congressman,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIRS: I have the honor of herewith handing you copy of resolution passed by the City Council of Gainesville, Fla., in regular session Monday night, April 2, 1917.

May the God of our fathers guide you in your actions for the sake of humanity at this great trying time.

I beg to be, yours, very truly, JOS. E. WAUGH,
City Clerk, Gainesville, Fla.

Resolutions.

Whereas the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, has repeatedly protested against the unlawful acts of the German Empire resulting in the destruction of property and loss of lives of American citizens engaged in peaceful trade; and

Whereas such protests have been unheeded, and the German Empire has declared its purpose of continuing its unlawful course and conduct; and

Whereas the President has determined that the honor of the United States required the severance of diplomatic relations with the German Empire and the assembling of Congress in extraordinary session to determine the future course of the Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the city council of the city of Gainesville, Fla., hereby commend and approve most heartily the course and determination of the President as announced as evincing the highest wisdom and patriotism.

Resolved, That Congress should record its united support and approval to the end that the President be supported in all his efforts to maintain the honor, welfare, and just rights of this country against German encroachments.

Resolved, That all citizens of our city should give expression to such sentiments of loyalty and patriotism that Congress and all people may know that the rights of the American people must not be invaded by any nation and that American patriotism and loyalty neither knows nor tolerates either a divided allegiance or less than the highest measure of duty; that it recognizes but one flag and one country, giving to one a sublime loyalty, to the other the full measure of human endeavor—that one shall never be sullied and the honor of the other shall never be smirched.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President, the Senators from Florida, the Hon. FRANK CLARK, the Representative from this congressional district, and copies be furnished the newspapers of this city by city clerk.

Mr. LODGE. I present a concurrent resolution passed by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and also certain resolutions from towns in Massachusetts pledging support to the President. I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions favoring the establishment of universal military and naval training.

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in general court assembled recommend the immediate establishment by Congress of an adequate system of universal military and naval training under the direction of the National Government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to each Senator and Representative from Massachusetts in Congress.

In senate adopted March 29, 1917.

In house of representatives adopted, in concurrence, March 30, 1917.

A true copy.

Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

BOARD OF SELECTMEN,
Ashland, Mass., April 5, 1917.

Whereas the President of the United States of America has called Congress into extraordinary session to take action on a war resolution against the Imperial German Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the citizens of Ashland, Mass., in town meeting assembled, do hereby solemnly pledge their support to the President and Government of the United States of America to any action they deem necessary to maintain and protect the honor and safety of the American people and of the Government of the United States of America.

THE REPUBLICAN CLUB OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Boston, Mass., April 5, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the executive committee of the Republican Club of Massachusetts held this afternoon the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the German Government, although solemnly bound by treaties of friendship to the United States, has for many months destroyed the lives and property of American citizens upon the high seas, has sought to array against us other nations, and has by intrigue and criminal conspiracy in our very midst rendered it impossible for us honorably to live longer at peace with it; and

"Whereas the President of the United States has called the attention of Congress and the country to these facts in an address worthy to take its place among our ablest state papers: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, The Republican Club of Massachusetts, an organization of twenty-five hundred members of the Republican Party, believing that party differences have no place in our foreign relations, hereby gladly and unreservedly pledges its support to the President and Congress of the United States in every measure they may take to uphold the independence of the United States, to secure that honorable treatment that we are entitled to receive from every other nation on earth, and to insure the safety and liberty of our citizens in their legitimate occupations throughout the world; be it further

"*Resolved*, That since it is apparent that these ends can only be secured by war, we believe that our Government should forthwith provide for universal military enrollment and training, for the organization of our vast industrial resources, and for every other honorable method of conducting the most speedily successful and therefore most humane warfare; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and the Senators and Representatives of Massachusetts in Congress."

Yours, sincerely,

CHARLES H. GLIDDEN,
Assistant Secretary.

Resolutions passed by an audience of 1,500 Melrose citizens, at Memorial Hall, Melrose, Mass., on Sunday afternoon, April 1, 1917.

We, the citizens of Melrose, in mass meeting assembled, realizing the solemn crisis for ourselves and for our country that is now upon us, do hereby urge upon the President of the United States and upon all others in authority the selection of advisors and officials, regardless of political affiliations or personal relations, who shall bring to the Nation's need power, capacity, and trained understanding.

And, recognizing the fact that we can not pay for patriotic devotion, we hereby express our conviction that those who serve country and humanity in the Army and Navy should receive adequate compensation for such service, and we do hereby pledge ourselves and our possessions to the defense of freedom for our own citizens on land and sea, and to the service of all people who seek freedom in the common fellowship of nations and the brotherhood of man.

OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK,
Milford, Mass., April 6, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the annual town meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Milford, Mass., held March 5, 1917, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the purpose of President Wilson to take all necessary measures to see to it 'That this Republic do not perish from the face of the earth, and that it be a government of the people, by the people, for the people'; and

"Whereas by the constituted law of this land he has sought congressional support therefor, which has not been granted him through the unpatriotic acts of a few sworn officers of the Republic in the United States Senate: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the citizens of Milford, Mass., in annual town meeting assembled*, That we pledge him our loyal support and sympathy in this national crisis, which he is trying to avert in the interest of all humanity.

"*Resolved*, That we, when the safety of this country is in danger, are neither Republican or Democrat, neither native born or alien, but are all supporters of the stability of this Government and of its head.

"*Resolved*, That we have only censure for those who have not patriotism enough to yield private opinion to public welfare.

"*Resolved*, That we heartily commend our great Senators, HENRY CABOT LODGE and JOHN W. WEEKS, for their splendid support for the measures propounded for national defense by President Wilson.

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to President Wilson, Senator LODGE, Senator WEEKS, and be given to the press."

A true copy of the records.

Attest:

DENNIS J. SULLIVAN, *Town Clerk.*

The following resolution was adopted by the board of control of the Hasty Pudding Club (founded 1795, Harvard University) on the 3d of April, 1917, and ordered to be spread upon the records of the club:

"*Resolved*, That the present attitude maintained by the Government of the United States toward the Government of the German Empire on account of its indefensible actions on the high seas and elsewhere is correct in the light of international law and justified by the usage of civilized peoples in protecting national honor and national freedom.

"That our Government, in simple duty to the principles it rests upon and in obedience to its alliance with democracy throughout the world, must range its every resource on sea and on land against those forces which, having conspired for a generation to betray the peace of Europe and sacrifice humanity to despotism, now oppose and insult American rights and destroy American lives.

"That in undertaking to reestablish its individual freedom our Government should pursue such courses in alliance with the entente nations as will not only attain this end but will permanently assure mankind, so far as human vision can provide, against a recurrence of the evils which to-day halt civilization and threaten its very being.

"That the Hasty Pudding Club of Harvard College pledges its unwavering and loyal aid to the Government of the United States in its guidance of our people in their purpose, and for the better execution of this pledge, suspends indefinitely, such of its normal activities as do, and may be considered to, detract from the fullest possible application of its members to the service of our country; and finally

"*Resolved*, That the sense of this resolution be given adequate publicity, to the end that the echo of patriotism be increasingly heard from the universities throughout the length and the breadth of our land."

Recognizing the gravity of the present international situation as disclosed by the President in his message to the Congress of the United States of America; and

Whereas the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks has since its birth exemplified in its ritual and its services devotion to American ideals; symbolizing throughout the period of its existence service to country, this order with unswerving fidelity has made the flag the emblem of its cardinal virtue.

Recognizing that the flag fluttering from every masthead in all water routes of commerce and discovery expresses in the history it has wrought the declaration that the ocean is a highway in common for all nations and all peoples, that these Stars and Stripes have spelt in the glory of achievement the freedom of the seas; and

Whereas it appears that a foreign power autocratically assumes an abridgement of this principle, and in pursuance of its object has ruthlessly destroyed American property and lives: Be it

Resolved, That we, disciples of the flag that has known no butchery or oppression, no coercion or tyranny, the emblem that never waded through slaughter with lust of empire, the symbol that never destroyed a sister nation for vanity or gain, herewith approve the course of the President and offer the services of Lowell Lodge, No. 87, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, wherever and whenever they may be of aid and comfort to the Government: Be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes and copies be forwarded to the President of the United States of America; the Senators from Massachusetts; the Hon. JOHN JACOB ROGERS, Congressman from this district; the Hon. James E. O'Connell, mayor of Lowell and chairman of the committee on public safety; grand exalted ruler of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; and to the public press of Lowell.

ABEL R. CAMPBELL,
WILLIAM D. REGAN,
JOHN H. CULB,
Committee.

Mr. NEW. I present a memorial from the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, favoring the placing of a suitable and appropriate monument over the grave of Gen. William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, at North Bend, Ohio, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
STATE OF INDIANA,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, Ed Jackson, secretary of state of the State of Indiana, hereby certify that the annexed pages contain a full, true, and complete copy of concurrent resolution No. 1 of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, approved March 1, 1917, as the same appears on file, as the law directs, in this office.

In testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and affix the great seal of the State of Indiana. Done at my office in the city of Indianapolis this 2d day of April, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

ED JACKSON,
Secretary of State.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF INDIANA.

Concurrent resolution 1.

A concurrent resolution memorializing the Senators and the Members of Congress representing the State of Indiana in Congress to vote for a bill now pending to provide a suitable and appropriate monument over the last resting place of Gen. William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, at North Bend, Ohio, and the care of his burial place.

Whereas the body of Gen. William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, and the governor of the Northwest Territory, comprising the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, rests in a simple tomb overlooking the Ohio River, without a monument and without any marking whatever, at North Bend, Ohio, near the site of Gen. William Henry Harrison's log-cabin home, and without any suitable recognition of the great military, patriotic, and industrial work of Gen. William Henry Harrison in the protection and development of the United States, and particularly of the great Central West; and

Whereas an appreciative Nation has by appropriate monuments and the care of the burial places frequently given deserved recognition and honor to former Presidents of the United States and their services to the country and its people; and

Whereas the long, arduous, and valuable service of Gen. Harrison rendered the country and its people in pioneer days as governor of the Northwest Territory in the development of the States comprising the now great Central West, and especially in the protection given the pioneer settlers from the Indians and in defeating the great Indian uprising headed by Indian Chieftain Tecumseh, in the Battle of Tippecanoe, in Indiana; as a general in the Army of the United States in the War of 1812, in saving Detroit and Toledo and driving the British from the States comprising the Northwest Territory, and administering to their forces a severe defeat in the Battle of the Thames, in Canada; as a Senator of the United States; in the diplomatic service of the United States, and as President of the United States, justifies recognition by a suitable and appropriate monument over his last resting place and the care of his burial place by a grateful Government; and

Whereas a bill has been introduced in the Senate of the United States and is now pending having for its sole purpose and object the erection of an appropriate monument over the last resting place of Gen. William Henry Harrison, at North Bend, Ohio, and the care of the burial place hereafter by the Government: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the Legislature of the State of Indiana do cordially and earnestly indorse the purpose and object of a bill now pending in Congress to erect an appropriate and deserved monument over the last resting place of Gen. William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, and to provide for the care of the burial tract, and that the General Assembly of the State of Indiana requests the Senators and Representatives from the State of Indiana now serving in the Congress of the United States to vote for the bill and use their solicitous efforts toward its passage: Be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Indiana be directed to send a certified copy of these resolutions to each Senator and Member of Congress from the State of Indiana; be it further

Resolved, That the governor of the State of Indiana be requested to send a certified copy of these resolutions to the governors of the States of Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, the other States once a part of the Northwest Territory, with a request that the resolutions be transmitted to the legislatures of these States, to the end that they pass similar joint resolutions for the purpose of appropriately honoring the memory and valuable services of Gen. William Henry Harrison in protecting and developing the Northwest Territory, now so important a part of the United States, and as the ninth President of the United States.

D. FRANK CULBERTSON,
Senator.

ALVA O. RESER.

Approved March 1, 1917.

J P. GOODRICH, *Governor.*

Mr. NEW. I present petitions from various patriotic organizations in the State of Indiana indorsing the attitude of the President and of the Government at this time and pledging support and fealty. I ask that they be printed in the RECORD and referred to the appropriate committee.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. H. S. NEW,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

On motion duly seconded and carried the Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter pledges its loyalty to the President of the United States and asks our Congressmen and Senators to uphold the hands of the President in every way in this crisis, because we believe that the United States is going to war and fight for democracy and liberty and to aid our sister Republic, France, and repay the debt that we have owed the 4,000 Frenchmen under La Fayette, Rochambeau, and De Grasse when they came to help us in our struggle for liberty and democracy. We have voted for universal service and preparedness, and we offer our services again to our President.

S. E. H. PARKINS,
Regent Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter, D. A. R.

ANDERSON LODGE, NO. 29, B. P. O. E.,
Anderson, Ind., April 4, 1917.

Be it resolved by Anderson Lodge, No. 209, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Anderson, Ind., That we are unreservedly in favor of putting our country in shape to protect the rights of its citizens anywhere on earth, and that we pledge ourselves to our country's defense in the present crisis; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be mailed to United States Senators NEW and WATSON, Congressman VESTAL, Grand Exalted Ruler Rightor, and that the resolutions be wired to President Wilson.

Adopted at a session of Anderson Lodge, No. 209, Wednesday evening, April 4.

BENJ. F. ALFORD,
Exalted Ruler.

We, citizens of the United States assembled in mass meeting at Princeton, Ind., publicly declare our firm adherence to the ideals of the founders of this Republic, as the same are indicated by our national history and traditions and are set forth in our Federal Constitution, and to the fundamental principles of liberty, equality, and justice that are the inheritance of every American, whether native or adopted.

We insist upon national honor and national self-respect, and it is our unqualified conviction that the maintenance and preservation of these is a prime duty of government.

We assert, without reservation or qualification, that the constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and that every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to, and must be given, the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and for his property.

We indorse unreservedly every course of action on the part of our National Government, whether past, present, or future, designed for the preservation and upholding of the rights of our citizens, under the laws of nations, upon the high seas, and insist upon the employment of the powers and resources of the Nation to the extent requisite to their maintenance.

We entertain no resentment toward the German people, and for the great body of our fellow citizens of German birth or descent our sentiments are of profoundest respect and confidence.

We denounce in the fullest sense of the meaning of the word the Hohenzollern autocracy and the monstrosity called "Prussianism" as inimical to the cause of free government throughout the world and as the source and cause of the frightful state under which the peoples of Europe are groaning at this time, and we deem it to be the duty of every free people, in defense of their own liberties, to withhold from these every form of countenance, encouragement, and aid.

We hold that property of citizens of the United States upon the high seas has been destroyed by the action of the Imperial Government of Germany wantonly, piratically, and in contempt of international law and usages; that American citizens have been injured and murdered cruelly and without reasonable pretense of justification; that our commerce has been hampered and destroyed and that this Nation and its flag have been insulted in wanton defiance of the obligations of justice, decency, and international usage.

We are persuaded that the ultimate end and object of the Imperial Government of Germany, in the inciting and prosecution of the great war in Europe and in its unjustifiable conduct toward the United States and its citizens, is the overthrow of Republican institutions and the reestablishment in the nations of the world of autocratic governments.

We indorse the severance of our diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government of Germany, and it is our mature conviction that the indignities suffered by this Nation and its people, the present menace to free institutions throughout the world, and the dictates of our own national self-respect demand that this Nation shall enter upon a state of war with that Government, and we approve the steps that have been taken by our National Government to this end.

We believe that war means war, and it is teh earnest hope of our people that when war against the German Government shall be begun this Nation shall strike, strike first, and strike hard, to the end that our enemies and their institutions shall be overthrown without delay and the peace of the world shall be restored upon a basis of permanency.

Mr. NEW. I also present a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Commercial Club of Gary, Ind., praying for a vigilant prosecution of the war with Germany, for universal military training, and for the adoption of an equitable method of Army conscription, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GARY, IND., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. HARRY S. NEW,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions adopted at a meeting of Gary Commercial Club on Wednesday evening, April 4.

Germany stands convicted before the court of the family of nations of having commenced the most terrible war in the history of the world, and in the prosecution thereof has ruthlessly violated all the rights of neutral nations, humanity, and international law, citizens of this country having been deliberately murdered; the flag of this country no longer affords protection to our citizens as against that country; our neighbors are encouraged to war against us; the hospitality of the country is repaid by the invasion of spies; our Nation was founded and has been maintained on the principle that it was its duty to protect its citizens against the aggressions and violations of their rights by other nations; "A million for defense, but not one cent for tribute," "Once an American always an American," "Our man alive or your man dead," are words typical of the spirit of the Nation; our President has advised the Congress of the United States that he can not secure a discontinuance of the war waged against

this country by Germany without a recourse to arms, and has further advised it that a state of war shall be declared to exist with Germany in order that he may be able to secure our country and its citizens their rights and that the sacred rights of democracy and of all mankind may be vindicated: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this body unreservedly indorse the action of the President of the United States and his address to the Congress on April 2, 1917; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of this body that the war upon which this country is entering should be prosecuted with all the strength of the Nation, and to that end the Congress should provide for a system of universal training and an equitable method of Army conscription; and be it further

Resolved, That the action of this body be communicated to the Hons. HARRY S. NEW and JAMES WATSON, Senators, and to the Hon. WILLIAM R. WOOD, Representative.

GARY COMMERCIAL CLUB.

Mr. NEW presented a petition of sundry citizens of Elkhart County, Ind., praying for the enactment of legislation to found the Government on Christianity, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. KELLOGG presented petitions of sundry citizens of Minnesota, praying for relief from the high price of binder twine, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the passage of the so-called daylight saving bill, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Benson, Minn., remonstrating against the use of Federal aid on only trunk roads and State roads, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. BRADY. I have received a telegram from the Joint Committee of Common Defense of Spokane, Wash., and Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, representing the citizens of eastern Washington and northern Idaho relative to the establishment of an aviation station, offering the ground, and proposing to furnish five or more aeroplanes for war purposes at the expense of citizens and civic bodies of the two States, which I ask may be read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO, *April 8, 1917.*

JAMES H. BRADY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Joint Committee of Common Defense of Spokane and Coeur D'Alene, representing the citizenship of eastern Washington and the panhandle of Idaho, desire to equip and establish an aviation station and to furnish five or more aeroplanes for war purposes at the expense of citizens and civic bodies of our two States. We ask if a school of aviation can be established here with Government supervision or approval. Both cities offer free adequate grounds for this purpose. Please confer with War Department and advise by wire what can be done, how to proceed, and if aeroplanes are available.

F. C. Robertson, J. C. Argall, A. J. Germain, Seth Richards, R. A. Hopkins, Robt. H. Elder, C. H. Potts, Huntington Taylor, F. A. Blackwell, J. V. Hawkins.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I present petitions and resolutions from various societies in regard to universal military training and supporting the policy of the President. I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the proper committee.

There being no objection, the petitions and resolutions were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLAINFIELD, N. J., *March, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: We, the undersigned, citizens of Plainfield, N. J., and vicinity, regardless of our past political affiliations, unite in urging you at the approaching session of Congress to give your unqualified support to such form of resolution concerning the relations of this country with Germany as the President may in his address to Congress recommend, having full confidence that such action as he may recommend will fully comply with the demands of the honor and interests of this country, as well as of our duty to the cause of humanity, civilization, and international justice.

If such action as the President may recommend should lead to war, we believe that such war should be prosecuted with all the vigor this country can muster, not as an independent enterprise but in cordial cooperation with the entente allies for the defeat of the common enemy.

In any event, we urge your unremitting support for the prompt passage, among other things, of legislation establishing a system of universal military service under Federal control. We believe that this is necessary for the national defense in addition to such other legislation as may be necessary to authorize the formation of a volunteer army for immediate use should the country become now involved in war.

Finally we pledge you our loyal support in all measures which may be taken to uphold the Government and provide for a vigorous prosecution of any war in which the country may become now involved.

Respectfully, yours,

GEO. C. MELLICK
(And others).

—

Resolution by Dr. R. B. Glasgow.

Whereas we view with serious apprehension the unfortunate international complication that will probably involve our Nation in a war, the cost, course, and outcome of which no man can foresee: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Burlington County, N. J., That, while we recognize the gravity of the situation, depreciate the same, and pray for peace, nevertheless we are determined to do our whole duty as citizens, and we hasten to tender our earnest sympathy and assurance of active support to President Wilson and the Congress of the Nation, in whose wisdom and judgment we have entire confidence, an expression of which sentiments we hereby record; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of this board be, and hereby is, directed to remit certified copies of these resolutions to the New Jersey Members of the United States Senate, to Hon. ISAAC BACHARACH, Member of Congress from this district, and to Joseph P. Tumulty, private secretary, Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.

A true copy.

HARRY HAWKINS, Jr., *Clerk.*

—

Adopted April 4, 1917.

Resolutions adopted at the patriotic mass meeting held in Englewood, N. J., March 24, 1917.

Whereas Germany has destroyed our ships, murdered our citizens, restricted our commerce by illegal submarine warfare, and attempted to array against us the friendly powers, Japan and Mexico, in a plot to dismember our Nation; and

Whereas by these and other hostile acts Germany is now virtually making war against us, the United States:

Resolved, That we approve the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, in deciding to arm American vessels, and in calling Congress in extra session;

Resolved, That we call upon our Government for prompt, vigorous, and courageous leadership in the immediate mobilizing of the entire naval, military, and industrial strength of the Nation, including the augmenting of our Army and Navy for the effective protection of American rights and the faithful discharge of America's duties in the present crisis;

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a universal military-training bill providing for a permanent national defense based on the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals;

Resolved, That we declare our deep conviction that the principles of national conduct governing Germany's actions in the present war are inconsistent with the principles of democracy and with the purposes and aspirations of this Republic, and we hold that the time has now come when it is the duty of this Nation to take part in the common task of defending civilization and human liberty against German military aggression; and

Whereas our Government insevering diplomatic relations with Germany gave notice that further overt acts of war would be forcibly resisted, and said overt acts have been committed in the sinking of the *Laconia*, the *City of Memphis*, the *Illinois*, the *Vigilancia*, and other vessels with the loss of American lives: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon Congress as soon as assembled to declare that by the acts of Germany a State of war does now exist between that country and the United States.

F. I. Becton, W. Hison, C. B. Hayward, G. A. Rogers, C. E. Elmore, Jason R. Elliott, L. R. Furberg, Wm. A. Edwards, J. W. Quimby, Robert J. Tipping, W. B. Page, M. H. Wescott, C. B. Huckin, Joseph J. Melville, Frank Roos, Theo. M. McCamy, P. Thistle, E. C. Dunphy, Alfred J. Tipping, J. W. Valentine, jr., A. B. Reese, J. Howard Tillotson, W. J. Klatt, John F. Prentice, J. Clarke Onderdonk, jr., Le Roy B. Huckin, Arthur A. Tildesley, George W. Springer, jr., Edward J. Tipping, J. Fred. Johnson, W. R. Betts.

—

The following was unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Perth Amboy, N. J., Tuesday evening, April 3, 1917, on the occasion of the memorial services in honor of the late Falk Younker, national field secretary of the Associated Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew and Kindred Associations:

"*Resolved*, That the members of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Perth Amboy, N. J., in meeting assembled, hereby affirm their loyalty and love for America and all it stands for; that we pledge ourselves to aid in the protection and defense of our homes and country, and, when called upon, to serve our cause with fidelity and devotion.

"We are in accord with the action of the President of the United States, and urge our Representatives in Congress to uphold him in his noble efforts; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Senator WILLIAM HUGHES and United States Senator JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN and to Mayor John F. Ten Broeck, of Perth Amboy."

YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION,
MAX WURTZEL, *President.*
WILL M. MENAKER, *General Secretary.*

—

Resolutions adopted at regular session of Englewood Lodge, No. 1157, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, held in Englewood, N. J., March 30, 1917.

Hon. JOSEPH FRELINGHUYSEN,
The Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

SIR:

Whereas Germany has destroyed our ships, murdered our citizens, restricted our commerce by illegal submarine warfare, and attempted to array against us the friendly powers Japan and Mexico in a plot to dismember our Nation; and

Whereas by these and other hostile acts Germany is now virtually making war against us, the United States:

Resolved, That we approve the action of the President in severing diplomatic relating with Germany, in deciding to arm American vessels, and in calling Congress in extra session.

Resolved, That we call upon our Government for prompt, vigorous, and courageous leadership in the immediate mobilizing of the entire naval, military, and industrial strength of the Nation, including the augmenting of our Army and Navy, for the effective protection of American rights and the faithful discharge of America's duties in the present crisis.

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a universal military training bill providing for a permanent national defense based on the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals.

Resolved, That we declare our deep conviction that the principles of national conduct governing Germany's actions in the present war are inconsistent with the principles of democracy and with the pur-

poses and aspirations of this Republic; and we hold that the time has now come when it is the duty of this Nation to take part in the common task of defending civilization and human liberty against German military aggression; and

Whereas our Government in severing diplomatic relations with Germany gave notice that further overt acts of war would be forcibly resisted, and said overt acts have been committed in the sinking of the *Laconia*, the *City of Memphis*, the *Illinois*, the *Vigilancia*, and other vessels, with the loss of American lives: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon Congress, as soon as assembled, to declare that by the acts of Germany a state of war does now exist between that country and the United States.

Respectfully, yours,

JOHN J. CLARK,
Exalted Ruler.

RIDGEWOOD, BERGEN COUNTY, N. J.,
April 2, 1917.

Hon. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the citizens of Ridgewood and vicinity in mass meeting assembled to the number of about 800, on Saturday night, March 31, 1917, and we were instructed to forward the same to you:

"*Resolved*, That we affirm our loyalty and support to the President in any action he may take to uphold American rights on land or sea, and to defend our honor, our peace, our liberty, and our homes; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we earnestly urge the President and Congress to favor the immediate adoption of the system of universal military training and service, as expressed in the Chamberlain bill, which we believe to be the only proper system of defense for a democracy."

Yours, with respect,

D. A. GARBER,
Mayor of Ridgewood, Chairman.
R. T. WILSON,
Secretary.

FREEHOLD, N. J., *March 28, 1917.*

We, the undersigned, believing in the development of young men to become highly efficient in whatever task may be undertaken by them, and believing that military service is one of the methods in the development of the young men for these tasks, request you to do all in your power to secure the prompt passage of a bill adequately providing for universal compulsory military training and service.

DAVID VANDEWIER PERRINE
(And others).

MORRISTOWN, N. J., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned American citizens, residents of Morris County, N. J., actuated by sincere patriotism, love of country, and humanity, wish to urge you to consider with an open mind the various plans that have been worked out by students of international law, peace organizations, etc., for honorably preserving this country from the scourge of war.

Some of these plans which we earnestly hope will be discussed in Congress are:

(1) Joint commission of inquiry and conciliation.
(2) Conference of neutrals.
(3) Mediation.

We are not students of international law, but statements that have been brought to our attention in regard to the above lead us to believe that there are honorable ways to keep out of this European war, and our natural instincts of humanity and democracy cry out to our Representatives to spare no efforts to that end.

We feel that we are not alone in the above views and we want to urge others who feel the same way to make their opinion felt at Washington.

Most cordially, yours,

ALFRED A. LEWIS
(And others).
PASSAIC, N. J.

Hon. J. S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
Washington, D. C.:

We submit the following for your consideration and guidance:

Pending recognition of the fact by Congress, our country is practically at war.

We therefore are in favor of—

1. Compulsory universal service in the Army or Navy, with promotion to various grades of command through capacity and meritorious service only.

This is covered by the Chamberlain bill.

2. Aeroplanes are the eyes of the Army and Navy; without them both arms are helpless. Bulgaria has twice as many aeroplanes as the United States; Canada appropriates $80,000,000 for aeronautics—contrasted with our $20,000,000. Admiral Peary says this should be at least $100,000,000. We must have a department of aeronautics, with the most efficient organizer obtainable as its representative in the Cabinet.

3. Industrial preparedness to insure the proper production of all supplies in the quality, quantity, and time of delivery required. Purchases by the Government to be made on the basis of cost plus a normal rate of profit fixed by Congress, with rigid regulations for the maintenance of quality, with drastic penalties for their nonobservance.

4. The citizens doing their part as outlined above, and giving life and service to the support of the country, have the right to expect that the Government shall place at the head of the different departments the men who are best fitted by brain power and experience to meet America's need, irrespective of creed and party. This idea has been carried out in England and France by the so-called coalition cabinets.

PETER E. ALLIOT
(And others).

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

As an American, faithful to American ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity, and confident that the Government has exerted its most earnest efforts to keep us at peace with the world, I hereby declare my absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, and pledge my support to you in protecting American rights against unlawful violence upon land and sea, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international right.

A. H. SCHAEFER
(And others).

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

As an American, faithful to American ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity, and confident that the Government has exerted its most earnest efforts to keep us at peace with the world, I hereby declare my absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, and pledge my support to you in protecting American rights against unlawful violence upon land and sea, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international right.

C. RICHARDSON
(And others).

Name of organization: Union Council, No. 31, Junior Order United American Mechanics.

Address of organization: Rahway, N. J.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

As an American, faithful to American ideals of justice, liberty, and humanity, and confident that the Government has exerted its most earnest efforts to keep us at peace with the world, I hereby declare my absolute and unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, and pledge my support to you in protecting American rights against unlawful violence upon land and sea, in guarding the Nation against hostile attacks, and in upholding international right.

HARRY B. LAING
(And others).

Name of organization: Union Council, No. 31, Junior Order United American Mechanics.

Address of organization: Rahway, N. J.

Mr. WEEKS presented resolutions adopted by the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, favoring universal military and naval training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented petitions of the Fish and Game Association of Lowell and of sundry citizens of Ashland, in the State of Massachusetts, offering support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present a telegram from the Christian Herald indorsing the "Pinchot plan," so called, as safe, sane, and loyal. I ask that the telegram be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
Washington, D. C.:

We heartily indorse the Pinchot plan as a safe, sane, loyal, and just method of distributing the burdens and costs of war. In behalf of patriotic Christian Americans in all sections who are loyal to the Government the Christian Herald appeals to you in this crisis to stand fast for this high ideal.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD.

Mr. NELSON presented petitions of the Commercial Club of St. Cloud and of the Six Thirty Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cloquet, in the State of Minnesota, offering support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. KNOX presented a petition of the Maritime Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the passage of the so-called river and harbor bill, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CUMMINS. I send to the desk a telegram submitting resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Des Moines, Iowa, relating to war, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DES MOINES, IOWA, *April 4, 1917.*

Senator A. B. CUMMINS,
Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of 10,000 citizens of Des Moines to-night:

"Whereas the greatest war in the world's history is now being waged between democracy and constitutional governments on the one hand and autocracy and despotic governments on the other hand; and

"Whereas in spite of the efforts of this Nation to maintain an attitude of neutrality and fairness to all the belligerent nations, the German Government, without excuse or justification, has repeatedly made war upon the United States, resulting in the murder of our citizens, the destruction of our ships, and the paralysis of our commerce; and

"Whereas every promise made to the United States has since been broken, and almost every day brings some new outrage and some new violation of American rights, with further loss of American lives and further destruction of American property; and

"Whereas the German Government, while professing friendship for our people and while the German ambassador was enjoying the hospitality and protection of our Government, was guilty of attempting, by secret plots, to create war between this Nation and a great nation with whom we are at peace and amity; and

"Whereas the German Government is now engaged in a world propaganda of national race prejudice and hatred; and

"Whereas the German Government has flagrantly thrown her international agreements; considered her treaties as but scraps of paper; ruthlessly invaded and made war upon Belgium, a nation she was in honor bound to protect; and disregarded in a most shameful and brutal manner the rights of neutrals; and

"Whereas she now stands as the exponent of the doctrine of force and militarism, and is now proclaiming and pursuing a war of ruthlessness and frightfulness; and

"Whereas the triumph of these policies will be subversive of the principles of free institutions and free governments for which our forefathers fought and which our boys in blue died to defend; and

"Whereas the rights of neutrals, the principles of free institutions, the cause of humanity, and the peace of the world are now in jeopardy as a result of Prussian militarism: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we heartily indorse the message of the President in urging Congress to declare that a state of war now exists between the German Government and our own Nation, and we here and now, with a full realization of the consequences of our acts, declare that the time has arrived when America can no longer suffer these outrages against her citizens, against her commerce, and against her sovereignty, and that she can no longer remain indifferent to the rights of humanity, the cause of freedom, and the permanent peace of the world; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we call upon our Government to immediately mobilize the entire resources of the Nation and to use every means necessary, both defensive and offensive, consistent with the principles of international law, to protect the honor of our Nation and the rights of our citizens, whether upon land or sea; and be it

"*Resolved*, That we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a universal military training bill, based on the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals; and be it

"*Resolved*, That Congress immediately provide for the creation of a separate department of aeronautics, to give our country the great air fleet which its importance deserves and its safety requires; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, to our Senators, the Hon. ALBERT B. CUMMINS and the Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON, and to each of our Congressmen."

JOHN MACVICAR,
Mayor of Des Moines, Chairman of Meeting.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present resolutions, which I send to the desk, adopted by students of the State College of Washington and other organizations, offering their services to the Government in this emergency, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PULLMAN, WASH., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas there has never been a well-defined military policy of the United States, and such as the Nation has had has been adopted to serve a temporary purpose and has always proved unreliable, faulty, and inefficient, resulting in a useless sacrifice of life and treasure and prolonging of wars; and

Whereas the Nation has never been adequately prepared for war, and such preparation as we have had has been based upon a fallacious supposition that men may be trained for war when war is imminent; and

Whereas preparedness is an insurance against war; and

Whereas all citizens of the land owe the same obligation to defend the Nation as the Nation does to protect its citizens; and

Whereas the Nation is made of all nationalities, many of whom have not had an opportunity to become acquainted with its traditions, duties, obligations, and ideals; and

Whereas we believe that universal military training is the only solution of these problems, and that this will be of inestimable value in the moral, mental, and physical development of our people: Therefore be it

Resolved by the cadet corps of the State College of Washington, That we give our unqualified approval of and support to universal military training as proposed by the General Staff; and be it further

Resolved, That copies be furnished the press and the Washington delegation in Congress.

CLARENCE W. LAIRD.

MONTESANO, WASH., *April 4, 1917.*

MILES POINDEXTER,
Care Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the United States to-day faces the greatest crisis of half a century and must defend its national honor and liberties against a foreign foe, it becomes the duty of all true Americans to pledge their loyalty to our Government and as a united Nation face calmly the issues which have been forced upon us: Therefore be it

Resolved by the citizens of Montesano here assembled, That we heartily approve of the action of President Wilson and our Government in declaring a state of war after exhausting every effort to maintain peace with honor and pledge our lives and resources to the cause of our country; and be it further

Resolved, That plans for universal military training are indorsed and approved.

B. G. CHENEY,
Chairman Citizens' Mass Meeting.

EVERETT, WASH., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon MILES POINDEXTER,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Everett Spanish War veterans pledge support to the President of United States in maintaining American honor and protecting American citizens at home or abroad. We know what war means, but will face it again rather than tolerate murder and piracy. This answers Emergency Peace Association's local advertisement.

CHAS. A. TURNER,
Adjutant Camp 9, Spanish War Veterans.

SPOKANE, WASH., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The lumber manufacturers of the inland empire are unanimously back of the President and the Congress of the United States, and similarly in favor of universal military training. We urge your cooperation and support.

WESTERN PINE MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

PULLMAN, WASH., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the United States of America faces a crisis demanding the united support and whole-hearted cooperation of every man and woman in this Nation; and

Whereas the associated students of the State College of Washington have the utmost confidence in the wisdom and courage of the national leaders at Washington; and

Whereas the associated students of this college, in common with the students of colleges and universities throughout the land, are desirous of offering their best services in this time of need: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the students of the State College of Washington, individually and collectively pledge to the Nation the full strength of our powers, to be used in any way the National Government shall direct: And be it

Resolved further, That this resolution shall be incorporated in the minutes of the associated students of the State College of Washington and that a copy shall be forwarded to the Washington Representatives and Senators at Washington.

THE ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE.

Mr. ROBINSON. I ask to have printed in the RECORD resolutions adopted by J. T. Stuart Camp, No. 1294, ex-Confederate Veterans, of Van Buren, Ark., supporting the action of the Government in declaring a state of war between the United States and Germany.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions introduced by Capt. John Steward, W. T. England, Sam R. Chew, members of the camp of Ex-Confederate Veterans, and unanimously adopted by said camp.

Whereas the Congress of the United States of America by joint resolution did, on the 2d of April, A. D. 1917, declare a state of war to exist between the Government of the United States of America and the Imperial Government of Germany; and

Whereas this state of war has been forced upon the United States by the said Imperial Government of Germany, manifesting by diverse overt acts a disregard for the property and lives and rights of the citizens of the United States of America upon the high seas; and

Whereas we, as patriots and sons of patriots of the United States of America, believe that our rights as free men, and our dignity as a people and a Government, should be protected, maintained, and perpetuated at all cost of treasure and lives; and

Whereas we, as a unit, most unqualifiedly indorse and commend our most excellent President, Woodrow Wilson, in his efforts to maintain our dignity and freedom as a people and as a Nation, and the action of Congress in so declaring said state of war to exist: Therefore be it

Resolved, That T. J. Stuart Camp of Ex-Confederate Veterans, in the city of Van Buren, in the State of Arkansas, do hereby pledge to the President and to the people of the United States of America our lives, our fortunes, and the lives and fortunes of our sons and descendants for the successful termination of this war that has been forced upon us; and be it further

Resolved, That while our physical bodies are somewhat impaired by age, yet our love of country, our loyalty to the principles and purposes of our Government, burns within our hearts as fervently, as brightly, and as hopefully, and with the same earnestness and devotion as it did to the cause we fought for and lost; and be it further

Resolved, That we, as a camp of Ex-Confederate Veterans, in official meeting assembled, do hereby tender to the President of the United States our services, jointly and severally, and that we hold ourselves ready and willing at a moment's notice or command to go where and when we may be ordered in service of our common country in any capacity; and be it further

Resolved, That our commander and adjutant immediately mail over their official signatures a copy of these resolutions to Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and to JOE T. ROBINSON, our senior Senator, for such action as they may deem necessary to be taken in the premises.

CERTIFICATE.

We, the undersigned, David W. Brodie, as commander, and Charles T. Ward, as adjutant, of J. T. Stuart Camp, No. 1294, of Ex-Confederate Veterans, at Van Buren, in the State of Arkansas, do thereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and perfect copy of the resolutions passed by said camp in an official meeting of said camp had and held in said city of Van Buren and State of Arkansas on the 3d day of April, A. D. 1917.

Witness our official hand, as said commander and adjutant, at Van Buren, in the State of Arkansas, on this the 3d day of April, A. D. 1917.

D. W. BRODIE, *Commander.*
CHAS. T. WARD, *Adjutant.*

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. From the Committee on Military Affairs I report back favorably with amendments the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and I submit a report (No. 3) thereon.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am also directed by the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, to report it with amendments, and I submit a report (No. 4) thereon. I desire to state that as soon as the morning hour has been concluded I shall ask to have these bills taken up for consideration in the order in which I have reported them.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN, from the Committee on Appropriations, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 5) thereon.

DESTRUCTION OF WAR MATERIAL AND TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

Mr. OVERMAN. From the Committee on the Judiciary I report unanimously, without amendment, the bill (S. 383) to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the words "war material," as used herein, shall include arms, armament, ammunition, clothing, food, supplies, stores, and all other articles of whatever description requisite to, or intended to be used in connection with, the conduct of war by the United States, as well as all machinery and other articles and accessories required for or connected with the production or manufacture of such war material.

The words "war premises," as used herein, shall include all buildings, grounds, mines, or other places wherein such war material is being or is intended to be produced or stored; and all forts, arsenals, navy yards, camps, prisons, or other military or naval stations of the United States.

The words "war utilities," as used herein, shall include all railroads, electric lines, roads of whatever description, railroad bridges, railroad stations and terminals, wharves, docks, piers, shipbuilding yards, canals, canal locks, steamships, all other ships and vessels, automobiles, trucks, wagons, or any other means of transportation whatsoever whereon or whereby such war material or any troops of the United States are being or intended to be transported either within the limits of the United States or upon the high seas, and all dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, water and gas mains, and pipes, structures, and buildings, whereby or in connection with which water or gas is being or intended to be furnished to the United States, and all electric light and power, telephone and telegraph plants, poles, wires, and fixtures, and wireless stations, and the buildings connected with the maintenance and operation thereof used or intended to be used to supply light, power, or facilities of communication to the United States.

The words "United States" shall include all territory and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

SEC. 2. That whoever in the United States, during time of war, shall willfully injure or destroy by fire, or by use of explosives, or by other violent means, or shall attempt so to injure or destroy any war material, war premises, or any war utilities, as herein defined, or any building or other property of the United States, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 30 years, or both.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 1417) for the relief of W. H. Presleigh; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. POMERENE:

A bill (S. 1418) to authorize the President of the United States to appoint Harry Graham captain of Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 1419) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 1420) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of Tennessee two brass cannon with carriage; and

A bill (S. 1421) to provide for the preparation and report to Congress by the Chief of Engineers of the Army, under the direction and through the Secretary of War, of a preliminary plan for a system of improved national highways, and to provide for the payment of the expenses of said report; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1422) for the relief of the trustees of Hobson Methodist Church, of Davidson County, Tenn.;

A bill (S. 1423) for the relief of Alice Evelyn Mabry Hazen, Lawrence C. Mabry, Herbert S. Mabry, Churchwell Mabry, and William Deaderick;

A bill (S. 1424) for the relief of Nathaniel F. Cheairs;

A bill (S. 1425) for the relief of the city of Knoxville, Knox County, Tenn.; and

A bill (S. 1426) for the relief of the Tennessee Deaf and Dumb School, of Knoxville, Tenn.; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1427) granting a pension to Edward B. Earl;

A bill (S. 1428) granting a pension to Vian Bennett;

A bill (S. 1429) granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Brewer;

A bill (S. 1430) granting a pension to Alfred C. Williams;

A bill (S. 1431) granting a pension to Otto Greenlee;

A bill (S. 1432) granting a pension to Minta Jones;

A bill (S. 1433) granting a pension to William D. Davis;

A bill (S. 1434) granting a pension to Thomas Smith;

A bill (S. 1435) granting a pension to G. F. Hudson;

A bill (S. 1436) granting a pension to Tide Owens;

A bill (S. 1437) granting an increase of pension to George W. Gray;

A bill (S. 1438) granting an increase of pension to Ruth S. Gleaves;

A bill (S. 1439) granting an increase of pension to Loreta Blevins;

A bill (S. 1440) granting an increase of pension to Grover Cleveland McMahon;

A bill (S. 1441) granting an increase of pension to Barnard J. Irwin;

A bill (S. 1442) granting a pension to William R. Phillips;

A bill (S. 1443) granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Woods;

A bill (S. 1444) granting an increase of pension to Hugh Wright;

A bill (S. 1445) granting an increase of pension to William R. Miller;

A bill (S. 1446) granting a pension to Louisa Brown;

A bill (S. 1447) granting a pension to Joseph H. Hopper;

A bill (S. 1448) granting a pension to Edward B. Earl;

A bill (S. 1449) granting a pension to W. D. Davis;

A bill (S. 1450) granting a pension to D. J. Owens;

A bill (S. 1451) granting an increase of pension to Eugene E. Scherrer;

A bill (S. 1452) granting a pension to Israel W. Bennett;

A bill (S. 1453) granting an increase of pension to Jesse S. Baldwin;

A bill (S. 1454) granting an increase of pension to Alexander B. Tadlock; and

A bill (S. 1455) granting a pension to William Manley; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 1456) making appropriation for expenses incurred under the treaty of Washington; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. PAGE:

A bill (S. 1457) to amend section 4747 of the Revised Statutes, relating to pensions; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUSTING:

A bill (S. 1458) to provide for the erection of an addition to the Federal building in the city of Janesville, county of Rock, and State of Wisconsin;

A bill (S. 1459) for the erection of a public building at Waupun, Wis.; and

A bill (S. 1460) for the enlargement of a public building in the city of Kenosha, Wis.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1461) granting the consent of Congress to the city of Fort Atkinson, in Jefferson County, Wis., for the construction of a bridge across the Rock River;

A bill (S. 1462) to establish a fog signal at the Port Washington Pierhead Light Station, Wis.; and

A bill (S. 1463) to establish aids to navigation at Fond du Lac Harbor, Wis.; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 1464) for the relief of Rufus Meyers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1465) granting an increase of pension to Rowena Barnhart;

A bill (S. 1466) granting a pension to Peter E. Luttrell;

A bill (S. 1467) granting a pension to Hannah McAdams;

A bill (S. 1468) granting a pension to Julius Jensen;

A bill (S. 1469) granting an increase of pension to Emily E. Fowler; and

A bill (S. 1470) granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Fetter; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1471) to amend section 8 of the act entitled "An act to create a commerce court and to amend the act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved February 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1910; and

A bill (S. 1472) to promote the safety of employees and passengers on railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 1473) to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARDING:

A bill (S. 1474) to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 1475) for the relief of sundry building and loan associations of the State of Ohio; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 1476) granting permission to Lieut. Col. Spencer Cosby, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to accept and wear cross of officer of the Legion of Honor conferred on him by the Government of the French Republic; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 1477) for the relief of Jacob Nice; and

A bill (S. 1478) for the relief of John F. Kelly; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1479) to grant an honorable discharge to James H. Gillen; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 1480) to amend the act of Congress approved June 27, 1890, entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," and including the amendments thereto;

A bill (S. 1481) granting an increase of pension to John T. Criswell; and

A bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to William R. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRADY:

A bill (S. 1483) granting an increase of pension to Emma E. Normoyle; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 1484) ratifying the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STERLING:

A bill (S. 1485) to prevent the naturalization of aliens who seek or are permitted to retain their citizenship under the State or sovereignty of which they are citizens or subjects, and to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States, and establishing the Bureau of Naturalization," approved June 29, 1906, as amended; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. ROBINSON:

A bill (S. 1486) for the relief of Henry P. Grant, of Phillips County, Ark.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

A bill (S. 1487) for the refund of excess duties on steel blooms; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 1488) granting an increase of pension to John W. Hoyt; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 1489) for the relief of Augustus G. Reynolds; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 1490) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Freed; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 1491) granting an increase of pension to John B. Donaldson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 1492) to compensate the Delaware Indians for services rendered by them to the United States in various wars; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1493) for the relief of the Ottawa Indian Tribe, of Blanchard Fork and Roche de Bœuf; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1494) removing restrictions from lands in Oklahoma inherited by adult Indian heirs and subjecting same to taxation;

A bill (S. 1495) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States;

A bill (S. 1496) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the Osage civilization-fund claim of the Osage Nation of Indians against the United States; and

A bill (S. 1497) to adjust and settle the claims of the loyal Shawnee, Cherokee-Shawnees, and loyal Absentee Shawnee and Delaware Tribes of Indians (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 1498) granting an increase of pension to Joseph N. Foster;

A bill (S. 1499) granting an increase of pension to James Heavrin;

A bill (S. 1500) granting an increase of pension to John E. Clark;

A bill (S. 1501) granting an increase of pension to Edward Flannery;

A bill (S. 1502) granting a pension to Mary Coleman; and

A bill (S. 1503) granting a pension to George W. Moore; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 1504) granting an increase of pension to Delphia A. Thompson; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 1505) for the relief of Thomas Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1506) for the relief of Alfred B. Andrews (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 1507) granting an increase of pension to Albert G. Dodds (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 1508) granting an increase of pension to William H. Patterson (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 1509) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lindsay;

A bill (S. 1510) granting an increase of pension to Orlando S. Hartman (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 1511) granting an increase of pension to Benton P. Woods (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WARREN:

A bill (S. 1512) granting an increase of pension to Abbie C. Moore (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. LANE):

A bill (S. 1513) for the relief of Joseph Stoich; and

A bill (S. 1514) for the relief of the Portland Iron Works; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1515) for the relief of Willis B. Morse; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1516) for the relief of the widow of Thomas Harrison Beatty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1517) granting a pension to Gertrude M. Farrar;

A bill (S. 1518) granting an increase of pension to Clifford A. Lewis;

A bill (S. 1519) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Gray;

A bill (S. 1520) granting a pension to Ethel Borden;

A bill (S. 1521) granting an increase of pension to Theodore Hansen;

A bill (S. 1522) granting a pension to Dimple Jones;

A bill (S. 1523) granting a pension to Sarah J. Cone;

A bill (S. 1524) granting an increase of pension to John Stone;

A bill (S. 1525) granting a pension to Charles E. Wilber;

A bill (S. 1526) granting an increase of pension to George M. Spencer;

A bill (S. 1527) granting a pension to George Hillis;

A bill (S. 1528) granting an increase of pension to Alice L. Rix;

A bill (S. 1529) granting an increase of pension to Larkin Russell; and

A bill (S. 1530) granting a pension to Louis Southworth; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 1531) granting an increase of pension to Phebe Schonhoff; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 1532) granting a pension to William E. White (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 1533) granting a pension to John W. Richardson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWANSON:

A bill (S. 1534) to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service;

A bill (S. 1535) to provide for the commissioning of midshipmen as ensigns upon graduation from the United States Naval Academy, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 1536) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

A bill (S. 1537) to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve;

A bill (S. 1538) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office; and

A bill (S. 1539) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to enrollments in the Naval Reserve Force; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 1540) for the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 1541) to establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama; California; Louisiana; Florida; Georgia, South Carolina or North Carolina; Maryland or Virginia; Oregon or Washington; Texas; Oklahoma; Illinois; Washington; Arizona; New Mexico; Michigan; Idaho; Missouri; Pennsylvania, Delaware, or New Jersey; and Minnesota; and

A bill (S. 1542) to protect and conserve the halibut fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, to establish closed seasons in halibut fishing in certain waters thereof, and to restrict the landing of halibut in the United States of America and the Territory of Alaska during the closed seasons established; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 1543) to ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1544) to provide for appeals from decisions of boards of local inspectors of steam vessels, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 1545) to amend the act of March 3, 1913, entitled "An act to regulate the officering and manning of vessels subject to the inspection laws of the United States";

A bill (S. 1546) to permit the use of certain refined products of petroleum as stores on steam vessels carrying passengers;

A bill (S. 1547) to amend section 5 of the motor-boat law approved June 9, 1910;

A bill (S. 1548) to provide for the appointment of certain assistant inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, at ports where they are actually performing duty, but to which they are at present detailed;

A bill (S. 1549) to require numbering and recording of undocumented vessels;

A bill (S. 1550) to provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10; and

A bill (S. 1551) to amend section 13 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States; to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto; and to promote safety at sea," approved March 4, 1915; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. STERLING:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 26) to appropriate $25,000,000 for the relief of men, women, and children of Belgium who have been made dependent and are suffering as a result of the European war; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. JAMES:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 27) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept assignment of patent for improvements in the manufacture of gasoline, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. KNOX submitted an amendment authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Brig. Gen. Chambers McKibbin, United States Army, retired, to the position and rank of major general on the retired list, intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. ROBINSON submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $10,500,000 for prosecuting work of flood control in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917, intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted an amendment proposing to increase the appropriation for a fish hatchery at San Marcos, Tex., from $7,500 to $15,000, intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. NELSON submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate $10,000 for a contribution to the Forest Service for the purpose of constructing a bridge across the Mississippi River at the Cass Lake Indian Reservation in the State of Minnesota, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. HUGHES submitted an amendment authorizing the President of the United States to appoint William Henry Armstrong a captain in the Porto Rico Regiment at the rank and place he occupied at the time of the termination of his service, intended to be proposed by him to the Army appropriation bill (H. R. 13), which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. STONE. I submit an amendment authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to cancel the assessment of $13,252.21, being income tax on profit on the sale of Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, Mich., in the year 1915 of 12,095 shares of Parke, Davis & Co.'s stock, and so forth, intended to be proposed to the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 11). I move that the amendment may be first referred to the Committe on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. STONE subsequently, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the foregoing amendment, reported favorably thereon and moved that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and printed, which was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

Mr. WEEKS. I send a joint resolution to the desk and ask to have it read.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 25) providing for the appointment of a joint committee to be known as the joint committee on the conduct of the war was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That a joint committee shall be appointed composed of six Members of the Senate, including four Democrats and two Republicans, and six Members of the House of Representatives, including three Republicans and three Democrats, to be known as the "Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War." The membership of such committee shall be designated by the respective committees which select the members of the regular standing committees. Such committee shall sit during the sessions or the recesses of Congress, shall make a special study of the problems arising out of the war, shall confer and advise with the President of the United States and the heads of the various executive departments, and shall make report to Congress from time to time in its own discretion, or when requested to do so by either branch of Congress. Such committee shall have power to act by subcommittee or otherwise, and to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses, and to employ such clerical, expert, and stenographic assistance as shall be necessary; and to pay the necessary expenses of such committee there is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of $50,000, to be paid out upon the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said committee.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, it is my purpose to ask that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Rules. Before doing so I wish, however, to say that this is following the general course which was followed by Congress during the Civil War. It furnishes a direct connecting link between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government.

It seems to me that we should correlate all the forces of the Government and all the forces in civil life for the purpose of supporting the Government at this time. It is reported in the press that we are to be asked to appropriate vast sums of money, five or six billion dollars, without any direct indication where and how that money shall be expended. I believe that it is a part of the duty of Congress to have some knowledge of the methods of expenditure and to determine whether the expenditure is being made in accordance with the purposes of Congress.

This is no reflection on the President or on the Secretaries whose departments will have the expenditure of the money, but we are extremely careful in ordinary times to make specific every appropriation and require by law that the money shall not be spent for any other purpose. We are going into a great war, and it appears to me that we should take every precaution to prevent any improper expenditure of money and to keep before the people at all times the methods which are being taken to expend these large amounts of money, as well as the conduct of the war in every particular.

I ask that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I question whether the joint resolution ought to be referred to the Committee on Rules. It is not usual to refer legislative measures to the Committee on Rules. It involves a very important matter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is the rule. The Senator from Missouri can move to refer the joint resolution to some other committee.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, the joint resolution proposes by an act of Congress to create a new committee, and it seems to me that the Committee on Rules is the appropriate committee to which the joint resolution should be referred. If it should not go to the Committee on Rules, I should like to know to what committee it should be referred.

Mr. REED. The joint resolution relates to and deals with appropriations, and it seems to me very unusual for such a resolution to be referred to the Committee on Rules. However, I shall not make any further objection to its reference.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, there is so much confusion in the Chamber that I can not understand what the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] is saying.

Mr. REED. I shall not press the objection, though it seems to me to be an unusual proceeding; but if the author of the joint resolution especially wants it to go to the Committee on Rules and the Vice President thinks it ought to go there, I shall not make any objection to such reference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Rules.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BROUSSARD] be appointed on the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico in place of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], and that the Senator from Illinois be appointed on the Committee on Interoceanic Canals in place of the Senator from Louisiana. In other words, the Senators simply exchange places on the committees, the Senator from Illinois coming to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals and the Senator from Louisiana going to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. I ask that the changes may be made, and that the assignments to those committees be made in accordance therewith.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of New Mexico in the chair). Without objection, that will stand as the order of the Senate.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. MARTIN, Mr. SHAFROTH, and Mr. WARREN conferees on the part of the Senate.

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further bills or resolutions morning business is closed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the Army appropriation bill, which was reported to the Senate this morning.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the bill is before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole and will be stated by title.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois.

WAR WITH GERMANY—GERMAN-AMERICANS.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I appreciate the Senator from Oregon, chairman of the Military Committee [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], yielding to me at this time, knowing, as I do, the importance of the measure which he has in charge and recognizing that the demand of the time calls for its expeditious passage. My purpose is to address the Senate upon the main question that is before the consideration of the American people. If the Senate can find it compatible to its convenience to give me attention I shall greatly appreciate it.

Mr. President, when the joint resolution was before this body calling for its decision as to whether or not it would declare war against Imperial Germany, conditions which you understood prohibited that I could express myself at that time of the views which I feel I owe to the constituency I represent; to myself, and to this body. I tender my thanks to the committee in charge of the affairs of this Senate, including the chairman, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], for arranging for me this privilege this morning.

Mr. President, I have been struck with a certain course of conduct displayed in different parts of this country from those who call themselves American citizens, which I hope will have no duplication during the serious hours in which we are to deal with the important questions governing the conflict now impending upon us. I refer to the insults visited upon certain Senators of this body.

In the discussion on the war resolution Senators arose on this floor and expressed their opposition to the joint resolution, and gave their reasons, such as they held as were sufficient for that opposition. It must be assumed, sir, that these Senators were responding to the sentiment of the constituency for which they spoke. That therefore it was their State speaking. But, sir, whether that be the just presumption or not, that such conduct of offense should have come from any citizen, as we read of in the public press—the sending of contemptible and insulting messages, tokens, and emblems to a Senator—because his views happen not to comport with the views of some other man, is as destructive of liberty of free speech in this Government as if a direct assault by official power had been made upon it. Those Senators opposing the resolution were wrong, as I see it; yet I may be wrong, as they see it; and any set of men who would attempt to bring this body in contempt by casting humiliating insinuations against a sovereign Senator, because of the expression by him of his honest views, discloses either ignorance of the dues to the office or lack of common good manners as American citizens. Who are these men so indecently assailed? Are they men unknown?

NORRIS, of Nebraska, ever doing kindness for the downtrodden; GRONNA, of North Dakota, the constant champion of the oppressed farmer; LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin, who has led the cause of public purity against corporate corruption. The Senators represent their respective States. They have expressed from their convictions the views which possess them. They have done such openly, with courage and great ability. Long may they continue to do such that when wrong the expressions themselves may prove it by the test of opposition. Their clean and noble careers in public life ought to assure exemption from insults hurled at them from any source merely because of the differences which they may entertain with their fellow Senators or with some of their fellow citizens.

On this side of the Chamber Senator LANE, of Oregon, the man of charities everywhere; Senator VARDAMAN, of Mississippi, the poet-statesman ever fighting for the oppressed, two distinguished Senators whose lives like unto those of the Senators on the Republican side I have mentioned, have shown them worthy of the regard of their fellow men, and their views entitled to the respect of their fellow Senators. These Senators should be accepted amidst us as Senators speaking the solemn voice of their people, to whom they are responsible. Knowing their lives as we know them, their services as we have beheld them, we welcome them in the enjoyment of that privilege and bid them continue, however much we shall differ with and oppose their contentions.

Then, here to my right, sits my eminent friend, long of years, my friend and counselor: the eminent Senator from Missouri, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. STONE]. He finds it agreeable to differ with the committee over which he presides with dignity and capacity. He finds it necessary to his convictions to oppose the majority of his side; but can it be possible that the hour is upon America when, because of such differences held by a Senator, he is to be pilloried in the public estimate as unworthy of that which is vouched to the meanest citizen of the land—the respect for the sincerity of his convictions? I have known Senator STONE; we have all known him through many of these years of public service—Congressman, governor, Senator. Surely we can say of him, as was said of Dentatus by the elder Brutus, "He has grown gray in the service of his country, and for that, if there be nothing higher, he should have been exempt these spears cost from such unworthy hands." Hereafter may this custom of reflecting upon the motives of a Senator or deriding the expression by him of his honest opinions be more honored in the breach than in the observance.

Sir, we beheld at the close of the debate on the solemn resolution the proof to the world that this was a Christian coun-

try. The Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] brought the proceedings to a close by bowing his head in submission to the great Captain of us all, and breathed to his colleagues a prayer that the Father of our mercies and our destinies might guide us where we would do no wrong. It was a courageous act. The only similar instance to this I know of in parliamentary history is when Lord Brougham, in the trial of Queen Caroline, knelt before the lords, tendering his invocation to God that they do justice. I join in the prayer of that eminent Senator. I pray that like the pearl brought by the Peri to Heaven's gate it may lie at the feet of the Master, and light in its radiance a Christian course for this distinguished tribunal. I pray that no action shall ever be had here or in any part of this land that in the after days our fellow citizens of our country may behold was the throttling of free speech before men. Sir, without the fullest freedom of honest utterance by men in public counsel liberty will perish and the Republic fall. The only way the views of an opposition can ever be tested as to their correctness is that they may be expressed in all fullness. Then, sir, when rejected by trial the defeated can join the majority; consoled in having been fully heard and overruled, the minority have but the one duty before them—their country. So here in this presence may I be bold enough to express the hope that each of us may turn to this Chamber in after days, saying, as did Edmund Burke to Parliament at the close of the impeachment of Warren Hastings:

> This great assemblage, this sacred house, may it long remain as it has been founded the refuge of liberty, the guardian of right, and the protection of mankind everywhere within the constitutional justice for which this realm has been established.

Mr. President, we therefore speak on the "state of war," a subject any man might well hope to avoid. But, sir, in the course of the affairs of life and of the civilization of mankind we have not been able, sir, either to avoid or to defeat war in the processes of civilization. The prayers of the Christian multitudes of the world have ascended to God; the tears of mothers raining over their first born, the entrances of the homes bearing messages of mourning for the dead, the stricken cities, the wasted fields, the blood upon the walls of life have all been meaningless, and their influences fall for naught up to this hour. There seems, sir, to have been no method learned of mankind by which great wrongs can be redressed and great rights enforced save by that process of the arbitrament of blood. God speed the day when this form of atonement shall give place to a Christly adjustment of the differences of peoples by love, not by the sword. May we all soon exclaim "Put away the sword, States can be saved without it."

Mr. President, when war broke yonder in Europe we beheld the carnage with horror, contemplated it with all the thrill of sadness that could tremble a suffering soul. We of America prayed that we might be delivered and that the flames of that conflagration would not light our canopy of peace. But, alas, sir, conditions have decreed that our hopes be blasted, our prayer be not granted. We did not desire war. We knew the full meaning of the "canker of a calm world and a long peace," but we sought no destruction of it through a war that would mean the desolation of our lands. Every patience was exerted by those in authority, every endurance suffered by our countrymen, every indulgence by the legislative body, every partisan aspect buried in patriotism and absorbed in affection for our country, all to avoid conflict. More, sir—every affront was overlooked, insults borne, injuries endured, protest after protest against it all multiplied from us, one upon the other, yet all without avail. Conditions forced upon us that which we would have avoided but which has been decreed otherwise. It is war.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, that as the debate from day to day shall proceed in this distinguished body and legislation such as brought forward by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, is brought before the body, there will arise differences. They will be from some on this side against others on this side; there will be the differences among the side of my distinguished opponents—only opponents in time of partisan conflict. These differences will be voiced, in one temper or another, in differences as to ways and means; but I know I do no violence here if I say that each of us will say unto ourselves, as the ghost said to Hamlet:

> But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
> Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
> Against thy mother aught.

So, sir, we stand, our mother at war with her assailant. Shall it be asked, What is the wrong the redress of which we so unitedly now decree? What is the wrong? Scholars around me recall that in the debate between Æschines and Demosthenes at the event when Æschines, espousing the cause of Philip invading Greece, said that "for peace and security it were better that there be no longer protests against Philip." Then added Æschines, "What is the alarm?" when Demosthenes responds, "What is the alarm? Is it not enough that Macedonia would come to Greece, through her Philip, and conduct the affairs of our own land over our own protests?"

So, sir, we answer the query of "what is the wrong?" It is, sir, that a country, imperial in form, speaking through its voice of iron and sword, has decreed that we here in America shall conduct our life within the limitations prescribed by it, and that if we decline or protest we will then take the consequences of death, inflicted by the blow of its own hands. Imperial Germany, sir, has drawn an area of civilization about the world and prescribed unto us that without that only shall we exist. That if we dare come within it, upon our heads, it will launch the curse of the Prussian dynasty—death and destruction.

Mr. President, the eminent junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], in a splendid arraignment of the wrongs done America by the Prussian dynasty, presented a catalogue against which no man can offer defense, and in this arraignment recited those offenses which no brave people could endure, no honorable man accept. In this it has been disclosed—as had been disclosed often by the record of facts—that the commerce of our country equal to two-thirds of our foreign trade, the rights of our shipping, the privileges of our citizens are to be denied their just dominion upon the earth. Sir, the very opening chapter of God's holy laws, prescribing the charter of our creation, informs us that God gave to man dominion over the sea and the land; but it is for us in Christian America to behold that one part of the civilization of the world, through imperial power, repeals the law of Almighty God, and amends the ordinances of heaven by placing a limitation upon the dominion that God gave His children by denying to one portion of them—America—the privileges of the earth.

Sir, it was against this audacious assumption that we raised our revolt. It was against this affront to civilization that we uttered our protests, multiplying one upon the other until finally, when toleration could not longer be indulged and patience from manly men had revolted, we set forth to the trespasser wherein our wrongs could not longer continue and informed them if they continued their infliction we must remedy them by the force of arms.

Mr. President, it is at this point, sir, I acknowledge that I may become tedious in presentation of detail and impose upon the generosities of my attentive colleagues——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Go right along, as long as you will; we all want to hear you.

Mr. LEWIS. Sir, when the decree of our course was made, when it was inevitable—as inevitable it was—there came the voices of resentment and accusation against us from those against whom our decree was leveled. Mr. President, I am to speak of these. I am attracted by what is being charged now against us, and it is to these charges—for reasons to which I will in a few moments advert—that I address my attention.

The spokesman of the Prussian military dynasty, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, delivers his speech in the Prussian Diet, called the Reichstag, and charges upon the United States of America that we have violated every principle of international law, and, in order that we may find occasion to make an assault upon Germany, violated the express statutes of our own land. All this, said he, done without a precedent in our history, without a Governmental parallel in our conduct. Says the distinguished chancellor for that Empire, "Wilson breaks the law to make war." Says he: "They sent out their ships with naval gunners, with directions that they fire on any of the German ships upon which they could get a drop." "Congress," continued he, "could not validly delegate this power; it was denied by Congress," says this distinguished authority, "and yet the President has gone ahead defining the rights and dictating this procedure."

Mr. President, the eminent chancellor proceeded to point out that we did these things with a view of making war on Germany and forcing Germany to make war on us. He charges before the civilization of Europe that the things we did in arming the ships had no precedent in all the practice of America and were in direct violation of the international law. Continuing, says he, the conduct is unknown in their parallel in all practices of the world, and were, he charges, in direct breach of the statutes of our own land providing against such.

My distinguished colleagues on both sides of this body, I am not so much concerned in this speech as to its effect

upon the German people in Germany. I am not without understanding of its purpose there; nor can I say truthfully that were I situated as is the eminent chancellor I might not have resorted to similar tactics. But I am concerned, sir, for the effect of this address upon the German citizens of my country; those who I know are loyal; those who I know wish to serve their country. I can not permit them to be deceived by the charge that this, their adopted country, has done an act without parallel in all its history. That it has done a thing unprecedented in international law and without a single forerunner in the history of civilization. I will not permit them to be put in a position where they may whisper to their children that to make war on their mother country Germany; this America discriminated against it, and chose it for assaults the like of which had no justification in the law of nations, and were in violation of the direct statutory prohibitions of America.

One of the objects of this speech, sir, is too clear to me, as it is to you all. It is to discourage the German citizen in America from feeling any obligation to America to serve her either by word or deed. It is to infuse into the hearts of a certain honorable set of men in this country of German blood the feeling that we have so wrongly assailed their motherland as to release them of every obligation of support of us and to place them in the ranks, if not of open disloyalty, at least of secret, obstruction. The young sons of the Germans who come from loyal, but because they, too, believe the charges in this speech. for I deplore to tell you, Mr. President and Senators, that of the 11 German publications of great eminence in this country 7 have published this address and circulated it throughout this whole land for its influence—not that these journals are disloyal, but because they, too, believe the charges of this speech. They circulate it among their German constituency here. Millions of these German born will read this speech, believing its indictment. They will hereafter be educated to our alleged wrongs against Germany—charging us with doing the thing we did as without precedent and in violation of honorable practice. All for the purpose of a direct assault on them because they were Germans!

Mr. President, the charge of the distinguished chancellor is untrue. The assertion made by the eminent authority is without foundation in fact. I can not let it in this unrefuted state go to my own native American, far less to that other loyal set of men, the German-American, who only want to know that we were right, and without regard to their German nationality will be found loyal to America.

What, then, sir, were the reasons we placed the guns upon the ships? It was, sir, to protect the American commerce upon the public highways of this world, of which we were a part. There could be no free country without a free commerce. There could be no independent and prosperous Nation as long as we allowed its resources to be throttled and denied access to the markets of the world. When the assaults were made upon our commerce—and made by the force of arms—there was but one way in which we could meet it. It was as though a footpad or an outlaw should be met in the highways when he is threatening the life of the innocent passer-by. The innocent citizen is authorized to carry arms to defend himself against such assault, and arms himself. Was not that natural, sir? Was not that human? Was it not the course which has ever been taken, notwithstanding the statement of the eminent chancellor, and despite these prominent German papers throughout this country that have unwittingly published to the contrary for its effect upon our countrymen?

The history of our country informs us that in 1805 President Jefferson sent to the United States Senate, through the Secretary of State, the protest of France and Britain against our arming ships for the protection of our commerce; but Mr. Jefferson in no wise protested nor in any wise intimated to this distinguished body that it should interdict or prohibit the course as one that was wrong.

It was then, sir, that John Randolph, in the House of Representatives, referred to the situation in words which I am about to read. And let it be remembered, sir, that John Randolph was no friend of France. John Randolph was at that time an advocate of Britain. He was so friendly to her course that he was glad to encourage America to emulate her. But, keeping in mind the duty which America really owed to herself, says he:

> France is at war with England; suppose her power on the Continent of Europe no greater than it is on the ocean. How would she make her enemy feel it? There would be a perfect nonconductor between them. So with the United States and England; she scarcely presents to us a vulnerable point. Her commerce is carried on, for the most part, in fleets; where in single ships, they are sound and well armed—very different from the state of her trade during the American war, when her merchantmen became the prey of paltry privateers. Great Britain has been too long at war with the three most powerful maritime nations of Europe not to have learnt how to protect her trade.

Yet, says the eminent chancellor, as he would have it, the very act itself of ours in following this history was without precedent!

Mr. President, may I call attention to the fact that far from being unprecedented with us it is the opposite. In 1862—while we were at war, it is true, between the Union and the Confederacy—there were threats of foreign ships giving evidences of a raid upon the commerce of America.

These foreign ships were not involved in any war with us at that time, but, sir, these ships then plying between Aspenwall and New York manifested to the United States from their officials the fear that these threats would culminate in assaults upon them. They asked for protection exactly as was asked here in the very hour a few days preceding our arming our ships.

What transpired then under the administration of Abraham Lincoln—truly the just? Sir, I present to you that Gideon Welles, the then Secretary of the Navy, answered the communication, saying:

> The department will gladly assist the company in this object. It will furnish rifle guns for them and a sufficient number of seamen to work them, the company subsisting at their expense the seamen. It will also, if desired, appoint the commanders of the steamers acting masters in the Navy, but without pay.

Then, Mr. President, as I read you from the official record of the Union and Confederate Navies of the war, reported in volume 1, page 193, we find that we promptly equipped the vessels with guns, commanded them with officers of our Navy, and governed them with gunners under our command. Yet, sir, says the eminent chancellor, such things were unknown, and that we did the things we lately did in arming our ships without precedent.

Mr. President, I dare say here to this eminent body that the real reason why on this day the cloud of war hangs over America and in its flaming flashes threatens to consume the Imperial Government of Germany is because her leaders have found it agreeable to dissemble the truth to their people. If the truth had been told Germany by that certain class of men who assumed to lead the German people of America and had the truth been told the people in Germany by their rulers in Germany there would have been no fateful tragedy such as impends over civilization at this hour. Nor, sir, would there have been the lowering passage of this cloud of fire across the horizon of this my America!

Ah, but, sir, it is ever true, may I recall, as the Delegate Jacoby, in the national convention in Berlin, November 2, 1848, said to King Wilhelm of Prussia the Fourth: "Das ist das unglück der Könige dass sie die Wahrheit nicht hören wollen." So say we, it is ever the misfortune of kings that they will not listen to the truth.

Mr. President, on this day that I avail myself of the privilege of this body, I shall speak the truth as I see it and as I know it from the history of my country and of Germany. Not that I hope, sir, to reach those German Government heads or military commanders in Germany but that I shall reach the constituency for which I speak and which by their grace I am permitted to represent in my State of Illinois. I assume to bring to your attention that one-fourth of the population of Illinois are those of whom it may be said are German. They are loyal citizens, faithful neighbors, beloved friends. From the American schools many of them have drawn their education. Many of them have come from foreign lands to make their homes in my splendid State. They only need to be told the truth, that they may know what their rights are and what wrongs have been done by the imperial masters of their own mother country to this, their now adopted home. It is to this I am to speak. It is to them that I shall at home frequently speak. And here in this presence I want to say to every man who has sent me a message of the kind that good manners would have forbidden, that respect for the position I occupy would have prohibited, that a sense of their obligation to citizenship would have made impossible—I forgive it. I will never allude to it. I understand the unhappy nature wounded in the contemplation that it must make war either upon its adopted homes or upon their native country. I feel how this horror could have induced them in such a moment to conduct which otherwise could never have come from their noble natures.

Then, sir, to them what is the truth of the right for which we stand? I answer, sir, we stood upon our bond. We stood upon our contract. Our contract was the treaty we made with Germany by which the trade of this land should be permitted in every country, though that country may be at war, so long as we remain neutral.

Senators, as you will see in a moment from me, Germany had a very principal object in entering into this contract; but I call to your attention some words of it which in the haste of the

presentation on the war resolutions were omitted by the eminent Senators who discussed the causes justifying the adoption of the resolution.

I ask you for a moment's consideration. The 1785 contracts made with Germany, called a treaty, contained as article 12:

If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with any other power, the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neuter with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted.

From one treaty to another there were amendments and changes. The treaty of 1785 expired by limitation. A new one was negotiated in 1799. The article 12 was only amended in other respects than that to which I called attention. The treaty of 1799 also expired, and the treaty of 1828, you will recall, was then entered into, and that is still in force. In that we find the same clause repeated, as it had been repeated a number of times by Germany, and that is the precise situation in which the United States to-day is by her contract. By the bond we entered into our right to sail those seas and deliver our commerce was established, apart from our natural right as a part of the world.

Senators, may I not ask you, you have given much attention to this subject, why has it never occurred to the reigning princes of Germany to recall that in the war of 1871 between Germany and France we served the nations of the world? Bismarck raised no such protest then as is now under the same conditions raised by Bethmann von Hollweg. Von Moltke raised no such issue as was presented by the eminent commanders under the Kaiser. Why? We were serving France with supplies and France was fighting Germany. They were materials that would come from any neutral.

We served Germany while she was fighting France. Neither Germany nor France registered to America a protest against our rights then founded upon the conceded law of nations and treaties between them.

Why is it that not until now does Germany raise her voice against a treaty which under the previous parallel conditions has never had a protest leveled against its fulfillment? Then, sir, let it be remembered there were reciprocal profits which Germany was deriving under the treaty.

Do you not recall, Senators, our own history, when we were in war with Spain? Germany was a neutral. She served Cuba covertly and openly. Our protests against the munitions being delivered were of no avail, because she contended they were for the nonneutral portion, to defend themselves against those who at that time were rising against their homes. Germany served with her commodities the officers of Spain, the army of Spain, the ships of Spain. We not only could not protest under this arrangement but by the laws of nations it would have been futile.

Then, sir, Germany served Spain in Europe by providing her every form of ammunition, every form of munitions, every form of supplies for her neutral populations, her nonbelligerents, as well as those actively engaged in the conflict against her. She had the right and she availed herself of it.

In the Philippine Islands, while we were there seeking to suppress the insurrection and revolution against us, Germany, availing herself of this treaty, served there our enemies to our very face, because of her privileges as a neutral nation.

Clearly it must be, Senators, that the new motive which invited this new form of opposition by the Prussian commanders has for its reason something else than the foundation which the eminent chancellor assumes to assert that is the right under international law.

Mr. OWEN. And in Mexico, too, recently.

Mr. LEWIS. It is suggested to me by the eminent Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] that the history of our Government discloses that Germany was likewise availing herself of her privileges to serve Mexico while we were in conflict with peoples of that land.

But, sir, let this be said to her credit and in justification: She was, so far as serving the neutral population with the necessities of life, as much within her right as we contend that we were within ours.

Mr. President, I ask you now, sir, to contemplate a moment what it was that Germany did when she was in conflict over her rights of trade as neutral? I call to your attention, sir, the history of her attitude in the Boer war. Here I must take issue from the eminent and patriotic Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], who, from his bold point of view and the impulse of his heart, can not agree with the policy for which I speak—that of the necessity of declaring war. We turn to ascertain what was the position of Germany then under this very treaty.

As the eminent Senators who sit around me know, this treaty made with the United States in 1828 was but a copy word for word of a treaty Germany had with Britain upon similar subjects. We exacted that it should be copied literally in order to avoid confusion and that our trade with Britain and Germany as to governing regulations in the event of conflicts should be in harmony. Literally, then, the treaty with Britain was the very treaty which previous to our declaration of war existed with Germany.

Under that treaty let us note what Germany did in her dealings with Britain. The Boer War was on. The ships of Germany were on their way affording supplies to the Boers. Britain seized these ships upon the water. Some of them were taken as prizes to her ports. The ship called the *Bundesrath* was carried into Durban. From that began the dispute between the two nations. Germany, through her representatives, addressed Lord Salisbury. Mark you, Count Hatsfeldt, the German representative in London, says:

I am further instructed to request your excellency to cause explicit instructions to be sent to the commanders of British ships in African waters to respect the rules of international law, and to place no further impediments in the way of the trade between neutrals.

Then, Mr. President, the disputation continued. It reached to a state where the nations themselves through their heads were compelled to recognize it. Then Count von Bülow, one of the predecessors of Chancellor von Hollweg, addressed himself as chancellor to the Reichstag setting forth what he felt were the rights of Germany. He said:

We strove from the outset to induce the English Government, in dealing with neutral vessels consigned to Delagoa Bay, to adhere to that theory of international law which guarantees the greatest security to commerce and industry and which finds expression in the principle that for ships consigned from neutral States to a neutral port the notion of contraband of war simply does not exist.

Count von Bülow summarized the action of the German Government by concluding:

We demanded, in the first place, the release of the steamers. * * * In the second place, we demanded the payment of compensation for the unjustified detention of our ships and for the losses incurred by the German subjects whose interests were involved. * * * Thirdly, we drew attention to the necessity for issuing instructions to the British naval commanders. * * * We trust that the English naval authorities will not again proceed without sufficient cause in an unfriendly and precipitate manner against our ships.

Then, sir, what was the further course of Germany? It may be interesting to realize that she did that thing which to-day she debars to us. When Britain persisted in assailing her ships in the waters of South Africa, Germany, through her naval authorities, authorized the shipping lines then running to South America, as well as issuing privilege to other shipping lines to arm their ships. Germany issued instructions, copies of which I shall put in the RECORD, to these companies—as they were naval auxiliaries—that they arm their ships fore and aft to defend themselves against any assaults that might be made upon them in the seas while they were in the prosecution of neutral trade.

Sir, shall it be said that she was not right? That she was right is borne out by the law of nations and the practice of civilized people. But shall it be said by the eminent chancellor before the Reichstag to be repeated here in my country to the misconception and delusion of that loyal set of Germans in this country that the thing we did was without precedent, not within law, without authority in the law of nations or in practice, when Germany upon her record has availed herself of the very form to accomplish the very purpose of protection which we have adopted?

Senators, be not constrained to the thought that there is anything new in all this claim of privilege of the seas. There seems to have never been a civilization that did not adhere to this practice for the preservation of its lifeblood—commerce. Scholars of the Old Bible, early edition, will recall I Kings, chapter xxii, from the 48th verse and the interesting recital.

Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for riches; but they went not; for the ships were broken at the sea by the enemies at Ezion-gaber.

Then said Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants with their spears go with thy servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat, trembling lest the whole enemy would come upon him, would not.

And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers and was buried with his fathers and the ships knew not Ophir.

Truly "there is nothing new under the sun." Mankind still repeats its performances after the instinct of human nature—for its self-preservation, and in the same form as in the past.

How splendidly rises to mind the letter that Cicero wrote to Atticus when Cicero was in extremis, saying to the friend of his soul: "Governments, like all organized creations, have their time to perish and to fail, as mankind has to live and to fall; but no surer test of their decay is ever than that when they surrender the instincts of the heart, the impulses of the soul, the preservation itself of life." This, sir, was all there was in the creed of all this conduct.

Sir, I turn to the last charge of the eminent chancellor, not, as I say, Senators, that I hope my voice may reach the imperial land to correct the error made there, but that it in my own country shall reach those to whom I must speak, and whom I speak that they may read the truth. The eminent chancellor, Mr. President, said that we violated an express law in order that we could do the thing that would make war on Germany by placing arms upon these ships. The eminent chancellor quotes certain views of officials in this country and refers to the Federal statute of 1819.

Mr. President, right here now I wish to deny that there is any law anywhere that prohibits the arming of ships by the Government for their defense. The statute of 1819 is not a prohibitive statute. It is a permissive statute, merely permitting certain private companies that were known to place, at their own expense and under their control, guns upon their ships. The statute had no relation whatever to the Government. How could it have relation to the Government? Before the sight of the just God, where is that government in civilization that could agree by law to never defend itself? The exercise of such an attempted abdication would be so insulting that it would reduce the Nation to contempt and to the contumely where it should rest for its life if it presumed such pusillanimity of conduct. That this Nation would ever have undertaken it, all of us will dispute. That it would ever have entered upon such a craven course all will deny.

Then what was the statute of 1819? It was a statute merely to authorize these private concerns at their own expense and instance to place guns upon their ships by their captains or by their owners. The provision in the statute that there should be no firing upon the ships of certain nations referred to action by those private companies; but, sir, in this case of our action we did not arm the ships by private persons. We ourselves as a Government armed them; we manned their arms by our Government. If there was a Senator on this floor in the intense zeal of his nature who really presumed that that statute could have any application to the Government, then I invite his attention to the words of it.

The statute prohibits those within its provisions from firing upon the vessels of a nation "in amity." Will it be contended by the eminent chancellor of Germany that a country with whom we had disrupted every relation, whose ambassadors had been sent to their homes, whose representatives had been returned to their native land for the violation of our domestic laws, in everything from trespass to incendiarism and then to murder, was "in amity" with the United States? Surely, sir, we recall Webster's speech, as we have it from Fourth Webster's works, referring to the French spoliation claims. He is alluding to the disruption between this country and France—which, however, had not brought us to war—and when referring to the fact that our relations had been severed, he said:

> While there was no war, there was no amity; our relations were not amicable.

Moore, in his International Law, the opening chapter upon nonamicability, headlines it under the title "Nonamicability; the breaking off of diplomatic relations."

Shall it be conceived for a minute that we could have been within that statute? The Supreme Court of the United States in Moore against the United States (161 U. S.) specifically defines "amity" in our relations with foreign nations when it says the word "amity" in the treaties means friendship, peace, good feeling. Therefore, surely it must be seen that this statute could never have had any application in any wise whatsoever to the German Government at the time the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief of the United States Army and Navy, authorized, through the Secretary of the Navy, the placing of guns on these ships for the protection of themselves, as has been the practice of this Government and of every other civilized Government under similar circumstances as those which surrounded our vessels, and this for all civilized time.

Mr. President, how could it have been otherwise? Can it be possibly contended by the chancellor in the Reichstag, by the scholars of law, by the eminent German press in our country—by any source of American citizenship—that America could have ever agreed to refuse to defend herself and her people? That she contracted to abandon her property, desert her commerce, or relinquish any step that would be necessary for the maintenance of the sovereignty of this Republic? Certainly not; such is the indulgence of the impossible. Still, sir, it is gravely contended by sources in this land, and out of it, that our doing of the act, so founded in the law and custom, was an affront upon Germany and an assault that justified her in the destruction of our ships, the demolition of our commerce, the murder of our people, the dishonoring of our country, and the humiliation of our Republic.

Yet, too, a distinguished source, for whom I have great respect in knowledge and ability, the eminent Senator from Wiscontin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] drew the deduction, from such information as he had of the international law and the conditions, that "we had not a leg to stand upon." Surely, the eminent Senator must recognize, when he realizes the facts upon a closer investigation, that not only have we legs to stand on, but that we stand as a body upon the great, broad, and universal foundation of a nation's right to self-defense.

It is claimed, sir, by respectable authorities in this country—and I see now it is set forth in Germany—that because we did not resent the wrongs of Britain toward us we forfeited our right to oppose the wrongs of Germany. Let this be understood: I recognize the doctrine that where we are not neutral to one country we can not claim the benefits of neutrality from the other, but that is as far as the punishment has ever gone. No scholar of international law has ever assumed that we forfeited the right of self-defense; for if that were once maintained, a country need only assert that we did not oppose the violations of neutrality of another country as its excuse for murdering us, thereby throwing upon us the burden to prove otherwise before we could assert our right to oppose the wrongs done us. Surely it can not be urged seriously, as it has been urged in words, that we did not have the right of that self-defense.

I here say, however, I do not approve the course of Britain. I condemn it. She had no right to rifle the mails of America. She had no right to seize our ships of commerce and take them into English ports while they were on their way to neutral ports of Europe. She had no right to visit upon us the several indignities one after another; but the reply of hers must be that of Napoleon to Poland: "C'est la guerre. C'est la guerre. Que voulez-vous? C'est la guerre." "It is war; it is war. What will you have? It is war." It is ours to reckon with that later.

But, sir, because we did not find it agreeable to resent the course of Britain in the way that we should, shall it be said that there was a right on the part of Germany to murder my people of America? Britain took property; Germany took life. There alone, if need be, rests the distinction which we can rest upon. If my eminent friend, the Senator from Wisconsin, says, as he did say in his able speech, that Germany when she agreed to all our protests to cease the submarine warfare reserved the right to return to it, I answer that she may reserve for herself, but we can not recognize her right to reserve the privilege to murder Americans; nor can we recognize the right that she should reserve the privilege to destroy the commerce of this country, drive us from the open sea, and rob us of our equal rights. We ever reserve the right to preserve ourselves.

Behold, sir, our situation. Five hundred bodies of our citizens floating upon the waters of the world, their corpses drifting to every port and every strand; their beloved ones knowing not where they are. They are to-day, sir, devoured in the depths; they have been set upon by the mysterious animals of the hundred leagues beneath the sea. Their bodies gone beneath, their souls taken their ascent above—their faces can no longer be seen, nor their voices heard. They were killed by Germany. They are dead for no wrong that one of them ever committed against Germany. Not one of their hands was ever lifted against Germany; none of their voices ever proclaimed against her or one of her citizens; but for that they availed themselves of the privilege of a citizen of the world they died as a penalty.

Shall it be said, sir, that I, as a citizen of my country, shall remain silent as against these atrocities, because, forsooth, there are those who may bring before me precepts along which they think our governmental conduct has not gone sufficiently exact. Shall for this puny contention I be asked to waive the demand for justice to my country? I answer—I decline. I reply, never!

Mr. President, I have a word that possibly is unnecessary here. I have been frank to say to you who have been so indulgent with me that my purpose, as much as I am honored with your audience, is not wholly to address you; but is also to bring to the attention of others what I shall say. Sir, what will be the effect upon America of a dead and withered commerce if under the assaults of Germany it should be allowed to continue? Let me answer, sir, if it could be Germany to-day with success, why not Britain to-morrow. If Britain with success, as concerns the European seas, she and Germany, then, in common purpose, driving us from the Atlantic, why not Japan and China on the next day drive us from Asia and the Asiatic seas? Then, sir, by that example of the great, why not the lesser ones assail us until finally every vestige of American commerce is swept from the seas of the world by those who would drive us off that they may remain masters of the sea. Then, how would we stand, sir? Our position would be this: with our commerce

stricken from the seas by our own supineness, by our cowardice and ignoble surrender, with every nation in the world taking license from our surrender—our pusillanimity—we would then, sir, be imprisoned within the confines of our own Republic.

What, then, must follow? Sir, we could not long subsist upon ourselves. The next step would be that affecting the farmer. His grain must wither in the field, for it could not profit him to gather it and harvest it in his bins. That must rot. Also must decay that already in the bins where it has been gathered, for that there can be no profit in the shipment. He therefore withers in poverty for want of patronage of his husbandry. The toiler has no longer enough occupation, for the factories can no longer sell their products abroad; and when the factories are closed the toiler walks the streets without occupation. He is then in want and in need. The citizen of the country finds himself humiliated, bowed down in depression, his land in panic, for throughout all this country, sir, would come, as there must, the natural result—universal bankruptcy. Then, when such is before us, where stands the citizen? Ashamed of his land, degraded at home by his own acts, dishonored abroad, poverty stricken at his door, his children in want, his wife in need, his country humiliated before the earth—all by his own acts of cowardice, and yet he calls himself an American!

Hear the exclamation of Fisher Ames, the Revolutionary patriot, upon a condition similar to this, when he stood before the House of Representatives of Congress. In his speech upon our relations with Britain, on April 28, 1796, he said:

> What is patriotism * * * but the venerable image of our country's honor? Every good citizen makes that honor his own and cherishes it not only as precious but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defense and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it. For what rights of a citizen will be deemed inviolable when a State renounces the principles that constitute their security? Or, if his life should not be invaded, what would its enjoyments be in a country odious in the eyes of strangers and dishonored in his own? Could he look with affection and veneration to such a country as his parent? The sense of having one would die within him; he would blush for his patriotism, if he retained any, and justly. * * * He would be a banished man in his native land.

Sir, it must be plain that we could not have endured the final result of such a course without inheriting that which is pictured by that eminent patriot and which we know would have been the direct result of our own conduct—humiliation, disgrace, and before the world hishonor. Yet, sir, the eminent Senator said that we have not a foot to stand on!

Senators, in a last phase, in which I wish to address myself to those who shall have occasion to read my remarks, I invite you to an aspect more sad to me than agreeable. Sir, these assaults which I condemn—made upon America—were being made at a time when little would humankind dream that such could ever have been entered upon. We had for years sought to persuade these opponents against making the assaults upon our country. Yet, sir, despite our efforts they continued. Now, contemplate these last attacks. Remember that despite all of these assaults, despite all these outrages and wrongs, this, your America, speaking through your spokesman, the President, sought peace for the belligerents and addressed a letter, an official communication, to the purpose of which the Senate gave your approval. The President of the United States addressed this communication to the countries of Europe, seeking from them the expression of the terms upon which they would have peace. His position could be well stated in the words of Charles James Fox, uttered at the time of the consideration of the overtures of peace to Napoleon Bonaparte, when he said, "That the country that would not express the terms upon which it would make peace clearly showed that it was not sure of the ground upon which it stood."

Thus the President of the United States addressed his communication to the warring countries of Europe seeking peace. At a time when we were being assailed by Germany, we sought peace in her behalf. We sought this peace out of our spirit that appealed for peace. We sought it out of a heart that rebelled against war. We sought it out of a soul that cried for harmony and good will among mankind. Yet, sir, it was at this time, while this humane undertaking was being directed by the President, that Germany, through the Prussian dynasty, assailed us with murderous assaults.

Mr. President, I was one of those among many others who did all that could be done to have peace. I raised my voice wherever I could against those things which I felt would eventually lead us where war would be the result. Every Senator on all sides here, differing only as to method and details, struggled for peace, and in the heart of his Christian nature prayed that it might be. But while we were seeking it for Germany, behold, sir—let us dwell for a shocking moment, sir—what happened? I speak of the events of recent history. My eminent opponents know that I am not speaking in a partisan attitude now. As between us all partisanship in this conflict "deep in the bosom of the ocean's buried." But we do know that the influences in Germany, while this administration was seeking peace in her behalf, conspired with influences in this country calling themselves German—and they proceeded through the aid of money and intrigue—to endeavor to defeat the President of the United States in his reelection, not on any principle of local government, which they would have had a right to do, but willingly joined with those whose opposition to the President was that he did not make war on Germany, these joined with those whose grievance was that the President did not make war to destruction of Germany. These forces calling themselves Germans, declining the opportunities to obtain peace, in vengeance made common cause with those whose cry was "destroy Germany." This they did that by that partnership they might destroy the President.

And yet, sir, let us behold, after the election there was no resentment in the heart of victorious Woodrow Wilson. It was to this body—this Senate—that he came, and from the chancel of the Senate presented to this distinguished body his renowned declaration wherein he sought for the Governments that were at war, peace, and proclaimed his policy of "peace without victory." To Germany went the message that he would have rescued her from the humiliation of defeat or the loss of triumph, so anxious were we that peace should be had, and peace without victory. Yet it was while this was pending—while we, her friends, her advocate, were drawing down upon our heads the curse of Britain and France, who charged us, through their public press and their public voices, with being an ally of Germany. To accomplish the purpose we had started out to achieve, peace, we brought upon ourselves the censure and the condemnation of all the allies. It was while all of this was being borne by us that the Prussian dynasty ordered our death as a return for the service of sacrifice in Christianity we were doing Germany.

Surely, surely there is no German citizen of this, my country, living in America, professing his fealty to God and his devotion to America, who can give that action his approval. I mention it that the world such as I represent that may read my views may understand how to my heart the revolution in my feeling came when I could behold such ingratitude and such perfidy.

But, sir, even then I can go one step further with these war lords of Germany. I can understand, sir, how the shooting by a submarine of a belligerent ship—say one of Britain—which might have carried American passengers could have readily transpired and an American be killed. I can understand, sir, the equity of the claim that we ought not to go to war because that American had imperiled his country by taking passage upon the ship of a belligerent. In that, from my point of view, there is merit, I acknowledge. But, sir, what shall be said when these ships, carrying the American flag, its stars unfurled to the breeze and lighted by the sun by day, gleaming with their sister stars in heaven at night—the ship wearing upon the bow and at the stern—fore and aft—her name as American; are crept upon as does the midnight assassin steal upon his victim in the dark, and shot to death without warning, without opportunity to escape, without one word that could give chance of life to the innocents who were aboard? And these, as it afterwards develops, carrying not an ounce of ammunition, not a vestige of that which could be called contraband, with not an enemy of Germany aboard, none but the friends of that United States who were then seeking peace for Germany, and peace without victory from her opponents? Where is the German fellow man in America or in Christendom who can mitigate, far less justify, that dark and bloody deed? Where is the noble nation but cries to heaven in the shrieks of the victims for the deep damnation of their taking off?

Ah, sir, in that dark night, in the distant seas, miles and miles from home—there they are; little children floating with their pale faces upward, where the Christ that has ever welcomed little children could at least beckon their souls to His bosom. Manly men, poor humble sailors, whose only purpose was to gain a living, little dreaming of warfare against any human being; there they are, lifeless upon the waves, never again to see the humble place which they called home. Mothers and children to bid farewell forever—no wrong done by these poor seamen. Yet, sir, in hundreds, there these American seamen lay, a sacrifice to but their duty and patriotism to their own country; and dastardly and inexcusable as that act of murder is, up to this hour these princes and war lords of Prussia, who live by the sceptre and will die only by the sword, have neither renounced the deed, expressed regret for the act, or expressed pity for the dead. Shall it be said, as to this, that we have not a leg to stand on, as my eminent friend the distinguished Sen-

ator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], would have as the text of his valiant defense?

Mr. President, you can readily see that there was nothing else that this country could do than what she has done. Could she, sirs, accept these situations supinely, and surrender before the world, making herself contemptible before mankind, and stand humiliated before her own children as unworthy of longer existence in a world of civilized lands?

It was the elder Pitt, sir, speaking of your country and mine, Mr. President, referring to America in the House of Parliament, who said:

I rejoice that America will not do that thing which only slaves could have done; for, if she can be the slave that they would have her, she would be fit material to make slaves of others.

We could not be such slaves that we could endure the atrocious murder of our people, at a time when we were befriending its assailants, without raising our voice and our hands in deadly protest; aye, sir, even if it means to the death. Without such protest there could be no freedom in America, no justice in the United States, no sovereignty in this Republic.

Therefore, when the eminent chancellor would have this country understand that we had no cause for war and would have that go out to the loyal German citizens of this country, I refute it upon the record, and before it say: "There is the ocular proof" that no nation in the world could have endured so long, much less longer, than we.

Sir, we are not making a war of revenge. We are not striking with vengeance against the German people. It has been scoffed by certain German press in this land that we make this distinction. I behold that among the leaders of the Prussian military dynasty that they frown and sneer at the suggestion of the distinction. The form of this statement is ours, but the phrase is theirs. We adopt it—not that we do not mean it, but we take their distinction, for the parallel situation was characterized by them as we characterize it here ourselves—a war against emperors, not against a people forced by emperors to do their bidding.

Mr. President, in 1870 France, to please the vagary and whim of the little lady from Spain who had become the wife of the Emperor, laid her hand hard upon the shipping and commerce of Germany in the ports of Havre and Marseille. Germany protested, and France then visited further indignities that she might have what her Empress called "her little war." Then, sirs, it became necessary for Germany to defend herself against the aggressions of the Emperor of France, and, with one affront borne until another, she dismissed the minister from France who had been accredited to Germany, as we dismissed for similar affronts from Germany Count von Bernstorff. Then Germany announced the necessity of war against France. But one of the very first announcements by Bismarck was, "We are not warring against the French people, but against the Emperor." He recognized, as we recognize in Germany, that it was not the people who wanted such conflict with their friends. Then, sir, when this war which Germany waged against France was in process we hear Von Moltke, writing of it, frankly say to the world:

The war of 1870–71 arose from just such relations. A Napoleon on the throne of France was bound to establish his rights by political and military successes. * * * The liberal spirit of the epoch was opposed to the autocratic government of the Emperor, * * * and one fine day the nation was informed by its representatives that it desired war with Germany.

Then, when finally the people of France were compelled, of course, to follow the order of the Emperor—as the humble people of Germany, for whom we speak and unto whose sad hearts we send our sympathy, are being called on, of course, to follow the orders of the German Emperor—then, says Von Moltke, adverting to this sadly:

The inhabitants of that district also became troublesome. The Government had provided them with arms and organized a general rising. The Germans, who up to that period had made war on the Emperor alone, were now forced to use their arms against the people.

Sir, it is therefore their distinction, rightfully made, which we adopt. It is the Emperor of Germany and his war lords against whom we have been forced to defend. Those who, having drawn the sword of war against us, force us to draw ours, which has slept so long in the scabbard. We do it that we might defend our rights and maintain the honor of our country, not against the German people but against the Emperor; and we, too, as did Von Moltke then—before Germany grew to this autocratic point of emulating Napoleon—bemoan if it shall be necessary that the arms put in the hands of the German people shall ever assail America, that she may have to vanquish them in death.

Mr. President, war is upon us. The loyal German of this country will take his stand. I know him. He lives in a little home all around the great West in the places of which I speak and where I live. He is a quiet, law-abiding citizen. The catalogues of the criminal courts show less of him than of many other nationalities. The divorce courts know him not at all. He pays his debts, he attends his church, he educates his children, he carries poetry in his heart, art in his nature, and in his genial kindness is always complacent to mankind, and only when driven to strife will he take it up. He longs to be loyal; he wants to be faithful—a true friend, a loyal citizen, and a Godly man.

Then, sir, it is this hour wherein he is to be tested. But we have no fears of that test. He will remember when he is serving his country, America, that the Englishman made up the armies of the American colonies against England in 1776; That the victory over England made a nobler England because of his fight for liberty for America against his mother country. By that fight and its victory he taught his motherland the universal ballot and brought her to a theory of democracy, educated her in republicanism, by which the children of his successors in after days enjoyed the liberty for which he gave his sacrifice as an Englishman under the colonies of America.

These loyal Germans will contemplate that the Frenchmen who came as Huguenots in the Carolinas and the French Catholics in Louisiana opposed the imperial power of France and joined this their adopted country in conflict against her in 1813 and 1814 to protect America—to war against the imperial rulers of France. These loyal Germans will remember that when France was vanquished by America, behold France took a new form and was new born, and it was through the sacrifice here that the Frenchman in America taught his mother France to never again persecute by oppression or injustice. The Frenchman in America taught France how she had to follow the lessons of her revolutions and do justice to men.

Oh, these Germans who were Germans on yesterday are Americans to-day. They will realize as they fight under the flag of America for America they also fight for a Germany that will transmit to the children of their kinsmen in the land from which they came a new spirit and a reconsecrated people. There will be a new ruling class who will again recognize the power of democracy and justice, taught them by the sons of the fathers who had fled from the persecution of a motherland to the liberty of their adopted one.

So, sirs, they have nothing to regret. Senators, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], probably the eminent Senators from Iowa, and my eminent colleague, Senator SHERMAN, and myself more wholly represent in Congress more of the Germans in America than any other representative in Congress. For that, sir, I wish to speak in condemnation of how cruel it is that these masters—the spirits of an imperial dynasty—should have brought upon the children of their fatherland, upon the children of their adopted land the miserable fate with which they are to be inflicted. Theirs is now to war either against their motherland for their adopted country or to war against their adopted country for their motherland. In either way their poor hearts are to be torn to bleeding as their children look to their faces of father and mother and demand the answer to the question, Which way?

Then, sir, to be put, as they must, under suspicion as long as they live amongst us; to have their children under the ban of accusation as long as they live; to feel themselves under a cloud; to feel themselves as pariahs—as Ishmaelites—with their hand lifted against all and all hands lifted against them. Sad, unhappy people. Is there a noble man who occupies a seat here whose heart will not bleed for the future state of those who will now be in misery and agony whatever may be the lot they shall choose to cast?

I say, sir, it was not America which brought upon them this destiny. It was their forebears who, under the guidance of military mania for destruction and death, wrought upon them this havoc.

Sir, we contemplate them this day. These Germans of our land are tested in their devotion. For myself, sir, I have no fear that they will not prove in the test the loyalty which we certified and which the President of the United States conceded in his message when he referred to those who as long as they were loyal should have exception of every form of the heavy hand of war. He knew that he could depend upon all of them save those few who have been made the confederates of spies and accessories in espionage, conspiracy, incendiarism, and murder all for the lack of understanding upon their part, let us believe, as to where their fealty lay; being misguided by not having the truth as we see it. This deception upon them is still being continued against them by distinguished representatives of the German Government in its imperial councils. This ignorance of the facts on the part of our German-Ameri-

cans is the author of their confusion. Yet let us believe, sir, all will yet come well.

Mr. President, yesterday was in the calendar of saints and religion what we call Easter. It is a day when the land is flowered with lilies and splashed with lilacs. It marks that era when the Christ of humanity rose and all the world echoed, "He has risen." He arose that He may prove to all the earth that He died that men might live and that He lives again that men might not die, but have eternal life.

Sir, if it be true, as true it be, that the Christ died that men may live, so, sir, men must die that nations may live. But, sir, they, too, rise again in the cerements of grandeur to behold their country in the vigor of glory reincarnated and reborn by their sacrifice made for liberty, justice, and immortality.

So, sir, we proceed this day sadly, but we proclaim the necessity for war. The die is cast, and in the words which the President of the United States closed the final sentence of his message, adopting the inspiring sentence of Martin Luther, "We can do no other"; and it is this which is now before us.

Mr. President, I have done. This Senate, as has been its custom, characterized its patience with its usual generosity to me.

I have presented this record as I see it for myself and to those who may be interested in the truth of our position.

Our cause is one in which the loyal German citizen has the heart of 1848, when Schurz led the forces for liberty. It, sir, is the cause when Franz von Siegel, together with Schurz, led its cause for justice and freedom in America. It is the cause that Herkimer and Von Steuben gave all they had for. The cause of 1776. To-day again, behold us, ours is the spirit of 1776; the German amongst us—now all American—his is the heart of 1830 and 1848. Together we will move to the accomplishment of justice for America that we may do no wrong to any other.

Mr. President, there have been differences between our distinguished sides, the Democrats and Republicans. There have been differences in the past so grave and serious as to have sent us to clash in war—the sons of the South against the sons of the North. They poured their blood freely in single stream that from their sacrifice the Union might live.

Sir, there are no differences in this hour. We are truly together. Whatever grievances then existed have all been appeased, and to-day to our countrymen we point the way to speedy triumph. It is in her unity of action, in the harmony of purpose, in the devotion of our countrymen to the one single object—victory to our country in the cause of justice. This as our watchward we now throw out before the world, and to the beholding earth and in reply to every question of why and wherefore of our cause, we reply "This is America. It is United America, all one, all together."

Mr. President, it was my lot, sir, to be in Russia on the day of the first Duma, when unhappily the building gave way under an assault and many were borne out dead. There came out of the ruins of the building a lost picture of Vereshchagin. I bring it to your attention as I bring my remarks to a close. It is entitled "The Conquerors." On the canvas they move forth out of the gloom; there is Attila, there is Genghis Khan, there are Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar. Then, sir, in the caravan are those who in the shadow would emulate the example of these mighty murderers of men and civilization. They twirl on their lances the heads of babies; they trample beneath the iron hoofs of their horses the screaming mothers; they bear down and drive through with their spears the fleeing men; and in blood and death devastate the land.

They come on—these conquerors—making cobblestones of the heads of the decapitated thousands—they are the mad captains of war conquest.

Hidden in the dust are the crouching forms of those—long the foes of each—the poor peasant. One a mother in blouse of blue, one a man in coat of red. They were the hereditary enemies from their tribes. They beheld each other—when the blue said to the red, "What, you here? Yes; and you, my sister." She said, "I am here. Look and behold those who come." He says to her, "We have been enemies too long. Come, behold them. *There is our enemy.* We must upon them or we will be under them. Come, give me your hand—together." She says, "Yes; against those together we fight for children, for home, for country." He cries, "Then together let us go against them, that we may live." Then, sir, for us it is together—for home, for children, for country! To-day, you of the blue, you of the gray—the brown men from Porto Rico, the yellow men from the Philippine Islands, the loyal men of all nationalities—all for America. It is the call—together—for home, for children, for country—that we may march again to vindicate before the world the dream of Lincoln—the realization of a Government that shall be by the people, of the people, for the people, *and shall not perish from the earth.*

I thank you. [Applause by the Senators.]

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of House bill 13, the Army appropriation bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with amendments.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that the bill be read for action upon the amendments of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). Without objection, the request of the Senator from Oregon will be granted unanimously.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, under the subhead "Office of the Chief of Staff," on page 4, after line 22, to insert:

Relief of Matthew E. Hanna, late captain, Tenth Cavalry, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Matthew E. Hanna, late captain, Tenth Cavalry, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $532.18, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him as special disbursing agent from an allotment from the appropriation for contingencies of the Army, 1912, to pay the unusual and extraordinary official expenses of the special mission of Army officers detailed by the President and the Secretary of War to witness the autumn maneuvers of the German Army in 1911, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 5, after line 12, to insert:

Relief of Maj. Powell C. Fauntleroy, Medical Corps, United States Army: That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Maj. Powell C. Fauntleroy, Medical Corps, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $601.40, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him from an allotment of funds of the Quartermaster Corps, 1913, furnished him for the purpose of paying expenditures incurred as an official observer of the War Department of the Turko-Balkan War, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 6, to insert:

Relief of Lieut. Col. George O. Squier, Signal Corps, United States Army.—That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lieut. Col. George O. Squier, Signal Corps, United States Army, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $41.46, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him as military attaché to the American embassy at London from an allotment of the appropriation, contingencies, military information section, General Staff Corps, 1913 and 1914, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, after line 13, to insert:

Relief of Capt. Sherman Miles, Field Artillery, United States Army.—That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Capt. Sherman Miles, Field Artillery, United States Army, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $57.95, which amount is hereby appropriated, being the amount of money expended by him as military attaché to the American legation at Bucharest, Roumania, from an allotment of the appropriation, contingencies, military information section, General Staff Corps, 1913, and which amount was deposited by him in the Treasury of the United States from private funds.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 7, to insert:

Credit in the accounts of Maj. Henry L. Newbold, Seventh Field Artillery, United States Army.—The accounting officers of the Treasury are authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Maj. Henry L. Newbold, Seventh Field Artillery, United States Army, the sum of $319.37, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, after line 7, to insert:

Credit in the accounts of Col. Jesse McI. Carter, Cavalry, United States Army.—The accounting officers of the Treasury are authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Col. Jesse McI. Carter, Cavalry, United States Army, the sum of $352.23, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, after line 13, to insert:

Credit in the accounts of Lieut. Col. T. Bentley Mott, United States Army (retired).—The accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow and credit in the accounts of Lieut. Col. T. Bentley Mott, United States Army (retired), the sum of $55.33, disallowed against him on the books of the Treasury.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, after line 20, to insert:

For reimbursement to First Lieut. William C. Short, Sixteenth Infantry, Secretary of the School of Musketry, Fort Sill, Okla., of money expended by him in the purchase of two motorcycles for the use of the school, $531.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Office of the Chief Signal Officer," on page 10, line 22, after the word "otherwise," to strike out "$9,000,000" and insert "$11,800,000," so as to make the clause read:

Signal Service of the Army: For expenses of the Signal Service of the Army, as follows: Purchase, equipment, and repair of field electric telegraphs, radio installations, signal equipments and stores, binocular glasses, telescopes, heliostats, and other necessary instruments, including necessary meteorological instruments for use on target ranges; motorcycles and motor-driven vehicles used for technical and official purposes; professional and scientific books of reference, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, and maps, for use in the office of the Chief Signal Officer; war balloons and airships and accessories, including their maintenance and repair; telephone apparatus (exclusive of exchange service) and maintenance of the same; electrical installations and maintenance at military posts; fire-control and direction apparatus and material for Field Artillery; maintenance and repair of military lines and cables, including salaries of civilian employees, supplies, general repairs, reserved supplies, and other expenses connected with the duty of collecting and transmitting information for the Army by telegraph or otherwise, $11,800,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 10, line 24, after the word "than," to strike out "$8,000,000" and insert "$10,800,000," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, however, That not more than $10,800,000 of the foregoing appropriation shall be used for the purchase, manufacture, maintenance, operation, and repair of airships and other aerial machines, buildings for equipment and personnel, and other accessories necessary in the Aviation Section; and for the purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles which may be necessary for the Aviation Section.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 11, after line 18, to strike out:

Provided further, That the sum of $1,000,000 may be expended out of the appropriations for aviation provided by the act of August 29, 1916, for the acquisition, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, of sites and construction of buildings for aviation schools.

And, at the top of page 12, to insert:

Provided further, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to acquire, by purchase, donation, or by condemnation, such land sites throughout the United States as are immediately necessary for the permanent establishment of aviation schools, aviation posts, and experimental aviation stations and proving grounds for the United States Army.

Provided further, That in order to carry this legislation into effect the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to use such portion as may be necessary of the $13,281,666 appropriated for the Signal Service of the Army in the act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917: *Provided, however,* That not more than $4,500,000 shall be made available for this purpose: *Provided further,* That the funds thus authorized for use in the purchase of land sites may also be used for the improvement and preparation of land and waters contiguous thereto; for the construction, maintenance, and repair of permanent barracks, quarters, stables, storehouses, magazines, administration buildings, hangars, sheds, shops, garages, and other permanent buildings necessary for the shelter of aviation troops, public animals, stores and equipment, and for administration purposes; for the purchase of all equipment and material necessary for the installation, operation, and repair of all water, sewer, electric-light and electric-power systems; for the construction of roads, walks, and wharves; for the disposal of drainage; for the clearing, grading, rolling, seeding, dredging, and otherwise improving and preparing land and water sites; for rental and lease of grounds for aviation fields, camp sites, and other military aviation purposes; for rental and lease of buildings or portions of buildings for occupation by aviation troops, and for use as storehouses, offices, shops, garages, and for other military aviation purposes; for the purchase of office furniture and office equipment; for the purchase and installation of special equipment, supplies, and accessories necessary for the establishment of experimental stations and proving grounds, aviation schools, and aviation posts; for the purchase of such textbooks, books of reference, scientific and professional papers, periodicals and magazines, and the purchase of modern instruments and material for theoretical and practical instruction in all experimental stations and proving grounds and aviation schools and aviation posts: *Provided further,* That the funds thus authorized for these purposes shall be available until expended: *And provided further,* That not more than $600,000 of the foregoing sum shall be used for the purchase of land.

Mr. WEEKS. I have an amendment to the amendment which I desire to offer.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I would very much prefer if the Senator would wait until the committee amendments have been disposed of, and then amendments to be offered by Senators will be in order.

Mr. WEEKS. This is an amendment to the committee amendment, and I supposed that this was the time to offer it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Very well, that is all right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of New Mexico in the chair). The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After the words "United States Army," page 12, at the end of line 6, insert the following proviso:

Provided, That no part of the foregoing appropriation shall be expended for the purchase of aviation fields if it is found practicable to lease suitable sites for such purposes on more favorable terms.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to that amendment; but I suppose it refers to the appropriations hereafter made, and should come later on in the bill.

Mr. WEEKS. I feel quite content that the chairman of the committee should make any change of that character which he thinks necessary in inserting the provision. It seems to me that this is the place where the amendment should come in.

My purpose in offering the amendment is that I have been informed that there are available aviation fields which would be leased to the Government on long terms without any material, if any, compensation, and it seemed to me under those circumstances instead of purchasing these fields we should make leases. I am quite willing, however, to have the amendment inserted at such place as the Senator from Oregon may think proper.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am not opposing it at all; but the Senator will notice that it refers to the preceding appropriation, and no appropriation is made preceding the amendment to the amendment. All the appropriations are made subsequent to the place where the amendment to the amendment is proposed to be inserted. I have no objection to the amendment, and if it is not in the proper place we will fix it.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to suggest to the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Oregon that it seems to me the proviso ought to go in after line 21, on page 13. That is where the appropriation has been made.

Mr. President, while I have the floor I should like to say a word on this subject. I suppose it is contemplated that we will have quite a number of these grounds.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes. It was shown, I will say to the Senator, by Gen. Squier, Chief of the Aviation Section, that they are wholly unprepared as to the grounds and as to the machines, too.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I understand. I am reminded of the fact, as I understand it, that in Mexico, where we undertook to use the machines, on account of the altitude they found that it was not practicable, and they had to devise different machines and make changes. I presume the Government will have aviation stations in various parts of the country and at different altitudes, and there are a good many places where such grounds could be had on the public lands of the United States.

I suggest to the Senator that it would be a good idea, it seems to me, to have some amendment inserted that would make provision by which the Secretary of the Interior would have authority, on the request of the War Department, to set aside public lands that could be used for that purpose. I should like to inquire whether there is anything in the bill to that effect?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, when Gen. Squier, the head of the Signal Service, was before the committee, he stated that the department had to some extent examined several places in the West which were located in different altitudes in the Rocky Mountains and elsewhere which had been brought to its attention, and that there were many places where the public lands might possibly be used for this purpose. He stated that that matter would come up later in a definite way, as to the transportation facilities for getting in and getting out, and so forth. I rather think that the Secretary of War already has authority to so use the public lands.

Mr. NORRIS. I was in doubt about that. I very much doubt whether he could set public land aside for such a purpose. If he has authority to do so, then no legislation is necessary.

Mr. WARREN. Undoubtedly an order from the President would cover the matter.

Mr. NORRIS. Certainly he could set aside the land for some other purpose, and it might then be used for this purpose; but I can not see any objection, at least, to a definite statement in the law giving authority to set aside the public lands for this specific purpose; and it seems to me that ought to be done.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. I quite agree with the Senator from Nebraska; but I wish to call his attention to the fact that the President already has a right, under the law, to make such withdrawal. He may do so under the act of June 10, 1910, I think.

Mr. NORRIS. But has the President the authority to do so for this purpose?

Mr. SMOOT. He has authority to withdraw lands for this purpose.

Mr. NORRIS. Then there is no legislation necessary to specifically give such authority.

Mr. SMOOT. No such legislation is necessary.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, I fully agree with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] that this amendment should be adopted. We discussed this matter very fully in the committee; and after the discussion in the committee we were informed that there were several places where we could secure ground free of charge. This morning I had read into the RECORD a telegram offering not only to furnish the ground for this purpose, but also to furnish funds to equip at least five machines. There is no question but that the people of this Nation are very much in favor of encouraging this arm of the Army whenever they can, and I believe they should have that opportunity—that is, the opportunity of furnishing any ground for Government use along these lines which they may desire to furnish. For that reason I sincerely hope that the amendment will be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, on page 14, after line 2, to insert:

Provided further, That hereafter nothing in section 25 of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, shall be held to prevent the detail of an officer in the aviation section of the Signal Corps.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 14, after line 7, to insert:

Provided further, That hereafter mileage to officers in the Aviation Section, Signal Corps, traveling on duty in connection with aviation service shall be paid from the appropriation for the work in connection with which the travel is performed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee whether or not his committee considered the proposition of making a separate bureau of aeronautics; as to whether or not they thought that service could be conducted under its present management; that is to say, partly under the office of the Secretary of War and partly under the office of the Secretary of the Navy, they being greatly pressed with the enormous business they have in hand and unable to give a subject of this vast importance attention until after all other matters have been attended to. I understand that at the beginning this service had a divided authority in England and likewise in France, but that afterwards it became necessary, in order to make a success of this great arm of the service, to place it under a separate bureau, so that it might have separate attention and full attention. I understand that there is at this time a separate bureau in England for the management of aeronautics, and that they have appropriated a vast sum of money—possibly as much as a hundred million dollars in England alone—and that they have as many as 10,000 machines operating at this time. Probably they have the same number of machines engaged in that service in France, with a like appropriation. I was wondering whether or not the matter had been considered by the Committee on Military Affairs or whether or not it was deemed that the service could be managed, vast as it is and important as it is and will be, so far as this country is concerned, under divided authority.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that, so far as it has been possible to establish a separate bureau, it has been done in the department itself. Gen. Squier has recently been assigned to take charge of the aviation section of the Signal Corps. I think that, with our present facilities for aviation, under its present management it can be handled without the creation of a distinctively separate bureau; but as aviation grows I am satisfied that there will have to be some additional legislation in order to handle this most important branch of the Army.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, is it not true that Gen. Squier, who is at the head of Army aviation, has nothing whatever to do with naval aviation?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is entirely true; he has nothing to do with naval aviation.

Mr. WATSON. So that there is no joint board in the management of one service of aviation?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is none at all. I am in line with the thought of the Senator. I think that what he suggests ought to be done, and probably it will have to be done a little later on, as these preparations are made.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Oregon, having the pending bill in charge, if in the hearings there was any proposition to create a department of aeronautics at this time? Has there been a proposition from either the War Department or the Navy Department recommending the creation of such a bureau?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There has not yet been. There was no discussion in the Senate Committee on Military Affairs on that particular subject, nor do I think it was discussed in the other House; at least, I do not recall that it was. I understand that there is a bill now pending for that purpose, but it has not been discussed in either of the committees, nor do I know that such a bill has been reported.

Mr. SMOOT. I think such a bill has been introduced both in the Senate and in the other House; and I should judge from the telegrams which I have been receiving for the last few days that the senders of such telegrams were under the impression that the substance of the bill would be offered as an amendment to the pending appropriation bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No suggestion of that kind has come from either the Department of War or the Navy Department.

Mr. SMOOT. It has not been recommended by either department?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] is quite right about the statements which have been made by correspondents to different Senators. I think they received the impression which he states from the bill which was offered in the Senate. It had been the intention of the committee to take this matter up as a separate measure. That will certainly have to be done; but the committee, after discussing the matter, came to the conclusion that it would be better to take it up as a separate measure rather than to offer it as an amendment to the pending bill.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, undoubtedly the question asked by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] opens a field which may be wisely considered, and the suggestions which he makes should undoubtedly be given consideration. In the present status, however, I think I am justified in saying that there is the closest harmony between the head of the Aviation Corps of the Army and the similar officer in the Naval Establishment. In the purchase of machines and as to all other matters which relate to that service, so far as can be done under present conditions, the work will be carried on in an economical and businesslike way.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I understand that to be purely voluntary.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is entirely voluntary.

Mr. WATSON. There is nothing in the law requiring that. It occurs to me that this service is of such vast importance that it ought to have special attention. We have now, as I am told, about 100 machines for use in the entire Army, and those are all training machines. I understand that we have not a single battle aeroplane. Of course, we all understand the vast importance of this particular arm of the service. The only reason why I was making the inquiry was to ascertain whether or not the subject had been discussed or whether or not it was in the line of future activity so far as relates to the work of the committee.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, under the head of "Pay of the Army, Quartermaster Corps," subhead "Officers of the line," on page 15, line 15, after the word "line," to strike out "$11,500,000" and insert "$12,500,000," so as to read:

For pay of officers of the line, $12,500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, after the word "service," at the end of line 16, to strike out "$2,000,000" and insert "$2,153,373.91," so as to read:

QUARTERMASTER CORPS.

OFFICERS OF THE LINE.

For pay of officers of the line, $12,500,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be paid to any officer of the line of the Army who shall be appointed or promoted in violation of any of the terms

next hereinafter specified: That of the whole number of officers of Cavalry, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery Corps, Infantry, and of Engineers serving with the enlisted force of the Corps of Engineers necessary to fill vacancies created or caused in said arms of the service by reason of the second increment, authorized in said arms by act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, not more than one-fourth shall be appointed or promoted until, exclusive of enlisted men belonging to said arms on June 30, 1916, at least one-fourth of the second increment of enlisted men authorized for said arms by said act shall have been enlisted; not more than one-half of said whole number of officers shall be appointed or promoted until at least one-half of said increment of enlisted men shall have been enlisted; and not more than three-fourths of said whole number of officers shall be appointed or promoted until at least three-fourths of said increment of enlisted men shall have been enlisted. And all officers promoted in accordance with the terms of this proviso shall take rank, respectively, from the dates on which their promotions shall have become lawful under the terms of this proviso. Additional pay to officers for length of service, $2,153,373.91.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, after the amendment just adopted, to insert:

Provided, That all general officers shall hereafter be of the grade of major general with the existing relative rank, the senior one-third of whom shall have the pay and allowances of that grade, and the junior two-thirds the pay and allowances now authorized by law for brigadier generals, which latter grade is hereby abolished: *And provided*, That the Chief of Staff while so serving shall have the rank of general and take precedence over all other officers of the Army; and of the general officers commanding the three territorial departments in the United States which may be designated by the President or commanding the land forces in the Philippines, Hawaiian Islands, and Panama Canal Zone not more than three, in the discretion of the President, shall while so serving have the rank of general and not more than three the rank of lieutenant general; and, in the discretion of the President, one of the two general officers of the General Staff Corps may have the rank of lieutenant general while so serving, but in no case shall there be more than three officers of that rank: *Provided further*, That the pay of a general officer while serving with the rank of general and the pay of a general officer while serving with the rank of lieutenant general as hereinbefore provided, shall be, respectively, $10,000 and $9,000 per annum, with such allowances as may be fixed by the Secretary of War: *Provided further*, That should a general officer while serving with the rank of general or lieutenant general as hereinbefore provided be retired from active service, he shall be retired with the rank and the retired pay to which he would be entitled had he not been serving with the rank of general or lieutenant general.

Provided, That persons who have heretofore held commissions in the Regular Army and are recommissioned by the President under the terms of section 24 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, shall be so recommissioned as additional officers.

Provided further, That no colonel of Cavalry, Field Artillery, or Infantry shall be assigned or attached to any regiment of those arms while such regiment is in command of another colonel assigned or attached thereto.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. WEEKS, and Mr. VARDAMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President, I do not desire to take up time, but I should like to ask the chairman of the committee, or some member of the committee who understands this amendment, to give an explanation of it. I am not quite able to understand the provision commencing in line 17, page 16, with regard to general officers, and so forth.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, before an explanation is made I should like to offer an amendment to that provision which I am going to submit and discuss later on if it should be necessary. I ask to have it read and pending.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the proposed amendment.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out after the word "That," in line 23, page 16, down to and including the word "rank," line 11, page 17, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

The Chief of Staff while so serving shall have the rank of general and have precedence over all other officers of the Army: *Provided further*, That in the discretion of the President general officers commanding military departments, including the assistant chief of staff, either in continental United States or in the Philippines, Hawaii, or Panama, while so serving may have the rank of lieutenant general: *And provided further*, That, except as a result of conspicuous service while in contact with the enemy, no appointment shall be made to the grade of lieutenant general other than in the order of lineal rank as borne on the Army Register.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me for interrupting him, I join in the request of the Senator from South Dakota for an explanation of the pending proviso, my purpose being, if the explanation is given and is not satisfactory, to make a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, if the chairman of the committee will permit me, I desire to say a few words in explanation of this amendment, unless he desires to take the floor at this time.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I should be very glad to have the Senator from Wyoming proceed.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I ask for order. This is a very important matter, and we are all hungry for light on the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will request that order be preserved on the floor and also in the galleries.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, in the make-up of the Army there are various grades of officers from lieutenant to general. Beginning at the bottom, the grades are second lieutenant, first lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, brigadier general, major general, lieutenant general, and general. In time of profound peace, when the Army was small, the offices of general and lieutenant general were for the time being done away with; and so the highest officer we now have in the service is a major general. Under the arrangement of armies in this country and others, so far as brigadier generals are concerned, ours is the only country where that rank is now found, except in the way of what might be called brevet rank. Instead of brigadier generals and major generals there are the ranks of major general, senior grade, and major general, junior grade, the same as in the case of rear admirals in the Navy. Rear admirals in the Navy are of two grades, namely, senior and junior, and they draw pay corresponding with that of major general and brigadier general in the Army, respectively.

In the Navy one half of the rear admirals have rank corresponding to major general in the Army and the other half draw the lesser pay and have junior rank, drawing pay corresponding to the pay of brigadier generals. This proposition is more modest than that of the Navy and is more economical. The entire expense of the changes involved in this provision could not exceed $18,000 a year on the present organization basis. It provides that of the whole number of the present brigadier and major generals of the Army, added together, one-third—instead of one-half, as in the Navy—shall draw the pay of senior and two-thirds shall draw the pay of junior major generals. It does not disturb the relations now existing as to pay, except that it gives two or three more brigadiers the pay of major general.

Formerly the pay of a general was $13,500, the pay of lieutenant general $11,000, the pay of major general $8,000, and of brigadier general $6,000. This provision for temporary bestowal of rank allows the pay of a general to be only $10,000 and that of a lieutenant general $9,000 while so serving. When retirement time comes these officers are to retire at only their basic rank and pay of major general.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wyoming yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WARREN. I yield to the Senator with pleasure.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Does the Senator think that this adds to the efficiency of the Army, or is it simply for the purpose of increasing the salaries of officers?

Mr. WARREN. I do believe it will add materially to the efficiency of the Army. If, indeed, a major general should command the different units all the way up—a division, an army corps, or an army—then why should not a lieutenant or why should not a captain command all the different units up to a brigade? It is a matter of greater responsibility as compared to lesser responsibility.

I was about to say that a brigade is composed of three regiments and is commanded, under our present system, by a brigadier general. Under the plan proposed it would be commanded by a major general of the junior rank. A division comprises three brigades or, we will say, nine regiments and is the command of a major general. An army corps consists of three divisions or more, and should be under the command of a lieutenant general. An army, which may consist of two or three or more corps, should be under the command of a general.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wyoming yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. WARREN. Certainly.

Mr. NELSON. Is it the proposal to abolish brigades in the organization of the Army?

Mr. WARREN. No.

Mr. NELSON. Then, we are still to have regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps?

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Why not retain the rank of brigadier general, then, for the commanding officer of a brigade? Why have two sets of major generals, one major general commanding a division, another major general commanding a corps, and another major general commanding a brigade? Why is not a brigadier general the appropriate officer for a brigade, so long as we retain that organization in the Army?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, that opens up the subject rather broadly. If the Senator thinks there is an inconsist-

ency in a major general being assigned to two bodies of troops of different size, what must he think when it goes all the way up, so that every body of troops, in proportion of every size, from above 3,000 men up to an army of 100,000 or more men, would also be in command of an officer with only the rank of a major general regardless of size of command, with all the responsibility and expense, and so forth, and without extra pay or emoluments in recognition of his service? It was thought by the committee—and I think the Senator will concur in that view—that an officer having a large command of that kind ought to have at least some higher rank than one who has command of a division of nine regiments or less.

This provision is patterned very largely, Mr. President, after the make-up of the armies in foreign countries, and, furthermore, it is very much like the organization of the Navy. When the naval appropriation bill passed in 1915 it provided that there should be three admirals, corresponding to the rank of general, and three vice admirals, corresponding in rank to lieutenant generals in the Army. In a later act, which passed August 29, 1916, provision was made for another admiral in the Navy.

Now, this provision is temporary. It simply provides that the President may designate some of the major generals, not to exceed three, who may act as generals and receive $10,000 a year during the pleasure of the department or of the President. He may also temporarily appoint three as lieutenant generals, to receive $9,000, which is $1,000 more than they receive as major generals. It seems to me it is rather inconsistent for us to undertake to restrict the higher officers to the same grade as when the Army was small in time of peace, and when the commanding officers were of lower rank, especially now, when we are at war and expect to raise large armies.

I have heard one Senator say that he is very much attached to the title "brigadier," and we ought never to change it. Well, perhaps so; but that Senator in serving as a cadet and being ready to go out in the Civil War, as he was, and as others of us did, had to use a muzzle-loading rifle, the butt of which he put on the ground, then drew the ramrod, took the cartridge from his belt, and went through the motions of Hardee's tactics, or others, as to loading and firing those old-time muskets. That is the way our men fought at that time, shooting one ball at a time and taking several minutes to load. I think it is about as consistent that we should go back to that system as that we should be hidebound and not be willing in some measure to keep up with the improvement of the times and with the practice of other countries.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, does not the Senator think that we would be in a very much better position if we should pay a little more attention to the old ways of doing things—not in the conduct of armies, perhaps, but in matters of economy?

Mr. WARREN. Did the Senator hear me say that the highest possible expense—it may never cost a dollar; it rests entirely with the President—of this provision can not exceed $18,000 a year, and does not the Senator think we might get that much benefit from it?

Mr. VARDAMAN. But what is the necessity for the provision? The Senator does not think it is going to add to the efficiency of the Army, does he?

Mr. WARREN. I most certainly do. Does the Senator expect men to do their best when an officer who may have command of a few soldiers on an island or of one or two regiments has the rank and emoluments of an officer who has command of an army?

Mr. VARDAMAN. I will tell the Senator that there is just as much patriotism and as much efficient service in the man who gets $15 a month as in the man who gets $10,000 a year.

Mr. WARREN. Well, Mr. President, I do not care to discuss that part of it, because it needs no discussion.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WARREN. I will.

Mr. NELSON. I call the Senator's attention to the fact—of course, the Senator knows about it—that practically this bill provides for four full generals, the Chief of Staff and three other generals, and then, in addition to that, it provides for three lieutenant generals. All the other general officers will be major generals, with no break between colonels and major generals. Is not that the effect of the bill?

Mr. WARREN. No, Mr. President; the effect of the bill is as the Senator has stated, except it does not provide for a single additional general or lieutenant general, except as it simply gives the President the privilege of delegating to six of the major generals of the Army this temporary rank, which carries with it, for the time being, in the case of a general $2,000 a year additional, and in the case of a lieutenant general $1,000 a year additional over the present pay of major general.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wyoming yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. WARREN. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I call the Senator's attention to the proviso at the bottom of page 17, line 23, which reads as follows:

Provided, That persons who have heretofore held commissions in the Regular Army and are recommissioned by the President under the terms of section 24 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, shall be so recommissioned as additional officers.

Does not that provide for additional officers?

Mr. WARREN. That is not part of what I am discussing at all. That is to provide that, in recommissioning a brigadier general as a major general of the junior rank, the date of commission shall be as provided in the national-defense act. The Senator will notice there that it refers to the defense act.

Mr. McKELLAR. That provides also for additional officers.

Mr. WARREN. The defense act provided for certain officers to be commissioned as "additional officers." This does not add anything really. That is no part of the equation about which we are talking.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will ask the Senator this question if he will yield to me——

Mr. WARREN. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does not the Senator think it would be better to have this legislation brought forward in a separate general bill rather than in an appropriation bill at this time?

Mr. WARREN. No; Mr. President, I do not. I want to say that this is a matter in which I have no greater interest than has any other Senator. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] asked that the item be explained, and I hope to proceed to explain it as I understand it; but this is a matter that has been estimated for and was urgently placed before the committee by the Secretary of War, who made a special trip here to ask that this be done and that it be done in this bill, because in arranging military affairs in outlying territories, as well as here at home, there would naturally be, under the present circumstances, a greater number of troops, increased responsibility, and so forth.

When I was interrupted I was just alluding to what was done in the Navy. When that naval bill came up, in which it was provided that half of the rear admirals should be of the grade corresponding to that of brigadier general and half of the grade corresponding to that of major general, the then Senator from Florida [Mr. Bryan] unhappily not now a Member of the Senate—had charge of the bill. I raised this question of whether that was not unfair to the Army; and that Senator and others who were at that time interested in the naval bill acceded to the proposition, but asked that we not put it on the naval bill, which I considered entirely proper. Since then the Naval Affairs Committee and the Navy have been well satisfied with the arrangement, and have added another officer, a temporary admiral. They find that they get better administration.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, was it not argued in favor of increasing the rank of naval officers that it was done because our naval officers were most frequently in foreign lands, and when they were there they had to suffer the humiliation of being inferior in rank and position to the naval officers of other countries who had these increased ranks? That was the special argument, as I recall it, that was offered in the House in favor of the increase in naval ranks. Now, that does not apply, as it seems to me, here—certainly not to the same degree that it did to the Navy.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the Senator is correct about that, as to the purpose then reported; but it does apply, and applies perhaps more than the Senator thinks, especially when the Army officers of other countries come, as they do, to our shores and are entertained and taken in charge by our Army officers; and it applies when the Army and Navy meet in councils on strategy boards and elsewhere. At this time, when the liability is so apparent that we may have troops in another and foreign country, should we humiliate our officers by asking them to go into these councils where they are not equal, and others are all above them? You see, the others are major generals of the junior and senior rank, as we now purpose to make ours. They have even higher officers than lieutenant generals and generals. They have their field marshals and other higher places or grades. It is no creation of mine, but it has seemed to me that it is entirely proper and entirely consistent, and

just as consistent that we have those upper grades—and we had them formerly—as that other countries should have them.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WARREN. Allow me to finish this expression. They were embodied in the laws of America heretofore; and I happen to know—though I do not care to discuss that matter—it was against my wish, and for reasons that I thought were personal, that those offices were done away with.

As I remarked before, you have to stop somewhere. You can not hold all at one rank. If so, you might as well hold them all at the grade of major. Now, the man who has the proper spirit, as the Senator from Mississippi says, knows that he is going to do his duty anyway. But it is not doing the Army justice; it is not putting our officers on the proper basis with the officers of armies of other countries; it is not putting them on the proper basis between man and man that we should deny, at the present time, when there are wars and rumors of wars, that which has been heretofore granted and that which every other country grants in a very much greater measure than what we are asking for.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if it will not interrupt the Senator——

Mr. WARREN. I yield to the Senator now.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I should like to ask the Senator, if it is a mere matter of social prestige, why not make the promotions with the same pay that they would receive if they were to retain their present grade? Do not tax the American people for the social prestige of a very few men.

Mr. WARREN. So far as the money is concerned, the money value of officers is different in different countries. Their salaries are different and their costs are different. Now, formerly the generals had the salary for life; they had it when they retired, or three-quarters of it. In this case it is not asked that when they retire they shall receive any greater pay than the regular rank of major general carries. It is of that temporary nature which we in a way employ now as to certain positions. For instance, in the case of the superintendent of public buildings and grounds, it matters not whether he is a captain or what he is; he draws the pay of a colonel. He draws it while under that detail because of his greater responsibilities; he has greater risks, financial and otherwise. Take the superintendent of West Point: That superintendent is sometimes a captain; he is sometimes a major general; but he always receives pay not less than that of a colonel while he is there.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wyoming yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. WARREN. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. There is a general statute fixing this Army organization now; is there not?

Mr. WARREN. Up to certain points.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then of course this would be subject to a point of order, if a point of order were made, because it changes a general law.

Mr. WARREN. Not at all, I think.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It does not make any difference where they are put in, of course, if they become general statutes applying to the organization of the Army.

Mr. WARREN. Well, this is not a general statute in that sense, because this provides, as those two that I have just mentioned, temporary extra pay for the extra responsibility. It is a specific instruction following the appropriation.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I suggest that this amendment go over for the present. I have no doubt myself that it will be subject to a point of order if anyone of us wishes to make the point of order upon it. I should like to examine it a little further before I make that point.

Mr. WARREN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have no doubt it is subject to a point of order.

Mr. WARREN. I rose to explain the matter, as the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] very properly asked that it should be explained.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just one question?

Mr. WARREN. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I call his attention to the first line on page 17:

And of the general officers commanding the three territorial departments in the United States which may be designated by the President—

And so forth.

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Evidently since this bill was prepared there has been a change in the number of departments; and I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that this would probably not have the effect that it was intended to have if it should be passed now.

Mr. WARREN. I am glad the Senator called my attention to that; but the Senator from Massachusetts, whom I do not see in his seat now, has an amendment to offer, when we come to the final consideration of the matter, that will cover that ground.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, inasmuch as it has been requested that this amendment go over, I want to supplement what the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] said, and say to the Senate that this did not originate in the committee at all. It not only came down with the written request of the Secretary of War but his written request was followed by his personal presence before the committee, with the request that it be made a part of this bill, not because of the social prestige that it gives to the officers, as suggested by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN], but to equalize the rank of men in the Navy and men in the Army.

For instance, there is no reason why an admiral should outrank a major general. Of course it does not amount to much to the man who reads about it in the paper; but when these men come together, here is the oldest and most numerous branch of the service that sits at the foot of the table, while the Navy, the younger branch of the service, has precedence. It means a good deal to the officers of the Army as well as to the officers of the Navy. The rank of brigadier general formerly corresponded to the rank of commodore. The rank of commodore has been abolished in the Navy, so that the brigadier general has no equal in rank in the naval department.

Mr. President, in order that the whole thing may be considered together when it comes up for consideration again, I am going to ask to have inserted in the RECORD a letter from the Secretary of War discussing the situation at length and giving his reasons for wanting the matter inserted in the bill, and with it a memorandum from the General Staff and the names of the officers, with their several ranks, so that taken together the Senators will have no difficulty in ascertaining just what the purpose of this amendment is from the department itself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the matter referred to will be inserted in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

FEBRUARY 12, 1917.

[Informal memorandum for the Secretary of War.]

Subject: Bill to equalize grade between the Army and Navy.

Attached hereto will be found two lists, "A" and "B." List "A" shows, in the left-hand column, the present commissioned strength in the grades of major general and brigadier general in the Army, arranged according to rank in their respective grades. In the right-hand column will be found the same names arranged according to their rank when they are recommissioned in accordance with the terms of this bill. List "B" is the corresponding list for the Navy.

The bill will be best explained to members of the Senate Military Committee by inviting their attention to its several effects, as follows:

1. It abolishes the grade of brigadier general, a grade which is either nonexistent in modern armies or retained only for the purpose of conferring honorary rank. The corresponding grade of commodore in the Navy was abolished by act of Congress approved March 3, 1899.

2. It requires that all officers of our Army in the grade of brigadier general be recommissioned in the grade of major general, in their present relative order of rank, from the date of the approval of the act. The execution which the act will receive is indicated in list "A."

3. Following the naval precedent it grants to officers in the upper half of the grade of major general the pay of that grade. The effect will be to grant increase of pay to 10 brigadier generals, making a total of 20 major generals in the Army entitled to draw the pay of that grade. Attached list "B" shows that there are 21 rear admirals in the Navy at the present time drawing the pay of rear admiral.

4. It creates the ex-officio grade of general for the Chief of Staff. It creates the ex-officio grades of general and lieutenant general for the commanding generals of three territorial departments within the United States, and for the commanding generals of the troops in the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and the Canal Zone, the selection of the three territorial departments within the United States and the designation of the particular commanding generals for these departments and for the troops in the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and Panama being left to the discretion of the President. The President is authorized to give the rank of lieutenant general to one of the two general officers acting as Assistant Chiefs of Staff, but in that event the number of lieutenant generals to be assigned to territorial commands must be reduced from 3 to 2.

5. It reduces the pay of general from $13,500, as now fixed by law, to $10,000, and the pay of lieutenant general from $11,000 to $9,000, following the precedent of Navy legislation.

6. The proposed bill creates inequality in favor of the Army in one regard. The last sentence of concluding section 3 in the bill gives to officers of the Army, who are retired by operation of law while serving in the ex-officio grades, the right to retire with the rank and pay of said ex-officio grade, whereas under the naval statute Navy officers holding these ex officio grades, who are retired by operation of law while serving therein, are not entitled to retirement in said ex officio grades, but are limited to retirement in the grades shown by their permanent commissions.

A.

List of general officers, including Chief of Staff Corps, arranged in their order of relative rank.

Officers.	Branch of service.	Officers.
MAJOR GENERALS.		MAJOR GENERALS.
1. Wood, Leonard	Line	1. Wood, Leonard.
2. Bell, J. Franklin	do	2. Bell, J. Franklin.
3. Barry, Thomas H	do	3. Barry, Thomas H.
4. Funston, Frederick	do	4. Funston, Frederick.
5. Scott, Hugh L	do	5. Scott, Hugh L.
6. Bliss, Tasker H	do	6. Bliss, Tasker H.
7. Weaver, Erasmus M	Coast Artillery Corps.	7. Weaver, Erasmus M.
8. Sharpe, Henry G	Quartermaster General.	8. Sharpe, Henry G.
9. Pershing, John J	Line	9. Pershing, John J.
10. Gorgas, William C	Surgeon General	10. Gorgas, William C.
BRIGADIER GENERALS.		BRIGADIER GENERALS.
1. Crozier, William	Chief of Ordnance	11. Crozier, William.
2. Garlington, Ernest A	Inspector General	12. Garlington, Ernest A.
3. Crowder, Enoch H	Judge Advocate General.	13. Crowder, Enoch H.
4. Edwards, Clarence R	Line	14. Edwards, Clarence R.
5. McIntyre, Frank	Chief Bureau Insular Affairs.	15. McIntyre, Frank.
6. Parker, James	Line	16. Parker, James.
7. Liggett, Hunter	do	17. Liggett, Hunter.
8. Scriven, George P	Chief Signal Officer	18. Scriven, George P.
9. Davis, Thomas F	Line	19. Davis, Thomas F.
10. Bailey, Charles J	do	20. Bailey, Charles J.
11. Bell, George, jr	Line	21. Bell, George, jr.
12. McCain, Henry P	The Adjutant General.	22. McCain, Henry P.
13. Greene, Henry A	Line	23. Greene, Henry A.
14. Mann, William A	do	24. Mann, William A.
15. Strong, Frederick S	do	25. Strong, Frederick S.
16. Hodges, Harry F	do	26. Hodges, Harry F.
17. Morrison, John F	do	27. Morrison, John F.
18. Black, William M	Chief of Engineers	28. Black, William M.
19. Plummer, Edward H	Line	29. Plummer, Edward H.
20. Townsley, Clarence P	do	30. Townsley, Clarence P.
21. Morton, Charles G	do	31. Morton, Charles G.
22. Ruckman, John W	do	32. Ruckman, John W.
23. Sibert, William L	do	33. Sibert, William L.
24. Smith, Abiel L	Quartermaster Corps.	34. Smith, Abiel L.
25. Swift, Eben	Line	35. Swift, Eben.
26. French, Francis H	do	36. French, Francis H.
27. Greble, Edwin St. J	do	37. Greble, Edwin St. J.
28. Treat, Charles G	do	38. Treat, Charles G.
29. Kuhn, Joseph E	do	39. Kuhn, Joseph E.
30. Cruse, Thomas	Quartermaster Corps.	40. Cruse, Thomas.

NOTE.—Before this bill can pass Brig. Gens. Garlington and Scriven will have retired and their places in the upper half will be filled by Gens. Bell and McCain. In the lower half the new names of Chamberlain and Squier will appear, the total remaining at 40. When Gen. Gorgas retires his place in the upper half will be taken by Gen. Greene and his successor will appear in the lower half.

B.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 12, 1917.*

	LINE.
Rear admiral (upper half):	
1. A. M. Knight	1
2. J. M. Helm (additional number in grade)	2
3. N. R. Usher	3
4. F. F. Fletcher	4
5. W. M. Parks (additional number in grade)	5
6. W. B. Caperton	6
7. W. F. Worthington (additional number in grade)	7
8. H. T. Mayo	8
9. C. F. Pond	9
10. W. McLean	10
11. DeW. Coffman	11
12. R. T. Hall (additional number in grade)	12
13. W. F. Fullam	13
14. A. G. Winterhalter	14
Rear admiral (lower half):	
15. A. F. Fechteler	1
16. Albert Gleaves	2
17. H. O. Dunn	3
18. A. W. Grant	4
19. W. S. Benson	5
20. T. S. Rodgers	6
21. J. H. Glennon	7
22. H. S. Knapp (subject to confirmation and commission)	8
23. W. L. Rodgers (subject to confirmation and commission	9
24. H. M. P. Huse (additional number in grade, subject to confirmation and commission)	10
25. G. W. McElroy (additional number in grade, subject to confirmation and commission)	11
26. R. S. Griffin (additional number in grade, subject to confirmation and commission)	12
27. G. E. Burd (additional number in grade, subject to confirmation and commission)	13
28. J. H. Oliver (additional number in grade, subject to confirmation and commission)	14
29. John Hood (subject to confirmation and commission)	15
30. W. S. Sims (subject to confirmation and commission)	16
STAFF.	
Medical:	
31. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), W. C. Braisted	15
32. Rank of rear admiral (lower half), C. T. Grayson (subject to confirmation and commission)	17
Pay:	
33. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), T. J. Cowie (additional number in grade)	16
34. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), S. McGowan	17
35. Rank of rear admiral (lower half), none.	
Construction:	
36. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), W. L. Capps (additional number in grade)	18
37. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), D. W. Taylor	19
38. Rank of rear admiral (lower half), none.	
ENGINEER CORPS.	
Civil engineer:	
39. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), H. H. Rousseau (additional number in grade)	20
40. Rank of rear admiral (upper half), F. H. Harris	21
41. Rank of rear admiral (lower half), none.	
NOTE 1.—Rear admirals, upper half, and drawing pay of that grade	21
NOTE 2.—Rear admirals, lower half, and drawing pay of commodore	17

JANUARY 16, 1917.

The CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,
House of Representatives (and Senate).

SIR: I am transmitting herewith for the consideration of your committee a draft of a bill which has for its object the equalization of rank in the higher grades between the Army and Navy. As you will recall, the appropriation bill for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, approved March 4, 1915, provided the grade of admiral for the commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet and the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, and the commander in chief of the Asiatic Fleet, and for the second in command of each of these fleets the grade of vice admiral. The last appropriation bill for the Naval Establishment approved August 29, 1916, provides for a chief of naval operations, who, under the terms of the act, has also the rank and title of admiral.

The following table shows the present status in regard to rank in the higher grades of the Army and Navy and includes only officers of the line in each case:

ARMY.		NAVY.
0 generals	corresponding grade	4 admirals (temporary).
0 lieutenant generals	corresponding grade	3 vice admirals (temporary).
7 major generals	corresponding grade	21 rear admirals.
21 brigadier generals	corresponding grade	No corresponding grade in Navy.

Present authorized strength:

OFFICERS.	
Army (the authorized strength given above for the Army includes the first increment of increase only. When the Army reorganization is completed, in 1920, its authorized strength will consist of 11,327 officers and 208,338 men)	7,141
Navy	3,000
ENLISTED MEN.	
Army	137,214
Navy	79,288

It will be noted from the above that the highest grade now existing in the Army is that of major general, which is two grades below that of the grade of admiral, of which the Navy now has 4, and one grade below that of vice admiral, of which the Navy now has 3. In the grade of major general the Army has 7, and the Navy, in the corresponding grade of rear admiral, 21. In the grade of brigadier general the Army has 21, there being no corresponding grade in the Navy. This inequality of rank in the higher grades, accentuated by the recent legislation for the Navy referred to above, is due to the fact that Congress has, I think wisely, given the Navy the grades commensurate with the commands exercised, thus giving a modern organization, which corresponds to the other navies of the world, to the naval service, but has not as yet done so for the Army, the branch of the service committed to my charge.

The draft of the bill herewith places the officers of the Army in the two higher grades on identically the same status as to number, rank, and pay as in the Navy. This is to be effected by abolishing the grade of brigadier general, which corresponds to the former grade of commodore now abolished in the Navy, and transferring the present brigadier generals to the grade of major general. The grade of brigadier general has ceased to exist as a permanent grade in practically all the principal armies of the world. In the British Army it is sometimes conferred upon officers for local and temporary reasons, but is not a permanent grade. In the French Army "generals of brigade" and "generals of division" rank, respectively, with the major generals and lieutenant generals of other armies. As a rule, in foreign armies major generals command brigades (6,500 men), lieutenant generals command divisions (17,000 men), and generals command army corps (40,000 men).

It is proposed, following the present naval law, that the upper half of the new list of major generals receive the pay and allowances now allowed by law to major generals, and the lower half the pay and allowances now allowed by law to brigadier generals. To conform to the present naval law the Chief of Staff of the Army and three other generals are given the temporary rank of general and three the temporary rank of lieutenant general; the pay on the active list in each case to be the same as that for admiral and vice admiral in the Navy, to which these two grades correspond.

The draft of the bill herewith authorizes the President to assign the three generals and three lieutenant generals to command the three most important territorial commands in the United States or to command the land forces in the Philippine Islands, the Hawaiian Islands, or the Panama Canal Zone. As drafted, the law would assure an officer of the temporary grade of general or lieutenant general being in command of our three important over-sea garrisons. Provision is made that one of the general officers on the General Staff, while so serving, may be designated by the President in his discretion as one of the three lieutenant generals authorized in the act.

I wish to strongly emphasize that without legislation giving the Army equalization of rank in the higher grades with that of the Navy the branch of the Government of which I am in charge will be done an obvious injustice, the detrimental effect of which to the Army is too clear to require more than a statement. All the reasons which have been urged for the creation of these grades in the Navy so as to efficiently handle the units properly composing a command to be under the direc-

tion of such officers of the Navy are present in at least an equal degree in the Army. As Congress, after a full consideration of the subject, wisely decided on the desirability of giving the Navy these grades in order that it may be properly and efficiently officered, for similar reasons it should now provide similar grades for the Army.

The embarrassment which arises in either branch of the service when brought in contact with officers of foreign services of superior grade to any existing in our services is identical; but the constant embarrassment arising between the two services because of disparity of rank is too apparent to call for more than mention. If in all those joint matters in which the Army and Navy are concerned the Navy, by reason of the possession of the superior grade, is entitled to outrank the Army, the Army must perforce regard itself and be looked upon as a subordinate branch, and this is too inequitable a situation to be contemplated with equanimity.

I trust that the proposals herein discussed will meet with the favorable consideration of your committee and Congress.

Respectfully,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, may I add a word in connection with what the Senator said? Is it not a fact that it not only equalizes the rank for social and business intercourse, but it does equalize in some degree the rank according to the number of men composing the command?

At the time those letters were written there had not transpired circumstances that made war imminent. Now war is imminent, and there is almost the dead certainty that we are going to have very large bodies of men incorporated in the Army. In fact, the press is full of statements to this effect; and we have had directly from the War Department notices that men are going to be needed in numbers running into the hundreds of thousands, if not millions. Now, it is entirely inconsistent that we should have an officer whose rank is that controlling a division of only nine regiments where we are liable to have twenty times that in an army; so that there should be added to what the Secretary of War has said this great inequality in rank that will occur if we even organize these armies.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President, I regret that the question asked by me has taken up so much of the valuable time of this body this afternoon. I am not posted on matters of this kind and assure you that my only object was to get information as to the purpose of the amendment. The explanation of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, is entirely satisfactory, so far as I am personally concerned, as to its object and purpose.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, before this matter goes over I want to make a brief statement. I agree with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] that this amendment is clearly subject to a point of order. It is general legislation.

Now, how is our Army composed? It is composed of battalions, regiments, brigades, and divisions. Every division, I take it under the plan of our Army now, is supposed to be composed of three brigades and each brigade of three regiments. Now it is proposed to put the commanders of brigades—of which there will be three in every division—on the same level, or give them the same rank, as the commander of a division.

Mr. WARREN. Oh, no, Mr. President; this amendment does not do that.

Mr. NELSON. It makes them major generals. You might as well go to work and make all the officers of a regiment colonels, instead of having lieutenant colonels and majors.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator allow me for a moment?

Mr. NELSON. I will yield in a minute. I hoped that when we had Army legislation here we would do something else than just to build up the rank and pay of officers. I yield now to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator was a Member of the Senate when the same thing was applied to the Navy. They are all rear admirals. Half of them are of the junior grade and half of the senior grade. It will be the same with the major generals.

Mr. NELSON. That is no argument at all. I always thought it was a great mistake that we abolished the rank of commodore in our Navy, Mr. President. No naval officers had a finer record in our old Navy than those who had merely the rank of commodore; and some of our brigadier generals in our Army during the civil War, and before that, in the Regular Army, did heroic service. I do not want to see the rank of brigadier general abolished, and I did not like to see the rank of commodore in the Navy abolished. We ought to have retained that rank, which was near and dear to the sailors of the old Navy; and I think it is a great mistake to leave out of our Army the rank of brigadier general as long as we have brigades in the Army. Let a brigadier general command a brigade and let a major general command a division; and then if you have an Army corps, if you want to go a step higher, have a lieutenant general in command of an Army corps. Then you will have a logical and fair order of rank in the Army.

It seems to me, as I said a moment ago, that it is as preposterous to establish this as to make the majors, colonels, and lieutenant colonels of a regiment all colonels. You might as well have every regimental officer a colonel.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. You might as well abolish everybody from captain to colonel and make your majors all colonels.

Mr. NELSON. Yes; make them all colonels. I concede that socially it would be a great thing, if we are to look at the social side, to have men designated as major generals. It will be an awfully nice thing to have every regimental officer called a colonel.

I remember that once in my early days, when I was a Member of the House, I went around looking for rooms, and I found out that if they found you were a Member of Congress they would always ask you for more money. I met a fine old lady that I called on who had rooms to let, and she wanted to know what my business was. I said I had a job up here at the Capitol. The old lady said: "But what is your rank?" "Why, I said, "It is plain 'Mr. NELSON.'" "Oh, but," says she, "in this country they are all colonels or judges; and surely you must be either a colonel or a judge." [Laughter.]

Now, the idea of having all our officers above the rank of a colonel nothing less than major generals, and wiping out the dear old title of brigadier general, seems to me preposterous and ridiculous; and we ought not to do it just because there is a little coterie in the War Department who have sent it up here to the committee. I will exonerate the chairman of the committee and also my good friend from Wyoming. I do not think they have introduced this amendment from malice prepense, as we say in court. It has been showered upon them; but for that reason we ought to relieve them from the responsibility. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I share the view of my honored friend from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] regarding the abolishment of the rank of commodore, but I desire to call his attention to the fact that, if it was to be abolished, it was well that it was done exactly when it was done—after imperishable glory had surrounded that title while it was worn in the midst of trial and difficulty by the late great Admiral Dewey.

As the Senator knows—for he and I helped confer the title of Admiral upon Commodore Dewey—he had won that title by his gallantry and heroism in Manila Bay. No social duties engaged his attention that fateful morning. I understand that it was impossible for him to get upon common ground with the German admiral, Von Dietrich, who, with his fleet, was very conspicuous in Manila Bay after Dewey won our victory; but they soon came to a very abrupt and excellent understanding, for it was reported by the late Admiral that his right to supervise the Manila situation was challenged by the German commander; that he finally got word to Admiral von Dietrich that he must not communicate with shore against the protests of a simple commodore of the American Navy, who had a much smaller fleet than the Germans in Manila Bay at that time. But it is said, and said truly—and I am willing the RECORD shall show it—that when the American commodore discovered that they did not propose to obey his injunction he got word to the German admiral, and said: "Admiral von Dietrich, I have forbidden any communication with shore, and that is binding upon you as it is upon every other foreigner in Manila Bay. My orders must be obeyed. You act very much as though you wanted war with the United States; and if you want it, by God, you may have it, and you may have it now."

The ringing words of Commodore Dewey left no doubt as to his intention to govern and control the situation in Manila Bay, which he did with such great thoroughness, such kindness and consideration and tolerance, such signal ability that his service will never be forgotten and his fame is forever enshrined in our hearts. When the word came to Washington that he had destroyed the Spanish fleet without the loss of a man or the loss of a ship I remember how it thrilled the American Nation. I am glad indeed that if the title of commodore was to pass into history it should pass into history in the glow of Dewey's achievements; and I will only add that when American patriots are defending their country they are always equal to their task. It is of little consequence what their title may be, if in their hearts they wear the impulses and the lofty aspirations of their countrymen. The country will forever cherish in the kindliest spirit the memory of their last commodore and one of their greatest admirals.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question before he sits down, if he will allow me.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly, if I can answer it. The Senator asks some pretty hard questions.

Mr. NELSON. The Senator referred to one incident in Admiral Dewey's life when he was simply a commodore. We have had something said here about the social side of it. Did the fact that he was a mere commodore affect him socially or prevent him from getting a good wife when he got home?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No, Mr. President; he was not there on any social errand. He was there to carry out a specific injunction from his Government; and right royally he did it, with everlasting credit to himself and to the American Navy.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I do not object to the postponement of the final consideration of this amendment; but inasmuch as it has been reached in regular course, I shall at this time outline my reasons for making, after the discussion shall have ended, the point of order against the proviso.

This amendment originated, as the chairman of the committee says, with the War Department, and was unquestionably prompted by the naval legislation to which the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] refers. That legislation owed its origin to the difference in rank between commanders of foreign navies and the officers commanding ours. It was asserted in support of that legislation that the difference in rank between commanders of foreign navies and our own was painfully and sometimes humiliatingly apparent when these commanders met, either for the exchange of formal ceremonies or in the discharge of social functions, and that we owed it to the officers of our Navy and to the dignity of the Navy itself to advance their commanders to such rank as would make them socially and according to the naval etiquette of the world the equals of those of foreign countries.

I am not at present disposed to comment, either by way of criticism or by way of condemnation, upon the motives underlying that legislation; but it is evident that once we begin upon legislation of that sort we must carry it to its logical conclusion, one of the steps in which consists of this proposed amendment.

I was present at the meeting of the committee when the Secretary of War appeared before it and urged the consideration of this provision. I made no comment at the time, but I gathered from the general statements made by the Secretary that there was at present a feeling of discontent in the Army because of inferiority from the social standpoint, as between the newly created rear admirals of the Navy and the officers of the Army as they are now provided for. As said by the Senator from Oregon, the Army is the older of the two branches, and representatives of the older branch objected to sitting at the foot of the table while the officers of the younger branch occupied the head. There is an old saying that "wherever MacGregor sits, there is the head of the table"; but it would seem that the principle does not apply when admiral and general meet; and the question of punctilio becomes so extreme and so critical as to demand a regeneration of the official staff of the Army, to the end that one general may not tag behind another admiral, but at least may march arm in arm with him whenever social occasions require.

As I say, I am not belittling that situation. I never had much patience with it myself. At the same time I am aware of the fact that these distinctions are of the utmost importance with many, and I respect as much as a man can their different point of view. But I do not believe, Mr. President, that we should remodel our Army staff of officers in an amendment to a general appropriation bill because of these conditions. There may be better ones; I hope there are, but I have not yet been able to perceive them.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator has not forgotten, has he, that those offices of general and lieutenant general were on our statute books for a great many years permanently?

Mr. THOMAS. I was coming to that.

Mr. WARREN. And they were done away with here at a time when legislation was directed in a certain way and to a certain purpose, but for a few years those offices have not existed. The idea now is to approach them only with reduced pay, merely a thousand dollars apiece and $2,000 apiece, respectively, and under special appointment for a special length of time.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if this amendment were a repetition of the old law, I do not know that I would object to it. The general and the lieutenant general are the most distinguished officers in our Army and the offices were created, and properly so, to be filled by men who had earned great distinction and who, consequently, were entitled to especial honors because of their services to their country. We never had but one general at a time, if my memory serves me aright, nor but one lieutenant general. Here with one fell swoop we propose to create a number of lieutenant generals and an officer who, by virtue of his position as Chief of Staff, occupies the rank of general.

Mr. President, this seems to me to be general legislation. I think we should re-create at this time the office of general; I think we should re-create the office of lieutenant general, and let our commanding officers aspire to them, let their ambition be aroused to obtain those great distinctions through the service they will render to their country, instead of creating by an amendment to an appropriation bill a line of officers of that grade, thus robbing these positions of that eminence and glory which have always and which always should surround them.

These are my present objections to this amendment. I do not think we have considered the matter fully, and yet I say that with some hesitation, because the condition of my health has made it impossible for me at this session to attend the meetings of the committee. It may be they have given it the utmost consideration, and their judgment naturally would, therefore, be better than mine; but as far as my information went during the last Congress when this subject was before the committee I gathered the conclusion that social rather than military influences were behind it, to the end that there should be a common level in the etiquette of the profession and in social circles between those representing the two branches of the service.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield with pleasure to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. I call the Senator's attention to the language at the top of page 17. The Senator speaks of only one general being created. The act provides for four, I will say to the Senator; one the Chief of Staff of the Army and one for the three departments—the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Panama Canal Zone.

Mr. THOMAS. I thank the Senator for calling my attention to it. I was misled for the moment by the recital regarding the Chief of the General Staff. That fact emphasizes the criticism which I have made of the bill. It is not proposed that we shall have one great military position standing solitary above the mass filled by a man whom a grateful country in recognition of his services has placed there, but we propose to create four and fill them all by a scheme of general legislation attached to an appropriation bill.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, while it may not be important, I think the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] failed to read that there shall not be more than three generals at any one time and there shall not be more than three lieutenant generals at any one time.

Mr. THOMAS. Not more than three, except that while so serving there shall have the rank of general not more than three and not more than three the rank of lieutenant general.

It would seem to be sufficiently broad there to authorize the President to increase that number.

Mr. WARREN. Under the law the President might not appoint any, and he might appoint only two; but there is a restriction that there shall be not more than three of each rank.

Mr. McKELLAR addressed the Chair.

Mr. REED. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator from Tennessee rose first, and I yield to him.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the Senator from Wyoming is mistaken. Beginning in line 23, on page 16, it is provided—

> That the Chief of Staff while so serving shall have the rank of general and take precedence over all other officers of the Army; and of the general officers commanding the three territorial departments in the United States which may be designated by the President or commanding the land forces in the Philippines, Hawaiian Islands, and Panama Canal Zone not more than three, in the discretion of the President, shall while so serving have the rank of general and not more than three the rank of lieutenant general.

In other words, there shall be three under these different departments and a Chief of Staff, making four.

Mr. WARREN. There is nothing obligatory about the fourth. We have had a Chief of Staff at times a brigadier general who had command of officers of higher rank. I think the restriction is complete that there shall be not more than three of each.

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. It is perfectly clear to my mind that this amendment is general legislation subject to a point of order. That is the opinion of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] and it is the opinion of other Senators. I think if the amendment goes in at all it must go in by a kind of general consent. That being the case, it having been suggested that the amendment be laid over and we proceed with the rest of the bill, I think we ought

to do that without consuming time by prolonging this debate. I am not referring to the remarks of the Senator who is on the floor, but it has taken up nearly all the afternoon. For myself, and I think others are in the same condition, I want to look into this amendment and understand more about it. I am not getting much light here on the floor. I want to know whether there is anything really back of this amendment, and I suggest that when the Senator from Colorado has concluded his remarks we proceed with the rest of the bill and get along with it.

I hope the Senator does not misapprehend what I am saying. I am simply suggesting that as this matter has to go over anyway we need not debate it at length.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I have no intention of debating the proposal. I may not be here when the matter comes up again to-morrow, and that must be my excuse for speaking upon it at all.

I have but one other reflection to make, which is that if the argument the Senator made in defense of the abolition of brigadier generals is sound, then it might with perfect consistency be applied to the line of majors general. That could be wiped out also. We can make them all generals and lieutenant generals and let the old ranks go. Then we can abolish the vice and the rear admiral in the Navy and substitute for them admirals without any qualifying adjective. This equalizes ranks and removes all cause of social discontent. If this feature of war legislation be important, let us make it effective.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The consideration of the amendment will be postponed.

The next amendment was, on page 18, line 8, after the word "Corps," to strike out "$1,500,000" and insert "$3,000,000," so as to make the clause read:

Pay of members of Officers' Reserve Corps, $3,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 18, line 10, after the word "corps," to strike out "$2,500,000" and insert "$3,000,000," so as to make the clause read:

Pay of officers, National Guard, including staff corps, $3,000,000: *Provided*, That so much of this appropriation as may be necessary for the purpose shall be available to pay inspectors and assistant inspectors of small-arms practice of the Organized Militia and National Guard who responded to the call of the President of June 18, 1916, the pay and allowances appropriate to their grade from the dates they would have been entitled to pay had their services been authorized to the dates on which they were mustered out or their services were otherwise terminated; and the proper accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they are hereby, directed to allow credit for any such payments which have heretofore been made to such officers from the appropriation from which made.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Enlisted men of the line," on page 19, line 2, after the word "recruits," to strike out "$27,000,000" and insert "$29,000,000," so as to make the clause read:

For pay of enlisted men of all grades, including recruits, $29,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 19, after line 20, to insert:

Provided, That hereafter one of the enlisted men at each main recruiting station who has been detached for duty at such station under the provisions of the act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, have the rank, pay, and allowances of a first sergeant of Infantry.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 4, after the word "line," to strike out "$3,000,000" and insert "$3,500,000," so as to make the clause read:

Additional pay for length of service of enlisted men of the line, $3,500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 5, after the word "Reserve," to strike out "$290,000" and insert "$500,000," so as to make the clause read:

Pay of enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve, $500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Quartermaster Corps," on page 20, line 14, after the word "men," to strike out "$2,000,000" and insert "$2,437,272: *Provided*, That on and after July 1, 1917, the monthly pay of quartermaster sergeants, Quartermaster Corps, shall be $50," so as to make the clause read:

Pay of enlisted men, $2,437,272: *Provided*, That on and after July 1, 1917, the monthly pay of quartermaster sergeants, Quartermaster Corps, shall be $50.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Signal Corps," on page 20, line 20, after the word "men," to strike out "$900,000" and insert "$1,071,144," so as to make the clause read:

Pay of enlisted men, $1,071,144.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 20, line 21, after the word "service," to strike out "$96,000" and insert "$196,480.08," so as to make the clause read:

Additional pay for length of service, $196,480.08.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 9, after the word "light," to strike out "$65,000" and insert "$53,742," so as to make the clause read:

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light, $53,742.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, line 13, after "$70,000," to insert: "*Provided*, That the allowances authorized by act of August 29, 1916, for 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, shall be effective from date of approval of said act for the 200 clerks appointed who were eligible on August 29, 1916," so as to make the clause read:

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light for field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, $70,000: *Provided*, That the allowances authorized by act of August 29, 1916, for 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, shall be effective from date of approval of said act for the 200 clerks appointed who were eligible on August 29, 1916.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to have the Senator from Oregon explain the proviso.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It simply provides for pay from the date of the approval of the act. Under the law as it is they only receive pay from the date of appointment instead of the date the act takes effect.

Mr. SMOOT. In other words, if we adopt the proviso, then they receive the additional pay from the time of the passage of the act rather than from the time of their appointment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; from the date of the approval of the act.

Mr. REED. I should like to inquire what the answer of the chairman of the committee was. I could not hear it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Under the act of August 29, 1916, which placed these men on the list that is referred to in the provision just read, they received their pay from the date of appointment. This makes it date from the date of the approval of the act, which antedates a little—not a great deal in some instances—the date of the approval of the act.

Mr. REED. But is that the only change?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is practically the only change.

Mr. REED. Then I am going to object. It seems to me that there is a good deal more anxiety displayed here to get a few dollars additional pay than there is anything else.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I call the Senator's attention to the language of the act, which seems to have contemplated that this should be done anyhow, but it was construed differently.

The act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, contains the proviso that—

Hereafter not to exceed 200 clerks, Quartermaster Corps, who shall have had 12 years of service, at least 3 years of which shall have been on detached duty away from permanent station, or on duty beyond the continental limits of the United States, or both, shall be known as field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall receive the same allowances, except retirement, as heretofore allowed by law to pay clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall be subject to the Rules and Articles of War.

It seems to have contemplated that they should have their pay from the date of the approval of the act.

Mr. REED. I ask that the amendment may go over until to-morrow, to be taken up in connection with the other one that was passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In this connection, in order that the RECORD may show upon what the amendment is based, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Quartermaster General giving the reasons for the change.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The letter referred to is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL OF THE ARMY,
Washington, February 6, 1917.

From: Quartermaster General.
To: Quartermasters.
Subject: Payment of allowances to field clerks, Quartermaster Corps.

1. Referring to decision No. 16-020, November 7, 1916, of the Judge Advocate General of the Army, copy of which was furnished your office under date of November 24, 1916, in which it was held that field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, were entitled to the prescribed allowances from

August 29, 1916, date of approval of the act authorizing same, you are advised that the Comptroller of the Treasury, under date of January 26, 1917, has held that field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, are entitled to the prescribed allowances only from date of acceptance of such appointment. The Judge Advocate General advises this office, under date of February 3, 1917, that the comptroller's decision will be published in the Bulletin of the Digest of Opinions of the Judge Advocate General's Office for February, 1917.

2. You will be governed accordingly.

By authority of the Quartermaster General.

A. E. SAXTON,
Major, Quartermaster Corps.

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL OF THE ARMY,
Washington, October 23, 1916.

From: Quartermaster General.
To: The Adjutant General of the Army.
Subject: Decision requested.

1. The act of August 29, 1916 (Public, No. 242), making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year 1917, provides that: "* * * Hereafter not to exceed 200 clerks, Quartermaster Corps, who shall have had 12 years of service, at least 3 years of which shall have been on detached duty away from permanent station, or on duty beyond the continental limits of the United States, or both, shall be known as field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall receive the same allowances, except retirement, as heretofore allowed by law to pay clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall be subject to the Rules and Articles of War. * * *"

Regulations carrying this provision into effect provide that instruments of appointment shall be issued by the Secretary of War to each individual coming within the terms of the act. It is recommended that the opinion of the Judge Advocate General be obtained whether field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, are entitled to allowances (a) from date of approval of act, August 29, 1916, or (b) from date of appointment by the Secretary of War.

HENRY G. SHARPE,
Quartermaster General.

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[First indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL,
October 26, 1916.

To the JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL:

1. With request for opinion as recommended herein.

2. The Army appropriation act approved August 29, 1916, provides that:

"Hereafter headquarters clerks shall be known as Army field clerks and shall receive pay at the rates herein provided, and after 12 years of service, at least 3 years of which shall have been on detached duty away from permanent station, or on duty beyond the continental limits of the United States, or both, shall receive the same allowances, except retirement, as heretofore allowed by law to pay clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall be subject to the Rules and Articles of War."

Inasmuch as Army field clerks are, after the necessary service, entitled to the same allowances as are granted field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, by the same act, an expression of opinion is desired as to whether or not the Army field clerks are entitled to the allowances (a) from the date of the approval of the act, August 29, 1916, or (b) from the date that the Secretary of War approves the application of the clerk who has the necessary service for such allowances.

By order of the Secretary of War.

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

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[Second indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S OFFICE,
November 7, 1916.

To THE ADJUTANT GENERAL:

1. Returned. The opinion of this office is desired as to whether or not the allowances provided for in the act making appropriations for the support of the Army approved August 29, 1916, to the field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and the Army field clerks are (a) to date from the approval of the act, or (b) from the date the Secretary of War approves the application of the clerk who has the necessary service for such allowances.

2. The act, supra, provides that "hereafter headquarters clerks shall be known as Army field clerks and shall receive pay at the rates herein provided, and after 12 years of service, at least 3 years of which shall have been on detached duty away from permanent station, or on duty beyond the continental limits of the United States, or both, shall receive the same allowances, except retirement, as heretofore allowed by law to pay clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall be subject to the rules and articles of war."

The act further provides that "hereafter not to exceed 200 clerks, Quartermaster Corps, who shall have had 12 years service, at least 3 years of which shall have been on detached duty away from permanent station, or on duty beyond the continental limits of the United States, or both, shall be known as field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall receive the same allowances, except retirement, as heretofore allowed by law to pay clerks, Quartermaster Corps."

3. The foregoing provisions are self-operative, in that they definitely designate the positions and fix the pay and allowances of headquarters clerks and the field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, from the date of the approval of the act on August 29, 1916, by providing that "hereafter headquarters clerks shall be known as Army field clerks and shall receive pay at the rates herein provided," etc., and that the 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps "hereafter * * * shall be known as field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and shall receive the same allowances, except retirement, as heretofore allowed by law to pay clerks."

No administrative action is prescribed by the statute as a condition precedent to the right of headquarters clerks to receive the prescribed pay and allowances, and the only administrative action required in the case of the 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, is to determine whether the clerks have had the required service to give them the prescribed designation and compensation, it appearing that the number of qualified clerks is not in excess of the number as limited in the statute. Reading the two provisions together, I think it is clear that it was the intent of Congress to fix the status, pay, and allowances of the said clerks from the date of the approval of the act. Indeed, if Congress had not so intended, I think that instead of providing that "hereafter" the clerks "shall be known," etc., it would have made the usual provision that the Secretary of War may appoint them to the positions prescribed. The provisions merely change the designation and compensation of the offices held by the clerks, and no new appointments are necessary to give effect to the statute. It is therefore the opinion of this office that the 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and the Army field clerks are entitled to the prescribed pay and allowances from the date of the approval of the statute authorizing the same.

E. H. CROWDER,
Judge Advocate General.

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[Third indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
November 11, 1916.

To the SECRETARY OF WAR:

Recommending approval of the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, expressed in the last paragraph of the preceding indorsement hereon.

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

Approved.

NEWTON H. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

—

[Fourth indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
November 11, 1916.

Through the Judge Advocate General to the QUARTERMASTER GENERAL:

Inviting attention to the approval of the Secretary of War indorsed on this page. The return of this paper is desired.

By order of the Secretary of War:

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

—

[Fifth indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S OFFICE,
November 13, 1916.

To the QUARTERMASTER GENERAL:

Noted.

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[Special Orders, No. 303.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 28, 1916.

EXTRACT.

* * * * * * * *

12. The following-named clerks of the Quartermaster Corps (who were eligible on August 29, 1916) are appointed as field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, and are assigned to stations as follows:

Clerks of the Quartermaster Corps appointed as field clerks.

EASTERN DEPARTMENT.

Name.	Salary.	Station.
Barnett, Edward D	$1,440	Governors Island, N. Y., Dept. Q. M. O.
Douglass, John T	1,400	Do
Enderle, Reuben A	1,000	Do.
Gordon, John	1,280	Do.
Hinds, R. W	1,200	Do.
Leuthold, Calvin A	1,600	Do.
Miller, Alexander	1,400	Do.
Muller, Philip T	1,400	Do.
Neal, Charles E	1,400	Do.
Spahr, Howard H	1,400	Do.
Wardell, I. F	1,200	Do.
Wyman, Chester L	1,400	Do.
Vanderpool, Charles H	1,400	San Juan, P. R.
Catt, William J	1,400	Fort Slocum, N. Y.
Fleming, William H	1,400	Fort Warren, Mass.
Gately, John	1,400	Washington Barracks, D. C.

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT.

Brady, William C	$1,200	Chicago, Ill., Dept. Q. M. O.
Fuchs, Louis H	1,600	Do.
Kaercher, William	1,400	Do.
Rose, William F	1,600	Do.
Sullivan, Samuel M	1,800	Do.
Nichols, Henry	1,600	Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

Aldrich, E. R	$1,600	San Francisco, Cal., Dept. Q. M. O.
Bramlitt, R. M	1,400	Do.
Brown, H. W	1,800	Do.
Douglass, George W	1,400	Do.
Gray, Harry	1,600	Do.
Lewis, George W	1,400	Do.
McGrath, Thomas J	2,250	Do.
Partridge, Charles A	1,200	Do.
Carson, J. P	1,400	Fort Lawton, Wash.
Courtright, George A	1,800	Presidio of Monterey, Cal.
Nolan, Hugh	1,200	San Diego, Cal.
Tripp, George L	1,800	Vancouver Barracks, Wash.
Cabaniss, Charles A. T	1,200	Fort Winfield Scott, Cal.

Clerks of the Quartermaster Corps appointed as field clerks—Continued.

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT.

Name.	Salary.	Station.
Anderson, S. C	$1,400	Fort Sam Houston, Tex., Dept. Q. M. O.
Bertramsen, Bert	1,200	Do.
Bowers, Merton A	1,200	Do.
Burns, David S., sr	1,600	Do.
Clarke, Frank S	1,400	Do.
Coart, L. H	1,600	Do.
Elliott, John W	1,400	Do.
Harris, James J	1,600	Do.
Hays, Archer B	1,400	Do.
Humphrey, E. P	1,400	Do.
Leathe, W. W	1,600	Do.
McClelland, H. R	2,250	Do.
Mitchell, Drury K	2,000	Do.
Raeche, Albert S	1,200	Do.
Rupp, George W	1,400	Do.
St. Claire, Felix L	1,800	Do.
Smith, James E	1,600	Do.
Sommer, Christian F	1,800	Do.
Tremaine, B. E. L	1,600	Do.
Wynja, Charles	1,400	Do.
Gray, Claud E	1,400	Brownsville, Tex.
Trumbull, W. A	1,400	Do.
England, H. F	1,400	Columbus, N. Mex.
Greer, Thomas E	1,200	Do.
Harmon, Harry K	1,200	Do.
MacVean, D. M	1,400	Do.
Manners, James R	1,200	Do.
Senft, Henry	1,200	Do.
Stack, T. M	1,800	Do.
Whitmeyer, Jacob L	1,800	Do.
Shine, Thomas W. B	1,400	Del Rio, Tex.
Berry, E. C	1,000	El Paso Depot, Tex.
Dixon, A. A	1,400	Do.
Quinlan, Oscar	1,400	Do.
Studt, John F	1,200	Do.
Swartz, W. R. S	1,400	Harlingen, Tex.
Harrell, John N	1,400	Llano Grande, Tex.
Pede, James L	1,000	Nogales, Ariz.
Alexander, Sam	1,600	Fort Sam Houston, Tex., Q. M. O.

HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT.

Bolton, Richard	$1,400	Honolulu, Hawaii, Dept. Q. M. O.
Buckley, F. B	1,800	Do.
de Roo, Carel J	1,200	Do.
Fish, D. D	2,250	Do.
Keisling, Joseph A	1,600	Do.
McMullen, A. M	1,400	Do.
McPhetridge, Eugene	1,600	Do.
O'Connor, George	1,400	Do.

PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT.

Beebee, Francis C	$1,800	Manila, P. I.
Carter, Charles O	1,800	Do.
Charlebois, C. L	1,800	Do.
Connolly, F. C	1,600	Do.
Dorn, A. C	1,800	Do.
Featherstone, F	1,200	Do.
Fletcher, J. F	1,200	Do.
Fox, Thomas J	1,600	Do.
Gardner, Harry C	1,800	Do.
Glover, George K	1,400	Do.
Guy, Victor F	1,400	Do.
Hinton, Charles P	1,600	Do.
Holden, E. A	1,800	Do.
Knowlton, A. H	1,600	Do.
Lyman, R. F	1,400	Do.
Morrow, Charles A	2,000	Do.
Murphy, R. E	1,800	Do.
Nichols, L. M	1,600	Do.
Powers, Henry C	1,200	Do.
Ramsey, William R	1,600	Do.
Roche, James H	1,800	Do.
Rohricht, F	1,400	Do.
Sanger, H. M	1,400	Do.
Scholl, Philip A	2,500	Do.
Schulte, Henry	1,400	Do.
Sousley, R. G	1,800	Do.
Swanson, Joseph T	1,600	Do.
Tarbet, R. W	1,800	Do.
Thompson, Harry A	1,800	Do.
Tudor, Joseph R	1,400	Do.
Wallace, J. F	1,400	Do.
Zimmerman, Bert J	1,600	Do.
Zimmerman, W. H	1,800	Do.
Zook, David	1,600	Do.
Halden, G. R	1,600	Nagasaki, Japan.

STATIONS NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF DEPARTMENT COMMANDERS.

Cabot, John W	$1,800	Boston, Mass., Depot Q. M. O.
Poyntz, Nat	1,400	Do.
Allen, William J	1,600	Chicago, Ill., Depot Q. M. O.
Asplund, Charles	2,000	Do.
Cowgill, G. W	1,200	Do.
Griffith, John M	1,600	Do.
Chappell, A. J	1,600	Jeffersonville, Ind., Depot Q. M. O.
Nathan, Louis T	1,600	Do.
Simms, L. L	1,800	Do.
Thomas, James C	1,200	Do.

Clerks of the Quartermaster Corps appointed as field clerks—Continued.

STATIONS NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF DEPARTMENT COMMANDERS—contd.

Name.	Salary.	Station.
Adams, Robert	$1,440	Kansas City, Mo., Q. M. O.
Guenther, William	1,800	Do.
Thebaut, James C	1,400	Do.
Trowbridge, Elisha O	1,600	Do.
Jollie, Charles A	1,400	Fort Leavenworth, Kans., U. S. Disciplinary Barracks, Q. M. O.
Mitchell, Frank	1,400	Do.
Allen, Hugh A	1,400	Fort Leavenworth, Kans., U. S. Disciplinary Barracks, Consig. Q. M.
Dulin, Charles L	1,600	New Orleans, La., Q. M. O.
McGriff, Harry	1,400	Do.
Uthoff, C. J	1,440	Do.
Weston, Sydney H	1,800	Newport News, Va., Q. M. O.
Barr, John	2,000	New York City, N. Y., Depot Q. M. O.
Foehrenbach, Francis	1,600	Do.
Giusta, E. U	1,500	Do.
Ingalls, Blair	1,400	Do.
Lang, Edward W	1,400	Do.
Mason, John B	1,200	Do.
O'Sullivan, Charles J	1,400	Do.
Strauss, Harry B	1,600	Do.
Taussig, Henry	1,200	Do.
Burkhardt, Charles F	1,600	Philadelphia, Pa., Depot Q. M. O.
Clayton, John F	1,400	Do.
Hawking, H. A	1,440	Do.
Nusbaum, Louis	1,200	Do.
Peck, George H	1,280	Do.
Rhoads, W. H	1,600	Do.
Russell, A. F	1,200	Do.
Williams, Charles E	1,400	Do.
Cooke, William H	1,800	Portland, Oreg., Q. M. O.
Hyams, Joseph B	1,440	Do.
Peer, John R	1,400	Rock Island Arsenal, Ill.
Appleman, M. D	1,600	St. Louis, Mo., Depot Q. M. O.
Campbell, W. H	2,000	Do.
Cheal, H. H	1,800	Do.
Clayton, F. B	1,400	Do.
Cocke, E. H	1,800	Do.
Fussell, Clarence	1,200	Do.
Gill, James	1,600	Do.
Littell, Alonzo	1,600	Do.
Smith, Wilbur C	1,200	Do.
Strattan, William	1,400	Do.
Johnson, James H	1,800	San Francisco, Cal., Constg. Q. M. O.
Allen, Richard	2,000	Seattle, Wash., Depot Q. M. O.
Burton, Robert J	1,800	Do.
Perfect, Charles	1,400	Do.
Schroder, Fred L	1,400	Do.
Smith, Walter	1,400	Do.
Atwell, C. L	1,400	San Francisco, Cal., Depot Q. M. O.
Barwald, George S	900	Do.
Bauer, John E	1,200	Do.
Chambers, H. V	1,200	Do.
Dulin, W. W	1,400	Do.
Ferguson, F. S	1,600	Do.
Gavigan, Thomas F	1,200	Do.
Glasbrenner, Frederick	2,000	Do.
Graham, Grant I	1,200	Do.
Harnish, Harry W	1,600	Do.
Miller, O. D	1,800	Do.
Reinhart, Allan	1,400	Do.
Ronan, Charles A	1,500	Do.
Stanley, Thad W	1,300	Do.
Strayer, Robert L	1,400	Do.
Walsh, Thomas H	1,400	Do.
Wickersham, J. Worth	1,200	Do.
Wooley, Raleigh M	1,400	Do.
Biggar, John	1,800	Washington, D. C., Depot Q. M. O.
Matlock, Oscar J	1,400	Do.
Moore, Percy	1,200	Do.
Settle, Joseph A	1,280	Do.
Skyles, William N	1,800	Do.
Snyder, Hiram B	1,400	Do.
Cooke, George W	1,800	West Point, N. Y., Q. M. O.
Boggess, W. W	1,400	Fort Worden, Wash., Constg. Q. M. O.

[2497344, A. G. O.]

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By order of the Secretary of War:

H. L. SCOTT,
Major General, Chief of Staff.

Official:

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "General Staff Corps," on page 23, line 2, after "$132,600," to insert "*Provided*, That the first paragraph of section 5 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows: 'SEC. 5. The General Staff Corps: The General Staff Corps shall consist of one Chief of Staff, who shall be a general officer of the line and who shall take rank and precedence over all other officers of the Army, 2 assistants to the Chief of Staff, who shall be general officers of the line, one of whom shall be the president of the Army War College; 10 colonels; 12 lieutenant colonels; 32 majors; and 34 captains, to be detailed from corresponding grades in the Army as in this section hereinafter provided. All officers detailed in the General Staff Corps shall be detailed therein for a period of four years, unless sooner relieved. While serving in the General Staff Corps, officers may be temporarily assigned to duty with

any branch of the Army. Upon being relieved from duty in the General Staff Corps, officers shall return to the branch of the Army in which they hold permanent commissions, and no officer shall be eligible to a further detail in the General Staff Corps until he shall have served two years with the branch of the Army in which commissioned, except in time of actual or threatened hostilities. Section 27 of the act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, shall apply to each position vacated by officers below the grade of general officer detailed in the General Staff Corps,'" so as to make the clause read:

For pay of officers of the General Staff Corps, $132,600: *Provided*, That the first paragraph of section 5 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows: "SEC. 5. The General Staff Corps: The General Staff Corps shall consist of one Chief of Staff," etc.

Mr. OWEN. I should like to have the chairman of the committee make an explanation of the change the amendment makes in existing law.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, in the reorganization the number of the General Staff was recommended to be quite largely increased over the number that constituted the General Staff under the old act. In conferences the differences which grew out of the discussions between the conferees of the House and Senate led to a reduction of the General Staff, so that it is claimed now by the Secretary of War that the General Staff is unable to keep up with the work which has been assigned to it or the work which they are necessarily required to perform and that in the particular crisis which confronts us now it ought to be increased.

I have not the act before me, but will have it in a few moments, to show what the General Staff consists of now under the law and the proposed increase. I think myself that it ought to be increased. It is difficult for them to do the work, and it will be more difficult as the Army is increased and as the dangers of war become more threatening.

Mr. OWEN. I observe that it makes provision for one Chief of Staff who shall be a general officer of the line, two assistants who shall be general officers, and none of the balance of those serving in this position are permitted to be members. I do not understand just why that is done. I had an idea that the General Staff in directing the affairs of the Army would naturally consist of the most experienced men we have. Is there any particular point in that?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They are detailed from different branches of the service. It does not necessarily follow because a man is detailed for staff duty that he shall have a very high rank. Captains are assigned to the General Staff, majors are assigned to the General Staff, and other officers are detailed for the same duty.

Mr. OWEN. It would seem that the generals, however, are excluded.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. If the Senator will look at section 5 of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, he will see how these officers are assigned from the different branches of the service. If the Senator will allow me, I will just read that provision.

Mr. OWEN. I shall be pleased to hear it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (reading)—

The General Staff Corps shall consist of 1 Chief of Staff, detailed in time of peace from major generals of the line; 2 assistants to the Chief of Staff, who shall be general officers of the line, 1 of whom, not above the grade of brigadier general, shall be the president of the Army War College; 10 colonels; 10 lieutenant colonels; 15 majors; and 17 captains, to be detailed from corresponding grades in the Army as in this section hereinafter provided. All officers detailed in the General Staff Corps shall be detailed therein for periods of four years unless sooner relieved.

So the Senator will see they are detailed from men of different rank in the different branches of the service.

Mr. OWEN. I do see that, but I do not see what the point is in excluding from the General Staff men who are generals. Why should a brigadier general be excluded from the General Staff?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. He is not excluded.

Mr. OWEN. It would seem as if he were, because the inclusion of the one would exclude the other.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In other words, the Senator feels that none but generals should be detailed for staff duty.

Mr. OWEN. Not at all. I only called attention to the fact that generals are excluded.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. By inclusion possibly that may be true, but why put all the generals on duty here in Washington when they might be needed elsewhere?

Mr. OWEN. I have made no such suggestion as that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It would necessarily follow, if generals were to be appointed, that you would take them from the commands where they are now.

Mr. OWEN. It would necessarily follow from this language that the generals are excluded. That is what I was calling the attention of the chairman to. I do not see the point of excluding generals of necessity. It might not be advantageous to put them on, but if it should prove to be so I do not think they ought to be excluded by the law.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I can not say to the Senator why that policy has been adopted, but the Senator will see that men of lower and different grades are given an opportunity to serve with the General Staff.

Mr. OWEN. I think that is entirely commendable. I am not making any point about that—making any objection to that. What I am objecting to is that generals are excluded from the General Staff.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. And excluding brigadier generals?

Mr. OWEN. Yes; or anyone above the rank of colonel.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is true, but if the Senator will suggest an amendment the Senate will vote on it. I think they ought to be selected just as they are, and that is along the line of the details which have been made in the past.

Mr. REED. This part of the bill appears on page 23 relating to the Staff Corps, and the Chief of Staff is intimately connected with the amendment which was just discussed, which provides for the abolition of brigadier generals, and so forth. I think the two ought to be considered together. I suggest that the amendment lie over. Indeed, I thought the amendment had been put over.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. This particular amendment?

Mr. REED. Yes. I suggest that it go over. We can get along much faster if we take these particular matters up together.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over.

Mr. OWEN. In connection with the organization of the General Staff under the practice of the War Department they have a way of making reports from the General Staff in the name of the General Staff without any responsibility attaching to a particular individual, so that no one knows who it is on the General Staff who makes the recommendation. I think it is a bad practice. I may be mistaken about it. I wanted to ask the chairman of the committee if he knew that to be the practice; and if so, why that was done?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not know of any such practice as that. It seems to me it entails a very grave charge against the General Staff to suggest two or three men or any number of men on it make a report which comes to the authorities as the recommendation of the General Staff. I assume the rule to be—and if the Senator knows to the contrary he ought to disclose it—that whenever the General Staff makes a report or advocates a policy it is in fact what it purports to be, the recommendation of the whole body.

Mr. OWEN. I think the recommendation ought to be made upon the authority of those who make it, and there ought to be some kind of record, either public or within the archives of the body itself, which should be available upon request.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Does the Senator charge that that is not true now?

Mr. OWEN. I make no charge about it. I only express what I understand to be the fact. I am making an inquiry about it. I do not pretend to be very well informed upon the question.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think the Senator ought to inform himself about it.

Mr. OWEN. I am doing that now, from the chairman of the committee.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have assumed all the time that these men discharged their duties under their oath as the law contemplated they should act, and that whenever the General Staff acted it acted as a body, not as individuals.

Mr. OWEN. Will the Senator state whether, when a recommendation is made by the General Staff, it is on the responsibility of some particular members of the General Staff who recommend it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I understand the whole General Staff to coincide with the views of any particular members of the General Staff when action is taken. In other words, if any particular work is assigned to one or more of the members of the General Staff and a report is made to them, it would be made to the General Staff and the consensus of opinion, as a whole, would be the expression of the General Staff, although two or three only might have done the work.

Mr. OWEN. When the Senate of the United States acts upon a very important matter it is a very common practice and

a very wise practice, we think, that, as to those who are responsible for the affirmative action of this body and those who take the contrary view, there should be a record made of their attitude, so that the country may know who is responsible, if any mistakes are made.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I assume that they do keep a record. Of course, it may be a violent assumption. A committee of the Senate makes a report on an important piece of legislation and the Senate acts on it, and while they may have had individually no part in the preparation of the act itself it becomes the act of the whole Senate as a body. I assume that is the way it is done in the General Staff, that particular parts of work are assigned to members of the staff and they report the result of their work to the General Staff.

Mr. OWEN. I only rose for the purpose of making an inquiry with regard to it. I do not know myself, but I have been informed that the practice has been to merely make reports from the General Staff and the inquiry ends there, but of the reports of the General Staff, I think there ought to be a record made showing the responsibility of those who take any particular action. I would not like to have the General Staff by a narrow margin make some very important suggestion against the will of a large minority there without knowing who is responsible for it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am inclined to agree with the Senator. I have assumed, although I do not know, that the whole of the General Staff acted on these important matters. I shall undertake to ascertain by inquiry from the Secretary of War what the rule is.

Mr. OWEN. I should like to know what the rule is. In the meantime this matter goes over, I take it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has been passed over.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Medical Department," on page 25, line 16, after "(female)," to strike out "$141,000" and insert "$160,000," so as to make the clause read:

Nurses (female), $160,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Judge Advocate General's Department," on page 25, line 23, after the word "codification," to strike out "herein" and insert "heretofore," so as to make the clause read:

For paying the expenses of clerical hire and printing and other expenses incident to the making of the revision and codification heretofore directed, not to exceed $5,000, to be expended upon certificates of the Secretary of War that the expenditures were necessary therefor, of the military laws of the United States, $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Signal Corps," on page 26, line 2, after the words "Signal Corps," to strike out "$500,000" and insert "$589,000," so as to make the clause read:

For pay of officers of the Signal Corps, $589,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Retired officers," on page 26, after line 16, to insert:

Provided further, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized to appoint Brig. Gen. Chambers McKibbin, of the United States Army, retired, to the position and rank of major general on the retired list.

Mr. REED. I suggest to the Senator that the entire amendment be read, and then I desire to make an inquiry about it. Let the other part of the amendment be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 26, after line 21, the committee reports to insert:

Provided further, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to advance to the grade of major general, United States Army, retired, any brigadier general on the retired list who served in the United States Army not less than five years prior to October 1, 1861; who commanded not less than a regiment in the Civil War; who served on the active list of the Army after the Civil War and during the War with Spain, not less than 35 years; and who attained the grade of not less than colonel in the United States Army before retirement.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator that that part of it applies to one person.

Mr. REED. To whom?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Gen. Scully. There is only one man in the Army to whom it will apply.

Mr. WATSON. To whom?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Gen. Scully. He is an old gentleman. If the Senator will permit me, I will read his record.

Gen. Scully entered the United States Army when a boy of 18, and served as an enlisted soldier from September, 1856, to September, 1861, in Light Battery K, First United States Artillery, and was gunner of one of the pieces that fired the salute at the inauguration of President James Buchanan. He served on the Rio Grande (Texas) frontier, fighting Comanche Indians and Mexican bandits.

Then it gives his whole record as a soldier in the Civil War. The old gentleman is in very feeble health, and his retired pay, I am advised, is not sufficient to take care of him.

Mr. REED. What is his retired pay?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That of a brigadier general, it is $4,000 a year.

Mr. REED. That is not sufficient to take care of him?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. So I understand.

Mr. REED. Is he under any special expense on account of physical disability?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have heard that he is. I do not know the old gentleman myself, but Senator Catron took this matter up and satisfied himself about it, and before he went out of the Senate he suggested the amendment to the bill. I have heard from members of his family, however, that that is the old gentleman's condition. I know that the amendment is subject to a point of order, but such amendments have been placed on the Army appropriation bill a number of times where the men were feeble and old men and where they had a long record of service rendered to the United States.

Mr. REED. Let me inquire in regard to the clause preceding it, in which the name of the beneficiary is frankly stated, Gen. James McKibben.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have his record here, too. I ask that the record of both these officers be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

SYNOPSIS OF THE MILITARY HISTORY OF BRIG. GEN. J. W. SCULLY, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED.

Gen. Scully entered the United States Army when a boy of 18 and served as an enlisted soldier from September, 1856, to September, 1861, in Light Battery K, First United States Artillery; and was gunner of one of the pieces that fired the salute at the inauguration of President James Buchanan. He served on the Rio Grande (Tex.) frontier, fighting Comanche Indians and Mexican bandits—Cortina, Vidauri, Caravajal, etc.

In 1859 Sergt. Scully was detailed with 20 soldiers of his battery to accompany Capt. Burleson, of the Texas Rangers (father of the present Postmaster General), in pursuit of a band of Indians who ran off 150 head of horses from the Nueces River. This command started from Fort Clark, Tex., following the trail in the direction of the Devils River for seven days, when their water supply became exhausted. The Indians had driven their horses through the water holes, thereby rendering them unfit for use; so a retreat was ordered, and after two days' march the men were unable to proceed further and laid down to perish. Sergt. Scully took the two strongest men of his detachment—Private Barrett and Ebey—gathered up all the canteens, and started for the Devils River. They rode all night, reaching a branch of that stream at daylight next morning. After resting an hour, they filled the canteens, started back, and reached the command just in time to save the lives of 60 men. This should be found in the records of Battery K, First Artillery.

Sergt. Scully was honorably discharged from the United States Army on account of expiration of term of enlistment, at Key West, Fla., September 20, 1861, and immediately accompanied Capt. Alvan C. Gillem, acting quartermaster, as clerk, and reported to Gen. George H. Thomas at Somerset, Ky., and on account of his military experience was used by that general as aid-de-camp in the campaign that terminated with the battle of Mill Spring, Ky.; was honorably mentioned by Gen. Thomas and afterwards given the brevet of major in the Army for his conduct in that battle. (See records.) Mr. Scully also served in the same capacity for Gen. D. C. Buell in the Battle of Shiloh and received the brevet of lieutenant colonel, United States Army, for same. He also received the brevet of colonel, United States Army, for gallant and meritorious services in the Battle of Nashville.

On the 14th of July, 1862, Mr. Scully was appointed a first lieutenant in the First Middle Tennessee Infantry Volunteers; was promoted to lieutenant colonel of same regiment August 21, 1863, and to colonel June 6, 1864. He was mustered out with his regiment on May 25, 1865.

In October, 1863, Gen. Scully, then lieutenant colonel of the First Middle Tennessee Infantry, commanded his own regiment and parts of three Cavalry regiments (virtually a brigade) and defeated the Confederate general, W. S. Hawkins, at Centerville, Hickman County, Tenn. (See series 1, p. 92, vol. 31, pt. 11, Rebellion Records.)

Gen. Scully was appointed captain in the Quartermaster Department on September 25, 1865, and served at Natchez and Vicksburg, Miss., on "reconstruction" duty and adjusting claims of citizens for cotton and other property taken or destroyed by the Army.

In 1868–1871 he rebuilt Ringgold Barracks, on the Rio Grande, Tex.

In 1872 Gen. Scully, as quartermaster, selected the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad with a view to the supplying of the military posts on the upper Missouri River and thereby establishing the site of the city of Bismarck, N. Dak. He also fitted out part of the Custer expedition.

In 1880–1882 Gen. Scully built the post of Fort Thomas, on the Gila River, near the San Carlos Indian Agency, Arizona Territory. While on this duty the Chiricahua Indians, under their chiefs, Loco, Ju, and Geronimo, left the reservation, killed the chief of police, Sterling, and raided several ranches, killing women and children. Col. Scully armed the ranchers and other civilians at and in the vicinity of the post and held off the hostiles for several days, until succor arrived from other posts. For this he was highly praised by both the press and the people of the Territory of Arizona.

Gen. Scully served two tours of duty at New Orleans, La., and during the War with Spain he there fitted out Gen. Shafter's expedition. He chartered all the ships and made them fit for the accommodation of troops, etc., and on account of his popularity in that city he was able to secure the very best of everything for the comfort of the command. For this he was thanked and highly complimented by the Quartermaster General of the Army.

On the 1st of November, 1900, Gen. Scully was retired from active service, and he had up to that date served altogether 42 years 11 months and 16 days. This does not include the Mill Spring or Shiloh campaigns, which were recognized and for which he received brevets.

GEN. M'KIBBIN'S SERVICE.

Gen. McKibbin's service, in brief, has been as follows:

Private, general service, September 22, 1862; discharged, September 24, 1862; second lieutenant, Fourteenth Infantry, September 22, 1862; first lieutenant, June 10, 1864; transferred to Thirty-second Infantry, September 21, 1866; captain, Thirty-fifth Infantry, July 28, 1866; transferred to Fifteenth Infantry, August 12, 1869; major, Twenty-fifth Infantry, April 25, 1892; lieutenant colonel, Twenty-first Infantry, May 1, 1896; brigadier general, Volunteers, July 8, 1898; honorably discharged, May 12, 1899; colonel Twelfth Infantry, April 1, 1899; transferred to Twenty-fourth Infantry, August 12, 1901; brigadier general, United States Army, October 2, 1902; retired, October 3, 1902

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say that sometimes it has been customary simply to name the beneficiary and in other cases it has been the custom to describe a record which will fit no other man in the United States Army. Why it has been done I do not know, but both methods have been adopted. However, the Senator will find that the description where Gen. Scully's name is not inserted would not fit any other man in the Army.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, just a word. On several occasions I objected to provisions of this kind. I think whenever we are going to advance any officer in the Army or in the Navy, no matter what his position is, whether he is on the retired list or otherwise, we ought to state just what the legislation is for and for whose benefit it is passed. I know one case where the officer's name was mentioned and it failed in the Senate several times. The Senate expressed itself upon the matter on more than one occasion and positively refused to pass the legislation.

Then, in an appropriation bill there was a description similar to this, which fitted one man only. Nobody for a time knew who it was. The bill passed and became a law. I have no doubt if the question had been presented, naming the officer, that the Senate would not have passed the bill. Since that occurrence I have objected to any such provision in any appropriation bill without naming the person involved. I think that is the best policy. If the Senator intends to force this matter to a vote, I should like to see the amendment so worded that we would know just what it means and precisely to whom it applies.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I do not wish to see Congress deal niggardly with men who have served the country. If I can be satisfied that there is a special reason why these men can not live on $4,000 a year, I shall offer no objection to the provision in the bill. The sum of $4,000 a year is a pretty good stipend for a man after he has ceased to render any service.

Mr. WARREN and Mr. SMOOT. It is $4,500 a year.

Mr. REED. It is $4,500 a year. I thank the Senators for correcting me.

It might be that some man, having rendered distinguished services to his country, was so afflicted that it would be necessary to surround him with attendants or to expend large sums for doctors' bill, nurse hire, and so forth, and that Congress ought under those circumstances to increase the pension—for that is what it amounts to; it is in fact a pension, although not so designated—but without that information I am going to object to all the provisions contained in the bill on pages 26 and 27; from line 17, on page 26, to line 6, on page 27.

Mr. President, we might as well face the matter now. We are entering upon a war, the end of which no man can safely prophesy. It may be a war that will tax us but lightly; it may, unhappily, be a war that will call upon every resource of the country, which will demand from us the most rigid economy. Our Army and our Navy to-day cost more in proportion to size than does the army or the navy of any other country in the world. They not only cost more, but they cost so much more that the proportions are astounding.

I would rather vote to increase the pay of the privates and the pensions of privates who might be injured in the coming conflict than to increase the compensation of men who already receive $4,500 a year, and who have retired from active service. I think this is a time to begin exercising some care. Unless the chairman of the committee can state to the Senate that there are special reasons of the nature which I have indicated for such action, I shall have to raise a point of order against these two paragraphs.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I desire to say just a word with regard to the amendment beginning on line 22, on page 26. The Senator from Missouri has stated that unless there is some special reason which is in the mind of the chairman of the committee why this one officer should have this privilege granted here, he would object. I go further and say that unless the officer's name is mentioned in this provision I shall object to it.

It has come to my notice several times that friends of officers who have been court-martialed have come to Congress; have asked for special favors; and have had their bills framed in such a way that they might apply to a half dozen or more officers. If any one of these officers has in any way been improperly discriminated against or ought to have some special favor bestowed upon him, he ought not to be ashamed to have his name appear here in the bill itself. I think it is a very wrong practice to permit legislation of this character to go through when it is framed as this is.

I have in mind now one officer who was court-martialed. He is now on the retired list. He seeks to have his grade advanced to that of general. When the matter was first presented to me, I refused to even present the bill until it was modified so as to contain his name. I do not refer to this because I think the officer is asking something to which he is not entitled; but I certainly do know that, if he is entitled to it, his name ought to appear in the legislation.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I am somewhat embarrassed by lack of definite information upon the subject to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate; but, nevertheless, I feel it my duty, so far as I am informed, and because of the peculiar relation I bear to a portion of the amendment, to make a brief statement. I am particularly interested in the first portion of the amendment, that part in which it is proposed to authorize the President to confer the rank of major general upon Brig. Gen. Chambers McKibbin. This portion of the amendment is not subject to the objection raised by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], and also by the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] that the proposed beneficiary's name is not mentioned in the bill.

I only learned to-day of the fact that such an amendment had been proposed. It had been proposed by my predecessor, Senator Oliver, at the last session and was carried in the bill as then reported. I was asked to-day particularly to attend and see to it that this matter was properly presented to the consideration of the Senate if any objection should be raised.

All that I know of Gen. McKibbin personally is that he has since my childhood been recognized in Pennsylvania as one of its most gallant officers during the Civil War. I have enough of his record here before me to justify me in saying to the Senate that Gen. McKibbin went into the Army as a private in 1862; that he served next as a second lieutenant, then as a first lieutenant, then as a captain, then as a major, then as a lieutenant colonel, then as a colonel, and was retired as a brigadier general.

Whether there are any peculiar hardships in his case, I can not now say. As to the condition of his health or of his means of livelihood I know nothing. I do think, however, Mr. President, standing, as we are, upon the threshold of war, it is a time, in worthy cases, that the young men and younger officers who must conduct this war should be reminded that there is such a thing as the gratitude of Republics, not to withhold from those who have rendered long and faithful service—the service of the officer concerning whom I am now speaking has been 40 years—the bounty of Congress in recognition of such services rendered in the past.

Mr. President, in order that I may be able to inform myself and be able to acquaint the Senate if there are any peculiar reasons in this case that would address themselves to your discretion I shall ask that the amendment go over until to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will go over.

Mr. REED. I will withhold the point of order which I intended making so that the amendment may continue before the Senate and that the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania may be complied with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri make the same request with reference to the proviso beginning on line 22?

Mr. REED. I am willing that they both shall go over together.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I merely want to say one thing in reference to the insertion of the name of Gen. McKibbin, upon which the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] insists and upon which the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] insists. There has never been any disposition to conceal the names in such cases. There have been some Members of Congress who preferred not to have the names included, not that they were ashamed to mention the names, but that it would recite the man's record; that is all. So far as the insertion of a name is concerned, I am sure the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] would not object to having Gen. McKibbin's name inserted, and I am sure I have no objection to it.

Gen. Scully's name is not mentioned, but there is no disposition to conceal it. I am perfectly willing to have Gen. Scully's

name inserted; but I have been informed—I do not know how reliable my information is—that Gen. Scully has been so ill that it has required one constant attendant and sometimes two attendants to take care of the old man, and he is 80 years of age.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] before we dispose of this matter. Has the list of retired brigadier *generals* been examined to determine the comparative merits of them all, and has it been found that those who are provided for in this amendment have rendered services more distinguished than any of the other retired brigadier generals? What the Senate, I suppose, is interested in, or what it ought to be interested in, is knowing some reason for the discrimination in favor of those who are proposed to be provided for here and the failure to provide for a great number of other retired brigadier generals of the Army.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator, Mr. President, that I presume there are brigadier generals in the Army who have even more distinguished records than those who are mentioned here. I do not say that that is a fact, but I presume that there are men who have even more distinguished records.

Such applications usually come in from men; they are insisted upon by their friends, and usually the reasons are given which justify the committee in acting favorably; but it does not necessarily mean that the man in whose behalf legislation is enacted has a more distinguished record than has some other man of equal rank.

Mr. POINDEXTER. On the contrary, Mr. President, without casting any reflections upon the distinguished officers who are provided for here, this sort of legislation insteatl of being based upon especially distinguished services is usually based upon superior political influence and closer access to the authorities of the War Department.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, that is hardly a just criticism, because the Secretary of War usually opposes all such items, and I think he opposed this provision. I know nine times out of ten he opposes such amendments. I presume it is a weakness on the part of the committee that sometimes lets these items go in. If anybody is to blame, I think it is members of the Military Affairs Committee, to whom these appeals are made to the heart, as in the case of old Gen. Scully, an invalid soldier who served since 1856 and now is practically on his last bed of sickness. If it is a weakness, Mr. President, I plead guilty; and I am willing to be a party to squandering some of the moneys of the people to save these old fellows in their declining years.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I will ask what was done with the amendments just under consideration?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They have gone over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments have been passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, under the subhead "Miscellaneous," on page 28, line 16, after the word "available," to insert "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty," so as to make the clause read:

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light to commissioned officers, members of the Nurse Corps, and enlisted men on duty at places where no public quarters are available, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty, $1,100,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 29, line 12, after the word "officers," to insert "members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty"; and, in line 16, after "$740,000," to insert:

***Provided,* That the amount appropriated for mileage to commissioned officers, contract surgeons, and expert accountant, Inspector General's Department, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, shall be available for the payment of the mileage of Army field clerks, and field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, when authorized by law."**

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I desire to ask the chairman of the committee a question regarding this amendment. What mileage is now allowed commissioned and other officers? Is it on the basis of the actual money expended, or is the mileage in excess of the actual amount expended?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The statute fixes the mileage at 7 cents a mile.

Mr. REED. I have been informed, I will say to the chairman of the committee, that in some instances the mileage of officers who are required to travel considerably amounts actually to more than their salary, and that that is one of the great leaks in our military system, so far as money is concerned. Is not this a good time and place to correct that?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I suppose, if there is an abuse in this connection and the Senator knows how to reach it, it ought to be corrected. I understand that there was a document submitted here some time ago that showed the actual expenses of officers in traveling as compared with the amount of mileage allowed. I have not the document before me, but simply recall that such a document was presented. I presume that this matter could be adjusted. In many of the departments actual expenses are allowed, while in other departments a fixed per diem is allowed to cover it all. In the case of the Army mileage is allowed which may in some cases be in excess of actual expenses.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will permit an observation from the Chair, it seems to the Chair that that amendment simply makes available a sum of money for a given purpose.

Mr. REED. I understand the purport of the amendment perfectly. I am asking for this information with the idea that this would be a good place possibly to put in an amendment providing that expenditures for mileage should be the amounts actually expended.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, the amount is for mileage and subsistence when officers are away from home. It has been determined, after experience, to be cheaper for the Government to pay mileage in the manner provided than to pay actual expenses, because the payment of actual expenses would require the especial auditing of every man's accounts, and it may be and often is the case that what they actually pay out is more than what is actually received. In traveling by water the amount is now figured at actual expenses, because such trips are long; but this item covers railroad trips, trips by automobiles, and travel of that kind. Of course, as the Senator knows, when an officer is called upon to leave a railroad he has to pay an additional sum out of his own pocket in order to meet the expense.

I do not believe the Senator would want to introduce the amendment here, even if he should decide to introduce it, for it is a matter on which we ought not to act, I think, until we have full information from the department, as the present arrangement has had a great deal of study. The statement the Senator makes, that officers have made more than their salaries out of mileage, is a very remarkable one.

Mr. REED. I did not make that statement. I said the statement had been made to me. I am inquiring for information; I am not charging anything.

Mr. WARREN. I correct myself, then, and say that the Senator had heard that remark. I think it probably had reference to the olden times, when the same rate was allowed for ocean travel—from here to the Philippines, for instance. All that, however, has been changed, and the Senator will find on examination that this is a proper amount for mileage, subsistence, and other expenses.

Mr. REED. I ask that the amendment go over until tomorrow, by which time I will try to get the document mentioned by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be passed over.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, on page 29, line 24, after the word "service," to strike out "$300,000" and insert "$250,000," so as to make the clause read:

For additional 10 per cent increase of pay of officers on foreign service, $250,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 30, line 2, after the word "service," to strike out "$850,000" and insert "$800,000," so as to make the clause read:

For additional 20 per cent increase of pay of enlisted men on foreign service, $800,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Philippine Scouts," on page 31, line 17, after the word "men," to strike out "$620,000" and insert "$639,258," so as to make the clause read:

For pay of enlisted men, $639,258.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 32, after line 2, to insert:

Hereafter, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, officers of the Quartermaster Corps accountable for public moneys may intrust such moneys to other officers for the purpose of having them make disbursements as their agents, and the officers to whom the moneys are intrusted, as well as the officers who intrust it to them, shall be held pecuniarily responsible therefor to the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 32, line 11, after the word "troops," to insert "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty"; on page 33, line 15, after the word "issued," to insert "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty"; on page 34, line 4, before the word "cents," to strike out "30" and insert "40"; and, in line 18, after the words "in all," to strike out "$16,500,000" and insert "$19,293,394"; so as to make the clause read:

Subsistence of the Army: Purchase of subsistence supplies: For issue as rations to troops, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty, civil employees when entitled thereto, hospital matrons, nurses, applicants for enlistment while held under observation, general prisoners of war (including Indians held by the Army as prisoners, but for whose subsistence appropriation is not otherwise made), Indians employed with the Army as guides and scouts, and general prisoners at posts; for the subsistence of the masters, officers, crews, and employees of the vessels of the Army transport service; hot coffee for troops traveling when supplied with cooked or travel rations; meals for recruiting parties and applicants for enlistment while under observation; for sales to officers, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, while on active duty, and enlisted men of the Army: *Provided*, That the sum of $12,000 is authorized to be expended for supplying meals of furnishing commutation of rations to enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard who may be competitors in the national rifle match: *Provided further*, That no competitor shall be entitled to commutation of rations in excess of $1.50 per day, and when meals are furnished no greater expense than that sum per man per day for the period of contest is in progress shall be incurred. For payments: Of commutation of rations to the cadets of the United States Military Academy in lieu of the regular established ration, at the rate of 40 cents per ration; of the regulation allowances of commutation in lieu of rations to enlisted men on furlough, enlisted men and male and female nurses when stationed at places where rations in kind can not be economically issued, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty, and when traveling on detached duty where it is impracticable to carry rations of any kind, enlisted men selected to contest for places or prizes in departments and Army rifle competitions while traveling to and from places of contest, male and female nurses on leaves of absence, applicants for enlistment, and general prisoners while traveling under orders; of commutation of rations in lieu of the regular established ration for members of the Nurse Corps (female) while on duty in hospital, at 40 cents per ration, and for enlisted men, applicants for enlistment while held under observation, and general prisoners sick therein, at the rate of 40 cents per ration (except that at the general hospital at Fort Bayard, N. Mex., 50 cents per ration and at other general hospitals 40 cents per ration are authorized for enlisted patients therein), to be paid to the surgeon in charge; advertising; for providing prizes to be established by the Secretary of War for enlisted men of the Army who graduate from the Army schools for bakers and cooks, the total amount of such prizes at the various schools not to exceed $900 per annum; for other necessary expenses incident to the purchase, testing, care, preservation, issue, sale, and accounting for subsistence supplies for the Army; for extraordinary expense of subsistence of West Point cadets while attending inaugural ceremony not to exceed $4,000, which shall be immediately available; in all, $19,293,394.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REED. I desire to ask the chairman of the committee a question. I notice that several times the language is used in these amendments, "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty." Why should not that phrase be extended to include the militia when ordered to active duty? Is it contemplated that they would be covered by the terms already employed in the statutes?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, they are a part of the Regular Army when they are called into the Federal service, so that this provision is intended to cover them as well as the Regular Army.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator think that is perfectly clear?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think so. That is the language that was given us by the War Department.

Mr. REED. In some instances I notice the words "the Regular Army and the National Guard" are used.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not recall where those words are employed.

Mr. REED. On page 33, lines 3 and 4. That item applies, however, "to enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard who may be competitors in the national rifle match"; but, nevertheless, the two terms are employed, and I was interested to learn whether this language was broad enough to cover the National Guard. I myself have never been satisfied as to the proper term to use to designate the National Guard when it has been called into the Federal service. They are not a part of the Regular Army of the United States; they are distinguishable from that body in some respects, and yet they have many points of similarity; and I was curious to know whether it was the intention to cover them in this paragraph.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I understand that the Comptroller of the Treasury has ruled that that language is broad enough to include both branches of the service. If the Senator will note the first section of the national-defense act, it provides:

That the Army of the United States shall consist of the Regular Army, the Volunteer Army, the Officers Reserve Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the National Guard while in the service of the United States—

And so forth.

Therefore the words "Regular Army" cover all. My opinion is that the National Guard is included within that description. The language was suggested to us by the War Department in order to meet the decision of the Comptroller of the Treasury.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask unanimous consent to return to the amendment at the top of page 32 for the purpose of asking the chairman of the committee just what is proposed by that amendment. It seems to me to require some explanation.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I understand that that is suggested in order to save these disbursing officers going from one section of the country to another. For instance, in the Mexican mobilization the men were delayed in getting their money because they had to send officers to the ground who were authorized to disburse this money, with the result that sometimes as much as a week and sometimes two weeks elapsed before the enlisted personnel got their money. The purpose of this is to enable the disbursing officers of the Government to put the money in the hands of an officer on the ground, so that he may promptly pay the men.

Mr. McKELLAR. The disbursing officer is under bond. Would the officer to whom charge was given of the money be under bond? I see it says "pecuniarily liable."

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, this is only to take care of those small places and small posts where an officer's salary will be sufficient guaranty of his honesty. It is just for small amounts, of course.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is all.

Mr. McKELLAR. Very well, Mr. President.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment was, on page 35, line 6, after the word "officers," to insert "including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty"; in line 7, after the word "men," to insert "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty"; on page 36, line 6, after the word "libraries," to insert "and for textbooks for noncommissioned officers' schools, including subscriptions for newspapers, periodicals, and magazines for use of enlisted men as may be authorized by the Secretary of War"; and on page 37, line 6, after the word "reports," to strike out "$11,000,000" and insert "$13,453,995.19," so as to make the clause read:

Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps: Regular supplies of the Quartermaster Corps, including their care and protection; construction and repair of military reservation fences; stoves and heating apparatus required for heating offices, hospitals, barracks and quarters, and recruiting stations, and United States disciplinary barracks; also ranges, stoves, coffee roasters, and appliances for cooking and serving food at posts, in the field, and when traveling, and repair and maintenance of such heating and cooking appliances; and the necessary power for the operation of moving-picture machines; authorized issues of candles and matches; for furnishing heat and light for the authorized allowance of quarters for officers, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty, and enlisted men, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty; contract surgeons when stationed at and occupying public quarters at military posts; for officers of the National Guard attending service and garrison schools, and for recruits, guards, hospitals, storehouses, offices, the buildings erected at private cost, in the operation of the act approved May 31, 1902; for sale to officers, and including also fuel and engine supplies required in the operation of modern batteries at established posts; for post bakeries, including bake ovens and apparatus pertaining thereto, and the repair thereof; for ice machines and their maintenance where required for the health and comfort of the troops and for cold storage; ice for issue to organizations of enlisted men and offices at such places as the Secretary of War may determine, and for preservation of stores; for the construction, operation, and maintenance of laundries at military posts in the United States and its inland possessions; for the authorized issues of laundry materials for use of general prisoners confined at military posts without pay or allowances, and for applicants for enlistment while held under observation; authorized issues of soap; for hire of employees; for the necessary furniture, textbooks, paper, and equipment for the post schools and libraries and for textbooks for noncommissioned officers' schools, including subscriptions for newspapers, periodicals, and magazines for use of enlisted men as may be authorized by the Secretary of War; for the purchase and issue of instruments, office furniture, stationery, and other authorized articles for the use of officers' schools at the several military posts; for purchase of relief maps for issue to organizations, commercial newspapers, market reports, etc.; for the tableware and mess furniture for kitchens and mess halls, each and all for the enlisted men, including recruits; of forage, salt, and vinegar for the horses, mules, oxen, and other draft and riding animals of the Quartermaster Corps at the several posts and stations and with the armies in the field, and for the horses of the several regiments of Cavalry and batteries of Artillery, and such companies of Infantry and Scouts as may be mounted; for remounts and for the authorized number of officers' horses, including bedding for the animals; for seeds and implements required for the raising of forage

at remount depots and on military reservations in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands and for labor and expenses incident thereto, including, when specifically authorized by the Secretary of War, the cost of irrigation; for straw for soldiers' bedding, stationery, typewriters and exchange of same, including blank books and blank forms for the Quartermaster Corps, certificates for discharged soldiers, and for printing department orders and reports, $13,453,995.19.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 38, line 15, after the word "Army," to insert "including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty"; on page 40, line 9, after the words "purchase of," to strike out "medicines for horses and mules"; and in line 15, after the word "department," to strike out "$1,800,000" and insert "$2,199,000," so as to make the clause read:

Incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps: Postage; cost of telegrams on official business received and sent by officers of the Army, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty; extra pay to soldiers employed on extra duty, under the direction of the Quartermaster Corps, in the erection of barracks, quarters, and storehouses, in the construction of roads, and other constant labor for periods of not less than 10 days; as additional school-teachers during the school term at post schools, and as clerks for post quartermasters at military posts, and for overseers of general prisoners at posts designated by the War Department for the confinement of general prisoners, and for the United States disciplinary barracks guard: *Provided*, That hereafter the extra-duty pay to the United States disciplinary barracks guard shall be at the following rates per day: Battalion sergeants major, first sergeants, mess sergeants, supply sergeants, and sergeants, 35 cents; corporals, 30 cents; cooks and mechanics, privates first class, privates, and buglers, 20 cents; of extra-duty pay at rates to be fixed by the Secretary of War for mess stewards and cooks at recruit depots, who are graduates of the schools for bakers and cooks, and instructor cooks at the schools for bakers and cooks; for expenses of expresses to and from frontier posts and armies in the field; of escorts to officers or agents of the Quartermaster Corps to trains where military escorts can not be furnished; authorized office furniture, authorized issues of towels; hire of laborers in the Quartermaster Corps, including the care of officers' mounts when the same are furnished by the Government, and the hire of interpreters, spies, or guides for the Army; compensation of clerks and other employees to the officers of the Quartermaster Corps, and clerks, foremen, watchmen, and organist for the United States disciplinary barracks, and incidental expenses of recruiting; for the apprehension, securing, and delivering of deserters, including escaped military prisoners, and the expenses incident to their pursuit, and no greater sum than $50 for each deserter or escaped military prisoner shall, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be paid to any civil officer or citizen for such services and expenses; for a donation of $5 to each dishonorably discharged prisoner upon his release from confinement under court-martial sentence involving dishonorable discharge; for the following expenditures required for the several regiments of Cavalry, the batteries of Field Artillery, and such companies of Infantry and Scouts as may be mounted, the authorized number of officers' horses, and for the trains, to wit, purchase of picket ropes, blacksmith's tools and materials, horseshoes and blacksmith's tools for the Cavalry service, and for the shoeing of horses and mules; chests and issue outfits; and such additional expenditures as are necessary and authorized by law in the movements and operations of the Army, and at military posts, and not expressly assigned to any other department, $2,199,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 40, after line 16, to insert:

Provided, That hereafter the premium authorized by section 1120 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall be paid only under such conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 40, after line 20, to insert:

Provided further, That the proper accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to pay the account of the La Grande Evening Observer, of La Grande, Oreg., in the sum of $51.35 for advertising and other services rendered in connection with recruitment of the Oregon National Guard, called into the Federal service by the President under date of June 18, 1916, and ordered by Capt. Lee M. Clark, ordnance department, Oregon National Guard, a properly detailed recruiting officer.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 41, after line 5, to insert:

Provided further, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ the services of one or more advertising agencies in advertising for recruits for the Army under such terms and conditions as he may deem to be most advantageous to the interests of the Government.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I want to ask the chairman of the committee whether or not that contemplates that the Secretary of War shall determine the character of the advertisements, or will he permit these advertising agencies to send out whatever inducements they think advisable?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I understand that the advertising matter is under the direction of the Secretary of War, and that the employment of these agencies is under his direction. The purpose of it, Mr. President, was this:

It is very difficult for the Secretary of War to know the different papers all over the country where the best results might be obtained from advertising. By taking it up with one or more advertising agencies who make a specialty of it he can form an opinion as to where would be the best place to insert these advertisements and make the contract for the publication of them.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think that is all right, but I think the Secretary of War ought to——

Mr. WARREN. The statement at the time was that he could make more advantageous terms. Of course they would furnish the advertisements; but it was stated that there were agencies that could reach hundreds of papers and would bring better returns than the War Department could probably do in dealing with an individual.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I want to ask the chairman a question. Have the advertisements that have been posted heretofore, seeking recruits in the Army, been prepared by the War Department, or have these advertisements been prepared by some private agency?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I should not like to say about that, Mr. President. I should imagine that those advertisements must have been prepared by the recruiting officers, or at least must have been approved by the War Department.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am afraid that is correct. I have seen some advertisements the contents of which were such that it seems to me the Government ought not to hold out the inducements that were offered by those advertisements to men going into the Army.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator that I think that is true.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I hope that hereafter the War Department will pretty carefully see to it that special inducements are not held out and special representations are not made to induce men to enlist in the Army.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, ought we to have any advertising at all about it? Is it not rather a little thing to provide for advertising for recruits? I am in favor of rejecting the proposed amendment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. My impression is very much in line with what the Senator has said, but I did not care to go that far. I have, however, seen some advertisements, apparently put out with the authority of the United States Government, that ought not to be put out.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, will the chairman of the committee permit a suggestion from me?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. While it does seem a sort of an assault on the patriotism of the country that we should have to advertise for recruits, and to that extent I agree with the suggestion of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], yet when you know that, on the other hand, there is a propaganda going through the country making representations about the awful service to which a soldier is put, how he is degraded and abused and handled, with no answer made to it anywhere from any source, governmental or otherwise, it seems to me that we might think a minute about answering suggestions of that sort that are made in secret everywhere throughout this land under a propaganda to-day.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, it does look like an attack on the patriotism of the young men of the country to say that the Government should be reduced to the necessity of advertising for recruits; but if the distinguished Senator from Georgia had come into contact with those upon whose shoulders has rested the responsibility of getting men, he would find that more than one plan had been proposed in order to induce these young men to perform a patriotic duty. It may be true, as the Senator from Washington suggests—and I agree with him in his objection to it—that there are flaring and flaming advertisements put up, both for the Army and for the Navy, that ought not to have the approval, if they do have the approval, of the War and Navy Departments; but even with those, Mr. President, it has been impossible to raise the men necessary to defend our country, if it be necessary to protect our southern border at all.

Here there was a resolution passed on the 16th day of March, over a year ago, to get 20,000 volunteers in the Regular Army, and they have not been gotten yet with all of these flaming advertisements.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In addition to the flaming advertisements that the Senator speaks of, Mr. President, we have passed the national-defense act and provided that the postmasters shall be constituted recruiting agents, and with that force and with all these flaming advertisements and with all the efforts that have been made in every city in these United States to get 20,000 men, we have not been able to get them.

Mr. President, I sound a warning right here and now that unless some system is adopted that will get these patriotic young men into the ranks to fight, we will never raise such an Army as may be necessary to be raised in the war that is now threatening and may be impending. Something has got to be

resorted to. It is all right to get up here and condemn the methods that have been adopted for undertaking to recruit the Army; but when it comes to a conscriptive proposition to get these young men, you can not get them and you are not going to get them under any volunteer system that I know anything about.

Mr. HUGHES, Mr. WADSWORTH, and Mr. LODGE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield, and to whom?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, will the Senator please state what the United States Government has done, what the authorities have done, what the Senate Military Affairs Committee or the House Military Affairs Committee has done in the way of offering inducements to young men to enlist in the United States Army? The only place they offer any inducements to them, that I know of, is in those advertisements.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I know what the Senator is going to suggest. The Senator is going to suggest that the pay of the enlisted men ought to be increased. Probably that is true.

Mr. HUGHES. No attempt was made to increase it. No attempt was made to make the service attractive to anybody except major generals, colonels, brigadiers, and people of that sort. It is a well-understood thing around here that the Regular Establishment is only a peg upon which to hang these high offices.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Oh, Mr. President——

Mr. HUGHES. I will guarantee to the Senator that within six months he can, by proper legislation, raise an army of 250,000 or 500,000 regular soldiers in this country.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, if I had my way, I could raise a million men just as quickly as it would be possible to train them, and that is by compelling every man to recognize that he owes a duty to his country. It is a part of the responsibility of citizenship. I got a letter the other day from the distinguished ambassador from Argentina, in response to an inquiry about the universal military training system they have there. He said that they have in vogue in the Argentine Republic, and that it is one of the three bases of that democratic Republic, compulsory education, which was taken from the United States, compulsory voting, if you please, which they originated themselves, and compulsory military service; and he attributes the rapid progress that that Republic has made to those three democratic propositions.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I probably ought not to digress here to discuss this proposition, but it has been the custom here of certain Members of the Senate to criticize the War Department about its methods of raising men when we can not raise them, and to criticize the higher officers because they get better pay than the enlisted men.

Mr. KIRBY and Mr. LODGE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield, and to whom?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield the floor.

Mr. LODGE. I wanted to ask the Senator a question before he took his seat, if I might. It was simply this: How on earth are we to have young men come in if we do not let them know that we need recruits? We must in some way tell them what the Government needs, and I see no other way than by doing it through proper advertising.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Why, Mr. President, there is not one paper out of fifty that will not publish anything the Secretary of War furnishes on the subject. Instead of employing papers to publish advertisements, furnish the facts, and the great bulk of the papers will publish them with great freedom now. The situation is entirely different from what it was a week ago. Advertisements might have been proper a week ago, but to-day to say that you have got to pay for advertisements, that you are advertising and paying for it, is to lessen the publicity rather than to increase it.

Mr. KIRBY and Mr. WADSWORTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I am moved to comment very briefly on this matter of recruiting, especially after listening to the remarks made by the chairman of the committee [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN].

I am in entire agreement with him on the proposal that, if we are to let men know that they are wanted in the Army—and, be it remembered, this bill is not an emergency measure at all, it is merely for ordinary peace-time usage—we must advertise for them. May I suggest to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] that even in time of war there are other great countries that do not regard it as an assault upon the patriotism of their young men to insert advertisements in newspapers or elsewhere?

The Senator is undoubtedly aware of the fact that Great Britain has raised an army of 4,500,000 soldiers by extensive advertising—the most strenuous campaign of advertising ever attempted in private or public endeavor. No Englishman thought it was an attack upon the patriotism of the young men of England, and it was wonderfully successful. No nation in all the world's history has accomplished as much in the organization of a volunteer army as has England in the last two and a half years. Were we to accomplish as much in proportion to our population as England has accomplished, we would have to raise an Army of 10,000,000 volunteers.

So this matter of advertisement is not one that can be looked upon lightly. It has its value, as has been proved by the experience of England in this war. It is possible, by advertisements properly used in this country, to help our War Department.

Now, a remark or two, Mr. President, with respect to the pay of men and of the inducements that are held forth to men to volunteer to do military service in time of peace.

It is true that up to date the recruiting service of the Regular Army has failed to get the required number of men to enlist in that branch of the service. As the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] has said, by the passage of a special resolution over a year ago we authorized the increase of the Regular Army by 20,000 men, and the national-defense act of last year also authorized a permanent increment of somewhere in the neighborhood of 38,000 men, the first year's increment in the enlargement program. In 1916 the Regular Army, according to my best information, only gained 1,400 men. It is now short something like 37,000 of the first increment under the national-defense act of last year.

It is a peculiar thing, and one which I think is significant when viewed in connection with this problem of recruiting. Money is not the only inducement to get men to volunteer in the military service in peace or in war. Not even in peace is it the principal inducement. I venture to say that even if you doubled the wages of enlisted men in the Regular Army in time of peace you would not get the required number. Let me say that without any additional pay as compared with the pay of Regulars, the Marine Corps is always full. They get all the men they want at $15 a month. Their pay is on the same basis as that of soldiers in the Regular Army.

Why is it that the Marine Corps gets all the men they want? It is because that service offers opportunities for adventure. That is what keeps the Marine Corps full. A young man who goes into the Marines, with some spirit of adventure in him, who wants to see the world and see service, knows that the Marines are the first men who see active service. If there is a little revolution in some Central American country, it is the Marines that land and establish order. If there is some trouble in any part of the world where it is necessary to exert the military or the naval force of the United States, it is the Marines that go.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield right there?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly.

Mr. HUGHES. I am very much interested in this subject, though I differ slightly with the Senator; and I propose to lay before the Senate at the proper time, as soon as I get an opportunity, some information I have with reference to the effect on enlistments of increased pay. It is by no means the immaterial consideration that the Senator seems to think, in my judgment; but my purpose in rising was to ask the Senator what is our complement of Marines?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Fifteen thousand.

Mr. HUGHES. Of course the Senator knows that there is no difficulty in recruiting a body of 15,000 men. There is no difficulty in recruiting a body of 15,000 regular soldiers.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Well, Mr. President——

Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me one moment——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. Perhaps the Senator was going to say the same thing that I was. In the Naval Committee we authorized an increase, I think, of 3,600 men in the Marine Corps, and 30,000 offered. Now, 30,000 would be a good, round number to offer for the Army.

Mr. HUGHES. I will say to the Senator right now, because it is pertinent, that I have the testimony of an officer who appeared before either the Senate or the House Military Affairs Committee, in which he says that the increase from $13 to $15 a month doubled the recruiting in the United States, and that

with that increase he was able to get 20,000 recruits. You can not ignore that testimony. Senators should not attempt to ignore that testimony. It is one of the vital elements and considerations in the case, if anybody cares anything about the enlisted men of the Regular Establishment, which I have grown to doubt very much.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I did not mean to give the impression that the wages paid is an inconsiderable element in this great problem. Of course, if you double or materially increase the wages or the pay of enlisted men in the Army, you will get more recruits; but I venture to say to the Senator from New Jersey or any other gentleman who is interested in this problem—and I grant his deep interest in it—that even if we could materially increase the pay of the soldiers of the Regular Army in time of peace, we would never be able to fill it to 270,000, as is contemplated under the national-defense act of June 3, 1916. It will take something besides the monetary inducement.

Mr. FLETCHER and Mr. KIRBY addressed the Chair.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The reason why the Marine Corps is kept full in time of peace, and at the same pay and with the same treatment accorded its men as is accorded to the men of the Regular Army, is because it appeals to that natural spirit of adventure that lies in the breast of every manly young man.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am inclined to agree with the Senator from New York in what he has said, especially with reference to this feature of advertising. I think it is quite important. I do not believe, and I was going to ask the Senator whether he felt, that we have had a fair test of the volunteer system under the recent legislation.

For instance, does not the Senator believe that there was objection to doing police duty on the border of Mexico, and there were features connected with that effort to increase the Regular Army and also to increase the National Guard that prevented that increase from being what we expected? In other words, that the system has not had a genuine test up to this time? If there is to be a real war; if there is to be active service; if there is to be reason to appeal to the patriotism of the young men of this country, does not the Senator believe that they will respond?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, my remarks are addressed to the provisions of this bill.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr WADSWORTH. I have not had a chance to answer the question. This bill contemplates authorization for the Secretary of War to advertise for recruits in the ordinary piping times of peace.

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes; I agree with what the Senator said about that.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Now let me answer the Senator. I think we should advertise in war and peace, as a matter of fact. But let me answer the question of the Senator from Florida with respect to the apparent failure or perhaps with reference to the unfairness, as he puts it, of the tests thus far given to voluntary recruiting, particularly with respect to the incident along the Mexican border.

In spite of the fact that war with Mexico seemed at least possible, and in fact probable, for quite a period of time, the Regular Army was unable to materially increase its enlisted strength. When the National Guard was mobilized, on June 18 last, a swarm of recruits started to enlist in the National Guard. The orders were issued from the War Department that the guard should be raised to war strength, which necessitated the increase of the average unit of the National Guard by 30 or 40 per cent, for under the law prior to that time they were not permitted to hold their units at war strength. For the first 10 days following that mobilization order hundreds and literally thousands of recruits flocked to the armories and headquarters of the different National Guard units all over the United States; but when it became apparent that the administration in Washington had no real intention of doing anything in Mexico no more recruits came; and it will always be so. It was impossible after the expiration of about 10 days after the issuance of that mobilization order to get any more recruits in such numbers as to be worthy of consideration, illustrating once again that it is not the money that is the inducement. It is a combination of patriotism and a love of adventure. So in time of peace, in order to keep your Regular Army full or anywhere near its authorized quota you must authorize the Secretary of War to advertise, and advertise liberally. That is all I have been contending for.

May I add, just in this connection, in connection with the present emergency, that recruits have been flocking to the headquarters of National Guard organizations in greater or less degree ever since the German ambassador was sent home, some of them anticipating that this condition might lead to war. It was the possibility and even the probability of war that attracted those recruits, not the money; and to my astonishment and deep regret I hear that the War Department has sent out an order forbidding the National Guard organizations to continue accepting recruits. That order, as I understand, was issued just the other day, and in one armory in the city of New York, occupied by a regiment that has just been mustered into the Federal service for the second time in the last eight months, 300 recruits were turned down because the order came from Washington that they must accept no more, and the same thing has happened in greater or less degree at several other places. The reason assigned to it unofficially—and I have no official knowledge of the reason back of this action—is that there are not enough supplies to equip these recruits.

Mr. KIRBY and Mr. POINDEXTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield first to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. POINDEXTER. There has been an ample amount of money appropriated for supplies for the National Guard.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, is it not because of the fact that at this time they have adopted a system of conscription, and that volunteering is not to be permitted, nor is any person to be permitted, as in days past, to organize a regiment and offer it to the Government; and has it not been announced that the War Department has recommended conscription to the exclusion of volunteering?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I understand that the announcements which have thus far been made, and of which, of course, I have knowledge solely through the press——

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I not answer the question of the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. REED. I wanted to correct the Senator from Indiana in a phrase that he used; that is all. I am sure he wants to be correct. I think he did not intend to employ the phrase that the order had been issued for conscription.

Mr. WATSON. Perhaps it has not been issued; but is it not the understanding, and has it not gone out through the press as the understanding of the War Department, and was it not announced in the press the other day, that the Secretary of War had so testified before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House?

Mr. REED. Well, I only spoke in the interest of accuracy. I knew the Senator wanted to be accurate. No such order has been issued. The statement last made by the Senator may be absolutely accurate. I do not challenge that.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator just a moment? There was no order of conscription, and the Secretary of War would not have power to order conscription; but the suggestion has been made——

Mr. WATSON. Yes; the suggestion. Perhaps I ought not to have used the word "order."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The suggestion has been made that the proposed Army legislation was to include a system of conscription.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I say a word to the Senator from Indiana?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] asked me a question. I should like an opportunity to answer it, and then I should be glad to yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

May I say, in reply to the Senator from Indiana, that as I understand it—and I think he understands it the same way—the announcement that has been carried in the press with respect to the organization of the armed forces of the United States to meet this emergency contemplates three things: First, the raising of the Regular Army to complete war strength by accepting volunteers for that service, and in the event of volunteers not coming forward in sufficient numbers, to impose a draft in order to fill up the Regular Army; second, to raise the National Guard of the United States to war strength, approximately 400,000 men, by volunteers, and if volunteers are not forthcoming in sufficient numbers to impose a draft; third, the creation of a new army, 500,000 men in its first increment, by a conscriptive system. It is with respect to the second

suggestion that I have called attention to the order of the War Deparment, directed to officers of the National Guard, not to accept volunteer recruits; and I have been astonished that it was done.

Mr. WATSON. What is the strength of the National Guard at this time?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The strength of the National Guard is in the neighborhood of 160,000 men.

Mr. WATSON. And the full number is 400,000?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The full complement, under the terms of the act of June 3, 1916, would be 400,000 men, at war strength.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. KIRBY. I merely desired to ask a question of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, but it may be just the same if I ask it of the Senator from New York. He made a remark to the effect that publicity of advertising is altogether desirable. I wish to find out whether it is the policy in this war, for war is already declared, to call on volunteers. I believe when the war spirit was at its highest the advertising time was then. Does the Senator know whether we are going to call on the volunteers or not? I understand that in the Spanish-American War there were 600,000 volunteers, and we are expecting now to raise certainly 500,000 men. I merely wish to ask if it has been the declared policy not to call for volunteers? I wanted to ask that question of the chairman of the committee.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Will the Senator from New York allow me to answer it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I will be very glad if the Senator will answer it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is being discussed. I am not telling any secrets, because it has been published in the press that the War Department proposes conscription; that it does not propose to do away with the volunteer system, for that is to be exhausted first; but whether that will be adopted or not will rest entirely with Congress.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. May I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I ask the chairman of the committee if he will tell us why the tender of the volunteers of the National Guard all over the country was rejected? I have had some complaints from my State. I received a number of telegrams asking that the volunteers be accepted, as many were seeking to volunteer and to fill up the quota of the National Guard. I wanted to ask the chairman of the committee if he could tell us about that?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have not heard of any such orders. If the Senator has received telegrams, I assume he took it up with the War Department. It may be that they have done so, but I have not heard anything of it. The first intimation I heard of it was on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I made inquiry of the War Department, and all the information I got was that there was a temporary suspension and that shortly they would be prepared to accept volunteers again.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I shall take only a moment longer to conclude, but I will yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WEEKS. I want to refer to what was said just now about the acceptance of the volunteers at this time. Ten days ago—it may be two weeks ago—when in Massachusetts nearly all the Massachusetts regiments were enlisted up to their maximum peace strength and they had a very considerable number of men who were prepared to enroll themselves, so that they could go in when the call came to enlist these regiments up to their war strength. They have not been allowed to do that up to this time. Several thousand men are waiting to be enrolled. They may get cold feet and decline to be enrolled unless that is done.

Ten days ago the governor of Massachusetts sent a telegram, which was also joined in by the governors of the other New England States, asking the administration and the War Department to permit them to enlist their militia regiments up to the maximum war strength. There has been no attention given to it. In the meantime everything has been stopped. Before that time, at least two weeks ago, the governor of Massachusetts had asked the War Department to allow the enlistment of these regiments up to the war strength. There was no reply to that for several days. I state this simply to corroborate what has been said, and to express the opinion that unless something is done pretty soon those men who are willing to volunteer, who are ready to go into the service, will lose their enthusiasm and we shall lose those men.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I simply say in conclusion that I understand, from very indirect sources and with no very great confidence in the correctness of the explanation, that the reason for the suspension of recruiting the National Guard to war strength by the volunteer system was the lack of supplies for equipping the men. Now, how serious that lack of supplies is I do not know; I imagine there is no Member of the Senate who knows; but I desire to call attention to the fact that when the guard was mobilized at the end of last June it was then ordered to recruit to war strength, and some of the units succeeded in reaching war strength before the excitement, if I may term it, subsided and recruits stopped coming in. If the guard was ordered to be recruited to war strength in June, 1916, it at least is conceivable that the War Department has been at work to make the purchase of necessary materials and equipment. If that has not been done during all these months that have transpired, it is not surprising that they are unable to accept recruits when once more it is contemplated to raise the guard to war strength.

And may I say, in connection with this particular regiment which had to turn down 300 men in one day, there are now carried on the rolls of that regiment 1,350 men, every one of them a veteran of border service. They are now again in the Federal service, guarding the lines of communication in up-State New York. Every man responded. In addition to the 1,350 full equipments which those men went away with, carried on their backs and in their packs and in their wagon trains, there were about 300 more equipments in that same armory, and those 300 recruits could have been equipped; but apparently the War Department did not know that the extra equipment was there or it did not want the men.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, before the Senator takes his seat will he give me a little information? Can he state to the Senate why the National Guard in some of the States is now being mustered out of the service; that it has recently been, in the last two or three weeks, mustered out and is yet being mustered out?

Mr. WADSWORTH. My information is not complete. I did not realize that they were still mustering out the National Guard.

Mr. FALL. The National Guard of New Mexico was complimented by Gen. Pershing in El Paso, Tex., two weeks ago as having performed its duty wonderfully well; that they were magnificent soldiers and had done everything they were called upon to do, scattered along the border for hundreds of miles. They had been in the service since the National Guard was mustered into the Regular service, and they were ordered mustered out the latter part of March. The order was countermanded temporarily. They were ordered mustered out again on the 5th day of April, and on the 5th the order was temporarily countermanded, but it was understood they could not obtain the service of mustering-out officers. They were then ordered to be mustered out on the 7th day of this month. I have not heard from them since.

In the latter part of March, within the last days of March, just prior to the 1st of this month, at El Paso, Tex., there was mustered out of the service Battery A, New Mexico National Guard, which was pronounced at the time in public by Gen. Greble to be the best battery on the border whether in the Regular service or in the National Guard service. It was composed of young men who had taken great pride in keeping up this battery. The commanding officer is an ex Swiss artillery officer, a man of wealth. The men were furnished their own horses and kept up their own organization with no help, I may say, from the State of New Mexico, or very little. As I said at a public reception tendered to the National Guard and attended by Regular officers, including Gen. Pershing and Gen. Greble, it was pronounced to be the best battery of Artillery which was on the border or had been on the border, whether in the Regular Army or in the National Guard service.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator if, when he states that these troops have been mustered out, he means by that that the organization has been dissolved. Will they not go back to the State and retain their original status, or are they to be really mustered out of the service?

Mr. FALL. They were mustered out, or are being mustered out, of the United States service. I am in the dark, just as all other Senators are; but I understand that the National Guard will only be used by the Government when mustered into the national service during this war. That is contemplated. Now, they have been in use on the border, mustered into the national service, and they have been mustered out of the national service.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. But they still have their State status.

Mr. FALL. That is a question for the Attorney General or the War Department or some one else to pass upon. The question has been raised, I may say, and I do not know that it has

been satisfactorily answered, though it came up with reference to this very battery. It was mustered in. It went from Roswell, in New Mexico, to El Paso, Tex., where it remained, doing duty along the border. Over the objection of the Senators from New Mexico, one of them I may say, at any rate, voiced in answer to petitions from every member of the guard and from the officers of the State, for some reason the guard was not even allowed to go back to Roswell for muster out. They desired to go back, in fact, as a battery. They were mustered out in opposition to the desire of the officials of the State and their own desire, communicated to the Secretary of War, and by him communicated to the commanding general. They were mustered out and turned loose at El Paso, Tex. What their present status is I do not know.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, while I am not in the confidence of the War Department or the administration I can readily understand from my standpoint why they have ceased to increase the National Guard. That is an organization which under the Constitution can not be taken out of the country. If they can only be retained here in the United States, they are simply a police force, if you recruited the National Guard up to the full maximum, and I can not see the necessity of keeping 400,000 men here in the United States to do a sort of military police duty.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Is the Senator clear as to the matter of service outside the country?

Mr. NELSON. Yes; the Constitution is plain on that.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The National Guard is now federalized. By the enlistment contract which each soldier signs he may be sent anywhere.

Mr. NELSON. That is only after they are mustered into the service of the United States and become United States volunteers, but if they preserve their position as a National Guard under the Constitution they can not be taken out of the country.

Mr. KIRBY. I should like to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCKELLAR in the chair). Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. NELSON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KIRBY. Is it not a fact that all the National Guard were required to take the oath and be mustered into the Government service before they were sent to the Mexican border?

Mr. NELSON. Those who were there were mustered into the service of the United States, but——

Mr. KIRBY. They are still in the service until they are mustered out, are they not?

Mr. NELSON. But as the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] intimated, they are mustered into the United States service when they call them out, but when they are mustered out of the United States service they are not mustered out of the National State Guard. They still remain a part of that organization under State law, as the Senator from Michigan intimated.

As I said, it is a peculiar organization, and I can see no necessity for increasing the National Guard unless you put it on the exact footing of volunteer soldiers or the Regular Army so that they can be taken outside of the country and used in a foreign war. If they are only to be used in a domestic war, I can see no necessity of having 400,000 more or even 100,000 National Guardsmen.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. To repel invasion.

Mr. NELSON. Yes; to repel invasion.

Now, coming to the other question, as to how to recruit our Army in time of peace or in time of war we had good lessons in the Civil War. In the North the most effective way of recruiting men was for the governor to call together a group of men, as good, able men as he could find. He would say, "Here, I will make you a colonel"; "I will make you a lieutenant colonel"; "I will make you a major."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. What did he make you?

Mr. NELSON. Never mind, I will come to that later on. He would say, "I will appoint you 10 men as captains, and so on down the line. You will recruit and organize a regiment. If you will get up the regiment I will appoint you as officers of that regiment." Each one of those men got busy. They were the recruiting officers. They would be anxious to form the regiment.

The only vice of that system was that while it furnished ample men it was a system that did not fill the ranks of the regiment when they were depleted by the losses of war or the accidents of battle. They were, however, most effective men. We now have on the statute books a provision, which was enacted during the Spanish-American War—and the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs will correct me if I am wrong—for an army of Federal volunteers. We had during the Spanish-American War two classes of volunteer armies; one class in which the governors of the States appointed the officers—they were like the National Guard in that respect—and we also had what were called Federal volunteer regiments, of which the President of the United States appointed the officers. I take it that in time of war the President of the United States can exercise his authority under that law. I ask the Senator from Oregon, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, if I am correct as to that?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is such a law, but there has been some question raised as to whether or not the national-defense act had not practically by implication repealed it.

Mr. NELSON. Well, unless that law has been repealed, the Government can call for Federal volunteers. If the President will take steps to organize such regiments, will call good officers together, such officers as are properly qualified, and will say, "I will appoint you colonel; I will appoint you lieutenant colonel; I will appoint you major, if you will go to work and recruit and organize a regiment," we will be doing exactly what was done during the Civil War.

As the Senator from New York truly said, it is not wages that hasten enlistments; it is the desire to go to war, to go into active service. A good many of our soldiers who recently went into the National Guard were stationed on the Mexican border, and they became discouraged and discontented because they had nothing to do except to drill and to stand camp guard.

I venture to say that if the President would call for a volunteer army of 500,000 men, and would say to them "You can go to Europe and fight," there would be no trouble in getting any number of volunteers. What our boys and our young men dread above all things is to be mustered into the service, then to be stationed in a camp and have nothing to do except drilling and standing camp guard. What the young men want is not bigger wages, but an opportunity to march, to meet the enemy, and to fight. Whenever we shall be in a position when we can say to our young men, "You will have a chance to fight in Europe," we shall have no trouble in securing an ample supply of volunteers.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

Mr. NELSON. But let me say——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NELSON. If the Senator from Missouri will allow me, I want to qualify that statement, because I do not desire anybody to obtain a wrong impression.

I do not think it is necessary at present to send soldiers over to Europe. I think it will now be sufficient if we fortify those nations with funds, if we aid them with supplies and munitions, put our Navy into active use, keep back the submarines, and keep the ocean lanes free and open for our commerce. If we do that, and properly aid them in financing the expenses of the war, I do not think we shall have to send any men over to Europe, but if a time should come when it would be necessary I have no doubt that we could get an ample number of volunteers who would be glad to go over and show those people how Yankee soldiers can fight.

This puts me in mind of a little piece of poetry. I beg to be excused for not yielding to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], but I shall do so by and by. Some years ago there was a man in Philadelphia, whose name, I think, was Charles G. Leland, who wrote poetry in the way the Pennsylvania Dutch speak English. He wrote under the name of Hans Breitmann. There was one of his verses which I remember very well. Hans was a German. After the Franco-Prussian War was over he went over to Germany and visited the German troops on the border. When he got there the Yankee spirit came over him; he commenced to brag, and, to show those German soldiers that we over in America were much better than they were, what do you think he wrote in his poetic vein? He wrote:

Over in America, schust before the battle pops,
We take a little prayer to Himmel, and a good long drink of schnapps.

[Laughter.]

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota made one remark, also made by other Senators who have recently spoken, to the effect that he did not believe that the wages paid to soldiers would have any influence on enlistments; that the desire to march, to meet the enemy, and to fight would be the inspiring things that would lead our young men to the colors. I have no doubt that sentiments of that kind would have a very great and salutary effect on the morale of the young men of the country—expressive, as such sentiments would be, of the spirit of patriotism. I should like, however, at this point, to ask the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, to tell me, what I ought

to know, but do not, what the monthly wage of a private soldier is.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is $15 a month; but it is increased after three years' service to $18.

Mr. WARREN. It is also increased for sharpshooting.

Mr. WATSON. What is the statement, please, Mr. President?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The base pay of a private soldier is $15 a month. It is increased after a term of service to $18.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator from Missouri merely to say that, in addition, the soldier is furnished with everything; that he practically has no expense.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I have thought for a long time that the wage paid the private soldier of the Regular Army, which I have been under the impression was only $13 per month, but which I am now told is $15 per month, with an increase after three years' service to $18 per month——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In case of reenlistment.

Mr. STONE. In case of reenlistment.

Mr. NELSON. The increase would apply in the case of a foreign war, also, if soldiers are sent out of the country.

Mr. WARREN. Twenty per cent is added to their pay if soldiers go out of the country.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I know that clothing, food, and barracks or tents are furnished the private soldier at the public expense. How much that costs for the individual soldier per year I am not advised, but I take it that the clothing expense per capita is not very large. I say that for the reason that the cloth out of which uniforms for soldiers are manufactured is bought at wholesale, on competitive bids, and at a comparatively low price.

If you add what the soldier gets as upkeep in the way indicated to his monthly wage I doubt if the entire compensation would amount to over $40 a month. I do not believe it would amount to $40 per month. I do not believe it would more than double the monthly wage running through the year.

If $15 per month is the wage, I venture to say that the expense to the Government—of course, this is conjectural, as I have said—I venture the opinion that the cost to the Government of the furnishings would not exceed $15 to $18 per month per man. Add that to the wage and the total of actual compensation is less than $40 per month.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. STONE. If the Senator from Utah can give me any information he knows to be correct, I will be glad to have it.

Mr. SMOOT. The estimate made of the amount required for the care of a soldier, for all that is furnished him by the Government, including hospital care and every requirement made by him, is $70 per month. That is, wherever there is an appropriation made to take care of a soldier it is based upon $70 a month, including everything the Government furnishes the soldier; and I will say that the Government furnishes the soldier everything that is required by him.

Mr. PAGE. Does that include his salary?

Mr. SMOOT. No; that is outside of his salary.

Mr. REED. What is the estimated amount?

Mr. SMOOT. Seventy dollars per month.

Mr. STONE. That includes his salary, does it not?

Mr. SMOOT. No; that is for the maintenance of the soldier outside of his salary.

Mr. STONE. I did not before know what the estimates were, but the estimates seem to me to be exceedingly exorbitant if applied per man. Of course, hospital expenses of a soldier unfortunate enough to require hospital treatment, and the treatment being free, would increase the money benefit to that soldier; but I can not think that $70 a month for clothing, food, and shelter—and that is all the soldier gets, except when he is sick and needs a doctor and a hospital. Some Senator remarks that the soldier also receives free transportation.

Mr. REED. That estimate probably includes overhead charges.

Mr. STONE. I do not know as to that; I do not know what "overhead charges" are in such a case. I am speaking about what the soldier gets for his service, what the individual enlisted man actually gets out of it. He gets $15 per month and his clothing, his food, and his shelter; and that is all he does get. The other things are incidental and are mostly for the benefit of the Government, such as transportation in sending troops from one place to another. If items of that kind are charged to the soldier as a benefit to him, why, then, I do not know as to what total you might extend the estimate.

Mr. President, what I had in mind to say—and it will be very brief—is that I have thought for a long time that the wage of the private soldier, even with his keep thrown in, was altogether a very inadequate compensation. The soldiers are the poorest paid people in the public service. Their compensation is insignificant, if not disgraceful, as compared to that of any employee in the civil service of the Government. Even those who spend only two to four hours per day in washing the floors and windows of department buildings or of the Capitol—men and women who do the simplest kind of work in all the departments, receive from $60 to $100 per month.

Mr. President, the soldier of the Regular Army, at least in time of peace, holds a place in the public service which seems to me to be one of the most undesirable open to an American citizen. In large degree the service is menial, as we all know. The soldier is unlike the civil-service employee, who works seven or eight hours a day and after that goes out free to enjoy life in any way he or she pleases to enjoy it——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And with the way of promotion open to them?

Mr. STONE. Yes; and, as the Senator from Michigan says, the door of promotion is always before their eyes; they have something to work for. In a way it might be said also of the private soldier that there was before him some prospect of promotion in the ranks to noncommissioned places, and, possibly, up to commissioned officers, but such cases are very rare and, I fear, are not much encouraged. The fact is undeniable that in time of peace the service is an undesirable one, and not only undesirable, but it is the hardest of all public services. Soldiers have no Sundays of leisure; they have no hours of liberty, or seeming liberty, except by leave to go at a certain time and to return at a certain time; and if they do not obey the terms of that leave to the letter they are subject to the guardhouse as a punishment. That is the discipline of the Army, and it is a proper and necessary discipline, but comparatively it makes the service all the harder.

Mr. President, it is a hard, and to me uninviting, service for men of pride and spirit—I am speaking of the Regular Army—and yet, sir, I am glad to say that I believe the men who constitute our Regular Army are a body of fine, stalwart Americans. Those I see are certainly husky, fighting-looking chaps, and, I believe, would in the future, as the Regulars have in the past, render a splendid account in the face of any kind of danger. I believe that; but that being true, it is all the greater shame that they should get practically nothing by way of compensation for this arduous and dangerous service.

Mr. President, boys have gone into the Regular Army for one reason or another—the Lord knows what—and I have had mothers and other close relatives send word to me by letter many times to go to the War Department to get them relieved from the service, and so have you. I suppose there is not a Senator here of any length of service, or any Member of the other House, who has not had that experience time and again. The soldier boy may have been in some way helpful in supporting his mother. Many appealing stories have been written to me, as they have been to you, and I have gone, as you have, to see what could be done. We are all familiar with that. The boy was tired of the service, and the mother wanted him at home. I have always, in the interest of discipline, sustained the well-considered regulations of the War Department, and I do now; but the service, nevertheless, is a hard one.

Mr. President, we are in a war, and we are going to raise a half million men at once, we are told, and a little later a million and a half more. Patriotic advertising is all right; I have no objection to that; in fact, I approve of it.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr. STONE. Just a moment; I would prefer not to be interrupted just now. Mr. President, when these boys go from their homes they frequently, if not usually, leave behind them people who are in a greater or less degree dependent upon them. We are now entering upon a great war. We are starting in to raise by far the greatest army in our history. They will not be Regulars, but they will be in the Army of the Nation for a great and remarkable service. We are to gather this vast array of valiant men through volunteering or by conscription. We are going to embark them upon the hazards of this great world war. Would you conscript men and send them into this war for $15 per month and a free uniform? I speak not now of volunteers; a man can volunteer to do whatever he wishes; but compulsory service is different. A workingman, with dependents, taken from good employment to incur the hazards of war at $15 per month, with hard-tack, sowbelly, sorghum, and coffee thrown in, may not feel the thrills we would like to have him feel when he marches to the front. Mr. President, $15 a month is a poor compensation for the most difficult and dangerous service that an American can render his flag or his country. It ought to be at least two or three times that amount. Suppose you made it $50 a month, and you had 2,000,000 men in arms. That would

amount to $100,000,000 per month as pay to men you send to the front, and it would be a small money compensation at that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator just a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. STONE. I was through, substantially.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator has made some statements that I do not think ought to go unchallenged or uncorrected.

Mr. STONE. Well, I want them corrected if they are wrong.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator that the testimony before our committee shows that the average pay of the enlisted man is $266 per year. The pay of a million men, if you do not increase the pay but let them have the same pay that they get now, is $266,000,000.

Mr. STONE. I know that. I have stated that if you increased the pay to $50 per month it would be $100,000,000 a month—more than three times what you say.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am just calling the attention of the Senator to the fact that that is the pay alone, and that is not the largest part of the expense by any manner of means, so that if you increase the pay very substantially there is not any government in the world that could stand it. The United States pays the highest price for the enlisted men and the highest price for officers, too, so far as that is concerned, of any government in the world. Complaints are made now about the extravagance of the Military Establishment, but if the Senator prevails in his contention now——

Mr. STONE. I am not contending. I scarcely know what you have before us. I know you are talking here about wages being no inducement to enlistment, and about advertising being an inducement to enlistment. I think the advertising is all right, but I also believe that the men who engage in the most perilous of all services rendered the public should not receive the least pay of anybody in the service of the Government.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. STONE. I do.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Will the Senator let me make a suggestion? I do not think the pay of a soldier ought to be attractive as a business investment.

Mr. STONE. No; nor do I. At best it is a poor business investment.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I think that in this Republic, if it is to remain a republic, the business of the soldier should be one of patriotic duty. The men who join the Army—the volunteers, 99 out of every 100, the men who do the effective service in time of war—suffer pecuniary sacrifices when they do it, and I for one do not want the Army made attractive to such an extent that it will be joined as a business investment. I hope, if I may say so in the Senator's time, that the American citizen may be permitted to show his patriotism in this time of stress by volunteering his services to defend the Nation's flag, and not be offended in the outset by conscription.

Mr. STONE. Well, I am for that, too, Mr. President. I like the idea of volunteers. We are about to vote, so we are told, five billions of credit. I think I shall vote for that. Three billions of it is to be by way of a loan to our European allies to aid them in prosecuting this war. I am going to vote for that if presented, and I am going to vote for it cheerfully since we are in the war for the purposes for which we have declared war. I am going to vote for it willingly. Having taken this step, national honor and good faith require us to stand by it. I shall also vote for two billions of bonds in addition, if deemed necessary, to inaugurate our part of the war. But, Mr. President, I would not hesitate so far as I am concerned to vote another billion to compensate the men who must go to the front—not to pay them for their patriotism, not to purchase them, not as a bounty, but that it might be the best-paid army in the world; and that the young men—the husbands and sons—who may go to uphold the flag, might have a little something to send to the dear ones at home for their comfort, since their own hands could be no longer employed to aid or to succor them.

I have said more than I intended, but I could not help saying a word for those who are to do the fighting.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to be inserted after line 10, page 41.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas offers an amendment, which will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. On page 41, at the end of line 10, it is proposed to insert:

Provided further, That war having been declared, the President is hereby authorized to call for volunteers in numbers of 500,000 until as many men are enlisted in the Regular Army as are deemed necessary to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN obtained the floor.

Mr. HUGHES. Will the Senator permit me to offer an amendment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. HUGHES. I do not want to trespass on the Senator's time. I know he desires to have an adjournment, but I should like to use about five minutes in stating the purpose of the amendment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That will open up a discussion. I have no objection to the amendment being offered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey offers an amendment, which the Secretary will state.

The SECRETARY. On page 19, line 3, it is proposed to strike out "$29,000,000" and insert "$58,000,000" and to insert a proviso as follows:

Provided, That hereafter the pay of enlisted men in the Regular Army shall be $30 per month, and that the pay of noncommissioned officers shall be increased in the same proportions.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I desire to have this amendment printed and pending. To-morrow I shall take occasion to submit some remarks and give certain information which I think I have on this subject. At present I will not detain the Senate.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. OWEN. I wish to have printed in the RECORD a proposed amendment to the pending bill with an explanatory note attached thereto.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that will be done.

The matter referred to is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO THE ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

(H. R. 13, 65th Cong., 1st sess.)

On page 25, after line 16, insert:

"*Provided*, That the act of June 3, 1916, paragraph 1, section 10, be amended to read as follows:

"'That the Medical Department shall consist of a Medical Corps, a Medical Reserve Corps within the limit of time fixed by this act, a Dental Corps, an enlisted force, a Nurses' Corps, and contract surgeons as now authorized by law; commissioned officers of which shall be citizens of the United States, and general officers equal in number to one-half of 1 per cent of the total number of officers in the Medical Corps, the senior of whom shall be a lieutenant general and chief of said department, responsible to the Secretary of War for the medical care and transportation of all diseased and injured men who fall under the control of the War Department in peace and war. He shall be directly responsible to the Secretary of War for those provisions which look to the preservation of the health of the men in all of the commands within the control of the War Department, and shall be, ex officio, a member of the General Staff.'"

JUSTIFICATION.

If this amendment should be adopted the Medical Corps of the Army would have the same proportion of general officers as was allowed to the Naval Medical Corps by the act of August 29, 1916, from which is clipped the following paragraph:

"Medical Corps: One-half medical directors with the rank of rear admiral to 4 medical directors with the rank of captain, to 8 medical inspectors with rank of commander, to 87½ in the grades below medical inspector: *Provided*, That hereafter appointees to the grade of assistant surgeon shall be between the ages of 21 and 32 at the time of appointment."

In considering this amendment attention is called to the amendment to the Army bill adopted by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs when the bill was before the Senate at the close of the last session (H. R. 20783, pp. 16 and 17, as reported to the Senate Feb. 27, 1917), which increased the general officers of the line and provided for three generals and three lieutenant generals, does away with the grade of brigadier general, and provides liberally otherwise for the general officers of the line of the Army.

At present there are about 430 officers in the Medical Corps and more than 1,400 in the Medical Reserve Corps (colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants), who would in time of war be under the direction of the officer in control of the Medical Corps, and there are over 6,000 enlisted men. In case of war these will have to be very largely increased in number.

All of the sick and the injured are under control of the Surgeon General, and he has to formulate and give the directions for the handling of all of this large number of men, as well as the direction to the officers and men of the Medical Department itself.

These functions are those of a general officer. The function of this general officer is that of a soldier, and the medical care of these men who have been injured is only a part of this work. It is an important part, but it is not so important as the collection of these wounded, preparing them so that they may be transported to the medical men in the hospitals at home without further damage. It is a soldier's work to collect, give medical attention to, and bring back in the face of oncoming troops, and to get these wounded men back to the base hospitals without further injury. No one but a trained medical soldier, familiar with the line soldier's ways and methods can do this.

Grade and present percentage.	Per cent.
Colonels	3.16
Lieutenant colonels	5.42
Majors	23.70
Captains and first lieutenants	67.72
Total	100.00

Percentage composition of the present Army Medical Corps.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I understand that several Senators desire an executive session.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; that is true.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After seven minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

Mr. OVERMAN. I introduce a joint resolution authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 28) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That in order to secure a more complete protection of the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings there shall be employed, while Congress is in session, and not later than the 15th day of July, 1917, by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives, 50 additional policemen, who shall be appointed solely on account of their efficiency and special qualifications.

To enable the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay the necessary expenses of said employment, at a rate not to exceed $3 per day, there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $6,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, the same to be immediately available and to be paid upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 10, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 9, 1917.

GOVERNOR OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Rear Admiral James H. Oliver, United States Navy, to be governor of the Virgin Islands, ceded to the United States by Denmark.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION.

Frank W. Taussig, of Massachusetts, for a term of 12 years.
Daniel C. Roper, of South Carolina, for a term of 10 years.
David J. Lewis, of Maryland, for a term of 8 years.
William Kent, of California, for a term of 6 years.
William S. Culbertson, of Kansas, for a term of 4 years.
Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, for a term of 2 years.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PORTO RICO.

Martin Travieso, jr., to be a member of the Executive Council of Porto Rico, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate, vice Manuel Camunas, resigned.

SOLICITOR FOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Lester Hood Woolsey, of New York, to be Solicitor for the Department of State, vice Cone Johnson, resigned.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Francis J. Kearful to be Assistant Attorney General, vice William Wallace, jr., resigned. Mr. Kearful is now serving under a recess appointment,

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

U. V. Whipple, of Cordele, Ga., to be United States district judge, southern district of Georgia, vice William Wallace Lambdin, deceased.

JUDGE OF CIRCUIT COURT, TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

William H. Heen, of Honolulu, Hawaii, to be third judge of the circuit court of the first circuit, Territory of Hawaii, vice James L. Coke, appointed associate justice, supreme court, Hawaii.

JUDGE OF POLICE COURT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Robert Hardison, of Kentucky, to be judge of the police court of the District of Columbia, vice James L. Pugh, term expired.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Joseph W. Montgomery, of New Orleans, La., to be United States attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana, vice Walter Guion, resigned. (Now serving under appointment by the court.)

William D. Kyser, of Memphis, Tenn., to be United States attorney, western district of Tennessee, vice Hubert F. Fisher, resigned. Mr. Kyser is now serving under appointment by the court.

Joseph Moore, of Lake Charles, La., to be United States attorney, western district of Louisiana, vice Robert A. Hunter, appointed by court.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles F. Rattigan, of Auburn, N. Y., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8, with headquarters at Rochester, N. Y., to succeed the present incumbent, whose term of office expired March 31, 1916.

NAVAL OFFICER OF CUSTOMS.

Edwin G. Hunter, of Alexandria, La., to be naval officer of customs in customs collection district No. 20, with headquarters at New Orleans, La., in place of Jared Y. Sanders, resigned. Mr. Hunter is now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate.

ASSISTANT CHIEF, BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

Chauncey D. Snow, of Massachusetts, to be Second Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce, vice Frank R. Rutter, resigned.

CONSULS GENERAL.

CLASS 2.

John G. Foster, of Vermont, now a consul general of class 3, to be a consul general of class 2 of the United States of America.

CLASS 4.

Maddin Summers, of Tennessee, now a consul of class 3, to be a consul general of class 4 of the United States of America.

William Coffin, of Kentucky, now a consul general of class 5, to be a consul general of class 4 of the United States of America.

CLASS 5.

Marion Letcher, of Georgia, now a consul of class 6, to be a consul general of class 5 of the United States of America.

CONSULS.

CLASS 4.

E. Haldeman Dennison, of Ohio, now a consul general of class 5, to be a consul of class 4 of the United States of America.

William C. Magelssen, of Minnesota, now a consul of class 5, to be a consul of class 4 of the United States of America.

Jay White, of Michigan, now a consul of class 5, to be a consul of class 4 of the United States of America.

CLASS 5.

North Winship, of Georgia, now a consul of class 6, to be a consul of class 5 of the United States of America.

John K. Caldwell, of Kentucky, now a consul of class 6, to be a consul of class 5 of the United States of America.

CLASS 6.

John A. Gamon, of Illinois, now a consul of class 7, to be a consul of class 6 of the United States of America.

Walter A. Leonard, of Illinois, now a consul of class 7, to be a consul of class 6 of the United States of America.

José de Olivares, of California, now a consul of class 7, to be a consul of class 6 of the United States of America.

CLASS 7.

George K. Donald, of Alabama, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

Felix S. S. Johnson, of New Jersey, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

Ezra M. Lawton, of Ohio, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

CLASS 8.

John S. Armstrong, jr., of North Carolina, now a consul of class 9, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

Lawrence P. Briggs, of Michigan, now a consul of class 9, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

Francis J. Dyer, of California, now a consul of class 9, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

CLASS 9.

John S. Calvert, of Raleigh, N. C., to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

Horace J. Dickinson, of Little Rock, Ark., now marshal of the consular court at Canton, China, to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

George G. Duffee, of Mobile, Ala., to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

Thornwell Haynes, of Birmingham, Ala., to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

Horace Remillard, of Massachusetts, now interpreter to the consulate at Swatow, China, to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

Alfred R. Thomson, of Maryland, now a consular assistant, to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

COAST GUARD.

First Lieut. Herman Howard Wolf to be captain in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from April 2, 1917, in place of Capt. James L. Sill, deceased.

Second Lieut. Russell Randolph Waesche to be first lieutenant in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from April 2, 1917, in place of First Lieut. Herman H. Wolf, promoted.

Third Lieut. Clement Joseph Todd to be second lieutenant in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from April 2, 1917, in place of Second Lieut. Russell R. Waesche, promoted.

First Lieut. of Engineers Harry Upton Butler to be captain of engineers in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from March 27, 1917, in place of Captain of Engineers David McComas French, retired.

Second Lieut. of Engineers Albert Frank Patterson to be first lieutenant of Engineers in the Coast Guard of the United States, to rank as such from March 27, 1917, in place of First Lieut. of Engineers Harry U. Butler, promoted.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Passed Asst. Surg. Wade H. Frost to be surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from February 3, 1917.

Passed Asst. Surg. Eugene H. Mullan to be surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from February 2, 1917.

Asst. Surg. Mather H. Neill to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Heath Service to rank as such from March 7, 1917.

Asst. Surg. John H. Smith, jr., to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 12, 1917.

Asst. Surg. Henry F. White to be passed assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 12, 1917.

These officers have served the required time in their present grades and have passed the necessary examinations for promotion.

Dr. Joseph Thomas Applewhite to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 26, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Julius Stanley Shourds Gardner to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 24, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Paul Darwin Mossman to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 24, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Harry Stoll Mustard to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 26, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Thomas Parran, jr., to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 26, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Roy Preston Sandidge, to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 26, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. John Wilson Tappan to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 26, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Richey Laughlin Waugh, to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 23, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

Dr. Ralph Chester Williams to be assistant surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 26, 1917 (now serving under a temporary commission issued during the recess of the Senate).

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

CAVALRY ARM.

Maj. William T. Johnston, Cavalry, adjutant general, to be lieutenant colonel from March 24, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Melvin W. Rowell, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

Maj. Harold P. Howard, Cavalry, Quartermaster Corps, to be lieutenant colonel from March 24, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. William T. Johnston, whose detail in The Adjutant General's Department is continued.

Maj. Elmer Lindsley, Cavalry, Quartermaster Corps, to be lieutenant colonel from March 24, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Harold P. Howard, whose detail in the Quartermaster Corps is continued.

Maj. William J. Glasgow, Fifth Cavalry, to be lieutenant colonel from March 24, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Elmer Lindsley, whose detail in the Quartermaster Corps is continued.

Capt. Frank R. McCoy, Third Cavalry, to be major from March 24, 1917, vice Maj. William J. Glasgow, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. William D. Geary, Cavalry, unassigned, to be captain from January 23, 1917, vice Capt. Charles L. Scott, Fifteenth Cavalry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Emil P. Pierson, Cavalry, unassigned, to be captain from January 30, 1917, vice Capt. Henry C. Smither, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Clark P. Chandler, Ninth Cavalry, to be captain from February 1, 1917, vice Capt. Sebring C. Magill, Thirteenth Cavalry, transferred to the Coast Artillery Corps.

First Lieut. Richard H. Kimball, Fourth Cavalry, to be captain from February 6, 1917, vice Capt. Roy B. Harper, Twelfth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Abbott Boone, Ninth Cavalry, to be captain from February 10, 1917, vice Capt. Hugh H. Broadhurst, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. William L. Moose, jr., Fifteenth Cavalry, to be captain from February 10, 1917, vice Capt. Arthur W. Holderness, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Frederick S. Snyder, Second Cavalry, to be captain from February 14, 1917, vice Capt. Eben Swift, jr., unassigned, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. William C. Christy, Ninth Cavalry, to be captain from March 3, 1917, vice Capt. Henry J. McKenney, Twelfth Cavalry, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Sloan Doak, Cavalry, detached officers' list, to be captain from March 6, 1917, vice Capt. Edgar A. Sirmyer, Fourteenth Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Leland Wadsworth, jr., Ninth Cavalry, to be captain from March 24, 1917, vice Capt. Frank R. McCoy, Third Cavalry, promoted.

First Lieut. Seth W. Scofield, Fourth Cavalry, to be captain from March 31, 1917, vice Capt. Adna R. Chaffee, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Second Lieut. Tattnall D. Simkins to be first lieutenant from March 2, 1917, vice First Lieut. Edward C. Smith, who died March 1, 1917.

NOTE.—Lieut. Simkins was nominated to the Senate March 12, 1917, and his nomination was confirmed March 15, 1917, as a first lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers to rank from February 2, 1917. This is submitted for the purpose of correcting an error in the date of rank of the nominee.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

First Lieut. Thurman H. Bane, Eighth Field Artillery, to be captain from September 22, 1916, vice Capt. Albert U. Faulkner, Fourth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Albert K. C. Palmer, Field Artillery, unassigned, to be captain from November 15, 1916, vice Capt. Daniel F. Craig, Fourth Field Artillery, detailed in the General Staff Corps.

First Lieut. Oliver A. Dickinson, Ninth Field Artillery, to be captain from November 20, 1916, vice Capt. James W. Riley, Third Field Artillery, resigned November 19, 1916.

First Lieut. Frederick W. Stewart, First Field Artillery, to be captain from January 26, 1917, vice Capt. Henry H. Pfeil, Ninth Field Artillery, transferred to the Coast Artillery Corps.

First Lieut. Herbert B. Hayden, Second Field Artillery, to be captain from February 3, 1917, vice Capt. Walter W. Merrill, Seventh Field Artillery, transferred to the Coast Artillery Corps.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

Capt. Edgar H. Yule, Sixth Field Artillery, to be major from March 21, 1917, vice Maj. Edward T. Donnelly, unassigned, detailed in the Adjutant General's Department.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

First Lieut. Townsend F. Dodd, Coast Artillery Corps, captain Aviation Section, Signal Corps, to be captain from February 10, 1917, vice Capt. Francis J. Behr, placed on detached officers' list.

INFANTRY ARM.

Lieut. Col. Edward M. Lewis, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be colonel from March 23, 1917, vice Col. Francis J. Kernan, Twenty-eighth Infantry, appointed brigadier general.

Capt. Berkeley Enochs, Eleventh Infantry, to be major from March 22, 1917, vice Maj. William Phillips, Twenty-eighth Infantry, detailed in the Ordnance Department.

First Lieut. James H. Laubach, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from January 23, 1917, vice Maj. Irvin L. Hunt, judge advocate, who resigned his commission as captain of Infantry, only, January 22, 1917.

First Lieut. George R. Harrison, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from January 26, 1917, vice Capt. Charles D. Herron, Tenth Infantry, transferred to the Field Artillery.

First Lieut. Ralph W. Dusenbury, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from January 26, 1917, vice Capt. John R. Kelly, Tenth Infantry, transferred to the Field Artillery.

First Lieut. Thomas C. Spencer, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from January 26, 1917, vice Capt. Walton Goodwin, jr., Thirty-third Infantry, transferred to the Cavalry Arm.

First Lieut. Fauntley M. Miller, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from January 26, 1917, vice Capt. George C. Lawrason, Tenth Infantry, transferred to the Cavalry Arm.

First Lieut. Ray C. Hill, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from January 29, 1917, vice Capt. Clifton M. Butler, Thirty-fifth Infantry, who died January 28, 1917.

First Leiut. Patrick J. Morrissey, Thirteenth Infantry, to be captain from January 29, 1917, vice Capt. Frank B. Kobes, Thirty-fifth Infantry, transferred to the Cavalry Arm.

First Lieut. Thomas M. R. Herron, Fifteenth Infantry, to be captain from January 31, 1917, vice Capt. Edmund S. Sayer, Eleventh Infantry, transferred to the Field Artillery.

First Lieut. John D. Reardan, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from February 1, 1917, vice Capt. De Witt W. Chamberlin, Twentieth Infantry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

First Lieut. Ernest L. Pell, Thirteenth Infantry, to be captain from February 1, 1917, vice Capt. Otto L. Brunzell, Twentieth Infantry, transferred to the Field Artillery.

First Lieut. Joseph C. Hatie, Twenty-fourth Infantry, to be captain from February 6, 1917, vice Capt. Robert E. Frith, Twenty-seventh Infantry, retired from active service February 5, 1917.

First Lieut. John W. Simons, jr., First Infantry, to be captain from February 10, 1917, vice Capt. George Steunenberg, Twenty-fifth Infantry, retired from active service February 9, 1917.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CHAPLAINS.

Rev. Oscar Lee Owens, of Virginia, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from March 19, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Rev. Zachary Taylor Vincent, of New Mexico, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from March 28, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

Rev. Merritt V. Eusey, of Ohio, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant from March 28, 1917, to fill an original vacancy.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Veterinarian John A. McKinnon, Quartermaster Corps, to be assistant veterinarian, with rank from June 3, 1916, to fill an original vacancy.

Veterinarian James R. Shand, Quartermaster Corps, to be assistant veterinarian, with rank from June 3, 1916, to fill an original vacancy.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Butler Y. Rhodes,
Arthur H. Rice,
Stanton L. H. Hazard, and
John J. McCracken.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Emory F. Clement,
William T. Mallison,
Richard F. Bernard,
George E. Brandt,
James L. Kauffman,
Archibald H. Douglas, and
James D. Moore.

The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade) in the Navy from the 7th day of June, 1916:

John R. Palmer,
Neil H. Geisenhoff,
William G. B. Hatch, and
Rawson J. Valentine.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

William H. Reynolds and
Clark H. Woodward.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Ralph R. Stewart to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Arthur B. Cook and
Herbert E. Kays.

Gunner Gottlieb Sherer to be a chief gunner in the Navy from the 18th day of February, 1917.

The following-named machinists to be chief machinists in the Navy from the 31st day of December, 1916:

Walter M. Shipley,
John C. Parker,
Robert B. Sanford, jr., and
Charles D. Welker.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Thomas C. Hart,
Leonard R. Sargent,
Willis McDowell,
Charles T. Owens,
George T. Pettengill,
Herbert G. Sparrow, and
Adolphus E. Watson.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Bruce L. Canaga,
Walter B. Woodson,
William R. Furlong,
Charles H. Shaw,
Edmund S. Root, and
Earl R. Shipp.

The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Clarence McC. McGill,
Thaddeus A. Thomson, jr.,
William F. Amsden,
Joseph Baer,
Carl C. Krakow,
Harry A. McClure,
Harold W. Boynton,
Archer M. R. Allen, and
Allan G. Olson.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Cullen H. Want to be an assistant naval constructor in the Navy from the 15th day of March, 1917.

The following-named machinists to be chief machinists in the Navy from the 31st day of December, 1916:

Walter Lau, and
John E. Burger.

The following-named midshipmen to be ensigns in the Navy from the 30th day of March, 1917:

Frederick E. Haeberle,
John E. Ostrander, jr.,
Edmund E. Brady, jr.,
Houston L. Maples,
George W. McIver, jr.,
Andrew I. McKee,
Henry R. Oster,
Randall E. Dees,
Colin Campbell,
Paul W. F. Huschke,
Theodore L. Schumacher,
Clarence W. Johnson,
Douglas W. Coe,
Frank G. Fahrion,
Albert Noble,
Norborne L. Rawlings,
Ingolf N. Kiland,
Frank H. Dean,
Edward A. Mitchell,

Harold S. Klein,
Alexander D. Douglas,
Homer N. Wallin,
Donald B. Duncan,
Sydney J. Wynne,
Earle E. Muschlitz,
Robert B. Dashiell,
Julian L. Woodruff,
John O'D. Richmond,
David C. Fox,
Andrew G. Shepard,
Simon P. Fullinwider,
Lisle F. Small,
William P. O. Clarke,
Edmund B. Caldwell,
Jay K. Allen,
Nicholas Vytlacil.
Stanton H. Wooster,
Edward B. Rogers.
George T. Howard,
Charles L. Hayden,
Robert L. Randolph, jr.,
Robert G. Tobin,
Theodore M. Waldschmidt,
Herbert B. Knowles,
Adolph P. Schneider,
Anson A. Bigelow,
Robert R. Ogg,
John C. Tyler.
Harold B. Sallada.
Benjamin Buchalter,
George R. Fairlamb, jr.,
Joseph W. Gregory,
John R. Cruse,
John T. Metcalf.
Ross F. Collins.
Paul F. Shortridge,
Francis C. Denebrink,
John J. Twomey,
Felix B. Stump,
Robert B. Matthews,
Hugh St. C. Sease,
Walter C. Calhoun,
Carl F. Holden,
Lester J. Hudson,
Kingsland Dunwoody,
Samuel B. Brewer,
Vincent J. Moore,
Frank W. Lively.
James H. Conyne,
Davenport Browne,
Frederic W. Neilson,
Franklin S. Irby,
Allen I. Price,
Colin De V. Headlee,
Byron K. Presnell,
Merrill Comstock,
Robert W. McReynolds, jr.,
Richard W. Gruelick,
Harrison Avery,
Paul U. Tevis,
Leonard Doughty, jr.,
Wilbur V. Shown,
Hanson E. Ely, jr.,
George K. Weber,
Ralph U. Hyde,
Ralph Wyman,
Andrew G. Reaves,
George C. Cummings,
Richard H. Harper,
George M. Keller,
John B. Heffernan,
Edward J. Moran,
Harry C. Blodgett,
John H. Keefe,
Elliott M. Senn,
Francis W. Benson,
Thomas R. Cooley, jr.,
Vernon F. Grant,
George L. Harriss,
Francis T. Spellman,
Homer W. Clark,
Carl L. Hansen,
Edward Sparrow,
Ben H. Wyatt,
Rober L. Porter, jr.,
Ward P. Davis,
Guido F. Forster,
Volney O. Clark,
Edward H. Jones,
Earl W. Morris,
Robert W. Fleming,
Thomas B. Hendley,
William J. Morcock,
Kenneth L. Coontz,
Karl Keller,
Howard F. Councill,
Robert E. Keating,
Philip W. Warren,
John N. Walton,
Allan R. McCann,
Evan G. Hanson,
Herbert W. Anderson,
William G. Ludlow, jr.,
Carl W. Brewington,
Leonard B. Austin,
Charles McK. Holton,
John H. Jenkins,
Leonard P. Wessell,
Emile Topp,
Frank L. Worden,
Donald R. Evans.
Frederick L. Weis,
Frank J. Hanafee,
Andrew R. Mack,
John G. M. Stone,
Ralph F. Skylstead,
Clarence O. Ward,
Guy W. Clark,
Thomas D. Ross,
James P. Conover, jr.,
Francis A. Smith,
Peyton H. Park,
Conrad L. Jacobsen,
Kenneth Floyd-Jones,
William H. Ball,
Laurence P. Sargent,
Seabury Cook,
Constantine N. Perkins,
Rollin Van A. Failing,
Benjamin O. Wells,
Laurence O. Kelley.
Herbert W. Jackson,
Douglas A. Spencer,
Charles W. Weitzel,
Harold F. Ely.
Isidore Lehrfeld,
Stephen E. Dillon,
John H. Forshew, jr.,
William S. B. Claude,
William S. Heath,
Guy B. Hoover,
Kenneth M. Hoeffel, and
John J. Bartholdi.

The following-named midshipmen to be assistant paymasters in the Navy from the 30th day of March, 1917:

Edgar F. Marbourg,
Leland S. Steeves, and
Albert R. Schofield.

The following-named midshipmen to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 30th day of March, 1917:

William P. Richards,
Benjamin F. Staud,
Edward G. Hagen,
Thomas B. Gale,
Thomas F. Harris,
Earl S. Hurlbut,
Charles M. Jones, and
Willett Elmore.

Lieut. Col. Thomas C. Treadwell to be a colonel in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. Col. Albert S. McLemore, assistant adjutant and inspector, to be an assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps with the rank of colonel from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Maj. James T. Bootes to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Douglas C. McDougal,

Ellis B. Miller, and
Charles F. Williams.

Capt. Elias R. Beadle to be a major in the Marine Corps from the 18th day of October, 1916.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Harold B. Pratt,
Henry M. Butler,
John Marston, third,
Samuel M. Harrington,
Chester L. Gawne,
Nedom A. Eastman,
Leon W. Hoyt,
Thomas S. Clarke,
George H. Osterhout, jr.,
John Q. Adams,
Charles G. Sinclair,
Adolph B. Miller,
Allen E. Simon,
Sidney N. Raynor,
Alexander A. Vandegrift,
Lester S. Wass,
James T. Reid,
Robert P. Peirce,
Oliver Floyd,
George C. De Neale,
Albert R. Sutherland,
Rolland E. Brumbaugh,
Earl C. Long,
William M. McIlvain,
Roy D. Lowell,
Tracy G. Hunter, jr.,
Bernard F. Hickey,
Richmond Bryant,
Paul C. Marmion,
Lowry B. Stephenson,
John L. Mayer,
Benjamin A. Moeller,
Clyde H. Metcalf,
Harold C. Pierce, and
Douglas B. Roben.

Second Lieut. Pedro A. del Valle to be a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916.

The following-named officers of the Medical Reserve Corps of the Navy and the Naval Reserve Force of the Navy to be assistant surgeons in the Navy from the 4th day of April, 1917:

Louis H. Clerf (Medical Reserve Corps).
Benjamin V. McClanahan (Naval Reserve Force).
Ezra E. Koebbe (Medical Reserve Corps).
Thomas C. Anderson (Naval Reserve Force).
Leon W. McGrath (Naval Reserve Force).
William H. Whitmore (Naval Reserve Force).
Kenneth E. Lowman (Medical Reserve Corps).
James M. Howard (Naval Reserve Force).
Sterling P. Taylor, jr. (Medical Reserve Corps).
Harold W. Wellington (Naval Reserve Force).
Alexander B. Hepler (Naval Reserve Force).
William E. Glanville (Naval Reserve Force).
Earl C. Carr (Medical Reserve Corps).
Melville J. Aston (Naval Reserve Force).
Emil J. Stein (Medical Reserve Corps).
Philip J. Murphy (Naval Reserve Force).
Leo C. Thyson (Naval Reserve Force).
William O. Bailey (Naval Reserve Force).
Alma C. Smith (Medical Reserve Corps).
John T. Bennett (Naval Reserve Force).
Arthur H. Drane (Naval Reserve Force).
Paul W. Wilson (Naval Reserve Force).
Erik G. Hakansson (Naval Reserve Force).
Rolland R. Glasser (Naval Reserve Force).
Ellis A. Stephens (Naval Reserve Force).
Howard E. Gardner (Naval Reserve Force).
William J. C. Agnew (Medical Reserve Corps).
Rudolph D. Joldersma (Medical Reserve Corps).
Jesse W. Allen (Naval Reserve Force).
Alanson L. Bryan (Medical Reserve Corps).
Charles D. Shannon (Medical Reserve Corps).
Leonard Hays (Naval Reserve Force).
William R. Levis (Naval Reserve Force).
Ashton E. Neely (Naval Reserve Force).
Ross T. McIntire (Naval Reserve Force).
William G. Bodie (Naval Reserve Force).
William H. Fickel (Naval Reserve Force).
Edward A. Brown (Medical Reserve Corps).
Aaron Robinson (Medical Reserve Corps).
John R. White (Naval Reserve Force).
Mortimer T. Clement (Medical Reserve Corps).
Joseph H. Durrett (Medical Reserve Corps).
Ralph H. Jenkins (Naval Reserve Force).
Park M. Barrett (Naval Reserve Force).
Horace E. Spruance (Naval Reserve Force).

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *April 9, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou great Spirit, Life of our life, Light of our light, Father of our souls, our Republic is being weighed in the balance. Are we guided by divine light? Shall we be upheld by divine strength? Is it love, or hate? Is it democracy, or plutocracy? Is it the "divine right of kings," or the divine right of men? Are we on Thy side in consonance, therefore, with the eternals? If so, we shall not be found wanting. Is the flag we love, with all its sacred traditions, its glorious triumphs, bathed in the blood of true men, to be lowered, or shall it float on over us and for the world of mankind? These are the times that try men's souls. Guide us, O we beseech Thee, in Thy way. If we live or die, survive or perish, let it be for right and truth and justice. In His name, amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday was read and approved.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, for the information of Members of the House I desire to say that the House will adjourn to-day until to-morrow at 12 o'clock for the purpose of enabling the minority to finish at that time their committee assignments and for the purpose of considering another measure which the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] will present, which will not take much time. After that the House will adjourn until Wednesday for the purpose alone of permitting the introduction of an important war measure.

The SPEAKER. Now, the House is going to meet to-morrow and also on Wednesday.

Mr. RAINEY. Yes; and also on Wednesday with no particular business to discharge, and will meet on Thursday for the purpose of considering the war measure introduced on Wednesday, which it is hoped will be ready at that time, and which will be reported out, when it is ready, by the Committee on Ways and Means.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 12. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior years, and for other purposes.

SWEARING IN OF THE DELEGATE ELECT FROM HAWAII.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Tennessee rise?

Mr. AUSTIN. For the purpose of asking to have the Delegate elect from Hawaii sworn in.

Delegate Elect J. KUHIO KALANIANAOLE, of Hawaii, presented himself before the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Massachusetts favoring the establishment of universal military and naval training.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HOUSTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a resolution adopted by the Leonidas Polk Bivouc and William Henry Trousdale Camp, of Tennessee.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a series of resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in Springfield, Mo., on March 29.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. OVERSTREET. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a resolution which I hold in my hand.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by publishing some resolutions passed on the 4th of April by the Patriotic Alliance of Altoona, Pa.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

MILEAGE, ETC. (H. REPT. NO. 2).

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Appropriations I report a bill making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 122) making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

GENERAL DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 12, the general deficiency bill, to disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks to have the general deficiency bill taken from the Speaker's table, to disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I notice one of the Senate amendments carries an appropriation of $100,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the President. Is there anyone in the legislative circle who has any information as to what is expected to be done with this money? Have there been any hearings, any statements made, or any information of any kind furnished either to the House or the Senate in reference to this sum?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I have been informed that the Secretary of the Treasury made a statement before the Senate Committee on Appropriations relative to the item. He afterwards conferred with me, and I suggested that an estimate be transmitted to Congress in regular form. That has been done, but I have no detailed information as to the purpose of the appropriation. Before the last Congress adjourned, however, the Secretary of the Treasury spoke of the desirability in the event of hostilities with any Government of placing a large sum of money at the disposal of the President to do a number of things that might be highly essential in case the country were involved in war for which it might be difficult to anticipate in order to estimate more specifically. I said at that time that I was inclined to believe that, while it would not be, perhaps, willing to make large grants of money in lump sums without limitations to any department of the Government, the Congress would probably be willing to place an emergency fund at the disposal of the President to cover the situations that could not be readily anticipated.

I assume that the request for this $100,000,000 is for that purpose. The Senate amendment makes the appropriation immediately available and available until December 31, 1917, just the balance of the calendar year.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman will remember that at the time of the Spanish-American War—he was not then a Member of the House—we appropriated $50,000,000 and placed it at the disposal of the President. My recollection is that a portion of that was afterwards covered back into the Treasury, not all being expended, although most of it was. In my judgment, much of it was squandered; that is, expended uselessly or extravagantly. I suppose it may be desirable for the balance of this fiscal year, and perhaps longer, to put some money into the hands of the President for emergency, but it seems to me it would be wise if we knew something about what it was asked for.

The other day an estimate came to the House for something over $2,000,000,000 for the War Department. Theoretically the estimate was in violation of the Constitution, though not practically, it being provided that it be appropriated until expended, although under the Constitution we can make no appropriation for the Army to expend for beyond two years.

Now, is it the expectation that Congress is simply to be dissolved? Will we say that we will turn over all the money that can be raised, either by taxation or bonds, to be expended by the direction of the President, who personally can not know what it is to be expended for or the need for expenditure, and practically end the theory that Congress is in control of the appropriations for the Government?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted to make a statement—and I speak only for myself, assuming that it may be of interest to the House to know what my attitude is—the form in which certain estimates were transmitted to Congress, if enacted into law in that shape, would mean that Congress was either abdicating all of its functions or was delegating all of its powers to the executive branch of the Government. I do not know what the policy of the administration is to be. I have no information upon it other than what is before the House and is available to all other Members of the House. I myself do not believe that any situation has arisen that makes it either necessary or desirable to establish in this country the most absolute autocracy the world has ever known in government. [Applause.]

I believe that a situation confronts the country when the Representatives of the people of the United States must exercise the functions and perform the duties and accept the responsibilities that the Constitution intends should be devolved upon them. I am in favor of giving to the administration every dollar required to prosecute the war, but I am not willing to act blindly or to permit some one else's judgment to be substituted for my own. [Applause.] I expect that in so far as requests are made for money to carry on the war, to carry on the Government, to make available without destroying the entire fiscal system of the Government the money that is necessary. We have a fiscal system entirely dependent upon the fiscal year, and I am not in favor of granting omnibus appropriations to be available indefinitely regardless of the law. We will need to provide money, additional money, for the balance of this fiscal year. We will need to provide additional money for the next fiscal year. And for fiscal years following the next fiscal year the regular appropriation bills should carry the sums necessary, so that the Congress and the people and the administration will know just what is to be available. I am not yet in that frame of mind that I believe it is necessary either to appropriate or to raise all of the money that may be required during the entire continuance of the war, if it is to last more than a year. I speak only for myself. I make this statement so that there may be no misunderstanding of my position. I believe that it would be the height of folly to begin a war to protect and maintain our rights by destroying the most essential features of our own system of government. [Applause.] It is not necessary. It should not be done. I expect that full information will be given to the Congress as to the needs of the Government, so that the Congress may act intelligently and wisely and patriotically. In these views I may not be in accord with anyone either here or in the executive departments of the Government. I hope I am, because I intend to perform my duty in the light I have. I desire to act in harmony with the executive departments of the Government, as I know everyone else in Congress does, but the estimates which have been transmitted are based upon conditions that can only result after considerable legislation is enacted by Congress. I do not believe that anyone can expect Congress, in anticipation of necessary legislation, to make appropriations that can not be available unless the legislation is enacted.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to hear the gentleman say what he does. I think we ought to make all the needed appropriations to carry on the war.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If the gentleman will permit me for a moment, I wish to add that at the outset, at this time, there may be reasons for placing some such sum as the Senate has proposed at the disposal of the President for meeting necessities which there would not be at any other time.

Mr. MANN. I appreciate that. I am in favor of making all of the appropriations which may be necessary or desirable. But I hope that we will not be asked, in the endeavor to spread democracy throughout the world, to abolish it at home. [Applause.] And if it is the idea that we shall place billions of dollars without any control whatever on our part over the money in the hands of the President or anyone else, that is an abolition of real democracy here.

Mr. MONTAGUE. May I ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] a question?

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I do not know if I caught the gentleman correctly, and I would like to ask the gentleman if he was

addressing himself to the $100,000,000 contingent fund to be placed in the hands of the President?

Mr. MANN. I addressed myself to estimates made for two or three billion dollars in four or five lines. The gentleman probably has not seen those estimates, but I have. They are printed and the gentleman can easily obtain them. He probably would not be willing to concede it would be possible——

Mr. MONTAGUE. I am asking purely for information, if the gentleman from Illinois will pardon me.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman got the information.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I may or may not.

Mr. MANN. We ought not to get into a panic. We ought to retain some coolness and remain somewhat sane. There is no occasion for us getting scared to death either about the war or our own functions.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York yield to me for about five minutes?

Mr. GARNER. I want to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] a question. So far as I have been informed other than by the estimates sent through the Treasury Department as to the amount of money that will be necessary to conduct the war for this fiscal year and the next, there has been no disposition on the part of the executive branch of the Government to ask for appropriations without such limitations as Congress thinks should be placed upon them, with such directions as it may see proper to make as to their expenditure. I know from conversation with the Secretary of the Treasury that it is not his idea, in sending in the estimates as he did, that Congress should not make the appropriations and direct their expenditure as it has done heretofore in the appropriation bills. I will say that to the gentleman for his information.

Mr. MANN. I will say to the gentleman in reply that the estimates that came in the other day came in the form of an item of appropriation, as is usually the practice of the department in submitting estimates, and it was proposed in one of them to appropriate two and a quarter billion dollars to be expended by the Secretary of War, but with no statement, no control, no limitation whatever. Now, if that was just for the information of Congress, very well. But I hope we will not be asked to make appropriations in that form.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] yield to me for two or three minutes?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York has the floor.

Mr. MADDEN. I asked the gentleman if he would yield to me for three or four or five minutes?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, in this connection I would like to say that there ought to be the closest kind of cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government, and I have taken the liberty this morning to introduce a bill for the creation of a committee on the conduct of the war, the provisions of which I will read to the House for its information now. I read:

Be it enacted, etc., That a joint committee shall be appointed composed of six Members of the Senate, including four Democrats and two Republicans, and six Members of the House of Representatives, including three Republicans and three Democrats, to be known as the "Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War." The membership of such committee shall be designated by the respective committees which select the members of the regular standing committees. Such committee shall sit during the sessions or the recesses of Congress, shall make a special study of the problems arising out of the war, shall confer and advise with the President of the United States and the heads of the various executive departments, and shall make report to Congress from time to time in its own discretion, or when requested to do so by either branch of Congress. Such committee shall have power to act by subcommittee or otherwise, and to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, to summon and compel the attendance of witnesses, and to employ such clerical, expert, and stenographic assistance as shall be necessary, and to pay the necessary expenses of such committee there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50,000, to be paid out upon the audit and order of the chairman or acting chairman of said committee.

Now, the purpose in introducing this bill for the creation of this committee was to make it possible to bring the legislative and the executive branches of the Government into close cooperation. It seems to me they ought to be in the closest kind of cooperation. Such a committee was organized by both Houses of Congress during the Civil War, and the House voted unanimously for its creation, and there were only three votes against the creation of such a committee in the Senate. That committee did a vast amount of good work.

This committee during the recess of Congress and during the sessions of Congress might investigate the propriety of the expenditure of money. It might ascertain whether or not contracts were being let at exorbitant figures, and whether things were being conducted as they ought to be conducted. As a matter of fact, everybody realizes that we ought to do everything we can to aid the President in the performance of the duties he is called upon to perform in connection with the conduct of this war, and in order to do that we ought to place ourselves in a position to be advised by him and to advise him and to advise with him and with the heads of the departments.

The truth is that in order to conduct this war as it should be conducted there ought to be Members of the House and Members of the Senate appointed to the Cabinet, so that they might be able to come in here and represent the activities of the executive branches of the Government. In that way we would have close cooperation; we would have harmony of action; we would then be in a position to do the thing that would conduct the war to a successful conclusion. The Congress of the United States is responsible to the people of the United States. It is called upon to levy the taxes upon the people of the United States.

I see by this morning's papers that the first thing that is to be called for is $6,750,000,000. If that statement in the newspapers is true, we are beginning with our expenditures where the European nations are ending theirs; and, while we ought to do everything we can to facilitate the conduct of the war and to aid the President in discharging the responsibilities which are imposed upon him, we ought not to act blindly. We ought to be patriotic, and we ought to investigate; and the more the expenditures are to be the more careful the investigations ought to be; and I submit, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, that this committee that I have proposed ought to be appointed.

I presume the bill will go to the Committee on Rules, and I shall press the consideration of it before that committee. I hope that the committee will be authorized and appointed, and that such men will be appointed on the committee as will cooperate heartily with the President of the United States and with every executive branch of the Government to a successful conduct of the war upon which we are now about to engage. [Applause.]

Mr. SHERLEY rose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Speaker, I think all of us are agreed that Congress should not and will not abrogate its functions in controlling both the raising and the expending of revenues. But I think that all of us should realize that most of the detailed legislation that takes place in normal times would have the value only of hampering the doing of those things that need to be done expeditiously, and that we of necessity have got to give to the administrative officers a leeway that would not be given in normal times.

Now, it is not contemplated, I believe, by anybody that the estimates shall be voted in the limited form in which they have been submitted. I happen to have examined into some $900,000,000 of items that go to make part of that estimate of $2,400,000,000. The details are full, and I have no doubt that those details will be laid before the proper committee and be considered in detail, and that the bills as reported will be reported much more in detail than any estimate now submitted; but if we should undertake to specify with the detail that we do ordinary appropriations, it would be a very grave mistake. I can speak of one matter, because I am perhaps familiar with it more than with other matters in connection with national defense.

In consideration of the fortification bill Congress has in the past been given the utmost information, more information than perhaps any Government has ever given touching that character of work. I should consider it to be a very fatal mistake if in appropriating moneys for the fortification of America and for the guns and ammunition for the mobile Army we should undertake to restrict the expenditures in the way we do in normal times. I am quite sure that we can work out a system whereby the Congress will know the essential things that it ought to know before appropriating money, without undertaking to tie the hands of the departments by a lot of restrictions at a time when time itself is of more value than anything else.

Now, just another word. A remark was made about estimates contemplating an expenditure at the beginning of this war equal in amount to those that have been made by some of the European nations after several years of war. Those expenditures, made by European nations, would not have been necessary to the extent they have been if sufficient expenditures had been made earlier and if there had been a proper appreciation of the need and the magnitude of the task that those Governments were undertaking, and at this particular time Congress can make no more fatal mistake than in undertaking to curtail or to slow down the necessary activities of the Government if this war is to be prosecuted, as the resolution declaring war said it was, by the pledge of all the resources of the United

States. [Applause.] And I hope that in the consideration of measures that will come here gentlemen will realize that of necessity we have got to leave administrative matters to administrative officers to an extent that heretofore we have not, and that we as individual Members must frequently accept statements of those who are given information that can not be made public as to the need and the wisdom of making particular appropriations.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman may have noticed in the papers within the last two days certain cablegrams, one from Rome, indicating that the Italian Government is grateful that the Government of the United States is about to make it a loan, and another from Petrograd indicating that the Russian Government, such as it now is, is also grateful in anticipation of a loan that the United States is to make to it. No such information as to loans having come to the Congress of the United States, does not the gentleman think it is the part of wisdom in Congress to at least ask for information in matters of this kind before it makes these tremendous lump-sum appropriations?

Mr. SHERLEY. Unquestionably; and I am not in any sense criticizing gentlemen for asking for information. I was trying to call attention to the fact that the Congress will of necessity occupy a different relationship in regard to the details of appropriations than it would in normal times.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In the matter of loans the gentleman agrees, I think—the earlier part of his statement would at least indicate it—that the Congress of the United States ought to be informed if loans are to be made to Italy, or to Russia, or to England, or to France, or to any other country. The Congress ought to be informed of that before the foreign nations are informed of it. Does not the gentleman think so?

Mr. SHERLEY. Oh, well, the gentleman from Pennsylvania is assuming what I do not know to be true, that the statement of the press indicates that there has been conveyed in any formal way to the foreign Governments information that loans of a certain size will be made to them. Speaking for myself, I believe that the country can do no more effective thing than to help the credit of the allies by the credit of the United States, and I believe that if it is to be done, the sooner it is done the better for the result that is to flow from it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That being the gentleman's view—from which other gentlemen might differ, and the gentleman being well posted upon the constitutional prerogatives of Congress—as well posted as any man in the House—does he not think that Congress should be informed in advance of matters of that kind?

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no doubt that Congress will be advised touching a matter of that sort before it is consummated.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. BORLAND. What the gentleman is discussing, however, at this time is not the question of making loans to foreign Governments, but the question of the expenditure of money placed in the hands of the administrative officers of the Government. Is not that true?

Mr. SHERLEY. The question of loans was brought up by the gentleman from Pennsylvania; but the point I want to emphasize—because I think it is exceedingly important that the Congress should have it in mind—is that it is absolutely impracticable and will serve no good purpose to undertake to make appropriations in the detailed manner in which appropriations are ordinarily made. By that I do not mean to say that committees of Congress ought not to have detailed information, just as detailed as the time and the facilities of men can make it, before appropriating sums of money; but when we appropriate them we must appropriate them in more general language. I do not mean by that to appropriate billions in three lines, but I do mean that all of the restrictions in regard to legislation that are ordinarily placed upon supply bills, the provisions that are carried ought not to be carried now, and if carried will have only the effect of tying tremendously the activities of the Government.

Mr. BORLAND. I so understood the gentleman.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Certainly.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I want to ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he is willing to state now to the House in what manner would the bill proposed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] embarrass the House or the administration?

Mr. SHERLEY. I am not prepared at this time to discuss the proposal of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] touching a joint committee of the House and Senate to aid the administration in the conduct of the war. That is a proposition so far-reaching that I would not want to commit myself upon it.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not take it that it commits anybody; but it looks to me like there is a great deal of wisdom in the bill proposed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]. In view of the fact that both the House and the Senate, as the gentleman says, will be advised from time to time, it seems to me that the joint committee proposed by the gentleman would be of inestimable value to the House and to the individual membership of this House in order that we may intelligently vote these appropriations. We all want to do whatever the administration wants. I for one, on this side of the House, think there is wisdom in the bill of the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SHERLEY. I do not want to discuss that further than to say that I can imagine nothing more unfortunate than for Congress to undertake to determine the method of conducting the war. Congress, by virtue of its size, is peculiarly adapted to determine great policies; but, from its size also, it is not a body that can conveniently perform executive and administrative acts essential to the vigorous prosecution of a war.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. The gentleman has indicated to the House that he has no doubt the House would be constantly advised and in a proper way, but he does not indicate what that way is. This bill points out the way by which it can be properly advised, and it is easy to inaugurate, so that we can start off together. I would like to be advised somewhat in advance, and this seems to be the only way that we can be so advised.

Mr. SHERLEY. The gentleman will appreciate that I have no right to undertake such a task as the gentleman proposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, I want to call attention to the estimate submitted the other day to the House under the date of April 5 in a letter of transmittal made to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by Secretary McAdoo:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 4, 1917.

SIR: I have the honor to forward herewith for transmission to Congress a special estimate of appropriations of $2,932,537,933, required by the War Department for the period of one year from the date the appropriations become available.

It is considered imperative that the amount estimated for be appropriated immediately for military expenditures necessary for the national defense.

Very respectfully, NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

The letter of estimate from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated April 4, says:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, April 5, 1917.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the consideration of Congress, copy of a communication of the Secretary of War of the 4th instant, submitting a special estimate of appropriation for national defense, War Department, in the sum of $2,932,537,933, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended.

Respectfully,

W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

Now, gentlemen will not understand, unless they understand the method of sending estimates of appropriations to Congress, that in sending estimates the department that prepares the estimates prepares the exact language which it desires to become incorporated in the appropriation law. They prepare the exact language and submit it to the House or Senate for the consideration of that body, and especially by the Committee on Appropriations, which prepares the bill. This estimate so submitted reads this way:

Estimates of special appropriations required by the War Department.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

National defense (War Department): For military expenditures under the War Department necessary for the national defense, and for each and every purpose connected therewith to be expended by the Secretary of War under such regulations as the President may prescribe, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended (submitted), $2,932,537,933.

Now, probably, as gentleman says, this estimate was submitted in this form only to indicate the total amount to be appropriated. Very well. But the estimate in the form it was submitted was designed to be enacted into law in that shape. That ought not to be done, in my opinion, and the department ought to submit estimates more in detail than are contained in this estimate. The Congress ought to know something about what it is appropriating for, as well as the total amount to be appropriated.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, I thoroughly agree to the statement he has just made, and I have no doubt that the detailed items and reasons will come in. As I stated a few moments ago, I took the trouble, on my own initiative, to look into the sums in connection with the coast-defense matters and heavy ordnance and ammunition. They have been detailed to a degree that was surprising, considering the labor that was involved in such a work, and I have no doubt that estimates will come in in very much greater detail than the one the gentleman has just read.

Mr. MANN. I called attention to it solely because the executive officers whose business it is to spend money rarely, in my observation, ever look at the matter of appropriation from the point of view of those who provide the money or those who furnish the taxes that make the money. I think it is advisable publicly to call attention to the matter in order to aid the executive officers to see our point of view.

Mr. GARNER. May I say that in calling the attention of some of the executive officers to the method of sending estimates they told me they intended to furnish full detailed statements of what these sums were required for, and that it was their intention to give to Congress all the information that they possibly could? I agree with the criticism of the gentleman from Illinois that Congress is entitled to know every purpose for which money is to be expended. Possibly it would be better if the estimates contained full detailed statements.

Mr. MANN. I am very glad that some gentlemen on that side of the House who have access to the administrative officers have already called their attention to the form of the estimate. I did not know that that had been done. I fully appreciate the desire of gentlemen on that side of the House to preserve, as I believe, the rights of the people and the House.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it will have to be borne in mind here and elsewhere that there is an express and explicit declaration in the Constitution of the United States that no appropriation for the Army can be for a period of more than two years.

Mr. MANN. Evidently the gentlemen who drew the estimate that I have referred to had not read that provision of the Constitution.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is unfortunate that the estimate was couched in that form, because it not only asks an appropriation in a manner that would be in contravention of a specific provision of the Constitution of the United States, but the estimate does not conform to the antideficiency laws which were enacted by Congress to make it possible to have appropriations made in a more effective and systematic manner than had been the practice theretofore.

Mr. SISSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to state in addition to what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] stated about that estimate, that if the Congress should make the appropriations, however much in detail they may be submitted to the committee—that is, the items of appropriations making up that lump sum—after the appropriation bill is passed, the only limitation on the department officials in the expenditure of the money would be the language in which the appropriation is carried; so it seems to me that the estimates to be submitted in the future ought to be more in detail, so far as the language of the estimate is concerned, rather than to have a detailed statement of what they propose submitted in the Book of Estimates, virtually privately submitted to the committee. The language ought to be submitted in detail, so that when the money is expended the specific authority would be carried in the bill to expend that sum of money for that particular purpose.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, before the question is put, it is but fair to state that there is complete harmony of opinion in the House as to the necessity and the desirability of furnishing all the moneys required, and that there will be no difficulty in so framing the appropriations so as to safeguard their expenditure, without embarrassing the administration. That may be a difficult task, but I believe it can be done.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER appointed the following conferees: Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. EAGAN, and Mr. CANNON.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. SHERWOOD, by unanimous consent, was granted leave of absence for 10 days, on account of important business.

RESIGNATION FROM A COMMITTEE.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following resignation from a committee, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives:

I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Respectfully, yours, CARL C. VAN DYKE.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

RESIGNATION OF A MEMBER.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following resignation of a Member from the House, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

FRANKLIN, PA., *April 3, 1917.*

To the Hon. CHAMP CLARK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Having been elected at the election in November, 1916, as Representative from the twenty-eighth congressional district of the State of Pennsylvania, I have this day transmitted to the governor of the State of Pennsylvania my resignation of the office, and I do hereby resign the said office of Representative from the twenty-eighth congressional district of the State of Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

Respectfully, yours,

O. D. BLEAKLEY.

The SPEAKER. The resignation will be filed in the archives of the House.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a short resolution adopted by Mountain City Lodge, No. 48, Knights of Pythias, Fairmont, W. Va.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT BUILDING.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. —) authorizing the use of the new Interior Department Building by the War and Navy Departments.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy are hereby authorized to use the new Interior Department Building, or such portions thereof as may be necessary, for accommodation of the War or Navy Department, respectively, during the war with Germany; and the custody of said building during such occupancy shall be under the control of the superintendent of the State, War, and Navy Department buildings.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, where is this request from?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would state, as is probably well known to the House, the War and Navy Departments have branches all over the city of Washington, paying considerable rents, scattered in distant parts of the city, and it has been thought that if this arrangement could be made the Navy Department could move out of the present building, and the State department also. There would be room enough for both of them in this new building, giving the old building up entirely to the War Department, and every branch of that service could be housed in that building. This would enable the Navy and the War and the State Departments, which are the important departments pending this war, to have all of their bureaus, all of the branches of their service, under the same building, so that they may act quickly and expedite the public business. This has been thought advisable by the Navy and the War Departments.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, there are some things that the gentleman has overlooked. The sundry civil appropriation bill carries a complete force for the new Interior Department Building, including the superintendent, and if such a resolution as this is to be enacted provision must be made for the continuation of the accommodations of the bureaus of the Interior Department which were to have moved into this new building by the 1st of May. I hope the gentleman will withdraw the resolution for the present, until the matter can be looked into fully.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I will state also to the gentleman that the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines, and, I think, the Reclamation Service all expected to get into this new building between now and July 1. No appropriation has been made for those bureaus, and, so far as I am informed, their leases on their present quarters expire very soon.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Florida whether he has inquired as to the availability of the new Department of Labor Building for utilization by the War Department, and also whether the Interior Department has not already begun to move into the Interior Department Building? I passed this new building yesterday and I noticed they are already taking possession of the building. I think before we should proceed on a resolution of this importance some investigation should be made by the committee, so that we may know the status of the respective buildings that are available for occupancy.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I will state my information is that the building is not at present occupied by anyone.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, has the gentleman taken the matter up with the Secretary of the Interior in order to learn the status of the bureaus of the Interior Department with regard to their contemplated moving into the new building?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No; I have not.

Mr. MONDELL. Should not that be done before Congress takes action?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want to yield to the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. AUSTIN.

The SPEAKER. Yield what?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. For the purpose of making a statement. I yield the floor, then.

Mr. FLOOD. Before the gentleman yields the floor, I would like to ask a question. Does the resolution contemplate moving the State Department out of its present home?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I will say this, Mr. Speaker: The resolution does not; but I am informed by officials in the Navy Department that there is ample room in this new building for both the Navy and the State Departments, if it is thought advisable that the State Department go there. This resolution simply directs that the War and Navy Departments, or either of them, be given the privilege of occupying the building during the pendency of the war with Germany.

Mr. FLOOD. Occupy the new building?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. This does not mention the State Department at all.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I was at the Navy Department last Friday and talked with a number of officials of that department about the congested and crowded condition at present, not to anticipate the increase of force necessary to the war condition, and visited a number of rooms and saw the overcrowded conditions at this time. I understand the Secretary of State has written a letter to the President urging that the new building constructed for the Interior Department be used for the War Department and permit the Navy Department and the State Department to use the entire War, State, and Navy Building until the close of the war. There will be sufficient room in the new Interior Building for all the activities of the War Department and the additional work incident to the war and also ample provision for the two or three bureaus of the Interior Department which are overcrowded and congested. Now, the Navy Department is going to be forced to add a wooden addition to the present War, State, and Navy Building between that building and the White House covering the street there unless some relief of this kind is immediately granted. There is not a more congested public building in Washington City than the War, State, and Navy Building. That fact has been recognized by Congress and the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, because provision has been made for the securing of a lot for the erection of a building so as to accommodate these overcrowded departments.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is the gentleman aware of the fact that the present Mills Building, now occupied by the Department of Labor, will soon be vacated, certainly before the end of the fiscal year, when they take possession of their new building which is being erected in the neighborhood, and the building which was formerly used as a naval annex will be available for the office force for the surplus activities of one of these departments. Now, these proposals have been before the subcommittee of the legislative, judicial, and executive appropriation bill. In fact, I think it would be indeed rash, without consulting the heads of these various departments, to pass this resolution now and maybe create confusion worse confounded. Certainly such a resolution should not be enacted without investigation by some committee of the House.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I insist that all the War Department activities should be under one roof during this war emergency, and not scattered over the city. There is no such condition confronting the Interior Department. I believe the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of State will approve of this change. Of course, we will find, perhaps, the Secretary of the Interior opposed to it, naturally wanting to go into this new home for his department; but it is not a question of the personal preference or desire of a Cabinet officer. The question is, What is for the best interests of the Government in an emergency of this kind? If we would investigate it a week or a month we would arrive at the same conclusion, as we all know it is an actual fact that the War and Navy Departments' forces are going to be almost doubled or trebled, and new or additional space is absolutely necessary and essential.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. Certainly.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. Granting all that the gentleman says is true, under the appropriation bill which passed last Congress for this fiscal year the Bureau of Mines, the Geological Survey, the Reclamation Service, and any other bureau in the Interior Department which is not now housed in a Government building, are expected to go into the Interior Department. There was absolutely no provision made for those bureaus and they are now contemplating moving very shortly. Does not the gentleman think it would be well to take the whole matter under consideration and have the resolution, if it is to be passed, take care of all these activities so that no bureau may be deprived of quarters?

Mr. AUSTIN. This building will be sufficiently large for the three bureaus of the Interior Department which need immediate relief and also provide ample room for the War Department.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee. The resolution does not so provide. It turns it absolutely over to these other departments and makes no provision.

Mr. AUSTIN. The gentleman can offer an amendment.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield to my handsome friend from Wyoming, the coming Senator from that State.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, if no one has the floor, I want to say a word.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I wanted to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. AUSTIN. I have yielded to the coming Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Of course we are glad he is coming, but will the coming Senator from Wyoming permit me to ask the gentleman this question? Does this resolution provide that this new building shall be occupied by both the War and the Navy Departments, or by one or the other?

Mr. AUSTIN. One or the other. It is absolutely necessary for the State and Navy Departments to be under the same roof and in close touch in view of their cooperative work.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the building under consideration, known as the Interior Department Building, was constructed for the various bureaus of the Interior service. It was planned and arranged with special reference to the needs of those services. It is not so arranged as to so well accommodate any other public service. It is possible that a situation has arisen under which it may prove to be wise to turn that building over to the War Department and the Navy Department, but if that is true we ought to know all about it. All of the Cabinet officers interested in those departments that are to be affected should be consulted, and I have no doubt that among them they will be able to arrive at an understanding and make a recommendation to the House relative to the matter. But until that is done it does not seem to me that it is wise—it certainly is not necessary—at this time to take action. Let us know what the Secretary of the Interior thinks about it.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, still reserving the right to object, we have had a good deal of pressure from all the departments of the Government for additional Government buildings. Finally we have provided and equipped the Department of the Interior with a new building, and it is just ready for occupancy. As long as this war lasts the State Department, the War Department, and the Navy Department will use it as an excuse for asking a great many things which they ought not to have, as that is human nature. Now, without consulting the Interior Department, they propose to take the Interior Department Building for two of these departments. Let us remember that we will still be at home in the country, notwithstanding the war. We will still have our industries going on, notwithstanding the war. All business and all governmental activities at home will not cease because of a war either on the ocean or on the other side of the water. We ought not to lose sight of the fact that it is just as important, or perhaps more important, to develop our industries at home just now than it

is to send either money or men abroad. [Applause.] Why not take the Agricultural Department Building for the Navy Department? Why not take the new Department of Justice Building for the Navy Department? Why not turn out everybody for the Navy Department? The Navy now has an annex fairly well equipped. They may need some additional room. Very likely they will. The War Department will need a considerable amount of additional room if the plans suggested in the newspapers go through. I do not think we ought because of this contingency, just because of the cry of war emergency, rob a department to whom we have given a building in order to place some other department in that building.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with gentlemen in reference to taking somebody's building away from him. I think that this Congress has the right to say where these departments shall go. This is a building constructed at the will of Congress. It is true that it was originally constructed for the Interior Department, but we are met now with an emergency. The Navy Department and the State Department and the War Department are certainly to-day the most important departments in the Government. It is necessary that these bureaus of the different departments be in close proximity to each other. It is necessary that the Secretary of the Navy have all the employees of that department assembled within easy reach. The Secretary of War likewise. So also with the Secretary of State. The conditions are such, as stated by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN], that unless something is done it will be absolutely necessary for the Navy Department to build a wooden structure adjoining the War, State, and Navy Building in order to house its activities.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me, as this is a request only for temporary use, that without consulting anybody this Congress has the right and it is its duty to put the officials of the Government in such position that they can render the most effective and the most efficient service to the Government. I offer this resolution, Mr. Speaker, principally in order that there might be an expression of thought. Something must be done. These departments must be housed in close proximity to each other. They must be under the same roof, and I have offered this resolution in order to accomplish that. But for the present, Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to withdraw the resolution, and I give notice that I shall again offer it within a day or two.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida withdraws the resolution.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER] asks unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DYER. The distinguished Speaker of this House, when he was accepting a reelection for the fourth time as Speaker, made the statement the other day that all people of this country, of all nationalities and of all religions and of all color, were loyal to this Government. I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that there is any question about that in the minds of any good American citizen.

In the press a few days ago we saw a statement to the effect that there was an effort of the Imperial German Government to organize the colored race to fight against the United States Government in certain sections of the Union. I desire to have the Clerk read a statement coming from one of the leading colored men of the South, Roscoe Conkling Simmons, of Louisville, Ky., upon the continued faithfulness of that race to their country and Government. Not that this evidence is needed, Mr. Speaker, because we need but read the history of our country to see that this race—now of ten million—has always exhibited a pure and genuine patriotism. In every war this people has fought for their country. It was so in the Revolution; it was so in the War of 1812; it was so in the Civil War, the Spanish War, and the Philippines and Mexico. It will be so in this war. Mr. Simmons truly speaks the facts in this statement of his.

The Clerk read as follows:

We have a record to defend, but no treason, thank God, to atone or explain. While in chains we fought to free white men—from Lexington to Carrizal—and returned again to our chains. No negro has ever insulted a flag. No negro ever struck down a President of these United States. No negro ever sold a military map or secrets to a foreign government. No negro ever ran under fire or lost an opportunity to serve, to fight, to bleed, and to die in the Republic's cause. Accuse us of what you will—justly and wrongly—no man can point to a single instance of our disloyalty.

We have but one country and one flag, the flag that set us free. Its language is our only tongue, and no hyphen bridges or qualifies our loyalty. To-day the Nation faces danger from a foreign foe, treason stalks and skulks up and down our land, in dark councils intrigue is being hatched. I am a Republican, but a Wilson Republican. Woodrow Wilson is my leader. What he commands me to do I shall do. Where he commands me to go I shall go. If he calls me to the colors, I shall not ask whether my colonel is black or white. I shall be there to pick out no color except the white of the enemy's eye. Grievances I have against this people, against this Government. Injustice to me there is, bad laws there are upon the statute books, but in this hour of peril I forget—and you must forget—all thoughts of self, or race, or creed, or politics, or color. That, boys, is loyalty.

[Applause.]

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes on the subject of the loyalty of the negroes?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I have in my district over 100,000 negroes. Few of them are voters, but I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that there never was a more loyal race of people than the black race. [Applause.] And those 100,000 negroes in the ninth district of Alabama will produce as large a percentage of men who are willing to fight for the American flag as any other 100,000 people in the whole United States.

I was raised among negroes, played with them in my childhood, and think I know their traits. They have many splendid qualities, and it is fitting that some southerner should stand up here and speak for them now when the cowardly finger of suspicion is pointed at them. I know that they are loyal; I know that they are brave; I know that they will make splendid soldiers, and if the time should come when this Nation needs soldiers, the faithful blacks down in the black districts of the South will come to the front like heroes.

The cheapest activity of patriotism is in spy-hunting and calling in question the loyalty of those of other races. It is an unworthy patriotism that confines itself to suspicion of other Americans because they may have been born in some foreign land or may belong to some other race. More than ever is it unworthy when the object of its attack is the American Negro, who has no other home than the United States and never knew any other flag than the Stars and Stripes.

I have recently regretted very much to see emanating from one or two sources charges questioning the loyalty of the Negro race. I have regretted to see this because it seems to me that those charges and suspicions are in themselves disloyal in their effect. They have the tendency to breed dissension. They have the tendency to stir up strife among our people. They are most ungenerous when they point the unjust finger of suspicion at this lowly and loyal race that have so few spokesmen and so few to stand up for them.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that the negroes are absolutely loyal, and they will fight, too. They will make brave soldiers, and you will find that, when properly led, they will do their duty as American soldiers, they will stand fire at the front, and will bravely suffer and die along with the balance of us. [Applause.]

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Does not the gentleman believe that in view of this beautiful tribute that he has paid to them they are entitled to the full rights of citizenship and the right to vote? [Applause.]

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Well, the gentleman has asked a question that might embarrass some men in public life, but it does not embarrass me. I want to say to the gentleman that, living far away from the South, neither he nor anyone like him can have a proper comprehension of the race question. It would not be well to give the vote indiscriminately to the negroes. That would not be well. I have not the time to explain why this is true. But the door of hope must be held open to the black race and the right of suffrage given to those who are most worthy of it. The Negro race should be encouraged to look forward to the time—some time in the future—when they shall have been fully fitted and qualified to receive all the rights of citizenship. No true southerner will take any different position. [Applause.]

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for an interruption?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. LANGLEY. I live nearer the Southland than does the gentleman from Indiana. The gentleman from Alabama speaks of "the door of hope." Does not the gentleman think that the State of Alabama has closed "the door of hope" to the black race?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Oh, the gentleman juggles with political questions. I regret to see him do that in this time of crisis.

Mr. LANGLEY. No; it is a serious question of justice to a race that you extol.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will withhold that motion for a moment.

Mr. RAINEY. I do.

PRINTING THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the President's message delivered last Monday may become a House document, and that as many copies as can be printed for $500, the usual limit under the law, be printed and placed for distribution in the folding room.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that the address delivered by the President to the two Houses of Congress last Monday night be printed as a public document, to a number that will not exceed $500 in cost.

Mr. MANN. It has already been printed as a House document.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. A House document?

Mr. MANN. Yes; it has already been printed as a document, but I have no objection.

Mr. BARNHART. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker—and I do not intend to object—$500, the amount that may be expended in printing a document by the House, without the concurrence of the Senate, will furnish 224,000 copies of the President's speech if printed on book paper, and if printed on the ordinary paper that we use in printing speeches we can get 334,000 copies. I think it would be well that the gentleman from Mississippi specify as to which of these we ought to have. If we order 224,000 copies printed on book paper we will get about 500 copies each, and if we use the ordinary print paper we can have 750 copies each, or something like that.

Mr. MANN. Two hundred and fifty copies each will be more than we can use.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. I want to amend my request, Mr. Speaker, by making it the ordinary print paper.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi amends his request and asks that this document be printed on the ordinary print paper. Is there objection?

Mr. FOSTER rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois rise?

Mr. FOSTER. I want to ask the gentleman from Mississippi if that means the small type used in printing speeches?

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi. My information from the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] is that it does not.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] moves that the House adjourn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object——

Mr. RAINEY. I will withhold my motion for a moment.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I want to introduce in the House several resolutions adopted at mass meetings held in my district, one particularly at Charleston, the capital of West Virginia, after 14,000 people had marched for three hours through a drenching rain, then assembled and adopted resolutions on the subject of their fidelity to the Government and the President of the United States. I hope it will be the pleasure of Congress to let them be read from the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I would like to have the resolutions read, Mr. Speaker, unless objection is made. It would take only a few minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent that the resolutions referred to be read at the Clerk's desk.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Fourteen thousand people, after marching for three hours in a drenching rain, assembled and adopted resolutions. I hope you will all be glad to hear them. You ought to be willing to hear them.

Mr. MANN. Oh, we can not make an exception. Every Member of the House has a lot of these resolutions, and if you begin to read them you shall not have time for the transaction of other business.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois objects. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent to print the resolutions referred to in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD two joint resolutions passed by the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing two joint resolutions passed by the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I renew the motion that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois moves that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 10, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a communication of the Secretary of Commerce submitting an estimate of appropriation in the sum of $23,000 for additional watchmen and guards for the protection of property and building of the Department of Commerce in the District of Columbia for the balance of the fiscal year 1917 and the fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 12); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Auditor of the Navy Department submitting an urgent estimate of appropriation for an additional clerical force for his office, to be immediately available (H. Doc. No. 13); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a communication of the Secretary of State submitting an estimate of appropriation of the additional sum of $150,000 for emergencies arising in the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year 1918 (H. Doc. No. 14); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 2310) to provide for the purchase or condemnation of the Chesapeake & Deleware Canal; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 2311) to provide a commission to secure site, plans, and design for a school to train negro soldiers; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2312) to amend an act entitled "'An act providing for the public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents"; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. CLASSON: A bill (H. R. 2313) for the relief of the Wisconsin Band of Pottawatomie Indians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 2314) to compensate the Delaware Indians for services rendered by them in the United States in various wars; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 2315) exempting all homesteads and desert-land entries from liability for debt contracted prior to the issuance of patent; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. WEBB: A bill (H. R. 2316) to promote export trade, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 2317) to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. GOULD: A bill (H. R. 2318) authorizing the payment of prize money for the destruction of the first enemy undersea craft; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HAMLIN: A bill (H. R. 2319) to provide an elective remedy and compensation for accidental injuries, resulting in disability or death, to employees of common carriers by railroads engaged in interstate or foreign commerce, or in the District of Columbia or the Territories of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 2320) to amend section 4747 of the Revised Statutes, relating to pensions; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 2321) to require numbering and recording of undocumented vessels; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 2322) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver one mounted bronze cannon on carriage to the city of Lawrenceville, Ill.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2323) to provide for the erection of a public building at Effingham, Ill.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 2324) to provide for the reduction of mileage to actual transportation expenses of Representatives and Senators; to the Committee on Mileage.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2325) to amend section 162 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2326) to establish a fish hatchery and biological station in the sixth congressional district of the State of Tennessee; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2327) to appropriate $500,000 to aid the Andrew Jackson Memorial Association in the erection of a monument at Nashville, Tenn., to commemorate the life, character, and services of Andrew Jackson; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2328) to locate, map, and mark field of battle fought near Nashville, Tenn., December 15 and 16, 1864; to construct driveways, etc., and make an appropriation for same; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 2329) to amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 2330) authorizing the Secretary of War to acquire lands for Government use near Lock 17 on the Black Warrior River, in Jefferson County, Ala.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MADDEN: A bill (H. R. 2331) authorizing the appointment of a Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 2332) for the reduction of postage on first-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 2333) to encourage private enterprise in upbuilding the merchant marine of the United States and to promote commerce between the United States and foreign nations; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2334) to designate the dates upon which the Congress shall meet in regular session; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SWITZER: A bill (H. R. 2335) to donate certain condemned cannon and cannon balls to the city of Ironton, Ohio; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2336) to donate certain condemned cannon and cannon balls to the city of Gallipolis, Ohio; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 2337) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to enrollments in the Naval Reserve Force; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2338) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2339) to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2340) to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DILL: A bill (H. R. 2341) authorizing the President to issue proclamation calling for voluntary contribution of money to finance the war with Germany and to fix rates of war-income tax on incomes of $50,000 and over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 2342) providing for the raising of the Government dike opposite Clarksville, Mo.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. BLAND: A bill (H. R. 2343) granting consent to Ernest B. Denison, A. J. Barchfield, and Ethan I. Dodds to construct a bridge across the Wabash River within or near the city limits of the city of Vincennes, Ind.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2344) to pension certain widows and former widows of deceased soldiers and sailors of the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 2345) to prohibit gambling in foodstuffs; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 2346) to amend section 13 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen in the merchant marine of the United States, to abolish arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion and to secure the abrogation of treaty provisions in relation thereto, and to promote safety at sea," approved March 4, 1915; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2347) to amend section 5 of the motorboat law approved June 9, 1910; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina: A bill (H. R. 2348) to revive the right of action under the act of March 12, 1863 (12 Stat. L., 820); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2349) authorizing the purchase of a site for a public building at Bamberg, S. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2350) to provide for the construction of a public building at Aiken, S. C.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2351) to relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2352) to regulate commerce in adulterated and misbranded seed and to prevent the sale and transportation thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HELM: A bill (H. R. 2353) to repeal that provision of an act approved June 7, 1906, entitled "An act to amend section 7 of an act entitled 'An act to provide for a permanent Census Office,' approved March 6, 1902," which authorized the Director of the Census to collect decennially statistics relating to express business; to the Committee on the Census.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2354) providing for the registry of officers, clerks, and employees in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 2355) to establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama; California; Louisiana; Florida; Georgia, South Carolina, or North Carolina; Maryland or Virginia; Oregon or Washington; Texas; Oklahoma; Illinois; Washington; Arizona; New Mexico; Michigan; Idaho; Missouri; Pennsylvania, Delaware, or New Jersey; and Minnesota; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HELM: A bill (H. R. 2356) authorizing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics relating to the quantities and values of manufactured products; to the Committee on the Census.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2357) authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of forest products; to the Committee on the Census.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2358) authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of State finance; to the Committee on the Census.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2359) authorizing the Director of the Census to employ temporary clerks, etc.; to the Committee on the Census.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2360) authorizing the Director of the Census to furnish certified copies of population and agricultural returns; to the Committee on the Census.

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 2361) to provide for the appointment of a commission to standardize screw-thread tolerances; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. CARY: A bill (H. R. 2362) to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1917; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2363) to establish a national commission of aeronautics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2572) to increase pensions of certain widows and former widows of deceased soldiers and sailors of the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 2573) to further regulate radio communication; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. McCORMICK: Resolution (H. Res. 41) to send greetings to certain legislative bodies; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BLANTON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 40) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 41) requesting the President to take over the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal and to improve it for purposes of national defense; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 42) to permit the naturalization of aliens of German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian birth whose applications for final papers of citizenship were approved by the Bureau of Naturalization, Department of Labor, and were filed with the clerks of the courts having jurisdiction in matters of the naturalization of aliens prior to April 6, 1917; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial from the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, recommending universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial from the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CURRY of California: Memorial from the Legislature of the State of California, favoring the enlargement of Pinnacles National Monuments, San Benito County, Cal.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GARDNER: Memorial from the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, favoring the establishment of universal military and naval training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 2364) granting a pension to Bernard Tallon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2365) granting an increase of pension to William S. Fry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2366) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Webster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2367) granting an increase of pension to Andrew P. Grubaugh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2368) granting an increase of pension to William A. Griner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2369) granting an increase of pension to Asa T. Grant; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2370) granting an increase of pension to David Richards; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2371) granting an increase of pension to David A. Banks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2372) granting an increase of pension to William R. Hogue; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2373) to correct the military record of Sanford F. Timmons; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina: A bill (H. R. 2374) for the relief of the heirs of George W. Croft; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee: A bill (H. R. 2375) granting a pension to Robert M. Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2376) granting a pension to Harry Wynn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2377) granting a pension to James Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2378) granting a pension to Elsa Thompson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2379) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sidney E. Collins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2380) granting an increase of pension to Frederick Wulff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2381) granting an increase of pension to Peter Haywood Gregory; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2382) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Jane Lush; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2383) granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Wayman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2384) for the relief of Paul E. Huettner; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2385) for the relief of Kinney, McLaughlin & Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2386) for the relief of William W. Danenhower; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2387) to compensate the Nashville Trust Co., of Nashville, Tenn., trustee under the will of E. W. Cole, deceased, for damages to a building situated on the corner of Union Street and Fourth Avenue north, in Nashville, Tenn., and known as the Cole Building, as a result of a blast in improving the channel of the Cumberland River by a United States Government boat on Monday, August 13, 1912; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 2388) granting an increase of pension to Edward F. Harter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 2389) for the relief of James M. Connally; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2390) for the relief of George Killeen; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CLASSON: A bill (H. R. 2391) granting a pension to Xavier Pocquette; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COMSTOCK: A bill (H. R. 2392) granting a pension to Phoebe Morgan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2393) granting an increase of pension to William A. Robson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2394) granting an increase of pension to Catherina J. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2395) granting an increase of pension to David McQuinney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2396) granting an increase of pension to Lizzie Antrim; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2397) granting an increase of pension to David Moreland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2398) to correct the military record of Peter Netz; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CURRY of California: A bill (H. R. 2399) granting a pension to Emma W. Comfort; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DARROW: A bill (H. R. 2400) granting a pension to Edward T. Costello; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2401) for the relief of James T. Hickman, jr.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DENISON: A bill (H. R. 2402) granting an increase of pension to Robert Craig; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2403) granting an increase of pension to Wilson Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2404) granting an increase of pension to William Mooneyham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DICKINSON: A bill (H. R. 2405) granting a pension to Nancy J. Fuller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2406) granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2407) granting an increase of pension to Esau Hartsell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2408) granting an increase of pension to Elmes J. Gilman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2409) granting an increase of pension to John Barker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2410) granting an increase of pension to John Norfleet; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2411) granting an increase of pension to Garrett W. Freeman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2412) granting an increase of pension to Dwight D. Wilbur; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2413) granting an increase of pension to Levi Covey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2414) granting an increase of pension to Edward S. Ragan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2415) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Steele; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2416) granting an increase of pension to William Gundy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DRUKKER: A bill (H. R. 2417) granting an increase of pension to James Skrine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: A bill (H. R. 2418) for the relief of Andrew Dougherty and Edward J. Dougherty, executors of the estate of Andrew Dougherty, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2419) for the relief of Lieut. Commander Jerome E. Morse, United States Navy, retired; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 2420) granting a pension to Robert McConnell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2421) granting a pension to George W. Irvin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2422) granting a pension to Orville C. Bolt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2423) granting a pension to Clinton C. Coventry; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2424) granting a pension to David N. Denind; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2425) granting a pension to Lena M. Parrish; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2426) granting a pension to Sarah E. Wirth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2427) granting a pension to Mary Cook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2428) granting a pension to Nancy Leeright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2429) granting a pension to Lee Monroe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2430) granting a pension to Edward F. Locker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2431) granting an increase of pension to William B. Thurman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2432) granting an increase of pension to Norman K. Bedell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2433) granting an increase of pension to Isaac W. Waters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2434) granting an increase of pension to John Routein; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2435) granting an increase of pension to Bradford R. Gilbert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2436) granting an increase of pension to John C. Truitt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2437) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Brassie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2438) granting an increase of pension to J. S. Cochenour; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2439) granting an increase of pension to George Witzel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2440) granting an increase of pension to James H. Moreland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2441) granting an increase of pension to Elijah Walters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2442) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Boatright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2443) granting an increase of pension to Augustus Niles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2444) granting an increase of pension to Preston Carver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2445) granting an increase of pension to William F. Raines; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2446) for the relief of Oscar Knight; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2447) for the relief of Charles Snyder; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2448) for the relief of John A. Bingham; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2449) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of John Stroble and grant him an honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2450) reinstating Robert Burns Parker to his former rank and grade in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2451) granting a pension to Roy R. Dunham; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2452) granting an increase of pension to George W. Horton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2453) granting an increase of pension to Nelson G. Mills; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2454) granting an increase of pension to William H. Stephenson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2455) for the relief of George W. Gamble; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HELM: A bill (H. R. 2456) granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Ham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 2457) granting a pension to Lory H. Powell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2458) granting a pension to William H. Schucraft; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2459) granting an increase of pension to Mack Rittenberry; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2460) granting an increase of pension to Zedekiah Stapleton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2461) to correct the military record of George Openshaw; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2462) to reimburse Hugh T. Caffey, postmaster at Leeds, Ala., for money and stamps stolen from said post office at Leeds, Ala., and repaid by him to the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 2463) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Reed; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2464) granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Rittenhouse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2465) granting an increase of pension to David W. Shellabarger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2466) granting an increase of pension to Shepherd M. Gaston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2467) granting an increase of pension to Wiley A. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2468) granting an increase of pension to William McBeth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2469) granting an increase of pension to Christian Lock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEVER: A bill (H. R. 2470) for the relief of J. W. Riser; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 2471) granting a pension to John H. Page; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2472) granting a pension to Frederick J. Kupfer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2473) granting a pension to Theodore Hansen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2474) granting a pension to William J. Fox; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2475) granting a pension to Georgia L. Swafford; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2476) granting a pension to Lorenzo D. Romine; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2477) granting a pension to Charles P. Hagely; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2478) granting an increase of pension to Emmet D. Cosper; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2479) granting an increase of pension to John H. Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2480) granting an increase of pension to Eda M. McCammon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2481) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Bissell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2482) granting an increase of pension to Henrietta E. Wingard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2483) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2484) granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2485) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Bowman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2486) granting an increase of pension to Timothy Kelly; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 2487) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca A. Parkhurst; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2488) granting a pension to Hoyl N. Higdon; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McFADDEN: A bill (H. R. 2489) granting a pension to Nellie Plew; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 2490) for the relief of John C. Hesse; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MANN: A bill (H. R. 2491) for the relief of Charles W. Clark; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2492) to establish the military record of Marshall M. Pool; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 2493) granting a pension to Anna Courtney; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2494) granting a pension to Archie H. Wright; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2495) granting a pension to Fred M. Weeks; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2496) granting a pension to Ernest J. Nichols; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2497) granting a pension to Andrew H. Wegman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2498) granting a pension to Rufus Boer; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2499) granting a pension to Ernest J. Nichols; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2500) granting a pension to Jack D. Bement; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2501) granting a pension to Julia Esther Hammond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2502) granting an increase of pension to George W. Noble; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2503) for the relief of Janna Stoppels; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2504) to reimburse Capt. E. D. Kremers, Medical Corps, United States Army, for rent of quarters at Honolulu, Hawaii; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2505) to reimburse Robert Reid and Charles C. Eckliff, United States local inspectors of steamboats, for defending themselves on account of their arrest and prosecution growing out of the steamer *Eastland* disaster on the Chicago River July 24, 1915; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 2506) for the relief of Morris Busch; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 2507) granting a pension to Martha Provo; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2508) granting a pension to Walter V. Haskell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2509) granting a pension to Willard Carpenter; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2510) granting a pension to John W. Deyoe; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2511) granting a pension to Edward Van Kleeck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2512) granting an increase of pension to George Barker Niles; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2513) granting an increase of pension to James S. Garrett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2514) granting an increase of pension to Jane Cory; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2515) granting an increase of pension to James Bruen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2516) granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Scott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2517) granting an increase of pension to James L. Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2518) granting an increase of pension to George H. Skym; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2519) granting an increase of pension to Edward O. Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2520) granting an increase of pension to Orrin J. Belden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2521) granting an increase of pension to William H. Prior; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2522) granting an increase of pension to Cass G. LaPoint; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2523) granting an increase of pension to Leonard O. Baldwin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2524) granting an increase of pension to Edmund Coward; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2525) granting an increase of pension to Mason W. Covell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2526) granting an increase of pension to Giles J. Burgess; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2527) granting an increase of pension to Martin A. Monroe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2528) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Weiss; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2529) granting an increase of pension to William Holley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 2530) granting a pension to B. F. Haynes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2531) for the relief of W. S. Curless, of California; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RANDALL: A bill (H. R. 2532) granting a pension to Abbie P. Haskell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2533) granting a pension to John R. Garstang; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2534) granting a pension to Seymour E. Ball; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2535) granting an increase of pension to George W. Morton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2536) granting an increase of pension to John W. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 2537) granting an increase of pension to Robert C. James; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2538) for the relief of Ed D. Steger and J. E. Labatt; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2539) for the relief of the heirs of Robert H. Burney and C. J. Fuller, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2540) for the relief of the legal representatives of R. H. Wells; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2541) for the relief of Mrs. L. A. Butler; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2542) for the relief of Nancy M. Cockerham, heir of Cirley Fairchilds, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2543) for the relief of Susan D. Fulton; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RUSSELL: A bill (H. R. 2544) granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Ridenour; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2545) granting an increase of pension to William J. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 2546) to authorize the President of the United States to appoint Harry Graham captain of Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SWITZER: A bill (H. R. 2547) granting a pension to Charles Robinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2548) granting a pension to Zachariah W. May; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2549) granting a pension to Sirena Short; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2550) granting an increase of pension to John Bandy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2551) granting an increase of pension to William H. Null; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2552) granting an increase of pension to John Warren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2553) granting an increase of pension to George W. Bradshaw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2554) granting an increase of pension to Louis Dixon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2555) granting an increase of pension to Edmund Ralph; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2556) granting an increase of pension to Salmon M. Chambers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2557) granting an increase of pension to James Finley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2558) granting an increase of pension to David Lantz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2559) granting an increase of pension to William Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2560) granting an increase of pension to Elisha G. Powell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2561) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Russell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2562) granting an increase of pension to John W. Hank; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2563) granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2564) granting an increase of pension to Uriah Massey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2565) granting an increase of pension to Joseph F. Martin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2566) granting an increase of pension to Henry Rundy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2567) granting an increase of pension to George W. Wiggins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2568) granting an increase of pension to William Hoover; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2569) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Tippie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TEMPLETON: A bill (H. R. 2570) granting a pension to Hugh McGinty; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 2571) granting an increase of pension to Harriet W. Bartleman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 43) to grant citizenship to Thomas Thomason Stixrud; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BRITTEN: Petition to Congress, relating to matters of national importance in connection with our war complications; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Petition of the City Council of the city of Gainesville, Fla., asking that the position of the President

toward Germany be sustained by the Congress and full preparedness for defense, etc., be provided; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York, approving action taken by President Wilson in the present emergency and pledging their services whenever needed; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of State of New York, relative to relations between United States and Russia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, relative to Federal control of military forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, commending President's message to Congress and pledging support to the Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of National Guard Association of the United States in re military preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of State of New York in re raw-material supplies after the war; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York in re conservation of tonnage for American foreign trade; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York in re treaty relations and bargaining tariffs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial of citizens of Stoneham, Mass., favoring the action of the President and Congress relative to the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of citizens of Lexington, Mass., favoring action of the President in regard to international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DARROW: Memorial of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange in behalf of the enactment of a rivers and harbors bill; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: Memorial of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of New York City approving the action taken by the President and pledging their services in whatever way they may be needed; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FOSTER: Petition of 35 citizens, of Wabash County, Ill., favoring a Christian amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial adopted by the Massachusetts Club of the Georgetown University Law School, of Washington, D. C., pledging support to the President in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts against universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GARDNER: Memorial adopted by the Massachusetts Club of the Georgetown University Law School, of Washington, D. C., pledging support to the President in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by the New York Southern Society pledging support to the President in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by the Tavern Club, of Boston, Mass., pledging support to the President in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted at a mass meeting at Boston, Mass., urging that a state of war be declared to exist between the United States and Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by the citizens of Topsfield, Mass., urging that prompt and effective measures be taken to protect the dignity and the rights of American citizens on the high seas and pledging support to the President in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by the citizens of Hamilton, Mass., urging that the power of the United States be used to protect the rights, honor, and lives of American citizens on the high seas, and pledging support to the President in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HILL: Petition of sundry citizens of Danbury, Conn., in reference to pending international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania: Petition from Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Mansfield, Pa.; also, petitions from Protestant Methodist Sunday School and Garfield Roll of Honor, of Morris Run, Pa., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McARTHUR: Memorials adopted at a mass meeting Club, Hartford, Conn., pledging support to the President and the flag of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Portland, Oreg., against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorials adopted by Ancient Order of Hibernians, pledging loyalty and support to the President in defense of our flag; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MAHER: Memorial of Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York, approving the action taken by the President in the present emergency and pledging their support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RIORDAN: Memorial of Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York, approving action taken by the President in the present emergency and pledging their support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROBBINS: Petition of sundry church organizations, Seward and West Newton, Pa., for national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of New York Republican Club, urging organization of House promptly without regard to party advantage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Yale Club, New York City, favoring action taken aganist Germany and favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by St. Botolph Club, Boston, Mass., favoring the war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Wilmer Atkinson, of Philadelphia, Pa., in re industrial preparedness; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial adopted at a mass meeting for peace, Washington, D. C., April 2, 1917, opposing war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of faculty of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in re foreign trade; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of mass meeting of Melrose (Mass.) citizens pledging support to the President in the present crisis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of citizens of Needham, Mass., commending the President for his action relative to the German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, pledging support to the President in the international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WALDOW: Petition of sundry Americans of Polish descent, indorsing the President and the war resolution; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *April 10, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in this time of peril to universal organized society which is to test the fiber of our own national life, we seek first of all to conserve those spiritual forces which have made us great as a nation. Thou hast called us forth from our place of security and peace to take our part in a struggle to maintain and perpetuate the rights of men. If it be Thy will that we lay upon the altar of humanity an offering of our treasure and of our lives, we shall gladly make the sacrifice in conformity to Thy will and in the working out of the Divine plan.

Give to us this day Thy grace and Thy guidance, that manfully, with faith unshaken and with courage undaunted, we may perform the duties that are now confronting us. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. BRADY and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 122) making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, which will be inserted in the RECORD.

The communication is as follows:

HONOLULU, *April 9, 1917.*

The PRESIDENT OF SENATE,
Washington:

The following resolution has been unanimously adopted:

"*Be it resolved*, That the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, assembled in special meeting for the purpose this 9th day of April, 1917, does hereby unreservedly commend the action of the Congress of the United States in declaring war against Germany in order to safeguard the rights of our Nation and its citizens and in thus aligning ourselves on the side of civilization and humanity against unwarranted invasion and willful disregard of international obligations and human rights; and, further, that it does hereby pledge its full support to the President of the United States in all issues that shall ensue from the action thus taken."

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF HONOLULU.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication, which will be printed in the RECORD.

The communication is as follows:

NEW YORK, *April 8, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS R. MARSHALL,
Vice President of the United States and
Presiding Officer of the Senate.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of a great meeting of American citizens held in Carnegie Hall to-night to commemorate the proclamation of the Irish Republic in Dublin on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916, we have the honor to assure the Senate, through you, of our unswerving and devoted loyalty to the United States in the crisis which has arisen through the declaration of a state of war with Germany. We know we voice the sentiments of the great mass of citizens of New York of Irish blood, and, we believe, of the whole country, in giving that assurance.

The American Government has made its decision in the way prescribed by the Constitution, and all loyal citizens are bound to obey it, no matter what their opinions or attitude may have been before that decision was reached. Exercising our rights as American citizens, and believing that England's continued mastery of the sea would be injurious to all mankind and a serious menace to the interests of the United States—that an England victorious in this war would be America's most dangerous enemy—we steadfastly opposed the entry of this country into the European struggle. But the moment that Congress acted our opposition ceased, and we aligned ourselves unreservedly behind the Government, as our race has ever done in every crisis of the Nation's history from the Revolution and the War of 1812 to the Civil War and the War with Spain. Irish blood has been poured out freely on every battle field where the honor and interests of the United States were at stake, and that proud record will be maintained untarnished now and in the future. We affirm without fear of contradiction that no man can successfully challenge that record or minimize its importance in making America the great free country it is.

We feel, therefore, that this record entitles Ireland during the progress of this war to the special consideration of the American people and Government. Ireland is one of the "small nationalities" which need help against the oppression of a power which holds it by military force alone, against the wishes of the great majority of its people, stifles its economic life, and has driven from its shores in half a century many times more people than now inhabit it. Seventy years ago Ireland had a population of 8,500,000 and produced food enough for 17,000,000. Yet 1,000,000 people died of hunger or famine fever, and an exodus unparalleled in human history set in because the foreign Government which holds the country in bondage failed to take the most elementary measures to protect the people. Ireland's population, through the same deliberate misgovernment, is now reduced to a little over 4,000,000, though the country's magnificent natural resources render it capable of supporting 25,000,000.

Ireland is a distinct and separate nation, with all the attributes of nationhood, geographically, ethnically, and in the political and military capacity of her people. She has fought for her independence for over 700 years and has never relinquished her right. She reasserted that right with the blood of her sons and daughters one year ago and will do so again whenever the opportunity offers. She has always looked to America for sympathy and has received it in generous measure. We hope that sympathy will be continued until she takes her place among the nations of the earth.

America's entry into the war gives a great opportunity for permanently settling the Irish question and putting an end to one of the world's greatest scandals. This Republic is now in a position to demand from England the independence of Ireland, to be secured by consent and in a way that would be helpful to both America and England. England professes to be fighting for the small nationalities and for the faith of treaties. Ireland is as much entitled to her freedom as Belgium, Servia, Montenegro, or Roumania. She is deprived of that freedom by the British Government, which has a long record of broken treaties with Ireland. The last one was repudiated with brutal frankness by Lloyd George, the British Premier, in a speech in Parliament within a few days. Ireland, after 700 years of bitter experience, knows that she can not rely on England's good faith, and that her only salvation lies in complete separation and the establishment of an Irish republic on Irish soil. If that condition were brought about by friendly American intervention, instead of waiting until it can be effected by force, as it certainly will be some day, it would redound to the credit of this Republic and free Europe from a constant danger.

We appeal to the Congress of the United States to take such action as will secure the independence of Ireland, not at the end of the war, when "scraps of paper" may be safely torn up, but now, when America's intervention will count for more than at any time in the future and when her demand must receive consideration.

America freed Cuba and removed a blot from the Western Hemisphere. She now has an opportunity of freeing Ireland and setting up a sister republic in Western Europe as a beacon light of American liberty for the people of the Old World. We hope and pray that the opportunity will be availed of.

We respectfully request that this appeal be read to the Senate, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and that favorable action be taken on it at an early date.

Respectfully, yours,

JOHN W. GOFF, *Chairman.*
JOHN JEROME ROONEY, *Secretary.*

Mr. HUSTING. I desire to present resolutions adopted April 5 at a patriotic mass meeting of citizens of Monroe, Wis., and ask to have them read. They are short.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

MONROE, WIS., *April 5, 1917.*

[Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Monroe, Green County, Wis., April 5, 1917.]

Our Nation is facing a crisis. Never, since the attack on Fort Sumter caused Lincoln to call the country to arms in defense of its unity and integrity, has any administration been confronted with such grave responsibilities as at the present moment.

For a period of nearly three years the most terrible war of all history has been waged in the countries of the Old World. At the outset of this gigantic struggle our Government endeavored to assume an attitude of neutrality, and this attitude it has consistently and continuously striven to maintain. It has been a difficult and a perilous task. Our citizenship is made up of elements from all the warring nations, and it has been inevitable that opinions should differ among the various groups as to what constitutes neutrality, but no one can doubt that the Government, under the leadership of President Wilson, has done its utmost to steer a straightforward course.

Since the very beginning of our history as a Nation we have steadfastly stood for certain great principles vital to our own peace and security as well as to civilization and the progress of mankind. Among these have been the freedom of the seas and the right of any people to democratic government. Whatever may have been the causes underlying the conflict now raging circumstances have determined that both of these principles have become vitally involved.

Our President has borne during the past three years burdens calculated to test the courage, the forbearance, and the wisdom of any statesman the world has ever known. He has borne himself with a patience, a poise, a dignity, and a self-control almost unparalleled.

The history of the war reveals acts on the part of both groups of belligerents which our President has held to be violations of international law. He has protested against them all. The conditions of the conflict have determined that the acts of one group have been such that their final adjustment can be postponed without sacrifice of our national honor. Those of the other have not been of such a character. Reluctantly and after long and agonizing deliberation he has reached the conclusion that our very existence as a nation worthy of the name demands that we should recognize existing conditions as a state of actual warfare waged upon us by one of the nations. Our Congress, made up of representative men of our people, has been called in special session after having been at home in touch with their constituents. Their voice is practically unanimous in supporting the views of our President. As we deliberate upon these resolutions, one House has already declared a state of war in existence and the other will soon do so. Our Senators and Representatives, with inconsiderable exceptions, are pledging to the President their own support and that of the Nation. We are here to pledge to him and to them our united and enthusiastic loyalty.

We do this as a citizenship made up of many types and sprung from many lands. In days like these it is most eminently fitting and proper that we declare our undivided allegiance to our country. We invite all, from the humblest citizen to the highest official, emphatically and publicly to declare their American patriotism and their loyalty to the Stars and Stripes: Wherefore be it

Resolved by the people of Monroe, Wis., in mass meeting assembled, That we unanimously tender our unqualified services and our unstinted resources to the President and his advisers and to the Congress of our country, in every effort to maintain unsullied our national integrity and to preserve the sacred liberties of our people as a heritage from our noble forefathers, held in trust by us to be transmitted to our children; and be it further

Resolved, That whatever measures Congress and the President may find necessary to adopt in order to secure these ends, we, as patriotic American citizens, hereby pledge our whole-hearted, undivided, and loyal support.

C. H. DIETZ,
N. B. TREAT,
HENRY HOEHN,
Committee on Resolutions.
MAX G. BOOTH,
Presiding Officer.

Mr. HUSTING. I present resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens at Green Bay, Wis., attended by 3,000 citizens, pledging their support to the Government. I ask to have the resolutions printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Loyalty resolutions adopted at Green Bay, Wis., mass meeting April 1, 1917.]

Whereas a gigantic conflict of arms is now being waged between most of the nations of Europe, and is even spreading to the peoples of Asia, the extent and virulence of which have never before been known in the history of the world; and

Whereas it has been the aim of the United States of America to observe a strict neutrality in such conflict, because by treaty stipulations and a century of practice we are on terms of peace and friendship with all the warring nations, and fervently desire to remain in such relations with them; and

Whereas the President of the United States has since the beginning of the conflict earnestly endeavored, with infinite patience under many adverse circumstances, to preserve such strict neutrality and has frequently assured the warring nations of his desire so to do, while at the same time preserving to our pepole all such rights as are possessed by them to the unrestricted travel and commerce of the sea, not only under treaty stipulations but also under the principles of international law and the dictates of humanity, which should govern nations while at war as well as in times of peace; and

Whereas for more than a century the United States have had a treaty with Germany, the nation with whom the crisis now threatening our peace is imminent, which is still in force and expressly assures to the contracting parties the very rights of travel and commerce which are now being and from the outset of the struggle have been insisted upon by President Wilson, as assured by such treaty as well as by the law which governs the sea; and

Whereas, in violation of this treaty agreement and of our rights as a Nation, not only under such treaty but the principles of international law, as well as the dictates of humanity, Germany now asserts her determination to prevent any commerce on our part with her European enemies and to destroy not only the property but the lives of our citizens without warning if they attempt either to travel or to carry their commerce in such restricted zones of the sea as she may see fit to proscribe; and

Whereas Germany has actually put into effect her said determination, and has, without warning, destroyed vessels carrying our commerce and the lives of our citizens, including helpless women and children, who from necessity or choice are traveling the high seas as sailors or passengers on such vessels, and now asserts anew her purpose to continue such lawless and inhuman conduct toward our people, with whom for a hundred years she has had and still has a treaty of friendship which she thus ruthlessly sets at naught; and

Whereas the people of the United States are a peace-loving Nation, and now earnestly desire, and are striving to preserve peace with all the nations of the world, and have ever been long-suffering and patient, as circumstances have required, to avoid a rupture with any foreign nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That while peace is a condition earnestly to be desired it must be had only with honor; peace may not be bought with a forfeiture of our own self-respect nor the respect of the world; that the heritage of valor and unshaken courage, in the defense of the God-given rights of every American citizen to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness on land and sea wherever he may go, which came down to us from the heroes of the Revolution and has ever been kept stainless by the blood of our soldiers and sailors in every war since our liberties were won must remain unsullied in this hour of trial; be it further

Resolved, That it is the duty of every American citizen, whether native or adopted, to stand firm for the fearless defense of American rights both on land and sea against assault from whatever source; that in this crisis, however threatening, duty calls upon every American citizen to give his unflinching and loyal support to President Wilson in every endeavor he is putting forth, not only to preserve the peace of the Nation but to fearlessly assert and defend its rights, especially against inhuman and murderous assault upon the lives and property of our people who are lawfully using the high seas; be it further

Resolved, That it is not our purpose to suggest how such rights should be asserted or defended, as such determination has been, under our system of Government, wisely committed to the President and his advisors and to the Congress, in whose wisdom and patriotism we must and do confide in the hope that without stain upon our national honor but always mindful of the untarnished valor and exalted patriotism and fidelity with which American institutions and American rights have ever been defended, these trusted servants of the people may not hesitate or falter in this great crisis in choosing such a course, whatever may be its cost, as shall redound to the everlasting honor and good of the Republic and the promotion of free institutions among the peoples of the world; be it

Resolved, That we, as citizens of Green Bay, in this mass meeting assembled, pledge anew our loyalty to our country and to American ideals and institutions; and hereby declare our firm and unwavering support of President Wilson in all the efforts he is putting forth, not only to preserve an honorable peace with all the warring nations but to assert and defend American rights against attack from whatever source.

April 1, 1917.

H. O. FAIRCHILD,
SAMUEL H. CADY,
F. W. VOGELPOHL,
Committee.

Mr. CURTIS. I present a number of telegrams and petitions from citizens of Kansas, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the petitions were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOPEKA, KANS., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Newspapers are plastered with advertisements by the Emergency Peace Federation for appeals to protest against war with Germany. Germany's machinations are stupendous, and this we believe is another. Her ruthlessness is repulsive, and the majority of people in Kansas will support morally and physically any aggressive measures deemed necessary by the Government.

S. E. Willcuts, T. H. Johnson, H. C. Anderson, Wm. Elder, P. T. McFarland, M. L. Ward, H. E. Garrett, P. A. Younger, E. D. Griswold, R. T. Campbell, R. L. Cotterill, J. C. Moshier.

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TOPEKA, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

America has exhausted every honorable means of averting war. Diplomacy, arbitration, or forbearance are useless when we can not deal with Germany on a common plane. We can not keep peace with those who will not keep peace with us. We can not secure recognition of national or human rights from a nation that repudiates all such obligations. Our participation will be in self-defense. We are sheltered now only by England's navy and the allied armies and are shirking our obligations to them. For the preservation of national honor, essential rights and liberties, and of a civilization of 20 centuries' growth, we must meet Germany's virtual declaration of war with every man, every gun, every ship, and every other resource we can furnish. Show Kansas delegation.

W. P. Montgomery, B. B. Eitelman, Frank L. Britton, Robert E. Yates, W. C. Carswell, J. Will Kelley, H. Clarkson, Tinkham Veale, Richard Wilson, H. J. Brockman, George W. Stansfield, L. C. Bailey, Newell Abrahams, J. W. Doran, E. L. Overton, R. F. Hayden, C. G. Blakley, Robert Pierce, W. D. Perry, George McDermott, Geo. Godfrey Moore, Robt. Fullerton, Russell Frost.

GARDEN PLAIN, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Representing the loyal citizens of the United States in Garden Plain, Kans., who request that our President be upheld in any action he deems necessary at this time, even if an aggressive war is necessary to uphold the honor and liberties for which we as a Nation stand.

W. R. DOYLE, *Committee.*

—

LAWRENCE, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Practically all of us at the university are ready to serve wherever we can stand with Wilson.

P. F. WALKER,
Dean School of Engineering.

—

MARION, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Kansas has never had any occasion to question your loyalty, and we know that you will be glad to learn that April 3 our people will meet in mass convention to guarantee to Congress and the President every support. We wish you could be with us.

J. A. EVANS, *Mayor.*

—

DOUGLAS, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The people of this great oil-producing county of Butler ask you to give the President loyal support in dealing with the crisis now confronting the American people. We deplore war, but the rights of humanity must prevail. The time has come to act.

DOUGLAS COMMERCIAL CLUB,
By J. A. CLAY, *Secretary.*

—

WICHITA, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The Elks, 1,000 strong, most heartily indorse President Wilson's policy of preparedness and appreciate your support of him, and strongly recommend any resolution which tends to protect the honor, glory, and defense of our beloved country.

E. L. BROOKS, *Exalted Ruler.*

—

EMPORIA, KANS., *April 6, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We pledge our loyal support to the President and Congress of the United States in this supreme struggle to bring peace and safety to all nations and to make the world itself at last free.

KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

—

GREAT BEND, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BROTHER:

"Whereas, by the request of the grand exalted ruler, we are met in special session for the purpose of expressing our loyalty to the President of the United States in such action as he shall take in the present national emergency: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That Great Bend Lodge, No. 1127, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, hereby renews its allegiance to the Government of the United States of America and the flag of our country; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we hereby pledge our support to the President and Congress in such action as they may deem essential for the protection of our country and maintenance of its honor and integrity."

CHARLES LISCHESKY, *Exalted Ruler.*
STANLEY HILL, *Secretary.*

—

FORT SCOTT, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Greetings. In times like these we know no party, no creed, no division; the flag of our country is now ever our altar, and we all have sworn to stand by it, and we will all stand by you and our President to a man.

Done by the order of the lodge at Fort Scott, Kans., April 3, 1917.

C. W. CRAIN,
Secretary Scott Lodge, No. 579, B. and P. O. of Elks.

—

WAKEFIELD, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Support President's policy. Vote and work for universal military training and service.

WM. P. K. GATES.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senator from Kansas, Washington, D. C.:

Hundreds of loyal Topekans indorsed telegrams to you to-day.

W. P. MONTGOMERY.

—

A petition to the President of the United States of America and the Congress.

Whereas we have been informed by Members of Congress that probably one of the first problems before the coming Congress in extra session will be to provide for a system of military training; and

Whereas such a system, if applicable to nonresistant churches, would cause conscientious objection in our Mennonite Church, because of its tendency to foster the spirit of militarism, which easily leads to war; and

Whereas our church for more than four centuries has held war to be un-Christian and harmful to any country participating in it, which is testified to both history and by Christ, who said to one who drew the sword in defense, "All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. Matthew xxvi, 52: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, a group of Mennonite Churches in and near Goessel, Kans., in joint session March 25, 1917, humbly petition our honored President of the United States of America and Congress to exert all their influence against any legislation that would foster the spirit of militarism and make military training compulsory even for those churches that conscientiously object to the same.

Prompted not only by religious convictions but also by true patriotism, which seeks the best of our beloved country, we submit this petition, grateful for all gracious considerations received in the past, and hoping for a continuation of the same in the future.

Very respectfully, yours, for our country,

W. B. UNRAU, *Chairman*
(And others).

—

FRAVEL, KANS., *March 29, 1917.*

Mr. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned, legal voters of the seventh congressional district of Kansas, respectfully request that you use your influence and vote against any compulsory military drill bill that may be introduced.

CARL D. BYRD
(And others).

—

A petition and statement to the President of the United States and Congress.

Having been informed by Members of Congress that bills providing for compulsory military training are about to be introduced into Congress, we, as delegates of Mennonite Churches in Kansas and Oklahoma, wish to follow up the petitions lately sent to the President and Congress by the said churches and also by the All-Mennonite Convention held at Carlock, Ill., August 30–31, 1916.

In order to make more clear and impressive the said petitions we wish to make the following statement, prompted both by religious convictions and true patriotism.

Believing that war is un-Christian and detrimental to all nations participating in it, we are opposed to all legislation that fosters the military spirit, because a system of the proposed compulsory military training would do here what it has done in other countries. Even such branches of a military course that are commonly designated as noncombatant are not free from this objection.

Furthermore, we believe that section 59 of the national-defense act of 1916, Public Law No. 85, and section 58 of the Kahn bill, H. R. 92, Sixty-fourth Congress, and section 18 of the Chamberlain bill, S. 1, Sixty-fifth Congress, are open to objection on constitutional grounds, because they authorize the Government to pass judgment upon a question which many consider to be a matter of conscience and religion, namely, the question of what is essentially combatant or noncombatant military duty.

Grateful for all gracious considerations received in the past, we ask for a continuation of the same in the sense in which the Canadian Government has reassured the Mennonites of their complete exemption from military duty.

With assurances of true loyalty to our beloved country, we are,

Very respectfully, yours,

M. M. JUST,
President Mennonite Brethren,
Conference of North America,
Fairview, Okla.

H. W. LOHRENZ,
Vice President Southern District Mennonite Brethren,
Conference of North America,
Hillsboro, Kans.

P. H. RICHERT,
Chairman All-Mennonite Convention of 1916,
Goessel, Kans.

P. H. UNRUH,
Elder of the Alexanderwohl Church and Member of
the Program Committee of the Western District Conference,
Goessel, Kans.

Mr. CURTIS. I also present a large number of petitions from citizens of Kansas on the subject of peace and war, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALTA VISTA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We, about 400 citizens of the United States and members of the Lutheran Church, of Templin and Alta Vista, beg to inform you that we are for peace and not for war, as we decided at our meeting April 1.

CHAS. KIETZMAN, *Chairman.*
A. H. SIMON, *Secretary.*

—

SENECA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The State Federation of Catholic Societies of Kansas demand that our representatives use their best efforts to keep our country out of war.

J. P. KOELZER, *Kansas State President.*

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Kansas women pray for delay of declaration of war, which should be the last resort of our country after the high stand we have taken. Surely other means for peace can still be used, as with Mexico. Even humanitarian reasons as well as right demand first the cessation of our bread riots. Be the one to make Congress stop and think.

Mrs. H. O. GARVEY,
Chairman Woman's Organization League of
Kansas to Enforce Peace.

ALMA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The St. John's Lutheran Church, of Alma, Kans., numbering 700 souls, in mass meeting assembled, emphatically protest against war with any nation unless it be indorsed by a referendum vote of the people.

J. H. STUEWE,
F. A. FISCHER,
A. E. STUEWE,
Committee.

—

NATRONA, KANS., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

St. Paul Lutheran Church, of Natrona, Kans., unanimously passed resolution to protest against our country going to war against Germany on account of submarine controversy.

Rev. W. M. KNOKE.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We ask in the name and fear of God and the love of our people and Nation that we be kept out of war, and no more breadstuff allowed to be shipped out of the United States. Think of the suffering and deaths.

T. J. NICHOLS.

—

WAMEGO, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your loyal constituents, the 60 families comprising the membership of the Evangelical Immanuel Church of Belvue, Kans., respectfully ask you to do your very best that a participation in the European war may be averted and peace maintained.

Respectfully, yours,

JOHN HAZEN-BANK.
JOHN G. ABELE.
A. W. EISENMENGER.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Our congregation, numbering 250, pray for the delay of declaration of war, which should be the last resort of our country. After the high stand we have taken, surely other means for peace can be used, as in the recent trouble with Mexico.

C. OAK,
Secretary, First Swedish Baptist Church.

—

KANSAS CITY, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The German-American Alliance, of Kansas, indorses petition from citizens of German descent, signed by Carl Gleeser and mailed to you. As your constituents, we respectfully request that you introduce and call attention to the same in the Senate.

JACOB FROHWERK, *President.*

—

CUBA, KANS., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C:

We, the undersigned citizens of Cuba, Kans., respectively petition and pray their Representative in Congress to strenuously oppose any and all resolutions introduced in Congress that will involve this Nation in war. That we oppose and condemn as undemocratic any form of compulsory military training.

E. McDonald, J. B. Edson, Wm. Kesl, Peter Iversen, Joe Vasha, Otto Prymek, Emanuel Schneberger, A. W. Dorman, P. S. Davis, Jas. Wiruth, Wm. Northrup, W. A. Smith, Frank Sager, O. W. Gruenwald, D. S. Disbrow, Asa Traver, Joe Wich, Ed Veroda, J. E. Woodhouse, Mrs. Ed Veroda, Mrs. Frank Celo, Ludwick Wiruth, Fred C. Hall, Mrs. C. L. Tyrell, H. R. Davidson, Charles Kesl, D. C. Hoover, R. Fleming, Otis B. Witte, Joe Lang, Victor Veroda, J. G. Bachelor, J. G. Stransky, Fred Paymke, F. H. Tatman, Frank Rochek, Charles Tyrell, Edward Peterka, James McDonald, Leon Iversen, F. L. Sanger, J. A. McChesney, John Kesl, John Jehlik, Fred Houdek, L. O. McDonald, J. H. Dittemore, Dora M. Sanger.

—

BUHLER, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We request you earnestly to use your vote and your whole influence in Congress to keep our country out of war.

ABRAHAM RATZLAFF,
Pastor Hoffnungsau Church.
PETER FLAMING, *Elder.*
DAVID D. UNRUH, *Pastor.*

—

INDEPENDENCE, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

After reviewing the disasters that have fallen to all the countries in war and having ever utmost the future of our American boys in mind, we can not urge you too strongly to use every honorable means to prevent war.

R. R. BITTMAN.

—

EMPORIA, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

America's best interest demands your vote for peace; do not disappoint us.

ST. MARK'S LUTHERAN CHURCH.

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

I desire that there will be no war declared.

Mrs. C. L. MARKLEY.

—

IOLA, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We want you to oppose war and ask for preferences.

L. E. SHELLHORN.

—

IOLA, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We want you to oppose war and ask for preferences.

W. S. SELLS.

—

WINIFRED, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We petition you to oppose war and compulsory military training.

Prof. MAUDE PRICE.
BERTHA PRICE.

—

ONAGA, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Authorized by a mass meeting of citizens held at Duluth, Kans., in this community, lest you should construe our silence as an acquiescence in the clamor for war by the press, we beg to inform you—first, that, as we deem a declaration of war at this stage a crime against humanity and the best interests of the United States, we are opposed to war; second, that if war can not be avoided, let it be for defense only; third, that by all that I secure to every citizen of this land we appeal to you not to join hands with any European nation in this war; fourth, the meaning of this dispatch is not to be construed as a disloyalty against our own flag, but a protest against entry into war at this time.

H. F. Kufahl, Wheaton and vicinity; J. F. Winters, Neuchatel and vicinity; Alcide Bonjour, Onaga and vicinity; Frank Kotterman, Duluth and vicinity; A. T. Teske, Arispie and vicinity.

—

WICHITA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

University Friends Church, 800 strong, unite in protest against the declaration of war. There are other means of meeting crisis more Christian, honorable, and patriotic. Believing we voice the sentiment of a large proportion of the citizens of Kansas, we urge your support of our appeal.

PEACE COMMITTEE,
JENKINS K. JENKINS, *Chairman.*

—

ARKANSAS CITY, KANS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Wall Street wants compulsory service, but Kansas does not.

E. DALTON.
GODFREY PARSONS.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *March 30, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Actual invasion is only cause for war. We should remain strictly neutral.

Mr. and Mrs. MARBURG.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *March 31, 1917.*

CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

I am opposed to war with Germany. I hope you will use your influence to prevent it.

FRANK HOBART.

—

INDEPENDENCE, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned secretary herewith submits to you the resolution of over 400 patriotic American citizens of Independence, Kans., who seek the welfare of their beloved country, asking you to speak and vote against war with Germany.

JOHN BADEN.

—

RED CLOUD, NEBR., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the people of Northbranch Friends Church and community, petition you to use your influence and vote against declaration of war until all other means have failed; also all bills requiring either universal military training or military training in public schools.

MYRTLE HOSKINS,
Chairman Peace Committee, Northbranch, Kans.

—

BUHLER, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We, a committee in the name of 110 American citizens, request you urgently to use your whole influence in Congress to keep our country out of war.

JOHN BALZER,
JOHN K. REGIER,
P. T. NICKEL,
Committee.

SEWARD, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned request you to use your influence to avert unnecessary war. The western people are not in favor of war.

C. E. Curtis, Earl Hamilton, G. W. McClintock, D. F. Gates, Wm. Schulz, Wm. Joyce, H. T. Riegel, Wm. Curtis, E. J. Pundsack, H. S. C. Hadd, L. A. Curtis, Fred Mast, R. C. Hadd, Roy Widdoes, J. S. Widdoes, Mrs. Clara Schulz, Mrs. Tillie Schulz, Mrs. Albert Dierking, A. W. Ackerman, Geo. D. Wetig, Wm. Kimler, A. J. Sissel, Nellie Kimler, A. W. Burleson, Geo. Schmidt, C. H. Schmidt, R. W. Pager.

—

SYLVAN GROVE, KANS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

The West is against war. Vote against it.

ALBERT HILLMER.

—

CARBONDALE, KANS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The members of Knights of Pythias lodge have voted in favor of peace and ask you to vote and work against a declaration of war at this time.

ED. S. ULLERY.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Permit us to protest against declaring of war. Our country has been drained of provisions; crop conditions do not look good; war will make prices soar still higher, which may bring internal trouble. The Nation's honor can be satisfied some other way, and why let a few hundred rash people, who for purely mercenary reasons decide to risk their lives, drag one hundred million into trials unspeakable? We say, when the war is over make Germany pay for all the damage she has done us through her violations of international law, but do not now send our young men to the hell of war to avenge the lives and property of the few reckless ones whose insatiate desire for money took them into danger. Discretion is the better part of valor, and the pen is mightier than the sword.

S. WILLIAM MACFERRAN,
Prest. State Savings Bank.
CLARA S. MACFERRAN.
LIDA MACFERRAN.
HORACE MACFERRAN.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Undersigned citizens respectfully request you to use your influence to prevent this country from getting into war. So far there insufficient reasons. There are still more honorable means to try before we resort to war.

FRED KLINGE.
BERTHA KLINGE.
AUGUST FUSCH.
AUGUSTE FUSCH.
AUGUSTE KLINGE.
WILLIAM KLINGE.
HENRY KOEPKE.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Fearing that you will be misled by our silence, we, the St. John's Evangelical Lutheran congregation, of Topeka, Kans., numbering 380 communicant members, all loyal American citizens, unanimously resolved to appeal to you to keep our country out of war.

W. H. STEINKAMP,
Secretary.
W. F. WEBER,
Chairman.
GEO. KLEIN.

—

PARSONS, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

For God's sake and the welfare of millions of American boys, keep us out of war. We don't want war. Let the people decide by referendum.

Mr. and Mrs. E. DALTON GODFREY.

—

WICHITA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

United States Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Do not believe majority of your friends here want war.

J. A. HOCKETT & CO.

—

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned petition you to use your influence for peace.

Chas. S. Briggs, Grace Briggs, Harry L. Rhoades, Margaret Rhodes, B. E. Yoder, L. B. Holland, M. S. Holland, R. B. McKee, Chas. B. McKee, S. J. Thomas, Lena Lindall, J. B. Crow, Helen Crow, Hope Allen, L. E. Powell, Florence West, Emily Gustafson, R. F. Beine, D. L. Lakin, F. H. Bonebrake, L. L. King, J. M. King, G. L. Ehret, E. M. Ehret, Carolyn B. Whittiesy, Blanch Gaylord, Margaret Yowell, Celia Jenkins, Thos. Reinhardt, Maude Reinhardt, Mildred Young, Marie Vancil, Gertrude Barber, Ivan Barber, Chas. Maunsell, Margaret Maunsell, J. W. Robinson, Marion Robinson, Edith Fuller, Edna Ward, Grace Detlor, Jonas Snyder.

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senator, Washington, D. C.:

I, a resident of your home town and community, beg of you to use your utmost and esteemed influence to avert the impending and most surely disastrous war which threatens our country. I bespeak not only for myself and members of my family, but for hosts of friends and acquaintances, who join me.

Miss BERTHA SCHEIN.

ANDALE, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senator, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, representing 100 members of St. Joseph's Society, Andale, Kans., protest against America's entrance into the war. Stand by Washington's advice—keep out of foreign entanglements.

Monsignor SCHMIEHAUSEN.
A. M. REICHEBERGER.
FRANK WINTER.

PAXICO, KANS., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Wall Street may want war, but the great majority here are for peace. None of the belligerents want war with us. Let us not sacrifice our young manhood and load future generations with untold burdens. Christianity cries for an end to this slaughter.

B. BUCHLE.
J. C. PHIPPS.

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS:

We would urge that you do all in your power to keep this Nation out of war, as we consider it for the best interest of all humanity and in favor of true patriotism.

A. J. GRAHAM
(And others).

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS:

We would urge that you do all in your power to keep this Nation out of war, if it can be done with honor to ourselves, as we consider it for the best interest of all humanity and in favor of true patriotism.

S. A. SMITH
(And others).

HERINGTON, KANS., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: We, the undersigned citizens of Herington and Hope, Kans., beg to inform you that we see no warrant for our declaring war against Germany without taking like action against England. England has also made itself guilty of violations of our American rights under international law. We believe a way out of the present crisis can and should be found without loss of honor. Norway, e. g., a far heavier sufferer, has remained out of the war with honor and without perpetrating what would be an act of unneutrality and injustice, and hence, too, an act against humanity. The welfare of our country and the necessity of preserving the millions of Europe from starvation make it imperative to keep peace. We shall stand by you in resisting any usurpation of what the Constitution makes the sole right of Congress, of making and declaring war.

Yours for truth, justice, peace, and America first.

L. F. KROENING
(And others).

HILLSBORO, KANS., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: We, the undersigned, as faculty and students of Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kans., by this unanimous petition wish to express our desire that you make felt your influence in our behalf to avert war with any nation in this present crisis.

P. C. HIEBERT
(And others).

SYLVAN GROVE, KANS.

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: On the opening of the special session the President intends to ask Congress to declare for a condition of war between ours and a European country—the same President who owes his reelection to the claim that "He kept us out of war." Powerful influences will exert enormous pressure to bias sane judgment and to stampede Congress into submission. If ever this country had need of men, that time is now. We need men with whom the consideration of their country's welfare and peaceable development is paramount. Men with the courage to brave contumely and contempt; yes, even the false accusations of disloyalty and treason rather than see their country plunged into the horrors of war without a just cause.

We, the undersigned loyal and patriotic citizens of the United States and your constituents, believe that no just cause for war exists; we emphatically declare that we do not want war; we solemnly reiterate we do not want war; and we hope that you will place yourself on record as one of the men in Congress who dared to do right at a time of his country's most direful need.

We most earnestly request that you will strenuously oppose every move tending to embroil this country in war. When every expedient for preserving peace shall have been tried and exhausted, then will be the time for such legislation, but not before.

Very respectfully,

WM. NICKEL
(And others).

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS:

We, American citizens of the great State of Kansas, ask you to use your power and influence in the interest of peace. Your constituents will support you in whatever you undertake in the preservation and promulgation of peace.

E. A. BISCHOFF
(And others).

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS:

We, American citizens of the great State of Kansas, ask you to use your power and influence in the interest of peace. Your constituents will support you in whatever you undertake in the preservation and promulgation of peace.

ALEX MOORE
(And others).

TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL,
Leavenworth, Kans., April 4, 1917.

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolutions were adopted at the regular meeting of the Trades and Labor Council, but not by a unanimous vote:

Resolution introduced by Delegate George Stahlman, from Barbers' Union No. 155.

"We, citizens of Leavenworth, Kans., in mass meeting assembled, this day of March 19, 1917, vigorously protest against this country becoming involved in war with Germany or any other nation.

"The agitation for war is solely in the interest of munition makers and food and supply speculators. By deliberately using the European war in order to make money for its already gorged capitalists the United States has become an accomplice in wholesale murder. If this country were to go to war under the present circumstances it would be fighting for the privilege of continuing to make money out of the great tragedy of Europe. In other words, it would be fighting for the maintenance of an infamous wrong, not a right.

"We demand that no war shall be declared without a referendum vote of the people.

"We demand that the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany be rescinded.

"We demand that a complete embargo be placed upon the shipment of all goods, munitions, and otherwise to all of the belligerent countries.

"We demand that American citizens and American ships be warned to keep out of the war zone except at their own risk.

"We further demand that in order that the resulting decrease of foreign markets may be a blessing instead of a curse to the American people, the exploiting industries of the Nation shall be collectively owned and operated and that the workers therein shall be paid the full value of their labor, thus enabling them to purchase the entire product.

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Senators from this State, and to the Congressman from this district."

Fraternally, yours,

WM. J. KNIGHT,
Secretary Trades Council.

P. S.—These resolutions of this kind do not meet with my approval, but it met with the majority of the members present.

Mr. CURTIS. I present petitions from citizens of Kansas on the subject of our foreign relations, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the petitions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS:

In this grave international crisis, when the whole-souled loyalty and support of every American is demanded, the international legal fraternity of Phi Delta Phi, in province convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., March 31, 1917, representing the States of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and South Dakota, pledges its support to the President and our Congress in upholding American rights against all violators thereof by whatsoever means they may deem necessary.

K. W. PRINGLE,
WM. S. EAGLETON, JR.,
W. O. HAKE,
Committee.
ELMER M. POWELL,
President of Province VI.
H. R. HANLEY,
Secretary of Convention.

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Atchison, Kans., March 29, 1917.

Be it resolved by this popular assemblage of the citizens of the city of Atchison and vicinity, That we view with satisfaction the severance of diplomatic relations with any foreign sovereignty whose lust for world power jeopardizes those sacred liberties for which our forefathers so valiantly fought, and should such action result in an appeal to the arbitrement of the sword we know that our country, asylum as it is for the downtrodden and oppressed of all nations, will put on a new nationalism and, as it has ever done in the past, stand forth as the valiant champion of liberty and freedom on sea and on land; be it further

Resolved, That the reversion to barbarism evidenced by relentless and indiscriminate submarine warfare clearly demonstrates that the price of peace, liberty, and civilization is the ability to defend them, else they perish from the earth; be it further

Resolved, That, irrespective of race, creed, or party, we unqualifiedly indorse the action of President Woodrow Wilson in severing relations with Germany and arming American vessels for defense against unlawful attacks and calling Congress together in extraordinary session, and we express the fervent hope that when Congress convenes it will realize that the priceless heritage of all our people is the privilege of supporting their own Government in its hour of need, and that this patriotic privilege and duty should be exercised by all who enjoy its blessings: Therefore be it

Resolved, We respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress that, as soon as it shall assemble, it shall do all things necessary or expedient to protect the honor, dignity, and safety of our country; that it provide by law for universal military training, with obligation of service in time of war; that it provide, as promptly as possible, an Army, a Navy, coast defense, military and naval equipment sufficient in all things to enable the United States to defend itself against any force which Germany or any other sovereignty may send against us;

and that in this crisis no time be lost, effort or expense spared in the mobilization of the military, naval, and industrial strength of the Nation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States and each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

J. M. CHALLISS.
W. S. WASHER.
LEO NUSBAUM.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have three or four resolutions from different organizations in the State of Washington which I ask to have printed in the RECORD and referred to the proper committee.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPOKANE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Spokane, April 3, 1917.

Senator WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JONES: At a general meeting of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce held Tuesday, April 3, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That we commend the wise and patriotic message of the President and approve his recommendations to Congress, including the application of the principle of universal liability to service.

"That we urge upon Congress whole-hearted support of the President's plans and policies and prompt enactment of necessary legislation.

"That we urge upon the administration most energetic prosecution of the war to final peace and victory; and to this end we urge the mobilization as speedily as possible of all necessary resources of men, industry, and capital.

"That we pledge our allegiance and service to the Nation."

I was further directed by the assembly to urge upon you and each member of the State's congressional delegation the sentiment expressed at this meeting and the sincere hope that you will be ready and willing to support the administration as outlined in the foregoing resolution.

Yours, very truly,

J. A. FORD,
Managing Secretary.

Whereas our country has but lately passed through an emergency which has compelled the President to exercise his constitutional power in calling forth the Organized Militia for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens; and

Whereas the National Guard of the several States and of this State have responded to this call, in many cases to their great disadvantage; and

Whereas the present system of service is essentially unfair and not calculated to distribute the burden of military service fairly among all citizens: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that the National Guard be commended for its response to the call of the President; and be it further

Resolved, That the Washington State Society Sons of the American Revolution is in favor of the principle of universal military training.

A true copy.

WALTER BEALS, *President.*
G. E. TILTON, *Secretary.*

Be it resolved, That the Washington State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution extend to the President of the United States of America its loyal and enthusiastic support, expression of confidence in the present crisis, and urge upon the Senate and House of Representatives the necessity of the placing at the disposal of the President the armed forces of the United States, to be used by him as he may deem best in preserving the honor and dignity of the country and protecting the lives and property of its citizens.

A true copy.

WALTER BEALS, *President.*
G. E. TILSON, *Secretary.*

Resolutions urging national and Pacific coast defense, passed by Walla Walla Commercial Club, April 3, 1917.

Whereas the United States is at present practically unprepared to defend itself against an attack by foreign force; and

Whereas the need for such defense may arise following the termination of the present hostilities now being waged among several of the great nations; and

Whereas the cost and consequences of an attack would be inconceivably greater than the cost of even the most elaborate preparedness for defense; and

Whereas the United States Government now has, in the organization known as the General Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the Army, a highly trained and experienced body of military and naval experts, whose opinions on these matters should be the best obtainable; and

Whereas it is our understanding that the plans and suggestions of these boards concerning immediate preparation have not been adopted: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the board of directors of the Walla Walla Commercial Club—

First. That the United States Government should take immediate steps to insure the prompt and successful defense of all parts of its territory.

Second. That the measures adopted to attain the above end should include complete and specific plans providing adequately for the defense of the Pacific coast, which should be formulated without delay by the General Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the Army of the United States, and which should give full consideration and weight to the facts and recommendations embodied in a memorial to Congress submitted by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, which sets forth the conditions on the Pacific coast from which arises the urgent and imperative necessity for the establishment and permanent maintenance on that coast of a land force adequate for its defense.

Third. That the principle of universal military service by the entire manhood of the country, which is a true democratic system, should be adopted as the foundation for our ultimate system of national defense. Such service should be with the colors on the part of those physically fit, as provided for in the Federal Constitution, or else by financial contributions from those unable to serve in person—to be applicable solely to the military and naval service of the country.

Mr. KENDRICK. I present resolutions adopted at a special meeting of the faculty of the University of Wyoming and at a mass meeting of citizens of Sheridan and vicinity, in the State of Wyoming, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That all students of the university, both men and women, who enter the Army, the Navy, or other form of official service for the present war will receive credit for the balance of the current semester in all subjects in which they have been maintaining satisfactory scholarship up to the time of departure for such service.

Resolved, That existing requirements regarding military training be amended and increased in view of the existing war. Until modified by further action, all able-bodied male students now enrolled in the military department will be required to take military training on Mondays and Wednesdays from 1 to 2 and on Fridays from 3 to 5.30 o'clock. The schedule committee shall have power to make the changes in hours of courses required by this arrangement.

Resolved, That the faculty of the University of Wyoming, assembled in special session on account of extraordinary developments in the affairs of the Nation, hereby tender their services collectively and individually in support of the Government of the United States and of the State of Wyoming.

The citizens of Sheridan and Sheridan County, Wyo., in mass meeting assembled, on April 5, 1917, unanimously adopted the following:

"We heartily approve of the acts of Congress in declaring war against Germany, and the acts of our President in recommending this course, and we pledge our loyalty in the defense of the honor, rights, and just interests of our country.

"The wrongful acts of the Imperial Government of Germany in violating the sovereignty of peaceful, neighboring nations, maiming and murdering their citizens, destroying their homes, their industries, and their land, and carrying their men and women into slavery; the waging of ruthless submarine warfare, thereby sinking merchant ships without warning, resulting in the wanton murder of our citizens—men, women, and children—while peacefully on the high seas, and forcing the survivors into small open boats hundreds of miles from land, in direct violation of our treaty with Germany and contrary to the law of nations, all place the Imperial German Government beyond the pale of civilization, brand that Government an outlaw, and justify all free and peace-loving nations in uniting to overcome the Prussian menace to free government, to forever destroy the rule that 'might makes right,' and to establish for all time the doctrine of the inalienable rights of all people to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without molestation from ambitious and covetous rulers of other nations.

"We urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a law providing for universal military service as the only and most truly democratic way of obtaining an army which will be at all adequate in the present crisis.

"We call upon all young men of this State to come forward and offer their services to their country. No nobler sentiment than that of patriotism ever inspired heroic action; and it ought to be a sacred honor, duty, and privilege for young men of this Nation to again do, suffer, and sacrifice for the Nation as our ancestors did and suffered and sacrificed in its founding and preservation.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President, both Houses of Congress, and to each of our Senators and Representative from Wyoming."

Mr. KENDRICK. I also present resolutions unanimously adopted by the officers and members of Sheridan, Wyo., Lodge No. 520, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in regular meeting assembled, April 4, 1917, expressing their loyalty and pledging support to the President. I ask that the resolutions may be read at the desk and printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions.

We, the officers and members of Sheridan, Wyo., Lodge No. 520, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in regular meeting assembled, this 4th day of April, 1917, deem it our patriotic duty to give expression to the following declarations:

"Whereas our country is facing the greatest crisis that has confronted it since our Civil War—a crisis, the manner of meeting which must vitally influence our future as a Nation.

"Whereas American citizens have been murdered, our commerce has been disorganized, and contrary to all tenets of international law, our rights on the high seas have been ruthlessly violated, and attempts have been made to conspire with Mexico to disrupt our sisterhood of States.

"Whereas our President and the National Congress, in the face of these intolerable indignities, have maintained a long-suffering patience, in keeping with our national love of peace. Further toleration of the transgression of our rights can no longer be endured and decisive action seems imperative, and

"Whereas patriotism is one of the cardinal principles of our order, which is distinctively an American institution, whose future is indissolubly linked with the destiny of our country: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we pledge our loyalty and support to our President and the leaders of our country and stand as one with them in upholding the honor and dignity of our sovereign Nation and the rights of her citizens on land and sea.

"We believe that thorough military and naval preparedness are of the utmost necessity, not only to give weight to our ideals of peace and the rights of humanity, but also to maintain and protect our institutions and to enforce our rights.

"To this end, we urge the enactment of such laws as will expedite and make most efficient the means of national preparedness and defense. It is further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President and to both Houses of Congress; also to the Senators and Congressman from the State of Wyoming."

The foregoing resolutions were presented and unanimously adopted by the lodge April 4, 1917.

[SEAL.] C. L. CHAPMAN, *Secretary.*

Mr. LODGE. I present resolutions adopted by citizens of Winthrop, Mass., at their annual town meeting, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Nahant, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I, Preston B. Churchill, town clerk of the town of Winthrop, hereby certify that the following is a true copy from the records of the town of Winthrop of resolutions passed by unanimous vote of said town at the annual town meeting held March 12, 1917.

Resolutions.

As the descendants of those patriots, who, in the early days of the Republic, sent out armed ships to defend American rights on the high seas, and as the freemen of one of the governmental divisions of the 100,000,000 people of the United States, whose prosperity and hopes for the future were purchased by the blood of those whose names are enrolled on the soldiers' monuments erected in every hamlet of our free land; it is hereby

Resolved, That we, the citizens of the town of Winthrop, Mass., in town meeting assembled, indorse the action of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government.

Resolved, That we pledge our fidelity, our confidence, and our constant, devoted, and unwavering loyalty and support to the President in his purpose to protect and defend American rights, American lives, and American honor on the high seas.

Resolved, That the town clerk be and is hereby directed to spread a copy of these resolutions upon the records, and to send a copy thereof to the President of the United States and to each Senator and Congressman from Massachusetts.

A true copy attest.

[SEAL.] PRESTON B. CHURCHILL, *Town Clerk.*

Mr. LODGE. I also present resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce, of Fitchburg, Mass., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FITCHBURG (MASS.) CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
April 7, 1917.

Senator HENRY C. LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolutions were adopted at the meeting of the Fitchburg Chamber of Commerce held Thursday, April 5:

"To the President and the Congress of the United States:

"In the grave crisis of the present time the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Fitchburg, Mass., hastens to express approval of your recommendations and enactments, declaring a strong desire that you in your wisdom give to the allied nations and their armies full support—with troops, munitions, subsistence, and financial help promptly and to the limit, and that our Navy be utilized in their behalf to the utmost.

"We are proud of the self-control of our great President, proud of his patriotic call to our great democracy, proud of the action of our Congress in its immediate response thereto, proud also that these United States have again been given the opportunity to show their heroism in the cause of humanity."

Very truly, yours, JAMES PIGGOTT, *President.*

Mr. PENROSE presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the passage of the so-called river and harbor bill and for appropriations for the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. WARREN. I present resolutions adopted by the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Lodge No. 520, of Sheridan, Wyo., favoring measures for preparedness and national defense. If the resolutions have not been presented by my colleague, I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD without reading. Otherwise, I ask that they be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I present sundry telegrams, letters, and memorials commending the course of the President in defending the national honor and safety, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *April 7, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Please accept hearty congratulations from loyal supporter on your noble stand for justice and humanity. State and country proud of you. Have applied for captaincy in Engineer Reserve Corps, and will highly appreciate your influence in obtaining quick action on same. Belong to Hackett family of Meridian. Address Hotel Gibson.

ALLEN HACKETT.

—

JACKSON, MISS., *April 7, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Please find where my talents can best be employed. I am ready to serve.

FREDERICK SULLENS.

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Three million Jews are dying of cold and starvation in the eastern war zone. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, offers to contribute $1,000,000 provided we raise $10,000,000 for our unhappy brethren in the war-stricken zone. We have arranged for a mass meeting for Thursday, April 26, at 8 o'clock, to be held at the Jewish Temple in this city, and earnestly beg of you to speak on behalf of our cause on this occasion. We glory in the stand you have taken in the Senate of the United States, and know of no man in this country to-day that would be of greater help to us in this great hour. The whole United States, especially the Mississippians and Tennesseeans, feel proud of you. The Jews in Russia are about to be taken out of the house of bondage to live the lives of free men. No nobler cause has ever appealed to you. If the date of our meeting does not suit your convenience, we will change it to suit you. Please favor us with a favorable response by wire.

H. BENSDORF.
JOS. NEWBURGER.

—

GULFPORT, MISS., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolved by Gulfport Hook and Ladder Company, No. 1, of Gulfport, Miss., in regular session, That we hereby indorse and commend the action of our comrade Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, in the stand taken by him in the German crisis, and that we also indorse and commend the action of Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS and Representative PAT HARRISON in the matter, and that a copy of this resolution be wired to each of them.

C. H. AUSTIN,
Foreman of Company.

—

CLARKSDALE, MISS., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Your many friends here and elsewhere throughout the State are profoundly grateful to you for having so splendidly voiced their sentiments in your recent great effort. I am sure I do not exaggerate when I say that nine-tenths of all good Mississippians are solidly in accord with you and with the best President this Nation has ever had.

D. A. SCOTT.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

We congratulate you heartily upon your declaration that the United States should stay in the war until there is assurance that the houses of Hohenzollerns and Hapsburg will no longer reign in Germany and Austria, and Turkey is forced back into Asia. Austria is Germany's partner in crime. The dissolution of Austria is a condition precedent to real democracy. Austria is an artificial State that has no right to exist, and should be dissolved in free Czecho-Slovak Republic of Bohemia, free Yougo-Slavia, free Hungary.

BOHEMIAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE,
Dr. L. J. FISHER, *President.*

—

WINONA, MISS., *April 6, 1917.*

JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations upon your great speech answering LA FOLLETTE; it is overflowing with the patriotism exemplified by Washington. Mississippi rejoices to be represented in the Senate by a man of your ability and worth, and Mississippians are ready to defend the flag against unwarranted insults given by German autocracy.

G. A. McLean, C. M. Richmon, J. R. Witty, A. C. Diamond, J. W. Holmes, W. F. Blackston, M. V. Branch, P. E. Peguesa, G. M. Whitehead, G. C. Burton, P. F. Simmons, J. D. Swain, W. P. Burnett, W. T. Branch, S. A. Fox, L. A. Blackston, Tobe Thompson, Dr. George Baskerville, M. V. Branch, jr., W. J. Morrow, jr., H. L. Mitchell, A. L. Leath, W. T. Boland, C. W. Burt, W. R. Stafford, J. B. Halbert, S. C. Williams, L. M. Randle, C. H. Aldridge, D. W. Burrus, J. C. Wardworth, A. P. Wynn, J. P. Jesty, J. D. Taylor, Geo. Bantsler, D. B. Moore, J. B. Small, W. L. Huntley, T. L. Fullilove, Y. B. Allen, B. D. Smith, F. R. Hawkins, M. V. Bardwell, W. H. Stoker, S. A. Young, W. F. Thompson, N. V. Hutchinson, A. M. Borroug, Ben Brooks, R. B. Sutton, J. H. Matthews, J. Friedman, W. G. Cameron, J. B. Taylor, L. C. Bryant, J. L. Whitehead, T. R. Coleman, O. W. Sturdivant, V. D. Rowe, J. H. Todd, W. V. Watts, L. Small, Herman Moore, Dr. Z. J. Scott, W. L. Cochrane, J. F. Herring, Minns Branch, W. H. Shelton, R. H. Hitt, F. L. Harris, J. Y. Emerson, S. P. Strickland, E. A. Tanner, B. Inette, Walker Wood, E. H. Simpson, Max Davitts, R. M. Smith, Leath Bennett, J. F. Best, J. M. Thompson, T. J. Whitehead, jr., E. G. Whitehead, R. B. Robinson, N. T. Pegues, F. T. Knox, N. L. Townsend, W. C. McGahey, T. H. Spender, J. L. McKewen, B. A. Talbert, L. F. French, H. G. Rogers, T. H. Billingsley, J. E. Allen, J. C. Patterson, J. T. Buckley, J. W. Barksdale, J. A. Neal, W. M. Woods, T. E. Sykes, Henry Shaffer, J. H. Ward, W. S. Scruggs, W. T. Branch, jr., G. W. Bennett, E. W. Bachman.

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MEHARD, SCULLY, & MEHARD,
Pittsburgh, Pa., April 5, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR WILLIAMS: Congratulations on your noble reply to Senator LA FOLLETTE. God bless you!

I am leaving to-night for a hasty business trip to California.

Kindest regards to Mrs. Williams and the children.

Sincerely, MEHARD.

MERIDIAN, MISS., *April 6, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Our people are proud of you, and thank God that Mississippi has one Senator who upholds and defends the honor of our country.

T. C. CARTER.

MONUMENT STREET, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.,
April 5, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS.

DEAR SIR: I heartily congratulate you on your great speech in the Senate yesterday. In my opinion, you voiced the sentiments of the great majority of true Americans. It is a blessing to humanity that you are a Member of the United States Senate. I am only an humble citizen, Senator, but I glory in your true American sentiments.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES P. HARRINGTON.

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138 EAST FORTY-FOURTH STREET,
New York City, March 26, 1917.

Hon. J. S. WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Good luck to you for your noble stand. A few more honorable gentlemen like you is what we need. I am 40 years of age, and have joined the Naval Reserve for active service because they wouldn't pass me for the Regular Navy or Army, but I'm in to do my bit. I would like to send a message to the slackers in Congress; if I did I'd be arrested for what I'd say.

Respectfully,

MEL. S. FORRESTER,
A Bostonian, Massachusetts.

CITY HALL, ROOM 458,
Philadelphia, April 5, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate:

God bless you, my dear Senator WILLIAMS.

I know that I should not obtrude upon your time and attention, but I want to tell you that my soul responds to every one of the noble words in your speech of yesterday rebuking the Senator from Wisconsin. And the great mass of the American people are with you, too, and with the President. You touched a most important note that ought to be sounded and resounded when you said that we must either fight Germany now, joining the allies, or fight her single handed after the present war is over. To restore the prestige of the Kaiser his Government will be sure to attack us, as an easy prey to his trained forces, unless we now make common cause with the allies, so as to be included in and protected by the terms of peace. I grasp your hand in hearty thanks for your splendid words.

Faithfully, yours,

W. P. POTTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: By the eternal gods, you are a credit and honor to the glorious Commonwealth of Mississippi! Every Mississippian worthy to claim the grand old State as home is proud of your patriotic stand in support of President Wilson, whose indictment of the Imperial German Government and plea for world-wide democracy on the evening of the 2d instant before the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress was immortal and will live in the hearts of patriotic, liberty-loving men as long as time endures. The honor and glory of beloved Mississippi will not suffer while you are in the Senate. May God have you in his keeping and give you many more years of life to bless the people whose commission you bear and maintain the high standard of statesmanship set up by the great Senators who preceded you in the most august lawmaking body on earth.

Sincerely,

JAMES S. MCCARTHY.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Senator WILLIAMS.

DEAR SIR: Have just finished work on the Cleveland Plain Dealer, where I am employed. Your remarks yesterday and your actions all along impress me very favorably.

I am sending you some copies of my new patriotic song, just off the press, which is being received with favor here.

Kindly give them to your friends, and if they like the title of the song and the words I shall appreciate an opinion from you as to its worth and any publicity you and your friends can give to the song.

Yours, in patriotism,

JOS. L. ALLABUGH, *Publisher.*

HUBBARD SUPPLY CO.,
Shuqualak, Miss., April 4, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: We write to express our appreciation of you and your position in matters relative to the attitude of this United States toward any "crowd" who have shown the contempt for our rights and wishes that Kaiserism has.

Sincerely,

W. J. HUBBARD.
P. D. HUBBARD.

DOCKERY PLANTATION,
Hernando, Miss., April 3, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have just finished reading an article in the Commercial given out by you to the press expressing your views on the German situation, and wish to congratulate you on the stand you are taking. I am proud that Mississippi has such a representative in the Senate to-day. We are all very proud of the record you have made and are making still. I for one take off my hat in reverence when the name of JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS is mentioned.

Since leaving the Army I have come home and gone to farming, have married a red-headed Kentucky girl, and will say the world is serving me very well. While I would hate to leave my business, will say that I am ready to shoulder a gun again should Uncle Sam need my services.

With very best wishes, I am,

Your friend,

D. M. DOCKERY, Jr.,

UNION SQUARE HOTEL,
New York, April 5, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS.
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Permit a former naval officer to congratulate you on your manly and patriotic reply to the speech of Senator LA FOLLETTE.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES W. HAZELTINE.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have read with great pleasure in the newspaper your speech against LA FOLLETTE, and it has brought back to my mind very vividly your appearance as a young orator when I first entered the Jefferson Society of the University of Virginia. I applaud your speech in two respects:

First, for its manly and patriotic stand, and especially, also, for your courageous references to the South in the Civil War in connection with the blockade and the employment of German soldiers, "mere hirelings, paid at the rate of $13 a month and given a bounty." It is very seldom now that we hear a voice raised for the old South, and I wish to express my appreciation of your happy remarks. When that pacifist the other day attacked LODGE I thought of Brooks and Sumner before the war. Then Brooks's violence was attributed to the evil effects of slavery, and what now must be said of a Boston pacifist breathing pugilism?

I am, cordially, yours,

LYON G. TYLER.

PITTSBURGH, PA., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I trust you will permit me to tender to you my sincere thanks for your noble speech in the Senate yesterday.

It must make every true American feel better of his country when one of its Senators can stand up in the Congress and express so eloquently those thoughts that have been surging through the minds of so many of us in this time of turmoil and stress.

I believe that the Government will have the united support of such a vast majority of citizens that the few pro-Germans and colossal egoists who unfortunately are with us will have as much influence on the course of events as one whistling against an 80-mile gale.

Respectfully, yours,

THOS. M. BENNER.

KOSCIUSKO, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to thank you for your efforts in my behalf in regard to the post office at Zama, and I want also to thank Mr. Burlew for his attention to it in your absence. I want to thank your office for their attention to a matter so trivial in this hour of great stress and national peril.

I have had the same duly filled out and forwarded to the Postmaster General, First Assistant, and will appreciate your giving them a push when you or your office has time; but I do not want to take one moment of your time now more than is absolutely necessary.

I want to tell you that we are duly proud of you and believe that you are right in all of the sense the word imports. This is an hour of national peril; we are fighting for the existence of government by the people and for the people, and it is our duty to help see "that it does not perish from the face of the earth." Mississippi is proud of you. We will stand in the line of honor and protection of our Nation and be counted; and you, and you only of our Senators, will hold our face up and answer to the roll call of honor for us, and we want to thank you for your American Mississippi stand

Again thanking you for your help in the matter above referred to and your patriotic stand for us in our national honor, I am,

Your friend,

C. E. MORGAN.

NEW YORK CITY, *April 5, 1917.*

Thank God for JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS—American and unafraid!

KATHLEEN K. EDDY
(MRS. CLYDE LANGSTON EDDY.)

ASHEVILLE, N. C., *April 5, 1917.*

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I send you in this a little flag which I hope you will keep as a souvenir. Keep it and wear it from a "Tar Heel" friend.

Yours, truly,

E. L. BROWN,
385 Merriman Avenue.

KOSCIUSKO, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN S. WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I want to again say that I heartily indorse your course in the Senate and your recent public utterances in regard to the German situation.

I, in common with thousands of other Mississippians, am proud and thankful that in the hour of trial we are represented by one who is able and ready to speak out for true Americanism.

Your are still an unembroidered, unfringed, unironed Democrat as you were in 1892, when the old fifth district Democrats first named you for Congress in the old courthouse in Kosciusko. Our people are in favor of universal military training and service, and they are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. And I want to say I have my first white man to talk to who is opposed to the negroes doing their half of the fighting.

I do not see how any white man with any sense should not want them to help bear the burdens of war. With white officers they will make good soldiers, and certainly if we send out our brave young men we should insist that the negroes send their full proportion.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Your friend,

WARREN POTTS.

LEXINGTON, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS.
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Accept my heartiest congratulations on the splendid support you are giving to President Wilson and the admirable presentation of the American side of the war which Germany has forced on us. For some time Germany has been making flagrant warfare of a detestable kind on our Nation through murderous assaults on our citizens while they were engaged in innocent and lawful enterprises. There was nothing left but acceptance of the warfare thrust upon us.

My stepson, H. H. Neilson, graduated with honor from the agricultural and mechanical college of this State in electrical engineering course and took a three-year similar course in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is skilled in mathematics and electrical work on certain practical lines. As to this, like the physical examination, proficiency would have to be demonstrated in the usual method of examination.

He is honorable, moral, energetic, and courageous. I would like very much to see him get a commission on that military line for which he is best equipped in the event of call for volunteers, and would greatly appreciate anything you might do in his behalf.

The people here are all of one way of thinking, except the few of ultra-German sympathies, or for "peace at any price," and these are very few, indeed.

Your friend, E. F. NOEL.

—

ABERDEEN, MISS.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I have just read your masterful speech in the Senate, and feel that your fellow Mississippians should not neglect to offer you their thanks for the way in which you represent them, and at the same time show yourself to be one of, if not the foremost, statesman now at Washington. Sir, I am proud that you represent the State of my birth; and while I am bowed down in sorrow that we are forced into this war—many of our brave boys will never return—still it is our duty now to act in concert, with but one aim, to maintain the honor and dignity of the greatest country upon which the sun shines.

I believe that men should be called as fast as the arrangements can be made; the small numbers now bespoken will be but a handful to the many to be required.

Wishing to assure that I stand ready at all times, in no half-hearted way, to stand by the will of our representatives, with myself and my substance, and for the liberty and glory of the principles of our Nation, I am,

Yours, truly, J. S. HOPKINS.

—

UNION, MISS., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: Your greatness at this moment of peril is an honor to our State of Mississippi, and we are proud of you, and think that your stand is true and right; and as our sons and men of the State shall enter the rank and file of service we shall trust that God shall rule and guide us to defend America, truth, liberty, right, and stand firm on the principles as indicated in your reply to LA FOLLETTE.

May your shadow never grow less.

Yours, truly, WM. N. MCLEMORE.

—

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am taking the liberty to mail you to-day a copy of my booklet "Hambone's Meditations." You may have noticed "Hambone" in the Commercial Appeal, and I thought perhaps you might like to see his collection. If in your moments of relaxation from your arduous duties you find time to look through it, and if it affords you any pleasure, then I will be glad. I am not sending this to get an indorsement from you, but simply because I wanted you to have a copy, since you are so intensely southern!

Will you allow me, while I am about it, to express my most sincere admiration for you. Particularly do I want to thank you for your recent speeches. We are all proud of you. Your speeches are so clear, so dignified, so simply presented, and withal they have such a darned good punch in them!

I read every word that I see printed about you and all of your speeches. Pardon me for taking up your time in this way, and in closing I want to say that I hope you stay in the United States Senate as long as you live.

Sincerely, yours, J. P. ALLEY,
Cartoonist Commercial Appeal.

—

MOSS POINT, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I take pleasure in inclosing to you herewith copy of a resolution passed at the city council meeting yesterday. I am sure the resolution expresses the unanimous sentiment and feelings of all here.

If I can be of any service to you in any capacity at any time, please do not hesitate to call on me.

With best wishes for your health, comfort, and happiness, I beg to remain,

Very truly, yours, JESSE W. THOMPSON.

The following resolution unanimously adopted by the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Moss Point, Miss., at its regular session, Tuesday, April 3, 1917:

"*Resolved by the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Moss Point in regular session assembled, this the 3d day of April, 1917,* That while we have been and are anxious to live in peace with all the nations of the earth, we here and now unqualifiedly indorse our President, Hon. Woodrow Wilson, in all the steps which he found it necessary to take in dealing with the Imperial German Government, and his firm stand in defense of humanity and for the honor and integrity of American citizenship; and, since it seems that war and all its horrors has been forced upon this country, we pledge him our moral and material support in all that he may find it necessary to do to uphold our honor as American citizens and in defense of human rights and liberty, to the end that war may speedily cease, and that those responsible for the present one may have no further opportunities to bring such a curse upon mankind. We would also express our confidence that American citizens will not be found wanting in anything that they may be called upon to do, and that the traditions of our Army and Navy may be gloriously upheld.

"*Resolved further,* That as Mississippians we are proud of the stand taken by Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, by our immediate Representative, Hon. PAT HARRISON, and all his colleagues in the House of Representatives. We extend to them our thanks, and assure them of our confidence and esteem, as well as our support in all things within our power."

—

BELLEFONTAINE, OHIO, *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The whole country, without regard to party, approves and applauds your course in the United States Senate upon the questions growing out of the German conflict.

Sincerely, yours, ROBT. P. KENNEDY.

—

BEDFORD CITY, VA., *April 5, 1917.*

DEAR SENATOR MARTIN: If not an offense to senatorial courtesy, won't you please pat JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS on the back for me.

Very truly, yours, JAMES R. GUY.

Respectfully referred to Senator WILLIAMS. T. S. M.

—

FLATBUSH, BROOKLYN, N. Y., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN S. WILLIAMS.

RESPECTED SIR: Once more I am happy to be allowed the privilege of thanking you for a great speech; wish to God we could write "New York" after your name instead of "Mississippi." Will you kindly add to the courtesy already shown me by having your secretary forward me a copy of your speech in answer to ——— NORRIS ———? I would very much like to preserve it. It was fine, just what we would expect from you.

Thanking you for past favors and wishing you every blessing, permit me to sign myself,

Yours, most respectfully,
HENRY COLE DAY,
615 South Seventeenth Street, Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y.

P. S.—Wish we were all 20 years younger.

—

GOLDSBORO, N. C., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

As an American citizen I want to thank you for the manly way in which you handled the misrepresentative from Wisconsin. He and other pacifists are the worst enemies of the country. Again, I thank you for your speech.

Yours, very truly, D. H. GRAVES.

—

1623 K STREET, *April 5, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As a veteran of the "Lost Cause," I thank you with all my heart for your virile and patriotic attitude in the Senate Chamber in rebuke of the men who misrepresent the southern people.

More strength to your arm!

Sincerely, yours, RANDOLPH H. MCKIM.

—

TUPELO, MISS., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.:

Mary Stuart Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Tupelo, Miss., congratulates you heart and soul. We are with you.

Mrs. JNO. RAWLS JONES,
Regent of Mary Stuart Chapter.

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator WILLIAMS.

DEAR SIR: I've just read extracts from your great speech made yesterday, and although I'm not a constituent of yours and am a Republican and unknown to you, I feel like sending you my congratulations as you hit the nail on the head right through your speech.

I'm tired of words with that Prussian outfit. Deeds and not words count. You're right, it's better to fight that enemy of civilization with the other great democracies of the world than to wait till after the war and fight them alone.

Respectfully, yours, C. C. AUCHINCLOSS.

P. S.—And now, Senator, for universal military training—the only democratic way and the best thing in the world for our young men and ourselves as a Nation. Besides the volunteer system has always failed and is unfair. Preparedness can't be bought with dollars and cents. People have to give themselves. If we are ever to defend ourselves lets do it successfully and not send our boys out without a sporting chance. As Light Horse Harry Lee, of revolutionary days, said, in effect, for a Government to send untrained troops against trained troops is murder. Its up to you gentlemen, you're responsible.

—

GREENSBURG, PA., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Heartiest congratulations and thanks on the speech made by you in the Senate yesterday on the attitude of Senator LA FOLLETTE toward the war resolution.

Both yesterday and the day before on the streets of Pittsburgh and Greensburg the news was passed from man to man of Mr. LA FOLLETTE'S attitude, and I heard no word said of it except in condemnation.

Now, as on previous occasions, you will receive the thanks of the people of this country for your assertion of the true American spirit. I am a Republican, but Republicans and Democrats alike stand in solid support of the President and Congress in their assertion of American rights.

With great respect, I am,

Yours, very truly, C. L. GOODWIN.

MANHATTAN CLUB,
Madison Square, April 5, 1917.

Senator JOHN S. WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As a Mississippian permit me to offer my congratulations that you have redeemed our State by your rebuke to disloyal Americans and your splendid tribute to true Americanism.

Yours, sincerely,

S. H. BUCK.

—

GREENWOOD, MISS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington City.

DEAR SENATOR: As a Mississippian and especially as a loyal American, I want to express my high appreciation of the able, manly support you have at every crisis given our sorely tried President—a cause which has met the unqualified approval of a vast majority of our people. There are some mollycoddie sentimental pacificists among us, but, thank heaven, nearly all the citizens of our beloved State are red-blooded Americans, who resent from their very souls the wrongs and insults which are daily heaped upon us by the war-mad Germans. Personally, my fighting days are over; but such service as a hale, hearty, ex-Confederate soldier nearing his eightieth year can render I will gladly give. I am confident that most of my old comrades feel the same way.

The memory of the "stars and bars" is very dear to us, but our parole of honor, given more than 50 years ago, has been, of course, kept inviolate, despite the insulting imputations of northern partisans. God help our beloved country and strengthen the arms of her loyal sons in this hour of peril. Hoping most earnestly that you may retain health and vigor to continue the able support you have heretofore given our President, I am,

Very truly, yours,

P. W. SHEARD.

—

WAYNESBORO, MISS., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your reply to LA FOLLETTE in the Senate is indorsed by every patriotic citizen of Mississippi. We did not want war, and we have no hatred for the German people, but we feel that the Kaiser and his minions are a menace to the peace of the world, and we of Mississippi stand squarely behind the President and are ready with all of our resources of men and property to protect and vindicate the honor of our country. And our women are ready also to do their part. This sensational stuff about negro risings in the South in favor of Germany is all bosh. You know that when our fathers were in the army fighting for what we then believed to be right the negro was the only protection our women and children had in many places, and they were loyal and true, although they were told that the North was fighting for their liberty. Even in many instances when the invading Army of the North visited our plantations and offered to take them North most of them refused to go. The migration of some of them now to the North is caused by the cotton crop being ruined last year by the boll weevil and the high wages offered them by agents from the North and West. Most of them expect to return as soon as times are better here.

With best wishes for your health and happiness and with the utmost faith and confidence in your honesty and patriotism and your ability to take care of the honor and liberty of our country, I am, sincerely,

Your friend,

D. M. TAYLOR.

P. S.—I was 61 years old on the 3d of this month, and have 6 children and 11 grandchildren. I am strong and healthy, and herewith tender my services to my country through you in any capacity. I will go to the front with the boys and ask no favors on account of my age.

D. M. T.

—

NO. 271 SIXTH AVENUE,
Newark, N. J., April 6, 1917.

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The New York Times yesterday published a synopsis of your speech. I am anxious to read your speech in full. If it has been printed for distribution, I wish you would kindly send me a copy.

In this connection, Senator, I do not think it out of place to say that I am and have been for a number of years one of your most ardent admirers. I used to read with pleasure your speeches when you were the minority leader in the House of Representatives, and I never fail to read your speeches in the Senate. They are always interesting and instructive.

You are one man in public life with a fixed principle. You can always be found on the right side of all public questions. You are a credit to your country, your State, and your party.

Following is an extract from an editorial in yesterday's New York Evening Telegram: "When we want good, straight American talk we can usually get it from JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, who paid his respects to Senator LA FOLLETTE."

Very truly, yours,

C. E. PILLING.

—

PORT GIBSON, MISS., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As the newspapers of the country are calling on the people to let their representatives in Congress hear from them in regard to the German question, and as I am one of your constituents, I take the liberty of writing you this letter simply to express my opinion about it.

I believe I can best do that by stating what I would do about it if existing laws required a referendum vote to be taken on the German question.

In that case I would not go to the polls nor vote on the question because I would not vote for war for other men to fight out for me. I am not an able-bodied man and am now 67 years old. Neither would I vote against war, because I believe it is the duty of Congress to resent the acts of Germany against us.

It seems to me that a state of war now exists and Congress ought to so declare. In conclusion, will say that I regret that you have announced your intention of not being a candidate to succeed yourself in the United States Senate.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES M. HARDING.

—

ST. BOTOLPH CLUB,
Boston, Mass., April 2, 1917.

DEAR SIR: I beg to hand you herewith a copy of resolutions, moved by President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University, and adopted by the St. Botolph Club on March 31, 1917, and to ask your support for the principles and measures therein advocated.

Respectfully, yours,

THOS. TILESTON BALDWIN, *Secretary.*

Resolutions adopted by the St. Botolph Club, March 31, 1917, Boston, Mass.

Whereas the German Empire by her violation of Belgium, by her outraging and killing of civilians, by her destruction of private property and public monuments, and by her use of barbarous methods has been waging war against humanity and civilization, and by her destruction of American lives and property and by the lawless use of submarines has been waging war against all neutrals including the United States of America: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the United States of America ought to take part with the entente allies, and to that end ought to organize the military, naval, financial, and industrial resources of its people.

That the United States of America ought to be in form, as it is in fact, at war with a common enemy, and that the Congress be therefore urged forthwith to declare that a state of war exists with Germany.

That we pledge our steadfast support to the Government of the United States in all measures which it may take for the protection of our citizens and the defense of those priciples upon which our Government is founded; be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the members of his Cabinet, and to the Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

—

NEW YORK CITY, *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Your attitude upon vital questions growing out of the conflict in Europe has been so sane, so consistent, so patriotic, you must pardon my bothering you occasionally. When it seemed you might be called to rank on the Foreign Relations Committee and speak for the administration to the new Congress, I felt a thrill of pride, for I knew the Nation and Mississippi would be honored in whatever were done or said in the case.

Because I was born in Mississippi, my mother, father, and early boyhood friends lie buried in her soil, she is home to me still, however remote in years, distance, or circumstances. I love to hear her voice, her true voice, as you accent it in the Nation's councils.

My Congressman has elicited an expression on points of paramount importance in issues now imminent at Washington, and I am taking the liberty to hand you a copy of my response to him.

I had an uncle who fought all through the Rebellion, a rebel; he died in my house here a few years ago. In his last semilucid moments he was leading his rebel comrades in charges and calling them by names who fell beside him. Nevertheless, he had lived to become a thorough patriot and how he would rejoice, if living to-day, to see you—Mississipian—upholding our flag and with it the cause of civilization and humanity.

Very truly, yours,

S. W. WINN.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 7, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Might I not suggest that it would be most appropriate at this time that you tell the people of the United States and of the world that Mr. Wilson, in his message to Congress, wrote what history will grant to be the declaration of independence of the world? While Mr. Wilson needs no such incentive to perform the finest services for this country it has ever received, at the same time it must be a source of satisfaction to him to have the proper recognition of these services; and, in my opinion, it would be a great delight for a man to be in a position, such as yours, to render these thanks. Coming from such a source it would have greater significance than the plaudits of all the press.

Very respectfully,

PAUL FRAME,
1833 S Street NW., Washington, D. C.

—

OXFORD, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I can not forego the opportunity to express to you my hearty commendation of your public utterances in this and the last Congress. All right-thinking Mississippians are proud of your course.

In my judgment the State needs some stirring up. There seems to be an apathy among the people, as if they think there is little or nothing for the average citizen to do. Of course, the more thoughtful realize there is a duty for every man to perform and that each and all of us are capable of doing something.

I am unable to perform field service, but I stand ready and willing to discharge any service for the Government that I can, and would be glad for you to place my name with any department of the Government as one who stands ready to render any service of which I am capable.

With best personal regards, I am,

Yours, very truly,

JAS. STONE.

—

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: I had the pleasure, the pride, and the happiness to read your address of yesterday to the United States Senate, and I can not resist the impulse to write you, expressing my heartiest approval of it and the admiration of the man who delivered it.

In my opinion it will go down to future generations in the history of our country along with the address of the President of the United States demanding their approval of his policy for war with Germany, and I prophesy that if it be read by the German people that they will wipe out with one fell stroke their entire Hohenzollern dynasty and assume their own self-government, like unto ours, and thus instantly end this bitter war, which has prevailed for nearly three years.

I have five sons, two of whom have already volunteered and the other three ready to go when called upon, they being older than the present requirement for service.

I have had the honor several times of meeting you, and remember the occasions with much pleasure. You may remember me as being the oldest surviving member of the southern family, Semmes, which cut some figure in the Civil War, so I feel I have some right to address this communication to the most distinguished representative of the South in this Congress.

Most respectfully,

JOS. MALCOLM SEMMES.

—

ST. PAUL, MINN., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: An American, with American coat of arms and flag to the fore; a Republican; a Roosevelt Republican; a Republican from the middle Tennessee town, Nashville; and white, as the Bryans have been since they landed in 1669 in Isle of Wight County, Virginia.

For your admirable stand yesterday in the Senate, my most hearty congratulations. I believe the ratio of 82–6 holds throughout the country.

You are a busy man; I merely want you to know.

Cordially, yours,

HARDY BRYAN,
374 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minn.

—

CANTON, MISS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Ninety-nine per cent of our people are with you in standing by the President and in defending the honor of our country. They likewise indorse your views, given out yesterday, that we should wage offensive warfare. May God give you the health and strength to continue the fight that you are making. Mississippi and the whole South are proud of you.

Yours, very sincerely,

W. H. POWELL.

—

CHAMPAIGN, ILL., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator WILLIAMS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The masterful way in which you handled the war resolution in the United States Congress has won the admiration of patriotic American citizens.

The majority of the people are too busy with their own immediate personal business affairs to have clearly before them the problems that concern our national welfare. This important work has been intrusted to our Government officials at Washington and to the Members of our Congress. What these high officials of our Government determine upon as being to the interest of our United States the patriotic public will most heartily approve.

Some few Senators, it seems, have put personal or selfish interests first and the interests and welfare of our National Government second. But I read with a supreme joy that 82 Senators feel clearly their public duty and have voted that liberty and right and honor must not be trampled upon.

It is to be hoped that the entry of the United States into the world's war will work to destroy the power of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and bring about a representative government of the people.

Your services as a true Senator are most highly appreciated.

Yours, very truly,

EDWIN ANDERS.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 6, 1917.*

Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR OLD JOHN SHARP: I can not well tell you how your manly, patriotic, and eloquent course in the Senate recently, both in action and in speech, has delighted me personally and has powerfully served the country we both love so well. De re publica bene merui. You deserve that most honorable old description, and your countrymen are conferring it, in one form or another, on you all over this wide land in hearty appreciation of your stand by and with the President.

What a wonderful thing his speech was, and how even more wonderful that his speech should go out speeded by the momentum of our great sister Republic, Russia. Our times are even more "spacious" than those of great Elizabeth. "The federation of the world!" That you and I, two old gray heads, should be on the very verge of seeing that dream realized of which we read as boys as a poet's far-off vision—beautiful, but a mere dream; and here we are seeing it grow into shape before us. And you helping it to grow! I almost envy you that privilege, largely because it brings you into contact with Woodrow Wilson, whose wisdom of action the event is so finely vindicating.

With all good wishes,

Faithfully and affectionately, your old friend,

WM. TAYLOR THOM,
2022 N Street NW.

—

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: A telegram could not convey to you an expression of the pleasure and pride with which I read your speech of yesterday. You have interpreted the thought and sentiment of the country. We have thought out the issue, and under the cold conviction which has resulted lies a deep-seated and pervading sentiment which would have tolerated no other conclusion. We will fight both because we must fight and because we will to fight.

There is one other service you can render the country; there are many, but one overshadows all others. Let us get ready, but let us really be ready before we put an army in the trenches or the field. Courage can not take the place of that coordination of the units which training and drilling alone can produce. I saw as gallant a regiment as was in our Army go into utter panic when first under fire; it could not be rallied, because of the want of cohesion that comes from training.

I have but one apprehension; that the demagogue who preaches that the untrained "fellow citizen" on whose vote he depends, can by instinct do any thing from commanding a dreadnaught to playing a cathedral organ, will get in his work.

Smash such cattle as you have smashed LA FOLLETTE.

Your friend,

TIM E. COOPER.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I present telegrams embodying resolutions adopted at mass meetings of citizens of North Platte and Kearney, in the State of Nebraska, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTH PLATTE, NEBR., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator G. M. HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.

To the President and Congress of the United States:

We, the people of North Platte, Nebr., have assembled in mass meeting to give public and unequivocal expression to our convictions and wishes in this great world crisis. We are convinced that our Government has done everything possible to save the country from the evils of war. In spite of the efforts of our Government to maintain the neutrality of this country, a situation has arisen in international affairs which is intolerable. We hereby express our confidence that the President and Congress of the United States will meet this crisis wisely, fearlessly, and with full realization of its gravity. Finally, if the President and Congress shall declare that a state of war exists, we pledge to them our united and loyal support in any steps they may deem it necessary to take to bring the war to a successful conclusion and to maintain the dignity and honor of our country.

Unanimously adopted.

J. S. HOAGLAND, *Chairman.*

—

KEARNEY, NEBR., *April 7, 1917.*

Senator GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas, on the 6th day of April, 1917, the Congress of the United States has adopted resolutions favoring the entrance of our country in the stupendous conflict now raging across the seas for the purpose of upholding the honor and dignity of this Nation and to spread the spirit of democracy throughout the world; and

Whereas the President, with authority from Congress, has declared war against the Imperial German Government: Be it

Resolved, That Kearney Lodge, No. 984, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, reaffirm allegiance to our country and our flag and tenders its services in whatever way they may be needed in defense of the great principles of humanity outlined in the President's message to Congress; and it is further

Resolved, That we deeply appreciate the gallant fight made by Senator HITCHCOCK, and assure him that Nebraska is very proud of his splendid efforts for America.

H. N. JONES, *Exalted Ruler.*
H. B. WATSON, *Secretary.*
E. B. MCDERMOTT.
CLYDE W. NOR.

Mr. MYERS. I present a telegram from a committee representing a mass meeting of the citizens of Anaconda, Mont., in which I heartily concur. I ask that the telegram may be printed in the RECORD. I am in entire accord therewith.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANACONDA, MONT., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution was unanimously indorsed here this evening: With full realization, with appreciation of the great privilege of being American citizens, entitled to the blessing of liberty guaranteed by the greatest and grandest Constitution ever framed, conscious of the great debt of gratitude to those heroes of 1776 who shed their blood and gave their lives in a struggle against the tyranny of kings that the people of this country might be free, and to those other heroes of 1861 who made the utmost sacrifice that this Government of the people, for the people, and by the people should not perish, and with full appreciation of the services of those Americans who suffered and endured in other wars waged for the preservation of our liberty or in the cause of humanity, we, the citizens of Anaconda, Mont., assembled in mass meeting to-night, acknowledge our duty to our country in this hour of great need. We believe that our President exercised the extreme of patience and exhausted every honorable means to prevent war, but that continued violence of our national rights and inhuman treatment of our unoffending citizens by an autocratic power left no other course to be pursued in support of our President and in defense of our rights. We therefore pledge ourselves to make every sacrifice necessary to bring to a successful conclusion the war in which our country is now involved.

Dr. J. M. SLIGH, *Chairman.*
F. H. CLINTON, *Secretary.*

Mr. MYERS. I have also a letter from a citizen of Anaconda, Mont., which breathes such pure patriotism and so nearly expresses my sentiments that I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANACONDA, MONT., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As you doubtless wish to ascertain public opinion in regard to the impending difficulty with Germany I shall tell you my opinion and what I have observed in regard to the opinions of others.

Although I am nominally a Republican I voted for Mr. Wilson at the last election, and, in order to support him, for Mr. Evans and yourself. I voted for him because I approved of his course in nearly

every particular, except as to the immigration bill. He is right in keeping us out of war with Mexico and right in keeping us out of the European muddle up to this time. But now the hour has struck when National self-respect and honor, when love of freedom and of fair play, call this Nation to arms. Although war is senseless, barbarous, and out of date, still, as it is the going method of settling differences, we must do as the Romans do—"suffer it be-so now"—and engage in it. Perhaps preparation will accomplish our purposes, but if not, then I am personally in favor of pushing the deed to the utmost limit of arms and men, of credit and supplies, and cooperation. We must not suppose we are fighting or cooperating with men and nations; we are contending against false ideas and ideals, against fading forms of tyranny and autocracy, against the ignorance and misinformation engendered by a throttled press, against all the insidious influences that would make men truce breakers.

As to the opinions of others than myself, all with whom I come in contact seem to regard war as a calamity, but the only feasible way of vindicating our national honor. The calmness of the western people is perhaps largely due to the influence of President Wilson's restraint. It is a valuable asset and a thing to be thankful for, but it must not be mistaken for apathy. If the present Congress should repeat the treachery of the "little group of willful men" it would soon find out what the quality of this "apathy" is.

The loyal attitude of Montana's Representatives in the last Congress has been a matter of gratification to Montana's citizens, and gives reason for the expectation that you will consistently continue to uphold the President. The representative form of Government is not fitted for all the emergencies of war, however, hence I trust that Congress will vest the President with all possible power, to the end that the Nation's energies may be coordinated promptly upon the task before us.

I am expressing myself similarly to Mr. Walsh and to Mr. Evans.

Sincerely, yours,

ROY A. HOFFEDITZ.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I present sundry memorials and petition in the form of telegrams, which are very short, touching preparedness for troubles ahead, and also a petition signed by the inhabitants of the Three R Mining Camp, of Patagonia, Ariz. I ask that the telegrams and petition be printed in the RECORD, and that only the first name of the signers of the petition be printed.

There being no objection, the telegrams and petition were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLIFTON, ARIZ., *April 5, 1917.*

Hon. M. A. SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We have wired the President to-day as follows:

"Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks No. 1174, Clifton, Ariz., in meeting assembled, the evening of April 4, unanimously instructed me to represent to your honored self that the quickening of the spirit of American patriotism is of the tenets of this order; that it is our unqualified belief that the defense of the honor of our country demands immediate preparedness adequate to every requirement of the international crisis; that we pledge our every support to you personally and to whatever demands your judgment may impose upon the country and its citizens; that these assurances represent the loyal sentiment of this entire community."

LOUIS BERNSTEIN, *Secretary.*

—

YUMA, ARIZ., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. M. A. SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of Yuma (Ariz.) Lodge of Elks held at their hall Sunday evening, April 1, 1917, the following resolution was unanimously adopted—original copy addressed to President Wilson:

"*Resolved*, That the members of Yuma Lodge, No. 476, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, realizing the strained conditions that now exist between our Nation and foreign powers, do hereby pledge our loyalty and patriotism to you and stand ready to support and demand any action that you deem in your wisdom necessary and expedient, and in event of war we will do our 'bit' for our country and our flag."

F. S. MING, *Exalted Ruler.*
E. E. CULL, *Secretary.*

—

BISBEE, ARIZ., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. MARCUS A. SMITH,
Senator from Arizona, Washington, D. C.:

Bisbee Lodge, No. 671, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, indorses President Wilson's program of national preparedness and pledges him the support of its entire membership in his efforts to uphold the honor of our country.

CHARLES S. BEAR, *Exalted Ruler.*

—

KINGMAN, ARIZ., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator MARK A. SMITH, *Washington, D. C.:*

Kingman Lodge, No. 468, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, urges you to give the President your unqualified support in his program for the defense of the Nation and the rights of civilization.

W. O. RUGGLES, *Exalted Ruler.*
H. F. WILLIAMS, *Secretary.*

—

PATAGONIA, ARIZ., *March 26, 1917.*

Hon. MARK A. SMITH, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned inhabitants of the Three R Mining Camp, Patagonia, Ariz., and citizens of the United States, hereby inform you of our desire that you use your influence and vote in favor of national legislation that will enable our beloved country to acquire an adequate fleet of submarines, submarine chasers, aeroplanes, and fortifications, and an Army with all needed modern equipment large and powerful enough (as calculated by reliable military and naval authorities) to resist and defeat any size army that any foe might land and organize for invading our country. We also desire that you disregard estimates of any expert which are below the requirements of the Navy and Army as popularly estimated by a majority of the foremost political leaders of this Nation, regardless of party politics of such leaders.

Furthermore, on account of recurring and persistent rumors that German invading forces are being organized and drilled below the Mexican border, we desire that proper military attention be diverted to this matter. We also favor precautionary and preventive measures to defeat and arrest any hostile Germanic uprisings that might take place in any of our cities or towns as a result of declaration of war against Germany.

We favor a surplus along all needed lines of national defense, rather than to make the unpardonable mistake of inadequate preparation at this critical time in our national existence. As true American citizens, we stand ready to sacrifice and suffer that the great principles of liberty and freedom may be perpetuated and handed down to succeeding generations of Americans, even as they were made secure to us.

H. C. HARRISON
(And others).

Mr. McKELLAR. I present sundry telegrams relative to the war situation, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 6, 1917.*

Senator K. D. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

Papers here say War Department is planning conscription of boys 19 to 25. Conscription talk is making people mad and may make a muss at beginning of the war. Please urge immediate call for volunteers. Let us have men to fight this war, not children from their mothers' arms.

WILLIAM E. CLARK.

—

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

In connection with universal military service we beg to suggest the wisdom of exempting young men who are at present in regular attendance at recognized mechanical and agricultural colleges, for they will be badly needed to help our country hold its own in the fight for commercial supremacy that is sure to come after the war is over. This is particularly true in regard to the South where we are just beginning to make rapid strides industrially and have sent thousands of our boys to technical schools to better fit them to aid in carrying the industrial South forward. We submit it would be a calamity to put these boys in military service unless a crisis called for them, in which case we would gladly give them to our country's cause.

COLUMBIAN IRON WORKS,
By H. M. LOFTON,
General Manager.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, it was my privilege last night to attend a great patriotic mass meeting at my home in Brooklyn. It was one of the finest demonstrations of loyalty to the Government that I have ever witnessed. Brooklyn has already equipped and made ready for service seven full National Guard regiments, which are now under Federal control, numbering over 10,000 of its best young men. I submit resolutions adopted at the meeting and ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at a patriotic mass meeting of the citizens of Brooklyn, at the Academy of Music, April 9, 1917.

Our hearts go out to all the peoples who have taken up arms in defense of national rights, in fulfillment of sacred treaty obligations, and in support of international law. But especially do we send greetings to the people of Russia. The recent political movement in that land is regarded by us and by all free peoples as "a capital action in human affairs." The transfer of political power from the few to the many in so vast a dominion is symbolic of that new world in which the traditions of absolutism are fading away and the institutions of democracy are slowly rising to power and permanence. We hail such an act as a victory for the principles of free government and as a living pledge of Russia's unconquerable passion for liberal institutions. Whether upon the same battlefields in this great war Russians and Americans shall fight together we do not know, but we are brothers in love of liberty and truth, and when the peoples of a free Europe return to the quiet of their homes and the enjoyment of their liberties, to translate their freedom into progress and self-government, we shall labor and rejoice together in a love that shall heal all jealousies, unite all policies, elevate all principles, ennoble all ambitions, and lead all nations to juster laws, sincerer friendships, and to Christian brotherhood; therefore be it

Resolved, That we take this first opportunity to express publicly to the people of Belgium our deep sympathy for their unmerited sufferings and our admiration for their heroism in maintaining their national honor in the face of cruel persecution. We rejoice that we are now standing side by side with their allies in this world struggle for the rights of mankind. And be it further

Resolved, That we, the people of Brooklyn, in mass meeting assembled, respectfully convey to the President, our chosen leader and the leader of militant democracy the world over, affectionate greeting. We desire to assure you, as we enter, with confident faith in the soundness and justness of our cause, on the supreme trial of war, of our loyalty and devotion and determination to dedicate ourselves whole-heartedly in whatever way we can toward its successful consummation that the principles of humanity and liberty, so nobly expressed by you, may prevail on earth.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I also submit resolutions adopted by the Republican Club of the city of New York at a meeting held last evening, which it was my pleasure to attend. These resolutions were presented by Mr. James R. Sheffield and were strongly advocated by that distinguished citizen of New York State and former Member of this body, Hon. Elihu Root. The resolutions were adopted unanimously and express the sentiment of the members of the Republican Party in the

city of New York. I send them to the desk and ask that they may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the members of the Republican Club of the city of New York support with warm approval the address of the President of the United States to the Congress on the 2d of April, and the action of the Congress thereon committing the United States to the war to defend the free peoples of the earth against the control of military autocracy. It is with intense satisfaction that we see our great Republic awakening to a sense of its duty to do its part toward making the world safe for self-governing democracies.

It is our earnest desire that in this vital struggle, upon which our own freedom with that of the world depends, America may exhibit the competency and power of effective action demanded by the interests she has at stake and by her history and her traditions.

To the end that our country may answer to this supreme test, we deem it the duty of all Americans to abjure partisanship and sectionalism and personal advantage and all petty jealousies and dissensions, and to unite in common loyalty and devotion to support the Government of the United States in the most vigorous and effective prosecution of the war.

We are confident that the people can be trusted to rise to the duty of service for their country.

We urge that the rule of universal military training under Federal control and universal readiness for military service by all citizens physically fit be immediately applied, and that all other Americans may seek and through due organization and assignment to duty may find opportunities to do such things as their strength and skill permit in the vast field of civilian service necessary to successful war.

And we urge that at the earliest possible day an American Army shall raise the American flag in the battle lines of Flanders where the enemy of our country may be met.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, there are in Michigan, as I know there are in all the States, thousands of Germans, good American citizens who have a deep interest in the contest that has been going on in Europe and have naturally had a choice as to which of the belligerents should succeed. They have felt at times that there has not been equal impartiality shown by this country to the warring nations and have so expressed themselves. They have tried on every occasion to avoid war between the United States and Germany.

Among the number in Michigan is a gentleman by the name of Carl E. Schmidt, one of the leading Germans in the United States. I have this day received a telegram from a distinguished citizen of Michigan, which I desire to read. It is addressed to me:

BAY CITY, MICH., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

I know you will be delighted to learn that Carl E. Schmidt to-day notified Dr. Burt Shurly, chief surgeon in charge of Michigan Red Cross, that he would donate $35,000 to equip a complete Red Cross base hospital. Mr. Schmidt worked most earnestly to prevent war, but now that war has been declared you can see where he stands.

WALTER E. OXTOBY.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Michigan, remonstrating against universal compulsory military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Michigan, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JAMES. I desire to have printed in the RECORD a resolution adopted by Princeton Lodge, No. 1115, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Kentucky, approving the course taken by the President in support of the Government.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, has been driven by ruthless warfare of the German Government upon American citizens in slaughtering defenseless men, women, and children upon the high seas, in defiance of the obligations and restraints of international law, to summons the Congress of the United States to meet in extraordinary session, and to appeal to it to adopt measures declaring a state of war between the United States and the German Government, and to take immediate steps to place the country in a more thorough state of defense, and to employ all of its resources to bring the German Empire to terms and end the war: Therefore be it

Resolved by Princeton Lodge 1115, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in regular meeting assembled March 5, 1917—

First. That we heartily indorse the statesmanlike, forbearing, patient course hitherto pursued by our great President and enthusiastically approve his latest address to Congress and all of the recommendations therein made, and we pledge him our earnest sympathy and support in upholding and enforcing the great rights of humanity involved in the impending struggle.

Second. That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President and to the Representatives of the State of Kentucky in the United States Senate and to Hon. A. W. BARKLEY, representing the first congressional district of Kentucky in the lower House of Congress, and that the Twice-a-Week Leader be requested to publish same.

T. H. KING, *Secretary.*

Mr. THOMPSON. I desire to have printed in the RECORD a telegram adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of my home city and also other telegrams and a petition from the Order of Elks of Wellington, Kans.

There being no objection, the telegrams and petition were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KANSAS CITY, KANS., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. WM. H. THOMPSON,
Washington, D. C.:

At meeting of loyal mothers and fathers hastily assembled in the northwest portion of Kansas City, Kans., 105 forward you their appeal that you protect personal volition influence and vote against compulsory military training, especially the conscription act.

MAY L. GLIDDEN, *Secretary.*

—

HAYS, KANS., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. WM. H. THOMPSON.
Washington, D. C.:

A mass meeting of 2,400 persons, representing every walk of life, all nationalities, all parties, and all beliefs, unanimously pledged its unswerving loyalty to President Wilson and Congress and pledged itself collectively and singly to conserve its resources, eliminate waste, and increase production as well as to perform whatever service it may be called upon to render.

P. CASPAR HARVEY.
Rev. CHAS. F. WEIST.
JOHN S. BIRD.
Rev. JULIUS BEEKER.
O. W. CAP.

—

LAWRENCE, KANS., *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. WM. H. THOMPSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Practically all of us at the university are ready to serve wherever we can. Stand with Wilson.

P. F. WALKER,
Dean School of Engineering.

—

WELLINGTON, KANS., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. W. H. THOMPSON,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolved by Wellington Lodge 1167, B. P. O. E., in session to-night, That we favor preparedness and pledge our loyal support to our President in any emergency that may occur in the defense of our rights and the honor of the flag.

H. W. LIDDLE, *Exalted Ruler.*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I present resolutions passed by the Chamber of Commerce of Trenton, N. J., recommending a bond issue as the fairest and most equitable means of financing war expenditures. I ask that the resolutions be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas a state of war for national defense will make necessary increased expenditure and financial provision for the same; and

Whereas the sacrifices that will necessarily be made by this generation will inure to the blessings and greater benefits of the generations yet to come:

Resolved, That the Trenton Chamber of Commerce earnestly recommend to Congress a bond issue as the fairest and most equitable means of financing war expenditures and as the best method of distributing the burdens among those who will reap the benefits of the sacrifices of to-day;

Resolved, That we earnestly protest against an increased and excessive taxation upon our industries, enterprises, and incomes as detrimental to the prosperity of the land, the maintenance of which is necessary to successfully maintain the necessary burdens of war.

We believe that in this hour especially that the productive capacity of our people should be encouraged by relief from all possible burdens, that nothing should be done to cause a shrinkage in values and a consequent diminution of wealth that should be preserved in order that it may be available to be laid upon the altars of patriotism.

Mr. GALLINGER presented resolutions adopted by the Union Sunday School, Carroll County; the Free Baptist Church of Water Village; the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Water Village; 24 members of the Sunday School, East Sandwich; 82 members of the Methodist, Episcopal, and Baptist Churches, Center Sandwich; 10 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Sandwich; 58 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Alton; 35 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of East Manchester; 41 members of the First Presbyterian Sabbath School, of Antrim; 150 members of the Baptist Congregation of Hudson; 100 members of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, of Salem; 60 members of the First Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, of Salem; 25 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hudson; 48 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Epping; the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Candia; 150 members of the First Baptist Church, Sunday School, and Christian Endeavor Society, of Salem Depot; 100 members of the Congregational Church of Hudson; 110 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church Sunday School of Hudson; 48 members of the Epworth League of Hudson; the Congregational Sunday School of Hudson; 125 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Manchester; and 70 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Northwood, all in the State of New Hampshire, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SHERMAN. I present resolutions adopted at a meeting of colored citizens of Chicago expressing confidence in the Presi-

dent. I do not ask that they be read, but printed at length in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS COLORED CITIZENS' LOYALTY COMMITTEE,
Chicago, April 6, 1917.

Hon. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At Bethel Church last Sunday (probably the largest meeting of colored citizens ever held in this city) our people expressed their attitude upon the impending national crisis in the following resolutions, copies of which were telegraphed to President Wilson and Gov. Lowden.

In accordance with further instructions of the committee, I am forwarding a copy of these resolutions to the Illinois congressional delegation, including Senators SHERMAN and LEWIS.

It is the hope of the committee that these resolutions be made a matter of record upon the Journals of the respective branches of Congress.

Respectfully submitted.

Dr. ALLEN A. WESLEY,
Chairman.

Committee: Dr. Allen A. Wesley, Edward H. Wright, S. A. T. Watkins, Franklin A. Denison, Charles S. Duke, Dr. George C. Hall, Rev. William D Cook, Edmund M. Ware, Dr. Theodore R. Mozee, Willis V. Jefferson, William H. Clark. Albert B. George, Robert A. J. Shaw, Robert L. Taylor, secretary.

Mindful of the fact that from the hour of the formation of this Nation, in every moment of its peril our fathers have consecrated their lives to the protection of our country, our flag, and our Nation, and have placed their hope for the full enjoyment of all the rights of American citizens in the pledge of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of this, their country.

And further mindful of the fact that because the American people, in the midst of the terrible war devastating Europe, true to their traditions have found it to be their duty to insist upon the observance of the sacred rights of humanity and neutrals, on the part of the belligerents, this Nation finds itself to-day on the brink of a war which will engage the entire resources of this country, material and patriotic.

Be it resolved, That we, the colored citizens of Chicago, in mass meeting assembled, do reaffirm our readiness to discharge every duty incumbent on an American citizen, notwithstanding the fact that all rights and privileges are not always accorded to us.

Be it further resolved, That we reconsecrate our lives, our energies, and our resources to the protection of our country, our flag, and our Government, and that we hereby pledge to the President of the United States, Congress, and the governor of Illinois our unqualified loyalty and support in each and every exigency which may arise, and we do hereby call upon all loyal citizens to cooperate with us.

Be it further resolved, That as citizens of the State of Illinois, we pledge our unqualified support to sustain and maintain the Eighth Regiment Infantry, National Guard, and bespeak for them the same high measure of devotion and loyalty to the cause of the American people which it has shown in the past.

Mr. SHERMAN. I also present a telegram in the nature of a petition from Samuel M. Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, making suggestions as to the method of entering into certain contracts for Government supplies during the war. I ask that the telegram be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN.
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

In the present great emergency the Government departments seem to be under the necessity of following exactly the same methods in securing competitive bids as they follow in peace, when time is no object, and manufacturers in this section are complaining of the delays in securing business from them; we think that manufacturers would be willing to agree with department officers upon bare prices made up by adding an average peace-time profit to costs and thereby enabling the Government to apportion orders among the manufacturers at a considerable saving of time. Will you kindly confer with the proper Government officials regarding this matter.

SAMUEL M. HASTINGS, *President.*

Mr. WATSON. I present a telegram from the governor of Indiana and one from J. W. Adams, of Indianapolis, Ind., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES E. WATSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We are having wonderful meetings all over the State for the purpose of conserving and increasing food supplies. Very important farmers should receive fertilizer and seeds of various kinds. They have been embarrassed by long delays in shipments. Would help immensely if Interstate Commerce Commission could be prevailed upon to enter immediate order requiring railroads to card all cars containing fertilizer or seeds. Mark them "Rush," and give strict preference to all such shipments. Similar messages to NEW, WOOD, and COX.

JAMES P. GOODRICH,
Governor of Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *April 9, 1917.*

Senator JAMES E. WATSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Pass a decree prohibiting the slaughter of veal till 3 years old. Will increase output of meat millions and millions of pounds. Thousands of calves are destroyed at birth because of high price of milk. More money by killing calf and selling milk.

J. W. ADAMS.

Mr. WATSON presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of Indiana, praying for the erection of a monument to the late Gen. William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, at North Bend, Ohio, which was referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. WALSH. I present a telegram submitting resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Anaconda, Mont., pledging loyalty to the President. I understand a similar telegram has been presented by my colleague and ordered printed in the RECORD. I will not ask that this telegram be printed, but that it be received and appropriately referred.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The telegram will lie on the table.

Mr. McLEAN presented petitions of Charles L. Upham Camp, No. 7, Sons of Veterans, and of sundry citizens of Meriden, Conn., praying for universal military training and pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I understand that the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 28) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings, which was passed by the Senate on yesterday, has been transmitted to the House of Representatives. I enter a motion to reconsider the votes by which the joint resolution was passed, and I move that the House of Representatives be requested to return to the Senate the joint resolution. I make this motion in order that when the joint resolution is returned to the Senate I may offer an amendment to it that is very important.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from North Carolina enters a motion to reconsider the votes by which the Senate passed Senate joint resolution No. 28, and that the House be requested to return the joint resolution to the Senate. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

MEASUREMENT OF VESSELS FOR TOLLS.

Mr. SHIELDS. From the Committee on Interoceanic Canals I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 831) providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls, and I submit a report No. 6) thereon. As this is a matter of some urgency and one which I expect to ask to have disposed of at this session, in order that it may be brought more readily to the attention of the Senate I ask that the report be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. PENROSE. I suggest to the Senator from Tennessee that he ask that the bill also be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SHIELDS. The bill is embodied in the report and will, of course, appear in the RECORD if my request is granted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Tennessee is complied with.

The report submitted this day by Mr. SHIELDS is as follows:

Mr. SHIELDS, from the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, submitted the following report (to accompany S. 831):

The Committee on Interoceanic Canals, to whom was referred the bill (S. 831) providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls, after considering the same recommend that the bill do pass.

The bill under consideration is in these words:

"A bill providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurment of vessels for imposing tolls.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That in measuring vessels and determining the tolls to be paid thereon at the Panama Canal, the measurement shall be made and tonnage determined in all cases by the Panama Canal rules as they now exist, or as they may be changed from time to time; and the tonnage arrived at by those rules shall be the tonnage to which shall be applied the maximum and minimum rates now fixed by law or hereafter to be fixed for the purpose of determining the maximum and minimum tolls which may be charged.

"SEC. 2. That all laws and parts of laws, rules and regulations in conflict with this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed."

The facts and conditions calling for this legislation are as follows:

The Panama Canal act, approved August 24, 1912, authorized the President to prescribe the tolls to be levied by the Panama Canal within certain limits, and to decide upon the measurments to be adopted, but provided that "when based upon net registered tonnage for ships of commerce the tolls shall not exceed $1.25 per net registered ton."

This provision was interpreted by the Panama Canal authorities to mean the net tonnage of vessels as determined by the Panama Canal rules of measurement. These rules had been formulated by an authority on transportation matters who had been engaged by the Panama Canal authorities for this purpose, based on the fundamental principle that commercial vessels should be taxed in accordance with their earning capacities.

The Attorney General, however, when the question was submitted to him held that the words "net registered tonnage" as used in the Panama Canal act must mean the net tonnage under the United States rules of measurement, and that if the toll rate established at $1.30 per net ton, when multiplied by the tonnage as ascertained by the Panama Canal rules, exceeds the amount produced by multiplying the net registered tonnage as measured by the rules prescribed in the United States statutes by $1.25. the excess thus produced is uncollectible.

The effect of this ruling has been to vitiate the principle established that vessels should pay tolls according to their earning capacities, to discriminate against certain ships, and decrease materially the reve-

nues of the canal, to increase the difficulties of administration through the measurment of ships under both sets of rules, and (as a large percentage of tolls previously collected were in excess of the amount collectible under the decision) to require the rechecking of all ships' measurements to ascertain the excess.

Practically all countries charge port and light dues, wharfage, etc., on the basis of net tonnage. In view of the fact that these dues are only a few cents per ton, a number of the leading maritime nations, including the United States, have entered into reciprocal relations whereby they recognize each other's tonnage certificates for levying these dues, notwithstanding the discrepancies in the different rules of measurement. The laws of the United States designate the Commissioner of Navigation as the official who shall prepare the necessary rules and regulations for the measurement of vessels of the United States. Such rules are naturally fixed so as to give our merchant vessels all the benefits possible in the reduction of any dues that may be imposed, and the rules are changed from time to time with this purpose in view. Hence, in a great majority of cases, the net tonnage of vessels under United States measurement rules is less than under the Panama Canal rules. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Navigation, in a circular dated March 16, 1915, exempted from measurement under certain conditions shelter deck and closed-in spaces. These changes, when taken into account in the levying of Panama Canal tolls, still further deviate from the principle that vessels using the canal shall be taxed according to their earning capacities.

The Panama Canal rules, following strictly the principle that the earning capacity of a ship should determine its tolls, take cognizance of the deck spaces utilized for the carrying of cargo, and charges are provided for deck loads, which are not computed in fixing the United States tonnage, as well as all passenger spaces. The exemption of practically all shelter-deck spaces and deck loads of vessels using the canal (deck loads not being included in the United States measurement rules) has resulted in discrimination against most of the United States vessels transiting this waterway, owing to the fact that almost all United States vessels are so constructed that they are unable to take advantage of shelter-deck space, while a large proportion of the foreign ships have been so constructed that they can take advantage of these exemptions. On the other hand, the United States rules provide for the exemption of certain cabin spaces above the upper deck; that is, not a deck attached to the hull, which would in most cases result in discrimination against foreign vessels in favor of the United States passenger steamers if the national register of the vessel were recognized as a factor to be considered in the levying of tolls.

As time goes on and traffic increases, with a resulting increase in the number of classes of vessels using the canal, it becomes more evident that it will be absolutely necessary to adopt some one rule for the levying of tolls, and experience has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the fairest rule for determining the tonnage of a vessel, in order that tolls may be assessed without discrimination, and on a just basis, are the Panama Canal rules for measurement. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Navigation has stated that the Panama Canal rules of measurement are without doubt the most exact application of the scientific principles governing the measurement of vessels yet prepared.

While the monetary loss to the Panama Canal during the fiscal year 1916, due to the Attorney General's ruling, amounting to $390,714.05, or 16.3 per cent of the amount actually collected, during the five months the canal was open, is considerable, and jeopardizes the success of the canal from a financial standpoint, the present unsatisfactory condition also results in discrimination for and against ships, which discrimination is in violation of our treaty obligations. This condition also results in difficult, as well as unsatisfactory administration which, it is believed, will be remedied by this bill.

The application of the United States rules in lieu of the Panama Canal rules in the levying of tolls has resulted in a great number of claims for refund of illegally collected tolls in the first instance, some of which will be impossible of settlement until an opportunity offers for the remeasurement of the ships affected in accordance with the United States rules. It is now necessary to measure according to both sets of rules (United States and Panama Canal) in order to determine correct assessment of tolls. The Panama Canal authorities on the Isthmus are not always aware of the changes made by the Commissioner of Navigation located in Washington until some time after they have been effected. This happened in July last, when rules were made effective July 13 that were not known of on the Isthmus until the last of the month, and complete information not received until August. In the interval tolls were collected under the rules as the authorities at the Isthmus knew them; consequently additional refunds are necessary. With measurers all over the United States it is not surprising that differences are found when check is made by the admeasurers on the Isthmus, and it becomes necessary at times to refer questions to Washington, where the final decision rests. The difficulties of administration under such a system are apparent, resulting in irritating and vexatious delays. Furthermore, this situation is very confusing and annoying to the owners and operators of steamships using the canal, who are obliged to have their vessels measured under two sets of rules, particularly those in foreign countries, who are unfamiliar with the present situation and unable to understand why the two sets of rules are involved.

Briefly, the difficulties at present existing and for which remedial legislation is sought may be summarized as follows:

1. The monetary loss to the United States: This loss is such as to jeopardize the financial success of the canal. During the fiscal year of 1916 it amounted to $390,714.05. When it is remembered that the canal was closed seven months of the year on account of slides, some idea may be gained of the loss which will be sustained during a full business year, especially after the close of the European war with the resulting increase in traffic, if the proposed legislation be not enacted.

2. Difficulties of administration: The necessity of measuring vessels under two sets of rules (United States and Panama Canal) in order to determine the correct assessment of tolls, and the further fact that the United States rules may be changed at any time without the knowledge of the canal authorities, greatly increases the difficulties of administration, besides causing irritating and vexatious delays to shipping.

3. Discrimination against American vessels and violation of treaties: Under present conditions particular classes of vessels may optionally take advantage of certain privileges in the classification and exemption of space, which gives them a decided advantage over others less favored. This is particularly true in the case of foreign vessels. Such discrimination is a clear violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which stipulates that there should be no discrimination in favor of the vessels of any nation, and operates to the disadvantage of American ships of commerce. It is also in violation of the cardinal principles, which was adopted by the Panama Canal authorities in the preparation of their rules, to the effect that all vessels should be required to pay tolls on their actual earning capacity. The unrestricted application of the Panama Canal rules will avoid any question of discrimination and violation of treaties.

For further detailed information regarding the Panama Canal tolls situation, attention is invited to the attached pamphlet entitled "Statement prepared by Capt. Rodman and submitted to the Commitee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives by the Panama Canal authorities."

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 1552) to amend chapter 2582 of the Statutes of the United States, the same being entitled "An act to appoint Joseph Y. Porter a lieutenant colonel and deputy surgeon general and place him on the retired list of the Army," approved March 2, 1907; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Arizona (for Mr. MCLEAN):

A bill (S. 1553) to give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds concluded at Washington August 16, 1916, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 1554) creating a board for the management of Indian affairs, to provide for the classification of Indians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1555) to repeal the last proviso of section 4 of an act to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes, approved January 26, 1915; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota:

A bill (S. 1556) for the relief of the heirs of Harry Davenport, deceased; and

A bill (S. 1557) for the relief of Arthur Nelson; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1558) for the relief of F. C. X. Boucher; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1559) granting an increase of pension to Nelson Coffen; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of New Mexico:

A bill (S. 1560) granting to certain States public lands for the construction, repair, and maintenance of public roads; and

A bill (S. 1561) limiting the creation or extension of forest reserves in New Mexico; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 1562) for the relief of every officer or private soldier who was honorably discharged after 90 days' service in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the War of the Rebellion;

A bill (S. 1563) granting an annuity equivalent to $50 per month to officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps who have attained the age of 65 years and have been, or may hereafter be, awarded medals of honor for gallantry and heroism involving great personal peril, and authorizing the President of the United States to make rules and regulations for carrying the act into effect; and

A bill (S. 1564) granting an annuity of $100 to officers and enlisted men of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps who have been awarded medals of honor for gallantry in action and other soldierlike qualities under acts of Congress, and authorizing the President of the United States to make rules and regulations for carrying the act into effect; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1565) for the relief of certain officers of the Army and Navy in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal; to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals.

A bill (S. 1566) to limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1567) granting an increase of pension to William D. Martin (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 1568) granting an increase of pension to Matilda C. Heilman; and

A bill (S. 1569) granting a pension to Katharine E. Bocaskey; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 1570) to authorize the appointment in the Army, and the immediate retirement, with the rank of captain, of Robert Armour, who was a captain in the Civil War, an employee of the

War Department for 50 years, and 75 years of age; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 1571) to dissolve the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. SHERMAN:

A bill (S. 1572) granting a pension to Eliza J. M. Clemens; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEAN:

A bill (S. 1573) granting a pension to Conrad Hockenberger; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNALD:

A bill (S. 1574) granting an increase of pension to William H. H. Knight (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 1575) granting an increase of pension to Mark P. Morton;

A bill (S. 1576) granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Wellman;

A bill (S. 1577) granting an increase of pension to George W. Townsend;

A bill (S. 1578) granting an increase of pension to Morey Milliken;

A bill (S. 1579) granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Howard;

A bill (S. 1580) granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Holmes;

A bill (S. 1581) granting a pension to Mary E. Finson;

A bill (S. 1582) granting an increase of pension to Phoebe W. Chase;

A bill (S. 1583) granting an increase of pension to Ida E. Cook;

A bill (S. 1584) granting an increase of pension to William P. Cook; and

A bill (S. 1585) granting an increase of pension to John L. Bradford; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LEWIS:

A bill (S. 1586) for the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 29) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

OFFENSES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. POINDEXTER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

PRINTING OF DECISIONS OF SUPREME COURT.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, two decisions have recently been rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States touching matters that have had the earnest consideration of the Senate—one the eight-hour-law decision and the other entitled "The Utah Power & Light Co. against The United States," disposing of the question as to whether public lands of the United States are subject to the eminent domain power of the States. I ask that both these decisions be printed as a public document for the information of the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask the Senator to allow his request to go to the Committee on Printing for action. The committee will then report it out.

Mr. WALSH. Very well.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The matter will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

Mr. OVERMAN. I introduce a joint resolution authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration. The joint resolution is to correct a similar one which was passed by the Senate on yesterday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 30) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That in order to secure a more complete protection of the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings there shall be employed, while Congress is in session, and not later than the 15th day of July, 1917, by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate and the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives, 50 additional policemen, who shall be appointed solely on account of their efficiency and special qualifications.

To enable the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay the necessary expenses of said employment, at a rate not to exceed $3 per day, there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $14,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, the same to be immediately available and to be paid upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Morning business is closed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I believe at the time the Senate adjourned on yesterday there was pending before the Senate the provision with reference to advertising for recruits for the Army.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending amendment is on page 41, beginning in line 6, and will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Military Affairs proposes to insert, beginning in line 6, on page 41, as follows:

Provided further, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ the services of one or more advertising agencies in advertising for recruits for the Army under such terms and conditions as he may deem to be most advantageous to the interests of the Government.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, just a word. I have no doubt that some form of advertising for recruits for the Army may be necessary, even under present conditions, but I hope that in any such advertisements that are framed by the department hereafter they will set out more the needs of the Government for men to enlist in the Army than present a roseate view of the opportunities which a man, after he has enlisted in the Army, has for his own benefit. The main objection I have had to many advertisements which have been put out heretofore was that they have not presented the needs of the Government, but they have presented a roseate picture of the opportunities which come to a man after he enlists in the Army, which I do not think ought to be presented by the Government and which is not warranted by the actual facts and conditions.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, in consequence of illness I have not been able to follow the debates on this or on any other bill during the present session. This proposition looks to encouraging recruiting. Without discussing its merits, I will venture at this point to ask the chairman of the committee if there is in contemplation at the present time a forced draft or conscription to create an army for our country? I have noticed a suggestion—I think emanating from the President of the United States—that we should resort to that method of recruiting an army for our service. That does not appeal to me, Mr. President, I will say offhand, as a wise thing to do. I have no knowledge of any time—certainly not in this country, and I do not know of any such in any other country—where forced conscription was resorted to at the beginning of a war. I am very solicitous as to how a matter of that kind would be received by the people of the country.

My notion is, Mr. President, that we ought to encourage recruiting in a more liberal way than we are doing at the present time. I have an impression that there was some debate yesterday—somebody suggested it to me, for I was not in the Chamber—as to the pay that we should give to our soldiers, the present pay being, in my opinion, utterly inadequate. I have been looking casually over what our neighbor, Canada, is doing in that regard. Canada is a little country of 8,000,000 of people. She has recruited for the service in Europe 400,000 of her best young men; she has sent 350,000 of them to the front, where they are today, except those who have given up their lives in defense of the allied cause. Fifty thousand more are ready to go upon call. But what does Canada do? Canada pays her soldiers $1.10 a day; Australia pays her soldiers $1.50 a day; and Canada has also raised an enormous fund—I will not now venture to say what amount it is—to take care of the families of her soldiers while they are at the front.

Why, Mr. President, if we should recruit an army in proportion to our population which would compare with the number which Canada has recruited, we should have an army of over 5,000,000 soldiers. I do not, however, believe that we can recruit them by paying our soldiers the paltry sum which they are now being paid under existing law, which, I believe, is $15 a month. I will ask the Senator from Wyoming if I am correct in that statement?

Mr. WARREN. The basic pay is $15 a month, and then for each subsequent enlistment there is added an increase in pay. There is also an addition for excellent service in the way of sharpshooting, and all that. Then, of course, all noncommissioned officers receive more pay. So the pay ranges all the way from $15 up to $80 or $90 in the various grades and services.

Mr. GALLINGER. But the fact still remains that the private soldier upon enlistment gets only $15 per month.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. But, if the Senator will allow me, to the men we are taking away from their business, whom we expect to keep for one or two years, this increase would not come.

Mr. GALLINGER. No.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is not to be their business permanently, and they are temporarily broken up in their incomes by the operation of this law of Congress.

Mr. GALLINGER. Absolutely so; and I contend that the young man who leaves his business to fight for his country should be adequately paid; and if he leaves a family very liberal provision should be made for their care during his absence.

Mr. President, I am reasonably familiar with conditions in Canada, and I know that the 400,000 men who have been enlisted in Canada for service in the trenches of Europe comprise the very best blood and sinew of that Dominion. They are a splendid army of young men. They were the admiration of the armies of France and of England when they appeared on the scene of action. I have a letter from the front stating that it was the first time they had seen regiments of gentlemen. Those young men left their occupations and enlisted because the country encouraged them to enlist, because the pay was liberal, and because their families were to be provided for in the most generous manner. And they have done the most valiant service that any army has ever done on the battle field.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator a question, purely for information. I have heard it stated, but I have no proof of it; I have never seen it officially stated, but I understand it is true that in Canada they are enlisting the men and the men volunteer for the war?

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does not the Senator think that the main objection of the average young man in America who wants to go into the Regular Army or the Navy now is that he has to enlist for a fixed term? If we should change the term of enlistment so as to read "for the war," or, say, 30 days thereafter, would not that do away with the objection that most men have? They do not want to be enlisted in such a way as that, perhaps the war being over in a year, they shall be hanging around forts and encampments under the charge of drill sergeants.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think there is a great deal of force in the suggestion made by the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Is not this the Regular Army bill, and will we not have a special bill covering a different plan of enlistment for the emergency that confronts us?

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; this is the Regular Army appropriation bill. As to what may follow, I am not fully informed. I will allow the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] to answer that suggestion.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, this is the appropriation bill for the present establishment if it remains the same from now until the end of the next fiscal year. The suggested bill, of which the Senator speaks, is not yet before Congress in any shape, except that an outline of the bill has been presented to the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House, and the Secretary of War and officers of the Regular Establishment are explaining its provisions. What shape it may take I do not know, but there is a conscriptive idea in it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, what I wanted to say—and I am saying it very haltingly and without any coherence, perhaps, because I am not in a condition to discuss anything as I would like to discuss it—but the point I wanted to make, thinking that I might not be here when the bill is considered further, was that I have very grave apprehensions about this idea of conscription at the present time, and very grave apprehensions as to whether it will appeal to the people of the United States. I wanted further to make this appeal that we should be liberal to these men who are going to fight the battles of our country.

Why, Mr. President, if you will read the record of the soldiers that Canada has sent you will find that they engaged in and practically controlled the great Calais drive, which was one of the most memorable military exploits that the world has ever known; and if you have read the newspapers you will have observed that it was the Canadian troops who captured the famous Vimy ridge on yesterday. They are at the very front of this fight. They are the best young men that Canada has produced; and they go there because the Government is back of them in a liberal spirit, encouraging them, paying them well, and taking care of their families.

I do not believe we can raise a volunteer army unless we emulate what Canada has done and is doing, and give our young men to understand that they are not going to be sent to the front to fight the battles of the country for $15 a month, and that their families are to be taken care of in a parsimonious manner. I think we will have to adopt a very liberal policy, and in that way encourge enlistments, which are not, at the present time satisfactory, so far as numbers are concerned.

Now, Mr. President, that is all I care to say. I have no disposition to delay the consideration of this bill or of any other bill looking to the proper organization of the Army which will be called upon to defend the honor and the integrity of our country. On the contrary, I want to help in every way that I can the Senator from Oregon and other Senators who have this matter in charge, to get legislation that will enable us to carry on this war to a successful conclusion; but in that work we must not forget to take good care of the private soldier, who bears the brunt of the conflict on every battle field.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I merely wish to say to the Senator from New Hampshire that I am more than delighted to hear the expressions which have fallen from his lips on this very important subject. I am cordially, heartily, almost enthusiastically in favor of the views which he has expressed. I believe there is enough patriotism in this country to organize a volunteer army at this time; and until that is demonstrated not to be true, I do not believe we should resort to the conscription of our young men to fight the battles of the country.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I do not propose to answer the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] now with reference to the pay of the enlisted personnel of the Army, because there is an amendment proposed by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] which brings this whole question before the Senate, and I will later have something to say on the subject and show what the soldiers of the armies of the world are receiving. The question immediately before the Senate is that of advertising for recruits; and, in order that the Senate may fully understand the matter, the question having been raised by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], I will call attention to the reasons which suggest this amendment to the bill, and then, if the Senate does not want to adopt it, of course, its disposition is with the Senate.

The Secretary of War recommends this amendment, and makes this explanation in reference to it:

> In an act of Congress approved August 22, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 332), authority was granted the naval authorities to employe the services of an advertising agency in advertising for recruits. The officers in charge of recruiting for the Navy consider the employment of an advertising agency as a considerable improvement over the old system, with no greater, if as great, expense, not to mention a material saving in paper work.
>
> The old system is still in use in advertising for recruits for the Army; and while, of course, all reasonable efforts are made to secure the best results from this system, yet it is reasonably certain that an experienced advertising agency can be of material aid in accomplishing more gratifying results.

I do not see the Senator from Washington now in the Chamber, but he spoke of these flaming advertisements yesterday. The Secretary of War continues:

> By utilizing reading articles instead of the present "Men wanted" advertisements, and by preparing short and interesting articles of actual experience in the Army, advertising agencies, with their experienced corps of writers and with their knowledge of advertising rates and the classes of persons reached by various publications, are in a position to secure better results than can be obtained through present methods of newspaper advertising.

Then the Secretary of War recommends the provision which the committee adopted, feeling that it would be a more reasonable way to reach the intelligence of the men of the country

than by the use of flaming advertisements. The Secretary is very anxious to have it; the Navy has it; I think that good results will come from it; and that it will accomplish what the Senator from New Hampshire wants to accomplish, and that is, to secure recruits for the Army.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, the purposes of the Secretary of War are very commendable and worthy, but I think it would be a serious mistake in this great emergency for this Government to undertake any campaign of paid advertising in the newspapers. There is no appropriation that is available to the Government to make an adequate campaign. All that it could do would be merely a drop in the bucket, and to advertise in some papers would inevitably result in diminishing the spirit of others. To my mind the newspapers of the country ought to be asked and expected to contribute voluntarily all of the publicity which the War Department and the Navy Department desire; and I have no doubt the newspapers will respond and give gratuitously all the space which the Government of the United States can reasonably require. There is some reason more than the ordinary reason why the newspapers should do this. They are to some extent at the present time, and have been for 30 years, the beneficiaries of a liberal Government spirit. They are given preferred privileges in the public mails for the reason that they contribute to the public good. I believe that in this occasion of emergency, when individuals are volunteering their services, not only in the Army but also in civil walks of life, gratuitously to the service of the Government, the newspapers ought to be given an opportunity to contribute.

Therefore, Mr. President, I have prepared as a substitute the amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The substitute offered by the Senator from Nebraska will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In lieu of the amendment proposed by the committee it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to accept the gratuitous services of one or more advertising agencies, and in connection therewith such free services and free advertising as patriotic newspapers and magazines may be willing to give in stimulating recruiting.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if that would be necessary? Has not the Secretary that authority without an act of Congress?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, at least it would be directory and suggestive, and it would put back of the act of the Secretary of War the authority of Congress. This is not now a case for routine advertising. If this country is to be aroused as it ought to be aroused there must be the united, the spontaneous, and the gratuitous effort of the newspapers to do it, and they will do it. Many of them are already active. The substitute which I propose will simply direct the Secretary of War in the course which he will pursue; and I have no doubt in the world that it will be met by the almost unanimous support of newspapers, big and little, all over the United States.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me a moment further, I wish to say I do not desire to have my interruption construed as being in any way antagonistic to his suggestion. I think the matter proposed by the able Senator from Nebraska is a very proper thing to do. I believe the newspapers ought to do it; and, as I always indulge the presumption that a man will do the thing he ought to do, I am going to be just enough to the newspapers to believe they will do it. It is the patriotic thing to do, and the patriotic thing is the thing that ought to be done at this time. I agree with all my heart to the suggestions that have been made on the floor of this Chamber this morning—that nothing will bring men to the colors like firing the patriotic spirit. It is not the lure of gold or the greed for gain that will cause the citizen to bear his breast to the enemy's bullet, but rather a matter of love for the flag, reverence for the Constitution, and adoration for the home of his fathers and the hearthstones of his loved ones. The greatest asset in the enterprise of war is love of country. Men may be brave and strong and well trained, but if they are lacking in patriotism the conquering force is lacking. I think every opportunity should be given the men of America to volunteer for service to the Government in this great emergency. Compulsion is inconsistent and discordant with the higher ideals of the duties of citizenship. The man who is to be forced to fight his country's battles in time of war is fatally deficient in the higher and better elements of citizenship. I am not going to consent to the humiliation of the white men of this Republic by providing for compulsory military service until the citizen has had an opportunity to show his patriotism. After he fails in his duty will be ample time to enact laws compelling him to serve his country.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Now, Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska permit an interruption?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I called upon the Secretary of War yesterday with a suggestion along the lines of that proposed by the Senator from Nebraska, and I think there would be no objection at all upon his part if I should repeat what he said to me—that this suggestion has been acted upon by the War Department and this course is being pursued now.

While I think the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska is very appropriate and perhaps ought to be put in the bill, yet I was very much pleased, when I presented to the War Department the suggestion from a prominent journal in my State, to have the Secretary say that the department had already acted along the lines suggested by this journal and by the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, that is true; and it is true also at the present time that a number of newspapers in the country are giving thousands of dollars' worth of space gratuitously and enthusiastically to encouraging recruiting. All that we now need is to direct it and coordinate it. I have proposed in this amendment that the War Department be authorized to accept the gratuitous services of one or more advertising agencies; and while I have no knowledge of any particular advertising agency at this moment, I have no doubt in the world that practically every advertising agency in the country would be glad of an opportunity to serve the War Department without charge, and that they will emulate and compete with each other in furnishing ideas and in furnishing services to the War Department.

I am not in possession of a list of newspapers which have already voluntarily taken action without any cooperation with each other, but simply from a spontaneous desire to do their bit. I know that in New York, Mr. Hearst's paper, and throughout the country his other papers, have taken the lead, and other papers in New York and some in Boston; and I know that other papers in the West have already taken action in this direction.

All that I propose by this amendment is to give form and method to the work; let it be directed by the War Department, and it will be carried out, I have no doubt, practically unanimously by all the newspapers of the country; and $10,000,000 would not suffice to pay for the publicity which can be gratuitously given in this way within six months.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, this amendment does not compel the Secretary of War to do this work through an advertising agency, but it authorizes him to do it in case of necessity. Now, nobody questions the patriotism of the newspapers and magazines of the country; but even the most ably written editorials, and a recitation of the conditions that threatened our country on the border, did not get 20,000 men to enlist in the service of the United States for the purpose of the Mexican mobilization, and I question very much if they will do it now, Mr. President.

I hope that this provision will remain in the bill. It will not preclude the Secretary from appealing to newspapers to assist in the work of recruiting; but it is rather a humiliating position for the great Government of the United States to be in to go about appealing to the newspapers of the country to give space for the richest Government in the world to advertising matter that will induce men to recruit. If people want to insist that they shall be paid, they are entitled to be paid, and the Government ought not to be in the position of begging to have it done.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I desire to say a word in reply to my friend from Oregon, the chairman of the committee.

I would regard it as a serious mistake for the Government in this emergency to begin paying newspapers for space. The way to get that space is to have it known that it is to be given freely, so that the newspapers may have the credit of giving it, just as individuals give their services to the country and are giving those services to the country at this time. It is all right enough in times of peace for the War Department to insert little notices of "recruits wanted" in different parts of the country; but we are now confronted with a situation in which the thing must be done by wholesale; and, as I have said, it would require millions of dollars to procure the publicity which may be given, and be given freely, if the Government is only directed to accept it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska this question: Does he not think, moreover, that if

the people knew that a part of what was being said in the newspapers and magazines consisted of paid advertisements to stir up and create patriotism, it would cause other things said in the newspapers, that had not been paid for, to be suspected of having the same origin?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. To be sure.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And would it not weaken everything that those who were giving spontaneous support to the Government could say?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It would undoubtedly give a mercenary character to a matter which ought to be purely patriotic. The newspapers are not only in position to render this great service, but they have a public duty to render this service, just as every newspaper in its own community always comes to the front, if it amounts to anything as a newspaper, in a public-spirited way, where the community is involved.

I deem this of particular importance, Mr. President. I would prohibit the Secretary of War from spending one dollar in publicity. I would have it known that every line of publicity comes from patriotism, and not from pay.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator just a moment?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. What would the Senator do in a community where there is one paper denouncing the policies of the administration and denouncing the cause that the administration has espoused, while another paper in the community is advocating all that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That paper will not live long in these circumstances, Mr. President.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They are living now.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. If we enter upon this enterprise in the spirit in which we must enter upon it in order to succeed, each community will take care of papers that are of a "copperhead" character, and we can depend upon the communities to do it. I believe that while this is not a matter of tremendous importance, it is a matter of considerable importance for us to start off right here, and have the Congress notify the War Department that it is to have the free space of the newspapers of the country for whatever publicity is needed to encourage recruiting and to give the facts concerning recruiting. I find from constituents of mine that they are not advised what the facts are, what the regulations are; and we want all the publicity possible, so that men may be advised—men who aspire to be officers as well as men who desire to enter as privates.

I have changed this provision as little as possible. I have left in it the securing of the services of advertising agencies, because that will systematize the publicity, and bring to the aid of the War Department men of genius in putting publicity in an attractive form. Those services will be rendered freely. There will be a half dozen great agencies in the country that will rush to the War Department, tendering freely their services in arranging this publicity; and there will not be an exception of any great paper in the country, or any considerable paper, in doing its part.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator whether he has made any investigation so that he can give assurances as to the percentage of papers that would grant this space freely to the Government?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not; but I will gamble on it. I have been a newspaper man for 30 years, and I have never found in any community of any size the lack of some paper that would stand up for the public interests in an emergency.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. I agree with him about the readiness of the newspapers to do their part, and I think we ought to take full advantage of it; but the Senator surely does not mean to cut out the right of the Government to issue posters.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Oh, no. That involves an expenditure.

Mr. LODGE. Because those have played a great part in all the recruiting abroad, I know.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There may be some concerns engaged in the business of putting up posters who, for patriotic reasons, will tender their services, or do it at cost, or at a discount; but the man in the poster business is different from the newspaper publisher, who serves the public and who is recognized as a part of the public educational system of the country, who has been given preferred privileges in the United States mails, who lives really by public favor. That is the position of the newspaper; and the newspapers of the country will be ready, I have no doubt, to do their share and do it with great liberality, as the country will learn.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I hope this provision will not be stricken from the bill. We are going to need these recruits in the Army since war is declared. Every business that ever has succeeded has required advertising and publicity, and that advertising and publicity are required here.

There are but two methods by which to get that publicity. One is to pay for it, like everybody else in this country does, and the other is to require it as a matter of public service by the power of the Government. Those are the only two ways in which advertising can be procured.

Some of the newspaper people are patriotic, and many of them are sordid. Many of them are looking after their own private affairs, as all must do in this country of ours. Then shall this Government say to a newspaper man: "We would like to have you publish this advertising," and not be able to compel him to do it?

The time has come now when these things must be done. This must be paid for, or the service must be required by law; and I do not believe, as yet, that the necessity is so great that it should be compelled. Therefore I say, let us proceed; let this amendment be retained in the bill; and let these services be paid for on the basis of a reasonable compensation, as they ought to be. I think the time has come when these things must be done, and it is useless to dillydally about it or to delay longer.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee whether the suggestion coming from the Secretary of War, that he be allowed to advertise or to enter into negotiations with advertising agencies, was made before the declaration of war or since?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It was made on the 9th day of January, 1917.

Mr. FALL. Long before the declaration of war?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes.

Mr. FALL. I presumed that that was the case, Mr. President, because otherwise I could not see why it would be necessary to advertise for recruits or what you would say in the advertisement, provided the plan of the Secretary of War is to be carried out. I presume that the advertisements, if this plan were followed, would set forth the great advantage that would accrue to 250,000 or 300,000 men from joining the Regular Army voluntarily, as opposed to the disadvantages if they waited to be forced into the service by conscription.

We are providing an Army, as I understand, of something like 2,000,000 men, whom we are going to conscript. Advertising for soldiers, by way of poster or otherwise, in any foreign country has been done where the volunteer system was being followed, and not where conscription was being followed. This whole bill is a peace measure. It has nothing at all to do with war. This is simply the regular appropriation bill for the Regular Army of the United States, with such amendments as may be thrown in or injected, which have nothing to do with it, exactly like the amendment now offered.

We are in war. The Congress of the United States has declared war. It is providing now for raising an enormous Army—a greater Army than this country ever dreamed of calling for before, even during the perilous days of the Civil War. We are providing, or supposed to be providing, for that Army by drafting into the service all the young men between 20 and 25 years of age; and here the Senate of the United States, yesterday afternoon and again to-day, has been wasting hours of its time in discussing a proposition as to whether, in times of peace, for the recruiting of the Regular Army, the Secretary of War may enter into advertising contracts with advertising agencies.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I desire to state that I am sure the advertising agencies will be ready to furnish the Secretary of War all the assistance he needs. I have in my office a letter from the leading advertising agency of the Southeast requesting that I communicate with the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy their willingness to put free of charge their office and their force at his disposal.

I do not believe there is a daily paper in the United States that will not print gladly any matter that is furnished which pertains to this subject. The daily papers desire to print what the people want to read, and there is nothing that to-day the average man wants to read about and know about more in detail than how this army is to be organized. Every particular connected with it can be carried and will be carried by the daily papers if it is intelligently furnished to them. To single out a few and pay them casts a reflection upon all of them. I think it is a bad policy. I think it would be very unfortunate at this time to let them feel that we were paying these papers for matter they carried about filling up the Army. As I think the pro-

vision of the bill would be hurtful, I shall vote for the substitute offered by the Senator from Nebraska.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the substitute offered by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK].

On a division, the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, on yesterday there was an amendment offered following this amendment to the bill. I ask if this is the proper time for it to come up for consideration?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The committee amendments are first to be considered.

Mr. KIRBY. Very well.

The next amendment was, on page 41, line 14, after the word "baggage," to insert "including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty," and, in line 20, before the word "enlisted," to insert "officers and," so as to read:

Transportation of the Army and its supplies: For transportation of the Army and its supplies, including transportation of the troops when moving either by land or water, and of their baggage, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty, including the cost of packing and crating; for transportation of recruits and recruiting parties; of applicants for enlistment between recruiting stations and recruiting depots; for travel allowance to officers and enlisted men on discharge; for payment of travel allowance as provided in section 126 of the act approved June 3, 1916, to enlisted men of the National Guard on their discharge from the service of the United States, and to members of the National Guard who have been mustered into the service of the United States and discharged on account of physical disability; for payment of travel pay to officers of the National Guard on their discharge from the service of the United States, as prescribed in the act approved March 2, 1901; for travel allowance to persons on their discharge from the United States disciplinary barracks or from any place in which they have been held under a sentence of dishonorable discharge and confinement for more than six months, or from the Government Hospital for the Insane after transfer thereto from such barracks or place, to their homes (or elsewhere as they may elect), provided the cost in each case shall not be greater than to the place of last enlistment; of supplies furnished to the militia for the permanent equipment thereof; of the necessary agents and other employees, including per diem allowances in lieu of subsistence not exceeding $4 for those authorized to receive the per diem allowance; of clothing and equipage and other quartermaster stores from Army depots or places of purchase or delivery to the several posts and Army depots and from those depots to the troops in the field; of horse equipment; of ordnance and ordnance stores, and small arms from the foundries and armories to the arsenals, fortifications, frontier posts, and Army depots; for payment of wharfage, tolls, and ferriages; for transportation of funds of the Army; for the hire of employees; for the payment of Army transportation lawfully due such land-grant railroads as have not received aid in Government bonds (to be adjusted in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court in cases decided under such land-grant acts), but in no case shall more than 50 per cent of full amount of service be paid.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in the item of appropriation for "Transportation of the Army and its supplies," on page 45, line 3, after the word "Oceans," to strike out "$15,000,000" and insert "$16,373,780," so as to read:

And provided further, That nothing in the preceding provisos shall be construed to prevent the accounting officers of the Government from making full payment to land-grant railroads for transportation of property or persons where the courts of the United States have held that such property or persons do not come within the scope of the deductions provided for in the land-grant acts; for the purchase and hire of draft and pack animals in such numbers as are actually required for the service, including reasonable provision for replacing unserviceable animals; for the purchase, hire, operation, maintenance, and repair of such harness, wagons, carts, drays, other vehicles, and motor-propelled and horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles, as are required for the transportation of troops and supplies, and for official, military, and garrison purposes; for drayage and cartage at the several depots; for the hire of teamsters and other employees; for the purchase and repair of ships, boats, and other vessels required for the transportation of troops and supplies and for official, military, and garrison purposes; for expenses of sailing public transports and other vessels on the various rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, $16,373,780.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 45, line 9, after the word "exceeding," to strike out "$15,000" and insert "$20,000," so as to make the clause read:

Provided further, That of the amount herein appropriated not exceeding $20,000 may be used for extraordinary expenses of transportation of West Point cadets to Washington, D. C., to attend inaugural ceremonies and return, which sum shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 46, line 1, after the word "Army," to insert "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty," and in line 20, after the word "reasons," to strike out "$15,000,000" and insert "$28,643,233," so as to make the clause read:

Clothing and camp and garrison equipage: For cloth, woolens, materials, and for the purchase and manufacture of clothing for the Army, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve and retired enlisted men when ordered to active duty, for issue and for sale at cost price according to the Army Regulations; for payment for clothing not drawn due to enlisted men on discharge; for altering and fitting clothing and washing and cleaning when necessary; for equipage, including authorized issues of toilet articles, barbers' and tailors' materials, for use of general prisoners confined at military posts without pay or allowances and applicants for enlistment while held under observation; issue of toilet kits to recruits upon their first enlistment, and issue of housewives to the Army; for expenses of packing and handling, and similar necessaries; for a suit of citizen's outer clothing, to cost not exceeding $10, to be issued upon release from confinement to each prisoner who has been confined under a court-martial sentence involving dishonorable discharge; for indemnity to officers and men of the Army for clothing and bedding, etc., destroyed since April 22, 1898, by order of medical officers of the Army for sanitary reasons, $28,643,233.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 47, line 2, after the word "Corps," to insert "to be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, That $20,100, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the above sum may be expended for the purchase of the necessary machinery for the manufacture of clothing at the Jeffersonville Depot of the Quartermaster Corps, to be immediately available.

Mr. NEW. I desire to offer an amendment as a substitute.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Would it not be proper that it should come up after the committee amendments have been disposed of?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not know what it is until it has been read. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 46, strike out the proviso contained in lines 22, 23, and 24, and on page 47, lines 1 and 2, and insert in lieu thereof:

Provided, That $20,100, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated in addition to the above sum for the purchase of the necessary machinery for the manufacture of clothing in the Jeffersonville Depot of the Quartermaster Corps, to be immediately available.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to the amendment to the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. What is the difference?

Mr. FLETCHER. It makes an appropriation of $20,100 in addition to the other appropriation, and provides specifically for the Jeffersonville Depot.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It would be $20,100 more.

Mr. NEW. The difference is that the War Department, under the language of the bill, declines to expend that money at the Jeffersonville Depot. This makes it mandatory, and gives them the money extra.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There being no objection on the part of the chairman, the substitute is agreed to and the amendment as amended is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was continued.

The next amendment was, on page 47, line 18, after the words "of the," to strike out "Hospital Corps" and insert "Medical Department," so as to read:

Horses for Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineers: For the purchase of horses of ages, sex, and size as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War for remounts, for officers entitled to public mounts for the Cavalry, Artillery, Signal Corps, and Engineers, the United States Military Academy, service schools, and staff colleges, and for the Indian scouts, and for such Infantry and members of the Medical Department in field campaigns as may be required to be mounted, and the expenses incident thereto, and for the hire of employees.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 49, line 3, after the word "officers," to strike out "and acting dental surgeons" and insert "including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty," and, in line 9, after the word "available," to insert "including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve, retired enlisted men, and members of the Enlisted Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty," so as to make the clause read:

Barracks and quarters: For barracks, quarters, stables, storehouses, magazines, administration and office buildings, sheds, shops, and other buildings necessary for the shelter of troops, public animals, and stores, and for administration purposes, except those pertaining to the Coast Artillery; for constructing and repairing public buildings at military posts; for hire of employees; for rental of the authorized allowance of quarters for officers, including members of the Officers' Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty, on duty with the troops at posts and stations where no public quarters are available; of barracks or authorized allowance of quarters for noncommissioned officers and enlisted men on duty where public quarters are not available, including enlisted men of the Regular Army Reserve, retired enlisted men, and members of the Enlisted Reserve Corps when ordered to active duty; of grounds for cantonments, camp sites, and other military purposes, and of buildings or portions of buildings for occupation by troops, for use as stables, storehouses, and offices, and for other military purposes; for the hire of recruiting stations and lodgings for recruits; for such furniture for the public rooms of officers' messes and for officers' quarters at military posts as may be approved by the Secretary of War; for wall lockers in permanent barracks, and refrigerators in barracks and quarters; for screen doors, window screens, storm doors and sash, and window shades for barracks, offices, and quarters, and for flooring and framing for tents, and for the National Guard when called or drafted into the service of the United States, $3,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 50, line 4, after the word "California," to insert "to be open to the use of all denomina-

tions, subject to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, That not to exceed the sum of $18,000 of the above amount may be used for the construction, including plumbing, heating, and lighting, of a chapel at the Presidio of San Francisco, Cal., to be open to the use of all denominations, subject to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 50, line 19, after the word "clothing," to insert "to be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

Provided further, That $9,500, or so much thereof as may be necessary, of the above sum may be expended for the necessary alterations and additions to buildings at Jeffersonville depot of the Quartermaster Corps, for the installation of machinery for the manufacture of clothing, to be immediately available.

Mr. NEW. I offer a substitute for that clause.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 50 strike out all of lines 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 and insert:

Provided further, That $9,500, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated in addition to the above sum for the purchase or alterations and additions to buildings at Jeffersonville Depot of the Quartermaster Corps for the installation of machinery for the manufacture of clothing, to be immediately available.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to that amendment. My reason for accepting these two amendments is that this will very greatly increase the output of clothing at that institution, and clothing is very much needed now.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the substitute is agreed to and the amendment as amended is agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 50, line 24, to strike out the words "barracks and quarters" and insert "construction and repair of hospitals," so as to read:

Provided further, That the limit of cost of the nurses dormitory at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., be increased to not more than $30,000, including the heating and lighting fixtures, which sum shall be paid from the appropriation for construction and repair of hospitals in the bill for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 51, after line 2, to insert:

Provided further, That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to accept deeds of gift or conveyance from the State of Tennessee, or any county or counties thereof, or any citizen, person or association, of lands in Davidson County, Rutherford County, and Williamson County, State of Tennessee, embracing the battle fields, or any part or parts thereof, where were fought the battles of Nashville, Stones River, Murfreesboro, and Franklin, in the State of Tennessee, during the Civil War; also the "Hermitage," the home of Andrew Jackson, in Davidson County, State of Tennessee, which may be donated by deeds of gift or conveyance to the United States of America for the purpose of establishing national military parks thereon; said lands to be forever dedicated for the purposes of national military parks or reservations, and to be developed and maintained as such by the United States of America; and no charge or fee is to be made to or asked from the public for admission to the grounds of said parks or reservations: *Provided further*, That the United States of America, upon the completion of the transfer of title to the lands so donated and dedicated for national military park purposes, shall establish and maintain post roads connecting said battle fields, and connecting each of said battle fields with the national cemeteries in Davidson County, Rutherford County, and Williamson County, State of Tennessee, and with the "Hermitage," the home of President Andrew Jackson, in Davidson County, State of Tennessee: *Provided further*, That the national military parks to be hereby established shall be under the control of the Secretary of War: *Provided further*, That the post roads to be hereby established shall be under the control of the Postmaster General: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of War is directed to take steps to have the State of Tennessee cede jurisdiction over said lands to the United States of America.

Mr. LODGE. The next is a separate amendment. That is the end of this amendment.

Mr. President, this is a proposition to take certain battle fields and convert them into parks and connect them with post roads, the land to be given to the Government, but of course the parks to be cared for by the Government and the roads to be built by the Government. It seems to me at this time, when we have such vast expenditures upon us for purely military purposes, this is something that can wait. The bill is for the support of the Army. Of course, this has nothing to do with the support of the Army. It appears to me that the amendment is clearly general legislation, and I make a point of order upon it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained. The next amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is also proposed to insert, on page 52, beginning at line 11, the following additional proviso:

Provided further, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to purchase such parcels of land, not exceeding 1,500 acres, adjoining the military reservation of Fort Sam Houston, Tex., as may be needed for the uses of said post, considering present and future needs, and such as may be suitable for encampments, maneuvers, and field instruction of the mobile army of the United States or parts thereof; and for the purposes of this act there is hereby authorized to be expended, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $330,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be immediately available.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I wish to ask the chairman of the committee whether or not this $330,000 is necessary for the purchase of the thousand acres of land or more at Fort Sam Houston. It was all in one paragraph, but the other part was cut out on a point of order. I wondered whether the $330,000 was to apply on the roads and also for the purchase of this land. I ask the chairman whether or not the $330,000 is necessary for the purchase of this land. In other words, it would be paying over $300 an acre for land around this post.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator refers to the part between lines 11 and 22.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. We understood that that was necessary in view of the results that were ascertained during the recent mobilization down there. We made an expenditure of quite a little money last year in order to complete the post for the purpose of the mobilization.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD], who is a member of the committee, can explain to the Senate exactly what the situation is there.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The reason why I asked is that before the part was stricken out on the point of order raised by the Senator from Massachusetts the matter relating to this park proposition and this Fort Sam Houston were all in one paragraph, and I supposed that the $330,000 was to be expended in carrying out both propositions.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. This appropriation of $330,000 is just for Fort Sam Houston.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is all it relates to?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is all.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Is there any statement as to the value of the land, showing why it is worth $300 an acre?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I have here the recommendation of Gen. Funston, from whom the suggestion originally came. I shall read it to the Senator, if he desires.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes; I should like to hear it.

Mr. SHEPPARD (reading)—

5. As already stated in previous correspondence, the purchase of all of this land is considered to be imperatively necessary in order to provide sufficient drill and maneuver grounds for troops stationed at this post, and in order to cover the purchase of the leased land on which options have been granted, as above stated, and also the land of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co., for the required purposes, I request and urgently recommend that the matter be presented to Congress at its present session, with recommendation by the War Department that necessary legislation be enacted authorizing the purchase of said land at a cost of $330,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary. It is recommended that this matter be presented before Congress at the earliest possible moment in order that the necessary legislative authority for the purchase may be obtained during the present session.

Mr. JONES of Washington. From whom does that come?

Mr. SHEPPARD. From Gen. Funston. It was one of his last official acts.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I recollect he says there it is imperatively necessary.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes; imperatively necessary.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Does the Senator know why it is imperatively necessary?

Mr. SHEPPARD. It is necessary because there is not enough maneuvering ground at present in connection with that post. This land has been leased for drilling and maneuvering purposes. The lease will expire at the end of the present fiscal year and it may not be possible to renew it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Are the thousand acres sufficient for the maneuvers that may be necessary there?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Gen. Funston so states. He thought this amount of land would be sufficient for all drill and maneuver purposes. The tract to be acquired comprises 1,500 acres.

Mr. JONES of Washington. How much land have they in the reservation now?

Mr. SHEPPARD. In the reservation there are at present something like four or five hundred acres.

Mr. JONES of Washington. How many troops are there usually?

Mr. SHEPPARD. In time of peace there have been several thousand troops. If I remember correctly, troops are constantly being concentrated there from all parts of the Southern Department for training purposes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Does Gen. Funston say anything about what it is that makes the land worth $300 an acre?

Mr. SHEPPARD. It is just outside the city limits. The present post is just inside the city limits. The land to be acquired immediately adjoins the city limits, and is not more than a mile and a half or 2 miles from the center of the city—a city of 125,000 or 130,000 people.

This land can not be purchased at this price after the expiration of the present fiscal year. It is constantly going up in value. The recommendation came from Gen. Funston, not from anyone

else. He communicated it as an official matter after he had been placed in charge of the Southern Department. He saw the necessity of acquiring this land himself and earnestly recommended it to the day of his death.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Does the Senator know what rental they are paying for the land?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Six hundred and eighty-one dollars a month.

Mr. SHEPPARD. They are paying $681 per month now.

Mr. JONES of Washington. How long have we been paying that?

Mr. SHEPPARD. It has been leased since Gen. Funston has been put in charge. I am not sure how long it has been.

Mr. JONES of Washington. This land was not leased before the trouble arose on the border.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I think it was.

Mr. JONES of Washington. What I was trying to get at is how long the Government used this land. That would indicate how long it has really been necessary. Can the Senator state?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Something like two or three years.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Is this recommended by the Secretary of War?

Mr. SHEPPARD. It is. Gen. Bliss came before the committee, representing the Secretary of War, and also urged the acquisition of the land. I have the statement of Gen. Bliss here.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President. if the Senator from Washington will yield to me, I desire to supplement what the Senator from Texas has said about this tract of land. It so happens that I was all over it in the visit which I made to San Antonio when about twelve or fifteen thousand men were mobilized there; and I got somewhat an impression of the situation in which the Army post at San Antonio is now placed.

It is perfectly apparent that San Antonio will always be an exceedingly important concentration point for American troops. It is the strategic center, as it were, in a railroad sense and in a military sense for the entire eastern end of the Mexican border, and if it shall ever be necessary in the future, as it has been in the past, for the Government to prepare for eventualities in Mexico, San Antonio will undoubtedly be the mobilization center and the base.

It is true, as the Senator from Texas says, that the present reservation occupied by the Army post at San Antonio is exceedingly cramped. It is directly on the edge of the city of San Antonio. Some portion of the city streets run alongside the reservation. There is not room enough there for troops to conduct any sort of training. A good part of the land which is under contemplation for purchase was used for the encampment of a division of troops during the last 8 or 10 months. The National Guard troops that were summoned to the colors June 18 last were sent there in large numbers. It is easily apparent to anyone who goes there that that post should be very largely increased in acreage in order that it may be ready to accommodate the mobilization of troops in the future, as it has been called upon to accommodate them in the past.

Without having been requested to do so by anybody connected with either Texas or the War Department, but merely on my own somewhat amateurish judgment, I am very strongly of the opinion that this would be a most valuable acquisition for the Government.

As to the price, I imagine that $300 an acre, or thereabouts, for land in the neighborhood of a city, and which is located practically in the outskirts of a city of 100,000 people, will not be found to be excessive.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I am satisfied, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I also have been at San Antonio, and I consider it very important that this amendment should be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NEW in the chair). Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, on page 53, after line 12, to insert:

Provided, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized, in his discretion, to convey to the regents of the University of California, their successors and assigns, for art, educational, and park purposes, that portion of the military reservation of the Presidio of San Francisco, in the city and county of San Francisco, Cal., on which the Palace of Fine Arts is located, included within metes and bounds described as follows, namely: Commencing at the point on the westerly line of Lyon Street, distant therefrom 5.17 feet southerly from the northerly line of Bay Street, if extended and produced westerly, and running thence northerly along the westerly line of Lyon Street 1,196.80 feet; thence southwesterly on a curve to the left of 612 feet radius, central angle 155° 47′ 50″, tangent to a line deflected 102° 6′ 5″ to the left from the preceding course a distance of 1,664.13 feet to the westerly line of Lyon Street and the point of commencement, containing 9.93 acres,, more or less: *Provided*, That if at any time in the future the property so conveyed to said regents shall cease to be used for the purposes for which conveyed, then all right and title thereto herein authorized to be granted to said regents shall revert to the United States: *And provided further*, That in consideration of the said grant the said regents shall procure, to be conveyed to the United States, for use in connection with said military reservation, other lands situated within the city and county of San Francisco, Cal., located as the Secretary of War may approve and which he may deem satisfactory and useful in connection with said reservation, the title thereto to be subject to the approval of the Attorney General of the United States as required by law.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 55, after line 6, to insert:

Construction, repair, and maintenance, military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska: For the construction, repair, and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Territory of Alaska, $500,000.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I should like to inquire of the Senator having the bill in charge whether the amount embodied in that amendment has been estimated for at any time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The chairman of the committee, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], is temporarily absent from the Chamber.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, in the temporary absence of the chairman of the committee I will state that the amount embodied in the amendment was estimated for. Indeed, the estimate was for $600,000, but the committee allowed only $500,000. Perhaps the Senator from Colorado knows that there has been quite a little return from expenditures which have been made in Alaska on telephone and telegraph lines, and so forth; and all that portion of Alaska which is uninhabited must be provided for, as to modes of transportation, by the Government.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not object to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to. The Chair hears none.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, on page 55, line 21, after "$500,000," to insert:

Provided, That no part of said sum shall be expended for the construction of quarters for officers of the Army the total cost of which, including the heating and plumbing apparatus, wiring and fixtures, shall exceed in the case of quarters of a general officer the sum of $8,000; of a colonel or officer above the rank of captain, $6,000; and of an officer of and below the rank of captain, $4,000.

So as to make the clause read:

Barracks and quarters, Philippine Islands: Continuing the work of providing for the proper shelter and protection of officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States lawfully on duty in the Philippine Islands, including repairs and payment of rents, the acquisition of title to building sites, and such additions to existing military reservations as may be necessary, and including also shelter for the animals and supplies, and all other buildings necessary for post administration purposes, and for shelter and repair thereof, and rentals for the United States troops in China, $500,000: *Provided*, That no part of said sum shall be expended for the construction of quarters for officers of the Army the total cost of which, including the heating and plumbing apparatus, wiring and fixtures, shall exceed in the case of quarters of a general officer the sum of $8,000; of a colonel or officer above the rank of captain, $6,000; and of an officer of and below the rank of captain, $4,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 56, line 13, after "$750,000," to insert, "of which amount not to exceed $25,000 may be used to build a modern hospital at Fort Ward, Wash.; $100,000 to build a modern hospital at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii; $90,000 to enlarge the Walter Reed General Hospital; $90,000 to build a modern hospital at Fort McPherson, Ga.; and $60,000 to build an officers' infirmary at Fort Bayard, N. Mex.: *Provided*, That no building or structure of a permanent nature, the cost of which shall exceed $30,000, shall hereafter be erected for use as an Army hospital unless by special authority of Congress," so as to make the clause read:

Construction and repair of hospitals: For construction and repair of hospitals at military posts already established and occupied, including the extra-pay pay of enlisted men employed on the same, and including also all expenditures for construction and repairs required at the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., and for the construction and repair of general hospitals and expenses incident thereto, and for additions needed to meet the requirements of increased garrisons; and for temporary hospitals in standing camps and cantonments, $750,000, of which amount not to exceed $25,000 may be used to build a modern hospital at Fort Ward, Wash.; $100,000 to build a modern hospital at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii; $90,000 to enlarge the Walter Reed General Hospital; $90,000 to build a modern hospital at Fort McPherson, Ga.; and $60,000 to build an officers' infirmatory at Fort Bayard, N. Mex.: *Provided*, That no building or structure of a permanent nature, the cost of which shall exceed $30,000, shall hereafter be erected for use as an Army hospital unless by special authority of Congress.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 57, line 10, after "$45,000," to insert:

Provided, That the sum of $100,000 appropriated for the acquisition of a target range of approximately 504 acres of land situated near the city of Vancouver, and for the construction thereon of target butts,

range buildings, etc., under "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916, shall be available for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918: *And provided further*, That the Secretary of War may, in his discretion, use said appropriation or any part thereof for the purchase only, and not for the purchase and improvement of a larger tract than that mentioned above, provided only the same shall be conveniently reachable from large centers of population as well as from Vancouver, Wash.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 59, after line 7, to insert:

That the Secretary of War is authorized to purchase for the United States the lands on the battle fields of the first and second Bull Run, recommended by the Army officers appointed in Special Orders 104, from the War Department on May 5, 1913, in their report dated November 12, 1913, and forwarded to Congress by the Secretary of War; or so much of said lands as the Secretary shall deem advisable. The prices paid for said lands shall not exceed the amounts named in sections 13 and 14 of said report as satisfactory to the landowners.

Second. The Secretary of War shall repair and protect the two original monuments erected by United States troops and dedicated June 11, 1865. He shall also assume the care of any other monuments or markers on said battle field, heretofore or hereafter erected without expense to the United States, by any State or private association, either on lands owned by the United States or on lands adjacent thereto: *Provided*, That the locations and plans of said monuments or markers shall be approved by the Secretary of War, who shall only assume the care of the same upon application of the parties responsible therefor and upon such stipulations or conveyances as are deemed reasonable by him.

Third. That the Secretary of War shall provide such fencing, clearing, and other improvements for the lands purchased as shall seem desirable to him for the purposes of this act; also convenient approaches from the public roads for visitors, and temporary markings of the lines of battle and location of troops during military operations from 1861 to 1865.

Upon securing satisfactory arrangements with the local road authorities, he may, in his discretion, put the public roads in repair between the two original monuments aforesaid, and from the battle field by the way of Sudley Road and Grant Avenue to the commemorative group and tablet, on the corner of Grant and Lee Avenues, dedicated September 30, 1915, in commemoration of the Manassas Jubilee of Peace, celebrated on the fiftieth anniversary of the first Battle of Bull Run; to the end that citizens of the United States and visitors from abroad may conveniently travel from the railway to the battle field and inspect the same.

Fourth. For the purpose of the act $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necesary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, on page 59 and extending over to the bottom of page 61, there are certain provisions which, it strikes me, might be desirable at some time, but at this time it seems to me that they could be avoided. I am therefore going to make the point of order on those provisions, in order to save time, that the matter proposed to be inserted by the committee is new legislation, and is therefore not in order on this bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Will the Senator allow me to say a word?

Mr. TOWNSEND. Certainly.

Mr. THOMAS. I myself had intended to make the same point of order which the Senator has made, but upon examining the entire amendment I have discovered that the part of it which is found on page 61, beginning in line 6, refers to a different subject, which is the Gettysburg National Military Park. It provides for the payment of a sum of money which represents an amount awarded in certain condemnation proceedings. It seemed to me, as that amendment is designed to pay a judgment, evidently awarded to the owners of private property, it might therefore be eliminated from the point of order.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I had not noticed that; but I will make the point of order on the amendment down to line 6 on page 61.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I happen to know something about the amendment relating to the Gettysburg National Military Park. What the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] says is correct. I know the point of order has been withdrawn as to that, but I simply rise to ask to have inserted in the RECORD a communication from a person describing fully the litigation and the circumstances which render this amendment necessary. For the information of the conferees and those interested in the matter, I ask unanimous consent to have this communication inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The communication referred to is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. G. W. EDMONDS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. EDMONDS: A bill was introduced by Mr. Beales for the purchase by the Government of the right of way and other land owned by the Gettysburg Railway Co. within the limits of the Gettysburg Battle Field.

It was referred to the War Department, and the Secretary reported in favor of the purchase.

Many years ago, on proceedings begun by the Government, a jury had fixed the value of one tract at $30,000. The railroad company was not satisfied with the award. Both it and the Government appealed.

The story of the proceedings will be found reported in 160 U. S., 668.

After the Supreme Court settled in favor of the Government—the contention that the Government could take by its right of eminent domain the right of way of the railway—nothing further was done. You may recollect that about that time the then district attorney and his first assistant were indicted and convicted.

Ever since that time the Gettysburg Battle Feld Commission has been anxious to acquire the land owned by the railway. The title to the land is in either the railway or the Central Trust & Savings Co., and the Central Trust & Savirgs Co. is the trustee of the mortgage on the railway. The Central Trust & Savings Co. and the railway company are willing now that the Government should have not only the tract for which $30,000 was awarded, but, in addition to that, various other tracts, most of which were embraced in the second proceedings, referred to in the report in 160 U. S., for the price then awarded, provided that the railway company be given the right to remove the wires and rails from the right of way.

The bill as drafted provides that the railway company shall give what it has to the Government; and while it is in no way provided in the bill, the Central Trust & Savings Co. will also give what it has, which is, however, a very small holding.

Your colleague, THOMAS S. CRAGO, who is on the Committee on Military Affairs, has written me that there seems to be a movement in favor of purchasing the Bull Run Battle Field, and those who are in favor of that purchase are willing to join with those who are in favor of the acquisition of the right of way across the Gettysburg Battle Field in asking the Rules Committee to report a rule which would make the consideration of the Gettysburg appropriation and the Bull Run appropriation both in order.

This proposition was made in the Committee on Military Affairs and agreed to by the committee, and Mr. CRAGO writes me:

"If the Rules Committee will provide this rule, we will be able to get it through with our bill. If they do not present this rule and we would merely report the bill favorably from our committee, it would go on the calendar, where it would have a very poor chance of being considered during this session."

Mr. CRAGO writes further:

"I would suggest that you interest the Philadelphia Members in the matter to the extent of having them bring all the influence on the Rules Committee they can, in order to accomplish our purpose."

I, of course, represent the owner of the property, but I have an interest in the matter as a Pennsylvanian. The railway company's right of way mars the beauty of the field. It ought to be acquired by the Government. If it is not now acquired by the Government, it may be acquired as a part of a through trolley route; and if it is, the Government will never get it for the price at which it is now offered.

I would feel much indebted to you if, after conference with your colleague, Mr. CRAGO, you feel that you can assist him in the matter.

Very truly, yours,

ABRAHAM M. BEITLER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order made by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] on the amendment down to line 6, on page 61, is sustained.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, on page 61, after line 5, to insert:

That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to acquire, by purchase, for the Gettysbury National Military Park the land composing the right of way of the Gettysburg Railway Co. (the rails, ties, and superstructure of same to remain the property of the Gettysburg Railway Co. and to be removed by the said company as required by the Secretary of War), said right of way embracing the tracts known as the Amos Leister tracts, the F. G. Pfeffer tracts, the Jacob Benner estate tract, the Simon J. Godori tract, the Jacob Masonheimer tract, the Annie E. Beecher tract, the Rosanna E. Wible tract, the James W. Timbers tract, the S. W. Crawford tracts, the William H. Tipton tract, the Calvin P. Krise tract, the George Bushman tract, and the Peter D. Swisher tract within the limits of the battle field of Gettysburg and within the limits of the Gettysburg National Military Park for the sum of $30,000, that being the amount awarded in condemnation proceedings in the eastern district of Pennsylvania, which sum is hereby appropriated and made immediately available for such purchase.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, line 17, after the word "occupations," to strike out "part of this instruction to consist of vocational education either in agriculture or the mechanic arts, $75,000" and insert "$250,000: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary of War shall, in order to carry out the last provision, select one regiment of Infantry, Cavalry, or Field Artillery to be stationed at a regimental post within the continental limits of the United States on or before July 1, 1917, and shall transfer from such regiment to other organizations any enlisted man or men who do not desire educational or vocational training and instruction such as is contemplated by the concluding paragraph of section 27 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, and shall transfer thereto from other organizations a number of enlisted men to be selected under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe who do desire such instruction and training or may receive recruits thereto sufficient to bring the enlisted strength of the regiment up to that authorized by law. During such part of the year beginning July 1, 1917, and thereafter as the enlisted men of the regiment so selected shall not be engaged on field service or in field training they shall be under training or instruction nine hours of each day, or as near that number of hours as possible, Sundays and holidays excepted, at least three hours of each day to be devoted to military training and six hours of each day, or as nearly that as possible, to educational and vocational training and instruction such as is contemplated by the concluding paragraph of section 27 of the national-defense act. The educational and vocational training to be had under civilian instructors employed for that purpose under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War shall

prescribe: *And provided further*, That said civilian instructors, as well as the discipline of the said post, shall be under the jurisdiction of the military authorities, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe," so as to make the clause read:

Vocational training: For the employment of the necessary civilian instructors in the most important trades, for the purchase of carpenter's, machinist's, plumber's, mason's, electrician's, and such other tools and equipment as may be required, including machines used in connection with the trades, for the purchase of material and other supplies necessary for instruction and training purposes and the construction of such buildings for shops, storage, and shelter of machinery as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of section 27 of the act approved June 3, 1916, authorizing, in addition to the military training of soldiers while in the active service, means for securing an opportunity to study and receive instruction upon educational lines of such character as to increase their military efficiency and enable them to return to civil life better equipped for industrial, commercial, and general business occupations, $250,000: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary of War shall, in order to carry out the last provision, select one regiment of Infantry, Cavalry, or Field Artillery to be stationed at a regimental post within the continental limits of the United States on or before July 1, 1917, and shall transfer from such regiment to other organizations any enlisted man or men who do not desire educational or vocational training and instruction such as is contemplated by the concluding paragraph of section 27 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, and shall transfer thereto from other organizations a number of enlisted men to be selected under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe who do desire such instruction and training or may receive recruits thereto sufficient to bring the enlisted strength of the regiment up to that authorized by law. During such part of the year beginning July 1, 1917, and thereafter as the enlisted men of the regiment so selected shall not be engaged on field service or in field training they shall be under training or instruction nine hours of each day, or as near that number of hours as possible, Sundays and holidays excepted, at least three hours of each day to be devoted to military training and six hours of each day, or as nearly that as possible, to educational and vocational training and instruction such as is contemplated by the concluding paragraph of section 27 of the national-defense act. The educational and vocational training to be had under civilian instructors employed for that purpose under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War shall prescribe: *And provided further*, That said civilian instructors, as well as the discipline of the said post, shall be under the jurisdiction of the military authorities, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I call the attention of Senators to the fact that both the language of the bill as contained on page 62 and page 63 as passed by the House and the amendment suggested by the Senate committee refers to vocational training for soldiers of the Regular Army? Now, Mr. President, we are at war, and this bill, if passed in this shape, will provide that from July 1, 1917, to July 1, 1918, the soldiers of the Regular Army shall spend a stated percentage of their time, a stated number of their daylight hours, learning trades and professions. I desire to suggest to the Senate, in view of the fact that every soldier whom we can bring to the colors, either in the Regular Army, in the guard, or in the conscript army, will have to spend every available moment of the day in training himself for strictly military purposes, that it would be well for the next ensuing fiscal year to leave out all questions of vocational training and incidentally save $250,000.

I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], because I know that he is interested in the subject of vocational training in the Army; but this is not a time of peace. These men will have no time to spend in learning how to become carpenters or plumbers; they will be learning how to be soldiers, and nothing else. So I suggest that not only the Senate disagree with the amendment suggested by the committee but that in its proper parliamentary order we strike out the entire paragraph.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, provides for vocational training in the Army. It was very urgently insisted upon at that time, just as the increase in the pay of the private soldier is now insisted upon in the Senate; but there was no appropriation made for it and no legislation to enable the Secretary of War to carry it out. I recognize the force of the point made by the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], but I think we can relieve that situation by simply adding, in line 11, page 63, after the word "thereafter," the words "if the Secretary of War shall deem it advisable," or other appropriate words, so as to leave it entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of War.

Mr. WARREN. Or we can put in the words "in time of peace."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Or we can put in the words "in time of peace." But the Senator from New York knows that even in time of war there are frequently regiments that are not on duty, possibly returning soldiers, possibly men who have been in the service, who need recreation or rest. So that such a provision could be used even in time of war. What I mean is that if we place the matter in the discretion of the Secretary of War he can utilize it or not, as he may see fit.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I call the attention of the chairman of the committee to line 20, page 62, where it is provided "that the Secretary shall, in order to carry out the last provision, select a regiment of Infantry," and so forth.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. We can change the word "shall" to "may."

Mr. WADSWORTH. If you will make the entire matter discretionary, I am entirely satisfied it will never be done during war time.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I should like to try it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Just a moment.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That will satisfy me.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have some doubt about this provision working out efficiently, and I have doubt about its attracting men to the Army of the United States; but there are a great many people in this country who testified before our committee that it would attract men; and the committee thought it would be a good time to give this matter a trial and see what effect it will have upon the Army.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no objection to experiments of this kind on a limited scale in time of peace, but I do not want to see this legislation passed in mandatory language in time of war.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I have the utmost confidence in the great value of legislation of this character in helping us obtain enlistments for the Regular Army in time of peace, and also in its great value to the privates who do enlist. I believe that by such a policy we can make the two years' service in the Army for privates a privates' West Point, which will turn them out fit soldiers and also splendidly prepared for private life. I would not, in any sense, urge that in time of war such a provision should be compulsory. I agree with the Senator from New York and the Senator from Oregon that this matter should at least be left discretionary with the Secretary during times of war. I hardly think it probable that he would be able to do anything of vocational instruction for privates during times of war, unless we find that after having drilled our men for a period we are not compelled to put them into active service. If they are retained in camp after they have been thoroughly drilled for active service, it would be excellent for the officers and others in charge not to leave the men with their time wasted, but to seek, during the time they are in camp, to train them on lines that will make them stronger as citizens when they return from the Army to civil life.

I am gratified that the Senator from New York, with the modification made by the Senator from Oregon, makes no further objection to this amendment. I have given a great deal of thought to this subject. I have investigated it in connection with a large number of the brightest young Army officers who have been connected with the War College. It was enthusiastically supported by the brainiest and most promising of the young officers. Some of the old officers, who are passing off the scene, rather objected; but when it was put into the bill before the Senator from New York joined us, I think it received the unanimous approval of the Senate.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Last year?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think it was before the Senator from New York took Senator Root's place. I do not at all question the propriety of the modification the Senator from Oregn has made, because I doubt whether it can be done now.

Mr. BRADY obtained the floor.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Idaho will allow me for just a minute——

Mr. BRADY. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. FLETCHER. I will suggest to the Senator from Georgia that perhaps the last clauses would save the situation anyhow, because it has to be done under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War. If he does not prescribe rules and regulations, it can not be put into effect.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, I think we can insert in the bill some language that will make this provision workable in time of war. I believe that this is a very important amendment and that it should be tried out by our Government at the earliest possible time consistent with good business methods.

We discussed this matter in the committee very fully, and it was practically the unanimous opinion of the members of the committee that by making a selection of one particular regiment—and, if you will observe, the amendment provides that they shall select one particular regiment and let that regiment be the one that takes the vocational education and training—it will enable those who join the Regular Army, if they prefer to take a course in vocational education, to make a choice of

which regiment they shall enter. It is not obligatory, but it is to be done by the voluntary action of the men who enlist; and it seems to me that we could do splendid work along these lines, even in time of war. All of our regiments are not going to go to the front at once, and there will be young men that will be enabled to take a course of training of three hours a day, which Gen. Wood testified before our committee was the average amount of training that was given to the Regular soldier, and in addition to that have six hours for educational improvement.

I hope that the slightest possible amendment will be made in the language, so as, if we do anything, to give the Secretary of War more power than he has now; that is to say, to give him power enough to dispense with this line of educational work for a short while, if necessary, or to continue it according to the original intent of the bill. I hope the chairman of the committee will see to it that no language is placed in the bill that will in any way interfere with vocational educational training.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I think the perfection of the committee amendment will be exceedingly simple if the chairman of the committee will follow me. I suggest that on page 62, line 20, the word "shall" be stricken out, and the words "may in his discretion" be substituted in its place.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. WADSWORTH. And two more changes, I think, will correct the whole thing. I suggest, in line 24, striking out the word "shall" and inserting the word "may"; and on page 63, line 4, striking out the word "shall" and inserting the word "may."

From a somewhat hasty reading of the amendment, I think that will make it discretionary on the part of the Secretary of War.

Mr. BRADY. With those corrections, the amendment is certainly entirely satisfactory to me.

Mr. WADSWORTH. If there are any other corrections needed in the amendment, they can be arranged in conference.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I will say that I am in entire sympathy with the suggestion of the Senator from New York. If this does not do what we are now hoping it may do, we will try to fix it in conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment on page 62, line 20, by striking out the word "shall" after the word "war," and inserting the words "may in his discretion."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. Also, in line 24, page 62, it is proposed to strike out the word "shall" and insert the word "may."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. On page 63, line 4, before the word "transfer," it is proposed to strike out the word "shall" and insert the word "may."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment was, on page 64, after line 2, to strike out:

Filing equipment for the Army: For the purchase and supply of filing cases and other filing equipment for the installation in the Military Establishment of an improved system of recording and filing correspondence, to be immediately available, $45,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Engineer Department," on page 69, line 2, after the word "equipment," to strike out "to be available until expended" and insert "to be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

Engineer equipment of troops: For pontoon material, tools, instruments, supplies and appliances required for use in the engineer equipment of troops, for military surveys, and for engineer operations in the field, including the purchase and preparation of engineer manuals and procurement of special paper for same, and for a reserve supply of above equipment, to be immediately available, $1,174,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, line 21, after the words "War Department," to strike out "$150,000" and insert "$300,000," so as to make the clause read:

Engineer operations in the field: For expenses incident to military engineer operations in the field, including the purchase of material and a reserve of material for such operations, the construction or rental of storehouses within and outside the District of Columbia, the purchase, operation, maintenance, and repair of horse-drawn and motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles, and such expenses as are ordinarily provided for under appropriations for "Engineer depots," "Civilian assistants to engineer officers," and "Maps, War Department," $300,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, after line 21, to insert:

Provided, That the appropriations for "Engineer operations in the field," during the fiscal year 1917 may be used for any of the purposes covered by the appropriation, "Engineer operations in the field," in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 70, after line 2, to strike out:

Provided, That any proceeds received from the operation of a public utility with funds appropriated herein or hereafter for this purpose shall be available for the purposes of the appropriation until the close of the fiscal year following that in which the proceeds are received.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 70, after line 17, to insert:

Military surveys and maps: For the execution of topographic or other surveys, the securing of such extra topographic data as may be required, and the preparation and printing of maps required for military purposes, to be immediately available and remain available until December 31, 1918: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War is authorized to secure the assistance, wherever practicable, of the United States Geological Survey, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, or other mapping agencies of the Government in this work, and to allot funds therefor to them from this appropriation, $200,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Ordnance Department," on page 72, line 13, after the word "homes," to strike out "$12,000,000" and insert "$12,970,000," so as to make the clause read:

Ordnance stores, ammunition: Manufacture and purchase of ammunition for small arms and for hand use for reserve supply, ammunition for burials at the National Soldiers' Home, in Washington, D. C., ammunition for firing the morning and evening gun at military posts prescribed by General Orders, No. 70, Headquarters of the Army, dated July 23, 1867, and at National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and its several branches, including National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., and soldiers' and sailors' State homes, $12,970,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 72, line 15, after the words "more than," to strike out "one-third" and insert "one-half," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, That not more than one-half of this sum shall be expended in the purchase of the articles provided in this appropriation.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 72, line 24, after the word "instruction," to strike out "of able-bodied males capable of bearing arms," and, on page 73, line 3, after the word "prescribe," to strike out "$2,000,000" and insert "$2,850,000," so as to make the clause read:

Small-arms target practice: For manufacture and purchase of ammunition, targets, and other accessories for small-arms, hand, and machine-gun target practice and instructions; marksmen's medals, prize arms, and insignia for all arms of the service; and ammunition, targets, target materials, and other accessories which may be issued for small-arms target practice and instruction at the educational institutions and State soldiers' and sailors' orphans' homes to which issues of small arms are lawfully made, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, $2,850,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 73, after line 4, to insert:

For manufacture and purchase of arms, appendages and accessories, ammunition, targets, target materials, and other necessary accessories for small-arms target practice for issue, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, to rifle ranges, in connection with the encouragement of rifle practice of civilians in pursuance of the provisions of section 113 of the act approved June 3, 1916, and to organize rifle clubs for use in target practice, $500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 73, line 16, after the word "armories," to strike out "$6,000,000" and insert "$7,350,000," so as to make the clause read:

Manufacture of arms: For manufacturing, repairing, procuring, and issuing arms at the national armories, $7,350,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 73, line 20, after the word "That," to strike out "$200,000" and insert "$600,000," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, That $600,000 of this appropriation may be used to procure gauges, dies, jigs, tools, fixtures, and other special aids and appliances, including specifications and detailed drawings, necessary for the manufacture by private manufacturers, of arms necessary to arm the land forces likely to be required by the United States in time of war, and in the purchase of lots of arms to complete the object of this proviso the existing laws prescribing competition in the procurement of supplies by purchase shall not govern in orders not to exceed $50,000 in any one case.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 74, line 13, after the words "more than," to strike out "$5,000,000" and insert "$6,000,000," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, That not more than $6,000,000 of this appropriation may be used for the purchase of ordnance stores.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 74, after line 15, to strike out:

Provided, That the Secretary of War is authorized to loan, without expense to the United States, under appropriate bond for its safe return, service material for exhibition purposes in cases when, in his judgment, the educational value of such exhibits justifies the loan.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 75, after line 9, to strike out:

Provided, That the Secretary of War, in his discretion, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, may authorize the detail of enlisted men of the Army as temporary instructors in rifle practice to organized rifle clubs requesting such instruction.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 75, line 19, after the date "1919," to strike out "$3,000,000" and insert "$7,350,300," so as to make the clause read:

Automatic machine rifles: For the purchase, manufacture, and test of automatic machine rifles, including their sights and equipments, to be immediately available and remain available until the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, $7,350,300.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 75, line 22, after the words "motor cars," to insert "to remain available until June 30, 1919," so as to make the clause read:

Armored motor cars: For the purchase and manufacture of armored motor cars, to remain available until June 30, 1919, $600,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 77, line 13, after the word "available," to insert "and to remain available until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919," so as to make the clause read:

Ammunition for field artillery for the National Guard: For the purpose of manufacturing and procuring reserve ammunition for field artillery for the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the funds to be immediately available, and to remain available until the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, $10,000,000: *Provided*, That not more than $200,000 of this appropriation may be used to procure gauges, dies, jigs, tools, fixtures, and other special aids and appliances, including specifications and detailed drawings necessary for the manufacture by private manufacturers of field artillery ammunition necessary for the use of the land forces of the United States in time of war, and in the purchase of lots of ammunition to complete the object of this proviso the existing laws prescribing competition in the procurement of supplies by purchase shall not govern in orders not to exceed $50,000 in any one case.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 78, after line 13, to insert:

Provided further, That all material purchased under the appropriations for the Ordnance Department in this act shall be of American manufacture, except in cases when, in the judgment of the Secretary of War, it is to the manifest interest of the United States to make purchases in limited quantities abroad, which material shall be admitted free of duty.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 78, after line 20, to insert:

Provided further, That hereafter mileage to officers of the Ordnance Department traveling on duty in connection with that department shall be paid from the appropriation for the work in connection with which the travel is performed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National Guard," on page 79, line 16, after the word "thereto," to strike out "under the provisions of this act"; in line 19, before the word "required," to strike out "nor" and insert "not"; in line 22, after the words "Secretary of War," to strike out "as set forth herein"; and on page 80, line 1, after the word "one," to insert "radio company," so as to make clause read:

Provided, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to transfer to those organizations of the National Guard entitled thereto such number of horses and pack mules purchased by the Quartermaster Corps of the Army under the provisions of the act of July 1, 1916, not required for the proper equipment of organizations of the Regular Army, that can be issued to National Guard organizations under the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War, all expenses incident to such transfer to be met from appropriations made for and on behalf of the National Guard; pack mules so transferred may be issued not to exceed six to any one radio company, machine-gun troop or company, or four to any one ambulance company, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 84, line 5, after the name "District of Columbia," to strike out "$50,000" and insert "$60,000," so as to make the clause read:

To provide for pay of property and disbursing officers of the several States, Territories, and District of Columbia, $60,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 84, line 11, before the word "equipment," to strike out "acquisition, construction, and maintenance, and," so as to make the clause read:

For providing arms, ordnance stores, quartermaster stores, camp equipage, and all other military supplies for issue to the National Guard; for the promotion of rifle practice, including the equipment of shooting galleries and suitable target ranges; for the hire of horses and draft animals for the use of mounted troops, batteries, and wagons; for forage for the same; and for such other incidental expenses in connection with lawfully authorized encampments, maneuvers, and field instruction as the Secretary of War may deem necessary; and for such other expenses pertaining to the National Guard as are now or may hereafter be authorized by law, $2,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 84, after line 18, to insert:

For the purchase of a rifle range for the use of the District of Columbia National Guard, upon a suitable site to be selected by the Secretary of War, $50,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 85, line 18, after the date "1916," to strike out "$25,000" and insert "$35,000," so as to make the clause read:

Travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army in carrying out the provisions of section 93, act of June 3, 1916, $35,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 85, line 20, after the words "Travel of," to strike out "inspector-instructors and sergeant-instructors" and insert "officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard," so as to make the clause read:

Travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard, joining at State stations for duty and returning to duty with regiments, $15,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 85, line 24, after the words "Travel of,' to strike out "inspector-instructors and sergeant-instructor" and insert "officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard," so as to make the clause read:

Travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard in making visits of instruction and inspection to armories, $130,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 86, line 3, after the word "said," to strike out "inspector-instructors" and insert "officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard," so as to make the clause read:

Provided, That officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard traveling shall not receive more than their actual expenses out of these appropriations.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 86, line 8, after the words "Regular Army," to insert "on duty with the National Guard," so as to make the clause read:

Travel of officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard in connection with State camps of instruction and joint camps, $40,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 86, line 19, after the words "Expenses of," to strike out "sergeant-instructors" and insert "noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army," and in line 21, after the word "attendance," to strike out "$80,000" and insert "$100,000," so as to make the clause read:

Expenses of noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army on duty with the National Guard, including quarters, fuel, light, medicines, and medical attendance, $100,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 86, after line 22, to strike out:

Provided, That whenever practicable inspector-instructors shall use the State armories or other public buildings for offices.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 87, to strike out:

Office rent and other necessary expenses of inspector-instructors, $25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 87, line 16, after the word "animals," to strike out "and a reserve supply of such arms, material, accouterments, field uniforms, clothing, equipage, and military stores of all kinds," so as to make the clause read:

Arms, uniforms, equipment, etc., National Guard: To procure by purchase or manufacture and issue from time to time to the National Guard upon requisition of the governors of the several States and Territories, or the commanding general, National Guard of the District of Columbia, such number of United States service arms with all accessories, Field Artillery and Coast Artillery material, Engineer, Signal, and sanitary material, accouterments, field uniforms, clothing, equipage, publications, and military stores of all kinds, including public animals, as are necessary to arm, uniform, and equip for field service the National Guard in the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, from a very hasty consideration of that, it seems to me that that language would prevent the War Department accumulating any reserve.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that that is transferred to the clothing portion of the bill.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It applies only to clothing thereafter?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not remember how general it is, but it was the purpose of it to allow the accumulation, and it has been transferred to another part of the bill.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is one of the great troubles that I pointed out in one instance yesterday as prevailing—the lack of supplies and reserve. I should very much dislike to see the accumulation of such reserve supplies forbidden.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator will find it on page 46, line 21.

Mr. BRADY. It was the intention of the committee to transfer that where it would be available.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But, Mr. President, that applies, as I read it, to clothing alone. The language stricken out on page 87 applies to arms, materials, accouterments, and military stores of all kinds.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I think perhaps that might be restored, or, rather, that the committee amendment might be rejected. I think these accumulations ought to be permitted; and it provides, as in the text, for the accumulation of arms and other things than clothing. I think it ought to be left in the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

The next amendment was, on page 88, line 3, after the word "School," to strike out "$7,000,000: *Provided*, That the sum of $3,000,000 out of this appropriation shall be used solely for the purpose of securing the reserve supply herein provided for," and insert "$4,000,000," so as to read:

Provided, That of the sum herein appropriated $76,000, or so much thereof as may be required, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be made available for the purchase and maintenance of material and equipment necessary for the proper instruction in military aviation of such officers and enlisted men of the National Guard as may be authorized by the War Department to attend the United States Aviation School, $4,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 89, line 10, after the word "equipment," to strike out "$800,000" and insert "$1,200,000," so as to make the clause read:

Supplying and exchanging Infantry equipment, National Guard: For the purpose of manufacturing, procuring, exchanging, and issuing model of 1910 equipment to the Infantry and other dismounted organizations of the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That whenever in the opinion of the Secretary of War a sufficient number of Infantry equipment, model of 1910, shall have been procured and shall be available for the purpose the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to issue on the requisition of the governors of the several States and Territories or the commanding general of the District of Columbia National Guard, such numbers thereof as are required for equipping the National Guard in said States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, without charging the cost or value thereof or any expenses connected therewith, against any allotments to said States, Territories, or the District of Columbia, provided that the equipment thus issued shall be receipted for and shall remain the property of the United States and be annually accounted for in the manner prescribed by the act of June 3, 1916, and that each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall, upon receipt of new equipment, turn in to the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, without receiving any money credit therefor and without expense for transportation of Infantry equipment now in its possession, the property of the United States, and replaced by articles of the model of 1910 equipment, $1,200,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Rifle ranges for civilian instruction," on page 89, after line 11, to strike out:

To establish and maintain indoor and outdoor rifle ranges for the use of all able-bodied males capable of bearing arms, under reasonable regulations to be prescribed by the National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice and approved by the Secretary of War; for the employment of labor in connection with the establishment of outdoor and indoor rifle ranges, including labor in operating targets; for the employment of instructors; for clerical services; for badges and other insignia; for the transportation of employees, instructors, and civilians to engage in practice; for the purchase of materials, supplies, and services, and for expenses incidental to instruction of citizens of the United States in marksmanship, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War and to remain available until expended, $20,000.

For arms, ammunition, targets, and other accessories for target practice for issue in connection with the encouragement of rifle practice in pursuance of the provisions of section 113 of the act approved June 3, 1916, $300,000: *Provided*, That out of said sum of $300,000 there shall be used for the payment of transportation of teams authorized by the Secretary of War to participate in the national matches not to exceed $60,000: *Provided further*, That this amount shall be proportioned among the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, according to the distance from the seat of government to the place where the national matches are to be held: *And provided further*, That the governors of the States, Territories, or the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia may designate which team or teams shall attend from their respective States, Territories, or District of Columbia.

And to insert in lieu the following:

To establish and maintain indoor and outdoor rifle ranges for the use of all able-bodied males between the ages of 16 and 45 capable of bearing arms, under reasonable regulations to be prescribed by the National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice and approved by the Secretary of War; for the employment of labor in connection with the establishment of outdoor and indoor rifle ranges, including labor in operating targets; for the employment of civilian instructors; for clerical services; for trophies, badges, and other insignia; for the transportation of employees, civilian instructors, and civilians to engage in practice; for the purchase of materials, supplies, and services; and for expenses incidental to instruction of citizens of the United States in marksmanship, to be expended under rules and regulations prescribed by the National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice and approved by the Secretary of War, and to remain available until expended, $320,000: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War, in his discretion, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, may authorize the detail of enlisted men of the Army as temporary instructors in rifle practice to organized rifle clubs requesting such instruction.

Mr. KIRBY. I do not know whether all that should be included. It seems to me it is a separate amendment, and it strikes me it would be well enough to leave it out of the bill. We do not care about rifle practice now when we are going to put everybody in the Army. It seems to me the day is past for this sort of drill and this sort of training. I ask the chairman if this amendment was put in before we declared war or afterwards?

Mr. FLETCHER. I can answer for the chairman. This provision, of course, is very similar to the provision of the House in the original bill. It was carried in the bill before there was any declaration, of course, but at the same time it is an important provision in the bill now. We must have this rifle practice continued just the same. We are not going to abandon preparation in the manner of teaching our people how to shoot because war is on. There is all the more need of such practice now, because war is on. I think the provision is not only an appropriate one but all the more required under present conditions than under peace conditions. It is a very important provision.

Mr. KIRBY. In the view of men who are in the regular line?

Mr. FLETCHER. Precisely.

Mr. KIRBY. It seems to me that the paragraph beginning on line 14, page 91, ought to be left out.

Mr. FLETCHER. That, of course, is a very important provision now. It is more important now than it was before war was declared. I hope the Senator will not insist upon his objection to it. It is a very important provision in the bill.

Mr. KIRBY. Very well.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 91, after line 14, to insert:

To provide for the transportation and traveling expenses of teams from the National Guard, school teams (composed of students of universities, colleges, and schools), and civilian teams (composed of members of rifle clubs organized under the rules prescribed by the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice) participating in the national matches at State Camp, Fla., as follows: For National Guard teams, $75,000; for school teams, $75,000; for civilian teams, $75,000: *Provided*, That each of these amounts shall be allotted to the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia according to the distance from their seats of government to State Camp, Fla.: *And provided further*, That the governors of the States or Territories and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia may designate which teams shall attend from their respective States, Territories, or District of Columbia; and the moneys hereby appropriated shall be expended by payment of the several allotments to the respective governors and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, upon satisfactory evidence of participation in the national matches of the teams so designated.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Civilian military training," on page 93, line 4, after the date "1916," to strike out "$2,250,000" and insert "$3,281,000," so as to make the clause read:

For the expense of maintaining, upon military reservations or elsewhere, camps for the military instruction and training of such citizens physically capable of bearing arms as may be selected under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, and for furnishing said citizens, at the expense of the United States, uniforms, subsistence, transportation by the most usual and direct route within said limits as to territory as may be prescribed; for such expenditures as may be deemed necessary for water, fuel, light, temporary structures, not including quarters for officers nor barracks for men, screening, and damages resulting from field exercises, and other expenses incidental to maintaining said camps and the theoretical winter instruction in connection therewith, including textbooks and stationery; for furnishing such equipments, tentage, field equipage, and transportation belonging to the United States as may be deemed necessary as authorized by section 54 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, $3,281,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 93, after line 5, to insert:

Provided, That so much of section 54 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," as relates to the transportation of citizens who, conformably to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, attend training camps be, and the same is hereby amended so as to provide that said citizens shall be paid as traveling allowances 3½ cents per mile for the distance by the shortest usually traveled route from the places from which they are authorized to proceed to the camp and for the return travel thereto: *Provided further*, That the payment of travel pay for the return journey may be made in advance of the actual performance of travel.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Reserve Corps," on page 96, after line 23, to insert:

Provided, That the Secretary of War is authorized to designate the First Corps Cadets of the National Guard of Massachusetts as a Junior or Senior Division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps: *Provided further*, That the First Corps Cadets shall be subject to such rules and regulations as may be prescribed under the provisions of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, or amendments thereto, relating to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps: *Provided further*, That the drill and instruction, including indoor target practice, required of the First Corps Cadets as a National Guard organization is hereby waived: *And provided further*, That the privileges and benefits extended by existing law to National Guard organizations, including those organizations provided for in section 63 of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, be continued in full force and effect.

Mr. WADSWORTH. My attention is attracted to the amendment which has just been read. It fixes the status of the Corps of Cadets of the Massachusetts Militia, which I imagine is a most excellent change. I wish to suggest to the chairman of the committee—as it would be quite impossible to give the matter the serious consideration at this time—the advisability when the bill reaches the conference, if it may be done under our rules, to look into the matter further. There are several other organizations of the National Guard that are in somewhat the same condition as is this Corps of Cadets in the Massachusetts Guard, and it might very probably be of great benefit to the service in many ways if they would receive this same treatment, being transferred to the Officers' Training Corps instead of being kept in the line of the guard.

Mr. WEEKS. I have an amendment which I wish to offer to this paragraph. I send it to the desk and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 97, line 1, strike out the words "Junior or" and insert the words "unit of" in lieu thereof, so as to read:

Massachusetts as a unit of the Senior Division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 97, after line 15, to insert:

Provided further, That the words "while so serving" in section 39 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense and for other purposes," shall be construed to include such time as required in traveling to and from the place to which the officer proceeds under proper orders.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 97, after line 22, to insert:

Provided further, That all officers and employees of the United States and of the District of Columbia who shall be members of the Officers' Reserve Corps shall be entitled to leave of absence from their respective duties, without loss of pay, time, or efficiency rating, on all days during which they shall be ordered to duty with troops or at field exercises, or for instruction, for periods not to exceed 15 days in any one calendar year.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 98, after line 6, to insert:

Provided further, That members of the Officers' Reserve Corps who are in the employ of the United States Government and who are ordered to duty by proper authority shall, when relieved from duty, be restored to the positions held by them when ordered to duty: *Provided further*, That the provisions of section 6 of the act of May 10, 1916, entitled "An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year 1917," shall not apply to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps who are in the employ of the United States Government and who are ordered to duty by proper authority.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 98, after line 18, to insert:

Provided further, That section 3 of the act approved February 27, 1906, entitled "An act making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, and for prior years and for other purposes," shall not be construed to prohibit the Secretary of War from accepting the gratuitous services of members of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army in the furtherance of the enrollment, organization, and training of the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army or in consultation upon matters relating to the military service.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 101, after line 22, to insert:

Provided further, That hereafter any former officer of the Regular or the Volunteer Army, under the age of 64 years and who has resigned or been honorably discharged from the service after a total commissioned service of not less than three years in either or both the Regular or the Volunteer Army, may, upon such examination and within such age limits as may be prescribed by the President, be appointed and commissioned, in the discretion of the President, in any appropriate arm, staff corps, department, or section of the Officers' Reserve Corps, with rank not more than one grade higher than any previously held by the officer in either the Regular or the Volunteer Army, but in no case above that of lieutenant colonel.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 102, after line 10, to strike out:

Provided further, That the following language of section 5 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," to wit: "Not more than one-half of all of the officers detailed in said corps shall at any time be stationed, or assigned to or employed upon any duty, in or near the District of Columbia," be amended so as to authorize the President to suspend the operation of the same in the event of actual or threatened war or other emergency in which the public safety demands it.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask that the Senate recede from its action in adopting the last amendment striking out lines 11 to 21, page 102, because it is akin to a section that has gone over, and until action is had on that it would be hardly proper to adopt it.

Mr. SMOOT. And let it be passed over?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Let it be passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will, without objection, recede from its action agreeing to the amendment and the amendment will be passed over.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senate adopted the amendment of the committee striking it out. It was done inadvertently, and I ask to reconsider it or recede from it and leave it as it was, to be taken up in connection with another provision.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That was the action taken.

Mr. SMOOT. That was done.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senate adopted it and I did not want to have it adopted.

Mr. SMOOT. It has been reconsidered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has been reconsidered and passed over.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 103, after line 2, to strike out:

Provided further, That the second proviso of section 37 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense and for other purposes," be amended as follows: *Provided*, That any person who on June 3, 1916, was carried as qualified and registered in the grade of colonel or lieutenant colonel pursuant to the provisions of the act of January 21, 1903, or any person holding a commission as colonel or lieutenant colonel in the National Guard of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia on June 3, 1916, who has served satisfactorily as such in the service of the United States under the call of May 9, 1916, or that of June 18, 1916, may be commissioned or recommissioned in the Officers' Reserve Corps with rank for which he had been found qualified and registered, or which he held in the National Guard on June 3, 1916, or while in the service of the United States; but when such person shall become thereafter separated from the Officers' Reserve Corps for any reason, the vacancy so caused shall not be filled and such office shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That any officer of the Officers' Reserve Corps called for service with his consent in a lower grade than that held by him in said Reserve Corps shall, subject to such physical examination as may be prescribed, be considered eligible for recommission in such lower grade.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 104, after line 5, to strike out:

Provided further, That the following provision contained in the act approved April 23, 1904, "Hereafter all employees of the Ordnance Department whose compensation is annual shall be paid monthly," is hereby repealed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 105, after line 14, to insert:

Provided further, That hereafter no expenditure exceeding $5,000 shall be made upon any building or military post or grounds about the same without the approval of the Secretary of War, upon detailed estimates submitted to him.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 106, after line 9, to insert:

Provided further, That section 87 of the printing and binding act approved January 12, 1895 (vol. 28, Revised Statutes, p. 622), and section 2 of the act approved June 30, 1906 (vol. 34, Revised Statutes, p. 762), are hereby amended as follows:

"That in time of actual or threatened hostilities the Secretary of War may procure from commercial or other printing establishments, by contract or open-market purchase, such printing and binding as may be required for the use of the Army and also for the National Guard of the several States and Territories and of the District of Columbia or other military forces while in the military service of the United States or about to be called into said service, payment for such printing and binding to be made from the War Department allotment of the appropriation for printing and binding or other available appropriations."

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, we have this amendment in the sundry civil appropriation bill. Of course, under present conditions it would be unwise, perhaps, to object to it. I rise simply to call attention to the fact that it has taken Congress nearly 10 years to eliminate from our laws authority for the departments to have the printing and binding of the different departments of our Government executed other than at the Government Printing Office. This is simply going back to the old rule which prevailed and that cost our Government so much

money. I recognize, of course, that there would be conditions arising in the case of war where necessity would require immediate action and it would be harmful to our Government not to grant this request at this time.

Of course, this proviso is more liberal than the one in the sundry civil bill, because it says "in time of actual hostilities the Secretary of War," and so forth; but I want the Senate to understand that when the war is over all the provisions which have been put in all the bills or which may be put in bills hereafter authorizing the War Department of our Government to have printing and binding done outside of the Government Printing Office ought to be repealed, because we do not want to pass again through the same experience we have gone through in the last eight years.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am in entire accord with the Senator in the expression of his views, and in order that the viewpoint of the War Department may be had in this connection I ask to have printed with the amendment a letter from the Secretary of War.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 9, 1917.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: Herewith is inclosed a draft of a bill granting authority to the Secretary of War to procure printing and binding for the military forces of the United States in case of actual or threatened hostilities. The matter is of such great importance and the absence of the authority which it is proposed to grant by the bill may be attended with such grave consequences that I beg leave to urge its enactment at the earliest practicable date.

Under the law as it now stands practically all such printing must be done at the Government Printing Office in this city, and, while that office has always shown a willingness to cooperate to the fullest extent of its capacity, it has been unable to furnish within the short period that could be permitted the enormous quantity of printing required in an emergency such as exists when it becomes necessary to bring the National Guard into the Federal service.

It is not practicable to keep on hand a sufficient supply of the blank forms needed on such occasions because of the changes in them that are required frequently, and any supply printed and stored to meet future emergencies would probably be obsolete when the time came for their use unless renewed at a large expense whenever changes in the forms were made.

The granting of the authority desired would also result in a considerable saving in the cost of transportation, as it would enable me to have the necessary blanks printed in distant parts of the country, adjacent to the places where they would be actually needed. The time necessary for transporting them from this city would also be saved, and in the emergencies which the bill is to meet this would be an important factor.

The authority which the bill proposes would be used only in the event of actual or threatened hostilities.

Very respectfully,
NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

A bill authorizing the Secretary of War to procure printing and binding in time of actual or threatened hostilities by contract or open-market purchase from commercial or other printing establishments.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 87 of the printing and binding act, approved January 12, 1895 (vol. 28, R. S., p. 622), and section 2 of the act approved June 30, 1906 (vol. 34, R. S., p. 762), are hereby amended as follows:

"That in time of actual or threatened hostilities the Secretary of War may procure from commercial or other printing establishments, by contract or open-market purchase, such printing and binding as may be required for the use of the Army, and also for the National Guard of the several States and Territories and of the District of Columbia or other military forces while in the military service of the United States or about to be called into said service, payment for such printing and binding to be made from the War Department allotment of the appropriation for printing and binding or other available appropriations."

Mr. FLETCHER. I should like to say that I favor the amendment only because of the clause contained in the first part of it "in time of actual or threatened hostilities." That is the only thing that justifies it. I want it distinctly understood that the provision is to be limited to those conditions.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will ask the Senator from Florida if that clause does not so limit it that after the hostilities have ceased the provision will fall.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think so. I think when there are no actual hostilities or threatened hostilities there is no such authority granted by this provision.

Mr. GALLINGER. So it would seem to me, except that the law would stand, and then if there should be hostilities later on it would become operative.

Mr. SMOOT. Or even threatened.

Mr. GALLINGER. Or threatened. It seems to me it would do no harm after hostilities had ceased.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think the statute would remain on the books, and whenever that condition arose again it would become operative.

Mr. SMOOT. Perhaps it would be better if we even limit the amendment further than it is, so that it would read "That in time of actual hostilities the Secretary of War," and so forth, striking out the words "or threatened." That will reach the object sought, and then after the close of the war it would possibly do no harm even if the provision were not repealed. I ask the Senator in charge of the bill if he will not accept an amendment striking out the words "or threatened."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think it will be safe to accept that amendment to the amendment.

Mr. SMOOT. Then I move as an amendment to the amendment to strike out the words "or threatened" in line 17, page 106.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 106 of the proposed amendment, line 17, strike out the words "or threatened," so as to read:

That in time of actual hostilities the Secretary of War may, etc.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 107, after line 2, to insert:

Provided further, That the Navasota Transfer Co., a copartnership composed of J. T. Evans and A. J. Riesto, be, and is hereby, relieved from further performance of its several contracts with the Government for the supply of hay and bedding at various posts and places in the Southern Department during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, in view of the changed conditions resulting from the call into the Federal service of the Organized Militia and the National Guard of the several States, such conditions having resulted in greatly enhancing the price of the supplies and in making the performance of the contract inequitable and a matter of exceptional hardship on the contractor; and said contracts shall be regarded as closed, final settlement being made with the contractor at the contract price for the supplies already delivered under the same.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There was a request which came to us, in view of the present crisis, that these appropriations ought all to be made immediately available, and I offer the following amendment to come in at the close of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 107, after line 18, insert:

That all appropriations made by this act shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. I desire to ask the Senator having the bill in charge if he has further committee amendments to offer at this time? If not, I have no doubt we would revert to the amendments that were passed over, and before doing that I desire to suggest the absence of a quorum, so that those who are interested in those amendments will have a chance to be present.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is only one amendment, I think, that the committee desires to offer. I have it not with me, but I can offer it later.

Mr. SMOOT. I think the order was that we should dispose of the committee amendments first, and in that case we would now revert to the committee amendments which were passed over. I simply wanted to suggest the absence of a quorum so that those who are interested in the amendments that were passed over could be here. I think that is the quickest way to dispose of the bill.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator withhold that for a moment?

Mr. SMOOT. I will.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I desire to call attention to the committee amendment on page 88 of the bill which was adopted, and which, in view of the fact that the committee amendment on page 87 of the bill was rejected, makes it desirable that it should also be rejected. On page 88 the House print provides for an appropriation of $7,000,000 for supplies, equipment, uniforms, and arms. The Senate rejected the amendment of the committee on page 87, which would have forbidden the accumulation of a reserve supply, but adopted the amendment on page 88, which reduced the appropriation from $7,000,000 to $4,000,000. The appropriation should not have been reduced if we still permit the accumulation of reserve supplies on page 87.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am willing to have the Senate reconsider the action by which that amendment was adopted.

Mr. WADSWORTH. On page 88?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes. I think we ought to accumulate supplies.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I move to reconsider the vote by which the Senate adopted the committee amendment on page 88, striking out lines 3 to 6, inclusive.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is one other amendment which I desire to offer. I will state to the Senate that I am offering this amendment at the request of the Quartermaster General, who desires to change his system of bookkeeping so as to shorten the work, putting the specific appropriations under specific heads.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 47 strike out lines 3 to 11, inclusive, and insert the following proviso:

Provided, That all the money hereinbefore appropriated under the titles "Subsistence of the Army"; "Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps"; "Incidental expenses, Quartermaster Corps"; "Transportation of the Army and its supplies"; "Water and sewers at military posts"; "Clothing, camp and garrison equipage"; "Horses for Cavalry, Artillery, and Engineers, etc."; "Barracks and quarters"; "Military post exchanges"; "Roads, walks, wharves, and drainage"; and "Shooting galleries and ranges" shall be disbursed and accounted for by officers and agents of the Quartermaster Corps, and for that purpose shall constitute three funds, as follows: "Supplies, services and transportation"; "Animals for the Army"; and "Construction, repair, and rentals": *Provided further*, That allotments to the three funds named shall be determined by the Secretary of War, the total amount appropriated not to be exceeded.

Mr. SMOOT. May I ask the Senator whether it is intended that all these accounts shall hereafter constitute one fund?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No; it is not intended to consolidate the funds. On page 47 all of those items from line 5 to line 10 are practically in one sum now.

Mr. SMOOT. That is, under the present law?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Under the present law.

Mr. SMOOT. I could not follow the amendment very closely as it was read. I should like to have the Senator explain what changes the amendment makes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Quartermaster General came here. He had these headings, and he had each item of expense under each heading itemized, the amount to come under each heading, and he would have preferred to have had it all in this bill, but it makes it very long, practically revises the system of bookkeeping and puts it in the statute. We thought after consultation that he could do the same work under this provision. The purpose is really to separate the funds more distinctly under the present provision than he has done under the former.

Mr. SMOOT. It will separate the funds when the funds are kept in a separate account, and there is much less likelihood that the money will be spent recklessly than there is to have one great lump sum and take everything from it as the head of the department may desire.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the main purpose, I will say to the Senator. We want to get this in a situation different from the House and try to work it out in conference. If we can not, we will have to adopt the House provision.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator from Oregon yield to me for a moment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to state to the Senator that when it came up in the House there was something said about the estimated cost of making this change.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not think it was estimated, but Gen. Sharpe said he thought the cost would be very much less.

Mr. McKELLAR. Eventually; but as I understood it, it would cost a great deal of money to put this change into effect, and it would require a great many additional men in order to do it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No; on the other hand, he said it would reduce the expense; that he would transfer men to this department from other departments of the Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is my recollection that he stated there would be quite a large expense in making the transfer. Of course, if it can be done better and more cheaply, obviously it is the thing to do, but as I understand it, in the hearing before the House committee he stated that the cost to make the change would be very considerable, and it was stricken out of the bill by the House on that account.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not think it will entail additional expense. I think it will cheapen the system.

Mr. SMOOT. If the amendment is adopted, it will go into conference.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. We are going to try and work it out in conference.

Mr. SMOOT. Then the Senator can look up the hearings before the House committee and find out just what was said about the expense and whether it would pay to make the change.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will call attention to the House committee hearing now.

At page 107 Gen. Sharpe was asked:

What do you save by this consolidation?

Gen. Sharpe said:

It is a saving of work, as far as the clerical work at posts and all offices of the Government is concerned. It gives greater knowledge to Congress in regard to appropriations. If you will look at the appropriation bill under the heading "Regular supplies, Quartermaster Corps," you will see a whole page and a half of description, and finally the amount appropriated is named. There is nothing there to show at all the amount for each of the items or groups of supplies.

He had this worked out to a system. I did not think it was proper to put it all into the bill. It is now our purpose to try and work it out in conference. If we can not, the House provision will remain, of course.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the chairman of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I ask the Senator from Utah to withhold his suggestion as to a quorum for a moment, and I ask the Senator from Oregon if he will permit me, more as a matter of personal convenience than anything else, to have taken up for consideration an amendment which I have been in the Senate waiting to bring up for many hours already?

Mr. SMOOT. I am perfectly willing to withhold the suggestion, and I think the Senator had better ask unanimous consent to present his amendment because of the order which has been made.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Then, I will ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the amendment which I send to the Secretary's desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 95, after line 11, it is proposed to insert:

To enable the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to completely report on certain portions of the improvements, as provided in the "act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916, they are hereby authorized to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the existing Cape Cod Canal and the existing Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, respectively, with the property, franchises, and appurtenances used or acquired for use in connection therewith or appertaining thereto, respectively; and they are further authorized, if in their judgment the price for each, respectively, is reasonable and satisfactory, to make contracts for the purchase of the same, at the option of the United States, subject to future ratification and appropriation by the Congress as to each, respectively.

In the event of the inability of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make a satisfactory contract for the voluntary purchase of said Chesapeake & Delaware Canal and its appurtenances, they are hereby authorized and directed, through the Attorney General, to institute and carry to completion proceedings for the condemnation of said canal and its appurtenances, the acceptance of the award in said proceedings to be subject to the future ratification and appropriation by Congress. Such condemnation proceedings shall be instituted and conducted in, and jurisdiction of said proceedings is hereby given to the District Court of the United States for the District of Delaware substantially as provided in "An act to authorize condemnation of land for sites for public buildings, and for other purposes," approved August 1, 1888; and the sum of $5,000 is hereby appropriated to pay the necessary costs thereof and expenses in connection therewith.

The said Secretaries are further authorized and directed to report their proceedings hereunder to the Congress, with such information as is then obtainable concerning the action of the State of New Jersey in providing a right of way for a deep-sea level canal across that State connecting New York Harbor with the Delaware River.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, in connection with the amendment, I think a letter addressed to me by the Secretary of War, which I now send to the desk, should be read as explanatory of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 9, 1917.

Hon. WILLARD SAULSBURY,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR SAULSBURY: I have your letter of April 7, transmitting me a copy of an amendment intended to be proposed by you to House of Representatives bill No. 13, making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes. The purpose of this amendment is to enable the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to report completely on certain portions of the improvements provided in the act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and authorizing the said Secretaries to enter into negotiations for the purchase of the existing Cape Cod Canal and the existing Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, respectively. By the terms of this bill the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are authorized, in the event of satisfactory prices being agreed upon, to make contracts for the purchase of the same, at the option of the United States, subject to future ratification and appropriation by Congress in each case. They are further authorized to institute appropriate proceedings in the event of their inability to reach an agreement as to a satisfactory price.

This is substantially the proposition treated by Secretary Garrison in his letter of March 11, 1915. While this Department has reached no definite conclusion as to the desirability of making these purchases,

and can not until the question of price is definitely settled, nevertheless the department is in favor of the passage of the amendment submitted which you propose to introduce to the bill in question.

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I want to say in connection with this amendment that there is no appropriation called for by it, except, possibly, a contingent one of $5,000. It is merely to enable the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, under the authority of the naval act which was passed last year, to ascertain the facts in connection with the investigation with which they were thereby charged.

With respect to the Cape Cod Canal they can satisfy the terms of the amendment probably merely by an inquiry. With respect to the New Jersey operation they can ascertain the facts from the State of New Jersey with some little trouble. With regard to the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, with respect to which a provision is inserted for ascertaining the price by condemnation, that is absolutely necessary if the Government ever is to obtain a price at which they can acquire that great improvement.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Delaware a question?

Mr. SAULSBURY. Surely.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, will not the Senator's amendment practically permit the Government to purchase these canals?

Mr. SAULSBURY. Not in the slightest degree.

Mr. KENYON. The amendment authorizes condemnation proceedings.

Mr. SAULSBURY. It authorizes condemnation proceedings, the consummation of which requires future appropriation and approval by Congress. There is not anywhere in this amendment which I have proposed anything which commits the Government to purchase the canals. In fact the matter is very carefully guarded because we may not enter into any contracts except to obtain an option of purchase.

Mr. KENYON. I should like to ask the Senator if this is not substantially the same amendment which was presented to the Committee on Commerce at the last session?

Mr. SAULSBURY. It is substantially the same amendment, except that I have inserted, in view of some possible inquiry such as the Senator from Iowa is addressing, that in making these agreements, or possible agreements, they are to be optional agreements. I will call the Senator's attention to the additional phrase which is inserted in the amendment, which the Senator will find on the second page of the amendment, beginning with line 2, as follows:

To make contracts for the purchase of the same, at the option of the United States, subject to future ratification and appropriation by the Congress as to each, respectively.

Mr. KENYON. Well, just why does the Senator provide for the contract? Is it not possible to ascertain the amount that must be paid for these canals, then submit that to Congress, and then have Congress act? In other words, where you make a contract for the purchase, even though it is at the option of the United States, that is a long step, of course, toward the acquisition of the canals. The act of Congress subsequently will be a pure ratification of that action.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I shall be very glad, Mr. President, to answer the question of the Senator from Iowa; and it is a matter which is very easily explainable.

So far as the Cape Cod Canal is concerned, I have no doubt the amount can be obtained from the company which they will take for the canal. So far as the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal is concerned, it is absolutely an impossibility to obtain in any way information at what price that property can be obtained by the Government, except through condemnation proceedings.

The reason for that is this: The company has more bonds on its property than the property is worth. They are paying 4 per cent on those bonds, but the amount of bonds is probably quite equal to the amount that the Government would be willing to pay for the property. For example, it is a few thousand dollars over two and a half million dollars now. I believe that a year or two ago this property could have been obtained by the Government at a price a trifle over $2,000,000 probably. The company has been doing better since, and the Government may have to pay more to the bondholders and stockholders of that company.

For example, if they sell to the Government they would, in my judgment, not get anything for their stock at all if sold at a fair price. The stockholders are not going to contribute it if they can obtain something for it.

In addition to that there is another difficulty. Even if it were possible to get the stockholders to agree, the stockholding of that company is arranged in such manner that the majority of the stock does not control the action of the company. It is a very peculiar provision that each individual stockholder has one vote. I do not undertake to be exact in my further statement, but if the same stockholder has 10 shares he would have, say, two votes; if he has 50 shares he would possibly have three votes.

Now, added to that confusion, and as showing the impossibility of obtaining a majority of the value voting to sell the company, the bondholders of that company also have the right to vote, my recollection is, in the proportion of one vote for each $50 of bonds. So it is practically an impossibility to obtain a price from the organization of that company.

That is demonstrated further in a report made by the Secretary of War under date of March 11, 1915, pursuant to a resolution, of which I obtained the passage in the Senate, calling upon him to make a report. On page 3 of his report, which is Senate Document No. 14, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, there is a printed letter from the president of the company showing the practical impossibility of giving any price on this property. That letter concludes as follows:

It is respectfully suggested that probably the best and only method for fixing a fair value upon the canal and having the conveyance made to the Government will be by condemnation proceedings or through a commission appointed for that purpose.

Very respectfully,

C. L. NICHOLSON, *President.*

I trust I have explained to the Senator from Iowa my reasons for offering the amendment, and I ask for its adoption.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I merely want to offer a suggestion or two about this matter. I think this illustrates what is coming along in the bills which we are to be called upon to consider in this emergency. I am not saying now that I am opposed to the purchase of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. I have given the matter a good deal of consideration, but do not have my papers here now in relation to it, not knowing the question was to arise. It is a question, however, that I want to see determined on its own merits.

There is considerable difference of opinion as to the merits of this proposition. Some people, who have given it study, think it is an attempt—not on the part of the Senator from Delaware; I do not mean that at all—to unload a bankrupt concern onto the Government. The Government will be involved before it is through with the proposition in an expenditure of at least $20,000,000—and I think even more than that—if the canal is to be of any use whatever for naval purposes.

The Navy Department, as I understand, has not recommended this purchase. Why, then, should this proposition go on this bill? I want to go to the very limit of everything that is necessary for ample preparation in this contest or for national preparedness, but I do not propose to vote for anything that may get into these bills just on that plea. Now, we have urged upon us as an emergency matter the purchase of this canal, which can not be completed in any event for years. In this same bill we had a proposition for a park, with a system of roads, in Tennessee, and some part of $300,000 to be appropriated for that purpose. That fortunately went out. This is not the time to appropriate money for parks.

What I am urging is that we ought not to go any further in expenses for local improvements in time of an emergency like this than is absolutely essential. We are not going to halt on great national questions as to the amount of money to be expended, but these local matters ought to wait, to be taken up and determined each on its own merits.

The Secretary of the Navy, I think, has set a splendid example to Congress in his contracts, according to newspaper reports, which state that the bill for steel was reduced by him $18,000,000 from that in 1917, and that he compelled the saving of more than $2,000,000 on a single order for torpedoes. I pay tribute to the Secretary of the Navy, a man of splendid ability, honesty, and courage, who is holding these expenditures down as best he can. The interests of the people are safe in his hands. Congress ought to do the same thing as to expenditures. Let us pass by things of purely local nature.

I am opposed at this time to taking up the question of the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. I fear that every other canal in the country that anybody wants to have the Government acquire will be also included under similar pleas. I received a letter yesterday or day before regarding some intercoastal canal in Texas. It was stated as to that canal that we must have it in order to secure a proper measure of national defense.

I say these things not in hostility to this project. My mind is open on the proposition after considerable study; but I think that it ought not to come up at this time in connection with this bill.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, if I may ask the Senator a question, he understands, does he not, that the only thing accomplished by this amendment is to ascertain a price at which this property may be obtained, and that this is the only way it can be done?

Mr. KENYON. Of course, when we make these optional contracts, and when we find out the price, the next thing to follow will be a great campaign for the purchase of the canal.

I make the point of order, Mr. President, that this amendment is legislation, general in its nature, to be attached to an appropriation bill, and that it has not been estimated for or approved by any committee.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, in reply to that suggestion I may say that a committee of which the distinguished Senator from Iowa is a member has twice reported on this particular matter, and therefore a committee has considered it, and a committee of the Senate has reported this amendment favorably to the Senate twice.

Mr. KENYON. Not at this session of Congress.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Not at this session of Congress, of course. I do not think, however, that the amendment is general legislation. It simply authorizes the obtaining of information, carries out a general provision contained in a previous law, and does not change or alter that law in any way. I can not agree that the point of order made by the Senator is well taken.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator whether this amendment carries any appropriation?

Mr. SAULSBURY. There is a contingent appropriation of $5,000 to cover the expenses of the proceedings.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, do I understand the Senator to say that the Appropriation Committee have approved this amendment at this session of Congress?

Mr. SAULSBURY. No, no; that has not been done. This amendment was not considered by the Military Committee.

Mr. SMOOT. It is an amendment offered by the Senator himself.

Mr. SAULSBURY. It was approved at the last Congress by the Commerce Committee.

Mr. SMOOT. I mean at the present session.

Mr. SAULSBURY. No; it has not been approved during the present session; but there is no objection on the part of the committee, as I understand, to the adoption of the amendment, and it is recommended by the War Department, as it has been heretofore.

Mr. SMOOT. I take it for granted that it is not general legislation; but as it has not been reported by a standing committee, then the point of order made by the Senator from Iowa would stand upon that ground.

Mr. SAULSBURY. The Senator from Iowa made no such point of order, as I understand, as to the contingent appropriation.

Mr. GALLINGER. That would only stand as against the appropriation, but would not touch the question of the amendment being general legislation.

Mr. SMOOT. There is an appropriation in it.

Mr. GALLINGER. A very small one.

Mr. KENYON. If there are any other points that can be included, I should like to have them all included in the point of order.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I hardly think the Senator from Iowa wants to be unfair, but this matter has been up in the Senate in the presence of the Senator from Iowa many times.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Delaware permit me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Delaware yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I yield.

Mr. HUGHES. Do I understand the Senator to state that the amendment which he has offered is intended to carry out the provisions of a law?

Mr. SAULSBURY. It is; and is so stated by the department.

Mr. HUGHES. Can the Senator refer to the law, because that becomes very important in connection with the point of order?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The law intended to be carried out is expressed in the amendment in this way:

To enable the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to completely report on certain portions of the improvements, as provided in the "Act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916, they are hereby authorized—

And so forth—to do the things provided for in the amendment.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I merely desire to call the attention of the Chair to Rule XVI—and the point of order made by the Senator from Iowa is made under the provisions of that rule, I presume—one of the provisions of which is as follows:

No amendments shall be received to any general appropriation bill—

This is a bill of that character—

the effect of which will be to increase an appropriation already contained in the bill, or to add a new item of appropriation, unless it be made to carry out the provisions of some existing law.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I am very grateful to the Senator for calling attention to that rule.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, do I understand that there is an existing law with reference to this identical subject?

Mr. SAULSBURY. There is, under which a report has to be made on these identical subjects by the Secretaries.

Mr. THOMAS. Has the Senator a copy of the law at hand?

Mr. SAULSBURY. I can refer the Senator to it. I have not a copy of it.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator did refer me to it, but I do not recall the enactment, and, of course, I can not remember the provisions of all laws passed by the last Congress. I do not recall any act of legislation, except as the Senator refers to it, regarding this canal provision. Of course, I may be mistaken; but I should like to know just what the specific legislation is to which the Senator refers, because, as stated by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES], it may be controlling in connection with the point of order.

Mr. SAULSBURY. The provision to which I refer, Mr. President, was contained in the naval appropriation bill approved August 29, 1916, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917. It is the act which is now current. In that act there was a general direction for an investigation and report upon certain channels and connecting waterways on both the east and the west coasts.

Mr. THOMAS. Did it mention these specific canals?

Mr. SAULSBURY. The terms of it were broad enough to cover all these matters, and these were particularly included and specifically mentioned in the first place, and afterwards a general provision was put in.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, so that there may be no mistake as to the rule——

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, before the Senator proceeds, may I say one word? I was appealing to the Senator from Iowa, and I will appeal to any other Senator within the range of my voice in regard to this matter. I have been trying for several years to ascertain the amount at which this Government could acquire a great public improvement, and, as I believe, an improvement which will add greatly to this country's means of defense. It has been impossible to obtain anywhere, from any person, at any time, any price which the Government would have to pay, except as proposed in this amendment or in some similar fashion. There is practically no appropriation included here; and I appeal to Senators within the range of my voice, as a matter of fairness, not to continue to insist that I shall get up here and be met in the first instance, when I endeavor to secure an appropriation, by the statement, "We do not know how much it will cost," and then, when I try to find out, as I do by means of this amendment, have it said to me, "We shall not take action that will allow you to find out even how much this will cost the Government." That is the situation. This amendment is simply designed to ascertain a single unascertained fact, to wit, the price that the Government will have to pay for a thing if it wants it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I was simply interested in the statement made by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES], calling attention to the part of the rule which, he thought, exempted this amendment from a point of order. If the Senator from New Jersey had read further, he would have found that quite a different condition exists when the whole of the rule is read. This is the portion of the rule the Senator read:

And no amendments shall be received to any general appropriation bill the effect of which will be to increase an appropriation already contained in the bill or to add a new item of appropriation, unless it be made to carry out the provisions of some existing law—

But that is not where the rule stops. It continues—

or treaty stipulation, or act, or resolution previously passed by the Senate during that session.

Or, in other words, if the law referred to in this amendment had been passed at this session, and later an appropriation bill came in, then there could not be a point of order made against it; but the rule refers only to "existing law, or treaty stipulation, or act, or resolution" passed at the session in which the appropriation may be asked for. If an amendment does not comply with those conditions, then a point of order can be made against it. It is only upon the question of the rules and the accuracy of their application that I speak at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is inclined to sustain the point of order. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I desire to move, if the matter is not concluded—and I do not understand it to be—to strike

out, on page 92, all from line 11 down to and including line 19, on page 94.

Mr. SMOOT. Will the Senator from Arkansas withhold that for a moment? I gave notice that I would suggest the absence of a quorum before taking up the committee amendments which have been passed over.

Mr. KIRBY. This item relates to civilian military training; but I will withhold the amendment if the Senator so desires.

Mr. SMOOT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. HUGHES. Before the Senator suggests the absence of a quorum, the purpose of the suggestion, as I understand, is to secure a larger attendance when the committee amendments which have been passed over are being considered. Is that correct?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; that is the object I have.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Husting	Nelson	Smith, S. C.
Beckham	James	New	Smoot
Borah	Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Sterling
Brady	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Stone
Calder	Jones, Wash.	Page	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Pittman	Swanson
Culberson	Kendrick	Poindexter	Thomas
Cummins	Kenyon	Pomerene	Thompson
Curtis	King	Reed	Tillman
Dillingham	Kirby	Robinson	Townsend
Fall	Knox	Saulsbury	Trammell
Fletcher	La Follette	Shafroth	Vardaman
France	Lewis	Sheppard	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Sherman	Warren
Gallinger	McCumber	Shields	Watson
Gerry	McKeller	Simmons	Weeks
Hale	McLean	Smith, Ariz.	Wolcott
Harding	Martin	Smith, Ga.	
Hughes	Myers	Smith, Mich.	

Mr. HUSTING. I have been requested to announce that the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] is detained from the Senate on departmental business.

Mr. NORRIS. I desire to announce that the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE] is detained from the Chamber on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained from the Senate by a bereavement in his family.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is detained on account of serious illness.

Mr. REED. I desire to announce that the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is detained from the Senate by illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Seventy-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum of the Senate is present.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I should like to offer the following amendment to the pending measure.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendments have not as yet been disposed of. The amendment is not, therefore, at this particular time, in order.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I understand that the chairman of the committee does not object.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, at the time I spoke to the Senator I did not remember that we had passed over a number of committee amendments. The call just now was for the purpose of getting Senators together to act upon those amendments which were passed over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The first amendment passed over will be stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. The first amendment passed over is on page 16, line 17, passed over at the request of the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, after such consideration of this amendment as I have been able to give I can not at this time vote for it. We will have the general military bill before us in a few days, which will come from the House. If this amendment is necessary, we will have an opportunity to consider it at that time. The bill which will come from the House is a bill covering general legislation with reference to the Army. This is an appropriation bill, not a bill covering general legislation.

As I just stated, the bill which is now being considered by the House is one generally covering the organization of the Army. Following the appropriation bill here, there will be a bill which consists of general legislation. I desire to make the point of order that this amendment can not be attached over objection to an appropriation bill.

No amendment which proposes general legislation——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. From what rule is the Senator reading, please?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I read from page 18 of the rule, paragraph 3, Rule XVI:

No amendment which proposes general legislation shall be received to any general appropriation bill.

This is a general appropriation bill for the Army. In 1916 we passed a bill entitled "A bill for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes." That is a bill which involves general provisions fixing the organization of the Army, prescribing the officers and the system of organization, and dealing as a proposition of general legislation with our military affairs. That bill created the offices of brigadier general——

Mr. WARREN. Oh, Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator is partially correct, but mainly incorrect, in regard to the defense act. There is nothing in that relating to the office of brigadier general or major general, except that it provides by inference for additional brigadier generals and additional major generals.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Precisely. That bill provided for brigadier generals and major generals.

Mr. WARREN. It provided for the number simply.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Exactly; that is what it did. There was, prior to that time, a general statute applicable to the organization which provided for major generals and brigadier generals, and in this general bill by which we reorganized the Army we again provided for brigadier generals and major generals; and it left the organization of the Army with a certain number of brigadier generals and a certain number of major generals. The organization of the Army is as much general legislation as the organization of the judiciary.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, perhaps the Senator overlooks this fact: This amendment is to the amount of money appropriated for the payment of officers, and it carries the authority to the President to temporarily delegate or bestow upon any major general additional temporary rank and pay. It does not undertake to uproot the statutes; it simply adds to them in the distribution of this money.

Mr. President, if the Senator will excuse me——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WARREN. If he will withhold the point for a few minutes, I hope the Senator will not make the point of order. I do not think the point could be sustained, but it seems to me that it would be fairer to let it go to a vote. The Senator, I conclude, wants this amendment to fail. Probably he would be gratified in that. It seems to me that we should do justice, or, if we can not do justice, we ought at least to be frank. We have had appeals here to patriotism. We have had distinguished Senators who avowed——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If the Senator wishes to make extended remarks, I would rather he would make them after I have taken my seat.

Mr. WARREN. I am not in the habit of making extended remarks, Mr. President, but I will permit the Senator to go on with his remarks.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, it abolishes the office of brigadier general. It uproots our entire system of officers above the office of colonel. Let us see what it says:

All general officers shall hereafter be of the grade of major general with the existing relative rank, the senior one-third of whom shall have the pay and allowances of that grade and the junior two-thirds the pay and allowances now authorized by law for brigadier generals.

It does not simply provide for a distribution of the money here appropriated; it abolishes the office of brigadier general.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. I want to call the Senator's attention to the further fact that it creates temporarily four generals and three lieutenant generals that are to be continuously kept in office for four years, and during that time it increases their salary.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. For four years it makes offices for seven men that are appointed out of the Staff, and while they are on the Staff they have a higher rank and get higher pay, addi-

tional pay, otherwise; and evidently this is a scheme to help out some of those men.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I presume the Senator wants to be fair. In the first place, it does not appoint for four years nor for four days. It appoints at the pleasure of the President. In the next place, it does not appoint them out of the Staff. It states expressly that it is for other purposes. It does not appoint seven men, but it appoints six. There can be four generals and two lieutenant generals, or four lieutenant generals and two generals, or three of each.

I simply say this because I know the Senator wants to be fair. I will not detain the Senator from Georgia longer. I may say now, however, about doing away with the brigadier generals, that their pay remains the same. They are major generals of the junior rank and major generals of the senior rank, just the same as they have in the countries of the Old World, and as we have correspondingly in the Navy. Does the Senator, in this time of stress, when we want the best service and when we want to encourage our Army, wish to put our Army where there is not a single country in the world whose officers, if put alongside of ours, will not outrank them, leaving ours standing at the foot, especially at this time when our armies are soon likely to be fighting side by side with some of the armies of the Old World? Does he want to say that as between the Army and the Navy, the Army must stand at the foot there, too, instead of alongside? Is there any object in that, and especially so when the total cost of it can not exceed $18,000?

It seems to me that the least we can do is to give the rank that is so much valued by officers and give it to them so that they can meet on an equality with the armies of the world throughout. The other countries have passed on and progressed, and we have remained stationary. We have waited at the wayside, at the switch, while they have been incorporating valued amendments in their laws. Now, must we humiliate our Army? I am willing to do as much for privates as for officers, but I see no object at this time in undertaking to humiliate, as we certainly do, our Army by saying that they are neither equal to our own Navy nor equal to any of the armies of the world.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, no one is further than myself from any purpose of humiliating our Army and nothing that I am now doing can humiliate them. I stated before that a general bill with reference to the Army is now before the House. It constitutes general legislation for the organization of the Army. It will be before us in a few days, and that is the time when we should consider this subject. Then we will know what kind of Army we are to have. Then we will know what kind of generals we will need.

We now have no general above the rank of major general. We have 10 major generals, I think, and about 30 brigadier generals. That is provided for by general law. The act which we passed in 1916—not an appropriation bill, but a general law for the reorganization of the Army—named the officers. It fixed the units. It provided for major generals and brigadier generals. This proposed amendment begins with abolishing the office of brigadier general and provides for no general less than a major general. It then provides for the classification of the major generals, one-third of whom are to rank first and two-thirds of whom are to rank second. Then, as the Senator from Minnesota states, it proceeds further and creates the office of lieutenant general. It substitutes, in certain branches of the Government here in Washington, a lieutenant general for duties that are now by general law directed to be performed by a brigadier general.

The bill which we passed in 1916 for the general reorganization of the Army names certain heads of bureaus in the department here to be presided over by brigadier generals. This bill makes them lieutenant generals or major generals.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator calls attention to a bill that is now before the other House, which will probably come here, and which will very likely deal with this question. I will ask the Senator if he does not agree with the Senator from Wyoming and some of the rest of us in the proposition that if we are to create a great Army to represent our country, very likely on the battle fields of Europe, we ought to have in that Army officers of as high rank as those in the British, French, or Russian Armies?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do; and when that bill comes here, and we understand what the Army is to be, then I am in favor at that time of fixing such grades of higher generals as the character of the bill requires. What I am objecting to now is legislating upon this subject in an appropriation bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. I thank the Senator from Georgia, Mr. President. I know how fair he is.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I may change my mind by that time and vote to abolish the office of brigadier general, although I have a feeling of attachment for the office of brigadier general. I have been raised with great respect for brigadier generals, and I will reluctantly reach the conclusion that the office ought to be abolished. Many of the heroes of our country on both sides in the War between the States won their spurs and their everlasting fame while still brigadier generals, and I hate to see the office abolished.

Mr. GALLINGER. The only solicitude I had was, knowing the Senator's influence and the Senator's fairness as well, that he should commit himself, as he has, in favor of giving our officers, if they are sent to participate in the terrible war in Europe, as high rank as those of the other armies with whom they will cooperate.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If we provide for an army of a million men, I am in favor of increasing the rank of the higher officers; and if we are preparing an army perhaps to go abroad, I wish the United States Army to have officers with just as high rank as those whom they will meet.

Mr. NELSON, Mr. THOMAS, and Mr. WARREN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield, and to whom?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield first to the Senator from Minnesota, who rose first.

Mr. NELSON. I wish to say that this idea of having nothing but major generals, in order to put us on a par with the officers of other countries, is unwarranted. They have brigadier generals in all armies—in the French Army, in the English Army, and in the Russian Army—and it is not necessary for us to wipe them out of our service to put us on a par with the service in other countries.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota is correct in a small way and incorrect in a larger way. They do not have brigadier generals in the French Army and English Army to the extent that we have, and it is a mere matter of brevet or of some peculiar service; but as to the regular line, the fighting men, they have major generals of senior and junior grade.

Mr. President, I do not wish to extend the argument with the Senator if he wishes to make the point of order and expects to allow the matter to come up in another bill. I am perfectly ready to have it come in that way; but the Senator was proceeding to argue against this idea of a change beforehand, and I should rather leave those arguments, of course, to that time, if he is willing to do so. Now, I enjoy history and the old title of brigadier general, or "jigadier brindle," as we used humorously to call it in the old Army days. I have the same association, the same love for the title, that the Senator from Minnesota and the Senator from Georgia have; but it is one of those things that has passed as to the other armies, and when the department comes here—you know we have all sworn to support our President and his department in these wars——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator may be bound by such an oath. I have not taken one.

Mr. WARREN. It seems to me that when they come and ask for this we ought to consider it, and consider it fairly—if not on this bill, in another—because the very foundation is the organization of the Army, and the Secretary of War, with the assent of the President, has given it study and comes here and asks for this change. These officers are not coming and requesting us to promote them. They are debarred from that. But the Secretary comes here and states that he believes, as I do, that it would add to the efficiency of the Army. So I hope it may come up in due time and receive the attention that it ought to receive.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield now to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator referred just now to the fact that many of the great heroes of the wars of this country acquired their great distinction in subordinate commands. Does not the Senator think that it would be wise, in our scheme of reorganization, instead of creating so many positions of generals and lieutenant generals, to reenact the old law creating one general and one lieutenant general as offices to which these men can aspire and which they can occupy through merit hardly won in the service of their country?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I think there is a great deal in the suggestion of the Senator from Colorado.

What I desired was simply to call attention to the features of this proposed amendment, and to show how clearly it comes within the prohibition of our rule which excludes general legislation from an appropriation bill, and, in connection with making the point of order upon it here, to call attention to the fact that we will have an opportunity in a few days to consider this subject at a better time, when we will know of what the Army will consist, when we have a general bill before us for the reorganization of the Army.

Now, Mr. President, I make the point of order on the amendment, on page 16, starting with the word "*Provided*," on line 17, and going down to line 23, on the next page, on the ground that it is general legislation upon a general appropriation bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, are there other committee amendments?

The VICE PRESIDENT. There are. The second committee amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The next committee amendment which was passed over will be found on page 22 of the bill. The paragraph reads as follows, beginning on line 11:

For commutation of quarters and of heat and light for field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, $70,000.

Then follows the committee amendment, where the committee proposes to insert:

Provided, That the allowances authorized by act of August 29, 1916, for 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, shall be effective from date of approval of said act for the 200 clerks appointed who were eligible on August 29, 1916.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, as I understand this amendment, it provides for 200 field clerks, Quartermaster Corps; and if those field clerks are advanced, say, one year after the approval of the act referred to in the amendment, then their increased salary is to begin, not at the time of their appointment, but from the date of the approval of the act. If I am wrong, I should like to have the Senator in charge of the bill correct me.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I think when the act was passed, giving field clerks that advancement, it was intended that it should be paid from the date of the approval of the act. Instead of that the officers of the department held that they could not be paid from the date of the approval of the act, but that their advanced pay would start only from the date of the actual appointment.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I think the officers were perfectly right, and I think that is the proper thing to do.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Possibly they were; but I do not think that was the intention of the Congress, or at least it was not the intention of the committee at the time that the original amendment was proposed. However, it is a question of whether the Congress wants to make the increased pay start from the date of the approval of the act or from the date of the actual appointment and commission.

Mr. SMOOT. Can the Senator tell the Senate what cost it will involve—how much the expense will be?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have not had any estimate made on it. I really do not know.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not believe that Congress wants to do a thing like this. I do not believe that we ought to go to work and give a field clerk a promotion and then say, after he is promoted, that he shall draw back pay of a year or two at a certain rate more than he was drawing at the time of his promotion.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly not.

Mr. SMOOT. That is what this amendment means; and I sincerely hope the Senate will not agree to the committee amendment. It ought to be voted down.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was rejected.

The SECRETARY. The next amendment passed over is on the following page—page 23—where, after the numerals at the end of line 2, the committee proposes to insert certain matter set out in the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The proviso has been read. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. REED. What is the amendment?

Mr. OWEN. It relates to the General Staff.

Mr. REED. I wish the chairman of the committee would tell us what that change really effects—how much of a change it makes.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I should like to have the chairman of the committee explain the method of administration of affairs of the General Staff now. I understand he has a letter in regard to it.

Mr. REED. I proffered the request.

Mr. OWEN. I did not understand.

Mr. REED. It can be withdrawn.

Mr. OWEN. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. REED. There is no necessity for that. I just wanted the RECORD to show that my request is withdrawn temporarily.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Do I understand that the Senator addressed a request to me?

Mr. OWEN. I asked for explanation of the method of keeping a record of the transactions of the General Staff—what their system was.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The suggestion was made here yesterday by the Senator from Oklahoma that a part of the General Staff, or a member of the General Staff, might take certain action or make certain recommendations, and that it was treated as the action of the General Staff.

Mr. OWEN. I think the Senator did not quite understand the suggestion that I did make. I made inquiry of him with regard to the keeping of records by the General Staff so as to make available a knowledge as to who was responsible for the action of the General Staff or the action called the action of the General Staff. I thought that ought to be made a matter of record.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I rather thought the implication from the question of the Senator was that they acted without having any record or without acting as a body but as an individual member of the General Staff, and, inasmuch as no record was kept, you could not tell by whom the action was had. I took it up with the Secretary of War, because I had assumed that whatever went forth as the action of the General Staff was in fact its action and that there was a record kept in the matter. In answer to my request the Secretary of War writes me the following letter, which I request the Secretary to read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 10, 1917.

Hon. G. E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Chairman Committee on Military Affairs,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: With reference to your telephonic inquiry relative to remarks made by Senator OWEN on the floor of the Senate yesterday, I beg to inform you that instructions to the Chief, War College Division, General Staff, where important matters relative to policy and legislation are considered, are that the memorandum, or the duplicate copies of the memorandum, have attached to them a sheet showing the views of the officers of the General Staff on duty at the War College.

Of course, the Secretary of War may have views different from the views expressed in the report, and occasionally changes in some particulars of the report of the General Staff may be made by him before action is taken thereon.

Very sincerely,
NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the answer to the Senator's request for information.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the point that I wish to make is with regard to the administration of military affairs by the General Staff. I make no point as to the value, of course, of their recommendations, but when their recommendations are made they should be made upon the responsibility of individuals, and it ought to be possible at any time to locate the responsibility of advice given by members of the General Staff to the Secretary of War and to the Congress of the United States.

I wish to ask that an amendment be added to this section to this effect:

That the action of the General Staff shall be made a matter of record and constitute a public record available at any time upon the request of either branch of Congress.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Ordinarily I would not object to requiring anybody acting officially to keep a record of their proceedings, and I have no objection to the amendment offered by the Senator particularly, because I assume it is what has always been done, except to this feature of it. I do not think it ought to be accessible to the public, because sometimes very delicate questions come before the General Staff. Questions of very great delicacy come before them now, and I can conceive of some cases where it might not be safe to keep any sort of record at all. I am willing, however, that this amendment shall be adopted, if the Senator will limit it so that it will not be available to the public. If it is published it might as well be published to the world, and that might be a dangerous proceeding.

Mr. OWEN. It is to be made available only to either House of Congress.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is not the way I read it.

Mr. OWEN. That is the way I dictated it.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator said that in his amendment, but even if it were available to both branches, if it comes to the House or Senate upon a request of the House or Senate, it is always printed unless it is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and then it would be open to the public in that way. I think it ought to be guarded, as the Senator from Oregon suggests.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the only suggestion I make about it. If it is guarded sufficiently so as not to publish to the world what the War Department is doing I have no objection in the world to the amendment.

Mr. OWEN. No; I do not wish to make it a public record in the sense that it will be available to the world. I want to make it so that the General Staff can not take action without personal responsibility. That is what I want. I do not want the General Staff to pass proposals down or advising the Congress of the United States and make it impossible for us to know who are the individuals advising us under the mysterious term "General Staff."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am in accord with the Senator's views on that proposition, but I want the amendment limited so that delicate propositions which come before the War Department may not be made public.

Mr. OWEN. I will agree to that. I am only asking that this amendment be added:

The action of the General Staff shall be made a matter of record available in cases of need.

It can be drawn with greater care when the matter goes to conference. I do not wish to stipulate the exact words at this time, because it is difficult to meet all the niceties that are necessary.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to an amendment along that line.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I have objection to the amendment. I can not imagine a single reason why any such record should be kept. The consideration which the General Staff gives to general questions is a matter which should be kept in confidence. Why the personal opinion of any man on the staff should be exploited, even if the conclusion of the staff happens to be wrong, or he is wrong and the staff happens to be right, is something that I can not comprehend at all. The conclusion the staff would come to would be a general verdict similar to a conclusion which would be reached by a jury. It might not quite accord with the opinion of any one of the men on the staff, but it would practically cover the general judgment of the staff.

If there is any reason why this should be done, I would be willing to withdraw my objection, but I have not heard a single reason given.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, the reason which I assigned the Senator perhaps did not hear, but when you have the Congress of the United States and the Secretary of War advised by the General Staff, and even the Secretary does not know what individual upon the staff is giving that advice, you have a certain irresponsibility attending the advice which is exactly like any other star-chamber proceeding, where you can not fix individual liability for a bad piece of advice. In military affairs there is a tendency to be somewhat willful with regard to the attitude taken by men in public affairs. It is that kind of thing in Europe which has led to such mischief there. It was the advice of the military forces of Prussia that brought about this war and forced the war upon Europe. Nobody knows to-day who were the individuals who forced the sword into Wilhelm's hand. I want to know——

Mr. WEEKS. I do not think you can compare our General Staff operations with the militarism which obtains in Prussia. As I have stated, the judgment which is reached by the General Staff is made up after discussion, and I object to the reflection on the officers of the General Staff which the Senator makes that they are willful in their relations to the public; that they would willfully or otherwise, if they knew it, give the Secretary of War or the President advice which they did not think was based on good military proceeding.

I hope the amendment will not prevail.

Mr. OWEN. The Senator from Massachusetts is not justified in imputing to the Senator from Oklahoma any reflection upon the present members of the War College, with whom he has no acquaintance whatever.

Mr. WEEKS. I did not mean to say the present members of the War College, but on the general make-up of the War College and a General Staff that they were inclined to be willful in the advice that they gave. I do not care whether it means those at present in the War College or on the General Staff or those there at some other time.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I am rather in sympathy with the suggestion of the Senator from Oklahoma provided it is safeguarded. I think myself these men ought not to be permitted to sit there as autocrats and determine a thing, and nobody, even an officer who might be vitally interested, have an opportunity to ascertain the motives of the men. I suggest that the amendment take this form, and this is my own individual proposition, not the action of the committee. However, I will say that it reads as follows:

That the action of the General Staff shall be made a matter of record available at any time upon the request of either branch of Congress, when, in the opinion of the President, a compliance with such a request will not be detrimental to the public interest.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. "If it is not incompatible with the public interest."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; "if not incompatible with the public interest."

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, may I ask the chairman of the committee if it is not a fact that every order issued by the General Staff and every command of the Army is a matter of record? I do not see how any order of the General Staff could possibly be executed if it were not a matter of record.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I had always assumed, until this question was raised yesterday by the Senator from Oklahoma, that it was a matter of record.

Mr. VARDAMAN. As a matter of fact, it is a matter of record. It is a matter of record or it could never take form, which, of course, is the necessary prerequisite to the execution of it.

Mr. OWEN. The record which is intended to be found here is a record showing how these gentlemen vote upon the question.

Mr. VARDAMAN. It would be rather difficult to prescribe a general rule for that. The orders issued by the General Staff are usually, I imagine, but the consensus of opinion formed after considering the question at issue. I can not understand how any good can possibly result from the adoption of the amendment in its present form. I would support a rule or a statute requiring that, when the General Staff gave advice to Congress or a bill came before the Congress the product of the General Staff, it be branded with the authorship so that the public might know where it came from and the motives or influences behind it.

It is my deliberate judgment that this country is threatened with militarism which will be as offensive as that which cursed the German Empire and finally disturbed the peace of the world, and unless the American people are very careful and hold themselves in due bounds it will require a quarter of a century after this war is over to bring us back to the old and better ways. The purpose of the amendment I most heartily approve, but in its present form I am afraid it will not accomplish its purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Oklahoma withdraw his amendment?

Mr. OWEN. Yes; upon the substitution of that framed by the chairman of the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is upon the amendment offered by the chairman of the committee to the amendment.

On a division, the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the committee amendment.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, as I recall the act of June 3, 1916, and this proposed amendment is an amendment to that act, it provides that the General Staff shall consist of 50, divided in the same classes as this proposed amendment divides it. If the amendment is adopted, the General Staff would consist of 91 officers instead of 50 officers. The increase begins with colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains. The largest part of the increase, however, is with the majors and captains. I suppose that under present conditions it is necessary that the General Staff should be increased in number. I understand that the general staff of France is over 200; that in England it is even more than that. Of course, we in the past have had a smaller general staff than any other second-rate military power. I can not see any objection at all to the increase of officers in the General Staff, particularly at this time.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Under the law as it is now there are 55 members of the General Staff and the proposed amendment increases the number to 91.

Mr. SMOOT. I thought the number was 50.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is 55. When all the increments are added to the Army, I think myself the number should be increased.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I hesitate to even make an inquiry with reference to this section, because I have been a member of the committee so short a time I have not had an opportunity to familiarize myself with this subject matter of the bill.

I wish to ask the chairman of the committee if this is not the first time it is proposed to give the Chief of Staff precedence over all other officers of the Army?

Mr. WARREN. By the original law it is provided that, while serving as Chief of Staff, although the officer may be a brigadier, he must be a general officer chosen by the President, and while so serving he shall be in command over all the troops and departments of the Army.

Mr. REED. Where does the Senator find that in the bill or in the amendment?

Mr. WARREN. It is in the old law, back some years ago, I should say 15 or 20 years perhaps, but I recall it very well.

Mr. REED. I notice the language of the proposed amendment on page 23 is as follows:

Provided, That the first paragraph of section 5 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 5. The General Staff Corps.—The General Staff Corps shall consist of one Chief of Staff, who shall be a general officer of the line and who shall take rank and precedence over all other officers of the Army."

Now, referring to the section which is amended, to wit, section 5 of the act of June 3, 1916, I find the language to be as follows:

The General Staff Corps shall consist of 1 Chief of Staff, detailed in time of peace from major generals of the line; 2 assistants to the Chief of Staff, who shall be general officers of the line, 1 of whom, not above the grade of brigadier general, shall be the president of the Army War College—

And so forth. I do not find in that any language, although it may be there—my examination has been very hasty——

Mr. WARREN. The Senator will notice it does not repeal the former statute. The former statute provides specifically. In the amendment proposed here they have undertaken to incorporate and reenact in a degree the old original law.

Mr. REED. Without an examination of the other section of the law, of course I can not speak advisedly. I am talking admittedly as one who is not posted. Therefore it may be said I ought to be silent. Nevertheless I have great curiosity about this particular section.

The provision of the bill further is that after an officer of the General Staff has served four years, then he shall be ineligible until he has served, I believe it is two years, in the line. So it seems if this section is adopted, no matter who may be the highest officer in the Army, he would at once be displaced by the man appointed Chief of Staff, and even if the highest and best officer in the Army were appointed Chief of Staff he would at the end of this period of time—four years—be relegated to a subordinate position. You could not keep at the head of your Army for more than four years at a time a man who might be the military genius of the Army.

I may be in error about all this, but I want to know about it. It strikes me that there it makes a radical change in the law, and some one on the committee older in service than myself ought to be able to throw some light on the subject.

Mr. FLETCHER. Let me suggest to the Senator that I think he is correct in the general statement, but I gather that there is an exception in the case of actual or threatened hostilities. I suppose in such a contingency he would not have to serve two years in the line. It seems that that is an exception from the rule.

Mr. REED. Very well, there would be an exception then in time of war or threatened war. Nevertheless it might be highly important to retain at the head of the Army a particular man.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I assume the last remark made by the Senator from Missouri he meant to apply to times of peace?

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. To counterbalance that argument, let me suggest that it is equally important to give some general officer, possibly in time of peace, the experience of being Chief of Staff instead of selecting one particular general officer to be Chief of Staff. The theory that he is the most efficient officer in the Army keeps him there permanently. It is better for the service and its future that there should be rotation in that office within reasonable limits.

Mr. REED. What the Senator states has merit in it, of course. Why is it necessary that the man who is Chief of Staff shall outrank and shall take precedence over every other officer in the Army? Why is it not possible to have a Chief of Staff, as I think we have had heretofore, and still have an officer who may be the ranking officer of the Army? There is so much of this that is technical no man can understand unless he has given a thorough study to the subject; it makes me hesitate.

I think that this is a change in the law. I think that the Chief of Staff in the past has not necessarily outranked every other officer in the Army.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Wyoming?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. WARREN. The Senator remembers that in former times there was a commanding general of the Army and that commanding general commanded all the troops of the Army in whatever line they were. There was some friction oftentimes between the President of the United States, who is Commander in Chief of the Army and who has a tenure of office of four years, and the major general, who is appointed for life and will draw salary, active or retired, unless he resigns or is court-martialed. So, in 1903, when this idea of a staff, as in other countries, was adopted it was provided that the President as Commander in Chief of the Army, which he is under the Constitution, should select a general officer. It was purposely put so that he could select a general officer of whatever rank he might choose—general, lieutenant general, major general, or brigadier general. It is stated that he should have command of all the troops, and so forth.

Now, he is next to the President. The orders go through him to the Army. At this moment, I do not remember the officer who was the first Chief of Staff; but I recall, and the Senator doubtless does, that Gen. Bell was made Chief of Staff when he was a brigadier general. Of course it caused some friction, because The Adjutant General was then a major general, but nevertheless matters proceeded in that way, and the orders of the Chief of Staff went out to major generals and all the others alike, and it has been sustained that way ever since, although of late years the Chief of Staff has been a major general, and in the defense act we provided that he should be a major general, so that at present he must be a major general, and that major general must have under him the command of all the troops, dating back of course to the first organization and the first legislation concerning it.

Mr. REED. But the provision that is now made is that he shall be a major general.

Mr. WARREN. That is already the statute.

Mr. REED. But this changes it, the Senator will notice. I may be in error, I say again, but I think I am not. Let me read, beginning at line——

Mr. WARREN. Of course in time of war it does not matter, but before the Senator reads from the law to-day as it is——

Mr. REED. But I am speaking about the change.

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. REED. Section 5 is to be amended to read as follows. Therefore section 5 as amended will be the controlling law. What is in the old section which we propose to wipe out and change is immaterial. Here is section 5 as it is proposed:

The General Staff Corps shall consist of one Chief of Staff, who shall be a general officer of the line.

It does not say he shall be a major general.

Mr. WARREN. I was speaking of the latter enactment of the national-defense act.

Mr. REED. Yes; but this changes that.

Mr. WARREN. It puts it back where it was before, according to the law of 1903.

Mr. REED. How low in point of rank can an officer be to be appointed Chief of Staff under this proposed act?

Mr. WARREN. He must be a general officer, which means a brigadier or higher.

Mr. REED. Exactly; but a brigadier general now can be taken by the President under this act, if it is passed, and he can be put in as Chief of Staff, and thereupon outrank every other officer of the Army.

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Mr. REED. Then, if it be discovered that he is a military genius of the world, at the end of four years' time he must go out of that position; he must be succeeded by a man of inferior ability; and he can not again fill the position for two years, except there be actual or threatened war.

Mr. WARREN. That is true, except that in time of war, of course, the President can reappoint him. Let us give the Senator one of the reasons for that. This reason was that there had been complaint from time to time—and we hear it once in a while on this floor, but I do not credit it—that there is a little coterie in the headquarters that exercises favoritism in the appointments to these favorite places. With the great power which the Chief of Staff has it was thought best to curb it that much.

Then, again, the Chief of Staff is supposed to be next to and the definite choice of the President. The President's term is

four years; and so when a new President is inaugurated he either expects the resignation of the officer who is Chief of Staff when his time expires and to appoint another or he asks that officer to step aside and appoints one of his own choice.

Mr. REED. Now, the Senator states that this is intended to prevent favoritism; yet before he concludes his statement he says that it makes it possible for the President, when he comes into office, to change the Chief of Staff, and it also makes it possible for him to reach down the line and to pick up a brigadier general and put him over the heads of those who have served much longer.

Mr. WARREN. It does.

Mr. REED. That makes for favoritism; that places it in the power of the President "to play favorites."

Mr. WARREN. It does.

Mr. REED. I am curious to know——

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

Mr. REED. Just one moment. I am curious to know how anything in this bill will stop the favoritism which the Senator from Wyoming states exists in the Army.

Mr. WARREN. I am only alluding to one of the minor things which it was thought best to consider; but, aside from what I have said, the idea was to repose confidence in the President, whoever he may be. He is the Commander in Chief of the Army under the Constitution. We can not change that. The idea was not to cripple him by placing a man next to him, as has been the case, or at least it was so reported, where they were at variance and at loggerheads from the first. It was designed to give the President a general officer of his own choice; and if he found a brigadier who had lived up to the splendid "brigadier" indorsement that we have had here from the Senator from Minnesota and the Senator from Georgia, he could take a brigadier.

There is, however, another thing more important than all that. The man who is appointed to be Chief of Staff should, before he becomes so, have been a man of field service, of war as well as of the swivel chair. It was thought that the knowledge which comes to such an officer in the four years during which he is Chief of Staff would be important to the Army in the field where he would go at the end of the time.

Mr. REED. Of course, if the President would always pick the brigadier or some other officer of superior talent and ability and experience, the whole question would be answered; always we would get the best.

Mr. WARREN. We shall have to trust the President in any event.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. REED. I shall yield in one moment. Is there, however, anything in the experience of the past to warrant us in believing that always the best is to be picked? That has not been my observation, but, on the contrary, it has been that mere favorites have been put in office under more than one administration.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. The Senator from Massachusetts had first asked me to yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Very well.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I want to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that the very duties performed by the Chief of the General Staff should make him the ranking officer of the Army. I am quite in accord with the Senator from Missouri in his conclusion about the possibility of favoritism; but this appointment is temporary. It has to do personally and directly with the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. It is not different from the practice in the Navy Department. The Chief of the Bureau of Navigation under the law is the ranking officer in the Navy Department. He serves, under the law, when the Secretary of the Navy and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy are absent, as the Secretary of the Navy.

It has become the practice in recent years to appoint an officer of rather minor rank to that place. I do not think it is right. It was intended that the officer filling that place should be one who had long experience in the Navy, and that he should have demonstrated in his experience that he had superior capacity in many directions. As a matter of fact, the present Chief of the Bureau of Navigation is a commander in lineal rank, and yet he is a rear admiral temporarily and is the senior officer for the time being in the Navy Department. There is a particular reason why that should be so, because he has the detailing of all officers in the Navy, as, in a general way, the Chief of the General Staff has in the War Department.

Moreover there was at one time a great deal of friction in the War Department between the Chief of the General Staff and The Adjutant General of the Army. It had to be determined by Congress which one should have the superior rank. It was determined that it was desirable, taking everything into consideration, that the Chief of the General Staff should take precedence over all other officers.

If I had it to do, Mr. President, I should certainly not appoint an officer as Chief of the General Staff or Chief of the Bureau of Navigation who had not demonstrated by his service that he was fit to occupy the place at the head of the Army or of the Navy, as the case might be.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, just a word, if the Senator from Missouri will permit me. The Chief of Staff has always had precedence of the other officers of the Army and, possibly, without any express statute. If the Senator will examine the act of 1903, he will see that it provided that—

> The Chief of Staff, under the direction of the President or of the Secretary of War, under the direction of the President, shall have supervision of all troops of the line and of The Adjutant General's, Inspector General's, Judge Advocate's, Quartermaster's, Subsistence, Medical, Pay and Ordnance Departments, the Corps of Engineers, and the Signal Corps, and shall perform such other military duties not otherwise assigned by law as may be assigned to him by the President.

Under that provision of the act of 1903 he had precedence possibly over a major general commanding troops of the line. While I do not see any reason for inserting by way of amendment the particular language to which the Senator calls attention, yet it leaves that officer in practically the same position which he has occupied ever since the office of Chief of Staff has been created.

Mr. REED. I do not think that the language which the Senator from Oregon has just read would be held to be applicable after the passage of the act of June 3, 1916, because that purports to be a complete act within itself. It proceeds to define the entire composition of the Army. However that may be, I want to ask the Senator one question, Who prepared this amendment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The amendment came here from the War Department, I will say to the Senator from Missouri, and was inserted at the request of the department. The Secretary of War recommended it, and I presume he had some particular reason for doing so. It does increase the General Staff. That is the main reason for it, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. REED. I have no objection to the increasing of the General Staff.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I ask the chairman of the committee whether this recommendation came from the War Department before or since the arrival of the present emergency?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The recommendation came before war was declared, because this bill is exactly as it was reported to the Senate at the last session of Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. The next amendment passed over is, on page 26, after line 16, under the head of "Retired officers," where the committee proposes to insert the following:

> *Provided further*, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized to appoint Brig. Gen. Chambers McKibbin, of the United States Army, retired, to the position and rank of major general on the retired list.

Mr. REED and Mr. KNOX addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I understood that it was agreed, as to the amendment on page 26, beginning in line 23 and going down to line 6 on page 27—if the Senator from Pennsylvania will pardon me, merely to clear the matter up—that the name of the beneficiary was to be inserted, instead of the general language of the amendment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I shall be glad to have that done, I will say to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. Then I ask that that amendment be made and that the descriptive language be stricken out.

Mr. FLETCHER. Suppose we make the amendment read in this way:

> *Provided further*, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to advance to the grade of major general, United States Army, retired, Brig. Gen. J. W. Scully, of the United States Army, retired.

Mr. POMERENE. And to strike out the remainder of the amendment.

Mr. REED. That would be satisfactory to me.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Very well.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I stated on yesterday that I would oppose this amendment unless there was a special reason

assigned showing that there was some necessity for the increased salary. It has been represented to me since that time that Gen. Scully is an invalid; that he requires the attendance of a man practically all of the time; that members of his family are dependent or afflicted; and that there is a real necessity for an increase of pay; also that he is a man of great age; that probably he will live only a short time; and that he has won by his past service, I will not say a right to promotion, but a strong claim to the consideration of the country. Therefore, Mr. President, I will withdraw my opposition to the amendment.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, it was the courtesy of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] in withholding his point of order yesterday that gave me the opportunity of looking into the question of the merits of the amendment promoting Gen. McKibbin from the rank of brigadier general to that of major general. I have discovered some rather interesting data upon that subject which I think it is right for me to present to the Senate in the hope that there will be a vote upon this amendment upon its merits.

Gen. McKibbin, I find, belonged to one of those remarkable families found on both sides of the deplorable conflict between the States that distinguished themselves far beyond that which was given to many families to do. It was a family that showed their faith by their zeal, and their zeal was manifested in the character and the extent of their service. Gen. McKibbin was a member of a family of 13 children, 5 of whom were adults at the time of the breaking out of the war, and 5 of whom entered the service, where they remained until its conclusion. Two of them lie buried in Arlington—David McKibbin, who was a gallant Cavalry officer, and his brother, Joseph C. McKibbin, who for distinguished service was brevetted as a brigadier general.

I am told that there never was a time from Bull Run to Appomattox when the women of the McKibbin family were not nursing one of those men who were wounded in the service. They were all wounded, and severely wounded, and Gen. Chambers McKibbin, the proposed beneficiary of this amendment, is now in a condition of semiparalysis. He is confined to sitting in his chair, and his articulation is almost destroyed, all of which is the result of these wounds.

Mr. WARREN. What is his age?

Mr. KNOX. His age is 77 years, as I was told by his daughter this morning. They have no means except the general's pay. He has a wife and daughter to support, and I am informed that no member of his family has, either directly or indirectly, solicited this assistance from Congress, but it has been the result of the friendship of his fellow officers, who tell me that what it will do for him is this: It will enable him to have a special attendant, which he sadly needs in his affliction.

These, Mr. President, are the facts which I have gathered, and I present them to the Senate because I am satisfied that they are true.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, I am very glad indeed that the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] has spoken a word in favor of the amendment granting increased rank to Gen. Chambers McKibbin. He was a deserving officer in every way and should receive the reward. I desire especially at this time to call attention to the amendment promoting Gen. J. W. Scully, a very distinguished officer, to the grade of major general on the retired list. I hope the Senate will make a matter of record the tribute that we desire to pay to him at this time. I have before me a synopsis of the military history of Gen. Scully. I will not take the time of the Senate to read it, but I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

SYNOPSIS OF THE MILITARY HISTORY OF BRIG. GEN. J. W. SCULLY, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED.

Gen. Scully entered the United States Army when a boy of 18, and served as an enlisted soldier from September, 1856, to September, 1861, in Light Battery K, First United States Artillery, and was gunner of one of the pieces that fired the salute at the inauguration of President Buchanan. He served on the Rio Grande (Tex.) frontier, fighting Comanche Indians and Mexican bandits.

In 1859 Sergt. Scully was detailed, with 20 soldiers of his battery, to accompany Capt. Burleson, of the Texas Rangers (father of the present Postmaster General), in pursuit of a band of Indians who ran off 150 head of horses from the Nueces River. This command started from Fort Clark, Tex., following the trail in the direction of the Devils River for seven days, when their water supply became exhausted. The Indians had driven their horses through the water holes, thereby rendering them unfit for use; so a retreat was ordered, and after two days' march the men were unable to proceed farther and laid down to perish. Sergt. Scully took the two strongest men of his detachment—Privates Barrett and Eby—gathered up all the canteens, and started for the Devils River. They rode all night, reaching a branch of that stream at daybreak. They filled the canteens, and after resting an hour started back and reached the command at noon, just in time to save the lives of 60 men. This should be found in the records of Battery K, First Artillery.

Sergt. Scully was honorably discharged from the United States Army on account of expiration of term of enlistment, at Key West, Fla., September 20, 1861, and immediately accompanied Capt. Alan C. Gillem, acting quartermaster, as clerk, and reported to Gen. George H. Thomas at Somerset, Ky., and, on account of his military experience, was used by that general as aid-de-camp in the campaign that terminated with the battle of Mill Spring, Ky.; was honorably mentioned by Gen. Thomas and afterwards given the brevet of major in the Army for his conduct in that battle. Mr. Scully also served in the same capacity for Gen. D. C. Buell in the Battle of Shiloh and received the brevet of lieutenant colonel, United States Army, for same. He also received the brevet of colonel, United States Army, for gallant and meritorious services in the Battle of Nashville.

On the 14th of July, 1862, Mr. Scully was appointed a first lieutenant in the First Middle Tennessee Infantry Volunteers (afterwards changed to Tenth). He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of same regiment August 21, 1863, and to colonel June 6, 1864, and was honorably mustered out with his regiment on May 25, 1865.

In October, 1863, Gen. Scully, then lieutenant colonel of the First Middle Tennessee Infantry, commanded his own regiment and parts of three Cavalry regiments (virtually a brigade) and defeated the Confederate Gen. W. S. Hawkins at Centerville, Hickman County, Tenn. (See series 1, p. 92, Vol. XXXI, Pt. II, Rebellion Records.)

Gen. Scully was appointed captain in the Quartermaster's Department on the 25th of September, 1865, and served at Natches and Vicksburg, Miss., on "reconstruction" duty and adjusting claims of citizens for cotton and other property taken or destroyed by the Army.

In 1868–1871 he rebuilt Ringgold Barracks, Tex.

In 1872 Gen. Scully, as quartemaster, selected the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, with a view to the supplying of the military posts on the Upper Missouri, thereby establishing the site of the city of Bismarck, N. Dak. He also fitted out part of the "Custer expedition."

In 1880–1882 Gen. Scully built the post of Fort Thomas, on the Gila River, near the San Carlos Indian Agency, Arizona Territory. While on this duty, the Chiricahua Indians, under their chiefs Loco, Ju, and Geronimo left the reservation, killed the chief of police, Sterling, and raided several ranches, killing women and children. Col. Scully armed the ranchers and the civilians at and in the vicinity of the post, and held off the hostiles for several days, until succor arrived from other posts. For this he was highly praised by the press and by the people of the Territory of Arizona.

On account of Col. Scully's immunity from yellow fever he made two tours of duty at New Orleans, La.; and for the War with Spain he there fitted out Gen. Shafter's expedition. He chartered all the ships, and made them fit for the accommodation of troops. For this he was thanked and highly complimented by the Quartermaster General of the Army.

On the 1st day of November, 1900, Gen. Scully was retired from active service, and had up to that date, served altogether 42 years, 11 months, and 16 days. This does not include the Mill Spring or Shiloh Campaigns, which were recognized and for which he received brevets.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, in addition to the synopsis of the military career of Gen. Scully, I desire to say that he is now, as I understand, 80 years of age, 61 years of which have been spent in the service of the United States Army. He carries scars on his body received in battle during the Civil War and for over 30 years has not been able to use his right hand on account of rheumatism due to exposure during actual service on the frontier. At present he requires the constant services of an attendant on account of physical weakness.

Gen. Scully has dependent upon him an invalid wife, two daughters, and four grandchildren, the oldest of whom is 12 and the youngest 6. He is not a man of any means, and after all these years of faithful service is entirely dependent upon his salary for the support of himself and those dependent upon him.

It seems to me that after serving 61 years in the Army he is entitled to this special recognition. In the early days, before the Civil War, in 1859, he was engaged in fighting the Indians. There has never been a time when his country has called that he has not answered that call, and now in his declining years it is only right and proper that we should pay him this tribute. I hope the amendment will be adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to amendment on page 26, beginning in line 17 and ending in line 21.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. The next amendment passed over is, on page 26, after line 21, to insert:

Provided further, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to advance to the grade of major general, United States Army, retired, any brigadier general on the retired list who served in the United States Army not less than five years prior to October 1, 1861; who commanded not less than a regiment in the Civil War; who served on the active list of the Army after the Civil War and during the War with Spain not less than 35 years; and who attained the grade of not less than colonel in the United States Army before retirement.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment to that amendment offered by the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER].

The SECRETARY. In lieu of the amendment proposed by the committee it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided further, That the President be, and he hereby is, authorized to appoint Brig. Gen. J. W. Scully, United States Army, retired, to the position and rank of major general on the retired list.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the next committee amendment passed over.

The SECRETARY. On page 27, after line 6, the committee proposed to insert the following:

Provided further, That hereafter any retired officer of the Army who has been detailed to active duty, and who has, since his retirement, served an active detail shall be entitled to increases of longevity pay, to be computed as provided by existing statute for the computation of longevity pay, for the time of his service before retirement and on active detail since his retirement.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next committee amendment passed over was, on page 29, after line 16, to insert:

Provided, That the amount appropriated for mileage to commissioned officers, contract surgeons, and expert accountant, Inspector General's Department, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, shall be available for the payment of the mileage of Army field clerks, and field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, when authorized by law.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, in this connection, I promised to get for the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] a statement from the War Department, and I desire to have inserted in the RECORD, in connection with that amendment, that portion of Secretary Baker's letter which refers to mileage.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

MILEAGE.

1. During the fiscal year 1916 no officer of the Army received as mileage an amount equal to his pay.

2. Following is a statement showing the officers who received the greatest amount for mileage as compared with their pay:

Officer.	Service.	Pay.	Mileage.
Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood	Department commander	$8,000	$1,291.09
Col. J. L. Chamberlain	Department inspector	5,000	1,425.66
Col. T. Q. Donaldson	do	5,000	1,370.17
Col. G. K. Hunter	do	5,000	1,294.78
Col. O. B. Mitcham	Ordnance Department	5,000	645.09
Maj. J. F. Brady	Department inspector	4,000	1,093.17
Maj. A. M. Davis	Quartermaster Corps	4,000	494.22
Maj. C. E. Hawkins	do	3,360	2,833.35
Capt. B. F. Browne	do	3,120	994.66
Capt. J. M. Burroughs	do	3,120	653.10
Capt. H. Dorey	Aid-de-camp	3,360	184.50
Capt. G. V. Heidt	Recruiting officer	2,880	1,102.72
Capt. H. L. Jackson	do	3,360	895.79
Capt. J. N. Munro	Quartermaster Corps	3,360	792.53
Lieut. G. V. Heidt	Recruiting officer	2,600	670.17
Lieut. C. T. Smart	do	3,120	1,354.36
Lieut. R. J. West	do	2,600	1,531.04

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next committee amendment passed over was, on page 102, after line 10, to strike out:

Provided further, That the following language of section 5 of the act of June 3, 1916, entitled, "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," to wit: "Not more than one-half of all of the officers detailed in said corps shall at any time be stationed, or assigned to or employed upon any duty, in or near the District of Columbia," be amended so as to authorize the President to suspend the operation of the same in the event of actual or threatened war or other emergency in which the public safety demands it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, in view of the fact that the former portion of that provision went out on a point of order, I think this amendment of the committee, striking out that portion of the bill, ought to be agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That completes the amendments of the committee.

Mr. REED and Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I offer the amendment, which I send to the desk and call the attention of the chairman of the committee to it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 16, line 17, after the sum "$2,153,373.91," it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided, That the first part of the second paragraph of section 24 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, down to the first proviso in said paragraph, be, and the same is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant created or caused by the increases due to this act, in any fiscal year shall be filled by appointment in the following order: (1) Of cadets graduated from the United States Military Academy during the preceding fiscal year for whom vacancies did not become available during the fiscal year in which they graduated; (2) under the provisions of existing law of enlisted men, including officers of Philippine Scouts, whose fitness for promotion shall have been determined by competitive examination; and of members, including officers, of the Organized Militia, the National Guard, or Naval Militia, between the ages of 21 and 30 years who have had at least 90 days actual Federal military service under any call of the President during the calendar year 1916, and whose fitness for promotion shall have been determined by examination; (3) of members of the Officers' Reserve Corps between the ages of 21 and 27 years, of distinguished colleges as are now or may hereafter be entitled to preference by general orders of the War Department; and (6) of candidates from civil life between the ages of 21 and 27 years; and the President is authorized to make the necessary rules and regulations to carry these provisions into effect."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the only purpose of that amendment is to raise the age limit from 27 years to 30 years of age of young men who served on the Mexican border for 90 days. That is the only difference.

Mr. WARREN. Does it change the arrangement otherwise?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It does not change the arrangement. That is the only purpose of the amendment, and I have no objection to it.

Mr. SMOOT. It allows commissions in the Army to be given to men who served on the Mexican border up to the age of 30 years, instead of 27 years, as now provided.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; after examination, of course.

Mr. SMOOT. How long will that last? Is it a temporary provision, or will that be regulated hereafter by law?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It applies only to those who served 90 days on the Mexican border; that is all; but it will apply to any of them.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not know but that the same provision ought to apply for at least a month or two generally, because I know there are now a great many officers whose services the Government of the United States ought to have who have passed the age of 27, or who are between the ages of 27 and 30 years.

Mr. REED. Let that come up in the next bill.

Mr. SMOOT. That will be perfectly satisfactory.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR. I offer the amendment which I will ask the Secretary to read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The SECRETARY. In line 6, page 87, it is proposed to insert, after the word "fund," the following words:

Provided, That the National Guard of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall include such officers and enlisted men of the staff corps and departments corresponding to those of the Regular Army as may be authorized by the Secretary of War.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is to meet a decision of the Judge Advocate General, rendered a day or two ago, in which he held that section 60 of the national-defense act did not include such staff corps.

Section 60, providing for the organization of the National Guard units, reads as follows:

SEC. 60. Organization of National Guard units: Except as otherwise specifically provided herein, the organization of the National Guard, including the composition of all units thereof, shall be the same as that which is or may hereafter be prescribed for the Regular Army, subject in time of peace to such general exceptions as may be authorized by the Secretary of War. And the President may prescribe the particular unit or units, as to branch or arm of service, to be maintained in each State, Territory, or the District of Columbia in order to secure a force which, when combined, shall form complete higher tactical units.

Under that authority the War Department sent out the following order on December 11, 1916:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
MILITIA BUREAU,
Washington, December 11, 1916.

From: The Chief, Militia Bureau.
To: The adjutants general of all States, the Territory of Hawaii, and the District of Columbia Militia.
Subject: State administrative staffs.

1. Under section 60 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, the Secretary of War prescribes, for State administrative purposes in time of peace, the officers and enlisted men set forth in tables herewith; and the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia are authorized to maintain such staffs for administration and supply, conforming in respect to administrative functions with corresponding corps and departments in the Regular Army.

2. The officers and enlisted men of the administrative staff of a State are in addition to the officers and enlisted men of the staffs of higher tactical units to be hereafter authorized and are designed for the following purposes:

(a) To provide officers and enlisted men for administrative, sanitary, supply, and property purposes for the National Guard not in Federal service before and after the tactical organizations have been completed, except when higher tactical units comprising staffs for administration and supply are mobilized.

(b) To provide administrative, sanitary, and supply personnel for mobilization and recruiting purposes for the National Guard in Federal service.

(c) To provide administrative, sanitary, and supply personnel for camps of instruction held under section 94 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, except when such camps are of a complete higher tactical unit comprising a staff for administration and supply.

(d) For training National Guard officers in time of peace in duties of administration and supply and sanitation.

3. The designations of the senior officers of the several corps and departments shall correspond to those of the senior staff officers of a territorial department of the Regular Army, as follows:

Adjutant, inspector, judge advocate, quartermaster, surgeon. Officers junior in rank, serving in the same corps or department, may be designated as assistants. Engineer and signal officers for State administrative staffs are not authorized except in States where tactical organizations of not less than one battalion of signal or engineer troops are maintained as part of the National Guard, and the engineer and signal officer shall be detailed to the State administrative staff from line organizations of the Engineer and Signal Corps.

4. Officers or enlisted men of the staff, not included in tables herewith and not recognized by the War Department as pertaining to the staff of tactical organizations, are not considered to be members of the National Guard within the meaning of the law.

5. Officers on the staff of the governor, not detailed from National Guard staffs or organizations, are not considered as part of the National Guard under the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916.

6. The foregoing provisions become effective at once, and are promulgated for the information of all concerned. Federal funds will not be expended for pay and transportation or Federal property used for any officer not assigned to a National Guard organization or authorized in this circular.

By direction of the Secretary of War:

WM. A. MANN,
Brigadier General, General Staff.

Under those orders these staff corps were organized in the various States, and they have charge of the property, for instance, of the Government that is sent to each State, and they receipt for it. If they are abolished—as they are abolished by the holding of the Judge Advocate General—the result is that you have got to detail officers of the line to take charge of this business, and it will wholly disrupt the business of the National Guard, especially in the management of its property and from all standpoints.

I call attention to the opinion of the Judge Advocate General that has just been issued:

For the reasons stated in this paper it seems clear that the administrative staff officers authorized by the circular letter which is the subject of this memorandum, in so far as their relations to the General Government are concerned, are in the same status as adjutants general of the various States, etc.; that is, that they are designed for the administrative functions of the State, and do not constitute a part of the National Guard as authorized by the national-defense act.

The purpose of this amendment, Mr. President, is to change the law so as to conform to that opinion of the Judge Advocate General. I have spoken to the chairman of the committee, and I do not believe that he has any opposition to it, as I understood him; and I ask for a vote on it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 84, after line 21, it is proposed to insert the following words:

For the acquisition, by purchase or by condemnation of tracts of land known as Great Piece Meadows and other contiguous tracts, containing in all 4,000 acres, more or less, and situated in Essex and Morris Counties, in the State of New Jersey, and within 30 miles of New York City Hall, to provide suitable target-range facilities for instruction in small-arms practice of any branch of the military or naval service of the United States Government, the National Guard, and the able-bodied males capable of bearing arms, and for the construction thereon of target butts, buildings, water-supply and drainage system, and other facilities, for targets and other necessary equipment and the installation of same, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, to be immediately available, and to remain available until expended, $200,000.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is to purchase a certain tract of land in the northern part of New Jersey about 20 miles from New York City. It is peculiarly available for rifle practice and a rifle range. It is desired by numerous of the civilian rifle clubs who have been compelled to practice their marksmanship with the meager facilities that they have had in the various localities.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Certainly.

Mr. OVERMAN. There is a provision in the sundry civil bill to purchase some land in New Jersey, I think. Is that the land the Senator is talking about?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I do not think so. I do not know. This was an amendment to this bill at the last session. It was not acted upon at that time.

This section of land is, as I said before, particularly available for this purpose, because it is a large tract of land and the only tract within this distance from New York, where target practice at determined distances can be held, and also skirmish drills. At the present time there are two regiments of police in New York City that are drilling, and they have no facilities for target practice. The militia of New Jersey, the militia of the lower part of New York State, the civilians who are drilling on the tops of the buildings in New York City, have no opportunities for rifle practice.

Mr. President, in the Spanish-American War, when we sent thousands of soldiers to Cuba and Porto Rico with the Krag-Jörgensen carbine, many of them hardly knew how to handle that rifle, because they had not had the opportunity of being trained in marksmanship. At Camp Alger there were 20,000 troops, I think, and many of those organizations were sent to Porto Rico and Cuba without rifle practice.

This section of land is in the center of a population of over 8,000,000 people, and they desire some facilities of this character in order that they may have the opportunity to train in marksmanship. It is very important as a measure of preparedness at this time that all of these men should have such facilities. There are 6,000 men, I think, in these rifle clubs in New Jersey, and a greater number among those in the lower part of New York without proper facilities for learning how to shoot the modern arm.

Therefore, Mr President, I have introduced this amendment, and I hope that it will receive the favorable consideration of the Senate.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I wish to direct a question to the chairman of the committee, if he is in the Senate Chamber; or, if not, perhaps the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] can answer the question. I assume that if we are going to have target practice and to have these exercises in every State and many places in the different States provision will have to be made for it.

I have been reading over the bill which was introduced in the House for the organization of the Army of the United States, and I observe that there is a provision in that bill authorizing the Government to take possession of any such lands in the United States as may be necessary for such purposes and to pay as rental therefor what may be fair, reasonable, and just. Now, it seems to me, if we are going to buy every tract where we drill soldiers and where we have target practice that before we get through we will have an enormous expense loaded upon the Government which can just as well be dispensed with, because at the close of the war we probably shall not have any use for those tracts unless they are very close to the forts where we shall keep our Regular Army. It seems to me that before we start in on the proposition of purchasing these tracts we ought to consider a scheme that will provide either for purchasing them outright or for their condemnation and use so long as the Government may need to use them, for a specific period, saving very much to the country and acting, as I understand, in accordance with the bill that has already been introduced and is now under consideration in the House.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, if the Senator will investigate, I think he will find that it is extremely desirable from every standpoint—that of the Government as well as that of the individual—that target practice should be provided for, because my recollection is, while I have not the figures before me, that it is clearly demonstrated that those States that have been providing suitable ranges at convenient places have developed a much greater number of marksmen in proportion to the total number of National Guards than other States; so much greater that there can not be any question about the desirability of providing suitable ranges.

This particular range is located in a section where it would naturally serve eight or ten millions of people, including many men always in the national service—those stationed at Governors Island, in New York, for example, and many others. There may be some question about buying rifle ranges at this time in most parts of the country; but it does not seem to me that there can be any question about the desirability of buying one which is going to serve now and for all time such a very large population.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from New Jersey a question as to the amount asked for? I did not happen to catch it.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Two hundred thousand dollars. There are 4,000 acres of land. It is 3 miles, I think, in one direction and 2 miles in another, without any intersecting roads. It has as a background a high mountain. It also has land which is available for skirmish drill and mobilization of troops on the outside. This land was inspected by Col. Miller, the director of civilian marksmanship——

Mr. WARREN. I was not asking the question to either oppose or indorse it, but we changed the House language here and increased the $20,000 to $320,000 for this purpose. I assume, however, that this particular ground was probably larger and the amount larger than could reasonably be expected to be included in this appropriation.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I do not think it is included in that appropriation. May I say, further, that Col. Miller has inspected this tract of land for the War Department and has approved it. He says:

I recommend that the United States acquire title to the land described in paragraph 5 of this report for the purpose of a target range, and that the necessary construction be made thereon.

Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood has also approved it, and Mayor Mitchel, of New York. I have a letter here in which he indorses and approves it.

Mr. President, the advisability of procuring this land at this time to meet this emergency, the training in marksmanship of these men who will become available if you have any system of training, seems very apparent. Not only that but the soldiers at Governors Island as well as the men at the Brooklyn Navy Yard now have no facilities for practicing marksmanship, and in that section of the country from which you will draw probably a greater number of men than from any other section it seems advisable that there should be some means whereby these men can take small-arms practice.

The record of marksmanship in New York State by the militia in 1915 was 23 per cent. They had very meager facilities for target practice. In New Jersey it was 30 per cent. They had more. They had Sea Girt, and they had another small range in northern New Jersey. But in Massachusetts, where they have a rifle range of this character for every militia organization, the percentage was 79 per cent of qualification, showing that where you have these rifle ranges for target practice at determined distances, there you will have the highest efficiency in marksmanship.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I can not help but regard the proposal made by the Senator from New Jersey as a fortunate one—fortunate particularly because it involves, if it is adopted by the Congress, the purchase of a very considerable tract of land so close to the metropolis of the country. It is exceedingly difficult, as any Senator will understand, to find a tract of land suitable for rifle practice close to a great city at anything like a price within the possibilities of the Treasury. The Senator from New Jersey has already described its relative situation, and the benefits which it can bring to the military forces of the United States.

May I say that some few years ago the only rifle range in the vicinity of New York City was at Creedmoor, on Long Island. That part of the country has become so built up and crowded with communities, and the tract of land was so small in the first instance, that it was abandoned for rifle practice some years ago by the authorities of the State of New York.

The only rifle range which is now available for New York troops is at Peekskill, a long distance up the Hudson River, where there is a rifle range and mobilization center which is supported by the State of New York, and I understand, of course, will continue to be supported by the State, but which is utterly insufficient to take care of the number of men who should have this training.

In addition to Peekskill, the only other official rifle range with facilities suitable for the training of any number of men is at Buffalo—Buffalo being at the far end of the State, toward the west. Western troops, or troops in western New York, use that rifle range. The troops in New York City and Brooklyn and in the Hudson River Valley have no suitable range for their use at the present time. It is safe to say that of the 25,000 men now composing the enlisted strength of the National Guard of New York, fully 20,000 could use this range if it should be established over in the State of New Jersey, across the Hudson River from the city of New York, in addition to the 7,000 or 8,000, as I understand, enlisted men in the National Guard of New Jersey.

I hope very much that the Senate will adopt the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey, because I verily believe that it will add very considerably to the efficiency of a number of Federal soldiers in the true sense of the term equal in number almost to an army corps.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, we are starting in with a very bad precedent in the consideration of this bill—the precedent of compelling the United States, in an appropriation bill, to purchase certain tracts of land without knowing anything about their value, without knowing whether they have been passed upon by the Government as to whether or not it needs those particular tracts, and without any knowledge whatever of the conditions, other than that there are tracts here that are very convenient for target practice.

If the Senators will look over H. R. 92, the bill which will be before the Senate in a short time, while I can not readily turn to it, they will find a provision in that proposed law for the condemnation by the Government for its use of any such tract of land, either for a given length of time or permanently. If we need that as a permanent reserve, the Government will have the power to take it. I think it would have the power to take it without any additional legislation, but it certainly will have the power before we get through with this war legislation. We ought to allow the Government to determine, after an investigation, where it wants these tracts of land for training purposes, and to determine how long it may wish to provide for a rental, and a reasonable rental, during the time that it may need these tracts of land.

I am opposed to our compelling the Government, without any investigation, and because some one has a piece of land he wants to turn over to the Government, and because it can be used, to take it at whatever price is put in here as an amendment, without any further investigation about it.

Mr. President, we will have an opportunity to secure that land before we get through if we need it, and the Government can pay for it if it needs it, and the Government can rent it if it needs it; and I would rather see it come in in a proper bill, with proper authority, rather than to be put upon a bill of this kind, an appropriation bill, without any consideration.

Therefore, Mr. President, I make the point of order that the matter has not been considered—that is, that there has been no report as to the cost—and that it is general legislation upon an appropriation bill.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Has this been estimated for by the department? [A pause.] The point of order is sustained.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I move to strike out all of page 92 after line 10, all of page 93, and down to and including line 19 on page 94.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all under the heading "Civilian military training," to be found on pages 92, 93, and 94, down to line 20.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, this part of the bill provides for an appropriation of $3,281,000, and $250,000 additional on top of that, a total of a little over $3,500,000, for civilian military training.

In the last civilian military training, held last year, 14,000 men took part. Not a single man of them, as I understand, went to the Mexican border. If any of them did go it was a negligible quantity. There is no obligation in the law for any man who takes this military training, and upon whom part of this three and a half million dollars is expended, to become a soldier and to join the Army and to defend the country.

Having declared war, it seems to me that if we have any money to be expended it ought to be expended upon a soldier, in training him. I move, therefore, to strike out this whole provision. It evidently was inserted before war was declared; it can not result in good to the Government and will result in the expenditure of three and a half million dollars in money. Only $1,000,000 is provided for maneuvers and practice by the National Guard in this same bill, and yet all the National Guard joined the colors when war was imminent on the Mexican border. It seems to me this ought to be done.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the motion of the Senator from Arkansas is to strike out the provision made for these training camps, known as the Plattsburg and other camps, that are held in different parts of the country. I differ from the Senator with reference to the power of the Secretary of War or of the President in regard to the young men who join these training-camp associations. I believe that under the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, section 54, the Secretary of War may impose terms of enlistment upon these young men, and if they do not comply with them they can not participate. The provision of that section is:

The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to maintain, upon military reservations or elsewhere, camps for the military instruction and training of such citizens as may be selected for such instruction and training upon their application, and on such terms of enlistment and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. KIRBY. Yes; but, Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question. Is it not a fact that they are only required to enlist for 30 days and for that training; and did not the investigation show that it was not regarded as obliging them, and there is no provision placing an obligation upon one of these men who are trained there, to join the Army? In other words, such a man is not a part of the Army when he is being trained.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the present regulation, but it is simply a regulation. I think, under the section that I have just read, that they could impose a longer term of service on him.

Mr. KIRBY. Then would it not be better, when we have already declared war, to have this money expended in training

a soldier who has enlisted in place of training some man who might enlist after we have spent three and a half million dollars in training him and others of the same sort through the summer?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am inclined to think that these training camps have done great good, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. KIRBY. I call for a division, Mr. President. I will ask for a roll call on this proposition.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. If the Senator insists upon that, Mr. President, we will not finish this bill this evening.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays are requested. Is the request seconded?

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The amendment was rejected, on a division.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I desire to submit an amendment to come in on page 84. I send it to the desk and ask that it may be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The SECRETARY. On page 84, after line 21, it is proposed to insert the following:

For range shelters, office and storage buildings, mess halls, water supply, sanitary and drainage system, and other facilities to increase and improve the rifle range and its facilities at State Camp, Fla., $40,000, which sum shall be immediately available.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I will state that that is the estimate of Col. Miller, who has just returned from the camp. The Government owns 700 acres there. All of this money could be spent upon the Government's own property. It owns the 700 acres of ground, and there is a need of some extension of the water mains and sewers and some other improvements there to the amount mentioned in this report by Col. Miller.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. FLETCHER. Certainly.

Mr. SMOOT. Do I understand that an estimate was made for this by the Treasury Department and sent to the Committee on Military Affairs for its consideration?

Mr. FLETCHER. No; that is an estimate made by Col. Miller, director of civilian marksmanship, who was recently on the ground. They need it because they expect to utilize the targets there for the Army, as well as possibly for other purposes; but, at any rate, they will need it for the Army.

Mr. SMOOT. What I want to get at is this: Has a regular estimate been made for it, and has the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate rejected the recommendation or the estimate?

Mr. FLETCHER. No; the committee has not had the opportunity to reject it. The matter has not been presented to the committee, for the reason that the report has just been made by Col. Miller; in fact, since this bill was reported to the Senate. The report of Col. Miller, who has been there and made this personal investigation, has just been completed. He says these improvements are necessary because of the immediate use to which the camp will be put, and that every dollar of it will be spent on the Federal Government's own property.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to ask the Senator having the bill in charge if this matter has been called to his attention by the War Department?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No; it has not, I will say to the Senator—only by the Senator from Florida himself.

Mr. FLETCHER. I will say to the Senator from Utah that there has not been time enough for the department to have sifted this through.

Mr. SMOOT. There is an Army bill that will be here before us in a very little while, and before the Military Affairs Committee, of which the Senator from Florida is an honored member. I think we ought to have a little more information about the matter, Mr. President; and I make the point of order that it has not been estimated for.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. FLETCHER. What is the point of order?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That it has not been estimated for, according to the rule.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, if there are no other amendments pending I should like to call up the amendment which I offered yesterday and desired to have pending, and ask that the Secretary read it. I refer to the amendment relating to the pay of enlisted men.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 19, line 3, it is proposed to strike out "$29,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$58,000,000."

Provided, That hereafter the pay of enlisted men in the Regular Army shall be $30 per month, and that the pay of noncommissioned officers shall be increased in the same proportions.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I desire to modify that amendment before it is submitted by adding the following language, which I will read, so that the Secretary can get it:

Provided, That in no case shall any noncommissioned officer receive more than $100 per month as a result of this act.

I do that for the reason that on examination of the national-defense act I find that some noncommissioned officers are receiving as much as $75 a month, and to increase their pay in the same proportion, as is suggested by the amendment for the enlisted men, would result in giving a noncommissioned officer $150 a month. I am not anxious to bring about that result.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In view of the fact that the general Army bill will be brought in a little later, an appropriation bill as well, and in view of the fact that this is not estimated for——

Mr. HUGHES. Just a moment. The Senator is about to make a point of order, I presume?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes.

Mr. HUGHES. I wish he would not make a point of order. I assure him if this amendment is not germane to this particular part of the bill that other parts of the bill have already been passed upon to which it is germane. I think it is a matter of sufficient moment and sufficient importance for us to have a vote upon it. I ask the Senator not to make a point of order, but if he does insist upon making it I shall resort to every parliamentary device I am familiar with to see that we get an opportunity to vote on this question. It is the proper place; it is the proper time; and whether the Senator is going to make a point of order or not I propose to make a statement of the reasons that have moved me in offering the amendment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to the Senator making any sort of statement he desires, but I do not think the Senator ought to object to a valid point of order being made against it. If it were not for the fact that two bills will be here within two or three weeks at the most on which it will be proper to consider this subject I would not make a point of order, but I feel impelled to do it under the circumstances.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President. I do not know whether the Chair has ruled on the point of order I made, but he can do so to-morrow, and I move, Mr. President, with the consent of the Senator from New Jersey——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Before the Senator submits a motion to adjourn, will he permit the Chair to lay before the Senate a bill from the House of Representatives?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.

EXPENSES INCIDENT TO SESSION.

H. R. 122. An act making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title.

Mr. MARTIN. This is a bill that provides for the mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives and for certain other expenses of the House of Representatives. It will not take three minutes to pass it, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, namely:

LEGISLATIVE.

The appropriations for mileage of Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories, and expenses of Resident Commissioners, made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918, are made immediately available and authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, Delegates from the Territories, and Resident Commissioners, for attendance on the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

For stationery for Members and Delegates and Resident Commissioners, at $125 each, for the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, $55,000.

For the following employees during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, but not longer than until and including June 30, 1917, namely:

For 46 pages, including 2 riding pages, 4 telephone pages, 1 press-gallery page, and 10 pages for duty at the entrances to the Hall of the House, at $2.50 per day each; 9 messengers in the post office at the rate of $100 per month each; in all, $13,020, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Now, with the consent of the Senator from New Jersey, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 34 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 11, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *April 10, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We bless Thee, our Father in Heaven, for the great wave of patriotism sweeping our land from center to circumference, which promises victory to our arms in defense of our sacred rights. But we most fervently pray that some event shall intervene to cause the terrible war, with its wide desolation, to cease; that brotherly love may reach the ascendancy, and a rational basis be found upon which all international questions may be amicably adjusted without the force of arms; that Thy kingdom may indeed come, and Thy will be done in earth as it is done in Heaven; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois offers a privileged motion, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 42.

Resolved, That the following-named Representatives be elected members of the Committee on Ways and Means:

JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, of Michigan; AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER, of Massachusetts; J. HAMPTON MOORE, of Pennsylvania; WILLIAM R. GREEN, of Iowa; CHARLES H. SLOAN, of Nebraska; EBENEZER J. HILL, of Connecticut; NICHOLAS LONGWORTH, of Ohio; GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD, of New York; JOHN A. STERLING, of Illinois; WHITMELL P. MARTIN, of Louisiana.

The SPEAKER. Are there any other nominations? If not, the Chair will put the question.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carr, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 383. An act to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, had agreed to the conference asked for by the House, and had appointed Mr. MARTIN, Mr. SHAFROTH, and Mr. WARREN as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. J. Res. 28. Joint resolution authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.

SENATE BILL REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 383. An act to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for the purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXPENSES OF FIRST SESSION OF SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

On motion of Mr. FITZGERALD, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 122) making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes, with Mr. CRISP in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of a bill which the clerk will report.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, namely:

LEGISLATIVE.

The appropriations for mileage of Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories, and expenses of Resident Commissioners, made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918, are made immediately available and authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, Delegates from the Territories, and Resident Commissioners, for attendance on the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

For stationery for Members and Delegates and Resident Commissioners, at $125 each, for the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, $55,000.

For the following employees during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, but not longer than until and including June 30, 1917, namely:

For 46 pages, including 2 riding pages, 4 telephone pages, 1 press-gallery page, and 10 pages for duty at the entrances to the Hall of the House, at $2.50 per day each; 9 messengers in the post office, at the rate of $100 per month each; 3 telephone operators, at the rate of $75 per month each; in all, $13,687.50, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, this bill provides that the mileage appropriated, to be available at the next session of Congress, shall be available immediately for the Members on account of the extra session. It also appropriates money necessary for the stationery allowance of Members of the House, and provides for House pages and for messengers in the post office. Those employees are necessary for the transaction of the business of the House.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman yield a minute to me?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FOSTER. I notice that this resolution provides for the telephone operators until the close of this session. Just before the close of the last Congress these telephone operators were placed upon the roll until November 30, 1917, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House. It seems to me the passage of this bill will make conflicting legislation in reference to this matter.

Mr. FITZGERALD. If there is any duplication, I shall offer an amendment to strike out the provision in the bill.

Mr. FOSTER. If this should pass, would they, then, after the end of this session, be paid out of the contingent fund until November 30?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Is the gentleman promising that we will adjourn before November 30?

Mr. FOSTER. I am not promising anything, but I hope Congress will not be in session until November 30.

Mr. FITZGERALD. An amendment will be offered to take them out of this resolution.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield to me five minutes?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana 10 minutes.

Mr. COX. I do not care for 10 minutes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Then I yield to the gentleman five minutes.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I ask for the reading of the telegram which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read the telegram.

The Clerk read as follows:

Hon. W. E. Cox,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We are having wonderful meetings all over the State for the purpose of conserving and increasing food supplies. Very important farmers should receive fertilizer and seeds of various kinds. They have been embarrassed by long delays in shipments. Would help immensely if Interstate Commerce Commission could be prevailed upon to enter immediate order requiring railroads to card all cars containing fertilizer or seeds—mark them "Rush," and give strict preference to all such shipments. Similar messages to NEW, WOOD, and WATSON.

JAMES P. GOODRICH.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, first of all I want to compliment Indiana's present great governor for the wonderful fight he is making to increase the food supply of the State of Indiana. [Applause.] Through the press of the State I saw what he was doing several days ago and immediately wrote him a letter commending his action and making some suggestions to him. In response to my letter I received the telegram just read. In my opinion, the time will never come when we will be short of men on the firing line. We will get all the men needed, either by voluntary enlistment, conscription, or universal training. The time will never come when the men on the firing line will be short of munitions of war, because we have the ability and facilities in this country for making munitions of war sufficient not only to supply our armies but, if necessary, to supply all the armies of the allies. But munitions of war will not win this victory for us. Two million additional soldiers on the firing line will not assure us a complete victory. Something more must be had and done to assure victory for us in this world-wide war. Napoleon once made a statement, a little rough, but may I be pardoned if I use it again? He said, "Soldiers win victory on their bellies." They have got to be fed. They must be fed and clothed. Where is the food coming from with which to feed them? We are confronted to-day with a serious shortage of food supplies, the most serious shortage of food supplies that ever confronted

our country, even including the darkest and gloomiest days of the Civil War. It is estimated that winter wheat will only produce 430,000,000 bushels this year when the estimate at this time ought to and should show at least 650,000,000 of bushels. It is too early to make a forecast of spring wheat, but as far as that estimate has been made this wheat crop is going to be far short of even what it was last year, much less what it was during the year of 1915. The all-wise and far-penetrating query is, Where is this food coming from? Who is to grow and produce it? It is not only a shortage in our own country but a world-wide shortage.

Nations representing a population of more than 500,000,000 people are now involved in this world-wide war. Millions upon millions of acres of land are untilled, unproductive, and must remain so until the war is finally settled. We are the only Nation on earth that can feed the armies of the allies, and the civilian population of England, France, Italy, Servia, and Roumania, and while we are doing this we are compelled to feed our own contemplated army of at least 2,000,000 people and our own civilian population of 100,000,000 people here at home.

Already the frost has materially injured many of the crops in the extreme South. In large sections of the South the potato crop is only estimated to be 50 per cent of what it ought to be, due to the February and March freezes. This is equally true of many other vegetable crops of the South, such as cabbage, tomatoes, and so forth. We have had three crop failures in succession in this country, barring our "bumper" wheat crop of 1915. Outside of that, for the last three successive years we had had crop failures in this country. Seed is scarce and extremely high. Where is it coming from? I would suggest that the Committee of National Defense begin at once to utilize the national resources in order to mobilize the farmers of the Nation, to stimulate them to greater production.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I ask for five minutes more.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield to the gentleman five more minutes.

Mr. COX. In my country, southern Indiana, which is a splendid farming country, I speak at first hand when I say that the wheat crop in that section of the country will not be 50 per cent of a normal crop. Last year potatoes were practically a total failure, and all through my section of the country we were presented with the startling and amazing spectacle of farmers buying their winter supply of potatoes last fall. This was not the fault of the farmer. He did his duty. He planted the usual crop, put the usual amount of labor upon it, but the drought—failure of rains—prevented him from producing anything like a normal crop. The corn crop of southern Indiana was not over half a crop, and throughout the Nation it was nearly a billion bushels short, due to too much rain early in the spring, preventing the farmers from tilling it, and a drought at the opportune time when corn most needed rain.

Mr. Chairman, instead of devoting millions—yes, billions—of money to buy munitions of war, it looks to me as if it would be the part of wisdom and patriotism to divert a part of this money now being put into the hands of the President, $100,000,000, as a contingent fund; that he use a part of it for the purpose of buying and purchasing seed for the farmers, and to deliver it to them, especially where the farmer does not have seed or money with which to buy it.

This may be criticized as being socialistic, paternalistic, or any other kind of an "ism." I care not what it be called. I care not how others look at it; it is the part of wisdom, and will yield back in the way of increased production of food supplies at least a hundredfold on every dollar we may put into the enterprise.

The Agricultural appropriation bill every year carries about $300,000 to buy vegetable and flower seed for distribution through Members of Congress. That it does some good goes without saying, but here is an opportunity to use a part of the contingent fund in the purchase and distribution of seeds to the farmers that would do an incalculable amount of good, both to the Nation and to the world. The seed time in the extreme South is now practically over. It is now beginning in the North, from southern Indiana to the Great Lakes. In my judgment, if at least $5,000,000 of this fund was devoted to the purchase of seeds, we would treble or quadruple the food supplies of this country in the coming season. But it will take work and effort and money in order to accomplish much good. Are we going to sit idly by, are our executives going to sit idly by, and let the munitions of war gorge the railways, let our railway trains be filled with munitions of war, when these trains are needed so badly, as Gov. Goodrich says in his telegram, to get the seed back to the farmers so they may plant larger crops?

Mr. RANDALL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. RANDALL. What does the gentleman think of the advisability of continuing the use of 600,000,000 bushels of grain in manufacturing alcoholic liquors?

Mr. COX. If I had my way about it, I would close every brewery and distillery in the United States this moment. [Applause.] I would stop the manufacture of all malt and alcoholic liquor in the United States and turn the grain supply into food, because if we do not do it we are going to be confronted in a short time with devastation and starvation stalking broadcast throughout our land.

To-day the farmer is suffering, as no other business interest in the country is suffering, from lack of labor supply. He has been suffering from a lack of labor for many years. The high-priced wages paid to laborers in the city in the last three years has called hundreds of thousands of young men from the farms and put them in the cities, until to-day there is actually not enough labor in the country to man and work the farms. If we are to resort to conscription or compulsory universal military training at once and thereby take from 500,000 to 1,000,000 young men from the country, God help this Nation! To do that means a depletion of country labor worse than it is now; to do that means not to increase but to positively decrease the food supply.

Mr. Chairman, the American farmer can win this war quicker than the American soldier can win it. The American farmer must win it. He and he alone holds the key to the situation. He and he alone can raise the food supplies not only for our Army and our civilian population, but for the armies of the allies and their civilian populations. But if 500,000 young men must be taken from the farms, put into training and drilling, we will throw a burden upon the farmers which will make it impossible for them to do their tasks. They are doing their utmost now. They are straining every nerve. They are working night and day with their families earnestly endeavoring to meet the supreme emergencies thrown upon their shoulders.

To the average person it does not look plausible or reasonable that a condition of starvation will overtake us unless something heroic and drastic is done by lending every aid and every agency which it is possible for Congress to lend, but unless we do it it will come as sure as night follows the day.

If the Interstate Commerce Commission has the power, it should at once direct the railroads to release their cars now loaded with munitions of war in order that these may haul to the farmers of Indiana and all over the Nation seed supplies, of which they are very much in need. I would further suggest that not less than five million of the one hundred million dollars which is to be turned over to the President be used as a part of a fund for the purpose of distributing seed to the farmers. They need it. They will utilize it. They will make it yield manifold interest in return to the American people by increasing their production. [Applause.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN].

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I do not rise to address myself to the bill before the House, but very briefly to another matter. The outburst of patriotism following the action of this Government has been manifest in the flood of resolutions supporting the Government. I have received one resolution which seems so much out of the ordinary as to merit special attention, and I therefore send it to the desk with the request that it be read in my time. These resolutions were adopted by the Grand Army of the Republic Post of Logan, Iowa, composed of soldiers of the Civil War.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas a state of war is now recognized to exist between our beloved country and the German Empire; and

Whereas we believe that the President of the United States has shown the utmost limit of patience in trying to avoid war, and that all our peace overtures have been treated with contempt, our citizens without regard to age, sex, or condition have been ruthlessly murdered, our property destroyed; and

Whereas the German nation has advertised to the world that the same ruthless, barbarous practices will be continued without regard to consequences or the cessation of the friendly relations that have always existed between their country and ours: Therefore be it

Resolved by Fuller Post, No. 38, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Iowa, That in our judgment the time for action has come and that we, as comrades of the said Grand Army of the Republic post, send greeting to all our comrades and to the President of the United States, that we are in hearty support of the administration in whatever measures that may be deemed best to be taken by the President and Congress of the United States to protect the rights of our citizens and prevent further insult to our flag; and be it further

Resolved, That if our country should need what little service we are still able to render we hereby pledge ourselves to a man to make any sacrifice which may be necessary to sustain our country and keep unstained our glorious banner.

SIDNEY PITT, Sr.,
A. S. JEWELL,
C. N. CADWELL,
Committee on Resolutions.

The above preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the said post in regular session at Logan, Iowa, this 3d day of April, 1917.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I now desire to read a part of a letter which accompanied these resolutions, omitting that part which is personal to myself:

PERSIA, IOWA, *April 7, 1917.*

Hon. W. R. GREEN, Representative.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Inclosed please find copy of resolution unanimously adopted by Fuller Post, No. 38, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Iowa, on the 3d instant. * * * It is thought that maybe the Confederate veterans will give expression to like sentiments and thus help to arouse the spirit of patriotism which happily we see manifested in great degree.

You would have been pleased to see the enthusiasm manifested by the old decrepit veterans when this preamble and resolution were read to them in the post. Every eye grew bright with the spirit of all the patriots living and dead since our fathers began to build for freedom, and there was an arising to their feet by all but one, and he had to be brought in in an invalid chair, and each in turn expressed his willingness to go whenever our country calls, though he might have to be drawn in an ambulance and occupy the trenches or give his life for the cause of freedom for a world. And I assure you they meant it. * * *

With sentiments of great respect,
Yours, truly, SIDNEY PITT, Sr.

Mr. Chairman, I have a faint recollection as a child of seeing the soldiers in the war of 1861 drilling on the village square.

I remember still more clearly the time in those dark days when every mail brought a large list of the killed and wounded at the front. When the men who have passed through the trials and dangers of the Civil War, who have offered their lives once to their country, come again to renew their offer, who can fail in his duty? [Applause.]

A MEMBER. Read.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, a Member says "read." In a moment, as far as I am concerned, we will read. I fancy there is no opposition to this bill, and at the present time, so far as this bill is concerned, I have nothing to say except that I think there is no one in the committee, nor will there be when we go into the House, who will object to the enactment of the proposed legislation. There may be legislation to come later where we will all want to talk; I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the bill under the five-minute rule.

The Clerk read as follows:

LEGISLATIVE.

The appropriations for mileage of Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories, and expenses of Resident Commissioners, made in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act for the fiscal year 1918, are made immediately available and authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, Delegates from the Territories, and Resident Commissioners, for attendance on the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, just for the purpose of saying a few words in connection with what the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Cox] has mentioned as to another section of the country, the South. My honest judgment about this situation is that the real serious proposition confronting the Nation to-day is not men for our armies or money to conduct the war, but the most serious and paramount problem confronting the American people this minute is the production of a sufficient amount of foodstuffs to make it possible for our own people who are pursuing industrial activities, running the business of this country, to be fed at a reasonable cost and to supply our own armies, and not to lose sight of the fact that the normal supply of food that has been going to the European trenches must continue to flow at all hazards. Now, the attractive and alluring prices that have been paid in the great industrial centers for the last two years to the ordinary laborer have, I know, taken from the South hundreds of thousands of farm laborers. The farm-labor situation in the South and West is the great question confronting those sections to-day. I do not know what some of you gentlemen are going to do about the legislation that will shortly be presented to this House, upon which we shall be expected to vote our consciences and at least reflect to some degree the patriotic sentiment of the constituencies we represent; but, so far as I am concerned, and I speak only for myself, I am not ready at this hour—though I may be a little later; I do not know what reasons may be presented—to vote to resort to conscription. I might be convinced by the eloquence and logic of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. He may present some good reason to me why in the very first stages of our war with the German nation we should resort to the conscription of the young men of this country without giving them an opportunity to show that they are just as patriotic as their forefathers were. [Applause.]

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HOWARD. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. I see by the papers that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT], the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, is being persuaded now as to what his mind will be in the future; for, if the papers tell the truth, he has promised to introduce the bill by request.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, in that particular matter I expect, at least, to control my own vote. But in the event that we do resort to conscription by a majority vote of this House and of the body at the other end of the Capitol, and we do enact a universal military-training law, I believe that it will be the part of wisdom for this Congress to exempt all young men of the eligible ages who are actually engaged in the production of foodstuffs for a period of at least 12 months or during the present planting and harvesting season. [Applause.]

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be granted five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Alabama be extended for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Georgia fears that conscription might take some of the workers engaged in necessary pursuits, such as agriculture. Does he not realize that the great vice of the voluntary system is that it takes the man who is willing to do something, and usually the man who is engaged in a useful pursuit, and sends him to the front by his own voluntary act and leaves the discard at home?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes; and I will reply to the gentleman——

Mr. BORLAND. Just one moment—and does he not realize that selective conscription can correct the very evil of which the gentleman is speaking, by putting the men in the trenches who ought to defend their country, and leaving those who are useful at home, where the Nation most needs their services?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, Mr. Chairman, I can take an army of 10,000 men who are patriotic enough to bare their breasts to the enemy voluntarily and without force or reward and whip a hundred thousand whom you would have to kick into the trenches. All of the patriotism in this Nation is not dead yet by a long shot. Take, for instance, the Spanish-American War. At that time I had three tent mates. That is, there were four of us in a tent. One of those was a lawyer, one of them was a farmer, another was a blacksmith, and the other fellow was a scalawag. All of them volunteered.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Who was the scalawag?

Mr. HOWARD. Oh, I was not the scalawag. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Pennsylvania seems to think that I was.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Oh, no.

Mr. HOWARD. Getting back to the seriousness of the question. I was talking to a very prominent gentleman yesterday for some length of time upon this very question, and he said the task of getting the labor back into the country that has left it for these alluring prices that are being paid to labor, in order to produce enough food for the normal supply of the Nation and to do our part in sending the foodstuffs to our allies in the trenches in Europe, which we have got to do, is a most serious proposition. It is a proposition to which I hope gentlemen between now and next Thursday, when we will be called upon to act upon some of these questions, will devote at least a part of their busy life.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman would exempt the young men who are actually engaged in the production of foodstuffs, what would he do with those other young men who are engaged in the production of clothing and other necessary war material?

Mr. HOWARD. The whole scheme of mobilization hinges upon this very proposition: If these people who are engaged in producing clothing do not get something to put into their stomachs, they would not be able to produce the clothes for very long.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But without clothing and agricultural implements those engaged in the production of food would be in a bad way.

Mr. HOWARD. The whole fabric of our Nation in this war rests upon having food, and plenty of it, with which to supply our people and our armies in the field, or the whole Nation will forget war and enter into a mad scramble for food. The gentleman can make any sort of an argument he wishes, but——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But the gentleman does not get the purport of my question.

Mr. HOWARD. I know the gentleman's question.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I want to know if the gentleman differentiates between the city boy and the farm boy for this war service.

Mr. HOWARD. No. I would not if it was not absolutely necessary to differentiate, and that is what I am trying to impress on the gentleman now, that it is absolutely essential that we do differentiate in this case, because I know of my own knowledge the straits the people have been put to who are engaged in agricultural pursuits in the South to get enough labor to put their seed in the ground and till the soil.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But the gentleman certainly would not stand for legislation so specialized as to take only the boy from the city——

Mr. HOWARD. But I will——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania (continuing). And exempt the boy in the country?

Mr. HOWARD. Sure I will do that.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Then the gentleman is reversing all traditional conditions; he would shock the patriotic people on the farm.

Mr. HOWARD. The reason I stand for any differentiation, or any partiality, is not because I impute to the boys of the country any lack of patriotism or that they are slackers, but for the purpose of serving this Nation as a Nation, these can perform no greater duty than aiding in the production of food.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman surely does not mean that if there was a majority of Members in this House coming from the farm that they would vote the men of the cities into the trenches and exempt their own constituents?

Mr. HOWARD. No; I do not.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That would be unthinkable.

Mr. HOWARD. If you leave it to these country boys and permit them to enlist, irrespective of the shortage of labor in the country and the existing shortage in foodstuffs, I say to the gentleman that, according to the population of this country outside the great civic centers, you will get three boys physically fit in the country where you will get one boy physically fit in the city, and you will deplete the farms first and leave the Nation in the most precarious condition it has faced for 50 years. I sincerely trust that the Nation will be fully awakened to this situation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I hope that would be——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I shall not at this time have anything to say regarding conscription or as to the handling of any Army program other than to make a practical suggestion that I think the Members of this House can personally help with. I have recently visited the Southwest, the great wheat belt of the country, and I have since corroborated the information I gained there by consulting the departments that make it a business to collect data on crop conditions. The droughts in the Southwest have been so prolonged and so unusual during the winter months that they have cut short to a marked degree the wheat crop of the country. I want to suggest to the Members of Congress here—and I think it will not be a suggestion prompted by egotism—that they each suggest to the various little county and town newspapers that they in turn editorially urge upon their readers the advisability of planting June corn, which is a corn that can be planted late in the season and mature quickly, and will withstand the drought. In addition to that, to plant kaffir corn and milo maize and other drought-resisting crops that will mature in the event of a drought and can be used for food products. I attended a meeting of a county fair in my district at Chickasha, Okla., about three or four years ago, and I found this kaffir corn and maize and drought-resisting crops can be made into good flour, in turn into bread, biscuits, cake, pancakes, and cookies, and you would be surprised to see what good flour the kaffir corn and other drought-resisting crops make. Idle tracts of land throughout the country ought to be planted to such food products. Potatoes, beans, sweet corn, turnips, and all sorts of food products ought to be planted. In this way each one could contribute a little to help feed the world during this conflict. We can all appear here on the floor of Congress and in response to estimates appropriate the public money like drunken sailors. It seems to me we can, in addition to that, do something practical and inexpensive by urging our several constituents—really quoting my friend from Texas Mr. DIES, "Hitch old Beck to the plow," and plow up unusued areas and plant something that really would be of service and be food, not only for our own country, but for the belligerent countries.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FERRIS. If I may be granted two minutes additional. I only rise to express this thought. I do not pretend to know all things about this subject; I do not even expect to take time enough to exploit what I do know, so I do not care to go into any new fields on the subject.

Mr. COX. I do not know very much about it either, but does the gentleman think that plan of getting newspapers to advertise and carry articles calling on the farmers to do these things will do very much good?

Mr. FERRIS. I think so. It can do no harm. The papers are very patriotic, and they will do their part and more, too.

Mr. COX. I beg leave to differ with the gentleman. Let me ask him a further question. Does not the gentleman think that the tangible real thing to do would be for Congress, where the people have not got money to buy seed with, to appropriate the money and turn it over to the Agricultural Department, or some other agency, to buy that seed and turn it over to the farmers?

Mr. FERRIS. I have only a minute and do not care to further take up the time of the House; but I think that probably would be very well, but Congress will, in all probability, never do that. For myself I do not feel free to indulge them in something that they in all probability can not realize upon. The good prices we are receiving for products, plus some common-sense suggestions and helpful instruction, will, I think, be something we can really do.

Mr. COX. It does it now to the extent of $295,000 a year.

Mr. FERRIS. Yes; for garden seeds, but they are already distributed. That is over now. No more on hand for this year.

Mr. DIXON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FERRIS. If I can have a couple of minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has two minutes remaining.

Mr. DIXON. I want to suggest to the gentleman, in the State of Indiana last Saturday, and in every county seat of that State, the farmers got together and considered the very question the gentleman now suggests.

Mr. FERRIS. I congratulate both the gentleman and his State, because other sections have not been as patriotic and alert to the situation as Indiana, and the reason I took up the time of the House at this moment was to make this suggestion and try to excite a little enthusiasm on their part in other sections.

Now, farmers ought to know more and really do know more about farming than do the newspapers or Members of Congress, but encouragement from the Members of Congress to get newspapers to run articles urging that farmers plant things that will grow and that will resist drought will do some good. It will really be beneficial to the farmers and will contribute materially to the food supply of the world.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield? Is it the custom of the farmers in the gentleman's part of the country, where they have plenty of land, to let the land lie idle? Do they not grow what they can on the farm?

Mr. FERRIS. It is true in my State and true in the gentleman's State. There is enough of land lying idle and growing up in Jimson weed and ragweed to-day to grow enough of products to feed the world.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. The farmers have to pay taxes, and it is to their interest to grow all that they can. The gentleman raises June corn. Up in Michigan we put corn in in May.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, I was up in the gentleman's State not very long ago and met many delightful people, friends of the gentleman, but I saw a great deal of idle land there. It is true everywhere. People are wasteful in land, as in everything else. My State is no exception to the rule.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. The gentleman was there in the wintertime.

Mr. FERRIS. The wintertime did not obstruct my vision as to what was going on. And it would do the gentleman good if he himself would plant something in his own State, the same as the rest of us.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For 46 pages, including 2 riding pages, 4 telephone pages, 1 press gallery page, and 10 pages for duty at the entrances to the Hall of the House, at $2.50 per day each; 9 messengers in the post office at the rate of $100 per month each; 3 telephone operators at the rate of $75 per month each; in all, $13,687.50, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], the chairman of the committee, is recognized. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] later.

The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. FITZGERALD: Page 2, lines 14 and 15, strike out on line 14 all after the word "each," and on line 15 to and including the word "each," and on line 15 the figures "$13,687.50" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "$13,020."

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, the House adopted House resolution 490, which provides for three telephone operators from March 31 to November 30, 1917, out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, that was an authorization, of course. Under the law it is doubtful whether the payment is legal, though I presume the Committee on Accounts will pay it, as it has heretofore. But it has been customary where such a resolution was passed to pay out of the contingent fund to include it in the appropriation bill. Why should it not be included here?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is true where the resolution provides that the payment is to be out of the contingent fund until otherwise provided by law. That latter portion is not in this House resolution, and to continue these three operators in this bill would be to provide for six telephone operators.

Mr. MANN. I am not so sure about that. What was the form of the resolution? Does it provide for three additional telephone operators or provide for an increase in compensation of $100 per month instead of $75?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It provides that the three telephone operators now authorized to be employed from December 1, 1916, to March 31, 1917, will continue to be employed during the period between March 31, with the amendment, to November 30, 1917, and paid out of the contingent fund of the House at the rate of $75 a month. That is the form in which the resolution is. If this provision be carried in the bill before us, it will provide in effect for six telephone operators.

Mr. MANN. I should not think so.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I think it would, because the customary form of resolution providing for payment out of the contingent fund provides that the payment shall be out of the contingent fund until otherwise provided by law, and as soon as the law provides for the payment all authority to pay out of the contingent fund ceases. That would not be the case under House resolution 490 of last Congress.

Mr. MANN. Of course, the purpose of the resolution passed by the House in the last Congress practically was to make these three telephone operators annual employees instead of session employees. Now, wherever that has been done in the past they have been carried in the appropriation act on the theory that payment out of the contingent fund was practically an authorization. There was no provision made by law that they would be paid out of the contingent fund, but if there is a provision made in the appropriation act, then they are paid out of that instead of out of the contingent fund, and it would be very easy to cover that in this bill.

Mr. FITZGERALD. These operators are provided for until the 1st of December this year in the legislative bill.

Mr. MANN. The operators are now provided for as session employees under the appropriation act, as they have been in the past. The purpose of the House in passing that resolution was to put them on the permanent annual pay roll. While I was not very enthusiastically in favor of the resolution——

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman changed his mind on it.

Mr. MANN. I did not change my mind, although I did not finally make objection. It would not have done any good if I had, probably. I did not feel authorized to raise the point of no quorum at that stage in the proceedings. But the House having indicated its purpose, why do we not follow that purpose now instead of later?

Mr. FITZGERALD. This bill provides for these employees from now until the 30th of June. That is the customary way. It is for employees who are not provided for in any other way. These operators are provided for out of the contingent fund, and it was thought better to let them stay there.

Mr. MANN. I notice these employees are provided for until the 30th of June. Permit me to ask whether the pages and other employees named in this paragraph are the same who have been in the service of the House up to the 31st of March?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, I do not know.

Mr. MANN. How do they happen to come into the bill, if the gentleman does not know? I do not mean the same individuals.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is the same number, the same force—the identical force.

Mr. MANN. We passed some provision by resolution, I think, for messengers in the post office for the vacation. Is this in addition to those, or is it for the payment of the same messengers?

Mr. FITZGERALD. We provided for half of them in the House post office. This is for the balance of them. There are 18 messengers in the post office of the House. We provided by resolution, according to my recollection, for nine of them during the recess. This carries the other nine.

Mr. MANN. We had a resolution before the House—I do not remember whether it passed—increasing the number of messengers in the post office during the vacation.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. That failed, according to my recollection.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The general deficiency bill carries nine during the recess, and this provides for the other nine.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And the general deficiency bill failed, as the gentleman knows.

Mr. MANN. Yes; the general deficiency bill failed, but it will soon be a law.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not know what is in it now.

Mr. MANN. The same things are in it now as were in it before. The general deficiency bill takes care of some of the messengers in the House. I notice this bill provides the amounts necessary to carry the service up to the 30th day of June. Now, supposing Congress is in session after the 30th of June——

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is the custom. We provide only for the balance of the present fiscal year, and if the session extends over we can take care of them in the next fiscal year by separate resolution.

Mr. MANN. Then that would require further action.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I hoped that the gentleman would say that there is no apparent need of providing for the employees beyond the 30th of June, because Congress would have completed its legislative business and dissolved and gone home—or enlisted in the Army—as I supposed quite a number intend to do who have been so actively urging war. [Laughter.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. I hope the combination of enlistment and going home will result in Congress being dissolved by the 30th of June. I should like the gentleman to take either course he pleases. [Laughter.]

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask if the gentleman has heard of any enlistments by Members of Congress yet?

Mr. MANN. There has been no opportunity afforded yet.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; I have not heard of any as yet; but——

Mr. BURNETT. I was wondering.

Mr. MANN. We have provided no opportunity for enlistments. May I ask the gentleman from New York, or any other gentleman on the majority side of the House—and I say "majority" with a question mark after it [laughter], though you claim to be the majority and have been so far—is it the expectation of the so-called majority to engage in general legislation at this session of Congress, or to confine the legislation to matters relating to or growing out of the war?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." [Laughter.]

Mr. MANN. Oh, no. We like to know the evil in advance of its coming.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, I do not see any of the so-called bosses——

Mr. CANNON. Highbinders, white-button mandarins [laughter]——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Any of the so-called bosses giving any intimation as to that. Although the gentleman from Illinois may be able to speak with authority for the other side, that is not the case on this side.

Mr. MANN. Personally, if I were able to speak for everybody on this side of the House—and I am not—I would be glad, if I had the opportunity, to say that when Congress got through with the emergency legislation it would adjourn. [Applause.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, it all depends upon what the happiness, prosperity, and security of the American people will require. Whatever legislation is needed, either for the public defense or the happiness of the people, will be enacted here, whether it be under the guise of general legislation or any other

kind of legislation. The gentleman and the country may feel assured that that will be the policy rigorously followed. [Applause.]

Mr. MANN. I am inclined to think that instead of the question of Congress remaining in session being dependent at all upon the happiness and the good of the people it will depend upon what orders gentlemen get on the other side of the House from the White House. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD].

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I want to say just a word. I have listened with interest to the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Cox] and also to the remarks of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD] and of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS] on matters not germane to this bill. I want to say that I am heartily in accord with the idea of a large crop. I trust the Lord will send the rain, and that if there is an absence of rain we will substitute throughout the country the crops that do not need so much rain. But I believe the cotton season and the rice season and the wheat season—fall wheat—has about passed in the cotton and rice and spring wheat country. I am not quite sure, but I think the seeding is being done now.

If we would appropriate later or divert appropriations for the purchase of seeds and all that kind of thing I do not see that the money could be utilized for this year's crop. I would not refer to it except that I indorse all that was said by the gentleman from Oklahoma in behalf of publicity. I think the newspapers will give publicity to the farmers throughout the country who realize the necessity for the extraordinary production of all farm products during the coming season. Now, if $2 wheat and corn at $1.05 and $1.10 and 15-cent hogs and cattle, and ditto sheep, mutton, poultry, cotton, and rice, and so forth, and the high price of potatoes, the high price of everything, does not stimulate the farmer throughout the country, I do not know what will stimulate him. [Laughter.]

I indorse all that was said about the governor of Indiana. I live 6 miles from the Indiana line. I could not vote for him. If I had been 6 miles farther east I should have done so. I think all our governors, North and South, are doing their duty as best they can. I think the whole citizenship is doing its duty. The only reason why I took the floor for a minute was that I did not want the idea to get into the country that we are undertaking to relieve, even if it were not too late, the want of seed by Government appropriation. It is a vain thing. It can not be done for this season. I think that those who have not the seed can command the wherewith to get the seed from their neighbors, from their local capitalists, and fellow farmers, bankers, and so forth. I do not want anybody to fail in the practical getting of the necessary seed on account of the idea that they can fall back upon the Treasury and have the impossible accomplished from the Treasury at the beginning of the crop season, which is behind us in most of the country and will be behind us before the Government could act.

Mr. LEE of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a resolution passed by the Rockmart Camp of the Modern Woodmen of America.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing the resolution to which he refers. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution is as follows:

A resolution offered by Mr. I. F. Mundy and unanimously passed by the Rockmart Camp of the Modern Woodmen of America:

"Whereas the Congress of the United States, of which the Hon. GORDON LEE is a Member, has passed a resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial Government of Germany; and

"Whereas the Hon. GORDON LEE, Congressman from the seventh district of Georgia, and the Hon. HOKE SMITH and the Hon. THOMAS W. HARDWICK, United States Senators from Georgia, together with the other Congressmen supported and voted for said resolution; and

"Whereas it is the sense of this body that our Representatives have acted wisely and patriotically in supporting the views and policies of our President in defending our national honor: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Rockmart Camp of the Modern Woodmen of America, That we do hereby pledge our undivided support to our National Government in the defense of our honor and integrity at home and upon the high seas, and that we commend our Congressmen and Senators for their hearty support in the impending crisis."

The foregoing resolution was unanimously adopted by said camp this the 5th day of April, 1917.

C. T. BURNETT, *Venerable Consul.*
J. C. SIMPSON, *Secretary.*

Mr. BRAND. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a resolution passed by the faculty of the oldest established State university in America, the University of Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The resolution is as follows:

Resolved—

First. The Universitiy of Georgia, the first established of the State universities of America, throughout its history has consistently stood for the Christian virtues of peace on earth and good will toward men.

For a century and a quarter it has consistently, so far as its teachings and its influence might avail, upheld the sanctity of law and mutual respect and fair dealing among men.

Founded by patriots just emerged from the historic conflict by which our great Republic was established, it has as consistently endeavored to promote that love of freedom, truth, and justice which is the invaluable heritage of the American people.

Whilst eagerly desiring the blessings of peace within the borders of the Commonwealth and in the world at large, it has not scrupled to place larger emphasis on honor, truth, and righteousness.

At this present time of stress, when the liberties of the people seem threatened, when the honor of the Nation is at stake, when righteous dealing among the nations seems imperiled, the university, through its faculties, hereby offers to the State and to the Nation its loyal, patriotic, and unstinted services for whatsoever it may be able or be called upon to do.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the governor of the State, the President of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from Georgia in the Congress of the United States.

Third. That a copy be sent to each member of the board of trustees.

These resolutions were offered for adoption by the senior member of the faculties, the president of the Georgia Peace Society.

W. D. HOOPER, *Secretary.*

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill favorably to the House.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CRISP, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 122) making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes, and had directed him to report the same back to the House with an amendment, with the recommendation that the amendment be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and amendment to the final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was accordingly read the third time and passed.

On motion of Mr. FITZGERALD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of the special orders, I may have the privilege of addressing the House for one hour.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks that to-morrow, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, he be permitted to address the House for not to exceed one hour. Of course, this is not to be in the way of appropriation bills or anything of that sort. Is there objection?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Reserving the right to object, on what subject?

Mr. BORLAND. On the subject of universal service.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I object.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 28) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 9 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 11, 1917, at 12 o'clock noon.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 2574) authorizing the Secretary of War to offer a prize for a device or plan to protect our coasts against attack by sea; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DILL: A bill (H. R. 2575) declaring the Okanogan River to be a nonnavigable stream; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2576) to make public all income-tax returns of persons who pay an income tax to the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COOPER of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 2577) to amend the act of Congress approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stats.); to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2578) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Princeton, in the State of West Virginia; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2579) authorizing the Secretary of War to purchase and distribute United States flags to public schools in each congressional district, State, and Territory of the United States and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. FLOOD: A bill (H. R. 2580) providing for the erection of a public building in the city of Staunton, Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2581) to provide for the issuance of search warrants and the seizure and detention of property thereunder, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2582) to prevent and punish conspiracy to injure or destroy property situated within and belonging to a foreign Government with which the United States are at peace, or of any subdivision or municipality thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2583) to restrict aliens other than diplomatic or consular officers or attachés from acting in the United States as the agent of a foreign Government without prior notification to and consent of the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2584) to authorize the President to employ the land and naval forces of the United States to enforce compliance with its obligations relating to neutrality; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2585) to prohibit and punish the willful making of untrue statements under oath to influence the acts or conduct of a foreign Government, or to defeat any measure of the Government of the United States in a dispute or controversy with any foreign nation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2586) to amend section 13 of the act "to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2587) to prevent and punish the impersonation of officials of foreign Governments duly accredited to the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2588) to authorize the collector of customs, or other officers duly empowered by the President, during time of war between foreign nations, to inspect private vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States for the purpose of detecting any use or attempted use of such vessel in violation of the law of nations or of the treaties or statute law of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2589) to regulate and restrain the conduct and movements of interned soldiers and sailors of belligerent nations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2590) to empower the President to better enforce and maintain the neutrality of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2591) to require sworn statements, in addition to the manifests and clearances required by existing law, by masters of all vessels leaving the jurisdiction of the United States, and by all owners and shippers of cargoes thereon, during a war in which the United States are a neutral nation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2592) to regulate and safeguard the issuance of passports and to prevent and punish the fraudulent obtaining, transfer, use, alteration, or forgery thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2593) to authorize the seizure, detention, and condemnation of arms and munitions of war in course of exportation or designed to be exported or used in violation of the laws of the United States, together with the vessels or vehicles in which the same are contained; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2594) for the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River above the Falls, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2595) to provide for the rental of premises in foreign countries for the use of the diplomatic establishments of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 2596) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Oregon City, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2597) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Grants Pass, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2598) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Corvallis, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2599) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Ashland, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2600) to authorize the establishment of auxiliary or field fish-cultural stations on the Columbia River, in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. RUBEY: A bill (H. R. 2601) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license establishments for and to regulate the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GOOD: A bill (H. R. 2602) increasing the pay of certain enlisted men in the military and naval service of the United States during the continuance of the war with Germany, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 2603) conferring jurisdiction of the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2604) to adjust and settle the claims of the loyal Shawnee, loyal Cherokee Shawnee, and loyal Absentee Shawnee, and Delaware Tribes of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BLACKMON: A bill (H. R. 2605) to require and authorize payment of Government employees same salary now received by them for a period of one year who are bona fide members of the National Guard, provided that such members of the National Guard do service as now required by law; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2606) for the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2607) to make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2608) to repeal an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy and all amendments thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 2609) to save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MASON: A bill (H. R. 2610) to regulate the sale of bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 2611) to establish engineering experiment stations in the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia in connection with State-supported universities or engineering schools for the promotion of engineering and industrial research; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. FLOOD: A bill (H. R. 2612) to give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds concluded at Washington, August 16, 1916, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2613) for the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. George Rogers Clark; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 2614) to amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 2615) to dissolve the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. HARDY: A bill (H. R. 2616) to amend the act of March 3, 1913, entitled "An act to regulate the officering and manning of vessels subject to the inspection laws of the United States"; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HADLEY: A bill (H. R. 2617) to ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over the waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2618) to provide for the giving of notice of suits and proceedings in courts of the United States affecting the title to real property; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PARK: Resolution (H. Res. 43) authorizing the appointment of an attendant for the ladies' reception room of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 44) authorizing clerks to certain committees of the House; to the Committee on Accounts.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 45) authorizing clerks and assistant clerks to certain committees of the House; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. RAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the establishment by the Government of the United States of a national park at Pinnacles National Monument; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, favoring universal military and naval training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 2619) granting a pension to Charles W. Sasser; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2620) granting an increase of pension to George M. Burns; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2621) granting an increase of pension to Ezra J. Potter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2622) granting an increase of pension to Michael Young; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2623) granting an increase of pension to Eliza Oldham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2624) granting an increase of pension to William W. O'Bannon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2625) granting an increase of pension to Della Amspaugh; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2626) granting an increase of pension to George W. M. Culb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2627) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Shocker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 2628) granting a pension to Ellen Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLACKMON: A bill (H. R. 2629) granting a pension to Deborah Harrison; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2630) granting a pension to Flora A. Powers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2631) granting a pension to James Harrison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2632) to authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2633) for the relief of John T. Melvin; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2634) to authorize the reinstatement of entry and issuance of patent to certain land in Alabama to William J. Whitworth; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2635) to authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2636) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Force; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CALDWELL: A bill (H. R. 2637) granting an increase of pension to Charlotte Letts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 2638) granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Stephens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLAYPOOL: A bill (H. R. 2639) granting an increase of pension to Austin P. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2640) granting an increase of pension to George W. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2641) granting an increase of pension to John Devine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DALE of Vermont: A bill (H. R. 2642) granting a pension to Lucina Grigwire; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 2643) granting an increase of pension to Amanda E. Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2644) granting an increase of pension to Theodore Wilkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FLOOD: A bill (H. R. 2645) granting a pension to George A. Dold; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2646) granting a pension to Luther M. Southall; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2647) granting a pension to Myers Fertig; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2648) granting a pension to Tucker McG. Simmons; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2649) granting a pension to Walter English; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2650) granting a pension to Mrs. Emma K. Brockman, widow of John Brockman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2651) granting a pension to Mary W. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2652) granting a pension to Columbus W. Bryan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2653) granting an increase of pension to Braden E. Fox; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2654) for the relief of Sarah E. Edmondson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2655) for the relief of Virgil A. Fitzgerald; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2656) for the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas, Winn & Holman; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2657) for the relief of the heirs at law of James I. A. Trotter, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2658) for the relief of the heirs at law of James I. A. Trotter, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2659) for the relief of Mrs. Mie Uratake; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2660) granting permission to Lieut. Col. William E. Horton, United States Army, to accept and wear a decoration tendered him by the President of the French Republic; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2661) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William H. Harlow, alias John Deen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2662) for the relief of N. B. Woods; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2663) for the relief of J. Terry Dillard; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2664) for the relief of Columbus W. Bryan; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2665) for the relief of Moses Gwin, sr.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2666) for the relief of the estate of John Anderson, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2667) for the relief of the estate of Robert J. Hope, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2668) for the relief of the estate of Peter Sheets, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2669) for the relief of the heirs of John H. Caldwell, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 2670) granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Tucker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOOD: A bill (H. R. 2671) granting an increase of pension to Divinna Rucker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 2672) granting an increase of pension to Joseph L. Killgore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HADLEY: A bill (H. R. 2673) granting a pension to W. W. Batterton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2674) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2675) for the relief of Emma Pierce; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAWLEY: A bill (H. R. 2676) granting a pension to Mary F. Robinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2677) granting a pension to William Bell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2678) granting a pension to Albert O. Dunning; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2679) granting a pension to Jennie C. Rogers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2680) granting a pension to K. Shannon Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2681) granting a pension to Mary E. Hazelrigg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2682) granting a pension to James O. Singleton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2683) granting an increase of pension to George Van Nortwick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2684) granting an increase of pension to Morris Lincoln; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2685) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2686) granting an increase of pension to M. L. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2687) granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Dority; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2688) granting an increase of pension to Charity Isabelle Beeson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2689) granting an increase of pension to De Witt C. Helpman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2690) to reimburse Mary E. Myers, widow of Joseph Myers, deceased, for loss of personal property sustained in depredations of Indians on the Snake River, Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2691) for the relief of the legal representatives of Sydney W. Moss; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2692) for the relief of the legal representatives of Joseph R. Payne; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2693) for the relief of William A. Frater; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2694) for the relief of Orville T. Perkins; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2695) for the relief of George W. Peters; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2696) for the relief of Jonathan J. Totten; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2697) for the relief of Henry N. Penfield; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2698) for the relief of the estate of Andrew Rader, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2699) for the relief of Louis Southworth; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2700) for the relief of Amos Dahuff; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2701) to reimburse Simon Caro; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2702) for the relief of W. R. Wells, administrator of the estate of James S. Wells, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2703) for the relief of Willis Alden; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 2704) granting a pension to James J. Huff; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2705) granting a pension to Charles F. Russell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2706) granting a pension to Dick Parker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2707) granting a pension to Anderson M. Beck; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2708) granting an increase of pension to Kittie D. Grissey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2709) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Weston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2710) granting an increase of pension to Richard M. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2711) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Peirce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2712) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Schillinger; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2713) granting an increase of pension to Jewel H. Walker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2714) for the relief of David T. Howard; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2715) for the relief of Morgan Felton Slate; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2716) for the relief of R. M. Blount; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2717) for the relief of Don R. Wynne; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2718) for the relief of Mrs. Lizzie McGinnis; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2719) for the relief of the legal representatives of Henry D. Geddings; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HUDDLESTON: A bill (H. R. 2720) granting a pension to James E. Norman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKENZIE: A bill (H. R. 2721) granting an increase of pension to Henry Allison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2722) granting an increase of pension to James B. Taylor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2723) granting an increase of pension to William H. Banker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2724) granting an increase of pension to Emma F. Raymond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2725) granting an increase of pension to William Vincent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2726) granting an increase of pension to Hugh S. Stanley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2727) granting an increase of pension to Samuel L. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2728) granting an increase of pension to Henry King; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2729) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. A. Reynolds; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAGEE: A bill (H. R. 2730) for the promotion and retirement of Col. David L. Brainard, Quartermaster Corps, United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 2731) granting a pension to John E. Crum; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2732) granting a pension to Gilbert R. Gardner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWIFT: A bill (H. R. 2733) granting a pension to William Butler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 2734) for the relief of John I. Brown & Son; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 2735) granting a pension to George W. Turner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2736) granting a pension to Anna Sorrells; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2737) granting a pension to Zachariah Kizer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2738) granting a pension to Mary L. Darby and minor children; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2739) granting a pension to Mrs. A. M. Hughes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2740) granting an increase of pension to James J. Short; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2741) granting an increase of pension to Robert C. Abel; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2742) granting an increase of pension to John G. Hunter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2743) for the relief of Benjamin F. Reams; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2744) for the relief of Wesley Maynor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2745) for the relief of John Davis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2746) for the relief of Silas Shepherd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2747) for the relief of James M. Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2748) for the relief of James M. Wright; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 2749) granting a pension to Josephine Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2750) granting a pension to Victor Allen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2751) granting a pension to William M. Largent; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2752) granting a pension to Sarah E. Robertson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2753) granting an increase of pension to Daniel E. Fairchild; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2754) granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Parshall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2755) granting an increase of pension to Snowden B. Gookins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2756) granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Swick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 2757) granting a pension to Ida D. Campbell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2758) granting a pension to Harvey M. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2759) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2760) granting an increase of pension to John Price Hickel; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2761) granting an increase of pension to Jacob Conkle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of mass meeting of American citizens at Carnegie Hall, New York, in re Irish liberty; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of William B. Cushing Camp, No. 30, Division of Maryland, Sons of Veterans, United States Army, indorsing action taken by the President relative to German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial adopted at a mass meeting at Tampa, Fla., pledging support to the President and Congress in the war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Rotary Club of Albany (Inc.), Albany, N. Y., indorsing the action of the President in the German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Irish Nationalists of Buffalo, pledging loyalty and support to this Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of board of trustees of the German Liederkranz of New York City, pledging loyal support to the President and the Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of the board of trustees of the Congregation Shearith Israel, New York City, pledging support and loyalty to the President and Congress in the national emergency; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Industrial Club of Covington, Ky., indorsing the action of the President and Congress relative to the German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of United States Brewers' Association, pledging to support the President in any measures he may take in behalf of this country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BACHARACH: Memorial of Board of Chosen Freeholders of Burlington County, N. J., assuring its loyal support to the President in the war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry church organizations of New Jersey, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BACON: Memorials passed by the Michigan Academy of Science, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNING: Petition of Salem (N. J.) Board of Education and Salem (N. J.) Board of Chosen Freeholders, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial adopted by the Business Men's National Service League, relative to the establishment of a Federal rifle range in northern New Jersey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, pledging support to the President and Congress in every measure they may take to uphold the independence of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by a meeting of 1,500 citizens of Melrose, Mass., pledging themselves to the defense of freedom for our citizens on land and sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, pledging support to the President and Congress in every measure they may take to uphold the independence of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the citizens of Needham, Mass., commending the President for the action taken in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of Fitchburg, Mass., expressing approval of the President in his recommendations, etc., in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Memorial of Trenton (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce, in re method of raising revenue for war purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JACOWAY: Petition of sundry citizens of Little Rock, Ark., protesting against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROGERS: Petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of Chamber of Commerce of New York State, relative to raw-material supplies after the war; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of New York State, relative to treaty relations and bargaining tariffs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of New York State, relative to conservation of tonnage for American foreign trade; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of New York State, relative to relations between the United States and Russia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of New York State, relative to Federal control of military forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of Chamber of Commerce of New York State, relative to declaration and pledge of service in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition signed by David V. Perrine and other citizens of Freehold, N. J., favoring universal compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Trenton Chamber of Commerce, protesting against an increased and excessive taxation upon our industries, etc.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNELL: Petition of Presbyterian Church of De Kalb Junction, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., signed by Allan A. Bowering, favoring national constitutional prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Epworth League, De Kalb Junction, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., signed by James Carson, president, favoring national constitutional prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Presbyterian Sunday School, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., through R. E. Piercy, superintendent, favoring national constitutional prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Woman's Christian Temperance Union of St. Lawrence County, N. Y., through Mrs. Martha Hardy, favoring national constitutional prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church of De Kalb, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., signed S. G. Carley, president, favoring national constitutional prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SNOOK: Memorial adopted by the Lumberman's Club of Cincinnati, Ohio, relating to the designation, construction, and maintenance of a system of national highways; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of Fitchburg (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, in re foreign situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WELTY: Memorial of C. J. Huffman and A. B. Yoder, protesting against compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Swiss Mennonite Congregation of Bluffton, Ohio, asking that they be exempt from military duty because their creed forbids members to bear arms; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOODYARD: Memorial adopted at a meeting of the citizens of St. Marys, W. Va., indorsing the recommendation of the President and pledging support in bringing the war to a successful and speedy conclusion; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *April 11, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, at this time of trial we feel the need as never before of Divine guidance and blessing. We look to Thee for Thy blessing upon us as we face the responsibilities of this day. After we have done all that human wisdom and prudence can do to preserve our peace and our liberty there yet remains the need of the touch of God to make vital and efficient the agencies that are at our command. We pray that there may be the consciousness of the Divine presence with us to-day and always. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

RAILROADS IN ALASKA (S. DOC. NO. 8).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary of the Interior submitting an estimate for the authorization of expenditures not exceeding $1,800 from appropriations made for the construction and operation of railroads of Alaska, etc., which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

TONNAGE TAX UPON TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication, which will be read and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The communication was read and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

THE STATE SAVINGS & TRUST CO.,
Indianapolis, April 9, 1917.

Hon. THOMAS R. MARSHALL,
Vice President United States, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR GOVERNOR: I have been reading with considerable interest the various methods suggested for raising by taxation the money needed to carry out our plans for preparation and defense, and unless it has already been considered would like to suggest the following:

Taxation is least offensive that is paid indirectly; in other words, a tax levied upon any article which is added to its cost is not objectionable because the buyer is unconscious of this when he purchases and pays the tax. Therefore any form of taxation that is of this indirect character would meet, it seems to me, few objections.

The tax that I am suggesting is a tonnage tax upon transportation companies; the only data that I have is up to 1913. At that time the gross tonnage hauled by the railroad was 1,144,840,303 tons; a tax of only 20 cents a ton would raise about $230,000,000. The railroads have so increased their tonnage this last year that I believe you could safely say that it would equal 1,400,000,000; added to this the lake and ocean transportation, for which I have no data, at 20 cents would raise about $350,000,000. But it would be more or less unfair to make a flat tonnage tax, because there is quite a difference in rates according to the classification list, and the tax should be based upon this rate classification.

Grain, the products of the mines, and timber represents the lowest class or about 80 per cent of all tonnage shipments, these being sixth class or special, and should therefore receive a low tax. Merchandise, manufactured goods, and live stock with the rest of the unclassified list represents the other 20 per cent, and could very safely bear higher tax.

It would seem to me that this could be worked out in detail so at least four or five hundred million of revenue could be raised and the burden so distributed among the people of the United States that no one would feel it painfully.

Further than this, this tax would be upon the activities of the country and these activities mean profits. Every shipment means a profit to some one, or the many interested in the channels through which they go, and therefore they are better able to pay this tax, although I presume the consumer will eventually have the bill to pay.

With kind regards, I am,
Yours, truly, E. H. WOLCOTT.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by E. T. Taylor, jr., one of its clerks, returned to the Senate, in compliance with its request, the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 28) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and Senate and House Office Buildings.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 122) making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. LODGE. I present a resolution of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1917.

Resolutions in favor of a uniform eight-hour labor law.

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled favor the adoption of such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will enable Congress to enact a uniform eight-hour law, and urge Congress to propose such an amendment and submit the same to the several states for ratification.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth.

In senate, adopted March 30, 1917.
In house of representatives, adopted, in concurrence, April 4, 1917.
A true copy. Attest:

ALBERT P. LANGTRY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Mr. LODGE. I present a certain resolution adopted by the town of Northfield, Mass., pledging support to the Government in the prosecution of the war with Germany, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NORTHFIELD, MASS., *April 10, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of the town of Northfield, Mass., assembled in a patriotic meeting in their town hall on this the 7th day of April beg to express to you our loyalty as citizens in the following resolution:

"Whereas the President and Congress have declared that a state of war exists between the United States and the German Empire, and have thus summoned the citizens of the world's greatest democracy to take their stand by the side of the defenders of free institutions against the hostile forces of autocracy and are asking from every American community, large and small, its contribution to the national cause in men, money, and resources: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of Northfield, Mass., mindful and proud of the military and patriotic services of their fellow citizens in days gone by and eager to serve their country in the hour of need in such ways as an agricultural community may do, hereby pledge the land, labor, and the resources in men and money of this town to the President of the United States in his effort to uphold the honor and maintain the security of our country.

BENJAMIN F. FIELD,
FRANK L. DULEY,
A. F. D. ROSCOE,
H. PHILBRICK,
Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. LODGE. I present resolutions adopted by the wool dealers in Boston, Mass., pledging their support to the Government, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Boston, the largest wool market in the world, had a special meeting to-day, and its members, with ardent patriotism, turned out en masse, and without waiting for any appeal from the United States Government unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"Whereas the extraordinary emergency now confronting this country requires each and every one of us to do his part, not only in loyally and patriotically supporting the President and the National Government, but also to render such assistance as is possible in other ways; and

"Whereas the clothing of an enlarged Army and Navy will require large quantities of wool, we recognize the necessity of placing all available stocks of wool at the disposal of the Government for its needs: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*—

"First. That the members of the wool trade of Boston will neither buy nor sell any wool now in this country or in transit thereto until further notice from the committee appointed by this meeting;

"Second. That each will furnish a true inventory of all wool, wool tops, and noils owned or controlled on April 3 to said committee;

"Third. That the entire stock of wool, wool tops, and noils shall be offered to the United States Government at values current on April 2; and

"Fourth. That a committee of five, consisting of Jacob F. Brown, William E. Jones, Albert W. Elliott, William R. Cordingley, and John Wilcock, be chosen to handle all matters in connection with these resolutions and to cooperate with the proper authorities appointed to deal with the raw-wool supply."

F. NATHANIEL PERKINS,
Secretary.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have resolutions adopted by the Commercial Club and Chamber of Commerce, Tacoma, Wash., urging a gift by the Government of $1,000,000,000 to the Government of France. The meeting at which the resolutions were adopted, I am informed, was attended by 600 members of the club. I ask that the resolutions be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the people of the Republic of France, one of the great civilized nations of the world, are now engaged in the throes of a mighty conflict involving her very existence as a nation and the perpetuation of her republican form of government; and

Whereas we, the members of the Tacoma Commercial Club and Chamber of Commerce of the city of Tacoma, State of Washington, believe that the minds and hearts of our fellow countrymen swell with gratitude when we remember the Revolutionary struggle of our forefathers and the voluntary aid and encouragement rendered and extended to us in our day of need by the people of France: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That as an expression of our gratitude and appreciation and the warm friendship now existing between the two nations, we do hereby recommend that our Government, with as little delay as possible, proceed to provide by an issue of bonds or otherwise the sum of $1,000,000,000, this money to be presented to the Government of France as a gift from the people of the United States of America for the cause of liberty, "that a government of, by, and for the people may not perish"; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our Representatives in Congress, together with a request that immediate necessary action be taken to accomplish the purposes herein suggested.

Submitted by "The Tacome Home Guard."

APRIL 3, 1917.

Mr. CURTIS. I ask to have the telegram I send to the desk read by the Secretary, as it is from a man very active in military affairs in our State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 10, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Why is Kansas prevented from organizing guard units provided by defense act? Thousands actually clamoring to enlist; our quota efficiently officered can be enlisted in few days; our young men anxious to join guard for the war, but object to the Regulars; they want in Kansas organizations.

ALEX A. SHARP.

Mr. CURTIS. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a number of petitions and telegrams, but I do not care to have all the names printed.

There being no objection, the petitions and telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 10, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of Topeka, Kans., April 10:

"Whereas the Government of the United States has declared that a state of war exists, a war not of our own choosing, but rendered necessary by the arrogant, illegal, and inhuman course of the Imperial German Government; and

"Whereas it is imperative that this country prepare to defend itself and to protect its citizens on both land and sea, as well as to promote the principle of universal democracy: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the members of the Chamber of Commerce of Topeka hereby unhesitatingly and unequivocally indorse and commend the action taken by the President and Congress of the United States against the Imperial German Government, and that we pledge ourselves to uphold and maintain this action to whatever extent is demanded of us. And be it further

"Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the necessity of immediate legislation necessary to carry the war in which we are now engaged to a successful conclusion, and also the passage of whatever laws may seem necessary to provide for universal military training not with a view of becoming in any sense a military nation, but that we may be placed in a position to defend ourselves at all times against the aggressions of any and all enemies. And be it further

"Resolved, That we earnestly pledge ourselves to the support of the President in his recommendation for raising the armed forces necessary for this war by the application of the principle of general liability for service under the plan as proposed by the General Staff, and we believe that any attempt to rely upon the volunteer system in this great emergency would be productive of injustice and inefficiency and might result in grave peril to this Nation. And be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the Topeka Chamber of Commerce be, and hereby is, instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States and to each Member of the upper and lower Houses of Congress from the State of Missouri."

J. WILL. KELLY,
Secretary Topeka Chamber of Commerce.

TOPEKA, KANS., *April 9, 1917.*

CHARLES CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

We condemn the universal conscription of the American men as unpatriotic, un-American, an undemocratic act, as is leading to the same military spirit that the dynasties of the central powers of Europe have fastened upon their helpless subjects. The United States of America should rise above such dominion and trust to the manhood that has always been displayed by loyalty to flag, love of country, and perfection of humanity.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB OF TOPEKA.

LAWRENCE, *Kans., April 7, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES CURTIS,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At the organization of the Lawrence (Kans.) Rotary Club on one of our country's most momentous days, Friday, April 6, the rotarians in attendance from the first and second congressional districts of Kansas subscribed to the following oath of allegiance, and directed that a copy be sent to the President, the Senators, and the Congressmen from the first and second districts of Kansas:

"I, mindful of the solemn duty which confronts my country, hereby renew my undivided allegiance to the Government of the United States and reconsecrate myself to its great principles of justice and equality; and I do hereby solemnly swear that I will support the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Kansas and obey all lawful commands of those in charge of the affairs of my Government; and in furtherance of this obligation I hereby pledge my whole-hearted support to the President of the United States in his efforts to preserve to posterity the blessings of civilization."

Robert Stone, H. B. Ober, Fred Voiland, F. W. Jaedicke, F. A. Gibson, T. V. Weinhold, Thomas A. Moseley, C. N. Leinbach, Wilbur A. Weston, Geo. W. Miller, Ed Draper, Vernet D. Edwards, T. H. Prest, C. F. Peterson, H. S. Towner, F. L. Pinet, W. O. Hamilton, Leroy Powell, C. E. Friend, Warren Henley, Geo. A. Esterly, C. J. Kapka, S. D. Chadbury, C. W. Blomquist, C. H. Poindexter, M. L. Alden, H. A. Mendenhall, Wm. W. Rose, H. S. Martin, Ford J. Funk, H. W. McAffee, O. K. Arnett, E. Y. Blum, S. L. Courtney, Walter A. Johnson, C. S. Emmert, P. C. Lyon, Clement Williams, W. C. Carswell, F. E. Olson, B. C. Twenhotel, W. W. Yager, E. R. Callender, F. C. Beck, D. O. Coe, Henry Bennett, Charles S. Elliott, C. A. Karlall, Fred A. Clarke, Otto A. Fischer, Ed W. Parsons, R. C. Ellis, W. C. Fox, Frank Jones, George O. Foster, Walter C. Kern, Geo. Darsie, C. A. Lowder, J. M. Brunt, W. T. Beerbohm, Frank H. Davis, Geo. M. Stone, K. D. Klemm, J. L. Brown, J. M. Sanderson, C. D. Parnham, B. P. Beall, S. H. Reynold, A. J. Anderson, Jack P. Miller, W. C. Simons, J. W. Giesburg, J. S. St. Clair, M. H. Blandford, W. E. A. Nottorf, R. C. Manley, W. G. Hutson, Talmage D. Funk, A. B. Weaver, I. J. Meade, W. H. Varnum.

STAFFORD, KANS., *April 8, 1917.*

Senator CURTIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions adopted by the citizens of Stafford and vicinity, State of Kansas, April 6, 1917:

"Whereas by the request of Governor Arthur Capper of the State of Kansas we have met to observe "loyalty day," and in this manner to express our loyalty to the President of the United States in such action as he shall take in the present national emergency: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the citizens of Stafford and vicinity hereby renew their allegiance to the Government of the United States of America and the flag of our country; and be it further

"Resolved, That we hereby pledge our support to the President and Congress in such action as they may deem essential for the protection of our country and the maintenance of its honor and integrity."

R. J. MCMULLEN,
E. A. BRILES,
NATE E. REECE,
Committee.

Be it resolved by the citizens of the city of Russell, Kans., and vicinity that we deem it the duty of every American citizen and every person claiming to be an American and believing in patriotism and love of the country and devotion to the flag, to loyally stand back of the President of these United States, the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, and, believing in these cardinal views, Russell demands that Congress now in session assembled back up the President in this most trying hour in the Nation's history, meeting the demands with the same high patriotism that has heretofore marked its highest statesmanship, and that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

J. C. RUPPENTHAL, *Chairman.*

RUSSELL, KANS., *April 3, 1917.*

To the honorable Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, all veterans of the great Civil War, most respectfully request you to frame and pass as soon as possible, a new pension law, for the reason that the pensions we are receiving under the present law are insufficient to sustain a pensioner, owing to the great increase in the cost of living.

T. S. JOHNSON
(And others).

Mr. FERNALD. I present resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Androscoggin Branch of the Maine Committee of Public Safety, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEWISTON, ME., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. BERT M. FERNALD,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am inclosing with this a copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Androscoggin Branch of the Maine Committee on Public Safety, held at Auburn, April 7, 1917.

The President has troubles of his own and has no time to even read these resolutions, but I think it will be well for you to know how we stand here in the county.

Very truly, yours,

WALTER H. SAWYER,
Secretary Androscoggin Branch,
Committee on Public Safety.

Whereas the Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them, have resolved by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives "that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government"; and

Whereas Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, has proclaimed that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government: Now therefore

The members of the Androscoggin Branch of the Committee of Public Safety of the State of Maine, at a meeting held in Auburn in said county, on the 7th day of April, 1917, unanimously pledge to President Wilson loyal, undivided, and willing support in the prosecuting of the war to a successful termination, to the end that expediously a just, secure, and lasting peace may with honor be established, and that larger liberty and greater human happiness may be thereby insured to all the people of the earth.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I ask to have certain resolutions printed in the RECORD expressing loyalty to the President.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION FROM CITIZENS OF TEMPLE, TEX.

The following message, with attached signatures, was telegraphed by W. Goodrich Jones to Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD, Senator CHARLES A. CULBERSON, and Congressman TOM CONNALLY yesterday afternoon. "Of course, it would have been just as easy to have secured a thousand signatures," said Mr. Jones, "but I just went out to get 25 representative men to put their names to the message as voicing the sentiment of the entire community." The telegram was as follows:

"We, the undersigned, do hereby respectfully call upon our Representatives in Congress from Texas to stand by the President in whatever final course he may deem it best to recommend to Congress as to what our attitude shall be toward Germany, and we candidly believe that in so expressing our own views we are voicing the unanimous sentiment of the people of this section of the State.

"John B. Daniel, Dr. J. M. Murphy, Dr. J. M. Woodson, Judge Sam D. Snodgrass, W. Goodrich Jones, H. C. Glenn, W. S. Rowland, G. E. McCelvey, A. C. Buchanan, W. E. Hall, George Houghton, Denison & Laramey, George W. White, E. K. Williams, C. Roddy, A. L. Flint, P. L. Downs, Reuben O. Culp, Maynard Robinson, E. W. L. Hartmann, A. J. Jarrell, J. J. Booker, J. C. Mitchell, Dr. J. K. Campbell, W. A. Brady, William Ginnuth, Dr. A. C. Scott, Rev. B. A. Hodges, W. O. Cox, K. S. Hull, F. A. Thompson, Bennett F. Smith, F. F. Downs."

BENEVOLENT AND PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS, AUSTIN LODGE, NO. 201.

Whereas this Nation is facing one of the gravest crises in its history, as the culmination of a long series of studied insults to our flag and invasions and violations of American rights, including the ruthless destruction of property and the wanton sacrifice of human lives, and as a result now faces war with a foreign power; and

Whereas our great President, Woodrow Wilson, in behalf of this people, has endured and suffered with admirable fortitude these wrongs and outrages, and has with calm and unwavering patience sought with every means at his command to secure to us the blessings of peace with honor and to avert the calamity of war; and

Whereas the President, realizing that this situation has now become intolerable, has called Congress to assemble this day in special session to meet the emergency; and

Whereas we believe it is the duty of every loyal citizen, regardless of nationality, and of every patriotic organization in the land, to proclaim their allegiance to the common flag, their devotion to our institutions, and pride in our national traditions: Therefore be it

Resolved by Austin Lodge, No. 201, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America, That we do hereby unreservedly indorse and approve the course of our President in the past, in his efforts for the protection of American rights and the upholding of our national honor and dignity, in his firm and courageous stand for military preparedness and the mobilizing of the Nation's resources for defense, and we accord to him our sympathy and support in his position at this hour, that the Nation can no longer, in self-respect and in the maintenance of its dignity and prestige before the world, submit to a continuance of the crimes and excesses perpetrated upon its citizens and its honor; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge the President and the Government, in peace and in war, our support and unswerving loyalty as citizens and as members of a fraternal order, whose supreme and proudest attribute is fidelity; and we stand ready to give him and the country all practical assistance in our power, to the end that it shall always be the proudest boast of free men that, "I am an American citizen."

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President, to our United States Senators, Hon. CHARLES A. CULBERSON and Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD, and Hon. J. P. BUCHANAN, our Representative from this district; and that the substance of these resolutions be wired to each at once.

Respectfully submitted.

JNO. W. BRADY,
F. E. RIGHTOR,
M. H. GOLDSMITH,
Committee.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I present a telegram which I think will have special interest for the Senate at this time and later. I particularly ask the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and other members of that committee to it. It is from the governor of the State of Wisconsin, Emanuel L. Philipp.

The VICE PRESIDENT. For reading or for printing in the RECORD?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

MADISON, WIS., *April 10, 1917.*

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

I recommend that you oppose plan of conscription suggested by the General Staff and reported by the press as being urged upon Congress at this time. The State of Wisconsin stands ready to furnish its full quota of the National Guard as provided by the military-defense act of June 3, 1916, promptly, or any additional force required to meet the present requirements. We can recruit volunteers much faster than we are receiving equipment and supplies. The spirit of our troops will be much better if we adhere to the volunteer system, and we shall avoid sore spots at home if we defer conscription until it can be shown to be a military necessity. As I see it, public sentiment is not ready for compulsory military srevice, and I trust that nothing will be done by Congress that will make the war unnecessarily unpopular with the people.

EMANUEL L. PHILIPP, *Governor.*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I present a few telegrams from organizations in my State, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASHLAND, OREG., *March 31, 1917.*

Hon. GEORGE CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Ashland Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 944, by resolution to-night desires you express to President that we favor most vigorous steps by this Government for maintaining honor and dignity of United States and rights of its citizens, both at home and abroad. We deem it the duty of every American citizen to uphold the President and Congress in placing the country in a state of preparedness at this serious time. Our members are ready at any time to perform every possible service this country may require. Resolution goes forward by mail.

J. EDW. THORNTON, *Secretary.*

ASTORIA, OREG., *April 2, 1917.*

OREGON DELEGATION,
Care Senator George E. Chamberlain, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolutions unanimously adopted by Astoria Lodge, No. 180, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks:

"Whereas the love of our country and fidelity to its institutions and its flag are the principal teachings of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. The altar of every lodge of Elks is always draped with the flag of our Nation, and upon it every member of our order at the time of his admission pledges fidelity to its principles and to the order, and every member of the order when received into membership is presented with a minature flag of our Nation and is taught its symbolism, its history, and its beauties: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That we, the members of Astoria Lodge, No. 180, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks in special session convened do hereby individually and collectively consecrate ourselves and renew our pledges of fidelity to our Nation, its institutions, and its flag. We do hereby tender to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of our great Nation, our united support in his efforts to maintain the dignity and integrity of our beloved country. We send to him our feeling of unbounded confidence in his patriotism and statesmanship. We commend him for his patriotic efforts in his endeavor to place our country in a state of preparedness by placing our Army and Navy in a sufficient state of efficiency to the end that to be known as an American citizen is the proudest fame to which any civilized man may aspire, while we trust that our peaceful and prosperous country may not in this great crisis through which it is passing be plunged into the horrors of international war. We do pledge ourselves that if that great misfortune should come upon us that we will use our every endeavor to uphold the hands of our honored President, both by our personal service in whatever capacity we may be called upon to serve, as well with our worldly possessions; that the honor and dignity of every American citizen may be maintained on every sea and on every civilized land; that Old Glory, bright and unsoiled, forever wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

J. C. CLINTON, *Secretary.*

ALBANY, OREG., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved by Albany Lodge, No. 359, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Albany, Oreg., That the members of this lodge pledge their most loyal support to the President of the United States in his policy of administering the affairs of this country during these critical times: Be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our most hearty cooperation in support of the Government on land and sea, to the end that the traditions of our free institutions, the honor of our Nation, and the welfare of mankind may be defended and maintained.

ALBANY (OREG.) LODGE, NO. 359, B. P. O. ELKS.

OREGON CITY, OREG., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Following resolution was unanimously passed by Oregon City Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks:

"*Resolved,* That we stand squarely behind the President and the Congress of the United States in all their acts to prepare this country for any eventuality, and that we are ready and willing to make any sacrifices to defend our country and to keep its flag from dishonor."

GEO. E. SWAFFORF, *Secretary.*

PORTLAND, OREG., *April 1, 1917.*

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

To express their confidence in the policies of President Wilson the Elks at a mass meeting last night incorporated a set of resolutions which will be forwarded to the Members of the Oregon delegation in Congress. The resolutions follow:

"*Resolved,* That Lodge No. 142 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, which is wholly American in character, patriotic and benevolent, which has adopted the American flag as an emblem of the order, favor the most vigorous measures for maintaining the honor of the United States Government and the rights of its citizens, both at home and abroad;

"*Resolved,* That we deem it the duty of every American citizen to uphold the President and Congress of the United States in this crisis, and we denounce as unworthy of citizenship those who endeavor in any way to frustrate the efforts of this Government to place this country in a state of preparedness for the eventualities resulting from the present great war now raging in Europe;

"*Resolved,* That the members will be ready at any time to perform any service which this country may require of them;

"*Resolved,* That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our brother, Senator GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, and the other members of the Oregon delegation in Congress, asking them to present it to the President with the assurance of our loyal support in any measures which this Government may take to defend its citizens on land or sea."

HARRY G. ALLEN,
Exalted Ruler, B. P. O. E. 142.

MARSHFIELD, OREG., *April 1, 1917.*

Senator GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Care The Garland, Washington, D. C.:

This lodge has unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of preparedness and pledging its unqualified support to the President of the United States and reaffirming our obligations as Elks.

THOS. B. JAMES,
Exalted Ruler Marshfield Lodge, 1160, B. P. O. Elks.

MEDFORD, OREG., *April 2, 1917.*

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Two thousand citizens at mass meeting held here last night unanimously and enthusiastically indorsed President's stand against Germany and instructed us to wire you urging you to support legislation placing the entire resources of the country at his disposal to defend the Nation's honor and lives of citizens on the high seas.

E. E. KELLY,
P. J. NEFF.

ANACONDA, MONT., *March 31, 1917.*

Senator GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.:

The Spanish War veterans of this city who volunteered their services in the War with Spain believe that the voluntary system is wrong and un-American and that universal military service is the proper solution of military preparedness in this country.

CAMP NO. 6, U. S. V. A.,
FRED FISHER, *Adjutant.*

PORTLAND, OREG., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. GEORGE CHAMBERLAIN,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the United States of America is on the threshold of a national crisis; and

Whereas the President and Congress are called upon to take such action as will safeguard and maintain the honor and dignity of this Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Ancient Order of Hibernians of this city of Portland in meeting assembled pledges its undivided loyalty and support to the President in defense of our flag and the freedom of American institutions.

E. J. MURNAME, *Secretary.*
P. J. HANLEY, *President.*

Mr. THOMPSON presented petitions of Division No. 52, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and of Port Arthur Lodge, No. 149, International Association of Machinists, both of Pittsburg, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the exportation of food products, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Russell, Kans., declaring faith and allegiance and pledging support to the President and Congress of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Kansas, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Los Angeles (Cal.) Branch of the National Security League, praying for universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FRANCE. I present resolutions adopted by the Municipal Congress of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALISBURY, MD., *April 8, 1917.*

Senator JOSEPH I. FRANCE,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions passed by the Municipal Congress of the Eastern Shore in session at Salisbury, Md., this 5th day of April, 1917:

"*Resolved*, That the Municipal Congress of the Eastern Shore of Maryland indorses the patriotic action of President Wilson and the Congress of the United States in so nobly upholding the dignity and honor of the country and our national self-respect in this hour of crisis in our international relations."

J. FRANK HARPER,
J. H. C. LEGG,
R. GROOME PARKS,
Committee.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present a telegram from Local No. 9, International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite Paper Mill Workers, of Franklin, N. H., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANKLIN, N. H., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator JACOB GALLINGER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite Paper Mill Workers, represented by Local No. 9, Franklin, N. H., protests against Congress of the United States making declaration of war against the German nation.

LOUIS W. DOUPHINETT, *President.*
GEO. C. BROOKS, *Secretary.*

NAVIGABLE WATERS.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have here a copy of an opinion by the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to navigable streams. I think it is a very important opinion in connection with the water-power legislation that Congress will have under consideration in the near future. I ask that the opinion may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The opinion is as follows:

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Nos. 84 and 718.—October term, 1916.]

IN ERROR TO THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY.

United States, plaintiff in error, *v.* W. R. Cress. United States, plaintiff in error, *v.* Achilles Kelly, Green B. Kelly, jr., Lillian Kelly Crawford, et al.

[Mar. 12, 1917.]

Mr. Justice Pitney delivered the opinion of the court.

These cases were argued together, involve similar questions, and may be disposed of in a single opinion. They were actions brought in the district court by the respective defendants in error against the United States under the twentieth paragraph of section 24, Judicial Code (act of Mar. 3, 1911, c. 231, 36 Stat., 1087, 1093) to recover compensation for the taking of lands and water rights by means of backwater resulting from the construction and maintenance of the Government of certain locks and dams upon the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers, respectively, in the State of Kentucky, in aid of the navigation upon those rivers.

In No. 84 the findings of the district court are, in substance, that at the time of the erection of Lock and Dam No. 21 in the Cumberland River the plaintiff was the owner of 189 acres of land on Whiteoak Creek, a tributary of the Cumberland, not far distant from the river; that by reason of the erection of the lock and dam 6.6 acres of this land are subject to frequent overflows of water from the river, so as to depreciate it one-half of its value, and a ford across Whiteoak Creek and a part of a passway are destroyed; that the 6.6 acres were worth $990, and the damage thereto was $495; that the damage to the land by the destruction of the ford was $500; and that plaintiff was entitled to recover the sum of $995. It may be supposed that Whiteoak Creek was not a navigable stream, but there is no finding on the subject.

In No. 718 the findings are to the effect that at the time of the erection by the Government of Lock and Dam No. 12 in the Kentucky River the plaintiffs, together with another person who was joined as a defendant, were the owners and in possession of a tract of land situate on Millers Creek, a branch of the Kentucky, containing 5½ acres, upon which there were a mill and a mill seat; that by reason of the erection of the lock and dam the mill no longer can be driven by water power; that the water above the lock and dam, when it is at pool stage, is about 1 foot below the crest of the mill dam, and this prevents the drop in the current that is necessary to run the mill; that no part of the land or mill is overflowed or covered by pool stage of water, nor is the mill physically damaged thereby; that Millers Creek is not a navigable stream; that the damage sustained by the owners of the mill, representing depreciation of the value of the mill property by cutting off the water power, amount to $1,500.

Judgments were entered in favor of the respective landowners for the sums mentioned in the findings, together with interest and the costs of the suits, and the United States appealed to this court.

(1) A fundamental contention made in behalf of the Government, and one that applies to both cases, is that the control by Congress, and the Secretary of War acting for it, over the navigation of the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers, must also include control of their tributaries, and that in order to improve navigation at the places mentioned in the findings it was necessary to erect dams and back up the water, and the right to do this must include also the right to raise the water in the tributary streams.

In passing upon this contention we may assume, without however deciding, that the rights of defendants in error are no greater than if they had been riparian owners upon the rivers instead of upon the tributary creeks.

The States have authority to establish for themselves such rules of property as they may deem expedient with respect to the streams of water within their borders, both navigable and nonnavigable, and the ownership of the lands forming their beds and banks (Barney *v.* Keokuk, 94 U. S., 324, 338; Packer *v.* Bird, 137 U. S., 661, 671; Hardin *v.* Jordan, 140 U. S., 371, 382; Shively *v.* Bowlby, 152 U. S., 1, 40, 58; Water Power Co. *v.* Water Commissioners, 168 U. S., 349, 358), subject, however, in the case of navigable streams, to the paramount authority of Congress to control the navigation so far as may be necessary for the regulation of commerce among the States and with foreign nations (Shively *v.* Bowlby, 152 U. S., 1, 40; Gibson *v.* United States, 166 U. S., 269, 272; Scott *v.* Lattig, 227 U. S., 229, 243); the exercise of this authority being subject, in its turn, to the inhibition of the fifth amendment against the taking of private property for public use without just compensation (Monongahela Navigation Co. *v.* United States, 148 U. S., 312, 336; United States *v.* Lynah, 188 U. S., 445, 465, 471).

The State of Kentucky, like most of the States of the Union, determines the navigability of her streams, so far as the public right is concerned, not by the common-law test of the ebb and flow of the tide—manifestly inapplicable in a State so wholly remote from the sea—but by the test of navigability in fact (Thurman *v.* Morrison, 53 Ky. (14 B. Mon.), 367 (2d ed. p. 296); Morrison *v.* Thurman, 56 Ky. (17 B. Mon.), 249; Goodin's Ex'rs *v.* Kentucky Lumber Co., 90 Ky., 625; Murray *v.* Preston, 106 Ky., 561, 564; Banks *v.* Frazier, 111 Ky., 909, 912; Ireland *v.* Bowman & Cockrell, 130 Ky., 153, 161), while sustaining private ownership of the beds of her streams, both navigable and nonnavigable, according to the common-law rule (Berry *v.* Snyder, 66 Ky. (3 Bush), 266, 273, 277; Miller *v.* Hepburn, 71 Ky. (8 Bush), 326, 331; Williamsburg Boom Co. *v.* Smith, 84 Ky., 372, 374; Wilson *v.* Watson, 141 Ky., 324, 327; Robinson *v.* Wells, 142 Ky., 800, 804), with incidental rights to the flow of the stream in its natural state (Anderson *v.* Cincinnati Southern Railway, 86 Ky., 44, 48).

The general rule that private ownership of property in the beds and waters of navigable streams is subject to the exercise of the public right of navigation, and the governmental control and regulation necessary to give effect to that right, is so fully established, and is so amply illustrated by recent decisions of this court, that a mere reference to the cases will suffice. (Scranton *v.* Wheeler, 179 U. S., 141, 163; Philadelphia Co. *v.* Stimson, 223 U. S., 605, 634; United States *v.* Chandler-Dunbar Co., 229 U. S., 53, 62; Lewis Blue Point Oyster Co. *v.* Briggs, 229 U. S., 82, 85, 88; Greenleaf Lumber Co. *v.* Garrison, 237 U. S., 251, 268; Willink *v.* United States, 240 U. S., 572, 580.)

But this rule, like every other, has its limits, and in the present cases, which require us to ascertain the dividing line between public and private right, it is important to inquire what are "navigable streams" within the meaning of the rule.

In Kentucky, and in other States that have rejected the common-law test of tidal flow and adopted the test of navigability in fact, while recognizing private ownership of the beds of navigable streams, numerous cases have arisen where it has been necessary to draw the line between public and private right in waters alleged to be navigable; and by an unbroken current of authorities it has become well established that the test of navigability in fact is to be applied to the stream in its natural condition, not as artificially raised by dams or similar structures; that the public right is to be measured by the capacity of the stream for valuable public use in its natural condition; that riparian owners have a right to the enjoyment of the natural flow without burden or hindrance imposed by artificial means, and no public easement beyond the natural one can arise without grant or dedication save by condemnation with appropriate compensation for the private right. Cases exemplifying these propositions are cited in a marginal note. (Wadsworth *v.* Smith, 11 Me., 278, 281; Brown *v.* Chadbourne, 31 Me., 9, 21; Treat *v.* Lord, 42 Me., 552, 561–562; Pearson *v.* Rolfe, 76 Me., 380, 385; Moore *v.* Sanborne, 2 Mich., 519, 523–524; Thunder Bay Booming Co. *v.* Speechly, 31 Mich., 336, 343, 345; Witheral *v.* Booming Co., 68 Mich., 48, 58–59; Improvement Co. *v.* Lumber Co., 69 Mich., 207, 212, 213; Koopman *v.* Blodgett, 70 Mich., 610, 616; Goodin's Ex'rs *v.* Kentucky Lumber Co., 90 Ky., 625, 627; Murray *v.* Preston, 106 Ky., 561, 565; Banks *v.* Frazier, 111 Ky., 909, 912; Morgan *v.* King, 35 N. Y., 454, 459; Chenango B. Co. *v.* Paige, 83 N. Y., 178, 185; Ten Eyck *v.* Town of Warwick, 82 N. Y. Sup. Ct. (75 Hun.), 562, 566; Weise *v.* Smith, 3 Oreg., 445, 449; Goodwill *v.* Police Jury, 38 La. Ann., 752, 755; Smith &

Hambrick *v.* Fonda, 64 Miss., 551, 554; East Hoquiam Boom Co. *v.* Neeson, 20 Wash., 142, 146; Stuart *v.* Clark's Lessee, 32 Tenn. (2 Swan), 9, 16; Irwin *v.* Brown, 3 Tenn. Cas., 309; Webster *v.* Harris, 111 Tenn., 668, 677; Little Rock, Mississippi River & Texas Ry. Co. *v.* Brooks, 39 Ark., 403, 409.) We have found no case to the contrary. An apparent but not a real exception is the New York case of Canal Appraisers *v.* People ex rel. Tibbitts (1836, 17 Wend., 571), where the decision was rested (pp. 609, 612, 624) upon the ground that the bed of the Mohawk River was the property of the State; the authority of the case having been limited accordingly by later decisions of the court of last resort of that State. (Comm'rs of Canal Fund *v.* Kempshall, 26 Wend., 404, 416; Child *v.* Starr, 4 Hill, 369, 372; Fort Plain Bridge Co. *v.* Smith, 30 N. Y., 44, 63; Smith *v.* City of Rochester, 92 N. Y., 463, 482; Fulton L. H. & P. Co. *v.* State, 200 N. Y., 400, 413.)

Many State courts, including the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, have held, also, that the legislature can not, by simple declaration that a stream shall be a public highway, if in fact it be not navigable in its natural state, appropriate to public use the private rights therein without compensation. (Morgan *v.* King, 18 Barb., 277, 284; 35 N. Y., 454, 459, 461; Chenango Bridge Co. *v.* Paige, 83 N. Y., 178, 185; Murray *v.* Preston, 106 Ky., 561, 563; Stuart *v.* Clark's Lessee, 32 Tenn. (2 Swan), 9, 17; Walker & Fulton *v.* Board of Public Works, 16 Ohio, 540, 544; Olive *v.* The State, 86 Ala., 88, 92; People *v.* Elk River M. & L. Co., 107 Cal., 221, 224. And see Thunder Bay Booming Co. *v.* Speechly, 31 Mich., 336, 345; Koopman *v.* Blodgett, 70 Mich., 610, 616.)

This court has followed the same line of distinction. That the test of navigability in fact should be applied to streams in their natural condition was in effect held in the *Daniel Ball* (10 Wall., 557), a case which turned upon the question whether Grand River, in the State of Michigan, was one of the "navigable waters of the United States" within the meaning of acts of Congress that regulated vessels carrying merchandise and passengers upon such waters. Mr. Justice Field, speaking for the court, after showing that the tidal test was not applicable in this country, said (p. 563): "A different test must, therefore, be applied to determine the navigability of our rivers, and that is found in their navigable capacity. Those rivers must be regarded as public navigable rivers in law which are navigable in fact. And they are navigable in fact when they are used, or are susceptible of being used, in their ordinary condition as highways for commerce, over which trade and travel are or may be conducted in the customary modes of trade and travel on water." The point was set forth more clearly in The Montello (20 Wall., 430), where the question was whether Fox River, in the State of Wisconsin, was a navigable water of the United States within the meaning of the acts of Congress. There were rapids and falls in the river, but the obstructions caused by them had been removed by artificial means so as to furnish uninterrupted water communication for steam vessels of considerable capacity. It was argued (p. 440) that although the river might now be considered a highway for commerce conducted in the ordinary modes, it was not so in its natural state, and therefore was not a navigable water of the United States within the purview of the *Daniel Ball* decision. The court, accepting navigability in the natural state of the river as the proper test, proceeded to show that, even before the improvements resulting in an unbroken navigation were undertaken, a large and successful interstate commerce had been carried on through this river by means of Durham boats, which were vessels from 70 to 100 feet in length, with 12 feet beam, and drawing when loaded from 2 to 2½ feet of water. The court, by Mr. Justice Davis, declared (p. 441) that it would be a narrow rule to hold that in this country unless a river was capable of being navigated by steam or sail vessels it could not be treated as a public highway. "The capability of use by the public for purposes of transportation and commerce affords the true criterion of the navigability of a river, rather than the extent and manner of that use. If it be capable in its natural state of being used for purposes of commerce, no matter in what mode the commerce may be conducted, it is navigable in fact and becomes in law a public river or highway." And again (p. 443): "There are but few of our fresh-water rivers which did not originally present serious obstructions to an uninterrupted navigation. In some cases, like the Fox River, they may be so great while they last as to prevent the use of the best instrumentalities for carrying on commerce, but the vital and essential point is whether the natural navigation of the river is such that it affords a channel for useful commerce. If this be so the river is navigable in fact, although its navigation may be encompassed with difficulties by reason of natural barriers, such as rapids and sand bars." Numerous decisions of State courts were cited as supporting this view, including some of those to which we have referred.

Pumpelly *v.* Green Bay Co. (13 Wall., 166) involved the right to compensation for land overflowed with backwater from a dam erected and maintained in the Fox River, under authority of the State of Wisconsin, for the improvement of navigation. (A permissible exercise of State power, in the absence of action by Congress, although it was an interstate navigable water. Willson *v.* Black Bird Creek Marsh Co., 2 Pet., 245, 251; Gilman *v.* Philadelphia, 3 Wall., 713.) The raising of the river above its natural stage by means of an artificial structure was the gravamen of the complaint. It was argued (p. 174) that the State might, in the interest of the public, "erect such works as may be deemed expedient for the purpose of improving the navigation and increasing usefulness of a navigable river, without rendering itself liable to individuals owning land bordering on such river, for injuries to their lands resulting from their overflow by reason of such improvements." This court overruled the contention and held there was a taking without compensation contrary to the applicable provision of the constitution of Wisconsin.

In the United States *v.* Lynah (188 U. S., 445) the same principle was applied in the case of an operation by the Government of the United States. For the improvement of the navigation of the Savannah River certain dams and other obstructions were placed and maintained in its bed, with the result of raising the water above its natural height and backing it up against plaintiffs' embankment upon the river and interfering with the drainage of their plantation. This was held (pp. 465, 471) to be a taking of private property, requiring compensation under the fifth amendment, notwithstanding the work was done by the Government in improving the navigation of a navigable river. The raising of the water above its natural level was held to be an invasion of the private property thereby flowed.

In several other cases the limitation of the public right to the natural state of the stream has been recognized. (Packer *v.* Bird, 137 U. S., 661, 667; United States *v.* Rio Grande Irrigation Co., 174 U. S., 690, 698; Leovy *v.* United States, 177 U. S., 621, 631.)

It follows from what we have said that the servitude of privately owned lands forming the banks and bed of a stream to the interests of navigation is a natural servitude, confined to such streams as in their ordinary and natural condition are navigable in fact, and confined to the natural condition of the stream. And, assuming that riparian owners upon nonnavigable tributaries of navigable streams are subject to such inconveniences as may arise from the exercise of the common right of navigation, this in like manner must be limited to the natural right. The findings make it clear that the dams in question, constructed by the Government in the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers, respectively, are for raising the level of those streams along certain stretches by means of backwater, so as to render them, to the extent of the raising, artificial canals instead of natural waterways. In the language of engineering, the Government has "canalized" the rivers. We intimate no doubt of the power of the United States to carry out this kind of improvement. Nor do we doubt that, upon the completion of the improvements, these rivers—the Cumberland because it is an avenue of communication between two States; the Kentucky and also the the Cumberland because, in connection with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, they furnish highways of commerce among many States (Gilman *v.* Philadelphia, 3 Wall., 713, 725; the *Daniel Ball*, 10 Wall, 557, 563; South Carolina *v.* Georgia, 93 U. S., 4, 10)—remained navigable waters of the United States for all purposes of Federal jurisdiction and regulation, notwithstanding the artificial character of the improvements. (Ex Parte Boyer, 109 U. S., 629, 632; the *Robert W. Parsons*, 191 U. S., 17, 28.)

But the authority to make such improvements is only a branch of the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, and, as already stated, this power, like others, must be exercised, when private property is taken, in subordination to the fifth amendment. (Monongahela Navigation Co. *v.* United States, 148 U. S., 312, 336; United States *v.* Lynah, 188 U. S., 445, 465, 471.) And we deem it clear that so much of the properties of the respective defendants in error as was unaffected by the flow of the rivers or their tributaries prior to the construction of the locks and dams in question was private property and not subject to be overflowed without compensation in the raising of the level of the rivers by means of artificial dams.

These cases have no proper relation to cases such as Gibson *v.* United States (166 U. S., 269), where no water was thrown back on claimant's land, and the damage was confined to an interference with the access thence to the navigable portion of the river; Scranton *v.* Wheeler (179 U. S., 141, 153), which likewise had to do with the interruption of access from riparian land to a navigable channel; Bedford *v.* United States (192 U. S., 217, 225), where the damage to claimant's land resulted from operations conducted by the Government 6 miles farther up the river; Jackson *v.* United States (230 U. S., 1, 23), where owners of lands on the east bank of the Mississippi claimed compensation as for a taking of their property by reason of the effect of levees built on the west bank opposite their lands as a part of a system of levees designed to prevent crevasses, retain the water in the river, and thus improve the navigation. In each of these there was no direct invasion of the lands of the claimants, the damages were altogether consequential, and the right to compensation was denied on that ground.

2. It is contended in No. 84 that the damage to Cress's land by the overflow of 6.6 acres, because it depreciated its value only to the extent of one-half, does not measure up to a taking, but is only a "partial injury," for which the Government is not liable. The findings, however, render it plain that this is not a case of temporary flooding or of consequential injury, but a permanent condition, resulting from the erection of the lock and dam, by which the land is "subject to frequent overflows of water from the river." That overflowing lands by permanent backwater is a direct invasion amounting to a taking is settled by pumpelly *v.* Green Bay Co. (13 Wall., 166, 177); United States *v.* Lynah (188 U. S., 445, 468–470). It is true that in the Pumpelly case there was an almost complete destruction, and in the Lynah case a complete destruction, of the value of the lands, while in the present case the value is impaired to the extent of only one-half. But it is the character of the invasion, not the amount of damage resulting from it, so long as the damage is substantial, that determines the question whether it is a taking. As the court said, speaking by Mr. Justice Brewer, in United States *v.* Lynah (188 U. S., 445, 470): "Where the Government by the construction of a dam or other public works so floods lands belonging to an individual as to substantially destroy their value there is a taking within the scope of the fifth amendment. While the Government does not directly proceed to appropriate the title, yet it takes away the use and value; when that is done it is of little consequence in whom the fee may be vested. Of course, it results from this that the proceeding must be regarded as an actual appropriation of the land, including the possession, the right of possession, and the fee; and when the amount awarded as compensation is paid the title, the fee, with whatever rights may attach thereto—in this case those at least which belong to a riparian proprietor—pass to the Government and it becomes henceforth the owner." There is no difference of kind, but only of degree, between a permanent condition of continual overflow by backwater and a permanent liability to intermittent but inevitably recurring overflows; and, on principle, the right to compensation must arise in the one case as in the other. If any substantial enjoyment of the land still remains to the owner, it may be treated as a partial instead of a total divesting of his property in the land. The taking by condemnation of an interest less than the fee is familiar in the law of eminent domain. Where formal proceedings are initiated by the party condemning, it is usual and proper to specify the precise interest taken, where less than the fee. But where, as in this case, the property owner resorts to the courts, as he may, to recover compensation for what actually has been taken upon the principle that the Government by the very act of taking impliedly has promised to make compensation because the dictates of justice and the terms of the fifth amendment so require (United States *v.* Great Falls Mfg. Co., 112 U. S., 645, 656; United States *v.* Lynah, 188 U. S., 445, 465), and it appears that less than the whole has been taken and is to be paid for, such a right or interest will be deemed to pass as is necessary fairly to effectuate the purpose of the taking; and where, as in this case with respect to the 6.6 acres, land is not constantly but only at intervals overflowed, the fee may be permitted to remain in the owner, subject to an easement in the United States to overflow it with water as often as necessarily may result from the operation of the lock and dam for purposes of navigation.

3. In No. 84 some question is made about the allowance for the damage to the land by the destruction of the ford across Whiteoak Creek and the pass way, but we deem the objection substantial. It is said there is nothing to show how Cress acquired ownership of the ford and that it does not appear that he had a right to pass over the

adjoining land of one Brown. It seems to us, however, that the findings, while meager, sufficiently import that Cress had a right to a private way and ford as appurtenant to his land and that the damage to the land by the destruction of the ford was $500. This brings the case squarely within United States v. Welch (217 U. S., 333, 339) and United States v. Grizzard (219 U. S., 180, 184, 185).

4. In No. 718 there is a contention that because the backwater is confined to Millers Creek it does not amount to a taking of land. But the findings render it plain that it had the necessary effect of raising the creek below the dam to such an extent as to destroy the power of the milldam that was essential to the value of the mill, or, as the findings put it, "The water above the lock and dam, when it is at pool stage, is about 1 foot below the crest of the milldam, which prevents the drop in the current which is necessary to run the mill." Under the law of Kentucky ownership of the bed of the creek, subject only to the natural flow of the water, is recognized as fully as ownership of the mill itself. The right to have the water flow away from the milldam unobstructed, except as in the course of nature, is not a mere easement or appurtenance, but exists by the law of nature as an inseparable part of the land. A destruction of this right is a taking of a part of the land. (Gardner v. Village of Newburg, 2 Johns. Ch., 162, 166; Tyler v. Wilkinson, 4 Mason, 397; Fed. Case No. 14, 312; 24 Fed. Cas., 472, 474; Johnson v. Jordan, 2 Metc., 234, 239; Wadsworth v. Tillotson, 15 Conn., 366, 373; Parker v. Griswold, 17 Conn., 288, 299; Harding v. Stamford Water Co., 41 Conn., 87, 92; Holsman v. Boiling Spring Bleaching Co., 14 N. J. Eq., 335, 343; Beach v. Sterling Iron & Zinc Co., 54 N. J. Eq., 65, 73; Scriver v. Smith, 100 N. Y., 471, 480; Crook v. Hewitt, 4 Wash., 749, 754; Rigney v. Tacoma Light & Water Co., 9 Wash., 576, 583; Benton v. Johncox, 17 Wash., 277, 281; Lux v. Haggin, 69 Cal., 255, 390; Hargrave v. Cook, 108 Cal., 72, 77; Pine v. Mayor, etc., of City of New York, 103 Fed., 337, 339; 112 Fed., 98, 103; Wood v. Waud, 3 Exch., 748, 775; Dickinson v. Grand Junction Canal Co., 7 Exch., 282, 299; Stokoe v. Singers, 8 El. & Bl., 31, 36, Erle, J.)

(5) In both cases it is urged that there was error in allowing costs against the Government. Section 24 (20) of the Judicial Code, under which the suits were brought, originated in the provisions of the so-called Tucker Act of March 3, 1887, chapter 359, Twenty-fourth Statutes, 505, and the argument of the Government is that while under section 15 of that act costs were recoverable against the United States, in the district court as in the Court of Claims, yet that section 297, Judicial Code, repealed all of the Tucker Act with the exception of sections 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10, which relate to matters of procedure, and that there is no longer any authority of law for allowing costs against the United States in suits brought in the district court. The fact is that section 297, Judicial Code, besides the clause repealing the Tucker Act with the exceptions mentioned, contains in its final paragraph a repeal of "all other acts and parts of acts, in so far as they are embraced within and superseded by this act." Now, not only is the provision of section 2 of the Tucker act, conferring upon the district courts concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Claims over certain claims against the United States, carried into section 24 (20) of the code, but the provision of section 15 of the Tucker Act for the allowance of costs against the Government is carried in as section 152. It is true that section 24 (20) is a part of chapter 2 of the code, entitled "District courts—Jurisdiction," while section 152 is a part of chapter 7, entitled "The Court of Claims." But by sections 294 and 295 it is declared and enacted as follows:

"SEC. 294. The provisions of this act, so far as they are substantially the same as existing statutes, shall be construed as continuations thereof, and not as new enactments, and there shall be no implication of a change of intent by reason of a change of words in such statute, unless such change of intent shall be clearly manifest.

"SEC. 295. The arrangement and classification of the several sections of this act have been made for the purpose of a more convenient and orderly arrangement of the same, and therefore no inference or presumption of a legislative construction is to be drawn by reason of the chapter under which any particular section is placed."

From this it is plain that section 152 of the code applies to suits in the district courts as well as to those in the Court of Claims.

Judgments affirmed.

Mr. Justice McReynolds took no part in the consideration or decision of these cases.

INCREASED FARM PRODUCTS.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have here a letter from one of the citizens of my State calling attention to the importance of growing larger areas of crops. I ask that I may proceed for a minute or two in my own explanation and then I shall ask to have the letter read.

Mr. President, as one of the many citizens of this country who has protested against war, I wish to call to the attention of the Senate one or two things which I deem to be of the greatest importance at this time.

Our country is now at war with a powerful European nation. There is but one course for us to pursue. Every loyal citizen of our Government must show his loyalty and patriotism by actual deeds and not by mere words; to be able to do so selfishness, greed, and hatred must be eliminated. Our best efforts must now be directed as patriotic citizens glad and willing to do our full duty. Each and every individual citizen will, I hope, realize that he has a solemn duty to perform, whether on the field of battle or at home We now have a tremendous responsibility to carry out. The great financiers of our land must cooperate with the laborer. The owner of the factory, like the owner of the farm, should have but one purpose in view, and that purpose must be to do everything in his power and to sacrifice upon the altar of freedom his every effort and everything at his command for the benefit of our people and maintenance and preservation of our country.

In carrying out this tremendous responsibility the producer of foodstuff, or the farmer, should willingly and ungrudgingly do his part, and I am sure that he will do it when his attention is called to the importance of planting larger areas of all kinds of crops in order that the people will be supplied with all kinds of foodstuff as cheaply as the cost of production will permit.

I ask that the letter may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the letter.

The Secretary read the letter, as follows:

NEW YORK, *April 10, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have been thinking about the food question and the great necessity of raising as much grain as possible this year. It strikes me that this country can best assist the allies in our common purpose in two or three ways:

First. Raise all grain possible, so as to relieve allies of food worry.

Second. Manufacture of munitions, so as to keep allies supplied with same as needed.

Third. Patrol the Atlantic coast, so as to relieve allies' ships of that duty.

And it seems to me the first is, if anything, the most important. To do this, it seems to me, there should at once be organized a department to see that every possible acre of land adapted to grain raising should be sown this spring.

Take North Dakota. There should be some man in charge of the State. Under him should be a man in charge of each county, and under him a man in charge of each township. A survey should be made at once of each township; each farmer should be seen, and a card index made showing his name; address; age; size of family; number of acres in his farm; number available for grain; number already plowed; what tools and machinery he has; what help he has; and what he requires to put in every acre of his tillable land; how much seed and feed he has on hand; how many work horses he has; and such other general information as may be deemed necessary.

As you must know, last year's wheat is in many instances not fit for seed. Many farmers are short of seed, which is scarce and high in price. Many will be discouraged about seeding all their land. This must be overcome. This survey must find who needs seed and who has seed, and must see that each farmer gets necessary seed at a fair price; no extortionate prices to be permitted. Where farm help is needed, it must be immediately supplied, to the end that the crop is sown. Time is limited, as the crop must be gotten in during the next 30 days if we are to have enough to eat next year. And with a duty on this country to feed its own population, of which it is contemplated one to two million shall be withdrawn from the active fields of labor and production, as well as to assist to the extent of its ability in supplying the allies with food, it seems to me that it is absolutely necessary that every effort be made to have all of North Dakota's fertile acres seeded to the nonperishable crops for which she is justly noted—wheat, oats, barley, rye, and corn.

This same plan of organization should be carried out to harvest and secure the crop. Labor in North Dakota is not overplenty now. The help problem on the farm is already a serious one. This organization must act as a labor bureau where our farmers may apply for such extra help as may be needed to harvest and thrash the crops this fall.

In bringing about this organization our men over military age who have a capacity and an ability along this line of organization should be made use of as a patriotic duty, with small pay, if any. They should be and doubtless would be glad to serve their country in this way. I assure you of my own willingness to assist to the extent of my ability.

It seems to me that in the grain-raising States immediate action is absolutely necessary. Otherwise I fear we shall not get nearly all of our available tillable land into grain crops this year, and it will be 12 long months before planting time comes round again.

Sincerely, yours,

OSCAR J. SEILER,
Jamestown, N. Dak.

GREAT BRITAIN MILITARY SERVICE ACTS OF 1916.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask unanimous consent to have printed as a public document the Great Britain military service acts. They are of date January, 1916, and May, 1916. Of course, if they have already been printed, I shall not make the request, but I do not understand that they have been.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest that the document had better be referred to the Committee on Printing, and then we will be able to find out whether they have been printed or not.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am willing that that shall be done. I am only anxious that the matter shall be printed as a public document, if that has not already been done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The matter will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. TILLMAN:

A bill (S. 1587) to increase the number of midshipmen in the Naval Academy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. RANSDELL:

A bill (S. 1588) to foster commerce between the United States and foreign countries by facilitating the reexportation in bond from ports of the United States of goods imported into the United States, duly entered for warehousing and stored in bonded warehouses; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 1589) making appropriation for the construction of a roadway and walks leading to and around the Chalmette Monument, Chalmette, La.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1590) providing for an increase of salary for the United States marshals and for the United States district attorneys for the western and eastern districts of Louisiana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1591) to permit the purchase of certain public lands in Louisiana at private sale; and

A bill (S. 1592) for the relief of settlers within the limits of the grant to the New Orleans, Baton Rouge & Vicksburg Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1593) to promote the safety of employees and travelers on railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their cars with automatic adjustable fire extinguishers, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 1594) to amend the act to regulate commerce as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 1595) to promote the efficiency of the Public Health Service;

A bill (S. 1596) appropriating $500,000 for the use of the United States Public Health Service in encouraging rural sanitation, with special reference to the prevention and suppression of malaria and typhoid fever;

A bill (S. 1597) to provide a Division of Tuberculosis in, and an advisory council for, the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 1598) to provide divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service; to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine.

A bill (S. 1599) for the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Susan A. Nicholas;

A bill (S. 1600) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to readjudicate the case of Albert H. Gillespie against the United States, No. 30777, on the docket of said court;

A bill (S. 1601) for the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Alphonse Desmare, deceased, and others;

A bill (S. 1602) for the relief of the estate of Thomas F. Swafford, deceased;

A bill (S. 1603) for the relief of the legal representatives of Lapene and Ferre;

A bill (S. 1604) for the relief of the legal representatives of George E. Payne, deceased;

A bill (S. 1605) for the relief of the legal representatives of Patrick Wood and Margaret Wood Delany, deceased.

A bill (S. 1606) for the relief of James M. Morgan,

A bill (S. 1607) for the relief of the heirs of Isabella Ann Fluker; and

A bill (S. 1608) for the relief of the New Orleans-Belize Royal Mail & Central American Steamship Co., of New Orleans, La.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1609) to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 1610) to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 1611) for the erection of a public building at the city of Auburn, State of California, and appropriating moneys therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1612) granting a pension to William F. Rogers (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 1613) making appropriation for publishing the name, service, and post-office address of persons who were granted pensions on account of service in the Revolutionary War; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. HARDING:

A bill (S. 1614) granting an increase of pension to Georgianna Thomas;

A bill (S. 1615) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Gafford; and

A bill (S. 1616) granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Shell; to the Committee on pensions.

By Mr. CUMMINS:

A bill (S. 1617) granting to the State of Iowa all the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to the land within the meander lines, as originally surveyed, of the lakes within said State; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1618) to reimburse J. Mandelbaum & Sons, of Des Moines, Iowa, for certain duties paid in excess; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 1619) to correct the military record of Jerome Chilson;

A bill (S. 1620) donating a bronze or brass condemned cannon to Crocker Post, Grand Army of the Republic, at Des Moines, Iowa, for cemetery purposes;

A bill (S. 1621) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of William M. Carroll; and

A bill (S. 1622) to correct the military record of T. J. Shropshire; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1623) to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and to further regulate commerce among the States and with foreign countries;

A bill (S. 1624) to amend an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," approved February 17, 1911; and

A bill (S. 1625) concerning baggage and excess baggage carried by common carriers in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and common carriers while engaged in commerce between the States and between the States and foreign nations, and prescribing the duties of such common carriers in reference thereto while so engaged, defining certain offenses and fixing the punishment therefor, and repealing all conflicting laws; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 1626) to amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to amend the laws for preventing collision of vessels, and to regulate the equipment of certain motor boats on the navigable waters of the United States," approved June 9, 1910; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 1627) to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers, and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico," approved May 11, 1912;

A bill (S. 1628) granting a pension to Eliza J. Mosher, widow of Albert A. Mosher;

A bill (S. 1629) granting pensions to soldiers, sailors, and marines confined in Confederate prisons; and

A bill (S. 1630) to extend the provisions of the act of June 27, 1902, entitled "An act to extend the provisions, limitations, and benefits of an act entitled 'An act granting pensions to the survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk War, Cherokee disturbance, and the Seminole War,' approved July 27, 1892"; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 1631) increasing the pay of certain enlisted men in the military and naval service of the United States during the continuance of the war with Germany, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 1632) to suppress the sale of pistols, revolvers, and other firearms of like form, size, and description, commonly used in the commission of felonious homicides and assaults, and to provide punishment for violation of the provisions of the same;

A bill (S. 1633) to amend section 162 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911; and

A bill (S. 1634) to amend section 162 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the Judiciary, approved March 3, 1911; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1635) to appropriate $500,000 to aid the Andrew Jackson Memorial Association in the erection of a monument at Nashville, Tenn., to commemorate the life, character, and services of Andrew Jackson; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 1636) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tenn., three brass cannon, with carriage; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 1637) to reinstate Frederick J. Birkett as third lieutenant in the United States Revenue Cutter Service; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 1638) for the relief of James L. Wallace, his heirs or assigns; to the Committee on Indian Depredations.

A bill (S. 1639) for the relief of Matthew McDonald; and

A bill (S. 1640) to correct the naval record of Reuben E. Lawrence; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 1641) for the relief of the heirs of Daniel W. Boutwell;

A bill (S. 1642) for the relief of W. E. Thomas;

A bill (S. 1643) for the relief of V. E. Schermerhorn, E. C. Caley, G. W. Campbell, and Philip Hudspeth;

A bill (S. 1644) for the relief of the estate of John McQuiddy, deceased;

A bill (S. 1645) for the relief of William H. Manning;

A bill (S. 1646) for the relief of Lou Jahn;

A bill (S. 1647) for the relief of David H. Fay;

A bill (S. 1648) for the relief of James Ferrell;

A bill (S. 1649) for the relief of Peter Carroll and others, lately laborers employed by the United States military authorities in and about Fort Leavenworth, Kans.;

A bill (S. 1650) for the relief of R. W. Branson; and

A bill (S. 1651) for the relief of Mary E. Woodward; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1652) for the relief of Henry Wagner;

A bill (S. 1653) for the relief of Ira Strickland;

A bill (S. 1654) for the relief of Charles Rayfield;

A bill (S. 1655) for the relief of Abner W. Loomis;

A bill (S. 1656) for the relief of David Porter Haseltine;

A bill (S. 1657) to correct the military record of Thomas Jackson Hanson;

A bill (S. 1658) for the relief of John C. Hall;

A bill (S. 1659) for the relief of Charles Dade;

A bill (S. 1660) for the relief of John A. Clark;

A bill (S. 1661) for the relief of Albert H. Campbell; and

A bill (S. 1662) for the relief of Franklin Bannon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1663) providing a pension rate of $30 per month for certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, a rate of $50 per month for total incapacity for labor, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 1664) granting a pension to Sarah J. Briles;

A bill (S. 1665) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Brown;

A bill (S. 1666) granting a pension to Lucy A. Cole;

A bill (S. 1667) granting a pension to Mrs. M. A. Campbell;

A bill (S. 1668) granting an increase of pension to Nannie L. Davenport;

A bill (S. 1669) granting a pension to Mary J. Davis;

A bill (S. 1670) granting an increase of pension to Dora A. Dressler;

A bill (S. 1671) granting a pension to Victoria Duby;

A bill (S. 1672) granting a pension to Sarah Elmore;

A bill (S. 1673) granting a pension to Jennie L. Luppie;

A bill (S. 1674) granting a pension to Elvisa Fightner;

A bill (S. 1675) granting a pension to Mary A. Hanks;

A bill (S. 1676) granting a pension to Sadie Jane Hodges;

A bill (S. 1677) granting a pension to Hattie W. Hurst;

A bill (S. 1678) granting an increase of pension to Samantha O. Andrews;

A bill (S. 1679) granting a pension to Marcia R. Ainsworth;

A bill (S. 1680) granting an increase of pension to Ada J. Bevelle;

A bill (S. 1681) granting a pension to Nancy E. Baskins;

A bill (S. 1682) granting a pension to Mary Ann Leahey;

A bill (S. 1683) granting a pension to Eliza Jane Mayabb;

A bill (S. 1684) granting a pension to Emma Ervin;

A bill (S. 1685) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Gee;

A bill (S. 1686) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Hamilton;

A bill (S. 1687) granting a pension to Amanda M. Haner;

A bill (S. 1688) granting a pension to Mary F. Brown;

A bill (S. 1689) granting an increase of pension to Emma J. Bratton;

A bill (S. 1690) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Baker;

A bill (S. 1691) granting a pension to Mary M. Billings;

A bill (S. 1692) granting a pension to Jennie Y. Brandon;

A bill (S. 1693) granting a pension to Hannah Vandenburg;

A bill (S. 1694) granting a pension to Mary C. Thompson;

A bill (S. 1695) granting a pension to Elizabeth Stover;

A bill (S. 1696) granting a pension to Catherine Stapleton;

A bill (S. 1697) granting a pension to Nancy K. Sadler;

A bill (S. 1698) granting a pension to Mary Ellen Saunders;

A bill (S. 1699) granting a pension to Susan J. St. John;

A bill (S. 1700) granting a pension to Julia Rumbley;

A bill (S. 1701) granting a pension to Mary F. Robinson;

A bill (S. 1702) granting a pension to Isadora Richardson;

A bill (S. 1703) granting a pension to Josephine Mater Roberds;

A bill (S. 1704) granting a pension to Mary Jane Thomas;

A bill (S. 1705) granting a pension to Hannah F. Taylor;

A bill (S. 1706) granting an increase of pension to Alice M. Pike;

A bill (S. 1707) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. A. J. Park;

A bill (S. 1708) granting a pension to Julia McMains;

A bill (S. 1709) granting an increase of pension to Sylvia McDevitt;

A bill (S. 1710) granting an increase of pension to Lottie L. Matthews;

A bill (S. 1711) granting a pension to Margaret E. Hutchinson;

A bill (S. 1712) granting a pension to Malinda Kiniston;

A bill (S. 1713) granting an increase of pension to Elvina Kelly;

A bill (S. 1714) granting a pension to Sarah A. Walker;

A bill (S. 1715) granting a pension to Clara C. Watson;

A bill (S. 1716) granting an increase of pension to Nancy A. Wilson;

A bill (S. 1717) granting a pension to Mary E. Williams;

A bill (S. 1718) granting a pension to Mary Alcinda Wingert; and

A bill (S. 1719) granting an increase of pension to Amanda Wintermote; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WARREN:

A bill (S. 1720) to provide for the award of medals of honor and distinguished-service medals; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 1721) to restore certain persons to American citizenship; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 1722) for the relief of the Alaska Steamship Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 1723) for the relief of Lieut. Commander Jerome E. Morse, United States Navy, retired (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 1724) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Bailey (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 1726) to prohibit the sale, gift, or furnishing of intoxicating liquors to soldiers or men enlisted in the Army or Navy of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1727) providing for the distribution of seeds, shrubs, etc., by the Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

VOLUNTARY MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. SHERMAN. I offer the concurrent resolution which I send to the desk, and ask that it be read and go over under the rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 3), as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized and requested to call for volunteer enlistments for military service in the Army of the United States to the aggregate number of 1,000,000 men, under such regulations as the President or the War Department shall provide, 500,000 of such men to be called into the military service of the United States immediately from and after their enlistment and the remainder thereof whenever the President shall require.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, at some opportune time I wish to be heard very briefly on the resolution. I hope it will then receive due consideration by the Senate, as I think we are now wasting valuable time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The concurrent resolution will lie over and be printed.

AGRICULTURAL DEFENSE.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I submit a resolution, and ask that it be read and referred to the proper committee, and that the accompanying document be inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 28), as follows:

Resolved, That the Council of National Defense be requested to consider the advisability of establishing a commissioner of agricultural defense, or some other authority, whose duty it shall be to assemble into one organization the various agencies—National, State, and private—which can effectively deal with the problem of mobilizing the farm labor of the country to the production of larger crops and otherwise render practical aid to the farmer in the present agricultural crisis.

That they examine the feasibility of the plan submitted herewith, or prepare another plan and report forthwith to the Senate appropriate legislation to make such plan effective:

1. This plan to provide for retaining in their present occupations all employees of National and State agricultural departments, competent farmers, efficient farm hands, and others actively engaged in productive agriculture.

2. Assuring farmers immediately, through evidence of practical cooperation, sufficient additional labor to care for and harvest an increased acreage of crops at the season of maximum labor demand.

3. Enlisting in agricultural defense those who are not available for military service, who are, nevertheless, competent to assist in crop production.

4. Protecting against criticism for nonservice all who are faithfully engaged in the production of crops and stimulating them to greater effort through appropriate national recognition of their services.

5. Insuring the prompt transportation of seed, fertilizer, and farm equipment needed by farmers.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There are some drawings in the matter sent to the desk by the Senator from New Jersey, and the Chair is of the opinion that it will be necessary to refer the whole matter to the Joint Committee on Printing before it can be inserted in the RECORD. Is that not correct?

Mr. SMOOT. The Chair is correct, Mr. President. The

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I request that the document be matter will have to be referred to that committee.
referred with the resolution.

Mr. FLETCHER. I should suppose that the resolution would go to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, as I understand, there are certain diagrams accompanying the document which the Senator from New Jersey desires printed in the RECORD, and, of course, in order to do that it will be necessary to have the Joint Committee on Printing pass upon them and determine whether they shall be printed or not. Then the document can be referred afterwards to the Agricultural Committee.

Mr. FLETCHER. I did not know that the Senator from New Jersey asked to have the document printed. I thought he asked to have the whole resolution considered by some committee, and, of course, the Committee on Agriculture would be the appropriate committee.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from New Jersey asked that it be printed in the RECORD without reading.

Mr. FLETCHER. That can not be done without reference to the Joint Committee on Printing.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I do not want to take the time of the Senate to make any remarks on the resolution at this time, but I feel that it is necessary in presenting it that the Senate should know why it is offered.

Mr. President, I offer this resolution suggesting that the National Council of Defense consider a plan herewith submitted aiming to mobilize the agricultural forces of the Nation under such authority as the council may recommend.

This plan was prepared by Edgar L. Smith, president of investigator in matters of organization. It comes to me with the Farmers' Bureau (Inc.), of New York, an expert and trained indorsement of the agricultural department of the State of New Jersey and with a letter from Alva Agee, secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of New Jersey, urging that it be given serious consideration.

My resolution supplements the admirable resolution recently offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], which called upon the Secretary of Agriculture to consider means of increasing the acreage under cultivation. It is imperative, however, that we first provide the man power necessary to maintain the production on the acres now in cultivation. This is the main object of the plan submitted.

In these trying times men who have had the experience to become efficient farmers are necessary to produce the maximum crops; therefore they must stick to their posts. A soldier can be trained in a year; it takes nearly five years to train a competent farm hand.

Already the best workers on the farms are preparing to enlist. They will leave the farms unless they are shown that it is their patriotic duty to remain. The farms of the country are undermanned to-day on account of the great drafts made upon their man power by munition and other manufacturers.

We are now creating a situation in which the farmer confronts the possibility of losing to the Army or to war industries even those men which he has to-day.

In my own State the Secretary of Agriculture informs me that several of the most efficient men on his staff are studying to become officers in the Army. He fears a breakdown of his organization. He also fears by reason of loss of farm hands that the production of the great potato crop in New Jersey will be perilously curtailed, if some plan is not promptly formulated by the National Government to keep farm workers at their posts and to provide additional hands at the season of harvest.

The departments of the National Government are now overburdened, but we have in the State departments of agriculture, in the county agents and demonstrators, and in various farmers' associations throughout the country the material which, under proper authority and competent leadership, can be promptly combined into a great national organization for agricultural defense.

This resolution further suggests that the Council of National Defense consider the enlistment of those who are unavailable for military service yet who are available for service on farms and can be assigned to duty in sections where there is a shortage of farm labor.

In short, Mr. President, we are facing a grave crisis in agricultural production, and it seems advisable to consider creating at once an organization which will not only urge farmers to grow more crops, but will have the authority to mobilize man power, and, if necessary, the working capital and equipment needed to produce crops.

And let us give to such organization and to the farmers the national recognition necessary to show their record of service in order to protect them against the criticism that in this hour of trial they were slackers, and that this generation and future generations may know of their faithful service to their country.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution and accompanying document will be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

OBJECTIONABLE MATTER IN THE RECORD.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I rise to a matter of privilege, and invoke the attention of the Senate for a very few moments. Under Rule XIX of the Senate, it is provided:

> 2. No Senator in debate shall, directly or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator.
> 3. No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any State of the Union.

Mr. President, the wisdom of that rule is obvious and needs no discussion. Without it not only the motives but the personal character of Members of this body would be constantly subject to criticism, if not to assault. The consequences would be deplorable.

I find in the RECORD this morning, Mr. President, very much to my regret, a number of communications which were inserted in the RECORD, doubtless by consent, but which contain reflections upon certain Members of this body, which are abusive, scurrilous, personal, and offensive to the last degree; designedly so, as to those who penned and posted the communications. Their publication is as much a violation of the rule I have cited as though their recitals were made by a Senator from his desk.

Mr. President, I was not present when the joint resolution declaring war upon Germany was passed by the Senate. Illness detained me at my home. If I had been here, I should have supported it and supported it heartily. I was here during the closing days of the last Congress and remained in attendance by day and by night that a vote might be taken, if possible, upon the joint resolution then pending, but which did sonally that a large proportion of the Senators who since then not pass, as the country well knows. I therefore know perhave been denounced and vilified to an extent that is wholly unpardonable and in a manner most reprehensible, while opposed to that measure, were ready at all times to bring it to a vote, although they would have voted against it. I know personally that several of them remained here to aid in keeping a quorum by night and by day, that the business of the Senate might be expedited. I affirm that their patriotism is equal to my own and to that of Senators who, like myself, supported and would have voted for the measure. The treatment which they have since then received, the abuse and vilification which they have endured at the hands of the press, which makes the public opinion of the country, is without justification. Instead of benefiting it will tend to lower the standard of representation in this body, for here, of all places, a representative of a sovereign State should be independent. He should speak his mind, however much his opinions may oppose or offend those of his colleagues and however much they may disagree with those of the majority. Unless that be his privilege, Mr. President, which he may exercise without subjecting his motives to the reproach of treason or corruption, there is an end of free and full discussion of measures of great importance to the people.

I do not in any sense commit myself to the views of Senators who recently addressed themselves against the joint resolution declaring war with Germany, but I believe in the honesty of their convictions. I protest, however, against the insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of communications which not only reflect upon them personally but which question their motives, charge them with treason, and demand their punishment. It is not only wrong but it is wholly indefensible and unjustifiable. Unless the matter is brought to the attention of the Senate and such communications expunged, it will be very difficult to determine what limitation can be placed upon the contents of communications inserted in the RECORD holding up the Members of this body to public humiliation, and inviting, if not encouraging, similar attacks upon them from outside sources.

I do not, Mr. President, I can not believe that the Senator who introduced these letters was aware of the extent to which their comments upon the conduct and character of Members of this body goes, and I am sorry he is not here. I believe, if his attention were called directly to some of these communications, he would join in asking that they be expunged from the RECORD, as I now request.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in my office this morning, as is my custom, I picked up the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and was greatly astounded to read the many telegrams placed in the RECORD, addressed to Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, and asked by that Senator to be printed in the RECORD without reading. I can not believe that the Senator from Mississippi read those telegrams, for, if he had done so, I feel positive that he would never have asked that they be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Those telegrams do reflect upon the character of Senators. Not only that, Mr. President, but, in my opinion, the statements contained therein are untrue. I have spoken to one or two of the Senators, but found that they felt some delicacy in having the matter brought to the attention of the Senate, and asked me to say nothing in relation to it, preferring that it might go by unnoticed. If it were not for the honor of the Senate and the violation of the rules of the Senate, we might follow that course, and no doubt that would be the easiest way to have the whole matter forgotten; but if no notice is taken of it, and no action taken, it would be a precedent, Mr. President, which I think would be very unwise, indeed.

If the Senator from Mississippi were in his seat at the present time, I would ask him to request that these telegrams be expunged from the permanent RECORD.

There is no need of now encumbering the RECORD with the statements to which I have reference. Senators themselves can read them. Those statements are unjust; and it is most unfortunate that they have been placed in the RECORD.

I desired to say this much, Mr. President, because I believe if a precedent of this kind is established it will return to plague us in the future.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I now move to expunge from the RECORD the objectionable matter to which I have referred, but I do not care to have action taken upon my motion in the absence of the senior Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS said:

Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege. I understand that while I was in my office this morning attending to my mail something was said about some telegrams or letters or petitions which I had introduced and had published in the RECORD. I do not know just exactly what the strictures or criticisms were, nor do I know whence they proceeded, but I want to make this statement to the Senate.

A great many telegrams and memorials and petitions were being presented by very many Senators upon both sides of the question lately under debate. I received I do not know how many—perhaps if I said hundreds I would undermeasure it. I instructed my secretary to classify and take out of the list all those which contained anything that looked like a personal insult toward any Senator or a personal criticism of any Senator and leave the balance of them, which I would introduce and have published.

Now, if accidentally some telegram has been included amongst those which were published which reflected upon the patriotism, the honor, or the good sense of any Member of this body, I hope I need not say that I did not want to do that. My instructions were given for the purpose of avoiding that very thing. Amongst the Senators who differed with me upon the question lately under debate were men like the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA], whom I have loved for years while a colleague of mine here and in the other House and whose patriotism and honor and honesty I have and have had absolute confidence in all the time; and there are others.

I should be very sorry indeed if any of the telegrams were of that character. I did not have time to reread them all; the Senate will understand that. I merely acknowledged the receipt of them. I asked that a classification be made, and that those of them which did not reflect upon anyone—those that merely approved my conduct and approved the action that the President has taken, the action that Congress has taken, that the people of America have taken in defense of the assaulted flag and the national honor and self-respect—were to be handed me and I would offer them for insertion in the RECORD.

If accidentally or incidentally some telegram or letter or resolution has gone in of a different purport, it has not been done by my intention.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I desire to say, now that the Senator is in the Chamber, that when I called the attention of the Senate this morning to the subject I made the statement that I was very sure the Senator had not carefully read them, or he never would have offered them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I read them, every one, Mr. President, at one time or another, and after I got through answering them I asked my secretary to make this classification and hand me those of them that did not reflect upon Senators. If any mistake has been made it was not made by him intentionally, because he had no more intention of needlessly insulting Senators than I had.

Now, so much for that. Of course, any man who commends the action of the President or of any Senator who has taken a very strong position in behalf of the defense of our national safety and the assertion of our national honor does in a certain degree reflect upon the Senators who have taken an opposite position. That can not be helped. But I did attempt to cut out of it everything which was affirmatively reflective upon anybody. I am very sorry if there is anything in the RECORD inserted by me—and, by the way, I doubt if there is anything; I have not read them——

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will read them, he will find that there is scurrilous matter contained in some of them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very well. I especially doubt the word "scurrilous." I merely want to make that statement. I am sorry I was not in the Chamber when gentlemen chose to criticize me in my absence. I had to be down in my room answering my mail; and having made this explanation, I hope it will be sufficient.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator from Mississippi that in my statement this morning I made the remark that I felt positive the Senator from Mississippi had never read the telegrams that were printed in the RECORD, or some of them to which there can be objection made, or the Senator never would have allowed them to be printed. They did reflect upon the integrity, the honesty, and the patriotism of individual Senators, and, I might say, Mr. President, in a most offensive way. All that would be necessary, I knew, was to call the Senator's attention to these telegrams and he himself, as I said this morning, would ask that they be eliminated from the permanent RECORD.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose I have now lying on my desk something like four or five hundred telegrams and letters which while commending me for the position which I take, and while commending the President and the Congress, bitterly assaulted Senators. Those telegrams are lying there yet, and have never been put in the RECORD, because I did not think that I had a right to put them there, although they are the sincere utterances of sincere and patriotic Americans. If any telegram has slipped through the meshes that is insulting to any Senator or reflects upon his patriotism or honor, I am, of course, very sorry, and if later on, when I examine the RECORD myself, I find which are the individual ones I will myself move that they be eliminated.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not want to call the Senator's attention to the telegrams, because then they would go in the RECORD again. I think the proper thing to do is simply to call the Senator's attention to the telegrams, and then pass on the motion made by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know what that motion was. What was it?

Mr. SMOOT. To simply eliminate the telegrams to which there could be objection made.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I am not willing to do that. That is a reflection upon me. I will myself offer a motion later on, when I have had time to examine the RECORD, to eliminate such of them as I regard as insulting or reflective upon Senators. I am not willing that it shall be done on another Senator's motion.

Mr. SMOOT. I know all that is desired by the Senator from Colorado or anyone else is simply to have them eliminated.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will do that myself, in as far as it is, in my opinion, right and proper.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on April 6, 1917, approved and signed the following joint resolution:

S. J. Res. 1. Joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

REPORT OF PANAMA RAILROAD CO. (S. DOC. NO. 7).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the Sixty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Panama Railroad Co. for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 11, 1917.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further concurrent or other resolutions, morning business is closed.

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I ask to have the unfinished business laid before the Senate.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that when the bill is in the Senate I shall renew the motion to strike out the provision with regard to civilian military camp training.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending amendment is that presented by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES], which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 19, line 3, the Senator from New Jersey proposed to strike out "$29,000,000" and to insert:

$58,000,000: *Provided*, That hereafter the pay of enlisted men in the Regular Army shall be $30 per month, and that the pay of noncommissioned officers shall be increased in the same proportion: *Provided further*, That in no case shall any noncommissioned officer receive more than $100 per month as a result of this act.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the point of order was made to this amendment yesterday evening and not ruled upon by the Chair. I therefore renew the point of order on the ground, first, that it is new legislation on an appropriation bill, and, secondly, that no estimate has been made for it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not think it is new legislation; but the Chair does think that if there has been no estimate made, and it increases the appropriation, the point of order must be sustained.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I desire to offer a modification of the same amendment to the proviso on page 19, which I understand still remains in the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of the proviso on page 20, line 2, it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided further, That hereafter the pay of enlisted men in the Regular Army shall be $30 per month, and that the pay of noncommissioned officers shall be increased in the same proportion: *Provided further*, That in no case shall any noncommissioned officer receive more than $100 per month as a result of this act.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I am not going to discuss the merits of the amendment. It is the same amendment, except that it does not seek to appropriate the money. It simply seeks to change the law by amending an amendment to which the proposed amendment is germane, which, I think, takes it out of the provisions of the rule.

Mr. WARREN. Oh, but, Mr. President, it entirely changes the law. It is, from all points of view, out of order.

Mr. HUGHES. So does the amendment change the law. I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that the committee amendment which is on the bill changes the law, and it is subject to a point of order. The point of order is not made, and it is now in the bill; and, of course, any amendment that is germane to the committee amendment is in order.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, this has not been estimated for. It was not presented here on a previous day and sent to the committee as the rule provides. It does propose to change the law entirely, and the result of it is to greatly increase the expenses of the Government, so that it is clearly out of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is not a question as to whether this is general legislation upon an appropriation bill at all. The Chair does not think this is general legislation on an appropriation bill. The Chair believes he is compelled to sustain the point of order, under the rules, upon the ground that the amendment is increasing the appropriation when the same has not been estimated for by the department. That is the ground for sustaining the point of order.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I simply want to call the attention of the Chair to the fact that the committee itself has entered upon the subject of increasing the pay of certain men in the Regular Establishment. The language reads as follows:

Provided, That hereafter one of the enlisted men of each main recruiting station who has been detached for duty at such station under the provisions of the act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, have the rank, pay, and allowances of a first sergeant of Infantry.

Inasmuch as they have started to deal with this subject, inasmuch as they have started to make increases, the committee can not very well come in and say that the hands of the Senate are tied on this subject when they have operated to a limited extent themselves. I think it is perfectly in order to move to cut the pay of those sergeants or to increase the pay of the sergeants that they have dealt with in this amendment; and by the same process of reasoning it is possible for us to deal with other enlisted men besides the enlisted men they are attempting to deal with.

I should like to have the proposition as it now is submitted to the Senate without any ruling by the Chair, if that is not asking too much.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has gone all over these questions, he should think, twenty-five times. The Chair has ruled, and was sustained by the Senate, that when you started in on a bit of general legislation you opened up that general subject so that amendments could be made thereto; but that is not this question. There is no showing that an increase in the pay of one man can not be made out of the appropriations here. It is perfectly apparent that you can not raise the wages of all the enlisted men without very largely increasing the appropriations; and this has not been estimated for by the department.

Mr. HUGHES. Of course I suppose the reason for the rule which calls for an estimate on the part of the head of a department with reference to a proposed increase of an appropriation grows out of the fact that it is impossible, in many cases, for the Senate to know what the result of proposed amendments is going to be in the way of additional expenditure of the public money; but, of course, no such reason as that exists in this case. The amendment as originally drawn was its own estimate. It doubled the amount of money. Now, we all know, and it is carried right in this bill, just exactly what the enlisted man of the Army receives. It is perfectly easy for the Chair or any Member of the Senate to double that amount of money. There is no occasion, as I see it, for the application of the rule which seeks to protect the Senate from enacting hasty legislation by means of amendments on money bills.

When it is sought to raise the compensation of a class of public servants about whom there may be great doubt as to the number of them and the amount of money that is to be involved if the amendment prevails, that is a wise and salutary rule, which is intended to shield and protect the Treasury against unwarranted expenditures—against expenditures that might be much greater than the author of the provision, or those who put it upon the law, had any idea of. Of course that rule does not exist in this case. We all know that the enlisted men under this bill are to receive $29,000,000, and we know that to double that it will be necessary to appropriate twice $29,000,000, or $58,000,000. All the experts, all the mathematicians, and all the heads of departments in the city of Washington can not change that elementary fact.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is all true enough, and the Chair, if he were a Member of the Senate, would undoubtedly vote, if he had a chance to vote, to increase the pay of soldiers. That, however, does not change the rules of the Senate the least bit. There is a way, even without an estimate by the head of a department, to have had this matter before the Senate in a regular way. It can be moved by direction of a standing or select committee of the Senate and referred to the Committee on Appropriations; but it is subject to all those objections save that it is general legislation. It is not general legislation.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, if I may say a single word—I am entirely in accord with the ruling of the Chair—I call attention to the words "the effect of which will be." The rule is drawn in a very broad way, so that even if the amendment does not raise the appropriation, if its ultimate effect will be to increase the charge on the Treasury it is out of order.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, the pay of the Army is all in one fund, made so by legislation. Of course to undertake to double the pay of privates would require more money and accordingly confusion would follow, because then there would not be enough to pay any part of the Army for the full term for which the bill provides.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, before we depart from the subject that was raised by the motion of the Senator from New Jersey, I desire to say that whenever this question of increasing the pay of the enlisted men gets before the Military Affairs Committee it will be thoroughly investigated, but it has not been before the committee because no suggestion has ever come from the Senate or from the War Department. At that time I will discuss the question at length.

There are two amendments that I wish to propose to this bill that were passed by yesterday owing to inadvertence. I desire to move to amend by inserting the following after line 10, on page 89:

Provided further, That any funds appropriated under section 1661, Revised Statutes, for the fiscal year 1916 or former years, and remaining on August 29, 1916, to the credit of any State, the Territory of Hawaii, or the District of Columbia, shall remain available only to the end of the fiscal year 1918 for expenditures authorized by law.

Under the old statute, Mr. President, there has been an annual appropriation of $2,000,000 made for the support of the Na-

tional Guard. It was distributed amongst the States. That statute has been repealed by the national-defense act, and yet there are funds in the Treasury against which the States are drawing. Now, there is no disposition to cut out the appropriation which has been made, but the department wants to limit the time and the purpose for which these appropriations shall be available.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, these moneys are now being drawn for the purpose of meeting obligations created before the change in the law, are they not?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And have no reference whatever to new obligations created since?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. None at all; and they wanted to limit the time when this appropriation shall cease to be used. It would revert to the Treasury, of course. I ask to have the Secretary's letter printed in connection with the proposed amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. Where is the amendment?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is in the first part of the letter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert, after line 10, on page 89, the following:

Provided further, That any funds appropriated under section 1661, Revised Statutes, for the fiscal year 1916 or former years, and remaining on August 29, 1916, to the credit of any State, the Territory of Hawaii, or the District of Columbia, shall remain available only to the end of the fiscal year 1918 for expenditures authorized by law.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, can the chairman of the committtee advise the Senate why the States have not used this fund? I see that the provision of the amendment goes back several years.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I ask the Secretary to read the letter from the Secretary of War. That explains the whole situation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT.
Washington, April 6, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Chairman Military Committee, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: Referring to the House bill No. 13, making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, it is requested that the following proviso be inserted after line 6 on page 62:

"*Provided further*, That any funds appropriated under section 1661, Revised Statutes, for the fiscal year 1916 or former years and remaining on August 29, 1916, to the credit of any State, the Territory of Hawaii, or the District of Columbia, shall remain available only to the end of the fiscal year 1918 for expenditures authorized by law."

Section 1661 automatically made available $2,000,000 each year for the support of the National Guard, the money remaining available until expended. The act of June 3, 1916, provided that, "A sum of money shall hereafter be appropriated annually." Since this act, no further appropriation is available under section 1661, but the money that had already been made available and apportioned to the various States was considered available until expended. The States continued to use the balances of funds on hand under 1661 for approved expenditures.

The accounting officers of the Treasury hold that these balances on hand in the various States were not available after the passage of the appropriation act August 29, 1916. The States incurred obligations chargeable against these funds with the understanding that the amount of money already apportioned them under this section was available until expended.

The object of the proviso requested is to legalize the expenditures already made and to fix a definite time within which the balances will remain available.

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator from Michigan will see from that it is really to protect the States and to authorize them to audit claims already incurred and fix the limit.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is very clear to me, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I have one other amendment. I should like the Senate to consider this quite carefully. It is for the establishment and maintenance by the Weather Bureau of additional aerological stations for observing, measuring, and investigating the atmospheric phenomena in the aid of aeronautics. It comes recommended by the Chief of the Weather Bureau and it is also recommended by those who have in charge the improvement of the Aviation Service of the United States.

In Great Britain, and I think in France, there is a system which has been adopted for measuring the air currents and ascertaining by scientific methods where the currents of air are liable to affect injuriously the aviation service. It is approved by the department and Dr. Walcott has given it a great deal of consideration. I think now is the appropriate time to try to ascertain all there is about the air.

Mr. FLETCHER. May I ask the chairman what the cost will be?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. They ask for an appropriation of $100,000. The letter from the Chief of the Weather Bureau is attached and a memorandum giving the reasons for asking for this appropriation. I ask that they be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS,
Washington, D. C., April 10, 1917.

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
Chairman Committee on Military Affairs,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am submitting herewith a brief memorandum restating the urgent need for the appropriation of $100,000 for aerological stations in aid of aviation. I earnestly hope you will find time to read it carefully. This is not an agricultural matter simply because the Weather Bureau is a part of the Department of Agriculture. As you know, weather and storm conditions affect almost every important activity of the Nation, and none more vitally than aeronautics. In the effort now being made to train a large corps of air pilots, training camps are alrealy being organized and others will soon follow. The safety of the lives of aviators and the security of costly machines and property can be greatly conserved by the atmospheric studies and measurements provided for by this appropriation. It is a matter of the utmost practical importance to aeronautics and should receive the full consideration I hope Congress can be induced to give it.

Very respectfully,

C. F. MARVIN,
Chief of Bureau.

MEMORANDUM RELATING TO THE EXTENSION OF THE UPPER-AIR WORK OF THE WEATHER BUREAU.

Amendment.

For the establishment and maintenance by the Weather Bureau of additional aerological stations for observing, measuring, and investigating atmospheric phenomena in the aid of aeronautics, including salaries, travel, and other expenses in the city of Washington and elsewhere, $100,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture.

This appropriation is to enable the Weather Bureau to extend its upper-air service to aid in all kinds of military operations, and especially in connection with the testing, trying out, and experimentation with all kinds of aircraft, including the training of pilots and operatives in every way possible.

Firing of heavy projectiles: This upper-air service is also greatly needed and of direct value in the scientific management of heavy ordnance. Accuracy in long-range gunfire requires that account be taken of the influence of the free air currents upon the trajectory of the projectile.

The Weather Bureau is now the only branch of the Government that maintains systematic observations of the upper air. It has one aerological station, maintained heretofore for scientific purposes. There is a small nucleus of only six or eight men who are technically trained in the special duties required in this work. More men and more stations and equipment are needed to give to the military branches of the Government the aid and information they need in all kinds of aeronautical and heavy-artillery operations.

The funds will be used to employ and train new men and to establish and equip stations at which systematic observations will be made of free-air conditions by means of pilot balloons whose flight, when properly observed and recorded by means of theodolites, gives the velocities and the motions of the different wind strata in the free air.

Aeronauts and gunners in charge of heavy ordnance need this information very much in connection with military operations. It can not be adequately obtained by any other agency.

Many of the instruments or parts thereof, and materials required, were formerly procured from Russia, Germany, and France, and can now be obtained only by the slow and difficult plan of organizing, training, and encouraging home industries.

Large appropriations are needed for building up the aeronautic strength of the Nation and providing for its defense. This free-air service in aid of aeronautics and the firing of projectiles must be provided for. It is a real service greatly needed and highly valuable.

Character of stations: In case of actual hostilities in this country two types of stations must be maintained, namely:

Permanent stations at fixed aeronautical bases devoted to training aviators, testing and trying out of aircraft, experimentation, etc. Also fixed stations at permanent fortifications.

Mobile stations, consisting of portable stations to operate with the Army and Artillery in the field.

Amount of appropriation: The sum of $100,000 carried by the amendment was based on an estimate submitted by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics on December 8, 1916. The work contemplated at that time was altogether upon a peace basis, and several times the amount estimated will be necessary to adequately meet war-time requirements.

APRIL 6, 1917.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert at the proper place in the bill—

For the establishment and maintenance by the Weather Bureau of additional aerological stations, for observing, measuring, and investigating atmospheric phenomena in the aid of aeronautics, including salaries, travel, and other expenses in the city of Washington and elsewhere, $100,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. I desire to have the Senate reconsider the vote whereby the provision on page 106 of the bill was agreed to and to move to strike out the language beginning at line 25, after the word "from," the language to be stricken out being "the War Department allotment of the appropriation for printing and binding or other," so that it will read:

Such printing and binding to be made from available appropriations.

Unless this is done it will place the Government Printing Office in a very awkward position, because the appropriation for printing and binding is made to the Public Printer and certain allotments are set off to the War Department, and he makes his contracts based upon that allotment.

I think there can be no objection to striking out those words, and I move to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment was adopted.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I could not hear the Senator from Florida. May I ask him to repeat his motion?

Mr. FLETCHER. I move to strike out, on page 106, beginning after the word "from," in line 25, the words "the War Department allotment of the appropriation for printing and binding or other," so that the payment for printing and binding will be made from available appropriations. The Senator will note that on page 37 the bill carries an appropriation for printing and binding, and this would prevent confusion in the Government Printing Office and be the proper way to handle that situation in case the printing is done by the department.

Mr. SMOOT. As the amendment now stands all such printing and binding that the Secretary of War may approve is to be paid from the War Department allotment of appropriations for printing and binding. I think that is perfectly right. I think it ought to be paid from their appropriation for printing and binding.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is. I propose to leave the words "from available appropriations" in, so that it would be payable out of the available appropriation for this purpose. On page 37 of the bill you will find a provision made including the printing.

Mr. SMOOT. I see the words following this would cover it; that is, it provides that the payment for such printing and binding shall be made from available appropriations.

Mr. FLETCHER. That would be the language.

Mr. SMOOT. That would mean the same thing; but it has to be paid from the fund set aside for that purpose in the War Department.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the vote whereby the amendment was agreed to is reconsidered and the Senator from Florida moves an amendment, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 106, line 25, strike out the words "The War Department allotment of appropriations for printing and binding or other."

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there are no further amendments, as in Committee of the Whole, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

Mr. KIRBY. I desire to present an amendment authorizing the President to call for volunteers.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 41, after line 10, insert:

Provided further, That war having been declared, the President is hereby authorized to call for volunteers in numbers of 500,000 until as many men are enlisted in the Regular Army as are deemed necessary to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I make a point of order that the amendment is general legislation on an appropriation bill; and, second, that it will involve a vast expenditure and is violative of the rule to which the attention of the Chair was called by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] a while ago. No estimate has been made for the increased expense of this proposed measure.

Besides that, Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Arkansas, without any disposition to criticize the purpose of his amendment, the same subject will have to be involved in the measure that is now being considered by the House committee, and that will shortly be considered by the Senate committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I desire to make a point of order against the provision on page 93, from line 6 to line 18, the committee amendment. I desire to make the point of order that it is new legislation and has not been provided for in any bill heretofore. It is the same point that has been raised against this other amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The trouble is that the amendment has been concurred in.

Mr. KIRBY. Does the Chair state that it is too late to make a point of order now?

Mr. LODGE. Our rule is not new legislation, it is general legislation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A point of order, the Chair thinks, can be made at any time. The Chair does not think it is new legislation, but the rule of the Senate is general legislation.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The national-defense act covers the subject. The purpose was merely to correct it so as to relieve the department of a good deal of bookkeeping and make the provision as it is now under the national-defense act more easy of administration.

Mr. KIRBY. I do not understand that the defense act provided for the payment of the expenses of these men in traveling to and from camp. This new law does provide for that, and I make a point of order against that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The national-defense act provided pay for transportation, and this simply modifies that measurably so as to make it easier of administration.

Mr. KIRBY. Has the Chair ruled on my point of order?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is not in a situation to rule. There seems to be a dispute. If the defense act provided for the payment of traveling expenses, the Chair does not think it is general legislation.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will call the attention of the Chair to the provision. I did not have it before me. The national-defense act, section 54, in connection with these training camps provided——

Mr. KIRBY. Will the Senator read the provision that provided the pay?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Without reading it all, as it is quite a long section, it reads:

To furnish, at the expense of the United States, uniforms, subsistence, transportation by the most usual and direct route within such limits as to territory as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

That is in the national-defense act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is not new legislation. It is simply fixing the amount to be paid. The point of order is overruled.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I should like to renew the motion to strike out from line 11, on page 92, down to and including line 19, on page 94.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out the paragraphs relating to civilian military training, beginning in line 11, on page 92, and going down to and including line 19, on page 94.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, in support of that motion I want to say a few words. Having declared war, it seems to me that the resources of the country and the money to be expended ought to be used in training soldiers who are needed to fight the battles of the country. The hearings in the House Military Committee on this appropriation bill show that it is the general understanding that no man who takes training at these military training camps is required by any law to serve in any army of his country. He can not be required because of the fact that he has received the military training to enlist here or there or yonder, or to do any military duty whatever. With war declared, if we are to spend three and one-half million dollars for these summer training camps for people who are not obligated to become soldiers, to enlist in the service, or to do public service for their country in time of war, I believe that $3.500,000 ought to be saved and ought to be used in training men who will become soldiers.

It seems to me it would be well enough and all right to do this at a time when war is not impending, or when war has not been declared. Men might be put into such training as would make them soldiers, but since we are using the money to give them training, with no obligation upon their part to enlist, and since there has been no disposition on the part of the people who had this training last year to enlist, and none of them did enlist for service on the Mexican border, I think this money ought to be saved and go to the National Guard. It may be that some of them did enlist and go to the front down there, but only $1,000,000 is provided for the maneuvers and training of the National Guard, while we have $3,500,000 appropriated for civilian training, and when it is all over and the money has been expended not one single man who has had the benefit of it can be required to go into the Army and defend his country. I think we can save $3.500,000 here, and that it ought to be done. I call the Senate's attention to this again.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I do not care to argue this matter at any length; but the motion of the Senator from Arkansas now is directly in the teeth of the proposition he made a while ago, to authorize the organization of an army of volunteers. This is distinctively a volunteer organization of the country, where thousands of young men go and train for 30 days. Without meaning to reflect on the National Guard, the training received in these encampments is worth more than the training received in the National Guard, for the reason that for 30 days they engage in intensive training at the rate of 8 hours a day, while in the National Guard they meet four times a week and drill about an hour or an hour and a quarter, so that in 30 days of this work men get more training than they do in the National Guard in a year.

Mr. KIRBY. I want to ask the Senator from Oregon a question. Is it not a fact that there is no obligation upon one of these men who receive this training to enlist or to serve the country, and that he can not be required to do it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. As I stated to the Senator a while ago, I believe that the Secretary of War, under the national-defense act, can impose enlistment upon these men longer than 30 days, because—and I called the Senator's attention to this yesterday—the law authorizes that they may be enlisted under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe. I believe the Secretary of War could, under that provision of the law, require them to enlist for a year as a condition precedent to training, if not possibly longer, dependent upon the emergency or crisis that confronted the Nation at the time.

Mr. KIRBY. Does the Senator from Oregon mean that the Secretary of War could require enlistment in the Army when the law does not authorize it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I say the Secretary of War can impose conditions upon the young men who want to go into training camps. He could say to these young men by regulation: "You will not be received unless you enlist for a certain time." The time now fixed is 30 days, but the Secretary might fix a longer time.

Mr. KIRBY. In the hearings we had that very proposition presented. The Secretary was asked why this requirement was not made, and he said nobody would have gone in if they had done so; that they would not have been able to get anybody. I have in my hand a copy of the hearings. At the point to which I have referred Gen. Scott is talking.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I beg to suggest that the mere fact that these young men have taken this training is an evidence that they desire to serve their country and that they would serve their country if needed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. And all over the country they have taken this training.

Mr. KIRBY. But they did not serve their country on the Mexican border.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I want also to suggest to the chairman of the committee what has happened to come to my knowledge. I know of several regiments which are seeking organization which are composed almost exclusively of men who secured their training at these military camps. Men are in this Capital to-day trying to organize themselves in the most efficient manner for the service of the Government, who are not only ready to enlist but who are ready to go anywhere the Government may demand that they shall go. It has been my understanding, as to the thousands of men who have gone to the Michigan encampment at least, that they went there impressed with the idea that they were receiving this special training for service when it should be called for.

Mr. KIRBY. I will ask the Senator, is it not a fact, however much they might have been impressed, that there is no law requiring it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Requiring the training of these young men?

Mr. KIRBY. No; requiring their enlistment and service in the Army after they shall have been trained.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No; but there is this provision, Mr. President; and I repeat what I said a while ago——

Mr. KIRBY. I should like the Senator to call my attention to that provision.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Let me call the Senator's attention to the first provision of section 54 of the national-defense act, which reads:

SEC. 54. Training camps: The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to maintain, upon military reservations or elsewhere, camps for the military instruction and training of such citizens as may be selected—

There is even a process of selection under the act—

for such instruction and training, upon their application and under such terms of enlistment and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. President, I venture to predict that these training camps will be equivalent to the British training camps, where soldiers are trained before they go across the English Channel. In other words, the Secretary of War may say to these men, "We will not receive any man into these training camps who is under the age of 19 or who is over the age of 25." He not only can do that, but he can impose terms of enlistment of 30 days or more, if he sees fit to do so; and a national crisis might compel him to adopt a course not only of enlistment but a policy of selection.

Mr. KIRBY. If the Senator will consent to an amendment providing that a man shall, after having this training, be subject to call for service in the Army, I shall be glad to withdraw the amendment I have offered. I only want the money expended in making soldiers after war is declared. In the military training camps in Canada the men are enlisted and are soldiers before money is expended in training them; they are in war; and war has been declared by us. Why should we waste three and one-half million dollars in training citizens who are not required to go into the military service and who do not go?

Mr. WEEKS. I want to ask the Senator from Arkansas from whom he was quoting when he said these young men would not go to the training camps if any conditions were imposed that would make it necessary for them to serve, if they did go?

Mr. KIRBY. I did not mean that these men would not respond, but I say there is no law requiring them to respond; there is no legal obligation resting upon them to do so; and I say when it is proposed to spend three and a half million dollars in training men, there ought to be some obligation on them to render some service to the Government after they have been trained.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Arkansas to quote from some one who said that these men would not go to the camps if any obligation were placed on them.

Mr. KIRBY. I do not know what a man might do. What I am speaking about is that he does not serve in the Army, and is not required to do so.

Mr. WEEKS. The Senator from Arkansas is overlooking what I have been trying to bring to his attention. He quoted from some one who said that these young men would not go to the camps if any obligation were placed upon them.

Mr. KIRBY. I quoted from Gen. Scott.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I want to say that, in my judgment, Gen. Scott was very badly informed on that subject.

Mr. KIRBY. I quoted from the hearings before the Committee on Military Affairs of the other House in the Sixty-fourth Congress, on pages 615, 690, 723, and 804. There the whole matter was gone into, and it was developed that the men who went to the camps could not be required to enlist; and it was said that they would not do so.

Mr. WEEKS. Will the Senator put in the RECORD what Gen. Scott actually said?

Mr. KIRBY. I quote the following from the House hearings, to which I have referred:

Mr. WISE. What is the reason of the department not requiring the men in the summer camps—why do they not have some regulations by which they would obligate themselves to serve the country if they take this training?

Gen. SCOTT. As I understand, they offered themselves in this way, and it is the only way in which we can get them; they refused to go into the National Guard.

Mr. WISE. Under the law the department had the authority to prescribe the rules and regulations for their entrance, and why did you not require them when going to the camps to obligate themselves to serve the country?

Gen. SCOTT. We are carrying out the national-defense act of June 3, 1916.

Mr. WISE. That act gives you the authority to prescribe the rules and regulations for the reception of people into these training camps. As one of the rules why do you not require that they take an obligation to serve the country if needed?

Gen. SCOTT. We take from every class of people in the country the greatest amount of service that we feel we can get. The policy is to do everything possible under our present volunteer system, the defects of which I am pointing out.

Mr. WISE. Has there been any objection on the part of the men who go to these camps to obligate themselves?

Gen. SCOTT. They do not want to go into the National Guard or into the Regular Army, but they are willing to do what they have done.

Yes; they are willing to go to the national training camps for a summer vacation and, it may be, to become prepared, and many of them might go to war. They are not less patriotic than other men. I think they would go to war, mayhap; but if we are to spend the Government's money, after war is declared let us see that they shall go to war.

I quote further from the same hearings:

Mr. WISE. Why would they not be willing, if they wanted this service, to obligate themselves to serve the country, if needed?

Gen. SCOTT. I will ask you to refer to the act.

Then Mr. McKELLAR, who has been promoted to the Senate, asked this question:

Mr. McKELLAR. We passed the act authorizing you to do that; why did you not do it?

Gen. SCOTT. Because we try to get the most out of every class of men. We do not believe those men will obligate themselves for services beyond what they are giving now in time of peace.

Mr. WISE. I want to get the most for the money that we spend; but if a man is not willing to obligate himself to serve the country, of what service will he be?

Gen. SCOTT. He would be much more valuable if he obligated himself, but if they will not obligate themselves we can not help it.

That is the condition; that is what has developed; that is what Gen. Scott said about it.

Mr. WEEKS. Now, Mr. President, having obtained the information which I desired, I want to say, although it goes without saying, that men are engaged in different forms of occupation. Some can devote a month in the year to preparation for Government service; some can devote one or two evenings a week, and others can join the regular service. As a matter of fact, these men were so situated, generally speaking, that they could devote a month to this form of service. Last year, when we were considering sending troops to the border, a committee representing these Plattsburg men came before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, with authority to speak. They stated that they were ready to obligate themselves in any way to serve the Government in case of war. I have no doubt that they will do that now or at any other time. Those camps were made up of the best and most patriotic young men we have in this country. They are preparing themselves, so that in case of actual war they may be of service. There would be no slackers among them if there were war or any possibility of it. They would not go to the camps for a month if they did not want the training.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield to me?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FALL. I may be entirely in error, but my understanding of what Gen. Scott said was that these young men would not obligate themselves to join the National Guard and the Regular Army in time of peace. He did not say that they would not obligate themselves to serve the country.

Mr. WEEKS. That is exactly what I understood.

Mr. KIRBY. How does the Senator expect a soldier to serve his country but in the line of battle?

Mr. FALL. I will ask the Senator if under any circumstances he would volunteer for service?

Mr. KIRBY. I certainly would; and if compulsory military service is required by Congress, I shall insist on the age limit being increased to 50 years, for I do not want to require any man to do anything which I can not be compelled to do, notwithstanding he might be willing to do it.

Mr. FALL. The Senator expresses his willingness, if compelled to go into the military service by conscription, that the age limit may be raised. He also answered that he would under some circumstances volunteer, but the Senator would not join the ranks.

Mr. KIRBY. I would raise a regiment before the Senator from out West would get one up.

Mr. FALL. That may be; I am not speaking of a "Senator from out West."

Mr. KIRBY. Then what was the Senator's remark made for?

Mr. FALL. Because the Senator has not volunteered; because he has not joined the Regular Army——

Mr. KIRBY. Has the Senator from New Mexico done so? I am over age as the limit stands now, but I am willing to raise the age limit.

Mr. FALL. And why is the Senator reflecting on these young men who go and prepare themselves, so that if they have to volunteer or be conscripted, they may be worth something?

Mr. KIRBY. I do not want the Senate to get the idea that I am reflecting on anyone. I am making a plain statement.

Mr. FALL. I should like to ask the Senator if there is a military school in his State?

Mr. KIRBY. There is not.

Mr. FALL. I am glad to say that we have one in New Mexico. We have, I think, a school that ranks third among the civilian military schools of this country, and I think any of those boys would volunteer to-day. Many of them do not belong to the National Guard.

Mr. KIRBY. I did not rise to disparage any man who has gone to the Plattsburg camp, either as to his patriotism or as to his disposition to enlist in the Regular Army. What I was trying to do was——

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, am I speaking in the time of the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. KIRBY. The Senator certainly is.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Arkansas has the floor.

Mr. KIRBY. I am perfectly willing that the Senator shall have as much time as he likes.

Mr. FALL. I will speak in my own time when the Senator gets through.

Mr. KIRBY. What I am trying to do is not to disparage the summer camps or the training given there; but, since war has been declared, it seems to me that three and a half million dollars might better be expended upon some sort of organization that can be and is at the call of the military department.

We have provided $1,000,000 for the training and the maneuvers of the National Guard. The National Guard all responded when the call was made to go down to the Mexican border. They were in a position where they were required to respond. Now it is proposed to expend three and a half million dollars for civilian camps. I repeat that I do not want to disparage anybody who has gone to a training camp; but let us as business men, paying out the people's money for the protection of these United States, provide only for men to receive the benefit of the training whom the Government can call upon in its time of need. That is all I want to say about it, Mr. President.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. If I may be permitted, I should like to offer an amendment. I do not know whether it is in order——

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is an amendment pending.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will briefly try to explain what the amendment is before I make the request. The amendment proposes to insert after the word "under," in line 15, on page 92, the words, "such terms of enlistment and under." That will make it read in this way:

As may be selected under such terms of enlistment and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That amendment is in order.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I call the Senator's attention to the fact that that is, as I understand, in the national-defense act?

Mr. McKELLAR. It is in the national-defense act, but it is not in this bill. My purpose in offering this amendment is to have Congress specifically provide that the department shall, as I believe it should and as I believe every other Senator will agree with me that it should, require some form of enlistment. It may be necessary for them to have very different forms of enlistment applicable to different classes of our citizens who are trained in military camps, but surely it was the purpose of the defense act—and I remember discussions of the act and the reports made in reference to it and the words of it——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator that I have no objection to the amendment, because it is already in the national-defense act.

Mr. KIRBY. I withdraw my amendment to strike out the provision if the amendment proposed by the Senator from Tennessee is accepted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Tennessee is agreed to, without objection.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. FALL. I object.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I should like to have the amendment stated by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. On page 92, line 15, after the word "under," it is proposed to insert the words "such terms of enlistment and under," so as to read:

For the expense of maintaining, upon military reservations, or elsewhere, camps for the military instruction and training of such citizens physically capable of bearing arms as may be selected under such terms of enlistment and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I suggest to the Senator from Tennessee that the phrase "under such terms of enlistment," in my humble judgment, will authorize the Secretary of War to present to an applicant an enlistment contract, including pay, and in effect will authorize the Secretary of War to recruit a volunteer army upon any terms that he sees fit? I do not think that is the contemplation.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him at this time?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to call the Senator's attention to the original act. This provision of the original act, as is shown in the hearings before the House Committee on Military Affairs, has been entirely disregarded by the War Department. The original defense act provides as follows, under the head of "Training camps," section 54:

The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to maintain, upon military reservations or elsewhere, camps for the military instruction and

training of such citizens as may be selected for such instruction and training, upon their application and under such terms of enlistment and regulations—

And so forth. Now, it will be seen that this appropriation bill—and, by the way, the last appropriation bill also—leaves out the words "under such terms of enlistment." It was believed by some of the officers that, if any term of enlistment at all was required, there would be a very much smaller number of men to go to these camps, and they have disregarded the plain mandate of the statute, as shown in section 54 of the act. I think they ought to be given latitude; I think the Secretary of War ought to establish such terms of enlistment as he may see fit; but I think it would be manifest to almost anyone that there ought to be some method of utilizing the men who are trained at these camps.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. There is but one way to do it, and that is to have some form of enlistment, say, for a week, or for a month, or for three months. It is absolutely necessary in order to judge of the qualifications of the man who may afterwards apply for a commission in the Army, or for any other military reason that might be apparent at the time of his request.

I want to call the attention of the Senator to those facts, and I hope he will not object to the amendment that has been offered, especially as it is already in the law.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I regard it as fortunate that thus far in the operation of the so-called Plattsburg idea the officers of the Army have not conformed technically and exactly to the language of the national defense act, for, certainly, to require any of these young men who apply for a month's training to enter into an enlistment contract, and to give the Secretary of War the right to prescribe the terms of such contract, would result inevitably not only in decreasing the number of men who would present themselves but also in creating another military force in the United States; and we have three or four different branches of the Army now.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. FALL. I simply wanted to ask the Senator if this was not a training act, as distinguished from a service act?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Absolutely.

Mr. FALL. The bill which is now under consideration is not a universal-service act.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. FALL. The subject of universal service and universal training has been discussed by the people of the United States for a long while, and, in my judgment, many who would be perfectly satisfied with universal training might object to universal service, just as some who will accept the provisions of this act as to training will not join the Regular Army or the National Guard, but undoubtedly would be ready to yield allegiance and loyalty and come to the assistance of their country if they were summoned in time of war.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I think I should like to comment on the question and comments made by the Senator from New Mexico before I yield again.

Mr. President, it must not be forgotten while we are considering this matter of the Plattsburg camps or any amendment to this section of the bill that we are now in a state of war, and that any amendment offered to this bill which would in a mandatory way compel an applicant for a month's training to enter into an enlistment contract will necessarily complicate the work of the War Department in preparing the real armies that must go forth and fight. As I said on the floor of the Senate the other afternoon, according to the notices which we read in the press, the administration is contemplating raising the Regular Army to war strength by volunteers and, as we also read in the press, raising the National Guard to full war strength by accepting volunteers and, in addition to that, creating a new army on a conscriptive basis, with half a million men in its first increment and another half million men in its second increment. If we insert mandatory legislation here with respect to mere training camps, we will simply by that much tie the hands of the War Department in creating the real forces that must go forth and bear the brunt of the battles; for, Mr. President, every man who stops to think a moment must realize that the training camps while this war is in progress can not command the services of Regular Army officers as instructors. There are not enough Regular Army officers, by any means, to fill the places which will be created by the vast expansion of our military forces. It will be next to impossible to find a Regular Army captain or lieutenant or second lieutenant or major to attend a Plattsburg camp to train men for 30 days while this war is in progress; and you will not get many men in those camps who would not ordinarily volunteer into the guard or the Regular Army or be subject to conscription in the 500,000 army. So I do not believe that we ought to put into this bill practically a mandatory provision—for it will be regarded as such in many respects—asking the Secretary of War to draw up an enlistment contract for Plattsburg training-camp men.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield to me?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will pardon the Chair, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] first asked to interrupt.

Mr. KIRBY. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. I merely wanted to state that this is already the law. Now, manifestly it either ought to be repealed or we ought to conform to it. That is my view of it, and I think it must be the Senator's view. We have the law under which these training camps are organized, and we are simply directing what the department shall do. Now, this does not require any particular form of enlistment, and I do not think it will make a difference of a man at any of these training camps, but it will give the Government this hold on them—that it will require some form of enlistment to bear allegiance to the United States in some way. In other words, it will give us some hold on them in return for the money that we are paying out for their benefit and to make them a military asset.

I understand that this kind of military training is very effective. Now, why not make these men one of the military assets? The only way we can do it is by having some form, some measure of enlistment. That has been proved by the fact that when we were asking for men to go into the Army in Mexico it is said that probably less than half a dozen out of the 30,000 or maybe more than 30,000 trained went from the Plattsburg camp. Now, my idea is that when we spend this money, especially as it is the law, we ought to uphold the law and ought to uphold the best interests of our country by having some measure of enlistment, so that we can take advantage of it, now that we need them.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, if we had no other force in training except the Plattsburg men, of course I would not object. In fact, I would strenuously urge that they be held to some obligation in the future. But the trouble with the Senator's proposal, in my judgment, is that it complicates the situation. If we are going to expect the Secretary of War to prescribe certain obligations for these men who received the 30 days' training which they shall be called upon to perform after they have received it, then we are on the road to creating another military force in the United States, a special Plattsburg reserve——

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. And it can not be done without interfering with the forces that we now have and complicating our entire situation; and if it is to be done, the question of pay will come in, inevitably. You can not expect or ask men to enter into an enlistment contract unless it carries a compensation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from New York now yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. KIRBY. If the Senator established a department in his business to train intelligent young men for a particular service of accounting, and spent $3,000,000 in it, and if he had in view the purpose of having these men employed thereafter in his establishment, and his man who had the department in charge did not require some sort of a contract with them to enlist thereafter with the Senator in his service if he needed them, what would the Senator do with that man? He would fire him in a minute, would he not? Here is the Government in the same attitude.

Now, on the other point I should like to ask another question. The Senator says it will interfere with our Military Establishment. Do we need 500,000 more men than the full Army strength and the full National Guard strength now? Is not that the Senator's understanding?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I understand, of course, that that number is to be called for. We certainly need it, and more too.

Mr. KIRBY. Well, is not this a good way to get it? And if you are not going to get it, what is the use of wasting the money?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, this is not the best way to get it. This is an entirely separate thing, and it is only contemplated that these men are to be trained for one month. It is impossible to make an army out of such men.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, the asset that is being created by expending a small amount of money in loaning the regular officers of the United States for training civilians for 30 days in a year is an asset of the United States Government. It is not for the benefit of these men. They have no reward for it. They give up their business, they surrender their time, they leave their homes and their families, with no provision whatsoever for them. They go to these training camps. They there take military instruction under the direction of the trained officers of the United States. They come out of there an asset of this great Government. They surrender their own time. They are not all possibly able as readily as is the Senator from Arkansas to raise regiments. Many of these men did volunteer and did go to the border.

What are the facts with reference to these remarks that have been interjected during this debate with reference to the recruiting for the border? It is true that on the 16th day of March, Gen. Pershing having been ordered across the border by the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States adopted a resolution authorizing the recruiting of the Regular Army up to full force, and a wave of enthusiasm went all over the country. It was supposed that something was going to be done for the protection of American citizens and reparation for injury to American lives and American citizens and American property in Mexico. On the 17th day of March this body passed a resolution to the effect that the Pershing expedition should be confined solely to a pursuit of Villa and the support of the de facto Government of Mexico, and that wave of enthusiasm died out, and we not only did not secure the full number of 20,000 or 38,000 as authorized but enlistments fell off from the number which had been enlisted for the month preceding. A damper was thrown over the enthusiasm of the youth of this country.

The statement that these Plattsburg men did not enlist in the National Guard is not correct. They did, to the number of thousands. From the training school in California to the training school at Plattsburg, they enlisted. Why? Because the President of the United States called out the National Guard after the Carrizal massacre, when the regular troops of the de facto government had attacked soldiers in arms of the United States and shot them down, had captured others, and refused to release those who were captured. The President of the United States called upon the people of the United States to fill up the National Guard, and they were recruited to full strength and marched to the border with enthusiasm; but when they reached the border they were informed that nothing was to be done, and they will not enlist again under the same circumstances in the National Guard or in the Regular Army.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Mexico yield to the Senator from Arkansas?

Mr. FALL. I yield for a question.

Mr. KIRBY. What is the use of wasting time and money in training these people if they will not enlist?

Mr. FALL. Why, because instead of the United States Government being in the condition of a private firm, as under the question asked by the Senator from Arkansas of the Senator from New York, the United States Government is not a private employer.

Mr. KIRBY. Certainly.

Mr. FALL. The United States Government can force the Senator from Arkansas into the United States service.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator another question?

Mr. FALL. I will yield when I have concluded my answer. The United States Government, having created a great asset by training officers and privates at Plattsburg, can, by a resolution of this body, force every one of those trained men into its service and keep them there for life, if it so desires. It is not like a private firm.

Mr. KIRBY. On that point, does the Senator think good business methods should be abandoned in the administration of public affairs?

Mr. FALL. Why, certainly, I think—I am in favor, sir, of universal service. I am in favor of universal training preparatory to universal service.

Mr. KIRBY. Well, if the Senator thinks business methods should be abandoned in the conduct of public business, I will not interrupt him further.

Mr. FALL. I think that both myself and the Senator from Arkansas—or, at least, I will speak for myself—I think I would be a better man to-day, sir, mentally, morally, and physically if the United States had forced me into its training camps and given me a military education for one, two, or three years. It might not have improved the Senator from Arkansas, but I can speak for myself.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, since this discussion came up, I have read the existing law in the Army reorganization bill, and I have also read the provision in this bill providing for civilian military training. I take it that in this appropriation bill no new law can be made. If the appropriation that is contemplated for these camps is based on the law in the Army reorganization bill providing for training camps, then it attempts to amend existing law by striking out the words "and under such terms of enlistment," and it would be subject to a point of order. If the language in this bill is new language, based on no law providing for a training camp of this kind, it is clearly new legislation, and not in order on this bill.

I do not desire to make the point of order, although I believe it is subject to a point of order; but, Mr. President, I intend to vote for the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR], and I wish to state briefly why I intend to do so.

I was one of those who, for more than a year, earnestly prayed and hoped that this Government would not become involved in the war in Europe. When our flag was fired upon and our ships were sunk, I came to the conclusion that the hope of peace was gone; that we no longer could maintain the peace, and I voted for the declaration of war.

Now, after we have gone to war I believe in going to the battle line with all the force and power this great Nation can command. I do not propose to apologize for my vote declaring war, and I do not propose to play politics in sending other men to the firing line. When we call on the young men of this country to go to the battle field and sacrifice their lives for their flag and their country, certainly the politicians of America can afford to sacrifice their political heads for their country's sake. I do not think it is a time to determine whether a question is politically expedient or not. I think the hour has arrived when the Congress of the United States should determine all these questions solely from the point of view as to whether it is right and whether it is the course to pursue to bring victory to our arms and a speedy conclusion to this war.

I have no doubt these civilian training camps are popular among a number of the citizens of our country. I have no criticism to make of what was done in the years past in training civilians in military science. But that was under the terms of peace. We were then training men whom we might use in the event of war. To-day war is here. If men are needed, they are needed on the battle field.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator just a moment?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Surely.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do not know what the Senator means when he refers to a question of political expediency in reference to this measure, or the particular section under consideration, but I call the Senator's attention to the fact that the language is exactly the language as it came to us from the House, and it is simply an appropriation to carry out a standing statute—that is, the national defense act. As to the language which the Senator suggested, while personally I was willing to accept it and am willing to accept it now, because it simply reaffirms the language of the national defense act, I do not think it is necessary.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will say to the Senator the bill was passed originally in the House before we had reached a state of war, and although the language in the bill is not the language of the national defense act, it leaves out the material part of the national defense act relating to this subject, yet I would have been glad to have accepted it if we were facing a condition of peace as we were when the bill was passed by the House originally. We all know that for questions of speed and expediency the bill as it was passed last March or last February by the House was passed under a suspension of the rules last week when no amendments were allowed; it was sent over here and the responsibility placed on the Senate to put the amendments in.

Now, I am not criticizing the course of the chairman of the committee in reporting the bill, but I do criticize the position of Senators who insist that we should at this time give military training to citizens who do not propose to go to war. I do not know myself that 30 days' training at this time when we want soldiers is going to be of any great value, but I will not resist the appropriation on that account. However, I do say that every dollar this Nation has got and every available man this Nation has got should now be used to defend this country and

to defeat the enemy that is at our door. I should like to know what value it is to any of us or to the country to train a citizen soldiery who do not propose to go to war.

The situation, as I said, was different last year in the last year's bill because there was no war. After these men had received their training the presumption was that at least some of them would respond to their country's call if we went to war. Now we are in a state of war. I want to know where is the common sense of the situation to spend the Government's money on training a single man in a military camp at the expense of the Nation who does not say in advance that he is going to war? Many men are going to be in these camps not of conscription age who probably will not volunteer. Do we want to waste our time in giving these men military training if they are not going to war, and if they are going to war what is the objection to their stating when they enter the camp that they are going to war or will be ready to go?

I have grave doubt myself as to whether the appropriation for these training camps is of any value at all now. I think in place of them we had better establish officers' training camps, where the young men of this country can go and get training as officers, and attempt to train a million men as soldiers to fight the battles of the country.

But I am not going to vote against the provision if this amendment is adopted, because I am not a military man. Others who are wiser than I seem to think it ought to go in the bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. In just a moment. I can see no reason in the world why the provision in reference to civilian military training camps should command my vote to spend the Government's money in training people who are not willing to say they will go into the Army after they get the training. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to make this suggestion to the Senator. Just now an immense number of young men are being accepted in the Officers' Reserve Corps. Does not the Senator think that the money could be very much better spent as a matter of fact by having training camps for young reserve officers?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Surely it could. I do not think there is any question about it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Does not the Senator go further than that? Whether these camps are kept or not, ought we not to establish camps or schools of some kind for the training of the young officers who have been accepted with only a modicum of training?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I agree with the Senator from Tennessee entirely. If this provision goes in the bill as proposed by the Senator from Tennessee these camps would be open to men who are in the Officers' Reserve Corps, men who want to be trained to get junior officers' commissions in our Army, and they should not be crowded out by civilian citizen soldiery who want training at the Government expense and are not willing to say that they will fight the Nation's battles. I am willing to spend every dollar that is needed. I believe the time has come when we have got to go to compulsory service, and go to it at once. We have got to let the common enemy know that all the great resources of this country, men and money, will be spent to the last degree to win this fight and win it conclusively. But I am not willing to waste $3,000,000 of Government funds on men who ask to be trained in a military way and are not willing to say that they want that training for the purpose of serving our country.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, there is, of course, a great deal of sound sense in what the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] has been saying, and conditions have changed from last year. Then we had no war and we were training men for the future. Now we have a war and we must necessarily train for the present. But I want to call this fact relating to this subject to the attention of the Senate. These men would not have gone into these training camps and taken the intensive training which has been given them if they had not desired military service. Anybody who contends for a moment that it is simply a summer outing does not know anything about the conditions that have obtained in the camps, because the most intensive training has been given those men. I doubt if you could get into the heads of young men as much of value from a military standpoint in 30 days in any other way. I am speaking particularly of the Plattsburg camp, with which I am somewhat familiar.

Then, again, I want to call this to the attention of the Senate. It is the cheapest possible way of training men. If they go into the militia you pay them for whatever service they perform; they immediately go on the pay roll, and whatever transportation and other facilities are given them must be provided by the Government. These men have been paying their own expenses up to this year, not only their transportation but other expenses, and now we are simply paying for their transportation and the costs of providing them with food while they are in camp. They get no pay whatever; therefore, if it were purely a question of training it is the cheapest training that can be furnished by or through the Government.

Last year, as I stated before, a committee representing the Plattsburg camp men came to Washington with authority to say that they were prepared to go into the service if war were declared with Mexico. I do not know this accurately, but I think if an investigation were made it would be found that more of these training-camp men have already volunteered for service in proportion to their numbers than any other class of men in this country. I have not any doubt about it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me ask the Senator, have the Plattsburg or any other training-camp organization made such voluntary offers since war has been declared?

Mr. WEEKS. I do not know as to that. I have not seen a Plattsburg camp man since war has been declared.

Mr. THOMAS. I should like to ask the Senator if these gentlemen have offered to serve their country in the ranks or have they asked for commissions?

Mr. WEEKS. I can not state definitely as to that. I know it is a very common thing to say that men will serve as officers who will not serve in the ranks. I do not know whether they volunteer for one purpose or the other.

Mr. THOMAS. I will state what inspired the question. In the last few days I have received from my State letters from scores of gentlemen who are anxious to serve in the Officers' Reserve Corps. I have heard of none so far who care to enlist, though I have no doubt there are thousands of them. There is a difference, as we know, between the two classes of service; but I know when the time comes the young men everywhere are going to volunteer. I am so confident of it I will say that I do not believe in conscription. The question was asked in perfect good faith.

Mr. WEEKS. We have 8,000 Massachusetts men in the ranks in the service to-day.

Mr. THOMAS. I have no doubt before long the Senator's State will have 80,000 in the ranks.

Mr. WEEKS. I want to say that I have not had from Massachusetts more than 20 letters altogether from persons asking me to recommend them for commissions.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I may say in answer to the Senator from Colorado that I have a telegram from the adjutant general of my State only this morning advising me that the National Guard of the State had recruited up to the full strength.

Mr. THOMAS. I have no doubt of it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I merely make that statement to show that the young men are enlisting as privates without regard to commissions.

Mr. WEEKS. I believe it will be found that wherever applications have been made for commissions, or in most cases, the men have had sufficient training and sufficient position to warrant their being entitled to have that ambition. I do not think it is any reflection on a man who wants to serve in the way he can serve best or can perform the best service. I am going to take the trouble to look this matter up, because I think it can be easily demonstrated that the men who have this training-camp experience are those who have offered themselves most readily for service.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WEEKS. Certainly.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I want to say to the Senator that I have had quite a number of letters from citizens of Alabama offering their services to the Government. I know that we have had men in the Plattsburg camp. In none of those letters has it been stated to me that the men who are offering their services were qualified by reason of Plattsburg training. That may mean that they did not think that the Plattsburg training qualified them, or it may mean that the Plattsburg camp men have not responded. But I am not reflecting on that proposition. I think there is no doubt that the training in the Plattsburg camp last year was of some value; but I want to ask the Senator, now that we need soldiers, why should we spend any money training men unless we know that they want to fight, and that means enlistment? That is all there is in the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee. It merely says

to these men, "If you want us to train you as soldiers and spend the Government money to do it, you must enter these camps under such a contract as the War Department shall prescribe in reference to your future service to your country." Now that there is war declared, is there anything unreasonable about that?

Mr. WEEKS. I do not think there is.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. That is all there is about it. I am very glad to support the provision if this amendment is put on it, and opposed to it without it.

Mr. WEEKS. I do not like the general tone of criticism of these camps as being anything but useful, and that they are rather for the preparation of a lot of toy soldiers. I do not think the results would justify that charge.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I agree with the Senator about that. Last year I think it was a useful training. Some of the men who went to the Plattsburg camp are well qualified to serve their country as soldiers. A number of men went there who thought it more or less a holiday. It was a good training for them, but for many reasons they were incapable of serving after they got the training. But now conditions have changed entirely, and if we are going to spend $3,000,000 for this training I think the Government is entitled to prescribe what the terms of it shall be.

Mr. WEEKS. Does not the Senator recall the fact that this proposition was carried in a bill which was reported from the Military Committee before the 4th of March, when there was no war, and it was purely a peace measure?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Surely; and I am not criticizing the committee. I stated a moment ago that I had no criticism of the committee, because when this bill originally came up we were not at war. But conditions have changed since that time, and I think the bill ought to be changed.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will permit me, I will state that the committee will not object to it. The committee are in favor of it, I understand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with amendments.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that it be read for action on the committee amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on Military Affairs was, under the subhead "Permanent establishment," on page 7, line 18, before the word "enlisted," to strike out "thirteen" and insert "nineteen," so as to make the clause read:

For extra pay of 19 enlisted men (cavalrymen), 2 teamsters, 11 laborers employed in keeping clean the equipment used by cadets in riding and equitation other than military, 4 specially qualified trainers engaged in training mounts used by cadets in riding and equitation other than military, and 2 laborers for harrowing and sprinkling and assisting in the care of the riding hall, at 35 cents each per day, $1,460.48.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Buildings and grounds," on page 29, after line 12, to strike out:

Hereafter printing, binding, and blank books required for the use of the United States Military Academy may be done or procured elsewhere than at the Government Printing Office when, in the opinion of the Secretary of War, such work can be more advantageously done or procured locally, the cost thereof to be paid from the proper appropriation or appropriations made for the Military Academy.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This completes the amendments of the committee.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] has an amendment which he desires to offer.

Mr. JAMES. On page 29, after line 12, I move to insert what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 29, after line 12, insert:

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint William Harold Kehoe, late a cadet at the Military Academy at West Point, to the position of second lieutenant of Infantry of the Army, and to place him upon the retired list with the pay of a retired second lieutenant of Infantry.

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator briefly state the fact?

Mr. JAMES. I will state to the Senate that this bill was reported favorably by the Committee on Military Affairs and passed by the Senate at the last session. It failed to get through the House.

Mr. WARREN. I have no objection to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WEEKS. I send a similar amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert, following the amendment just agreed to:

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint Clyde R. Altman, late a cadet at the Military Academy at West Point, to the position of second lieutenant of Infantry of the Army, and to place him upon the retired list with the pay of a retired second lieutenant of Infantry.

Mr. WEEKS. That bill has also passed the Senate under conditions similar to those regarding the amendment which has just been approved.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent that the formal reading of the bill be dispensed with and that the committee amendments be first considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUGHES in the chair). Without objection, that course will be pursued. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "Treasury Department," subhead "Public buildings, construction, sites, and rent," on page 3, after line 14, to insert:

Barbourville, Ky., post office: For completion, $700.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 16, line 8, after "$75,000," to strike out "and the limit of cost fixed by the act of October 20, 1914, is increased by the sum of $200,000," so as to make the clause read:

New York, N. Y., assay office building: For continuation, $75,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 17, after line 4, to insert:

Paris, Tex., post office: For commencement, $100,000.

Mr. KENYON. I understand that provision is made for the commencement of a new post office building at Paris, Tex., because a fire destroyed the building there, but I take this occasion to say that in my judgment we ought not to commence any public buildings at this time unless there be some very unusual reason for it.

Mr. MARTIN. Perhaps the Senator is not aware of the fact that there was a separate law passed providing for the construction of this building. It is an appropriation in pursuance of a law that has been enacted. The building was burned at Paris, Tex., and an act of Congress was passed providing for a building and fixing the limit of cost and directing the construction.

Mr. KENYON. I understand that to be true, and I am not objecting to it; but I should like to ask the Senator as to Sandpoint, Idaho, page 19. I see there is an appropriation of $40,000 made for the commencement of a public building there. Sandpoint, Idaho, in 1910 had 993 people. It seems to me that matters of that kind ought to wait.

Mr. MARTIN. I will say to the Senator from Iowa that that building is under contract. It was authorized by law, and

the Treasury Department certify that they need this much money for this purpose.

Mr. KENYON. Of course, I suppose that that argument is good; but I should think the buildings might wait, even if they are under contract, and that nothing new in the way of these local improvements should be commenced at this time. I am not going to urge the matter at present, but I am going to object to items of this kind on all these bills.

Mr. MARTIN. I will say to the Senator that there is no item in the bill except to meet obligations created by previous statutes or which has been called for by the Treasury Department to carry on work that is in process of construction.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 17, after line 10, to insert:

Pittsburgh, Pa., post office and courthouse: For completion, $50,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 22, after line 17, to insert:

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, in his discretion, to include among the buildings to be supplied with heat, light, and power from the central heating, lighting, and power plant, the Pan American Building, the building occupied by the Civil Service Commission, and the municipal fish market, and the limit of cost of said central heating, lighting, and power plant is hereby increased in the sum of $68,000, which amount is hereby appropriated: *Provided, however,* That said increase in the limit of cost shall be effective and the appropriation herein made available only in the event that the Secretary of the Treasury exercises the discretion herein vested with respect to said additional buildings, $68,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Quarantine stations," on page 25, after line 15, to insert:

New York, N. Y., quarantine station: For the purchase of the New York quarantine station property, $1,400,000, and for the maintenance of the same, $275,000; in all, $1,675,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Public buildings, repairs, equipment, and general expenses," in the item of appropriation for general expenses, on page 31, line 10, after the word "inspections," to strike out "$580,660" and insert "$590,000," so as to read:

General expenses: To enable the Secretary of the Treasury to execute and give effect to the provisions of section 6 of the act of May 30, 1908 (35 Stat., p. 537): For additional salary of $1,000 for the Supervising Architect of the Treasury for the fiscal year 1918; architectural designer, at $6,000 per annum; foremen draftsmen, architectural draftsmen, and apprentice draftsmen, at rates of pay from $480 to $2,500 per annum; structural engineers and draftsmen, at rates of pay from $840 to $2,200 per annum; mechanical, sanitary, electrical, heating and ventilating, and illuminating engineers and draftsmen, at rates of pay from $1,200 to $2,400 per annum; computers and estimators, at rates of pay from $1,600 to $2,500 per annum, the expenditures under all the foregoing classes for which a minimum and maximum rate of compensation is stated, not to exceed $178,050; supervising superintendents, superintendents, and junior superintendents of construction and inspectors, at rates of pay from $1,600 to $2,900 per annum, not to exceed $278,960; expenses of superintendence, including expenses of all inspectors and other officers and employees on duty or detailed in connection with work on public buildings and the furnishing and equipment thereof and the work of the Supervising Architect's Office under orders from the Treasury Department; for the transportation of household goods incident to change of headquarters of supervising superintendents, superintendents, and junior superintendents of construction, and inspectors, not in excess of 5,000 pounds at any one time, together with the necessary expense incident to packing and draying the same, not to exceed in any one year a total expenditure of $7,500; office rent and expenses of superintendents, including temporary stenographic and other assistance in the preparation of reports and the care of public property, etc.; advertising; office supplies, including drafting materials, specially prepared paper, typewriting machines, adding machines, and other mechanical labor-saving devices, and exchange of same; furniture, carpets, electric-light fixtures, and office equipment; telephone service; not to exceed $6,000 for stationery; not to exceed $1,000 for books of reference, law books, technical periodicals and journals; contingencies of every kind and description, traveling expenses of site agents, recording deeds and other evidences of title, photographic instruments, chemicals, plates, and photographic materials, and such other articles and supplies and such minor and incidental expenses not enumerated, connected solely with work on public buildings, the acquisition of sites, and the administrative work connected with the annual appropriations under the Supervising Architect's Office as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary and specially order or approve, but not including heat, light, janitor service, awnings, curtains, or any expenses for the general maintenance of the Treasury Building, or surveys, plaster models, progress photographs, test-pit borings, or mill and shop inspections, $590,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Public buildings, operating expenses," on page 32, line 22, after the word "employed," to strike out "$3,200,000" and insert "$3,250,000," so as to read:

Operating force: For such personal services as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem necessary in connection with the care, maintenance, and repair of all public buildings under the control of the Treasury Department (except as hereinafter provided), together with the grounds thereof and the equipment and furnishings therein, including assistant custodians, janitors, watchmen, laborers, and charwomen; engineers, firemen, elevator conductors, coal passers, electricians, dynamo tenders, lampists, and wiremen; mechanical labor force in connection with said buildings, including carpenters, plumbers, steam fitters, machinists, and painters, but in no case shall the rates of compensation for such mechanical labor force be in excess of the rates current at the time and in the place where such services are employed, $3,250,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Coast Guard," on page 36, line 7, before the word "cadets," to strike out "thirty" and insert "forty-four"; and, in line 8, after the word "instructor," to strike out "$4,049,286" and insert "$4,600,000," so as to make the clause read:

For pay and allowances prescribed by law for commissioned officers, warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men, active and retired, temporary and substitute surfmen, not exceeding 44 cadets and cadet engineers who are hereby authorized, and 1 civilian instructor, $4,600,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 36, line 12, after the word "men," to strike out "$520,000" and insert "$750,000," so as to make the clause read:

For rations or commutation thereof at the rate of 45 cents per ration for warrant officers, petty officers, and other enlisted men, $750,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 37, after line 7, to insert:

To enable the Coast Guard to bring its present telephone system of coastal communication to a high state of efficiency, to extend such system to include all Coast Guard stations not now connected, and to include the most important light stations which have at present no means for rapid communication, including personal services and all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, to be immediately available and to remain available until expended, $600,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 37, line 24, after the words "In all," to strike out "$5,556,086" and insert "$6,936,800," so as to read:

In all, $6,936,800.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask may be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Virginia will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 40, after line 19, it is proposed to insert the following:

Crediting in accounts of E. A. Wreidt: The Auditor for the State and Other Departments is hereby authorized and directed to credit E. A. Wreidt, disbursing officer of the Commission on Federal Aid to Vocational Education, in the final settlement of his accounts, with the sum of $102, the amount disallowed in the settlement of his account.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I also send to the desk an amendment which I propose on page 42, line 7, which I ask may be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Virginia will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 42, line 7, after the word "mints," it is proposed to strike out "$115,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "$185,000," so as to make the clause read:

Contingent expenses, Independent Treasury: For contingent expenses under the requirements of section 3653 of the Revised Statutes, collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public money, transportation of notes, bonds, and other securities of the United States, salaries of special agents, actual expenses of examiners detailed to examine the books, accounts, and money on hand at the several subtreasuries and depositories, including national banks acting as depositories under the requirements of section 3649 of the Revised Statutes, also including examinations of cash account at mints, $185,000.

Mr. TOWNSEND. What is the object of that amendment?

Mr. MARTIN. This clause relates to transportation. In lieu of having coin, bonds, and departmental matter transported by the Post Office Department, the policy has been changed, and it is to be sent and paid for. It is merely a matter of bookkeeping. The Government pays for the transportation of its own business.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Is that a change which has been made in the policy since the bill passed the House of Representatives?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know whether it was made before the bill passed the other House or not, but this is the first appropriation bill which has come along since the change was made.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, this amendment is necessary on account of another amendment which has been made in the bill. The House of Representatives inserted in the deficiency appropriation bill an item, as follows:

Packages of coin and currency hereafter shall be admitted to the mails and transported under the penalty privilege governing their transportation prior to the passage of the act of May 18, 1916.

This was disagreed to by the Senate and the committee thought it unwise, as it repealed the limit of 4 pounds allowed in the transportation of money through the mails.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Was the report unanimous?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. If the Senator from Michigan is not entirely satisfied about the matter, I desire to say that I have here a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, which makes a very clear statement and a very thorough explanation in regard to it.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I think I am satisfied; but I was wondering why the House of Representatives had not provided for this item if the law was as it now is when the House passed the bill.

Mr. MARTIN. Would the Senator from Michigan like to have the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury read?

Mr. TOWNSEND and Mr. SMOOT. Let it be inserted in the RECORD.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask that the letter be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that will be done.

The letter referred to is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 10, 1917.

MY DEAR SENATOR: My attention has been called to the fact that in the sundry civil bill, reported to the Senate yesterday with amendments, the appropriation for contingent expenses, Independent Treasury, pages 41–42 of the bill, is carried in the same sum provided by the House, namely, $115,000. The department's estimate under this appropriation was $185,000.

Payments are made from this appropriation for transportation expenses on coin and currency, and when the deficiency bill passed the House a provision was inserted as follows:

"Packages of coin and currency hereafter shall be admitted to the mails and transported under the penalty privilege governing their transportation prior to the passage of the act of May 18, 1916."

When the deficiency bill was considered by your committee this provision was stricken from it, and in lieu thereof an appropriation of $75,000 was provided to cover the cost of these coin and currency shipments during the remainder of the present fiscal year.

As I understand it, the bill is now in conference, and if the conferees adopt the Senate amendment the department will then have funds with which to pay these charges.

The appropriation of $115,000 for the same purpose for the next fiscal year carried in the sundry civil bill was based on the assumption that the House provision in the deficiency bill, providing for the free transportation of coin and currency hereafter, would become law. If not, the appropriation of $185,000 estimated by the department would be required.

Under the circumstances I beg to bring the matter to your attention, and to urge upon you the vital necessity of increasing this appropriation by an amendment on the floor of the Senate, from $115,000 to $185,000.

Very truly, yours, W. G. MCADOO,
Secretary.

Hon. THOMAS S. MARTIN,
Chairman Senate Appropriation Committee,
United States Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Virginia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Miscellaneous objects, Treasury Department," on page 44, line 3, after the word "laws," to insert "and for enforcement of the laws relating to the Treasury Department and the several branches of the public service under its control"; in line 11, after the word "President," to insert "and the immediate members of his family"; in line 13, after the words "United States," to strike out "$225,000" and insert "$400,000"; in line 22, after the word "employed," to strike out "hereunder" and insert "by or under the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department"; and in line 25, after the word "action," to insert "*Provided further*, That no person employed under this appropriation shall be paid salary greater than $12 per day," so as to make the clause read:

Suppressing counterfeiting and other crimes: For expenses incurred under the authority or with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury in detecting, arresting, and delivering into the custody of the United States marshal having jurisdiction dealers and pretended dealers in counterfeit money and persons engaged in counterfeiting Treasury notes, bonds, national-bank notes, and other securities of the United States and of foreign Governments, as well as the coins of the United States and of foreign Governments, and other felonies committed against the laws of the United States relating to the pay and bounty laws, and for enforcement of the laws relating to the Treasury Department and the several branches of the public service under its control, hire and operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles when necessary, per diem in lieu of subsistence, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and for no other purpose whatever, except in the protection of the person of the President and the immediate members of his family and of the person chosen to be President of the United States, $400,000: *Provided*, That no part of this amount be used in defraying the expenses of any person subpœnaed by the United States courts to attend any trial before United States court or preliminary examination before any United States commissioner, which expenses shall be paid from the appropriation for "Fees of witnesses, United States courts": *Provided further*, That until June 30, 1918, the President is authorized to direct, without reference to existing limitations, the use of the persons employed by or under the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department if, in his judgment, an emergency exists which requires such action: *Provided further*, That no person employed under this appropriation shall be paid salary greater than $12 per day.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 45, after line 2, to strike out:

Appropriations in this act shall not be used in payment of compensation or expenses of any person detailed or transferred, except to the Department of State, from the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department, or who may at any time during the fiscal year 1918 have been employed by or under said Secret Service Division.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head "Smithsonian Institution," on page 52, after line 20, to insert:

George Washington Memorial Building: The limit of time for beginning the erection of the George Washington Memorial Building, provided in the act entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings," etc., approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., p. 881), is hereby extended to March 4, 1919.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I offer as a substitute for that amendment the amendment which I send to the desk. After it shall have been read, I will explain it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah to the amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. As a substitute for the amendment of the committee it is proposed to insert:

George Washington Memorial Building: The amount which shall have been subscribed and paid into the treasury of the George Washington Memorial Association before the actual construction of said building shall be undertaken prescribed in the act entitled "An act to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings," etc., approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., p. 881), is hereby fixed at $500,000, and the limit for beginning the erection of said building is hereby extended to March 4, 1919.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I think that is a very proper amendment, and I hope it will be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I do not think it is a proper amendment, and I hope it will be defeated.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have gone into this question casually, as has also the Committee on Public Building and Grounds. The only difference which my amendment makes in the present law is this: Under the present law there was to be collected by subscriptions $1,000,000 before the beginning of the construction of the George Washington Memorial Building. This amendment provides that the $1,000,000 required be reduced to $500,000 before the beginning of the construction of the building.

Mrs. Henry F. Dimock, the sister of the Hon. William C. Whitney and president of the George Washington Memorial Association, has this matter in charge. Up to the present time she has secured subscriptions amounting to $375,000 toward the erection of the building. A great many public institutions desire to purchase space in this building, but they do not want to make a contract, nor will they make a promise as to how much space they will take, until at least the construction of the building is begun. Mrs. Dimock states positively that the officials of the association can now secure $500,000 within a short time, and just as soon as the $500,000 is subscribed, if Congress will allow the beginning of the construction of the building, there has already been promised nearly enough to complete the building by public institutions which desire to purchase space in it.

I suppose all Senators have noticed the adopted plan of the building. The Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds is in favor of this amendment, and the chairman of that committee, Mr. SWANSON, advised me he would report a bill to the Senate covering the same subject if it were possible to be passed at this session of Congress.

I doubted the wisdom of this proposition at first, but after the facts were presented to me I felt that the adoption of this amendment would reach the desired end very much more quickly than to insist upon the collection of a million dollars before beginning the construction of the building.

I desire to say to the Senator that this proposition does not involve the Government of the United States in one cent of expense. I am quite positive now that if this amendment is adopted, without doubt the building will be completed.

Mr. JONES of Washington. May I ask the Senator from Utah a question?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to say that the only thing I have in mind is that if this building is commenced before the money for completing it is assured the chances are about ninety-nine out of a hundred that these parties will come to Congress for an appropriation to help finish the build-

ing. If Congress wants to appropriate money to be put into this building we ought to do it, and we ought to do it directly; but if we do not want to do it, then we ought to feel satisfied that we shall not be called upon hereafter to do it.

What I wanted to ask the Senator was this: Is the Senator satisfied from the investigation he has made that if this amendment is adopted there is not any reasonable probability of a request coming to Congress to put up money to help complete this building?

Mr. SMOOT. I am quite satisfied now that if this amendment is adopted Congress will not be asked for a future appropriation for the erection of this building. At first I had perhaps the same thought in mind that the Senator from Washington has at the present time. I thought perhaps—and it looks that way upon its face—that if we reduced the limit to $500,000 in the end we might be called upon to make an appropriation for completing the building; but Mrs. Dimock assures me that just as soon as the erection of the building is commenced she can make contracts with public institutions for space in the building, for which many have already applied, and will thereby secure sufficient funds to complete the building without calling upon the Government of the United States for a cent.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Will the Senator permit another question?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. What is the estimated cost of this building according to the plans which have been prepared?

Mr. SMOOT. I thought I had the exact estimate of cost, but I find I have not.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Does not the Senator know approximately?

Mr. SMOOT. I do not know exactly what the estimate of the cost of the building is.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Senator said that the plans and specifications had all been prepared.

Mr. SMOOT. They have been; and I thought I had here the estimated amount required to complete the building, but I have not.

Mr. JONES of Washington. There is now a provision in the law under which this building can not be commenced until a million dollars is available.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; that is true.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I was wondering whether this building is to cost a million or two million or two and a half million dollars. That would have very much to do with my attitude regarding the amendment. If this building is to cost about two and a half million dollars, I feel morally certain that they will come to Congress after it is commenced and ask us to raise probably a million dollars to complete it.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not think that the building is going to cost any such sum as that. I do not know whether the Senator has seen the drawings of the building.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have not.

Mr. SMOOT. But, judging offhand as to the probable cost of the building, I should not think its cost would possibly exceed a million and a half dollars; in fact, I doubt whether it would cost that much—but not to exceed that, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. JONES of Washington. If it costs a million and a half dollars and we allow the construction to begin when only $500,000 is secured, does the Senator feel satisfied that they will not come to Congress for an appropriation?

Mr. SMOOT. I do feel so satisfied because of the fact that I am assured that the contracts which they are very sure to get will yield a sufficient sum to pay the cost of erecting the building.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Who is it that wants to make these contracts?

Mr. SMOOT. I have not a list of the applicants; but Mrs. Dimock tells me that the contracts are desired by public organizations.

Mr. JONES of Washington. What is meant by "public organizations"?

Mr. SMOOT. I presume it would include institutions similar to the Grand Army of the Republic, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other patriotic associations.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Daughters of the American Revolution have a building of their own here.

Mr. SMOOT. I know that; but I merely cited that as an illustration. I meant similar organizations, and perhaps organizations of different characters.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Of course, I have not any doubt that Mrs. Dimock is entirely sincere and honest in her belief that the money will be secured, but the Senator from Utah knows better than I do how difficult it is to raise a million and a half dollars in connection with institutions of this kind through the public. He also knows how prone the people are after they get a work started in the National Capital in the nature of a public institution to come to Congress, put up a plea that they can not go any further, that they have done all they can do, and ask Congress for money to carry the work on. I know the Senator is very careful in matters of this kind, and if he is satisfied that the Government is not taking any chances by the adoption of this amendment I would feel disposed to defer to his judgment in the matter; but I do not want it understood that I might be opposed to Congress appropriating money for a proposition of this kind. That is not the proposal. It is proposed that these private parties shall put up this building. As long as it goes in that way I do not want it to be put in a position where the probabilities are that they will come to Congress and ask it to finish the work.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Washington that nobody can criticize his position. I know, he knows, and all other Senators know that when public buildings are started they often end by a direct appeal to Congress for an appropriation, no matter what were the promises made beforehand. It does seem to me, however, that when I look over the list of public men and other prominent persons, men and women of this country, who are interested in this building, they certainly can raise enough money in this country to construct a memorial building to George Washington, and I have no doubt if we allow the construction of this building to begin when half a million dollars is available that the contracts which they know that they can already enter into will bring in an amount of money which they are certain they can secure, we run very little risk indeed in granting a request for a change in the law.

I also agree with the Senator as to a direct appropriation; and, so far as I am personally concerned, I would rather make an appropriation direct in the first place than to have an appeal come to Congress later for money to finish the building, based upon the ground that the building is started—it is here—and therefore it must be finished. I would very much prefer to make such an appropriation in the beginning.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KENYON. I should like to ask the Senator—as I am not particularly familiar with this proposition—if there is any obligation on the part of the Government to pay any portion of the cost of this building?

Mr. SMOOT. I think not.

Mr. KENYON. So that, even if they came to the Government asking for an appropriation, there would be nothing in the way of any obligation?

Mr. SMOOT. There would be no obligation on the part of the Government.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator another question: Can he tell me how long it has been since they started this proposition?

Mr. SMOOT. The act authorizing the erection of this building was approved March 4, 1913.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Then they have been practically nearly four years raising a little over $300,000?

Mr. SMOOT. Well, it probably took some six months to complete the organization, so that they have been at least three and a half years engaged in the work.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think the Senator will agree with me that the raising of the first $300,000 on a proposition of this kind is always the easiest part of the work?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; if it all had to be raised by subscription, the Senator would be absolutely correct; in fact, if it were to be raised by subscription, and I knew it was all to be raised in that way, and it took three and a half years to raise $375,000, I would say now, without a question of doubt, it would be an impossibility to raise the amount required to erect the building; but I understand the subscriptions collected will be a secondary proposition in the erection of the building. If it were not for that I would not agree to the proposition for a moment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I will not oppose the amendment upon the statement of the Senator from Utah. I must say, however, that I do not think the Senator from Utah has gone to the bottom of this matter and into the details, as he usually does in matters of this kind.

Mr. SMOOT. I have not had the time to go into it, as I should like.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I know the Senator uses his time, and I think all of it, and I thought, when he proposed this amendment, he would probably be able to give a little more information regarding the subject; but I am willing to take his assurance in the matter, so I will not object to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "Federal Trade Commission," on page 56, line 26, before the word "powers," to strike out "his" and insert "its," and on page 57, line 4, after the word "manufacture," to strike out "$400,000" and insert "$250,000," so as to make the clause read:

For all expenses necessary to carry out the order of the President of the United States to investigate within the scope of its powers and to report the facts relating to any alleged violations of the antitrust acts by any corporation in the production, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture, $250,000.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I rise particularly to congratulate the committee on having reduced the appropriation in this item of $400,000 to $250,000, and incidentally to call attention to the fact that there are together here in the bill several commissions appropriated for which have been authorized in the last three or four years—the Federal Trade Commission, the Tariff Commission, and the United States Shipping Board. The aggregate appropriations for the maintenance of these commissions for this year are $1,590,420. I note particularly that the Tariff Commission, the members of which have not yet been confirmed, is provided for by an appropriation of $300,000 to carry that work on for one year, including the purchase of textbooks and other matters. It carries me back to a few years ago, when the Monetary Commission had been spending some years in examining the monetary systems of the world. The commissioners were not paid any salaries, to be sure, but I can not help recalling the hysterical cry and protest that went up on the other side of the Chamber because the Monetary Commission, during its entire life of four years or more, spent about three-fourths as much as is being provided in this bill for one year's expenditures for a commission which has not yet been confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "United States Tariff Commission," on page 58, line 2, after the word "Commission," to insert "including the purchase of professional and scientific books, law books, books of reference, and periodicals as may be necessary," so as to make the clause read:

For salaries and expenses of the United States Tariff Commission, including the purchase of professional and scientific books, law books, books of reference, and periodicals as may be necessary, as authorized under Title VII of the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, $300,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. May I ask the Senator having the bill in charge if he will not allow the portion of the bill now being read to go over for the present, so that we may recur to it later on, or would he rather have me now offer an amendment I desire to offer to this part of the bill?

Mr. MARTIN. Unanimous consent has been given that the committee amendments be first considered.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not want this agreed to until I can offer an amendment to it.

Mr. MARTIN. There is nothing to agree to or to disagree to. There is no amendment now before the Senate in respect to this matter.

Mr. SMOOT. Then I will leave it until we conclude the committee amendments and return to it.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "War Department," on page 61, after line 17, to insert:

MILITARY PUBLICATIONS.

In addition to any other appropriation available for this purpose, there is hereby appropriated $300,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be immediately available, to be expended in printing and binding publications and manuals necessary for the organization and instruction of the land forces of the United States or such other necessary use as the Secretary of War may prescribe: *Provided*, That the printing and binding herein authorized may be executed under contract with private concerns if in the judgment of the Secretary of War the public interest requires, notwithstanding the provisions of law requiring such printing and binding to be done in the Government Printing Office.

Mr. SMOOT. That is only for this year.

Mr. WARREN. It is only for one year.

Mr. MARTIN. That is all that is appropriated for this particular purpose at this particular time, and it is clearly so stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Armories and arsenals," on page 62, after line 10, to insert:

For a fence around the lumber yard, including a shed roof for the protection of lumber, $2,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 62, line 14, after the words "In all" to strike out "$3,700" and insert "$5,700," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $5,700.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 63, after line 6, to insert:

For a building for storing fire engines and hose carts and for the accommodation of guards and watchmen, $24,000;
For extension of high-explosive loading shop, $10,000;
For a paint shop, $30,000;
For an artillery firing range, including an explosion chamber, $75,000;
For a small-arms firing range, including a proof house and target, $25,000;
For a general storehouse, $135,000;
For extension of the barracks, $20,000;
For a set of double quarters for noncommissioned officers, $9,000;
For the construction of tunnels and the installation of appropriate heating and lighting mains for transferring heat and light to the western part of the arsenal, $40,000;
For extension of instrument department building, $5,000;
For extension of artillery case shop building, $25,000;
For an artillery ammunition storehouse, $90,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 63, line 25, after the words "In all," to strike out "$297,000" and insert "$785,000"; so as to make the clause read:

In all, $785,000.

The amendment was agree to.

The next amendment was, on page 64, after line 8, to insert:

For increasing storage facilities for old powder, $2,500;
For a powder magazine, $15,000;
For modification and improvement of existing magazines, $8,000;
For a steam turbine and electric generator, $10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 64, line 14, after the words "In all," to strike out "$43,000," and insert "$78,500," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $78,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 64, line 17, after the word "land," to strike out "$1,000,000" and insert "$1,500,000," so as to make the clause read:

Proving ground facilities: For increasing the facilities for the proof and test of field artillery and its ammunition, including necessary buildings and the purchase of land, $1,500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 65, line 7, after the word "exceeding," to strike out "$1,250,000" and insert "$2,000,000," and in line 8, after the words "and so forth," to strike out "$750,000" and insert "$1,500,000," so as to make the clause read:

For completing facilities for manufacturing field artillery ammunition at a total cost not exceeding $2,000,000, including necessary buildings, etc., $1,500,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 65, after line 11, to insert:

For a central steam heating plant, $165,000;
For a garage for motor trucks, $15,000;
For a plant for the manufacture of rifle and hand grenades, including necessary buildings, etc., $125,000;
For ice-making plant, $7,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 66, line 4, after the words "In all," to strike out "$3,909,100" and insert "$4,971,100," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $4,971,100.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 66, after line 10, to insert:

For two coal bins, $3,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 66, line 12, after the words "In all," to strike out "$121,500" and insert "$125,000," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $125,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 66, after line 12, to insert:

San Antonio Arsenal, San Antonio, Tex.:
For increasing facilities for the repair of ordnance matériel, including necessary buildings, etc., $70,000;
For a magazine, $30,000;
For road repairs, $5,000;
For adding two stories to storehouse, $45,000;
For improving transportation facilities, $9,000;
For a building for storing artillery vehicles and machine-gun trucks, $3,000;
In all, $162,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, line 8, after the word "crane," to strike out "$9,500" and insert "$14,500," so as to make the clause read:

For a locomotive crane, $14,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, line 9, after the word "equipment," to strike out "$60,000" and insert "$90,000," so as to make the clause read:

For one storehouse and its equipment, $90,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, line 10, after the word "engine," to strike out "$3,000" and insert "$4,000," so as to make the clause read:

For a fire engine, $4,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, line 11, after the words "and so forth," to strike out "$10,000" and insert "$16,000," so as to make the clause read:

For construction and repair of roads, sidewalks, etc., $16,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, line 14, after the word "plant," to strike out "$7,000" and insert "$12,000," so as to make the clause read:

For an oil-storage equipment for the manufacturing plant, $12,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, after line 20, to insert:

For extension of office building, $15,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, after line 21, to insert:

For two sets of field officers' quarters, $30,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, after line 22, to insert:

For a power tunnel between power plant and shops, $20,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 67, after line 24, to insert:

For improving and modernizing smith shop, $35,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 68, to insert:

For a building to contain the planning room and inspector's office, $16,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, after line 2, to insert:

For a fire-alarm system, $10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, after line 3, to insert:

For replacing roof of building containing hardening plant, $8,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, after line 5, to insert:

For a foundry and its equipment, $800,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, line 7, after the words "In all," to strike out "$90,500" and insert "$1,072,100," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $1,072,100.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, line 15, after the word "establishment," to strike out "$15,000" and insert "$25,000," so as to make the clause read:

Watertown Arsenal, testing machines: For necessary professional and skilled labor, purchase of materials, tools, and appliances for operating the testing machines, for investigative test and tests of material in connection with the manufacturing work of the Ordnance Department, and for instruments and materials for operating the chemical laboratory in connection therewith, and for maintenance of the establishment, $25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 68, after line 22, to insert:

For rebuilding main roads, $10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, line 6, after the words "in all," to strike out "$178,100" and insert "$188,100," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $188,100.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, after line 12, to insert:

For storage facilities at armories and arsenals, $1,000,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 69, after line 14, to insert:

The foregoing appropriations for armories and arsenals are hereby made immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 81, after line 5, to insert:

For constructing and erecting a wagon shed at the propagating gardens, $7,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 81, after line 7, to insert:

To provide for an increase of 25 per cent in the pay of park laborers, $25,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 86, after line 17, to insert:

Aqueduct Bridge: For continuing the construction of the bridge authorized in section 1 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the removal of what is now known as the Aqueduct Bridge, across the Potomac River, and for the building of a bridge in place thereof," approved May 18, 1916, $400,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, being a part of the amount authorized to be contracted for in the "Act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved July 1, 1916, one half of the above sums to be payable out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and the other half out of the revenues of the District of Columbia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers," on page 93, line 8, after the word "Branch," to strike out "$58,000" and insert "$62,000, of which sum $4,000 shall be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

For household, including the same objects specified under this head for the Central Branch, $62,000, of which sum $4,000 shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 93, line 17, after the words "In all," to strike out "$325,600" and insert "$329,000," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $329,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 99, line 14, after the word "Soldiers," to strike out "$3,894,900" and insert "$3,898,900," so as to make the clause read:

In all, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, $3,898,900.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 100, line 1, after the word "Soldiers," to strike out "$1,070,000" and insert "$1,030,000," so as to make the clause read:

State or Territorial homes for disabled soldiers and sailors: For continuing aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled volunteer soldiers, in conformity with the act approved August 27, 1888, including all classes of soldiers admissible to the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, $1,030,000: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be apportioned to any State or Territorial home that maintains a bar or canteen where intoxicating liquors are sold: *Provided further*, That for any sum or sums collected in any manner from inmates of such State or Territorial homes to be used for the support of said homes a like amount shall be deducted from the aid herein provided for, but this proviso shall not apply to any State or Territorial home into which the wives or widows of soldiers are admitted and maintained.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of the Interior," subhead "Public Lands Service," on page 103, line 17, after the words "General Land Office," to strike out "$400,000" and insert "$425,000, of which sum $25,000 shall be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

Contingent expenses of land offices: For clerk hire, rent, and other incidental expenses of the district land offices, including the exchange of typewriters; per diem, in lieu of subsistence, of clerks detailed to examine the books and management of district land offices and to assist in the operation of said offices, and in the opening of new land offices and reservations, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and for actual necessary traveling expenses of said clerks, including necessary sleeping-car fares: *Provided*, That no expenses chargeable to the Government shall be incurred by registers and receivers in the conduct of local land offices except upon previous specific authorization by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, $425,000, of which sum $25,000 shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Surveying the public lands," on page 107, line 15, after the word "exceed," to strike out "one supervisor of surveys, whose compensation shall not exceed $300 per month, and not to exceed 10 surveyors who may be employed in a supervisory capacity," and insert "2 supervisors of surveys"; so as to read:

For surveys and resurveys of public lands, under the supervision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office and direction of the Secretary of the Interior, $700,000: *Provided*, That in expending this appropriation preference shall be given, first, in favor of surveying townships occupied in whole or in part by actual settlers and of lands granted to the States by the act approved February 22, 1889, and the acts approved July 3 and July 10, 1890, and to survey under such other acts as provide for land grants to the several States and Territories, and such indemnity lands as the several States and Territories may be entitled to in lieu of lands granted them for educational and other purposes which may have been sold or included in some reservation or otherwise disposed of, except railroad land grants, and other surveys shall include lands adapted to agriculture and lands deemed advisable to survey on account of availability for irrigation or dry farming, lines of reservations, and lands within boundaries of forest reservations. The surveys and resurveys provided for in this appropriation to be made by such competent surveyors as the Secretary of the Interior may select, at such compensation, not exceeding $200 per month each, as he may prescribe, except that the Secretary of the Interior may appoint not to exceed 2 supervisors of surveys, whose compensation shall not exceed $250 per month each, except in the District of Alaska, where a compensation not exceeding $10 per day may be allowed such surveyors and such per diem in lieu of subsistence, not exceeding $3, when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and actual necessary expenses for transportation including necessary sleeping-car fares, said per diem and traveling expenses to be allowed to all surveyors employed hereunder and to such clerks who are competent surveyors who may be detailed to make surveys, resurveys, or examinations of surveys heretofore made and reported to be defective or fraudulent, and inspecting mineral deposits, coal fields, and timber districts, and for making, by such competent surveyors, fragmentary surveys, and such other surveys or examinations as may be required for identification of lands for purposes of evidence in any suit or proceeding in behalf of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "United States Geological Survey," on page 111, after line 23, to insert:

Any or all of the amounts herein specifically appropriated for the field surveys or investigations of the Geological Survey shall, when in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior it may be necessary, be made immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Bureau of Mines," on page 113, after line 21, to strike out:

Not exceeding 20 per cent of the preceding sums for investigation as to the causes of mine explosions; for inquiries and scientific and technologic investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization for ores and other mineral substances; for inquiries and investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of petroleum and natural gas; and not exceeding 30 per cent of the preceding sum for investigation of mineral fuels and unfinished mineral products belonging to or for the use of the United States, may be used during the fiscal year 1918 for personal service in the District of Columbia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 114, after line 8, to insert:

Not exceeding 20 per cent of each of the four preceding sums may be used during the fiscal year 1918 for personal services in the District of Columbia.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was under the subhead "Reclamation Service," on page 123, line 21, after the word "charges," to strike out "and receipts from disposal of power or power possibilities," and on page 124, line 1, after the word "operation," to strike out: "*Provided*, That the net receipts from the operation of power plants shall be credited to the construction account to reduce the final amount due and shall not be used to reduce the annual payments for construction, maintenance, and operation," so as to make the clause read:

All moneys heretofore or hereafter refunded or received in connection with operations under the reclamation law, except repayments of construction and operation and maintenance charges, shall be a credit to the appropriation for the project or operation from or on account of which the collection is made, and shall be available for expenditure in like manner as if said sum had been specifically appropriated for said project or operation.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, these two changes, purporting to be amendments, were not adopted in the committee. They were recommended by the subcommittee to the full committee, but the full committee rejected those two, and they should not come here as committee amendments.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask that the Senate reject the committee amendments on pages 123 and 124. The committee instructed me to have that done.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, before that motion is put I wish to be heard.

As I understand, the subcommittee struck out, on page 124, the proviso at the top of the page. The subcommittee that I appeared before agreed that that proviso should be stricken out. I was called from the Committee on Appropriations for a few minutes, and before I returned to it the committee had adjourned. I was informed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] that he did what he could, as one of the members of the subcommittee, to see that that matter was left out of the bill.

Mr. President, it is no more the business of this committee, or any member of it, to have that matter in this bill than any other private or public matter that could possibly become a matter of interest to anybody in the United States of America. That language was stuck in the bill in the House at 11 o'clock at night in a manner that ought itself to have attracted some attention at the time. I understand that the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], in the full committee, succeeded in having this particular provision remain in the bill. What actuated that course, I do not know. If I did not know the Senator from Washington, I would be justified in thinking that it was in order that some other irrigation projects somewhere might get a few dollars out of the sweat and labor of these particular people. I would be ready to charge anyone that I did not know as well as I know him with that sort of a motive. My long acquaintance with him and my great respect for him make me absolutely exclude him from the denunciation that I would otherwise have given to one who would have done that.

Mr. President, I appeal to the Senate and to the Senator from Washington that when I shall have gotten through with the proposition, he himself will say that it was a mistake to keep it in.

We started out on what is known as the Salt River irrigation project in Arizona under a direct contract that that dam should be built and the water furnished at $35 an acre. Everybody signed it. It kept on with these people, many of whose lands were mortgaged, until it had reached over $80 per acre to get that dam built and this water delivered. When this charge of $80 an acre came on them, it was so oppressive that the Senate remembers that there was no difficulty in my passing a bill through the Senate extending the time of payment for 20 years, as against the 10 years specified in the original irrigation act.

What happened? They started to build an electric-power plant in connection with this particular project. The Government was out of money. The agents of the Government came to the people of the Salt River Valley, who were laboring under this awful burden, and told them that if they would put up $1,000,000 out of their own pockets again they should have the profits of this particular power plant. There was no money in the irrigation fund to do it. They could not complete it. These people in one year put up $600,000 out of their pockets, and in the next year they put up an additional $600,000, a total of $1,200,000 additional, out of their own pockets, wrung from their labor and their sweat and their blood, to try to get from under all this. Under that promise of the department they raised the money, and they completed this particular electric-power plant. Now, as soon as they have completed it and have begun to receive the profits which were promised them if they put up the money, it is sought by this particular provision in the bill to take that money and divert it for 20 years and to give it to any other irrigation project, when there is not one in America paying a profit except this particular one, and this profit arises by reason of these particular people's contributions over and above anything that has ever been required under the ordinary irrigation project.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I quite agree with what the Senator has stated, and also remark in passing that there are one or two other reclamation projects in the same position as described by the Senator, but the proviso here is:

That the net receipts from the operation of power plants shall be credited to the construction account to reduce the final amount due, and shall not be used to reduce the annual payments for construction, maintenance, and operation.

Does not the Senator desire that provision?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is exactly what they put up the money for.

Mr. SMOOT. What the Senator from Washington desires is that that provision be retained in the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. My desire is that it go out of the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. And for what purpose?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Because these people put up the money that produced this power outside of any irrigation project, under a promise of the department that if they did it they should have it to do just exactly what this provision says they shall not do.

Mr. SMOOT. Then I must correct the statement that I made just a few moments ago. In the case of the projects that I had in mind, the Government itself had furnished the money, and the profits from the power company in the first place were

passed into the Treasury of the United States and not credited to the project itself. But I understand now that that has been changed, and I thought that this House provision was simply making a law what the practice of the department was.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. On the contrary, as I will show the Senator——

Mr. SMOOT. But, of course, if the people of the Salt River Valley put up the money separately and distinctly from the cost of the reclamation project, whatever profits are made by the electric-light plant ought to go to the people.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Unquestionably, and that is all I am asking; and I will demonstrate that to the Senate, and particularly to the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], who I know must have been misinformed, or he would not have insisted that it should remain in the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. Well, just a moment. This proviso only refers to "all moneys heretofore or hereafter refunded or received in connection with operations under the reclamation law." Do I understand the Senator to say that the Reclamation Service controls the power plant, and is it operated under the reclamation law notwithstanding the fact that the people of the Salt River Valley furnished the money to erect the plant?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is absolutely true. The people raised money to the amount of $1,200,000 out of their own pockets, the Reclamation Service not having the money to complete or operate this plant at all. Under the direct provision, as I have shown you, of letters here before me, they told these people: "We have no money. If you will do this, you shall have this," to go to the very items that are denounced in this provision. It was agreed that it should be done for that very particular purpose.

Now, let me show you that there is not a single one of all the irrigation projects making a profit on this particular electric power except the Salt River Valley project.

In the hearings before the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands in the House of Representatives in the last Congress, Mr. HAYDEN stated that he would like to ask Mr. Davis what other projects there are, in addition to the Salt River Valley project, where a profit is now being made from the sale of power. The answer was:

On the Minidoka project, in Idaho, there is a small profit; a little on the Boise, Idaho, project. There are some receipts, which have not yet arrived at the dignity of a profit, on the Strawberry Valley project, in Utah"—

Every dollar of which was supplied by the Government—every dollar.

Now, let me read you, in this connection—and then I am sure my friend from Washington will recede from his position—a letter I received this morning from the Secretary of the Interior. Let me have the attention of the Senator from Washington. He says:

MY DEAR SENATOR SMITH: I am in receipt of your note of April 10, asking whether this department approves of the proviso on page 124 of H. R. 11, the sundry civil bill, which reads as follows:

"*Provided*, That the net receipts from the operation of power plants shall be credited to the construction account, to reduce the final amount due, and shall not be used to reduce the annual payments for construction, maintenance, and operation."

I am very familiar with the questions involved in this legislation, and after careful consideration I recommended to the last Congress that the net receipts from the operation of power plants upon United States reclamation projects be applied in satisfaction of the annual operation, maintenance, and betterment charges of the water users upon the project from which such revenue is derived, the balance, if any, to be utilized in reducing the construction charge.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for some information?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes; very gladly, when the Senator I am trying to convince is otherwise employed.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I recognize the fact that it would be wise and proper, in the event that the Senator's people have put up the money, that the proceeds arising therefrom should be turned over as he has suggested here; but I want a little information, please. What has been done with the receipts from the electric light or the power plant heretofore?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The Secretary of the Interior has said that they ought to go—and I think all that have been received up to to-day have gone—to the very purposes to which I claim they ought to be applied.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Up to this time the money has been applied as the Senator wants it applied in this amendment?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. In pursuance of the order of the Secretary that it would be so applied.

Mr. SHAFROTH. And that is toward the payment of the amount that is assessed against the landowners under the project?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Yes; and the landowner's maintenance of these ditches, his whole expense of running the project. If the Senator will wait until I am through with the Secretary's letter, I am sure he will have all the information any Senator will need.

Mr. SHAFROTH. All right; I shall be glad to hear it.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona (reading)—

In other words, I favored, and still favor, giving to the water users the benefit of such receipts during the years when they are also under obligation to make annual payments upon the construction charges due. If the plant makes money by its operation, it has always seemed to me to be good judgment and common honesty to let the profits for the year apply against the maintenance charges for that year.

And, I might add, especially when the people themselves, outside of the irrigation business, raised the money to create the power plant.

The passage of this proviso would appear to be in violation—

Here is what the Secretary of the Interior says:

The passage of this proviso would appear to be in violation of a promise made by Supervising Engineer Hill in July, 1910, to the Salt River Valley Water Users' Association, as a result of which the members of that association voluntarily assessed themselves and paid into the reclamation fund about $1,200,000 for the completion of the power canals and plants on the Salt River project, Arizona. This money was collected and used by the Reclamation Service with the distinct understanding by the water users that the net revenue from the power plants on that project would reduce the yearly construction and operating charges of the water users thereunder.

So far as the Salt River project is concerned, I expect that a proposition made by me in accordance with congressional authority to the water users of the Salt River Valley, that they take over the plant and operate it themselves, will prove acceptable to them, and thus, I trust, end the interminable disputes between the water users and the Government as to the cost of the plant and its use and operation by casting upon them the burden of paying the Government for the work done and operating the plant at their own expense.

It is stated by the Secretary himself that this was a direct promise to the people of the Salt River Valley; that he told them that if they would do this they should have it for the very purposes that this particular provision that I am inveighing against would place on them; that they should be relieved of that. Under that agreement with the water users they raised $1,200,000; and now, as he says, he is ready to turn the plant over to them, they to pay the Government what the Government paid for the plant and leave them to run it in any way they please.

I hope that my friend from Washington, in view of these illuminating facts with which he was unacquainted, will not think for a moment of trying to keep in the bill a violation of the contract made by those people from whom they received this vast amount of money, adding a still bigger burden of $85 an acre on their lands that they must ultimately pay the Government.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I will take just a few minutes, I think, in justice to myself.

I would not do an injustice to the people of the Salt River project. I have had the pleasure of visiting that project a couple of times, and have enjoyed the hospitality of those people very much, and was very glad indeed to do everything that I possibly could to have that project go along to a successful conclusion. The reason why I opposed the amendment suggested by the subcommittee in the full committee, to strike out the proviso inserted by the House, was based upon the hearings had before the full committee of the House of Representatives.

It seems that the Government has spent about $13,000,000 on this project, and while other projects in the country have been paying back to the Treasury of the United States part of the construction charge, these people have never yet paid a cent to the Treasury of the United States upon the construction charge.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. When was it declared open so that they could pay?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Oh, yes; I know that it was not declared open until, I guess, just this spring.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Last December. You could not pay on any project until it was declared open.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I know.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. So the Senator does not wish to draw the inference that there has been any partiality shown these people?

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; I do not say that; but when I got to inquiring a little as to why this project had not been opened as the other projects were I found that apparently it was on account of the continued controversies between the people down there and the department. If anybody is to blame for it, I suppose it is the people down there, for working up these controversies from time to time.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. They were trying to save what they thought they owned.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am not questioning their motives or questioning their good faith in presenting these controversies. Nevertheless it is a fact, Mr. President, that while

the people under the projects in other sections of the country have been paying back to the Treasury of the United States, as they promised to pay, the construction charges of the various projects, the people of this project—one of the most prosperous, one of the most wealthy, one of the most successful projects in the country—have not paid back one cent. I do not say who is to blame.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I dispute that statement, Mr. President.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I mean, upon the construction charges. They have paid rental, and things like that.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I dispute that, too. They have paid in probably the original $85 instead of $35 an acre. They started out with a contract of $35. They have brought it up now to $85 an acre that these people have got to pay.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Well, they are not an exception in that respect. I want to call the Senate's attention to the fact that the reclamation people could not, under the law, contract with those people that they should pay less than the actual cost of their project; and though some of the engineers may have represented and estimated that the cost would only be $35 an acre, yet if the cost was, as a matter of fact, $85 an acre, under the reclamation law the people would have to pay it.

Take it out in my State. In the case of one of our projects the original estimate was $50 an acre, and the people were assured that they would not have to pay more than $65 an acre at the outside; and yet, when the cost per acre was finally determined, it was $93 per acre, and our people have been paying and they will have to pay that. In the case of another project they estimated the cost to be $50 an acre, and it is now fixed at $110 an acre.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. How much have they paid back?

Mr. JONES of Washington. The provision in the law makes them pay almost a million dollars on the construction charge. Your people have not paid a cent.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. We paid $2,000,000 in trying to help the project.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is another proposition.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. ROBINSON. I merely want to make a brief statement within the time of the Senator from Washington concerning this matter. I was present in the full committee, though not a member of the subcommittee, when this matter was disposed of, and I am satisfied the full committee did not understand it. I am satisfied if the matter had been thoroughly understood by the full committee it would have sustained the action of the subcommittee rather than overruled it. I believe that is the judgment of the members of the committee who are present and who have heard this debate. Of course I do not assume to speak for anyone else besides myself.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I beg pardon of the Senator, I did not hear his statement.

Mr. ROBINSON. The Senator from Washington was diverted by the activity of my friend from Utah while I was making my statement, and I will repeat, in substance, what I have already said. I am satisfied after hearing the statement of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH] that the full committee did not understand this proposition, and that if it had understood it it would have sustained the action of the subcommittee rather than overruled it. The Senator from Washington will bear me out in the statement that the committee was acting hastily in making an effort to speedily report the bill.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I admit the committee was acting hastily, and I suggest to the Senator that he is acting rather hastily now in not hearing the other side of this proposition. He seems to be willing to take the suggestion of the Senator from Arizona without hearing the other side of the proposition.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I am giving the statement of the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I was going to refer to some matters with reference to that.

Mr. ROBINSON. If the Senator from Washington will pardon me, I was merely trying to act hastily and hoped that the discussion might be shortened.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I am going to make it as short as I can.

Mr. ROBINSON. Very well, I have nothing further to say.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I thought in justice to myself, at any rate, I should say a few words with reference to the proposition suggested by the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. ROBINSON. The Senator was very kind to yield to me; I appreciate it, and I shall be very glad to hear him.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, evidently the Salt River project in Arizona, as far as the electric plant is concerned, is different from all the other projects in the United States, the people having furnished the money for the erection of the plant. I agree with the Senator from Washington, that the House provision should stand with the exception of applying to the Salt River project in Arizona. I think we could settle differences by allowing the House provision to stand with this proviso. I call the attention of the Senator from Arizona to it. After the word "operation," on page 124, line 5, at the end of the proviso, insert this amendment:

Provided further, That the provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to the Salt River project, Arizona.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I have no objection in the world to that. That is the only one in question where we have put up the money to make the payment. I have no objection to that amendment.

Mr. SMOOT. Will it be satisfactory to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think I ought to make a statement here. I appreciate the kind expressions of my friend from Arizona with reference to myself, and I want to justify those expressions. I do not want to do any injustice to anyone, and I do not think that he wants any injustice done to anybody throughout the country either. I feel satisfied that he wants the settlers under these various projects to be treated all alike; and that is, where they have to pay in some other project to the Government, they ought to pay in Arizona.

Mr. FALL. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly.

Mr. FALL. The Senator will bear in mind that different projects are on an equal footing, the Salt River project, for instance, and the Elephant Butte project in New Mexico, where the country was settled, where farms were owned, where they were under irrigation, where they were in a high state of cultivation, and hundreds of thousands of dollars had been expended for the development of the country by pioneers, who were glad, of course, to have the assistance of the Government in establishing a large reservoir regulating the flow of the water, and they at the same time surrendered their water rights, which were prior, and which the Government could not take away from them. They surrendered their water rights to the Government, which enabled the Government to use the privately owned water rights and, by the construction of the reservoir and storing the excess waters, also to irrigate other Government lands which were absolutely valueless and worth nothing whatsoever. The same state of affairs exists in New Mexico in the Elephant Butte project. The people of those projects were cultivating lands 300 years ago, and those are not on all fours with the projects where the wild lands were taken under a project and where even an excessive cost of $110 an acre constitute the cost of the land, the home, and the water rights. The people down there own their water. These two projects are in a different position.

The point I was calling the Senator's attention to is that where the Government of the United States goes upon cultivated land to construct a project, where the waters are already being used, and there makes a statement to the people that we will construct this project at a certain cost, the people owning their land, not getting it from the Government of the United States under the provisions of the reclamation act, are entitled to rely absolutely upon the contract entered into between themselves and the Government, and those are not on all fours with the other project here, where they should be compelled to pay whatever excessive cost may be piled up by those in charge of the project.

Mr. JONES of Washington. If that were followed, it would relieve several projects in my State from a great amount that they have to pay.

Mr. FALL. It should, in my judgment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. But it will not be done.

Mr. FALL. That is no fault of the Senators from New Mexico and Arizona.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It is not the Senators' fault. Under the law every man who takes a water right under these projects must pay the cost of reclaiming the land.

Mr. FALL. That must be a reasonable cost, an amount fixed according to the circumstances, of course.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I did not mean that it would be an unreasonable cost. Of course the cost is the amount provided by the reclamation law.

Mr. FALL. The Senator can represent his own State; we will represent ours.

Mr. JONES of Washington. If Senators are going to try to represent their States by giving to their citizens privileges that they do not give to other States, then I will try to represent my State, and that is what I am trying to do here.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. If the Senator will give us any privilege——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Arizona?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Not right now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington declines to yield.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I wanted to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington declines to yield.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I know what the question would be. The Senator says it is an injustice. How does the Senator show that it is an injustice?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The Senator will not let me state it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Here is the injustice it proposes to do. It proposes to take the receipts of this power plant and apply them upon the first payment to be made upon the construction charge of the Salt River project. What does the testimony of the reclamation officials show? They say that these receipts will pay for four years at least all those construction payments. What is the result of that? That the settlers will not pay one cent of the construction charges to the Government, while the people in my State are paying to the Treasury of the United States the percentage required by the reclamation law. Now, I say, Mr. President, that that is hardly fair.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I do.

Mr. SMOOT. Is it not true that there is quite a difference between the projects in the State of Washington and the State of Arizona in this respect? In the Salt River project in Arizona the people put up the money for the erection of the power plant. They furnish that money themselves as an investment outside of the reclamation project, and all the connection it has with the reclamation project is that the water runs through the reclamation canal and comes to the power plant created by the people of Arizona, whereas in Washington and in Utah—I know it is the case in my own State—the Government itself put up the money for the erection of the power plant, and it becomes a part of the reclamation project. Therefore, it seems to me the Government ought to have absolute control over that.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It seems to me what the Senator suggests confirms the position I take. If this power plant is not any part of the Salt River project, why should we seek to relieve the people under that project from paying into the Treasury their part of the construction of the other? Let them take the power and reimburse them for the money that they put up for the power. I do not want to take away any of that from them.

Mr. SMOOT. If there is any profit made on the power, then that ought to be declared as a dividend to the people, and if it were done that way they could take that same money and make the first payment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Let them do that. Let the individuals make their payment to the Government.

Mr. SMOOT. On the reclamation project as they have the control now of the power plant they know exactly the amount to pay, and why not credit them with it instead of paying the money and compelling them to pay it back, taking the money out of one pocket and putting it into another?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Of course I do not know all the facts, but I have here the testimony of the reclamation people, and that really was the basis for my action. I did not know of this letter that the Senator read. As far as the contract made by the engineer with those people is concerned, if that contract was within his power, of course it should be lived up to, and even if it was not I do not know why it should not be lived up to, but I do know that the Government always says to people under these contracts, if the contract was not within the power of the officer to make they will not stand by it, and they do not stand by it. I do not say that they ought not to stand by it. I do not say there is no justice possibly in that, because I do not know all the circumstances, but I want to give the Senate the basis for my position in regard to this amendment.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Does not the Senator recognize that when the people put up $1,200,000 the net profit arising from that ought to go to their benefit, especially where it was agreed by the parties that it should be done for that purpose? That is what the Secretary of the Interior has done.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have no objection to its going to them.

Mr. SHAFROTH. That is the very thing in dispute in this amendment.

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; it is not.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I accept the amendment of the Senator from Utah.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Here is what Mr. Davis, of the Reclamation Service, says in the House committee hearing. He says:

> If the net power receipts were credited to the current payments as they come due, it would more than cover them for the first four years, and the surplus of those four years and the receipts would about cover them for the next two years.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Whose language is that?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. Davis's, the chief engineer of the Reclamation Service. He continues:

> So that for six years the power profits would pay the entire construction charges, and after the sixth year they would pay about one-half of what the law requires.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. While it would be very advantageous to them, it would be very unjust to the reclamation fund and the project?

Now, I want to read what Mr. Davis, of the Reclamation Service, further says:

> Yes, sir. The result would be—.

I call the attention of the Senator from Utah to this language. This is what Mr. Davis, of the Reclamation Service, said:

> The result would be that the Government's investment in the power plant would remain unliquidated for the entire 20 years, whereas now the effect will be to liquidate that entire investment in power very much sooner.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, that was something a little outside of the purpose of the reclamation act?
>
> Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. And that money should be made available as quickly as possible.
>
> Mr. MONDELL. If such a plan as that is not followed you would scarcely be justified in expending considerable sums for power plants?
>
> Mr. DAVIS. I think not. I think that is the only course that will justify the investment in power, that it shall be returned from the earnings as quickly as possible.
>
> Mr. MONDELL. You think there is no doubt but what this plan will be adhered to?
>
> Mr. DAVIS. So far as I have a voice in it, it will.
>
> Mr. MONDELL. Strenuously?
>
> Mr. DAVIS. I shall favor it strenuously; yes, sir.
>
> Mr. MONDELL. I make that suggestion because I know there are some rather earnest gentlemen who would like to have it otherwise.
>
> Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. MONDELL. I think it would be well for those gentlemen to appreciate that everybody interested in the reclamation work feels that this is the proper and reasonable plan, and that no one connected with the Reclamation Service or the friends of the service on the outside is inclined to give them aid or encouragement in their efforts, if any were made, to persuade the Secretary to modify his plan.
>
> Mr. DAVIS. It is now held by the law officers of the Reclamation Service, and I think also the department, that this method of crediting that I have described is required by the law, and I think will continue to be so held unless Congress changes it. I think there is little doubt about that.

I wish to give the pages of the hearings from which I have read. Pages 638 and 639 of the hearings before the House committee in the Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, upon the sundry civil appropriation bill.

There is the position of the Reclamation Service. Apparently from the language here these people did not put up all of this money for the power plant. The Government apparently had taken money from the Reclamation Service and put it into the power-plant proposition, which is straining the law, to say the least of it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. Davis was speaking of the Salt River project?

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is what he was talking about.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, all I said is based upon the statement of the Senator from Arizona that the people of the Salt River Valley furnished the money for the erection and completion of the power plant.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Apparently they did not furnish all of it. You did not have all the facts.

Mr. SMOOT. As to that I do not know.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The proposition here was that it was fair to credit these receipts upon the last payment, so that the people would begin to make the payment as other people, and when the credits meet what they put in on the total cost of the project it would be canceled. It struck me from

this statement that that was fair. Now, the Secretary suggests a specific contract made by the service there. Of course, those things appeal to our sense of justice and fairness and equity. I do not know any more about the matter than I have read here. I feel that probably it would be well to let this matter go to conference. So I shall not insist further, having presented these matters, but in view of the suggestions made by my good friend from Arizona and the letter that was read by the Secretary, I shall not object to the adoption of this amendment as it is now proposed, although it was rejected in the full committee. I will let the matter go to conference and be worked out there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment on page 123.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The proviso is to be stricken from the bill.

Mr. MARTIN. I understand that the committee instructed me to move that the Senate disagree to this committee amendment. I understand there is no objection to that action, that the Senate shall disagree to it.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. My motion is to strike out the proviso from the bill just as the subcommittee struck it out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state to the Senator from Arizona that the question is now on the amendment on page 123.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. For that I care nothing.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment referred to by the Senator from West Virginia, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 124, line 1, after the word "operation," strike out the colon and the proviso.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask that that amendment be disagreed to. It is the committee amendment and I was instructed to ask that it be disagreed to.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I do not understand the parliamentary situation that leaves it in, instead of leaving that proviso in the bill. I am trying to strike it out. The committee struck it out. I move to strike out at the top of page 124 the proviso.

Mr. MARTIN. The motion I stated is the correct motion, of course.

Mr. WARREN. That is correct, disagreeing to the amendment.

Mr. ROBINSON. No; it is not correct. The Senator from Arizona has made the correct motion. Unfortunately, the print before the Senate does not represent the action of the committee.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That is the point exactly.

Mr. ROBINSON. It is directly contradictory to what the committee finally did. The committee receded from the subcommittee amendment striking out the provision and left the provision in. Now the Senate has receded from the committee amendment and the Senator from Arizona moves, in effect, that the action of the subcommittee, on page 124, striking out the proviso be adopted. The easiest way out of the situation is the motion of the Senator from Arizona that the proviso at the top of page 124, beginning after the word "operation" and ending with line 5, inclusive, be stricken out.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Let me suggest to the Senator that the proper motion to make is the motion of the Senator from Virginia to vote that down.

Mr. ROBINSON. That has been done. The RECORD will show that the motion of the Senator from Virginia to recede from the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, if I may be permitted——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arkansas yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. ROBINSON. I yield.

Mr. LODGE. I take no interest in the amendment, but I have been watching the proceedings. The Senate disagreed to the amendment on page 123. That leaves the text exactly as it is printed. The next question is on agreeing to the amendment at the top of page 124. I can speak only of the bill before the Senate. I know nothing about the subcommittee's print. That amendment of the committee is to strike out the proviso and the question is on agreeing to the amendment. You do not put the question on a motion to disagree, but the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. ROBINSON. The error in the position of the Senator, if the Senator will pardon me for calling attention to it, was pointed out a while ago. That is not a committee amendment. The print is a subcommittee print. The subcommittee did agree to the amendment striking out the proviso. The Senate committee refused to agree to that. The bill has never been reprinted with the committee amendments proper, but what is presented here is the subcommittee print.

Mr. LODGE. My point is that in the bill before the Senate the proviso is stricken out.

Mr. ROBINSON. No; it is not stricken out. That is the motion.

Mr. LODGE. The print before the committee I have on my desk, and it strikes out the proviso.

Mr. ROBINSON. But that is not the correct print.

Mr. LODGE. It does not make any difference what it is, provided it is the print before the Senate.

Mr. ROBINSON. The committee actually did not report that print. The easiest way out of the matter is to agree to the motion of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I desire to say that I was the occupant of the chair when the Senator from Virginia moved to disagree to the amendment on page 123, and the Chair put the question on agreeing to the amendment and announced that the noes have it. At the time the then occupant of the Chair left the chair the motion of the Senator from Virginia to disagree to the amendment on page 124 was pending.

Mr. LODGE. Precisely; the motion is to disagree.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks that is correct. The print which the Chair has in his possession and is on the desks of Senators, as stated by the Senator from Arkansas, states an amendment proposed by the subcommittee, but not an amendment proposed by the committee. If the committee desires to withdraw it, the committee can withdraw it. If the committee does not desire to withdraw it, the Chair will put the question on agreeing to the subcommittee's amendment.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, there is no subcommittee amendment here. There has been none and can be none under the rules of the Senate. There is no way for the subcommittee to be here before this body with an amendment; none is here and none has been here, and none has ever been before the Senate since I have been a Member of the body.

Mr. ROBINSON. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arizona, which is identical with the subcommittee amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. May I inquire what the report of the committee to the Senate really was? Was it this printed paper?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has no means of knowing anything except from the copy of the bill that comes before the Senate.

Mr. MARTIN. I have some means of knowing. I am the chairman of the committee, and this print I reported to the Senate by order of the full committee. I was not present when the subcommittee did its work—I was called out of the city; but this report was made by me as it is printed here, and it was made by order of the full committee. There is no subcommittee report here, none has been here, and none can come here under the rules of the Senate. This printed bill I reported here by order of the full committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the committee reported an amendment to strike out the following words:

Provided, That the net receipts from the operation of power plants shall be credited to the construction account to reduce the final amount due and shall not be used to reduce the annual payments for construction, maintenance, and operation.

Mr. MARTIN. That is in the print, and the committee instructed me to move in the Senate that that amendment be disagreed to.

Mr. SHEPPARD. That is the motion pending now.

Mr. MARTIN. That is the motion pending, to disagree to the proviso on page 124.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will accomplish the same purpose by voting on the question to agree to the amendment.

Mr. MARTIN. Exactly the same.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That leaves it as the Senator from Arizona does not want it. We should adopt a motion to strike it out, to carry out the view of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The whole proposition is this: I have been trying my best to strike out those lines. I find, if I understand it correctly, that the lines are left in. The Senate is behind me in my desire to get rid of that particular proviso.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Let the Senator move to reconsider.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Now, the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee that I appeared before struck out that proviso. In my absence the Senator from Washington moved that that proviso be kept in the bill. The chairman of the committee was instructed to keep that proviso in the bill, and pursuant to that he made a motion to keep it in. That motion was voted down. I do not know whether it would be stricken out

or not; but from the mere action of the subcommittee I have made the motion to strike from the bill the proviso, notwithstanding any parliamentary conditions which may exist now. That would settle it as to the proviso, and that is what I want to have settled.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Arizona to say that he had no objection to the House provision providing there was a further amendment to it——

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. But I do not want to tangle it up now with other amendments. I have been waiting here for an hour to get the part stricken out that I want to go out.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not care how you fix it.

Mr. SMOOT. I desire to ask the Senator from Arizona this question so that I may know just what he wants. If I offer this amendment:

Provided further, That the provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to the Salt River project, Arizona.

Will that be satisfactory to him?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. It will be perfectly satisfactory to me, but why not just strike out the proviso?

Mr. SMOOT. Very well.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I move that the action of the Senate——

Mr. WARREN. Before that motion is made, if the Senator will yield to me for a minute, I think I can state how the situation is and how we can very easily get out of it.

Mr. SHAFROTH. It seems to me we should have a reconsideration and then a vote in favor of the committee amendment would make the condition exactly as the Senator from Arizona desires. As I understand it, the motion of the Senator from Virginia was to strike out the proviso at the top of page 124. That amendment was voted down and that leaves the bill as it is with that proviso in. To reconsider that and then vote in favor of the Senate subcommittee amendment would accomplish identically the purpose the Senator from Arizona desires and which the Senate is in favor of. I therefore make that motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is moved that the vote whereby the amendment proposing to strike out the proviso at the top of page 124 was rejected be reconsidered. [Putting the question.] The "ayes" have it. Now, the pending motion is to strike out the proviso at the top of page 124 heretofore read into the bill. [Putting the question.] The "ayes" have it.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, to make the paragraph complete, we shall also have to strike out the words "and receipts from disposal of power or power possibilities," on page 123, in lines 21 and 22. The vote agreeing to that amendment must be reconsidered or else the paragraph will be inconsistent.

Mr. ASHURST. The Senator from Utah is right about that.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment on page 123, lines 21 and 22, was agreed to, striking out the words "and receipts from disposal of power or power possibilities."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Then, the question is on the motion to reconsider made by the Senator from Utah. [Putting the question.] The ayes have it. Now the question is on agreeing to the amendment. [Putting the question.] The ayes have it; and the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Alaska, expenses in," on page 126, line 20, after the word "heads," to strike out "$200,000" and insert "$215,000," so as to make the clause read:

Education in Alaska: To enable the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion and under his discretion, to provide for the education and support of the Eskimos, Aleuts, Indians, and other natives of Alaska; erection, repair, and rental of school buildings; textbooks and industrial apparatus; pay and necessary traveling expenses of superintendents, teachers, physicians, and other employees, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses which are not included under the above special heads, $215,000; not exceeding $25,000 of which sum for the purchase of supplies and payment of freight on same, and for payment of labor and material for building and freight on same, shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 128, line 2, after the word "heads," to strike out "$50,000" and insert "$62,500," so as to make the clause read:

Medical relief in Alaska: To enable the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion and under his direction, with the advice and cooperation of the Public Health Service, to provide for the medical and sanitary relief of the Eskimos, Aleuts, Indians, and other natives of Alaska; erection, purchase, repair, rental, and equipment of hospital buildings; books and surgical apparatus; pay and necessary traveling expenses of physicians, nurses, and other employees, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses which are not included under the above special heads, $62,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "National parks," on page 129, line 5, after the word "park," to strike out "$5,500," and insert "$24,800"; and in the same line, after the numerals "$24,800," to strike out "*Provided*, That no part of this appropriation or the revenues of the Yellowstone National Park shall be used for payment of salaries for the protection of the park, authorized by the act of March 3, 1883, to be performed by the detail of troops," so as to make the clause read:

Yellowstone National Park: For administration and protection, including not exceeding $600 for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn and motor-driven passenger-carrying vehicles for use of the superintendent in making inspection of the park, $24,800.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 131, line 6, after the word "employees," to strike out "$10,000," and insert "$20,000," so as to make the clause read:

Mesa Verde National Park, Colo.: For protection and improvement, including not exceeding $433 for maintenance and repair of horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles for use of the superintendent and employees, $20,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment which I ask to have adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Virginia will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 129, after line 23, it is proposed to insert:

The Secretary of the Interior is authorized, in his discretion, to accept buildings, moneys, or other property which may be useful in the betterment of administration of affairs of the Glacier National Park, under his supervision, and which may be donated for park purposes.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I inquire of the Senator from Virginia whether the other provision which is found in the Book of Estimates, giving the Secretary of the Interior authority over the roads leading to the Glacier National Park and the Blackfeet Reservation, ought not likewise to be incorporated?

Mr. MARTIN. As I recall it, the committee did not insert that because the Secretary of the Interior, under existing law, already has authority over that matter.

Mr. WALSH. The department does not seem to think so, for it recommended the granting of the authority.

Mr. MARTIN. Still, the Secretary of the Interior has the authority. I have no objection, however, in order to save time, to inserting that, though I am perfectly satisfied the Secretary of the Interior now has authority over it.

Mr. SMOOT. I have an objection to having that go in.

Mr. MARTIN. I am sure the Secretary of the Interior now has that authority.

Mr. WALSH. I am not sufficiently interested in the matter to get into a controversy about it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 131, after line 11, to insert:

Hereafter the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept for park purposes any lands and rights of way, including the Grandfather Mountain, near or adjacent to the Government forest reserve in western North Carolina.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 132, after line 6, to insert:

Lassen Volcanic National Park, Cal.: For protection and improvement, $5,000, to be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 132, after line 19, to insert:

Hot Springs Reservation, Ark.: For the employment of a landscape engineer and such other expenses as may be required for the preparation of a practical and comprehensive plan, together with an accurate estimate of the cost thereof, for improving the Hot Springs Reservation and immediate vicinity, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to be immediately available, $10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment which I ask may be adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Virginia will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 132 it is proposed to strike out from line 13 to line 19, inclusive, as follows:

From and after July 1, 1918, all revenues of the national parks shall be covered into the Treasury to the credit of miscellaneous receipts; and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to submit, for the fiscal year 1919 and annually thereafter, estimates of the amounts required for the care, maintenance, and development of the said parks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be agreed to, without objection.

Mr. WALSH. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Virginia, what is the effect of that amendment?

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, with the permission of the Senator from Virginia, I will make a brief statement in reply to the Senator from Montana.

Under existing law funds from at least some of the national parks may be used by the Secretary of the Interior for the improvement of the national parks. Take, for instance, the Hot Springs Reservation in the State of Arkansas. That reservation was created about 1877. During the period which has elapsed since that time the revenues of the reservation have aggregated about $900,000. Of that amount something less than $600,000, I think, including all appropriations made out of funds not otherwise expended in the Treasury, has been paid for the improvement of the reservation. There is now on hand a fund of some $40,000 which is available for the improvement of the Hot Springs Reservation. That is the only reservation in the United States of which I know that is self-sustaining. As I have already stated, it is more than self-sustaining.

The effect of this provision is to cover into the Treasury funds which are now available for the improvement of the reservation, and, at the same time, no provision is made for maintaining the reservation. Of course, provision could be made hereafter. The Secretary of the Interior is very anxious that this provision be not retained in the bill, and I have a statement coming from his office, which I will ask to have incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, explanatory of that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Permission to do so will be granted in the absence of objection. The Chair hears none.

The statement referred to is as follows:

APRIL 4, 1917.

In compliance with Mr. Miller's request, I beg to quote from page 124 of the sundry civil bill, as it has been reported to the Senate by the committee, the provision relating to the transfer of the revenues of the national parks to the credit of the miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury on and after July 1, 1918:

"From and after July 1, 1918, all revenues of the national parks shall be covered into the Treasury to the credit of miscellaneous receipts; and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to submit, for the fiscal year 1919 and annually thereafter, estimates of the amounts required for the care, maintenance, and development of the said parks."

The effect of this provision will be, of course, to cover all the revenues of the Hot Springs Reservation into the Federal Treasury and necessitate our getting funds by direct appropriation thereafter upon recommendation of the appropriation committees of Congress.

At the present time we are able to accomplish considerable development work by using our revenues, and, of course, we contemplate making more extensive improvements. We have asked authority on several occasions to use $75,000 of the revenue fund for rebuilding the Government bathhouse, an improvement which is urgently needed, but this authority was never granted. Our revenues have accumulated because it was felt that there should be no large expenditure of money, such as the improvement of the free bathhouse or the construction of storm sewers on the mountains, until the fund should be large enough to complete any project undertaken.

Mr. WARREN. May I ask the Senator from Arkansas a question?

Mr. ROBINSON. Certainly.

Mr. WARREN. Does the Senator think the language of the paragraph which it is proposed to strike out applies to the Hot Springs Reservation?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes. The Secretary of the Interior so construes it. It is a national park.

Mr. WARREN. Of course, it is a reservation; but I thought it was specifically provided for.

Mr. ROBINSON. That is the construction placed on the language by the Interior Department.

Mr. WARREN. I agree that that reservation should be taken care of, but, on general principles, I think it better to have the revenues go into the Treasury and then have them specifically appropriated; but at the present time, if this applies to the reservation in Arkansas, of course we must strike it out.

Mr. ROBINSON. It does; and it is intended to so apply.

Mr. SMOOT. I notice the rather peculiar wording of the amendment, and I will call the Senator's attention to it.

Mr. ROBINSON. The pending motion is a motion to strike out.

Mr. SMOOT. I was not aware of that.

Mr. ROBINSON. The amendment which the Senator has in mind has already been agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment is agreed to, without objection.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the subhead "Columbia Institution for the Deaf," on page 134, line 10, after the word "improvements," to strike out "$71,500" and insert "$73,000," so as to make the clause read:

For support of the institution, including salaries and incidental expenses, books and illustrative apparatus, and general repairs and improvements, $73,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of Justice," subhead "Public buildings," on page 136, after line 11, to strike out:

For the erection of shop buildings or factories and their appurtenances, $82,500; for the purchase and installation of woodworking machinery and the installation of same in the shop buildings or factories, and for other necessary equipment preparatory to manufacturing furniture and woodenware, $202,500; in all, $285,000.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, this amendment, as well as the following amendments proposing to strike out line 22 and the balance on page 136, and lines 1 and 2 on page 137, I think should have a word of discussion before we pass from them. I shall support the amendment, but I think the Senate should notice what would be contained in this bill if the amendment was not adopted.

Here is a provision for the expenditure of nearly a million dollars for the erection of factories at two Government prisons. There is not a line of legislation authorizing anybody to manage them or providing for the disposition of the product. There is not the creation of authority in anyone competent to handle them, to buy machinery, or to conduct the factories. They are simply appropriations—in one instance of $285,000 and in the other instance of $445,000 of money for the erection of two factories.

There is nothing connected with the duties of the Department of Justice that provides men capable of handling these factories or capable of constructing them.

Mr. SMOOT. And no appropriation to employ them.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; unless this fund is simply to be taken by the Attorney General and disposed of as he sees fit.

It is most peculiar legislation. It is astonishing, if it came from the department, that it should have come from it. There is a superintendent of prisons, who, in my opinion, is unfit for the place he occupies and who does not properly discharge his present duties. Four hundred thousand dollars of this money is to be spent in my own city, the city of Atlanta, to build and equip a cotton factory. I am not prepared to say that the convicts of the penitentiary are suited for operating a cotton factory. There is not a line about the disposition of the goods; there is no organization suited to the sale or to the purchase of the material necessary for the plant; there is no organization suited to the construction of the plant; and there is no organization suited to the operation.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, there is no such appropriation proposed. On the contrary, the committee propose to eliminate it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I desire to say to the chairman of the committee that he misunderstands me. I am speaking in commendation of the action of our committee, and I am expressing my astonishment—I will not say "astonishment" at action anywhere else—but I wish to express my appreciation of the action of the Senate committee. I am emphasizing it now, lest by any possible chance there might be insistence and any conference report might be brought to the Senate approving such an appropriation.

If we are to build cotton factories we want to know what is to be done with the goods which they produce; if we are to build furniture factories in prisons, we wish to know what is to be done with the goods; and if we are going into the business, we should know who is to handle it.

A cotton factory does not pay, even with unpaid employees, unless managed by somebody competent to run it; and I really think the Department of Justice has about as much to do now as its head can intelligently handle.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 136, after line 21, to strike out:

For the erection of shop buildings or factories and their appurtenances, $129,500; for the purchase and installation of cotton textile machinery and the installation of same in the shop buildings or factories, and for other necessary equipment preparatory to manufacturing cotton textile goods, $315,500; in all, $445,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 137, line 7, after the word "building," to strike out "other than those specifically provided for herein," so as to make the clause read:

Appropriations in this act under the Department of Justice shall not be used for beginning the construction of any new or additional building at any Federal penitentiary.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Miscellaneous objects, Department of Justice," on page 139, line 2, after the words "Attorney General," to insert "hire and operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles

when necessary" in line 7, after the word "exceed," to strike out "$18,500" and insert "$32,500"; and in line 9, after the words "Attorney General," to strike out "$485,000" and insert "$685,000," so as to make the clause read:

Detection and prosecution of crimes: For the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States; the investigation of the official acts, records, and accounts of marshals, attorneys, clerks, referees, and trustees of the United States courts and the Territorial courts, and United States commissioners, for which purpose all the official papers, records, and dockets of said officers, without exception, shall be examined by the agents of the Attorney General at any time; for the protection of the person of the President of the United States; for such other investigations regarding official matters under the control of the Department of Justice or the Department of State as may be directed by the Attorney General, hire and operation of motor-propelled or horse-drawn passenger-carrying vehicles when necessary, per diem in lieu of subsistence when allowed pursuant to section 13 of the sundry civil appropriation act approved August 1, 1914, and including not to exceed $32,500 for necessary employees at the seat of government, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General, $685,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Judicial," subhead "United States courts," on page 142, after line 12, to insert:

For the salary of the additional judge in the State of Texas, to be appointed under the act of February 26, 1917, $6,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 142, after line 15, to insert:

For the salary of the United States district judge for the district of Porto Rico, $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 142, after line 17, to insert:

For the salary of the clerk of the United States district court for the district of Porto Rico, $3,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I send to the desk an amendment, which I ask to have adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 145, line 22, after the word "Alaska," it is proposed to insert "Porto Rico."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 147, line 9, after the word "warden," to insert "first chaplain," so as to make the clause read:

Leavenworth, Kans., Penitentiary: For subsistence, including supplies from the prison stores for warden, deputy warden, first chaplain, and physician, tobacco for prisoners, kitchen and dining-room furniture and utensils, seeds and implements, and for purchase of ice if necessary, $110,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Department of Commerce," subhead "Lighthouse Service," on page 157, line 9, after the word "necessary," to strike out "$1,104,650" and insert "$1,150,000," so as to make the clause read:

Lighthouse vessels: For salaries and wages of officers and crews of light vessels and lighthouse tenders, including temporary employment when necessary, $1,150,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Coast and Geodetic Survey," on page 158, line 17, after the numerals "$115,000," to insert "of which sum $10,000 shall be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

Field expenses: For surveys and necessary resurveys of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of the United States, including the coasts of outlying islands under the jurisdiction of the United States: *Provided*, That not more than $25,000 of this amount shall be expended on the coasts of said outlying islands, and the Atlantic entrance to the Panama Canal, $115,000, of which sum $10,000 shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 158, line 21, after the numerals "$250,000," to insert "of which sum $10,000 shall be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

For surveys and necessary resurveys of coasts on the Pacific Ocean under the jurisdiction of the United States, $250,000, of which sum $10,000 shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 159, line 20, after the numerals "$90,000," to insert "of which sum $20,000 shall be immediately available," so as to make the clause read:

For continuing magnetic observations and to establish meridian lines in connection therewith in all parts of the United States; magnetic observations in other regions under the jurisdiction of the United States; purchase of additional magnetic instruments; lease of sites where necessary and erection of temporary magnetic buildings; continuing the line of exact levels between the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts; determination of geographical positions, by triangulation or traverse for the control of Federal, State, boundary, and other surveys and engineering works in all parts of the United States and Alaska; determination of field astronomic positions; and for continuing gravity observations, $90,000, of which sum $20,000 shall be immediately available.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 160, line 13, after the word "chandlery," to strike out "$45,000" and insert $56,000," so as to make the clause read:

Vessels: For repairs and maintenance of the complement of vessels, including traveling expenses of persons inspecting the repairs, and exclusive of engineer's supplies and other ship chandlery, $56,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, as I understand, we are simply considering committee amendments. I desire to offer an amendment at this point in the bill but will, of course, defer doing so until the committee amendments have been concluded.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 161, after line 18, to insert:

Chief cartographer, $2,700; topographic and hydrographic draftsmen—one $2,200, one $2,000, one $1,800, one $1,600; in all, $10,300.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 162, line 18, after the word "force," to strike out "$220,770" and insert "$231,070," so as to make the clause read:

In all, pay of office force, $231,070.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Bureau of Fisheries," at the top of page 172, to insert:

Developing aquatic sources of leather, Bureau of Fisheries: For developing by the Bureau of Fisheries in cooperation with the Bureau of Standards new aquatic sources of supply of leather, including personal services in the District of Columbia and in the field, to be immediately available, $10,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, at the top of page 173, to insert:

Repairs to Bureau of Fisheries steamer *Fish Hawk:* For overhauling and repairing United States Bureau of Fisheries steamer *Fish Hawk*, provide new propelling machinery, and all other items necessary to place her in a seaworthy condition, including incidental and miscellaneous expenses in connection therewith, $35,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Bureau of Standards," on page 176, after line 12, to strike out:

First, starting at the northwest corner of the present site of the Bureau of Standards on Idaho Avenue and running about 98 feet northeast along Idaho Avenue to Van Ness Street; thence about 908 feet due east along Van Ness Street to a point intersecting a line formed by extending the eastern boundary line of the bureau's present site; thence about 83 feet due south to the northeast corner of the present site of the Bureau of Standards; thence about 961 feet due west to the point of starting at Idaho Avenue, including about 77,600 square feet; second, starting at the point of intersection of the southern boundary of the present site of the bureau with the northern side of Tilden Street, proceeding due east about 750 feet to the southeast corner of the present site; thence due south about 153 feet along a line formed by the extension of the eastern boundary of the present site to the point of intersection of that line with the northern side of Tilden Street; thence about 768 feet in a general westerly direction following the line of the northern side of Tilden Street to the point of starting, including about 77,800 square feet.

And insert:

First, starting at the northwest corner of the present site of the Bureau of Standards on Idaho Avenue, and running thence along the easterly line of said avenue, northeasterly to the northerly line of the Pierce Mill Road; thence with said northerly line westerly to the easterly line of Idaho Avenue, 90 feet wide; thence with said easterly line, northeasterly 95 feet, more or less, to the south line of Van Ness Street, 60 feet wide; thence with said south line 910 feet, more or less, to intersect the prolongation of the present easterly line of the Bureau of Standards site; thence with said line of prolongation, southerly 97 feet, more or less, to the northeast corner of the Bureau of Standards grounds; thence with the north line of said grounds, west 965 feet to the point of beginning, containing 91,500 square feet; second, starting at the point of intersection of the southerly boundary of the present site of the Bureau of Standards with the northerly line of Tilden Street, 120 feet wide, as projected on the permanent system of highways plan, and running thence with said southerly boundary, east 1,125 feet, more or less, to the southeast corner of the present bureau site; thence with the prolongation of the easterly line of the present site, southerly 100 feet, more or less, to the northerly line of the said Tilden Street; thence with said northerly line, and with a curve deflecting to the right, westerly 1,140 feet to the point of beginning, containing 124,000 square feet.

So as to make the clause read:

To enable the Secretary of Commerce to acquire, by condemnation or otherwise, about 155,400 square feet of additional land for enlargement of the present site of the Bureau of Standards, $25,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, the land to be acquired hereunder being described as follows: First, starting at the northwest corner of the present site of the Bureau of Standards, on Idaho Avenue, and running thence along the easterly line of said avenue northeasterly to the northerly line of the Pierce Mill Road; thence with said northerly line westerly to the easterly line of Idaho Avenue, 90 feet wide; thence with said easterly line northeasterly 95 feet, more or less, to the south line of Van Ness Street, 60 feet wide; thence with said south line 910 feet, more or less, to intersect the prolongation of the present easterly line of the Bureau of Standards site; thence with said line of prolongation southerly 97 feet, more or less, to the

northeast corner of the Bureau of Standards grounds; thence with the north line of said grounds west 965 feet to the point of beginning; containing 91,500 square feet. Second, starting at the point of intersection of the southerly boundary of the present site of the Bureau of Standards with the northerly line of Tilden Street, 120 feet wide, as projected on the permanent system of highways plan, and running thence with said southerly boundary east 1,125 feet, more or less, to the southeast corner of the present bureau site; thence with the prolongation of the easterly line of the present site southerly 100 feet, more or less, to the northerly line of the said Tilden Street; thence with said northerly line, and with a curve deflecting to the right, westerly 1,140 feet to the point of beginning; containing 124,000 square feet.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, on behalf of the committee, I offer an amendment, which I ask to have adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 178, after line 13, it is proposed to insert:

Office of Secretary: To enable the Secretary of Labor to carry into effect the provisions of the act of March 4, 1913, entitled "An act to create a Department of Labor," to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners of the United States as applied to women, $46,920.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. I also, in behalf of the committee, offer the amendment which I send to the desk to correct a total.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 206, line 11, correct the total so as to read "$4,756,500."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I understand that the bill is now being read for committee amendments, and it is very likely that the bill will be passed this afternoon, so I ask the chairman of the committee if he will allow me to offer an amendment which has been considered and reported unanimously by the Committee on Irrigation, to be offered to the Department of Labor items? I desire to offer the amendment so that such action as the Senate may see fit to take may be taken now. The reason I seek to offer the amendment at this time is that I have a very important engagement at one of the departments in a very few minutes, which I am very anxious to keep, and I desire to submit the amendment and make such explanation of it as may be necessary.

Mr. MARTIN. There are some further committee amendments; but I am willing to have the Senator offer his amendment, although it is a little extraordinary and questionable whether I have a right, or anybody else has a right, to change a unanimous-consent agreement of the Senate. However, I have no objection to offer, so far as I am concerned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the Senator from South Carolina presenting his amendment now? The Chair hears none.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, to come on page 183, after the word "allowable," in line 16.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 183, after the word "allowable," the first word in line 16, it is proposed to insert the following:

That for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor provided for by the act approved June 29, 1906 (Stat L., vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 596), as amended by the act approved March 4, 1913 (Stat. L., vol. 37, p. 736), of promoting instruction and training in citizenship of applicants for naturalization, including personal services in the District of Columbia, attendance at educational and citizenship conventions by officers and employees of the Bureau of Naturalization and members of its field force, and other necessary expenses incidental thereto, additional clerks and members of the field force, authority is hereby given for the reimbursement of the printing and binding appropriation of the Department of Labor upon the records of the Treasury Department, and annually hereafter, from the naturalization fees deposited in the Treasury through the Bureau of Naturalization for the cost of publishing the citizenship textbook, prepared and to be distributed by the Bureau of Naturalization to those candidates for citizenship only who are in attendance upon the public schools, such reimbursement not to exceed $30,000, and to be made upon statements by the Commissioner of Naturalization of books actually delivered to such student candidates for citizenship and a monthly naturalization bulletin, mileage, and fees to witnesses subpœnaed on behalf of the United States; the expenditures from this appropriation shall be made in the manner and under such regulations as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe, $305,000.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I merely want to call attention to the fact that this matter has been before the Committee on Immigration twice, this being the second time, and, according to the record, it has been recommended practically unanimously.

The necessity for teaching aliens, especially in the congested districts, the rudiments of our language and something of our Government and its institutions has appealed to everyone. I hope the chairman of the committee will at least allow this amendment to be accepted and go to conference, in order that the conferees may take such action upon it as they may see fit.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the matter was not submitted to the Committee on Appropriations, and I am entirely without knowledge in respect to it. The mere reading of it shows that it is a matter that needs careful investigation. I am very willing, however, for the Senate to adopt it, in order that it may undergo investigation when the bill gets to conference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from South Carolina is agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, there are a number of committee amendments which have not yet been disposed of.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, under the head of "Legislative," on page 184, after line 11, to insert:

For two new boilers for the Botanic Garden to replace two recently rendered unfit for use, to be immediately available, $1,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 184, after line 22, to insert:

Senate Office Building: For maintenance, miscellaneous items and supplies, and for all necessary personal and other services for the care and operation of the Senate Office Building, under the direction and supervision of the Senate Committee on Rules, $55,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 185, after line 2, to insert:

For furniture for the Senate Office Building and for labor and material incident thereto and repairs thereof, window shades, awnings, carpets, glass for windows and bookcases, desk lamps, window ventilators, etc., $5,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 185, after line 6, to insert:

For the Capitol: For repairs, improvements, and equipment for Senate kitchens and restaurants, Capitol Building and Senate Office Building, including personal and other services, to be expended by the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, under the supervision of the Committee on Rules, United States Senate, $17,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "Government Printing Office," subhead "Public printing and binding," on page 189, line 7, after the word "work," to strike out "$5,250,000" and insert "$5,296,000," so as to read:

Necessary equipment, maintenance, and supplies for the emergency room for the use of all employees in the Government Printing Office who may be taken suddenly ill or receive injury while on duty; other necessary contingent and miscellaneous items authorized by the Public Printer; and for all the necessary materials and equipment needed in the prosecution and delivery and mailing of the work, $5,296,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 189, line 11, after the word "sum," to strike out "$5,999,720" and insert "$6,045,720," so as to make the clause read:

In all, for public printing and binding, including salaries of office force, payments for holidays and leave of absence, and the last-named sum, $6,045,720; and from the said sum printing and binding shall be done by the Public Printer to the amounts following, respectively, namely.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 190, line 1, after the words "War Department," to strike out "$250,000" and insert "$275,000," so as to make the clause read:

For the War Department, $275,000: *Provided*, That the sum of $3,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, may be used for the publication, from time to time, of bulletins prepared under the direction of the Surgeon General of the Army, for the instruction of medical officers, when approved by the Secretary of War, and not exceeding $50,000 shall be available for printing and binding under the direction of the Chief of Engineers.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 193, line 10, after the word "grounds," to strike out "$200,000" and insert "$221,000," so as to make the clause read:

For the Library of Congress, including the copyright office and the publication of the Catalogue of Title Entries of the copyright office, and binding, rebinding, and repairing of library books, and for building and grounds, $221,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the head of "The Panama Canal," on page 200, line 1, after the word "prisoners," to strike out "$600,000" and insert "$700,000," so as to make the clause read:

For civil government of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone, salaries of district judge $6,000, district attorney $5,000, marshal $5,000, and for gratuities and necessary clothing for indigent discharged prisoners, $700,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 200, line 3, after the words "In all," to strike out "$13,055,000" and insert "$13,155,000," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $13,155,000, to be immediately available and to continue available until expended.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 203, after line 10, to insert:

Upon the application of the Governor of the Panama Canal the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to transfer to St. Elizabeth's Hospital, in the District of Columbia, for treatment all American citizens legally adjudged insane in the Canal Zone whose legal residence in one of the States and Territories or the District of Columbia it has been impossible to establish. Upon the ascertainment of the legal residence of persons so transferred to the hospital, the superintendent of the hospital shall thereupon transfer such persons to their respective places of residence, and the expenses attendant thereon shall be paid from the appropriation for the support of the hospital.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, under the subhead "Fortifications, Panama Canal," on page 205, after line 24, to insert:

For necessary equipment, including machinery and its installation, for the ordnance repair shops, $40,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 206, after line 3, to strike out:

The appropriations of $160,000 for one dock and $100,000 for necessary dredging for the ordnance depot for the Panama Canal, contained in the general deficiency appropriation act, approved September 8, 1916, are repealed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 206, line 9, after the words "In all," strike out "$46,500" and insert "$86,500," so as to make the clause read:

In all, $86,500.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 206, line 11, after the words "Panama Canal," to strike out "$1,716,500" and insert "$4,756,000," so as to make the clause read:

In all, specifically for fortifications and armament thereof for the Panama Canal, $4,756,000.

The SECRETARY. The committee proposes to change that total so that it will read "$4,756,500."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The reading of the bill was concluded.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, before we enter upon amendments offered from the floor I desire to ask that we recur to an amendment appearing upon pages 113 and 114, proposed by the committee. It was considered by the Senate during my absence from the Chamber while in attendance upon the session of one of the committees. This amendment affects the Bureau of Mines. It provides, as the bill came from the House:

Not exceeding 20 per cent of the preceding sums for investigation as to the causes of mine explosions; for inquiries and scientific and technologic investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization for ores and other mineral substances; for inquiries and investigations concerning the mining, preparation, treatment, and utilization of petroleum and natural gas; and not exceeding 30 per cent of the preceding sum for investigation of mineral fuels and unfinished mineral products belonging to or for the use of the United States, may be used during the fiscal year 1918 for personal service in the District of Columbia.

That was stricken out, and the following inserted in lieu thereof:

Not exceeding 20 per cent of each of the four preceding sums may be used during the fiscal year 1918 for personal services in the District of Columbia.

The Director of the Bureau of Mines addressed to me a communication upon this subject which I should like to read to the Senate. The director insists that the work of the bureau will be very seriously hampered if the amendment proposed by the committee is adopted.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I take the liberty of making a suggestion to the Senator. It seems that the Senate committee struck out the clause and inserted a substitute in lieu of it. What we inserted is what the House committee had reported. The language which we struck out was put in on the floor of the House; but we felt that it needed further investigation, and that took it to conference. If it is agreeable to the Senator, instead of undertaking to unravel it here on the floor this will take the whole matter to conference, and I should be very glad to hear from him and to have him come before the conference committee. We did it from the lack of information. We have adopted exactly what the House committee had originally inserted in the bill.

Mr. WALSH. I shall be very glad to accept the Senator's suggestion.

Mr. MARTIN. This will take the whole matter to conference, and then we will give it careful consideration.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I now offer the amendment which I sent to the desk a moment ago.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 77, after line 10, it is proposed to insert:

For prosecuting work of flood-control in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917, $10,500,000.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, I desire to submit a brief statement concerning this amendment. It provides the funds required for the next fiscal year to carry out the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917. That act was the subject of full discussion in the Senate and accomplished an important advance in our methods of dealing with flood problems, especially relating to the Mississippi and its tributaries, and the Sacramento River.

The act constitutes an authorization, but carries no appropriations. It contemplates an aggregate expenditure of Federal funds on the Mississippi River of not exceeding $45,000,000, not more than $10,000,000 to be expended during one fiscal year. It authorizes $5,600,000 for the Sacramento River and limits the annual expenditure to not exceeding $1,000,000. The Missippi River project is a continuance of plans heretofore adopted and in progress for a number of years under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission.

The rivers and harbors bill during the last session carried $6,000,000 for this work, leaving an additional sum of $4,000,000 necessary therefor. The rivers and harbors bill, as everyone knows, failed of passage, and it is now necessary to provide the total amount estimated for, namely, $10,000,000, which, in addition to the $500,000 required for the Sacramento River, amounts to $10,500,000.

The Sacramento River item is also in pursuance of the work already begun, and it will include some features which are new, for which the plans have not yet been prepared in detail; and in the opinion of the War Department the present requirements will be met by the appropriation of $500,000.

The passage by Congress of the flood-control bill fairly precludes questions as to the necessity for this appropriation. It was our object in advocating and passing that measure to place this great enterprise on a substantial and permanent basis and to insure its prompt completion. Congress must have had all this fully in mind when it passed the flood-control bill.

If this appropriation is not made the work will necessarily be suspended, and loss to the Government will inevitably result. To promptly carry forward the plans already made will result in a saving to the Government of several million dollars. Moreover, it is in harmony with a wise policy of conservation, the importance of which is emphasized by the existing national crisis. Surely every consideration of wisdom now prompts us to prevent a diminution in our food supply. Not only would the food supply of the United States be greatly reduced if this work should be suspended, delayed, or discontinued, by reason of the consequent destruction of crops and property within the vast area to be protected from overflows by this work, but it is also true that a speedy completion of the great task to which this appropriation contributes means an enormous increase in our food supply, necessary under normal conditions, and imperative under those which surround us now.

It is therefore urged that the amendment be agreed to.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I do not desire at this time to question the value of the project for which this money is required; but it strikes me that in view of the great emergency that faces the country, and the prospect of the tax burden being enormously multiplied during the next year or two to support a very much expanded army, we could afford to wait before we spent this $10,000,000. There are many projects for which, of course, in ordinary times, in times of peace, it would be entirely wise and proper for Congress to appropriate money; but this is a time when I think some projects ought to be postponed. Ten million dollars is a pretty big sum of money. If we are to go ahead with things which are not immediately necessary merely on the ground that they will be of some benefit in the future, there will be no limit whatsoever to the amount of money which can be appropriated.

I suggest that this amendment should not receive the sanction of the Senate at this time, in view of the emergency which confronts us.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. LODGE. Has this been estimated for?

Mr. ROBINSON. It has.

Mr. LODGE. Has the department sent in an estimate for it?

Mr. ROBINSON. The War Department has formally estimated for it. I have a copy of the estimate in my hand, and I will ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. LODGE. I mean, has an estimate been sent in for the appropriation?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes, sir. This is the estimate which was submitted to the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the estimate referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The estimate is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 3, 1917.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of Congress copy of a communication from the Secretary of War of the 3d instant, submitting estimates of appropriations required by the War Department for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for prosecuting work of flood control on the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917, as follows:

For the Mississippi River	$4,000,000
For the Sacramento River	500,000
Total	4,500,000

Respectfully,
BYRON R. NEWTON,
Acting Secretary.

—

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 3, 1917.

SIR: I have the honor to forward herewith for transmission to Congress supplemental estimates of appropriations aggregating $4,500,000 required by the War Department for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for prosecuting work of flood control on the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917.

From the accompanying letter of the Chief of Engineers it appears that the act of March 1, 1917, authorizes the prosecution of certain work of flood control on the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, but the act itself carries no appropriation. It is considered a matter of great urgency to prosecute the work vigorously and these estimates are submitted at this time with a view to securing funds at this session in order to carry out the provisions of the act referred to.

The flood-control act, authorizing this work, having been passed on March 1, 1917, it was of course impracticable to include these items in the regular estimates for 1918.

Very respectfully,
NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

The SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, March 2, 1917.

From: The Chief of Engineers, United States Army.
To: The Secretary of War.
Subject: Estimate of funds required for work of flood control on Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers.

1. The flood-control act of March 1, 1917, authorizes the prosecution of certain work of flood control on the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, but the act itself carries no appropriations. It provides that the expenditures on the Mississippi shall not exceed $45,000,000 in the aggregate, and not more than $10,000,000 shall be expended during any one fiscal year. It authorizes a total expenditure of $5,600,000 on the Sacramento River and provides that not more than $1,000,000 shall be expended for this work during any one fiscal year.

2. The work proposed on the Mississippi River is in continuation of work of the same character as that which has been carried on for a number of years, so that it is well organized and can proceed at the maximum rate permitted. The pending river and harbor bill carries an item of $6,000,000 for this work and the additional estimate submitted herewith therefore calls for $4,000,000 for the Mississippi River. Some doubt has been expressed concerning the passage of the river and harbor bill. If it does not pass, this estimate for the Mississippi should be increased from $4,000,000 to $10,000,000.

3. The work proposed on the Sacramento River is partly in line with work already in progress, but will also include other features that are new for which plans have not been prepared in detail. While it is a matter of great urgency to prosecute the work vigorously, it is believed that for the first year an appropriation amounting to one-half of the authorized limit of annual expenditure will suffice and the estimate is, therefore, submitted for $500,000.

W. M. BLACK,
Brigadier General.

—

Estimates of appropriations required for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, by the Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.

Mississippi River—	
For prosecuting work of flood control in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved Mar. 1, 1917 (act Mar. 1, 1917)	$4,000,000
NOTE.—This amount is in addition to the item of $6,000,000 for this work in the pending river and harbor bill. If the river and harbor bill fails to pass, this item of $4,000,000 should be increased to $10,000,000.—(W. M. Black, Brig. Gen., Chief of Engineers.)	
Sacramento River, Cal.—	
For prosecuting work of flood control in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved Mar. 1, 1917 (act Mar. 1, 1917)	500,000

Mr. SMOOT. This is a subsequent estimate, then?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes.

Mr. SMOOT. It was not in the Book of Estimates, but it came in as a subsequent estimate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is not material in this case. It is made to carry out the provisions of existing law.

Mr. SMOOT. I just wanted to ask for information, Mr. President; that is all. I wanted to know whether it was an original estimate or whether it was a subsequent estimate.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. ROBINSON. In just a moment. I do not know what the Senator means by "an original estimate." In an estimate of March 2, 1917, the statement was made that—

> The work proposed on the Mississippi River is in continuation of work of the same character as that which has been carried on for a number of years, so that it is well organized and can proceed at the maximum rate permitted. The pending river and harbor bill carries an item of $6,000,000 for this work.

The estimate goes on to state that if this is not passed it will require $10,000,000. Then, on a subsequent date, it was stated that it would require $10,000,000.

Mr. SMOOT. What I mean by the Book of Estimates is this: Under the law the Secretary of the Treasury is required to have the estimates in by a certain date.

Mr. ROBINSON. That could not have been done in this case. This act only passed on March 1, 1917.

Mr. SMOOT. I am not saying a word about that. I simply——

Mr. ROBINSON. But the Senator was asking me a question, and surely he does not object to my answering it. It could not have been in the Book of Estimates, because the act was not passed until March 1, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator from Arkansas if it is not a fact that there is an unexpended balance to the credit of that project?

Mr. ROBINSON. No; there is none.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. As I recollect—I have frequently been thrown in contact with the Mississippi River improvement—we never have made an appropriation for this work in excess of $6,000,000 in any one year; and while I would not desire to do anything which would in any way embarrass the work to be undertaken upon the Mississippi River, and while I voted for the bill which has become a law, I quite agree with the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] that in the present stress if a less sum than $10,000,000 will suffice we ought to address ourselves seriously to that question now.

Mr. ROBINSON. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If the Senator says that this amount can be expended and will be expended during the year, of course anyone interested in its completion would hardly desire to oppose it. We have in the past done a great deal of work in a very desultory manner on the Mississippi River, and, as I have said on this floor before, I am utterly opposed to piecemealing that work. It is too important to the country and to the sections immediately related to that project. But there is a great deal of wisdom in what the Senator from New York says. If half this sum will suffice, we ought not to appropriate double the amount that can be appropriately used; and we never have appropriated at any time, during stress or otherwise, for the Mississippi River over $6,000,000 for a single year's work.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arkansas yield to me?

Mr. ROBINSON. Just a moment, please. The Senator from Michigan has asked if there is not an unexpended balance available for the purposes which this appropriation is intended to meet. I have refreshed my memory by inquiring of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], whom I regard as an authority on these subjects, and he states that there is no balance.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the Senator permit me? Perhaps there is no balance because this is now practically a new project. The whole Mississippi River situation has been changed by recent legislation, and for that project as it now exists under the law there could not very well be an unexpended balance.

Mr. ROBINSON. It will require, so says the department, this $10,500,000 during the next fiscal year to carry forward the plans that have already been adopted; and that was the contemplation of the original flood-control act, the act of March 1, 1917. The purpose of that act was to put these appropriations upon a permanent and continuing basis.

Mr. RANSDELL. Mr. President, may I say just one word to the Senator? I understand, in reply to the question asked by the Senator from Michigan, that all of the money appro-

priated last year for the Mississippi River has either been expended or contracts have been let for same. I will say to the Senator from Michigan that the Mississippi River Commission is one place in this Government which never holds back a dollar. The needs are so great that as soon as an appropriation is made contracts are immediately let for the whole sum carried therein. I saw a great deal of this work going on *myself* when I was in Louisiana just a few days ago. I venture to say that there is not a dollar of the appropriation of last year that is now uncontracted for. I have been told that they have let out contracts for every dollar of it. Of course there are a few dollars on hand now, but within a very short while it will all be gone—before the end of this fiscal year.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. There is in this plan a joint responsibility which devolves upon certain communities particularly affected.

Mr. RANSDELL. There is.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And those communities have engaged to contribute a very large part of this cost.

Mr. RANSDELL. They have.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. They have done so very liberally in the past; and the local interest is to be coextensive with the General Government?

Mr. RANSDELL. Absolutely; and the commission can not spend the money unless the money from the communities is given at the same time, or until the Secretary of War is satisfied that it will be put up; and I will say to the Senator that the legislatures of the various States, in anticipation of the passage of the flood-control bill, have authorized the various levee boards to issue bonds. The local communities are in position to put up their portion of the money. They will carry on their work just as rapidly as the National Government does, and the National Government can not spend its money unless the local people put up their pro rata share.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I am not at all doubtful of the purpose and intention of those communities to carry out in good faith the terms of this act; but we are expending vast sums of money. Such figures as now confront us would have seemed absolutely impossible a few years ago; and I do not now refer to the defense items which will stagger the country. But this money must come from some source. We do not know what that source will be; but if we pile up these burdens they must be met, and if in meeting them our action is to assume a confiscatory form, we may well hesitate before we get into such a situation.

Mr VARDAMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. My sympathy with the plan to improve the Mississippi River, I think, will not be misunderstood. I am strongly in favor of it, but I wonder whether a good opportunity is not here presented to at least temporarily preserve our cash resources to the extent of several million dollars without doing violence to this great work.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, the appropriation carried in the amendment is asked pursuant to an act of Congress approved March 1, 1917, providing for the control of the flood waters of the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers. I realize the importance of economy in the matter of appropriations. I feel as keenly as any Member of this body the great burden that is going to be placed upon the backs of the toiling masses of this country. I would do anything within my power to lessen the load which the extraordinary conditions are going to put upon them. But this is not a donation; it is an investment. The money appropriated by this amendment will enable the people who must pay the expenses of war—feed and clothe the Nation by their toil—it will be a help rather than a hindrance to them in meeting the fearful demands upon them. The Congress considered maturely the question of dealing in this way with the flood waters of the Mississippi River, and after mature deliberation agreed upon a plan for its solution, of which this resolution is a part. Anything that adds to the productivity of the soil—any measure that has for its purpose the protection of the alluvial lands from inundation, from the ravages and devastation of the overflow, I repeat, is not a donation. It is not an extravagance, but rather a wise investment. It is quite true Congress has in the past appropriated something like $6,000,000 a year for similar work on the Mississippi River; but the wisdom of the engineers and the experience of mankind generally in dealing with this problem have demonstrated that the method of handling the question in piecemeal, as has been done in the past, is not only inefficient, disappointing in results, but most expensive. The Chief of the Board of Engineers came before the Committee on Commerce of the Senate and stated that if the flood-control bill should provide for an expenditure of $45,000,000 by the General Government, extending over a period of five years, with an annual appropriation of $10,000,000, it would enable the Government to do this work by the continuous-contract system for something like 15 or 20 per cent less than by yearly appropriations, and thereby save to the taxpayers approximately $8,000,000. That matter was thoroughly discussed in the Senate; it was thoroughly understood during the consideration of the flood-control bill, and the wise, scientific policy embodied in that measure approved. It will be a great mistake—in fact, it will be acting in bad faith—for the Senate to refuse to carry out the terms of that bill and refuse to make this appropriation. The people throughout the Mississippi Valley and along the banks of the river will be required to contribute not less than one dollar for every two that the Government appropriates, and it must be paid before a dollar of the Government money is available. It is a fair division of the burden, and I think will meet the approval of the American people who are to pay the taxes and furnish the sinews of war with which the work will be done. The Mississippi River Commission and the Board of Engineers, I apprehend, have begun to make arrangements already to carry out the terms of the flood-control bill. They are making ready to carry out this contract, for it is a contract between the people of the Mississippi Valley and the Government; and unless the Government stands by its contract and executes the law and makes the appropriation, of course, the work can not be done under the continuing-contract system, which system would result in great economy to the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, there have been no contracts entered into as yet with reference to this matter.

Mr. VARDAMAN. But, as a matter of fact, the Board of Engineers, I apprehend, have laid out the plans, pursuant to the law passed last March, and they are doubtless getting ready to carry out the terms of the statute.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. To be sure.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Now, there is this fact to be considered: We are going to appropriate, it seems from the papers—and they have pretty correctly forecasted what Congress would do—something like $7,000,000,000 for the prosecution of the war as a starter, as my friend from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] says. A very large number of men are going to be taken from the factories, from the farms, from the productive enterprises of the country. Somebody has got to raise the corn and wheat and meat with which to feed these people. There must be cotton raised also to clothe them, both to put on their backs and on their feet—for if hides become much more costly people will soon be wearing cotton shoes. Now, this is a good conservation scheme. It will save from the ravages of the flood the most productive section of this Republic—a section that is capable of raising enough corn to feed and cotton to clothe the armies of the allies. If this appropriation is made, the States and municipalities along the line of the river will proceed at once to make the arrangement to contribute their pro rata of the funds to pay for the work.

I insist, Mr. President, that this is not the right place to begin economizing. To refuse this appropriation will be gross extravagance. The act will not have an element of economy in it. There are many other ways by which you can save money, and save it to the taxpayers, without doing anybody a serious injury. We have got to make these improvements. We must take care of this problem or the people in some parts of the Mississippi Valley will be compelled to abandon their homes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I would not delay this work any more than the Senator from Mississippi. You have the power now to let contracts and bind the Government to their payment. The Government is already bound, and you have the right to proceed with the work. The Government can not retreat from its very laudable purpose to improve the Mississippi River. This ought to be done; but the available cash balance in the Treasury looks lean, contracts would be just as efficient for the present, at least until the communities affected have raised their proportion of the cost.

Mr. VARDAMAN. The Senator certainly is not serious in saying that the Government could go on and let these contracts without making any provision for the payment of the contractor. He would be an unwise, imprudent, or enormously rich, benevolent individual who would undertake to do the work provided for in the flood-control bill after Congress had refused to make an appropriation to pay for it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am serious in saying that the power now exists under the law to commit this Government to the extent of $45,000,000 in the improvement of the Mississippi River; and a contract need not necessarily be executed in the year in which it is made, nor in two years. You have a period over which you can extend this work.

Mr. VARDAMAN. The law requires, as the Senator knows, that it shall be done within five years.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Very well.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Now, the Senator, of course, does not mean that the Board of Engineers or the Mississippi River Commission can go ahead and let contracts and expect anybody to execute the contracts and go to the expense of doing the work without any appropriation to meet the expenses of it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Why, Mr. President, contracts have been let without number for our internal improvements without a single dollar to the credit of the project.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And these contracts can be let now; but what I am pointing out to the Senator from Mississippi, who is a sensible man, is this, that it is not necessary now to go to the Treasury of the United States and deplete it to the extent of $10,000,000 to pay for something which we have not yet started to do and which, it seems to me, is hardly demanded by the present situation.

I have said all I am going to say about it. I am in sympathy with the project. I aided in its passage. For years I have been opposed to piecemeal appropriations for that improvement. I think we have expended millions and millions of dollars in a very unscientific way upon this river. What you are going to do on the Mississippi River is to carry out the intelligent plans now the basis for that improvement, and you can do it just as well under your contract authorization if you have $5,000,000 appropriated to start with as with more, and the Treasury would not feel the shock so keenly.

Mr. VARDAMAN. As a matter of fact, Mr. President, the able Senator from Michigan knows very well that the money will not be taken from the Treasury except in payment for the work as the work is done; and for the Senator to say that we could do just as well and get as much work for $5,000,000 as we could for $10,000,000——

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I did not say that.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I beg the Senator's pardon; he did say it; that is, I understood him to say it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; if the Senator will pardon me, I did not say as much could be done with $5,000,000 as $10,000,000. I said contracts could be let and work undertaken on the good faith of the Government as well with $5,000,000 as more.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I can not agree to the logical process of the able Senator and therefore do not subscribe to his conclusion. If the learned Senator is correct, the Government of the United States need not make any appropriations at all. It could go ahead and authorize contracts to be made, the work done, and rely upon the contractors to take the Government's promise in settlement. If that system would work, it would be very fine, but I have my doubts about finding a man capable of executing such a contract who would be willing to trust to luck, to God, the fates, or some other intangible something for the money. I submit that if we are going to carry out the terms of the statute—if the Government of the United States is going to act in good faith with the people of the Mississippi Valley, the Senate ought to vote for this appropriation. It is manifestly right—so just and such a prudent thing to do that it strikes me that all further argument is unnecessary. I am willing to leave the question to the prudence and good judgment of the Senate.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I understand the Senator from Michigan approves of the plan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I voted for it.

Mr. PHELAN. But he does not desire at this time to appropriate the amount of money provided for in the amendment proposed, because it would make an apparent draft upon the Treasury, and in our fiscal exhibit it would not appear to our advantage; and that because all the money can not be immediately used. The bill that was enacted March 1, 1917, provided that the work should be done within five years, and so far as the Sacramento River is concerned, it is fairly entitled to a million dollars this year and a million dollars for every year thereafter. In view of the fact, so eloquently stated by the Senator from Michigan, there is no disposition to make even the appearance of an unfavorable fiscal balance, and where it ought to be a million only $500,000 has been asked for the prosecution of this work.

The project and appropriation are estimated for and approved by the engineers. The State and Federal Government pay an equal amount.

I would like to ask my colleague, the junior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON], who has just left the State legislature in session, whether or not the State has provided, under the law, its share of the cost; and in view of that fact, if such be a fact, if there is not a contractual obligation on the part of Congress to carry out the provision of the law?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, if I may be permitted just very briefly to the gentlemen on this side of the House who have questioned the particular appropriation, I would like to explain the interest of the State of California, and I would be very glad if I may enlighten them.

We have had in California an ever-recurring problem. You solved that problem by the passage of the flood-control bill on the first day of last month. Definitively then the Congress of the United States entered upon a policy, and the policy that then was decreed by the Congress we ask now to be executed by giving the requisite appropriation. Our portion of this particular appropriation is indeed very small—$500,000 of the $10,500,000 requested.

The State of California, in conjunction with the Federal Government, for many years in the past has been engaged in endeavoring to do what was essential to the navigability of one of the great rivers of the Nation, the Sacramento River. The Federal Government has for many years in the past directed all the work to be done upon that river. In this flood-control project it is the engineers of the United States Government not only who approve the work, but under whose supervision it is actually done.

Just prior to my departure from California the legislature of that State made available its half million of money to be used in conjunction with the half million that might be appropriated by Congress for this particular work. In the past in this fashion the work has always been done. Our money has been expended by the United States Government under the supervision of the United States engineers. We feel that a contractual obligation exists between us and the Federal Government by virtue of the policy that has been pursued in the past, and certainly by virtue of the policy adopted by the flood-control act of March 1 last. Now, our money is available. We ask that $500,000, a like amount, be made available by this bill so that we may go forward with the work. While it may be true that the present is an occasion where the strictest economy ought to be exercised, as a new Member, a freshman as it were, glancing through the bill just now before the Senate it occurs to me that an expenditure such as that asked now for the preservation of the agricultural lands of the United States could hardly be held to be, in view of the other projects of the bill to which we have agreed, unduly extravagant.

I hope that we may continue the work that has been ours in California, and that our friends from the Mississippi may continue the work that is theirs, and that we may protect the lands essential for all of us in the future, by placing upon this bill the appropriation asked.

Mr. KELLOGG. I should like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if this item of $10,500,000, and the facts in connection with it, were presented to the committee, and if so why it was not included in the bill? I am unfamiliar with the facts.

Mr. MARTIN. I will say to the Senator from Minnesota that it reached the committee when the committee was about on an adjournment, and the estimate came in so late the committee had no opportunity to investigate and consider the question.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I notice the act No. 367, which is the basis for this appropriation, says:

> (b) That no money appropriated under authority of this section shall be expended in the construction or repair of any levee unless and until assurances have been given satisfactory to the commission that local interests protected thereby will contribute for such construction and repair a sum which the commission shall determine to be just and equitable but which shall not be less than one-half of such sum as may have been allotted by the commission for such work.

The State of California has met this requirement if I understand the statement of both the Senators from California; but I do not believe it is contended that those in the territory especially affected on the Mississippi River have as yet met the requirements of the law. Of course they will do so.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I want to say to the Senator that there will not be one dollar of this money expended until the terms of the act have been complied with.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Oh, Mr. President, I understand that, of course. I agree entirely with the Senator from Mississippi. But I think that at this particular time it is not necessary to appropriate $10,000,000 for the work.

I have said all I am going to say about it. I am committed to this project, and I do not propose to deal with it in a small or narrow way; but it looks to me as though the initial appropriation was excessive.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

On a division, the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ROBINSON. I ask leave to have printed in the RECORD the estimate in connection with the item just agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 3, 1917.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of Congress copy of a communication from the Secretary of War of the 3d instant, submitting estimates of appropriations required by the War Department for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for prosecuting work of flood control on the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917, as follows:

For the Mississippi River	$4,000,000
For the Sacramento River	500,000
Total	4,500,000

Respectfully, BYRON R. NEWTON,
Acting Secretary.

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 3, 1917.

SIR: I have the honor to forward herewith for transmission to Congress supplemental estimates of appropriations aggregating $4,500,000 required by the War Department for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for prosecuting work of flood control on the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved March 1, 1917.

From the accompanying letter of the Chief of Engineers it appears that the act of March 1, 1917, authorizes the prosecution of certain work of flood control on the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, but the act itself carries no appropriation. It is considered a matter of great urgency to prosecute the work vigorously and these estimates are submitted at this time with a view to securing funds at this session in order to carry out the provisions of the act referred to.

The flood-control act, authorizing this work, having been passed on March 1, 1917, it was of course impracticable to include these items in the regular estimates for 1918.

Very respectfully, NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

The SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
Washington, March 2, 1917.

From: The Chief of Engineers, United States Army.
To: The Secretary of War:
Subject: Estimate of funds required for work of flood control on Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers.

1. The flood-control act of March 1, 1917, authorizes the prosecution of certain work of flood control on the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, but the act itself carries no appropriations. It provides that the expenditures on the Mississippi shall not exceed $45,000,000 in the aggregate, and not more than $10,000,000 shall be expended during any one fiscal year. It authorizes a total expenditure of $5,600,000 on the Sacramento River and provides that not more than $1,000,000 shall be expended for this work during any one fiscal year.

2. The work proposed on the Mississippi River is in continuation of work of the same character as that which has been carried on for a number of years, so that it is well organized and can proceed at the maximum rate permitted. The pending river and harbor bill carries an item of $6,000,000 for this work and the additional estimate submitted herewith therefore calls for $4,000,000 for the Mississippi River. Some doubt has been expressed concerning the passage of the river and harbor bill. If it does not pass, this estimate for the Mississippi should be increased from $4,000,000 to $10,000,000.

3. The work proposed on the Sacramento River is partly in line with work already in progress, but will also include other features that are new for which plans have not been prepared in detail. While it is a matter of great urgency to prosecute the work vigorously, it is believed that for the first year an appropriation amounting to one-half of the authorized limit of annual expenditure will suffice and the estimate is, therefore, submitted for $500,000.

W. M. BLACK,
Brigadier General.

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Estimates of appropriations required for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, by the Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.

Mississippi River—	
For prosecuting work of flood control in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved Mar. 1, 1917 (act Mar. 1, 1917)	$4,000,000
NOTE.—This amount is in addition to the item of $6,000,000 for this work in the pending river and harbor bill. If the river and harbor bill fails to pass, this item of $4,000,000 should be increased to $10,000,000.—(W. M. Black, Brig. Gen., Chief of Engineers.)	
Sacramento River, Cal.—	
For prosecuting work of flood control in accordance with the provisions of the flood-control act approved Mar. 1, 1917 (act Mar. 1, 1917)	500,000

Mr. STONE. I offer the following amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 40, after line 15, insert:

For payment, out of any money not otherwise appropriated, to the legal heirs of Napoleon B. Giddings, deceased, in accordance with private act numbered 165, Sixty-fourth Congress, approved February 8, 1917, $1,950.

Mr. STONE. I will state that I submitted this amendment to the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Virginia, and he favors the adoption of the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Washington obtained the floor.

Mr. STONE. I have another amendment to offer, but I will withhold it for the present.

Mr. JONES of Washington. On page 160, after line 13, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 160, after line 13, insert:

Two new vessels for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, including their equipment, to replace the *Patterson* and *Gedney*, $708,000.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I will be glad to explain the amendment. I think it was taken up quite fully before the subcommittee, and all the facts were presented. I do not think I violate the proprieties when I say that the subcommittee were convinced of the necessity of these vessels and the importance of having them, but that they thought we could get along without them for another year.

I want to say this, Mr. President: The Coast and Geodetic Survey have been asking for two new vessels for several years. It is the business of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to make soundings and locate rocks and dangers to navigation and make charts showing these obstructions and these dangers and also to give information with reference to the currents that are to be encountered in different sections of the ocean. It is especially important now. The condition on the Pacific coast is really deplorable in this respect. The Coast and Geodetic Survey have no vessel at all with which they can make soundings in the open sea. They have no vessels that they can take to sea for that purpose.

The *Gedney* was condemned a year or two ago and has been sold. The *Patterson*, the other vessel, has also been condemned and they are not permitted to take it out in the open sea. So the condition on the Pacific coast is that the Coast and Geodetic Survey have no vessel at all that they can use to make soundings except close to the shore or on the inside waters.

Now, what is the situation with reference to conditions that our shipping has encountered? I will not say that the dangers they have been subjected to have been entirely because of the lack of these charts and surveys and soundings, but the dangers have been largely the result of our not having the soundings made.

I have here a chart prepared by the Coast and Geodetic Survey showing the vessels wrecked in Alaskan waters especially and the value of the cargoes and the vessels. I will simply give it in brief. United States vessels that we lost: In 1910, the revenue cutter *Perry*, value $100,000; in 1913, the lighthouse tender *Armeria*, value $400,000; and the revenue cutter *Tahoma* in 1914, off the Aleutian Islands, value $300,000, making a total of $800,000. These are Government vessels that we have lost in the Alaskan waters and some of those losses can be traced almost to the failure of the Government to have information with reference to obstructions and shallow waters, and so on.

Now, with reference to private wrecked vessels, where the loss has been $20,000 or greater, there have been since 1867—of course, that goes back quite a time—vessels and cargoes to the value of $7,916,000 that have been lost in those waters. The total number of vessels wrecked is 402, of a value of over $13,867,000, and while the complete data with reference to the loss of life is not available, the document issued by The Pacific Fisherman in 1914 states:

It is positively known that in 19 wrecks 449 lives were sacrificed.

Mr. President, while, as I said, all this is not the result of the lack of these vessels, very much of it can be traced almost directly to the fact that we have not the proper soundings and the proper charting, and so forth.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not true that many of these obstructions to navigation, hidden rocks, have been discovered through the accidental collision of vessels which they have destroyed and which have been christened by the names of vessels lost?

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is true.

Mr. THOMAS. I was told the other day by the Secretary of Commerce that such is the case, and also that at the present rate of progress made by the Coast and Geodetic Survey under the insufficient provisions in the appropriation acts it would take 196 years to properly chart the Pacific coast so as to make it reasonably safe for navigation.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is true, and with the conditions as we have them now we can not do it at all because we have not the vessels that can go into the open sea.

Mr. President, here is a very striking illustration of the need of work of this character. I have here a chart which shows

the coast of Washington and Oregon. It is stated here by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and there can not be any question as to the accuracy of these figures, that 266 vessels were lost through foundering, stranding, and burning on the coast of Washington and Oregon from 1906 to 1916—practically in the last 10 years—266 of our vessels were lost on the coast of Oregon and Washington. It gives the names of the vessels. Of course, I will not take the time to read them. Then I have here a chart showing practically the same thing with reference to the California coast.

There is just one more illustration to which I wish to call attention. In 1916 the revenue cutter *Bear* was lost on the coast of California, and that was a loss to the Government of the United States of $1,000,000. It is shown also conclusively that the cause of the loss of that vessel was the lack of proper soundings along that coast. I have here a map which shows the line supposed to have been taken by the *Bear*. It shows the soundings and lack of soundings, and shows how by reason of the lack of soundings this vessel got off the regular line of travel and got into the dangerous place from which it could not escape. I will not take the time to unfold this, but I do want to remind the Senator also of the fact that we expect and the Government expects to have many of the naval vessels on the Pacific coast and in the Pacific Ocean.

It would be almost a crime for us to leave conditions in the way they now are, and to put these vessels there with the dangers that come to them by the lack of proper information upon the charts that are issued by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. If there ever was a time when we needed work of this character, it is now. This may be classed even as a war and preparedness measure. While I think we sometimes put too many things on the ground of preparedness, yet this is one of vital importance to our merchant fleet and to our naval vessels.

Furthermore, the Navy has asked from the Coast and Geodetic Survey that much information shall be gathered by it; that much charting shall be done by it; and yet it can not be done unless we can get these vessels.

Mr. President, I do not want to take any more time. I have a great deal of information on the subject gathered here, but it seems to me what is presented by these charts, to which I have called attention, will show to Congress that it is almost a criminal waste not to provide these vessels. They can be secured within 18 months, possibly within a year. Of course, it takes time to build such vessels; but the longer we put it off the more vessels will be lost and subjected to these dangers.

I venture to assert that, if we had provided these vessels two or three years ago, when the Coast and Geodetic Survey was urging them, the work that they would have done up to this time would more than have saved the actual cost of the vessels. I hope the Senate will furnish the appropriation to secure these vessels, so that we may have them at the very earliest possible date.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, when we are appropriating such vast sums of money for the construction of ships in the Navy and preparing to construct under Government aid, or at least under Government encouragement, such vast numbers of ships for the mercantile marine, it seems to me that this comparatively small item to make the navigation of those ships safe is a measure of the most elementary economy.

It is an astounding situation when we consider that, with the amount of work that is yet to be done on the Pacific coast in this line by the Coast Survey, and the extent of that work, including Alaska, there is no Coast Survey vessel available at this time for the work. We have one vessel on that coast; that is the *Patterson;* and while it has not been officially condemned, it has been decided by the Commerce Department that it is not safe to send it to sea; it can only be used in the harbors.

This appropriation is estimated for on page 779 of the Book of Estimates. It has been recommended for two successive years. The merit of the recommendation is admitted, and has been admitted ever since the proposition has been submitted to the committee. The failure to make the appropriation is simply due to procrastination; to putting it off until to-morrow or until next year. The old cry of "Mañana," which has been the curse of so many countries, seems to have affected the action of Congress in this matter. The recommendation is renewed this year by the Department of Commerce, and it is also urged by the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the strongest terms in which it is possible to express it.

In regard to the cost of these ships and the possibility of obtaining them, the Department of Commerce has an understanding with the Navy Department by which it will be able to avail itself of the means which the Navy Department possesses for obtaining the construction of these ships at reasonable prices and to save itself from being held up on the plea of high prices due to war. While the great shipbuilding plants have their capacity taxed in supplying the contracts of the Navy and the demands of the mercantile marine, investigation has been made as to the feasibility of obtaining immediate work upon these two ships. It has been found that smaller shipbuilding concerns are ready to undertake the construction of them at once, and the department will be able to secure them within a reasonable time.

I have much data here, which, however, I think it is not necessary to put into the RECORD. I ask leave, however, to have printed in the RECORD, without reading, a letter from the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey upon the subject—it comprises only one page—in support of the appropriation. I sincerely hope that the proposition will be adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The request of the Senator for the insertion in the RECORD of the matter to which he refers will be granted, without objection. The Chair hears none.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
UNITED STATES COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY,
Washington, April 11, 1917.

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR POINDEXTER: Supplementing my memorandum given you yesterday regarding the urgent need of two vessels for the Coast and Geodetic Survey for surveying work on the Pacific coast, it has occurred to me that two questions might arise in opposition to your efforts to have this made an amendment to the sundry civil bill:

First, the high cost of building these vessels at this time. This question is answered in a very few words. The Department of Commerce, through Secretary Redfield, has made arrangements with the Navy Department by which the former will get the benefit of the low price in the Navy Department for the iron and steel in the construction of any vessel that may be built.

The second point, that they can not be completed within a reasonable time. I am advised that a vessel can be built in from 12 to 15 months, so that not later than September or October, 1918, a vessel could be in commission. Furthermore, if Congress makes this money immediately available a vessel could be in commission by July, 1918.

I recall that you asked me to send you any additional facts, and I think these are pertinent.

I am, respectfully, yours, E. LESTER JONES,
Superintendent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES].

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, before the vote is taken on this question I desire to explain to the Senate the position of the committee which had this bill in charge in not inserting the items in reference to these two ships.

It appears that the Coast and Geodetic Survey now have a ship on the eastern coast, which, of course, is available to send to the western coast if they desire to do so. It is complained that two ships which they have now in that service on the western coast are not seaworthy in bad weather, although they are using them in weather which is not bad—in fair weather. They ask for $706,000 with which to build two survey ships. The Secretary of Commerce appeared before the committee, and when asked how long it would take to complete this work if we should give them these two ships on the Pacific coast. he stated that it would take 20 years to finish the work in the States of Washington and California, and that it would take 170 years to complete the entire work on the Pacific coast, even if they had these two ships. That demonstrates that if we had these ships ready now we would not get very far afield with them; that we could not do a great deal of this work immediately.

Mr. President, the committee in preparing this bill has endeavored to strike out of it every item in reference to public buildings, and every item in reference to ordinary expenditures for the civil side of the Government which it was not necessary to put into it at this time. We refused to make provision for all new public buildings that have not already been authorized and contracts let; we refused to make provision for all new work of this kind. Why? Because the Government is facing war conditions, and in our opinion it was not the patriotic duty of the Congress to strain the Treasury of the Government by making civil appropriations where they were not absolutely necessary. It is apparent that if it is going to take 20 years to finish the survey it is a problem that can well go until after the war, and although $700,000 is not a tremendous item, numbers of such items may strain the Treasury.

I want to call attention to one further fact the subcommittee had under consideration with reference to this item. The most important question that is facing the American people to-day is the speedy conclusion of the war in Europe. The most important aid that we can give to our allies on the battle fields of Europe is to supply them with munitions at once. What does that mean? It means transportation. And what does transportation mean? It means building ships. Every effort of the military arm of this Government is being used to-day to supply ships to carry munitions and war material to Europe. To-day every

shipyard is needed for that purpose, and if we agree to this amendment and provide for the building of these two ships, it may be a small item, but we are directing that the Government at this time occupy a portion of the shipyards of the country that might be occupied in building supply ships to help carry on the war to build two survey ships for the purpose of surveying a coast, a work which the Secretary in charge of the department says will take 20 years to complete.

Under those circumstances the subcommittee that prepared these items were of the opinion that it was well enough to let this appropriation go over until a later period.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, it seems to me that the facts stated by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] constitute the very strongest argument that could be made for the adoption of this amendment. He says that if we start this work immediately it will take 20 years to finish it and consequently there is no hurry about starting it. I say that the extent of the work as shown by the length of time that will be required to complete it indicates that there is not a day to be lost in beginning it. The length of time that will be required to complete these surveys and to locate the dangerous shoals and rocks in waters which ships have to navigate, simply indicates the extent of the coast, the amount of it that is unsurveyed, and the enormity of the dangers that are confronting shipping that attempts to navigate those waters.

Furthermore, the Senator from Alabama says that we ought to concentrate all of our shipbuilding energies and resources on the construction of ships to carry food and munitions to our allies, or the allies in Europe. The Senator from Alabama has evidently overlooked the fact that we have two coasts to this country. The Atlantic Ocean is not the only avenue of approach to the allies with the means for supplying their needs. It is not true, as the Senator from Alabama has said, that every shipyard in the country is engaged in building ships to carry food to Europe, and that every ship that can be obtained is engaged in carrying munitions of war and food supplies across the Atlantic Ocean. A great many shipyards are engaged in constructing ships, and a great many ships are sailing the sea carrying munitions of war and food supplies to the allies across the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator a moment?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I suggest to the Senator that the Government is building a railroad into the coal fields of Alaska in order to develop coal which possibly may be needed by the Government, and the loss of one battleship would build enough of these vessels to do the whole work in a very short period.

Mr. POINDEXTER. That is very true, and it is a very timely suggestion. Why, Mr. President, although it may take 20 years to do all of the work that awaits the Coast Survey on the Pacific coast, on the very first day that one of the ships built under this appropriation is engaged in this work it might locate a hidden rock or some danger to navigation that would save from being sunk one of the food-supply ships or munitions ships to which the Senator from Alabama has referred.

Many pinnacle rocks, as they are called, have been discovered in the short time since we have secured appropriations for the use of the so-called wire drag on the Pacific coast. Who knows but that many of the wrecks which have already occurred would not have been avoided if we had even one of these ships engaged for a week, or even for a day, in searching the waters for such obstructions?

This very bill to which this amendment is offered contains an item of over $7,000,000 for carrying on the work on the Alaskan railroad. As an incident to that undertaking by the Government there has been a tremendous development of commerce and increase of population and development of resources in Alaska. The consequence of that has been that commerce and navigation have increased between the ports of Alaska and the ports of California, Oregon, and Washington. Those ships have to navigate these uncharted and unsurveyed waters which have been discovered to be full of dangers. Those dangers are very difficult of discovery.

As the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] has suggested the coal fields of Alaska, which are being opened up by the Government railroad, will be used by the Navy. We have neglected to make preparation for it, but steps are under way for the construction of the necessary appliances, so that this coal, which is the equal of the Pocahontas coal which we are now using on the Pacific coast after carrying it around through the Panama Canal, can be utilized by the Navy. Supply depots will be established there; naval vessels will navigate those waters in order to refuel themselves; and all the increasing commerce, which will be brought about by this $40,000,000 enterprise of the Government, will have to navigate these waters for which these two ships are needed. I fail to see anything, if the reasons given by the Senator from Alabama are the ones which actuated the subcommittee, to justify the conclusion which they reached. They seem to have ignored the fact that this improvement is an aid to all the undertakings to which the Government has committed itself by the declaration of war against Germany, for the carrying on of commerce with Vladivostok, and the carrying of munitions, railroad equipment, food, guns, and all the supplies which the armies of Russia need, to that port, to be transported over the Siberian railroad to the Russian front.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will say to the Senator, if he will allow me to interrupt him, that, of course, there are a large amount of munitions that go that way, and that there are no uncharted seas on that line of travel; that these charts do not apply to the lines running out of Seattle and San Francisco and going to the Orient; that it is up and down the coast. Those portions of the coast have been surveyed long since. There are no dangers in that line of travel.

I am not concerned about this item if the Senate wants to put it in. It was kept out of the bill merely in pursuance of a policy not to put in the bill, so far as the civil branch of the Government was concerned, items that could be avoided at this time and that the committee did not think were vitally necessary, and with the further conclusion that we reached in reference to building ships were not materially needed. In the case of this work that must extend over 20 years with these two ships, no large amount of it could be done within the next year or two years of this war, and we thought it was an expenditure that we could economize in for the present. But one of the moving causes, to my mind, if not to the whole subcommittee, was that I think every available shipyard to-day should be used for war purposes, and not for charting uncharted seas over which there is comparatively little commerce moving at this time. I do not refer to the whole Pacific coast in that statement, but I mean that the seas that they propose to chart are not on the usual line of your commerce on the Pacific coast.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, they are sufficiently on the usual lines so that 260 ships were sunk by hidden dangers within a period of nine years off the coast of Oregon and Washington alone, to say nothing of the wrecks that occurred in Alaska and off the coast of California. When the Senator, in the face of those facts, says that there is no commerce there that amounts to anything, it simply indicates that he has not looked up the records.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Oh, but I did not make that statement. The Senator is putting words in my mouth that I did not utter. I said they were not along the usual lines of your great commerce, referring to what the Senator himself has referred to—your westbound commerce to the Orient. I stated that it is up and down the coast. Of course, I recognize that you have considerable commerce with Alaska, but it is not along the lines that the Senator was talking about a moment ago.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I was referring to the statement in which the Senator said that this survey related to waters off the usual lines of commerce. The inaccuracy of that is shown by the fact that 260 ships were lost there within the period I mentioned.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The Senator, I am sure, will not misquote me. I have not said that there was not any commerce on that route. I said it was not along the lines of your great commerce, which I understand does not lie up and down your coast.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Well, there is a great commerce up and down the coast. There is a great actual commerce and a still greater potential commerce through the Panama Canal and up and down the Pacific coast in transit to the Atlantic coast and between the ports of the Pacific coast and the terminus of the Government railroad and of the private railroad in Alaska—a commerce which has amounted to some $700,000,000 since we have acquired that Territory, a great portion of which was in a very few of the latter years of that period.

Now, these ships that are engaged in commerce with Russia incident to the war go up and down the coast. They go from one port to another on the coast. They may go to San Francisco to unload a cargo which they bring to the United States and from San Francisco to Seattle to load a cargo which they will take to Vladivostok or to Japan. Ships are not confined to a single line going from one coast to the other. Furthermore, Mr. President, the uncertainties of navigation, the winds, and the storms, and the tides which affect the course of vessels in attempting to seek entrance to the harbors of the Pacific coast bring about a certain variation in that course, and it is there that these dangers lurk, off of the entrance to the harbors as ships go and come in this international commerce to which I have referred, and where they have found rocks

which were uncharted because there were no ships to chart them.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President——

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I simply want to suggest also to my colleague that, as I understand, the plans for these ships would be prepared and adopted after consultation with the Navy Department; and these vessels, when constructed, if the exigencies should require, could be used either as naval auxiliaries or for other purposes in connection with the war.

Mr. POINDEXTER. That is true. There is a statement here to that effect from the Superintendent of the Coast Survey.

I do not know that I can add anything to what has already been said in behalf of this appropriation, except to say this: I hope that the Senate will not adopt the apparent attitude advanced by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] that we must stop—because that is practically what it amounts to—the work of our Coast Survey on account of this war. Why, Mr. President, other countries have gone on with their economic and industrial life even though they were more desperately engaged in this war than we are or than we will be. I hope it will not be said that because a nominal state of war—for it does not amount to much more than that at the present time—exists between the United States and Germany we must stop the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. It is stopped now because there is not a single vessel on the Pacific coast by which this work can be carried on.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I have listened to this discussion with a great deal of interest, probably because I had occasion some time ago to discuss the subject with the Secretary of Commerce. He gave me a very lucid and intelligent description of the work which had been done during his administration by this very important branch of the service, and also the limitations which existed in consequence of inappropriate supplies in the way of ships and money. He recited a number of harrowing incidents involved in the destruction of vessels along the Pacific coast by colliding with hidden rocks in what was supposed, until the collision occurred, to be a perfectly clear channel; and he also gave me some account of the development and the growth of the merchant marine of that section of our country.

I felt then, as I feel now, that the proper charting of the coast—both coasts, for that matter, because the Atlantic coast has not yet been completely and sufficiently charted—constitutes one of the pressing duties of the day, and that it is false economy to refuse to the department the means which are necessary for the carrying on of this work. It is unfortunate that it has been postponed as far and as long as it has been.

The recital by the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER] of the destruction of 260 ships within a period of 10 years reads like the record of a monthly campaign of submarines. The amount is appalling, and there is no question but that they will continue, possibly proportionately, but certainly in some degree, and perhaps ships will be destroyed in consequence of the absence of this work quite as fast as we may be able to construct them for the purpose of supplying the other nations engaged in war with Germany with what they may need from us.

It is true, as the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] says, that the usual trade routes between our Pacific ports and those of Asia are open, and that this work is not necessary at present for them. But, Mr. President, the modern German submarine has a radius of 18,000 miles; and how long will it be before these vessels of destruction appear in Pacific waters, in consequence of which the usual trade routes must be avoided? And if they are avoided, then what hidden dangers arise from these unseen sources which might be discovered if this work were expedited as it ought to be?

I believe that I am as reluctant to make large appropriations as any Member of this body, and I certainly commend the spirit which has actuated this committee, as stated by the Senator from Alabama, in the effort to economize in this hour of the Nation's crisis. Yet I discover that this bill, notwithstanding that spirit—which has certainly been exercised—is the largest sundry civil bill in amount which has ever been introduced for our consideration, having been increased some eleven or twelve million dollars over the amount reported from the House.

The fact that it is going to take 20 years to do this work is the strongest argument in favor of its being begun immediately. I think this is one of the needed appropriations to the end that our commerce may be protected, to the end that vessels may be saved, and to the end that lives may not be unduly sacrificed, and I hope that it will be adopted by the Senate.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I desired to address the Senate on this amendment, but I learn from the committee that there is no objection to letting the amendment go to conference.

I think it is a matter of vast importance. The commercial bodies of the Pacific coast have asked for it as a matter of ordinary protection to their ships at sea; and a vessel, the *Bear*, belonging to the United States, costing a million dollars, was lost, sir, in June, 1916, for the very reason, as explained by the Secretary of Commerce, that the seas were not charted. So it is very poor economy to save $700,000 and lose even a vessel valued by the department at $1,000,000, the *Bear*. That may recur at any time, especially in view of the fact that the new warships are going to be vessels of greater draft.

I therefore will conclude with the request to the Senate to consider the propriety of letting the amendment go to conference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri desire to speak to the amendment?

Mr. STONE. I desire to say that a number of Senators have spoken to me intimating a desire for an executive session.

Mr. PENROSE. Before the Senator submits that request, if he will permit me for a moment——

Mr. STONE. Wait a moment, now. I am not going to submit it for just a moment. I should not attempt to do so without the consent of the Senator from Virginia, in charge of this bill. I want to ask him if he will not agree at this time to have the Senate resolve itself into executive session?

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Virginia will permit me to offer an amendment which he has agreed to accept——

Mr. MARTIN. I will say to the Senator from Pennsylvania that there is an amendment pending which ought to be disposed of. This amendment about the ships on the Pacific has not been disposed of.

Mr. PENROSE. I thought it had been accepted and agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. The Vice President can advise the Senate as to that. I did not know that it had been agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It has not been agreed to. That is the reason why the Chair inquired of the Senator from Missouri, who addressed the Chair and wished the Chair to recognize him, whether he wished to speak to the amendment.

Mr. PHELAN. I think the chairman of the committee is willing to accept the amendment.

Mr. MARTIN. No, Mr. President; the Senator is mistaken. I am willing for the Senate to dispose of it in any way it pleases. It does not concern me any more than it does any other Senator on this floor, but the committee refused to put it on, and I do not feel at liberty to depart from their instructions.

It will take only 15 minutes to complete this bill, in my opinion. I know of nothing to delay the Senate; and if we can have a vote on this matter, we will follow up the others mighty quickly.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PENROSE. Now, Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 24, after line 22, it is proposed to insert:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to acquire by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, the plot of ground, known as the O'Neal property, situated on the north side of High Street, immediately east of and adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa., the cost of said additional site not to exceed $250.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, this is offered at the end of the paragraph relating to "Public buildings, construction, sites, and rent," and is a matter of some urgency, as this unsightly little strip near the battle field of Gettysburg might not be available to the Government hereafter. It is only $250, and I really ought to apologize for the amount.

Mr. MARTIN. I have no objection to the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PENROSE. I will ask to have the correspondence from the department put in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, March 2, 1917.

Hon. BOIES PENROSE,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In accordance with the request of Representative BEALES, there are transmitted herewith copies of reports submitted under date of September 19, 1916, to the chairmen of the Committees

on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House and Senate in connection with bills H. R. 17270 and S. 6820, providing for the acquisition of additional land, known as the O'Neal property, adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa.

Respectfully,

B. R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary.

—

GETTYSBURG, PA., *September 19, 1916.*

The CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
United States Senate.

SIR: In response to your request, without date, there is submitted herewith the following report on S. 6820, which provides for the acquisition of additional land, known as the O'Neal property, adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa.:

The Federal building at Gettysburg is situated on a plot of ground on the northeast corner of High and Baltimore Streets, with a frontage of 140 feet on the former by 153 feet on the latter. The site was purchased in 1909 for $24,000, and a building was constructed thereon and occupied in 1914, at a cost of $111,920.54. Adjoining the Federal site on the west is an irregular strip of land known as the O'Neal property, which has a frontage of 11 feet 3 inches on High Street, and a depth of 121 feet 6 inches. It is understood that this property is unimproved and detracts from the appearance of the Federal site on account of the presence of a shed and corncrib, both of which are in a very dilapidated condition.

From information received by this department, it is believed that the acquisition of this strip of land by the Government is desirable, and that the sum of $250 carried by the bill is a reasonable price for the land.

Respectfully,

B. R. NEWTON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert the following:

That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to cancel the assessment of $13,252.21, being income tax on profit on the sale of Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, Mich., in the year 1915, of 12,095 shares of Parke, Davis & Co.'s stock, $1,000,000 of the proceeds from the sale of said stock having been given to the Smithsonian Institution for the erection of a building to house the art collections presented to the Nation by Mr. Freer under deed of gift dated May 5, 1906, and the remainder having been paid by Mr. Freer for the purchase of additional objects which have been added to the collections and presented to the Nation by him.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk, and will make a brief statement in regard to it in a moment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. After line 26, on page 132, it is proposed to insert:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.

For contribution to the Forest Service for the purpose of constructing a bridge across the Mississippi River on the Cass Lake Indian Reservation, in the State of Minnesota, upon the condition that the local authorities, State or county, contribute $10,000 toward the building of the same, and in conjunction with an appropriation of $5,000 made available for expenditure by the Secretary of the Interior for this purpose in the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918," approved March 2, 1917, $10,000.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I submit the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 130 strike out the following:

In all, $175,000: *Provided*, That the total expenditure for the installation of a hydroelectric power plant shall not exceed the sum of $150,000 appropriated therefor in the sundry civil appropriation act for the fiscal year 1917.

And insert in lieu thereof the following:

Also not exceeding $60,000 for the completion of the installation of the hydroelectric power plant authorized by the sundry civil act for the fiscal year 1917; in all, $235,000: *Provided*, That any portion of the appropriation of $150,000 for the hydroelectric power plant authorized by the sundry civil act for the fiscal year 1917 which may be unappropriated on July 1, 1917, is hereby reappropriated and made available until expended.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, $150,000 was appropriated last year. I will not discuss the measure, but simply ask permission to insert in the RECORD the letters of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and the assistant attorney of the Department of the Interior, explaining fully the necessity of the increased appropriation.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, January 12, 1917.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the consideration of Congress, copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Interior of the 11th instant, submitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $60,000, for completion of installation of a hydroelectric power plant in Yosemite National Park, Cal., in addition to the sum of $150,000 provided by the sundry civil act of July 1, 1916.

The Secretary of the Interior, in his communication, states the reason and necessity for the submission of the estimate at this time.

Respectfully,

W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

—

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 11, 1917.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I transmit herewith a supplemental estimate in the sum of $60,000 for completion of installation of a hydroelectric power plant in Yosemite National Park, Cal. The sundry civil act approved July 1, 1916, authorized the expenditure of not exceeding $150,000 for a hydroelectric power plant in the park, which amount has been found to be insufficient to properly install a plant adequate for the needs of the service in the park. The necessity for the increased appropriation is fully set forth in the accompanying report dated December 6, 1916, by Galloway & Markwart, engineers, who, under contract of August 10, 1916, with this department, are charged with the supervision of installation of the power plant.

It was not practicable to incorporate this item in the regular estimates submitted to Congress in October, 1916, because the data in relation to this matter was not then at hand, and the needs of the service in the park are such as to render the additional appropriation herein requested imperatively necessary.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

Hon. WM. G. MCADOO,
Secretary of the Treasury.

—

HYDROELECTRIC POWER PLANT, YOSEMITE VALLEY, CAL.

[Memorandum for Senator PHELAN.]

The following are important points in the matter of the request of the Secretary of the Interior for an increase of $60,000 in the appropriation for the hydroelectric power plant in Yosemite National Park:

1. Original appropriation of $150,000 insufficient because of difficulty in finding foundation for dam in Merced River. Cost $25,000 additional to construct dam.

2. Power plant as authorized by Congress should be doubled in capacity. This can be done for $35,000 at this time. If doubled later, will cost $100,000.

3. Electric energy will be used for heat, light, and power in the operation of hotels and camps in Yosemite Valley.

4. New facilities for accommodation of tourists in this valley recently established have cost more than $500,000, and altogether the Desmond Park Service Co. will invest $1,000,000.

5. The department does not consider it just to require San Francisco business men to also construct power plant, nor does it consider it advisable from an administrative point of view to permit concessioners to build and operate power plants.

6. Estimate of total annual income from new plant, when completed, about $40,000. Total cost of operation about $17,000. Net profit will therefore be about $15,000 per annum, or 6.9 per cent on investment. This profit will be in addition to the value of the power used by the Government, which amounts to nearly $10,000 per annum. Government power is used for lighting of roads of the valley, administrative headquarters, barns, corrals, storehouses, etc.

7. Unless plant is completed, $100,000 worth of labor, material, and equipment will be almost total loss. Pipe line, machinery installed, etc., will rapidly deteriorate. Later, if more funds are made available, cost of establishing labor camps, blacksmith shop, etc., will be very high.

8. Plant can be completed at double the capacity very much cheaper now than it can under any other circumstances or at any other time.

HORACE M. ALBRIGHT,
Assistant Attorney, Department of the Interior.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I offer the following amendment. I will state that the amount asked is covered in the estimates.

The SECRETARY. On page 175, line 15, strike out "$7,500" and insert in lieu "$15,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PITTMAN. I offer the following amendment.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 19, page 128, insert:

Authority is granted to expend from the appropriations made for the construction and operation of railroads in Alaska, not exceeding $1,800, for the purchase, maintenance, repair, and operation of one motor-propelled, passenger-carrying vehicle for the official use of the Alaskan Engineering Commission at Seattle, Wash., to be available from the passage of this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CALDER. I submit the following amendment.

The SECRETARY. On page 162, after line 14, insert "one at $1,800, four at $1,600 each, one at $900."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN. These amendments can go to conference. I know nothing about them. I suppose they will not get far in conference.

Mr. CALDER. They are all estimated for.

Mr. MARTIN. They can go to conference.

Mr. CALDER. I also offer the following:

The SECRETARY. On page 161, line 13, insert: "Chief of Printing and Sales Section, $2,000; one clerk, at $1,650; one clerk, at $1,400; one clerk, at $1,200."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CALDER. I offer the following:

The SECRETARY. On page 161, line 18, insert "two clerks at $1,400 each."

On page 161, in line 25, insert "one clerk, at $2,000; one clerk, at $1,400; one clerk, at $1,200."

On page 162, line 7, insert "one, at $1,800; one, at $1,600."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CALDER. In connection with the amendments just agreed to, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Maritime Exchange, of New York, which explains them.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARITIME EXCHANGE,
78 Broad Street, New York City, April 4, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM M. CALDER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We take the liberty of writing you in connection with the appropriations for the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey contained in the sundry civil bill.

It is our understanding that the House will adopt without further consideration the bill as it originally passed the last session. It is probable that when the measure comes up in the Senate there will be some hearings or debate in connection with the appropriations for the above service, and we therefore beg to call your attention to the conditions at present existing as regards Coast and Geodetic charts.

Under date of February 15 the various chart agencies here which supply the merchant marine with these charts were notified by Dr. Jones, superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, that until further notice the distribution would be discontinued to agencies. It is our understanding that the Navy has taken the entire output of the department, rendering it impossible for any charts to be furnished to the merchant marine. The supply of a great many of the charts is already exhausted, and the situation, as you can readily appreciate, is very serious.

It seems to us most important that the appropriations for the Coast and Geodetic Survey should be so increased and its facilities enlarged so that it would be possible for this bureau to turn out sufficient charts for both the Navy and merchant marine. I am sure the marine interests here would appreciate anything you might do to aid us in this matter. Full information as to details could be secured from Dr. E. Lester Jones, superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Thanking you for whatever action you may take in our behalf, I remain,

Yours, very truly, J. B. MORRILL, *President.*

Mr. SMOOT. On page 60, I move to strike out the proviso on line 14, beginning with the word "That" after the word "*Provided*," down to and including the words "nineteen hundred and sixteen" in line 22—both provisos.

The SECRETARY. On page 60, in the item relative to the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway Commission, strike out the following proviso:

"*Provided*, That the total area of lands finally to be acquired for said parkway shall not exceed the area and parcels described and delineated in the map numbered 2, contained in House Document No. 1114 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, first session: *Provided further*, That the expenditure of the funds appropriated herein shall be subject to all the conditions imposed by the sundry civil appropriation act approved July 1, 1916.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. I offer the following amendment, to come in on page 184.

The SECRETARY. On page 184, after line 5, insert:

To pay M. I. Howell, as compensation for services rendered the special committee appointed under S. Res. 543, to secure certain information concerning interned ships in the ports of the United States and elsewhere and what efforts have been made by certain parties or interests to prevent the passage of the bill S. 6856, commonly known as the ship-purchase bill, during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress, from February 16, 1915, to April 8, 1915, $115.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Washington. On page 133, after line 23, I offer the following amendment. It has been estimated for.

The SECRETARY. On page 133, after line 23, insert:

For an additional amount for the fiscal year 1918 for support, clothing, and treatment in St. Elizabeth's Hospital of the insane from the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Revenue-Cutter Service, inmates of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, persons charged with or convicted of crimes against the United States who are insane, all persons who have become insane since their entry into the military and naval service of the United States who have been admitted to the hospital and who are indigent, the sum of $81,778.40.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting the estimate and also a letter I received from a committee of employees.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, January 13, 1917.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the consideration of Congress, copy of a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, of this date, submitting an additional estimate of appropriation in the sum of $81,778.40, for St. Elizabeth's Hospital, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, to provide an additional number of employees at the hospital so as to allow the benefits of the eight-hour system to all employees in the wards of the institution.

The Secretary of the Interior, in his communication, states that the reasons for the submission of the estimate at this time and the necessity for the same are set forth in the accompanying letter of the superintendent of the hospital.

Respectfully, W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, January 13, 1917.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I transmit herewith copy of a letter dated December 20, 1916, from the superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital and accompanying supplemental estimate in the sum of $81,778.40, to provide an additional number of employees at the hospital during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, so as to allow the benefits of the eight-hour system to all employees in the wards of the institution.

The reasons for not being able to submit this estimate with the regular estimates for 1918 and the urgent necessity for the appropriation are set forth in Dr. White's letter. I have to request that this estimate be transmitted to Congress at an early day with a view to favorable consideration thereof. This estimate has received approval by the President.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

The SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
ST. ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL,
Washington, D. C., December 20, 1916.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith supplementary estimates in addition to the estimates heretofore submitted for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for this hospital. These estimates are submitted in order to enable provision to be made for 120 additional employees, so that those who do not at the present time have the advantage of the eight-hour basis may be given opportunity to take advantage of the shorter hours.

This estimate has not been presented before because the matter has been under investigation and study, and has not been in shape to formulate. For some years past all of the employees of the hospital have been working upon an eight-hour basis except those who are directly engaged in the care of patients, constituting what is known as the ward service, with certain other minor exceptions. Naturally these employees feel that in the operation of the statutes they have been discriminated against, and the hospital can not but feel that the concessions that have been granted have been in the least desirable direction when the nature of the work which the hospital stands for is considered. In other words, the most important function which the hospital subserves is the immediate care of the individual sick patient. All the other functions which are performed by these several employees are subsidiary to this central one. It would seem, therefore, that every concession should be made to the ward employees that will make for increased efficiency. Observations which have been recently made with regard to the operation of the eight-hour law would indicate that it does increase efficiency, through its beneficial influence upon the employee himself, preventing conditions of overfatigue and therefore bringing him into his work better able to do it. These advantages are, of course, of great moment in dealing with the problems which confront an institution of this character. It is highly important that the ward attendants should go on duty refreshed and rested, so that during their period of duty they may be free from all such tendencies that might express themselves in irritability and crossness toward the patient. In fact, I think there is very little doubt but that many of the difficulties which arise and result in minor abuses of patients by employees are dependent upon the employee being tired and irritable. It is for these reasons that this estimate is presented for the extension of the eight-hour law to the ward employees and to certain other classes not yet covered in its operation. I may say that the State of Illinois has already passed an eight-hour law which applies to its charitable institutions, and so far as I know this is the only State which has passed such legislation, unless legislation of this character has passed very recently, in which case, of course, it would not have been in operation sufficiently long to draw any conclusions from it. I am of the opinion that the United States as an employer should not be very far behind in progressive measures the advantages of which are fairly apparent.

The amount asked for would not only permit the employment of an additional number of employees, but also a sufficient amount to allow for feeding them and to make allowances to pay them enough to provide for their lodging outside the hospital, as we have not the room within the hospital to accommodate them. This sum would also permit us to make the same allowance to employees of the same class who at the present time are compelled to live away from the hospital, and for whom there is not sufficient room within the hospital to provide lodging.

Those for whom increase in salaries is asked if allowed could be provided for without any additional appropriation being provided.

Very respectfully,

WM. A. WHITE,
Superintendent.

For an additional amount for the fiscal year 1918 for support, clothing, and treatment in St. Elizabeth's Hospital of the insane from the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Revenue-Cutter Service, inmates of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, persons charged with or convicted of crimes against the United States who are insane, all persons who have become insane since their entry into the military and naval service of the United States who have been admitted to the hospital and who are indigent, the sum of $81,778.40.

Amount appropriated for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, $285,250.

The following persons at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in the capacities herein mentioned may be paid at the rates of compensation stated during the fiscal year 1918 and annually thereafter as follows: Stenographers at $900 each; head baker, $900; librarian, $900. Sixty dollars per annum may be paid all per annum employees who can not be accommodated with lodgings in hospital building (submitted).

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES,
BRANCH NO. 35,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

To whom it may concern:

The attendants and supervisors at St. Elizabeth's Hospital are required to be on duty, active and otherwise, on an average of 137 hours per week, whereas 48 hours is considered a full week's work in all other civic departments of the Government.

The duties of an attendant or supervisor subject him to a continuous mental strain by reason of his being responsible for the safety and well-being of patients afflicted with homicidal or suicidal mania, or both. His physical strength is taxed in caring for those

cases of acute mania, in assisting and caring for those who are entirely helpless, in keeping the halls and rooms in proper condition when his household consists of two score or more irresponsible persons, and various other duties, too numerous to mention, fall to his lot.

We contend that at the expiration of our day's work under the present system we are not in proper condition, mentally or physically, to exercise that energy and care which our own conscience demands in the proper performance of our duties.

The present scale of wages is as follows: Commencing at $20 per month for male attendants and $15 per month for female attendants; after six months, which is the probationary period, the pay is $22.50 per month for male attendants and $17.50 per month for female attendants; after one year the pay is $25 per month for male attendants and $20 per month for female attendants; and after two years $30 per month for male attendants and $25 per month for female attendants. Charge attendant, male, goes up to $35 per month and male charge nurses goes up to $47.50 per month. Female charge attendant goes up to $30 per month and charge nurses goes up to $42.50 per month; and the male assistant supervisors' pay is $55 per month and female assistant supervisors' pay is $50 per month. Male supervisors' pay is $67.50 per month and female supervisors' pay is $62.50 per month, which is entirely at the discretion of the superintendent.

The scale asked for is not to include board, laundry, or lodging, which are furnished under the present system, and is consequently but a trifling increase over the amount which is now spent for this purpose.

In our bill, which will be presented, will be embodied the following:

Eight hours shall constitute our day's work, and we be allowed one day off each week for Sundays, a day off for each holiday, and 15 days' vacation. The appropriation made for our keep be stricken out, and in place thereof a pay be rated, for both male and female, at $40 per month, for the first six months, for charge attendants and nurses; $80 per month for supervisors; and $75 per month for assistant supervisors.

The rooms now occupied by the several hundred attendants, if turned over for the use of patients, would relieve the generally overcrowded condition of the hospital; also the attendants would not, after a long day of mental and physical exertion, be compelled to seek rest in an insane ward where night is made hideous by the intermingled muttering of imbeciles and ravings of maniacs.

This is a reference to what some of the other hospitals are paying their attendants:

State Hospital, Phoenix, Ariz	$35 to $50
State Hospital, Stockton, Cal	40 to 55
State Hospital, Agnew, Cal	40 to 55
State Hospital, Napa, Cal	40 to 55
State Hospital, Patton, Cal	40 to 55
Mendocino Hospital, Talmage, Cal	40 to 55
Contract Hospital, Warm Springs, Mont	45 to 125
State Hospital, Reno, Nev	54 to 65
County Hospital, Secaucus, N. J	65 to 71
State Hospital, Salem, Oreg	30 to 50
State Hospital, Pendleton, Oreg	30 to 50
State Hospital, Fort Steilacoom, Wash	30 to 50
State Hospital, Medical Lake, Wash	30 to 50
State Hospital, Sedro Woolley, Wash	40 to 50

Mr. WALSH. I offer an amendment to come in on page 114, at the end of line 12.

The SECRETARY. On page 114, at the end of line 12, insert:

Provided, That in time of war or of national emergency greater percentages of these sums may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be used for personal services in the District of Columbia.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. On page 114, after line 12, I move to insert the following.

The SECRETARY. On page 114, after line 12, insert:

The Secretary of the Treasury may detail certain medical officers of the Public Health Service for cooperative health, safety, or sanitation work with the Bureau of Mines, and the compensation and expenses of officers so detailed may be paid from the applicable appropriation made herein for the Bureau of Mines.

In time of war or national emergency any part of the fund of the Bureau of Mines may be used in the United States or in foreign countries for investigations of military value whenever such investigations bear a direct relation to the purpose for which the funds are appropriated.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Director of the Bureau of Mines explaining the last two amendments.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF MINES,
Washington, April 9, 1917.

Hon. THOMAS J. WALSH,
Chairman Committee on Mines and Mining,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR WALSH: I have to suggest three amendments to the sundry civil bill as it passed the House—one designed to prevent unnecessary duplication in the normal work of the Bureau of Mines, the other two intended to increase the value of the bureau in connection with the carrying on of the war.

I suggest that the following paragraph be inserted, after line 2, on page 110:

"The Secretary of the Treasury may detail medical officers of the Public Health Service for cooperative health, safety, or sanitation work with the Bureau of Mines, and the compensation and expenses of officers so detailed may be paid from the applicable appropriations made herein for the Bureau of Mines."

There are many problems in connection with the mine-safety and sanitation work of the Bureau of Mines that call for the services of trained surgeons and sanitary engineers. The Public Health Service has a corps of specialists in these lines, and it would be an unnecessary duplication to build up a similar corps in the Bureau of Mines. The problems are, however, so intimately related to the mining and metallurgical industry that their solution should be paid for from Bureau of Mines funds. It is proposed, therefore, to meet the situation by the detail of men acting under the direction of the Public Health Service, their salaries and expenses to be paid by the Bureau of Mines. This has the approval of the Public Health Service.

I suggest that after the paragraph just proposed, the following paragraph be inserted:

"In time of war or of national emergency any part of the funds of the Bureau of Mines may be used in the United States or in foreign countries for investigations of military value whenever such investigations bear a direct relation to the purposes for which the funds are appropriated."

Some of the subjects on which the Bureau of Mines has specialized are of direct value in connection with military problems. For example, the chief chemist of the bureau was selected by the War Department as the man best fitted to investigate the European nitrate situation and its bearing upon the manufacture of explosives in the United States. Similarly, studies made by the bureau on mine gases and breathing apparatus are of direct value in connection with such problems as combating poisonous gases in trench warfare and the purifying of air in submarines. The men who have specialized on these problems are the men best fitted to investigate the military phases of the same problems, and in order that the country may have the maximum military benefit from the training and technical knowledge of these men and the investigative facilities of the Bureau of Mines, it is recommended that this amendment be adopted.

I suggest also that the following proviso be added at the end of line 16, page 117:

"*Provided*, That in time of war or of national emergency greater percentages of these sums may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be used for personal services in the District of Columbia."

During the progress of the war it will probably be necessary to have in Washington as technical advisers to the military authorities, engineers and chemists of the Bureau of Mines, who, in peace time, would be stationed in other parts of the country. For example, the work on noxious gases, already requested by the War Department, will require a considerable amount of investigative work, which, because of the necessity for frequent consultation with Army and Navy officials, can be carried on only in Washington. Similarly, emergencies not now possible to foresee are likely to arise at any time, and it would be unfortunate if a restriction on the percentage of expenditure in the District of Columbia should interfere with the solution of military problems. The authority to expend an increased percentage in the District of Columbia would expire with the termination of the war or national emergency, and would be exercised only in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. I recommend, therefore, that this proviso be made a part of the bill.

Cordially, yours,

VAN. H. MANNING,
Director.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary may correct the totals in the bill wherever they need correction.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. STONE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

FOOD PRODUCTION WITHIN RECLAMATION PROJECTS.

Mr. PHELAN. Out of order I ask leave to introduce a bill recommended by the Department of the Interior, and to present a statistical table which illustrates the subject matter.

Mr. SMOOT. What was the request of the Senator from California?

Mr. PHELAN. Out of order to introduce a bill.

Mr. SMOOT. What else?

Mr. PHELAN. And to present a statistical table to illustrate the subject matter, which came to me to-day from the Department of the Interior.

Mr. SMOOT. To be printed in the RECORD?

Mr. PHELAN. In the RECORD; yes.

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator does not want the bill printed in the RECORD?

Mr. PHELAN. No; the statistical table. It bears upon the question of lands which are susceptible to cultivation under the Reclamation Department, with a view of meeting the shortage of food supplies.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). The Chair takes occasion to say to the Senator from California that the table will be perhaps unintelligible without a copy of the bill.

Mr. PHELAN. I thank the Chair for the suggestion, and will ask that the bill also be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the bill and the table referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1725) to stimulate the production of food upon private and public lands within reclamation projects, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, and referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

Be it enacted, etc., That to aid in the production of food crops, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, owners of uncultivated private lands within reclamation projects, or their tenants, may be furnished with water for irrigation purposes for a period not extending beyond December 31, 1920. Where such land is within a project now or hereafter under public notice the owner or lessee of such private lands shall pay for the water furnished not less than the annual operation and maintenance charge fixed by the public notice, plus 2 per cent of the construction charge.

SEC. 2. That uncultivated public lands within a project, whether or not public notice has been issued, may be leased by the Secretary of the Interior without limitation of acreage, and water furnished therefor in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 hereof, with appropriate charge for the lease of the land.

SEC. 3. That where the Secretary of the Interior finds it impracticable to otherwise secure satisfactory guaranty of the irrigation and cultivation of public land to which the Reclamation Service can deliver water he is authorized to arrange for the cultivation of such lands by contract or with persons under Government control or supervision.

SEC. 4. That where the Secretary of the Interior finds it impracticable to otherwise secure satisfactory guaranty of the irrigation and cultivation of private lands to which the Reclamation Service can deliver water he is authorized, in the public interest as a war measure and after due notice to the owner, to undertake, by contract or by Government forces, the cultivation of said lands and to make reasonable compensation to the owners thereof for the use of such lands, taking into full consideration the benefit to such lands of the improvements necessary to bring them into cultivation, such as clearing, leveling, ditching, fencing, and any other necessary improvements.

SEC. 5. That no right to the use of water shall in any wise attach to any lands by reason of the furnishing of water under this act after the termination of any lease or contract made hereunder.

SEC. 6. That the sum of $5,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to carry out the provisions of this act, said sum to be reimbursed to the general fund of the Treasury from the sale of crops produced under the provisions hereof, other proceeds of the operations of this act, or from any other receipts into the reclamation fund.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to perform any and all acts and to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into full force and effect.

Project.	Acreage irrigable and irrigated, 1916.[1]				Estimated acreage service can supply, 1917.
	Acreage service could supply.	Acreage irrigated.	Water available not irrigated.		
			Total.	Public land (estimated).	
Salt River	191,786	177,523	14,260	.....	192,000
Yuma	72,440	29,483	42,957	6,000	75,000
Orland	20,533	9,357	11,176	.....	20,500
Grand Valley	15,000	1,741	13,259	1,000	35,000
Uncompahgre Valley	77,713	49,273	28,440	10,000	90,000
Boise[2]	165,308	101,315	63,993	.....	165,300
Minidoka	120,800	88,333	32,467	2,000	120,800
Huntley	32,905	18,800	14,105	2,000	32,900
Milk River	40,358	5,518	34,840	5,000	60,000
Sun River	16,321	[4]4,707	11,614	5,000	40,000
Lower Yellowstone	42,288	[4]6,020	36,268	1,000	42,300
North Platte[3]	129,856	84,208	45,648	2,000	135,000
Truckee-Carson	69,100	39,449	29,651	5,000	75,000
Carlsbad	24,775	16,600	8,175	.....	25,000
Rio Grande	102,000	62,513	39,487	.....	102,000
North Dakota pumping	8,000	(4)	8,000	.....	8,000
Umatilla	17,000	5,477	11,523	1,000	20,000
Klamath	45,272	29,351	15,921	3,000	45,300
Belle Fourche	78,567	48,468	30,099	5,000	84,000
Strawberry Valley	50,000	26,250	23,750	3,500	50,000
Okanogan	10,099	7,850	2,249	.....	10,100
Yakima:					
Sunnyside unit	93,223	73,000	20,223	.....	100,000
Tieton unit	30,000	23,000	7,000	.....	30,000
Shoshone	42,623	29,977	12,646	5,000	50,000
Total, reclamation projects	1,495,970	938,216	557,754	56,500	1,608,200
Indian projects:					
Blackfeet	48,000	2,102	45,898	5,000	50,000
Flathead	66,000	[4]4,373	61,627	2,500	95,000
Fort Peck	12,620	1,092	11,528	.....	16,000
Total	1,622,590	[4]945,783	676,807	64,000	1,769,200

[1] Exclusive of water sold or available under Warren Act.
[2] Exclusive of Pioneer and Nampa-Meridian districts; inclusive of New York Canal Co.
[3] Includes N. P. C. & C. Co. 17,837 irrigable and 8,588 irrigated.
[4] Additional acreage cultivated by dry farming: Milk River, 13,643; Sun River, 2,766; Lower Yellowstone, 16,587; North Dakota pumping, about 4,000; Flathead, about 6,000; total, about 43,000.

PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS IN THE RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I might as well take a little time at this point to appeal to Senators to encumber the RECORD just as little as possible. I may say that the Public Printer to-day has not on hand paper enough of some grades to do the absolutely necessary printing of the Government, and it is impossible to get certain kinds of paper.

I have not objected during the last week to the immense number of duplications that have gone into the RECORD by way of telegrams and resolutions, because of the fact that they touched upon a question that is vital to the American people at this time; but I appeal to Senators to keep out all duplications from the RECORD and to make it just as concise as possible. I believe that the RECORD, under the conditions existing to-day, ought to contain only what is said upon the floor of the Senate, unless an exception should be made in the case of communications from State legislatures or some organization, perhaps, expressing the opinion of a great mass of people. I believe that the printing in the RECORD of a great many articles such as have been printed in it and the duplication of telegrams and other communications ought to cease from now on.

I have received hundreds and hundreds of telegrams; I have read the RECORD, Mr. President, and I have found exactly the same telegrams from the same parties put in the RECORD, not once but frequently half a dozen times. It only encumbers the RECORD, costs the Government thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, and, more than that, I repeat that I do not know where we are going to get the paper to keep up the printing that will be absolutely necessary for the different departments of the Government.

Mr. THOMAS. And nobody reads the communications after they are published.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE HENRY T. HELGESEN.

A message from the House of Representatives, by E. T. Taylor, jr., one of the clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN, late a Representative from the State of North Dakota, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 11, 1917.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN, a Representative from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That a committee of Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary, for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I offer the following resolutions, and ask that they be read.

The resolutions were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Senate resolution 29.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of the Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN, late a Representative from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That a committee of 11 Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed, under the second resolution, as the committee on the part of the Senate: Mr. GRONNA, Mr. McCUMBER, Mr. KENYON, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, Mr. JONES of New Mexico, Mr. HUSTING, Mr. CUMMINS, Mr. BROUSSARD, Mr. SMITH of South Carolina, and Mr. FERNALD.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the deceased Representative, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 12, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 11, 1917.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Oscar T. Crosby, of Warrenton, Va., to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to fill an existing vacancy.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

W. R. Smith, of El Paso, Tex., to be United States district judge for the western district of Texas. (Additional position; act of Feb. 26, 1917.)

POSTMASTERS.

ARIZONA.

Otto Janssen to be postmaster at Clarkdale, Ariz., in place of D. L. Robinson, resigned.

ARKANSAS.

James C. Perkins to be postmaster at Yellville, Ark., in place of Alfred Watts, resigned.

Robert W. Glover to be postmaster at Sheridan, Ark., in place of Nora A. Toler, resigned.

Albert S. Snowden to be postmaster at Paragould, Ark., in place of T. E. Haley, resigned.

Ernest W. Cato to be postmaster at Gravette, Ark., in place of W. H. Austin, resigned.

CALIFORNIA.

George W. Mallory to be postmaster at Ojai (late Nordhoff), Cal., in place of George W. Mallory. To change name of office.

I. L. Casey to be postmaster at Loma Linda, Cal. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

COLORADO.

W. S. Buchanan to be postmaster at Salida, Colo., in place of Thomas Ryan. Incumbent's commission expires May 1, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

CONNECTICUT.

Frank E. Williams to be postmaster at Noank, Conn., in place of A. W. Rathbun, resigned.

GEORGIA.

C. W. Stephens to be postmaster at Wrens, Ga. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

R. F. Duckworth to be postmaster at Union City, Ga., in place of Iva L. Duckworth, resigned.

B. A. Nolan to be postmaster at Senoia, Ga., in place of R. E. McKnight, resigned.

J. D. Howard to be postmaster at Milledgeville, Ga., in place of R. B. Moore. Incumbent's commission expires May 22, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but not confirmed.)

James C. Knight to be postmaster at Jesup, Ga., in place of R. W. Tindall. Incumbent's commission expired August 20, 1916.

J. R. Wimberly to be postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ga., in place of Mary L. Carswell, removed.

IDAHO.

D. Rolla Harris to be postmaster at Sugar, Idaho. Office became presidential July 1, 1914.

W. F. Morgareidge to be postmaster at Moscow, Idaho, in place of F. E. Cornwall, resigned.

Eloda M. Long to be postmaster at Arco, Idaho. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

ILLINOIS.

Fannie B. S. Morrison to be postmaster at Tower Hill, Ill., in place of H. P. Faught. Incumbent's commission expired July 30, 1916.

Benjamin S. Burr to be postmaster at Medora, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ira J. Aull to be postmaster at Kincaid, Ill. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

Harry R. Row to be postmaster at Makanda, Ill. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Albert H. Nafziger to be postmaster at Danvers, Ill., in place of Mabel J. Nafziger, resigned.

Alta A. Rose to be postmaster at Atwood, Ill., in place of C. C. Hamilton. Incumbent's commission expired April 24, 1916.

INDIANA.

Robert A. Talbott to be postmaster at National Military Home, Ind., in place of E. C. Palmer, deceased.

M. E. McIntyre to be postmaster at Ambia, Ind. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

IOWA.

R. I. Juneau to be postmaster at Valley Junction, Iowa, in place of W. H. Carmody, sr., resigned.

D. D. Marshall to be postmaster at Oakville, Iowa. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Maurice Connolly to be postmaster at Dubuque, Iowa, in place of L. H. Brede, resigned.

Julia Connelly to be postmaster at Churdan, Iowa, in place of H. R. Richards, resigned.

S. B. Morrissey to be postmaster at Audubon, Iowa, in place of R. C. Spencer, removed.

KANSAS.

Josie Curtis to be postmaster at Englewood, Kans., in place of T. J. Doyle. Incumbent's commission expires June 6, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

Grover T. Emmons to be postmaster at Pucklin, Kans., in place of E. C. Gresham. Incumbent's commission expires June 6, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

LOUISIANA.

A. G. Winfree to be postmaster at Leesville, La., in place of Ada M. Smart, resigned.

Alonzo J. McKee to be postmaster at Lake Providence, La., in place of Adah Rous, resigned.

C. N. Le Blanc to be postmaster at Gueydan, La., in place of Bernard Isaacs. Incumbent's commission expired June 12, 1916.

MAINE.

Edward C. Watson to be postmaster at Naples, Me. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

MARYLAND.

Leonard H. Gosnell to be postmaster at Woodbine, Md., in place of F. T. Buckingham. Incumbent's commission expired August 6, 1916.

John D. Showell to be postmaster at Ocean City, Md. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Harry Nalley to be postmaster at Mount Rainier, Md. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

G. W. Etchison to be postmaster at Gaithersburg, Md., in place of R. H. Miles. Incumbent's commission expired April 3, 1916.

John T. Culver to be postmaster at Forest Glen, Md., in place of G. M. Wolfe, resigned.

Thomas E. Frantz to be postmaster at Cockeysville, Md. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

MASSACHUSETTS.

D. Anthony Sheehan to be postmaster at Weston, Mass., in place of G. W. Cutting, resigned.

Edward W. Sullivan to be postmaster at Stockbridge, Mass., in place of A. J. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired December 20, 1915.

Joseph H. Whelan to be postmaster at South Lancaster, Mass., in place of F. A. Hanaford. Incumbent's commission expired July 18, 1916.

Josephine E. Dempsey to be postmaster at South Ashburnham, Mass., in place of A. C. Lombard. Incumbent's commission expired March 21, 1916.

Edward L. Harkins to be postmaster at Shirley, Mass., in place of K. E. Hazen. Incumbent's commission expired February 23, 1915.

Michael A. Keegan to be postmaster at Rockland, Mass., in place of D. M. O'Brien, resigned.

John J. Mahoney to be postmaster at Mittineague, Mass., in place of Edwin Smith, resigned.

James Lally to be postmaster at Milford, Mass., in place of M. J. Cooke, removed.

Abner Harlow to be postmaster at Mattapoisett, Mass., in place of J. S. Burbank. Incumbent's commission expired December 14, 1912.

James H. Madigan to be postmaster at Harvard, Mass. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Frederick H. Mulcahy to be postmaster at Gardner, Mass., in place of G. L. Minott. Incumbent's commission expired July 18, 1916.

MICHIGAN.

Orla C. Gingles to be postmaster at Schoolcraft, Mich., in place of J. W. Budrow, deceased.

Frank A. Miller to be postmaster at Gladstone, Mich., in place of O. L. Mertz, removed.

MINNESOTA.

Lida K. Gray to be postmaster at Taylors Falls, Minn., in place of James Shawhan. Office became presidental October 1, 1916.

John Bowden to be postmaster at Spring Valley, Minn., in place of F. E. Wilder, resigned.

Andrew Johnson to be postmaster at Parkers Prairie, Minn., in place of J. A. Hawkinson. Incumbent's commission expired January 24, 1916.

C. E. Nightingale to be postmaster at International Falls, Minn., in place of J. J. Lloyd. Incumbent's commission expired June 2, 1914.

Louis Bauer to be postmaster at Crosby, Minn., in place of M. D. Atkinson, resigned.

MISSISSIPPI.

Argyle L. Brown to be postmaster at Rolling Fork, Miss., in place of James G. Cammack, resigned.

Walter W. Lewis to be postmaster at Pascagoula, Miss., in place of F. L. Delmas, resigned.

B. F. Hyde to be postmaster at Meridian, Miss., in place of S. J. Ferguson, resigned.

MISSOURI.

John H. Bueter to be postmaster at Bowling Green, Mo., in place of W. F. Mayhall, deceased.

J. E. Shepherd to be postmaster at Seneca, Mo., in place of Harry E. Shepherd, resigned.

Richard W. Tucker to be postmaster at Senath, Mo., in place of Alvin Chapman, removed.

Zina A. Cleeton to be postmaster at Green Castle, Mo., in place of R. M. Morton. Incumbent's commission expires May 22, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

John P. Ray to be postmaster at Cassville, Mo., in place of Absalom L. Galloway. Incumbent's commission expires May 1, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

MONTANA.

R. M. Fry to be postmaster at Park City, Mont., in place of E. W. Peck. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

John Budge to be postmaster at Hingham, Mont., in place of E. C. Hogenson, resigned.

NEW JERSEY.

Simon Cunningham to be postmaster at Pennsgrove (late Penns Grove), N. J., in place of S. L. Boone, removed.

W. A. Tripp to be postmaster at Millington, N. J., in place of L. H. Bowers, deceased.

Samuel Munyan to be postmaster at Gibbstown, N. J., in place of J. W. Campbell. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

Louis Cressman to be postmaster at Bloomsbury, N. J., in place of J. H. Heaney. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NEW YORK.

Michael J. Walsh to be postmaster at Yonkers, N. Y., in place of John N. Parsons, removed.

George C. Staud to be postmaster at Rochester, N. Y., in place of W. A. Buckley, resigned.

Harmon P. Payne to be postmaster at Quogue, N. Y., in place of M. E. Griffin. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

George W. Witbeck to be postmaster at Nassau, N. Y., in place of Eva S. Kirby, name changed by marriage.

Mary A. E. Barrett to be postmaster at Fort Terry, N. Y., in place of Pearl H. Steely, removed.

John N. Cullen to be postmaster at Blue Point, N. Y., in place of R. L. Moore. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

Ira Baker to be postmaster at Amagansett, N. Y., in place of W. D. Conklin. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

NORTH CAROLINA.

W. T. Potts to be postmaster at Highlands, N. C., in place of J. A. Hines. Office became presidential October 1, 1917.

Isaac J. Young to be postmaster at Henderson, N. C., in place of W. E. Gary, resigned.

Charles L. Ingram to be postmaster at Franklin, N. C., in place of W. W. Jones, removed.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Earl W. Edwards to be postmaster at Rolette, N. Dak., in place of Marion Edwards, resigned.

Ruth L. Woldy to be postmaster at Edmore, N. Dak., in place of T. H. Woldy, resigned.

Bud Reeve, jr., to be postmaster at Buxton, N. Dak., in place of P. C. Balkan. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

OHIO.

John S. Heeter to be postmaster at West Carrollton, Ohio, in place of P. J. McClain. Incumbent's commission expires July 29, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

Henry W. Brown to be postmaster at Findlay, Ohio, in place of G. D. Dunathan. Incumbent's commission expires August 12, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

OKLAHOMA.

Randolph Laurence to be postmaster at Roff, Okla., in place of Emma Dale. Incumbent's commission expired July 13, 1916.

John F. Garner to be postmaster at Mill Creek, Okla. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

C. B. McCallon to be postmaster at Kiefer, Okla., in place of O. P. Ramsey, resigned.

George A. Clark to be postmaster at Hennessey, Okla., in place of John M. Jones, resigned.

Clarence H. Smith to be postmaster at Foss, Okla., in place of J. L. Gallaway, resigned.

Effie Gibbins to be postmaster at Fort Sill, Okla., in place of Alfa Gibbins, resigned.

Lucretia Owens to be postmaster at Fort Cobb, Okla., in place of L. A. Owens, resigned.

John W. Mills to be postmaster at Forgan, Okla., in place of D. W. LeCrone, removed.

Jerome G. Queenan to be postmaster at Elk City, Okla., in place of S. M. Flournoy, removed.

Henry C. Hubbard to be postmaster at Cordell, Okla., in place of T. H. Hubbard, resigned.

Opal C. Hawn to be postmaster at Binger, Okla., in place of C. B. Keller. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

I. E. Strickland to be postmaster at Allen, Okla., in place of F. O. Strickland. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

OREGON.

George H. Foster to be postmaster at Baker, Oreg., in place of John G. Foster, resigned.

PENNSYLVANIA.

James H. Marker to be postmaster at West Brownsville, Pa., in place of W. D. McGill, resigned.

Mame T. Cusick to be postmaster at Ralston, Pa. Office became presidential January 1, 1917.

J. A. McEvoy to be postmaster at Parkesburg, Pa., in place of J. M. Eshleman, resigned.

John H. Cope to be postmaster at Hershey, Pa., in place of G. J. Eppley, resigned.

Albert S. Faber to be postmaster at Cambridge Springs, Pa., in place of D. D. Goshorn, removed.

John A. Bradley to be postmaster at Birdsboro, Pa., in place of J. C. Bradley, deceased.

RHODE ISLAND.

Edward F. Carroll to be postmaster at Providence, R. I., in place of W. A. Kilton. Incumbent's commission expired March 1, 1917.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. Mitchell Witsell to be postmaster at Walterboro, S. C., in place of P. M. Murray. Incumbent's commission expires May 13, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

M. B. Watson to be postmaster at Ridge Spring, S. C. Office became presidential April 1, 1917.

N. B. Hargrove to be postmaster at Dillon, S. C., in place of W. J. Adams. Incumbent's commission expired June 5, 1916.

C. W. Milling to be postmaster at Darlington, S. C., in place of S. C. King, deceased.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Alfred E. Swift to be postmaster at Brookings, S. Dak., in place of O. G. Oyloe. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1916.

TENNESSEE.

W. N. Lacy to be postmaster at Lenoir City, Tenn., in place of S. F. Carroll. Incumbent's commission expired August 22, 1916.

TEXAS.

Belle Kleinecke to be postmaster at Hitchcock, Tex., in place of August Kleinecke, deceased.

W. B. Claunch to be postmaster at Hamilton, Tex., in place of J. L. Spurlin. Incumbent's commission expires May 29, 1917. (Nominated Mar. 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

VIRGINIA.

J. R. Owens to be postmaster at Lawrenceville, Va., in place of H. D. Hall, deceased.

Ambler H. Cardwell to be postmaster at Fortress Monroe, Va., in place of Martha L. Lee, deceased.

Raleigh T. Green to be postmaster at Culpeper, Va., in place of J. W. Green, resigned.

John B. Graves to be postmaster at Clifton Forge, Va., in place of W. F. Tinsley, resigned.

WASHINGTON.

J. B. Morford to be postmaster at Poulsbo, Wash. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

W. W. Askren to be postmaster at Bothell, Wash., in place of H. E. Rupp, resigned.

WEST VIRGINIA.

J. A. Jackson to be postmaster at Ronceverte, W. Va., in place of Harry B. Moore, removed.

H. A. Turk to be postmaster at Newell, W. Va., in place of Sarah K. Rush. Incumbent's commission expires May 29, 1917. (Nominated March 14, 1917, but failed of confirmation.)

Arthur Jackson to be postmaster at Littleton, W. Va. Office became presidential October 1, 1916.

J. Y. Hamilton to be postmaster at Fairview, W. Va., in place of J. D. Wilson, resigned.

WISCONSIN.

Arthur J. Egan to be postmaster at Highland, Wis., in place of John H. Wall. Incumbent's commission expired July 23, 1916.

WYOMING.

Guy U. Shoemaker to be postmaster at Laramie, Wyo., in place of A. N. Hasenkamp, removed.

CONFIRMATION.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate April 11, 1917.

JUDGE OF POLICE COURT, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Robert Hardison, of Kentucky, to be judge of the police court of the District of Columbia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *April 11, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We come to Thee, O God our Father, with glad and thankful hearts that we are involved in a plan which can not fail of its ultimate purpose because of Thine infinite wisdom, power, and goodness. Yet history, observation, and experience teach emphatically that we may retard its progress as individuals, as a nation, a race, by opposing the will of its Projector. Teach us, O God our Father, how to work together with Thee for the end which all true men long for, hope for, pray for; that Thy will may be done in us.

We have been touched by the going of a Member of this House, which leaves a void in our hearts. Comfort his colleagues, friends, and family by the blessed promises of the immortality of the soul, and help us to look forward with faith and confidence to the fulfilling of Thy plans in the larger life beyond the grave. And all praise be Thine through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA (H. DOC. NO. 18.)

The SPEAKER. The Chair has received a letter which he thinks of sufficient importance to lay before the House. Without objection, the Clerk will read.

There being no objection, the Clerk read as follows:

LEGACIÓN DE CUBA,
Washington, D. C., April 9, 1917.

Message transmitted to the honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America by the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, through the legation of Cuba at Washington, D. C.

The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, in declaring that a state of war exists between this nation and the German Empire, resolved—all members rising to their feet and amidst the greatest enthusiasm—to address a message of confraternity to that body announcing the pride felt by the people of Cuba in uniting their modest efforts to those of the great Nation contending for the triumph of right and respect for the liberty of small nationalities.

The house also resolved to express the special gratification of the Cuban people in uniting their flag side by side to that of the glorious Nation which, in days of undying memory, sacrificed the blood of her sons to help the people of Cuba to conquer their liberty and independence.

MIGUEL COYULA,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

[Applause.]

The letter was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

THE STATE OF OREGON.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oregon asks unanimous consent to proceed for two minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following telegram of which my colleagues, Mr. SINNOTT and Mr. MCARTHUR, have received copies, and they have suggested that I present it.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *April 10, 1917.*

Representative W. C. HAWLEY,
Washington, D. C.:

The Oregon Infantry regiment recruited to full war strength and mustered into the service. Field Artillery, Cavalry, and Coast Artillery are recruited to maximum strength, with hundreds on the waiting list. Officers and noncommissioned officers are men who have spent years preparing to be of service and are qualified. These facts are furnished you by the general staff of Oregon for your information.

WHITE, *Adjutant General.*

[Applause.]

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I only want to add a brief word to that. During the Civil War, at the request of the General Government, Oregon raised a large body of soldiers, equipped and maintained them in the field at her own expense for the protection of the people, the mails, and other Government property in the Northwest. During the Spanish-American War we furnished all the soldiers that were asked for, and could have furnished several times the number required, as they were waiting to go. The Second Oregon Regiment was first in the Philippines and the first in Manila. When the call for troops came for service on the Mexican border the Oregon regiment was the first ready for service. The services of our soldiers in the field have always been highly commended. The patriotic people of our State have been prepared whenever necessary to defend the honor and the flag of the United States, and in this time of need we are prepared to furnish all the troops from Oregon that may be needed of us. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bill of the following title:

H. R. 122. An act making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. J. Res. 30. Joint resolution authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate joint resolution of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. J. Res. 30. Joint resolution authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings; to the Committee on Accounts.

BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize the issue of bonds to meet the expenditures for the national defense, extend credit to foreign nations, and for other purposes. The committee met this morning and reported it favorably, and I ask unanimous consent to make the report now.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to present the report at this time. Is there objection?

There was no objection; and the bill, with the accompanying report (H. Rept. No. 3), was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

ADJOURNMENT OVER.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. on Friday next.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. on Friday next. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, I take it that it is the intention of the committee to take up the bond bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. And finish it on Friday?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. How large a bond issue does it provide for?

Mr. KITCHIN. Five billion dollars.

Mr. MADDEN. What is to be done with it?

Mr. KITCHIN. Three billions is to be loaned to purchase bonds of foreign Governments.

Mr. MADDEN. Have we authority to do that under the Constitution?

Mr. KITCHIN. They say so; but we will discuss that phase of it on Friday. It further provides, in addition to this $5,000,000,000, for two billions of certificates of indebtedness to run not exceeding one year.

Mr. MADDEN. Is there any other provision in it for raising revenue?

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. MADDEN. Can we get a copy of the bill in advance?

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman can get a copy now; it is printed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

REQUEST TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on next Saturday, after the reading of the Journal and disposing of the business on the Speaker's table, I may address the House for one hour.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that next Saturday, after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of the business on the Speaker's desk, he may address the House for one hour. Is there objection?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Reserving the right to object, there is no certainty that we will be through with the discussion and consideration of the bond-issue measure, and therefore for the present I object.

Mr. BORLAND. There could be no interference with that, because it would be only on condition that we are through that I ask the privilege.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I think for the present I shall object.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resolution from the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to request the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 28) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.

The resolution was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message, in writing, from the President of the United States was communicated to the House of Representatives by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PANAMA RAILROAD CO. (S. DOC. NO. 7).

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying document, was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and, with the exception of the document, ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the sixty-seventh annual report of the board of directors of the Panama Railroad Co. for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *April 11, 1917.*

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes and in that period of time to have a letter read from the governor of Indiana, addressed to myself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I think we ought to adjourn. There is an announcement to be made.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. MANN. I hope that he will not insist upon it at this time.

Mr. COX. I will withdraw that request, Mr. Speaker, though I think the letter ought to go into the RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent to insert it in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the matter indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman a blunt question. Is there anything in his extension of remarks that reflects upon a Senator or Representative?

Mr. COX. Absolutely not.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I ask that question because there are certain remarks inserted in the RECORD this morning that do reflect upon Senators and Representatives, growing out of this war discussion, and I propose hereafter to object——

Mr. COX. This is a letter from the governor of Indiana relating exclusively to what he is doing out there to increase the food supply in Indiana, and contains many valuable suggestions which I think will be of value to the Nation generally.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I wish to say, in view of these reflections upon Senators and Members of the House inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this morning, that I propose to give heed hereafter to requests for unanimous consent to extend remarks in the RECORD with reference to the war, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they do reflect upon Members. To insert such remarks is an abuse of the privileges of the House.

Mr. COX. I have no objection to what the gentleman proposes to do.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, if I may be allowed, in the last Congress I introduced an amendment to the rules which provided that no Member of the House under leave to print should be permitted to refer either directly or indirectly to any other Member of the House, and I do not see why that amendment was not incorporated in the rules. It ought to be a part of the rules of the House.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I have not the floor, but I will be glad to yield to the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the matter indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The letter referred to is as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
STATE OF INDIANA,
Indianapolis, April 9, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM E. COX,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 6th.

Following up a call last week we have had wonderful meetings all over the State; following this up we are to have a meeting of the executive committee to-morrow. We intend to arrange to send three expert men into every county in Indiana to spend their time, day and night, with farmers holding township meetings and working along the lines suggested.

I have issued a call to-day for the mayors of the fifth-class cities. We perfected last night a plan to mobilize the idle labor of the State; when I say idle labor I mean men who would, if called upon, enlist in the national service and who are able to enlist in this more important service of raising food.

I intend to mobilize this help to mobilize all vacant tracts of ground from 5 acres and up under charge of semimilitary organization, and see to it that these tracts are planted in substantial food crops. Then we expect along with that, as a part of this committee's work, to have the manufacturers of the State call on their men to sign pledges by which they will agree to plant and cultivate vacant lots.

We will mobilize vacant lots, assigning to each man willing to undertake it a lot and expect him to cultivate it.

I intend to select a director of food conservation, with offices in the State house and with assistants throughout the State.

I have no money with which to do this work. I intend to do either one of two things, either address a personal communication to the members of the general assembly asking them to agree that they will reimburse me for any money expended for this purpose, and I can then raise the money and go ahead with this important work. I will put the alternative suggestion to them of a special meeting of the legislature for the purpose of making an appropriation of $200,000 to carry on this work.

I am doing everything that can be done and wish I could divide myself up into about 100 men for the next 60 days; I think I could get something done.

I wired Senators NEW and WATSON, also WILL WOOD and yourself this morning asking you to cooperate with them in securing certain orders from the Interstate Commerce Commission with respect to the movement of fertilizer and seeds.

Next to the food supply I regard the coal situation, not only in Indiana but throughout the country, as the most critical.

I wish I might have the opportunity to talk it over with you. I am going east next week, and if you think it would be of any help I might stop in Washington for a day and have a conference with respect to some of these matters.

There is much that the Federal Government can do through the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to help work out these questions, and I feel there ought to be the closest cooperation in every respect.

I thank you for your many expressions of confidence and support, and if I can be of any service to you in any way always command me.

Yours, very truly,

J. P. GOODRICH.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing the notice of contest of the Hon. James Wickersham for his seat in the House of Representatives as Delegate from Alaska.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the notice of contest of Hon. James Wickersham for

his seat as Delegate in the Congress from the Territory of Alaska. Is there objection?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is it customary to print these notices in the RECORD?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I object. It is an irregular practice.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

Mr. PARK. It is to give the information to the House of the grounds of that contest.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a letter from a citizen of New York sojourning in Florida, and also a letter from a minister of the gospel residing in the State of Florida, with reference to the war situation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent to insert his remarks in the RECORD by inserting the matter indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I put this question to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK]: Is there anything in this letter that reflects upon any Representative, because there are such letters in the RECORD this morning?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. There is not.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. DYER. I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri objects.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a patriotic proposal from a woman in my district.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated.

A MEMBER. To whom is the proposal made? [Laughter.]

Mr. ASHBROOK. To the Government of the United States.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have hundreds of patriotic letters from people in my district, and I do not think we ought to burden the RECORD with all of these things.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Kentucky object?

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri objects.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise to renew my request of a few minutes ago to be permitted to speak on Saturday for one hour after the close of business on the Speaker's table and the approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to address the House for one hour on Saturday next after the approval of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table. Is there objection?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the right to object.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, no one knows when we will get through with the bond bill, and until that is disposed of I object.

Mr. BORLAND. This is not to interfere with the regular order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that on Saturday next, following the approval of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, he be permitted to address the House for one hour. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. For the reasons stated, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois objects.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 122. An act making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes.

DEATH OF HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my sad duty to announce the death of the Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN, a Representative from the State of North Dakota, who died in the city of Washington on yesterday afternoon. Mr. HELGESEN'S career was a most distinguished and honorable one. For the last six years he was one of the most highly respected Members of this body, and for more than 30 years he has been a leader in the civic and political activities of North Dakota.

I shall ask, Mr. Speaker, at some future time that a day be set apart when Members of this House may be afforded an opportunity to pay suitable tribute to his worth and character. At this time I send to the Clerk's desk a resolution, for which I ask present consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 46.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN, a Representative from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That a committee of Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The question was taken, and the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair, by unanimous consent, announces the appointment of the following committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, Mr. NORTON of North Dakota, Mr. HAUGEN of Iowa, Mr. DILLON of South Dakota, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. GANDY of South Dakota, Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina, Mr. CLARK of Florida, Mr. KINCHELOE of Kentucky, and Mr. BOOHER of Missouri.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 24 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. on Friday, April 13, 1917.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimates of additional appropriations for wages of workmen and contingent expenses for the assay office at New York and the mints of Philadelphia and New Orleans for the fiscal year 1917 (H. Doc. No. 15); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimates of appropriations for additional guards at the Subtreasuries at New York, San Francisco, and New Orleans, from May 1, 1917, to June 30, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 16); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of War submitting a special estimate of appropriation required immediately for the employment of a temporary force of clerks and other employees in the War Department and its bureaus (H. Doc. No. 17); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII—

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 1691) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 4), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KITCHIN: A bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes; to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

By Mr. GARD: A bill (H. R. 2763) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDMONDS: A bill (H. R. 2764) to provide for registration of alien enemies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WALTON: A bill (H. R. 2765) limiting the creation or extension of forest reserves in New Mexico; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. PARK: A bill (H. R. 2766) to provide for creating corporations in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 2767) fixing the pay of commissioned officers of the National Guard while engaged in the service of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2768) fixing the pay of enlisted men in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 2769) providing for the basic pay and increase of basic pay of privates and noncommissioned officers of the Army of the United States during the continuance of the war between the United States and Germany, for the payment of certain amounts for the support of dependents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 2770) to amend an act approved September 26, 1914, known as the Federal Trade Commission Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SUMNERS: A bill (H. R. 2771) authorizing and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a farm-produce exchange, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 2772) to provide for an increased production of foodstuffs by reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. LAZARO: A bill (H. R. 2773) making appropriation for the construction and improvement of certain waterways in Louisiana; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 2774) to pension the permanently helpless orphans of Civil War soldiers and sailors; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2775) authorizing the employment of Grand Army veterans for recruiting purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2776) to amend an act entitled "An act to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, to refund the public debt, and for other purposes," approved March 14, 1900, and the amendment thereof, approved March 4, 1907; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2777) authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to lease certain property; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. WOODS of Iowa: A bill (H. R. 2778) providing for the licensing of weighers of farm products at commercial centers and the licensing of inspectors of scales and other weighing devices, and making appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 2779) to provide for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 2780) making an appropriation to purchase and distribute seeds to farmers; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 2781) to change the name of Point Superior, on Black Lake, near Holland, Mich., to Marigold Point; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 2782) to provide for the purchasing of desert land by entrymen who can not make final proof; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2783) for the enlargement of the Federal building at San Jose, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2784) making an appropriation for improving the harbor at Santa Cruz, Cal.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2785) to amend the act to regulate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2786) granting certain lands to the State of California to form a part of California Redwood Park, in said State; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2787) to provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a naval and aviation academy on the Pacific coast of the United States within 150 miles of San Francisco, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2788) providing for the payment of certain claims of the State of California growing out of the Indian wars; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2789) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the present Federal building and site at San Jose, Cal., and to acquire a new site, and to provide for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the said city of San Jose, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2790) to acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Palo Alto, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2791) to acquire a site and the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of San Mateo, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2792) for the erection and maintenance of a steam fog whistle on Point Pinos, Cal.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2793) to provide for the establishment of a life-saving station at Half Moon Bay, south of Point Montara and near Montara Reef, Cal.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2794) to provide for the erection of a monument at the summit of Fremonts Peak, Cal., to commemorate the unfurling of the flag of the United States upon that spot by Gen. Fremont at the outbreak of the War with Mexico; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. BRITTEN: A bill (H. R. 2795) to prohibit the killing and interstate shipment of beef cattle under a certain age; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 2796) to establish a lighthouse of the first order on Point Pinos, Cal.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2797) to provide for the erection of a lighthouse on Pilar Point, at the entrance to Half Moon Bay, Cal.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2798) to amend the act of July 25, 1912, entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," relating to the improvement of the harbor at Monterey, Cal.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MOON: A bill (H. R. 2869) providing 1-cent postage in certain cases; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. WEBB: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 44) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 45) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYES: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 46) amending the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 47) declaring it illegal to purchase release from conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAYES: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 48) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 49) providing for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs used in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KALANIANAOLE: Memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, commending the position of the President of the United States in maintaining our national honor and pledging aid and support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 2799) granting a pension to Mary A. Ames; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2800) granting a pension to Henry Puder; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2801) granting an increase of pension to Silas M. Lanning; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2802) granting an increase of pension to James W. Rowland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2803) granting an increase of pension to Charles T. Wolfe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2804) granting an increase of pension to Susan E. Lime; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2805) granting an increase of pension to Eva Ross; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BARNHART: A bill (H. R. 2806) granting an increase of pension to Perry Oliver Rice; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOWERS: A bill (H. R. 2807) granting a pension to George A. Loughery; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2808) granting a pension to Stocton Sponseller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2809) granting a pension to George L. Bomberger, M. D.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2810) granting a pension to Samuel Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2811) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Landers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2812) granting an increase of pension to Pary McNair; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2813) granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Jackson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2814) for the relief of Jacob Kesner; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALLINGER: A bill (H. R. 2815) for the relief of William Tucker; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. EDMONDS: A bill (H. R. 2816) to determine what obligation, if any, exists under the treaty with Spain of 1819 to relieve the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 2817) granting a pension to Oscar Weil; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2818) for the relief of Anna J. AtLee; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2819) for the relief of Edward W. Terry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2820) for the relief of James M. Benefield; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2821) granting a pension to Mary E. Simmons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2822) granting a pension to Ferdinand T. Bray; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2823) granting a pension to Sarah V. Cary Lee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2824) granting an increase of pension to Francis O. Nash; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2825) granting an increase of pension to Houston Halstead; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2826) granting an increase of pension to Callie Hitchcock; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2827) granting an increase of pension to A. E. Holloway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2828) granting an increase of pension to Peleg B. Washburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2829) for the relief of Owen Barnes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2830) for the relief of Francenia H. Dale; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2831) for the relief of Joel Henry Mansfield; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2832) for the relief of James R. Parmenter; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2833) for the relief of William Richard Hogg; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2834) for the relief of Isabel E. Rockwell; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2835) for the relief of Andrew J. Lawrence; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2836) for the relief of Pedro Chaboya; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 2837) granting an increase of pension to Valentine F. Gardner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2838) to authorize the President to award a medal of honor to Dr. John T. Nagle for conspicuous bravery at the Battle of Kernstown, Va., on July 24, 1864, while serving as an acting assistant surgeon of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEA of California: A bill (H. R. 2839) for the relief of Cornelia M. A. Tower; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2840) for the relief of the legal representatives of W. H. Mills, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 2841) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 2842) granting a pension to Anna M. Benson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2843) granting a pension to Mary Van Roy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2844) granting a pension to Anna Mary Damson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2845) for the relief of Chauncey Boyce; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2846) for the relief of John J. Waters; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2847) for the relief of Gerhard Heyboer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2848) for the relief of John Shields; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2849) for the relief of William H. Estabrook; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2850) for the relief of the heirs of Jeard Wilder; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MEEKER: A bill (H. R. 2851) granting a pension to Louis Becker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2852) granting a pension to Joseph Lingenbrink; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2853) granting a pension to Walter R. Taylor; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2854) granting a pension to Lewis Zacher; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2855) granting a pension to George C. Emmert; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2856) granting a pension to James M. Pyne; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2857) granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Goodrich; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2858) granting an increase of pension to William Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2859) for the relief of Lena Schmieder; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2860) for the relief of Gertrude Becherer; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2861) for the relief of Philip Osburg; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2862) for the relief of the legal heirs of Edmonia R. Robards, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SCHALL: A bill (H. R. 2863) granting a pension to John Ferriter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2864) granting an increase of pension to Amos Hales; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STRONG: A bill (H. R. 2865) granting a pension to Elizabeth Steffy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VINSON: A bill (H. R. 2866) for the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 2867) authorizing the Treasurer of the United States to pay Catharine C. Schilling $599; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 2868) granting a pension to deputy United States marshals of the United States court, western district of Arkansas, for the Indian Territory, prior to March 1, 1895; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of citizens of Hartford, Conn., pledging support to the President of the United States in the present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Order of Washington, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of the Kansas City Athenæum, urging the passage of laws prohibiting sale of intoxicants to men in uniform and use of intoxicants in clubs for both officers and enlisted men and the bringing of liquor into camp; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial adopted by the Prospect Men's Class of the Prospect Street Church, of Cambridge, Mass., indorsing action of the President in the German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DOREMUS: Petition of George W. Courville and others, of Detroit, Mich., asking that members of the Naval Militia who are also Government employees shall not suffer loss of pay or position while in the military service of their country at the President's call; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Petition of citizens of Winthrop, Mass., indorsing action of the President of the United States in severing relations with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Carpenters' District Council, of Newton, Mass., relative to high cost of living; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GARD: Memorial of citizens of Dayton, Buckeye Lodge, No. 501, Loyal Order of Moose, of Middleton, and the trustees of the Chamber of Commerce of Hamilton, pledging support to the President of the United States in the present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HULBERT: Memorial of National Guard Association of the United States, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, relative to conservation of tonnage for American foreign trade; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, relative to Federal control of military forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, pledging service to the President in the present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York relative to treaty relations and bargaining tariffs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York relative to raw-material supplies after the war; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of the Pennsylvania State College Association of New York, pledging support to the President in all measures to defend the honor of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York, approving action taken by the President and pledging their services whenever needed; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Union Club of Boston, indorsing the President for action in the German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Fifth Avenue Association, indorsing the principle of universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Memorial of Hartford University Club, Hartford, Conn., pledging support to the President and the flag of our country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: Memorial of Pennsylvania Sons of the Revolution, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *April 12, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our security and peace are in the relationship that we sustain to Thee our Father in heaven. Fate and chance have no place in the realm of the higher life, and in this realm there is naught but security and peace and rest. Grant us such conscious relation to Thyself that we shall not be subject in our inner spiritual life to any of the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Give us security in God. For Christ's sake. Amen.

THOMAS P. GORE, a Senator from the State of Oklahoma, appeared in his seat to-day.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

OBJECTIONABLE MATTER IN THE RECORD.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege. Upon yesterday I had not had time to read the RECORD when the attention of the Senate was called to the fact that I had had printed in the RECORD many telegrams, and some of which I say frankly ought not to have been printed in the RECORD. No Senator, of course, has any right to print in the RECORD anything reflecting upon the honor or honesty or integrity of another Senator. He has no right to do it in debate and therefore has no right to put it in the RECORD. That goes without saying.

It was with gratification, however, that I learned the fact I want to communicate to the Senate, because it is gratifying to me. Upon yesterday I said I had told my secretary to classify this character of telegrams and I left the impression that he had made a mistake. I have learned with much gratification since that it was my mistake and not his. He attended to his duty as he usually does. He had placed one bunch of telegrams in one place and part of the other telegrams very close to it, and then when I was hurrying to the Senate I gathered them all up and came here and put them in.

I ask unanimous consent that there shall be expunged from the RECORD, first, the communication next to the last on page 410, column 1, and the communication beginning at the bottom of column 2, page 410, and proceeding to its end. It is a little awkward to make this request, because I can not read them. If I did, I would be merely repeating them in the RECORD.

Then I ask to have expunged the next telegram which immediately follows that, on page 411 of the RECORD, in column 1.

Then, skipping the next one, which is a telegram signed by Lyon G. Tyler, president of William and Mary College, strike out the next one to his, the one below it.

Then, in column 2, page 411, strike out the second telegram, which is signed by Charles S. Ashley.

Then, skipping one, strike out the next one, which is signed by Mr. Thomas P. Ivy; and, skipping one more, strike out the next one, which is signed by A. H. Williams.

Mr. SMOOT. I call the Senator's attention to the first telegram, in column 2, on page 411.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then, Mr. President, the first telegram on page 411, column 2, which begins in that column; the communication immediately following that and the communication immediately following that; then, skipping a communication, the communication following that, all in column 2, page 411.

Now, strike out the first communication in the first column, beginning on page 412. Then the first communication in the second column, on page 412. Then, skipping two communications, strike out the next one, which I will identify to the reporter by telling him it is signed by Mr. Battle. Then the one following that, in the second column, page 412.

Then I come to a communication concerning which I will say that I do not know how it got into the RECORD. It is not addressed to me; it is addressed to Senator LA FOLLETTE. Possibly somebody sent me a copy of it; I do not know; but, at any rate, it ought not to have been inserted. That is a long communication from a meeting of the governors of the Wisconsin Chapter of Sons of the American Revolution. It is the fourth communication, beginning in column 1, page 413.

Then the communication in column 2, page 413, following that.

Then the second communication in column 1, page 414, and then the last communication in column 2, page 414, the matter which appears upon the next page being a part of it.

Then, skipping the communication, the next one, signed, I will state merely for the information of the reporter, by a gentleman by the name of Newell.

Then in column 2, page 415, the communication signed by my old schoolmate and friend, Charles H. Cocke.

Then, skipping one communication, the next one. Then the one following it, and then the one following that, all in the second column on page 415.

Now, Mr. President, I want to say just this: The rules of this body are founded in wisdom and in courtesy. In striking out these communications I mean no disrespect whatever to the men who have sent them to me. They had a perfect right to express their opinion concerning the motives and purposes and their notion of the loyalty or disloyalty of anybody in the United States, whether a Senator or not. There is no such thing as "a sovereign Senator." The mistake was not theirs; it was mine. But, while they had a perfect right to express to me their opinions, I had no right to spread their opinions upon the records of the Senate, and I am sorry the mistake occurred.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me? Do I understand——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to add just one more word. Of course I felt a little bit hurt at the manner in which the matter came up.

Mr. PENROSE. Do I understand the Senator from Mississippi to state that he submitted these telegrams to the Senate and asked their insertion in the RECORD without examining their contents or knowing what he was submitting to the Senate?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; you do not. You understood——

Mr. PENROSE. That is the reason why I made the inquiry.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You understood the "Senator from Mississippi" to say, if you understood what he said, that he submitted them after he thought he had examined them and after his clerk, according to his idea, classified them, and that the clerk

was carefully instructed to exclude all telegrams which reflected upon any Senator. Now then, it turns out later that it was not his fault but was mine, because I picked up a part of the telegrams in one bunch and shoved them in with the balance. In other words, in the language of the comic opera Pinafore, it was I "who mixed those babies up" and not my clerk.

Mr. PENROSE. The result is the same. The Senator thought he had examined them; his secretary was instructed to examine them, and the wrong bundle was picked up. It was a most flagrant instance, Mr. President, of a violation of the proprieties——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have not yielded to the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. I thought the Senator had finished.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have not yielded to the Senator for a lecture.

Mr. PENROSE. I am not going to lecture the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator can do it after I sit down, and then I will reply to his lecture.

Mr. PENROSE. Very well; I will wait until the Senator is through.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have just said that I committed a grave fault in permitting these telegrams to appear in the RECORD. If I can say anything stronger than that, I do not know very well how to say it; perhaps the Senator from Pennsylvania does.

Now, I want to say this, that none of us need to be thin-skinned about the criticism of the people. If everything that every blind pacifist and peace fanatic has said about me in public print and private letters or about other Senators was put in the RECORD, I suppose it would be regarded as very insulting; and if the frantic attempt of the fanatic pacifist to inspire the patriotic ardor of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] the other day by first calling him "a damned coward" and then trying to knock him down has not called upon him to present himself to the Senate in order to ask the defense of this august body, it does seem to me none of us need be very particularly thin-skinned about what people say about us.

As far as I am concerned, this fault is mine. That explanation I have made. I have attempted to tell how it happened. The truth was that I took up a bundle of telegrams that I was to offer to the Senate and some of the telegrams that I was not intending to offer, which were lying near them, and I brought them in and shoved them all in without rereading them. I had read every telegram before and had taken due measures, as I thought, to classify them and separate them.

Now, Mr. President, there is no doubt about this matter; in the interest of ordinary peace as well as courtesy no Senator has a right to say anything upon this floor which reflects upon the patriotism, honor, honesty, or integrity of another Senator. He has no more right to put anything in the RECORD carrying a like reflection than he has to utter the words before the open Senate.

I hope what I have said is satisfactory.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I have only one word to say about this incident.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry—this is not personal to the Senator from Pennsylvania——

Mr. PENROSE. I rise to a question of order. This is really a question of order or of privilege, and I have two words to say.

Mr. WALSH. I call upon the Senator from Pennsylvania to state his point of order.

Mr. PENROSE. I want to call the attention of the Senate to the very questionable propriety of the wholesale insertion of telegrams every morning in the RECORD.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. PENROSE. I want to make a personal explanation.

Mr. WALSH. What is the order before the Senate?

Mr. PENROSE. I rise to a personal explanation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The order before the Senate is the presentation of petitions and memorials.

Mr. WALSH. I ask for the regular order.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have made a motion or asked unanimous consent to expunge the matter I indicated from the RECORD.

Mr. PENROSE. I speak to that motion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have indicated sundry communications to be stricken from the RECORD, and I ask that that request shall be put before the Senate.

Mr. PENROSE. I object to the request, for I want to say two words.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If I can not get consent, I will make the motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi has asked unanimous consent to strike from the RECORD the communications indicated by him and in the notes of the reporter. Is there objection?

Mr. PENROSE. I will object so that the Senator may make the motion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What does the Senator say?

Mr. PENROSE. I made an objection so that you can make a motion that I may have an opportunity of saying two words.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very well, then, I make the motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi moves that the matter indicated by him be expunged from the RECORD.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not want to cut off freedom of debate from the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I only rose to call the attention of the Senate to the gross abuse which we have witnessed in the last few days, and which we are constantly witnessing in the insertion of telegrams, frequently inconsequential, in the RECORD. This is one of the most flagrant instances that has occurred recently. We have seen scores of telegrams of no consequence whatever encumber the RECORD and diminishing its usefulness by obscuring the really useful matter in that publication and diluting it with matter like this. Here we have an instance of telegrams which in some way were jumbled up and thrown into the Senate without any proper inspection or consideration.

I receive telegrams, Mr. President, several thousand a week, on matters of this kind, and I have refrained, from a sense of good taste and propriety, from giving the Pennsylvania department of the Western Union Telegraph office a record in the publication of our daily proceedings. Why every obscure citizen who expresses a desire to enlist and to raise a company in some mountain fastness should have his telegram read here in the Senate, that being the last ever heard of this valiant warrior, and why these hundreds of telegrams should be repeatedly published in the RECORD, when scores of other Senators have similar telegrams, almost identical telegrams, they being of no value by way of information to Senators or Representatives or the public, I have yet to understand?

I hope that this mistake, which the Senator from Mississippi so candidly admits that he has made, will impress Senators with the importance at least of the exercise of care, at any rate, in selecting telegrams worthy of some particular note and consideration, and that it will impress on them that perhaps the practice is "more honored in the breach than the observance" of taking the time and taxing the patience of the Senate by flooding the RECORD every morning with telegrams, nine-tenths of which are of no consequence whatever after the recipient has read them.

Mr. WILLIAMS and Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, of course I agree, as every Senator does, with a great deal of what has been said by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. I have been one of the Members of the Senate who has availed himself very seldom and very little of this custom, which, in my opinion, is a bad one; but speeches have been made against the course of the President of the United States, against the course of the Congress of the United States, and against the will of the people of the United States, in which it has been asserted that the people of the United States were neither with the President nor with Congress nor with themselves. Things have been inserted in the RECORD which were highly insulting to every one of us who wanted to avenge German aggression. I therefore thought it was only right to have inserted in the RECORD those telegrams upholding the President, the Congress, and the people, and I thought I was doing only that which upheld me in the position I have taken to support the President, and which upheld the President and which upheld the Congress. I have no apology to make for that.

As to the question of "good faith and propriety," referred to by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE], although I have a very high personal regard for the Senator from Pennsylvania, I know that he will agree with me that if I were selecting an apostle of "good taste and propriety," I would go a little bit farther than where he now sits.

Mr. President, I have made my explanation so far as I know how; I have also made a motion, and I ask that the Senate vote on it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I understood the Senator from Mississippi to say that he felt somewhat hurt because of the manner in which this question was brought to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator from Colorado will permit an interruption, I will say yes, I did, because I thought that he or any other friend of mine could have come to me and said, "John, there are some things here in these telegrams which I do not think you will think you ought to have inserted in the RECORD," and I could then have made a motion upon my own

will and not appear apparently pilloried before the country by any other Senator's motion.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I endeavored to ascertain where the Senator from Mississippi was before I called the attention of the Senate to what I conceived to be a violation of one of its rules. I am very sorry that the Senator feels hurt in regard to it. I merely wish to say that my course would have been the same, prompted from a sense of duty, had any other Senator than the Senator from Mississippi been the cause of my protest. I beg to assure the Senator from Mississippi that no intention on my part existed to reflect upon him at all.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was in my committee room, where I could have been found. I did not say that there was any such intention.

Mr. THOMAS. Nor did there exist any intention upon my part to hurt his feelings, except in so far as I thought the subject was one which should be immediately brought to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And without consultation with the "Senator from Mississippi"? Mr. President, I ask for a vote on my motion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I desire to read a short but highly patriotic letter which I have received from a mother in Montana and to make brief comment thereon, for it did my heart good to receive it, and I think the public should know of it.

I am a believer in the practice of publishing in the RECORD a limited number of patriotic telegrams and letters from different States in order to show the sentiment of the people in those States and to stimulate others, provided, of course, that none of the letters or telegrams make any reflection upon any Senator or upon any department of the Government, or upon anybody at all, for that matter. Of course I would not sanction that.

I am in receipt of a letter from Montana, which is so different from some other letters which I have received and which breathes such a pure spirit of high-minded patriotism and devotion to country, that I believe it ought not to be passed by unnoticed. It breathes a beautiful sentiment of unselfish sacrifice. The letters is as follows:

MISSOULA, MONT., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. H. L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I trust you will give your support to the compulsory universal military training bill. I am a widow with one child, a son, and I believe it to be the only way to put our country on a proper basis for defense, as each citizen will then have his share of responsibility.

Very truly,

(Mrs. R. A.) ETHEL G. RODRICK.

I desire to say a few words in reference to this letter. It deserves a few. This letter, to my mind, breathes the lofty sentiment of pure patriotism and devotion to country which we need at this hour. Here is a widow with only one child, and that child a son who doubtless is just about the age of young men who, under conscription, would be required to serve in the war upon which we are now embarking; at least his mother evidently thinks he is of that age. Doubtless he is the pride of his mother's life, the hope of her advancing years, her mainstay and support; more to her than all else in the world. His mother expresses a desire to have him offer his services to his country in the war in which we are now engaged, and she is willing, if Providence should have so foreordained, that he shall even shed his life's blood in behalf of his country and give up his life on the altar of his country. This is the kind of motherhood spirit which makes countries great and which wins wars.

This mother is not only willing to give the services and, if need be, the life of her son to her country in its time of stress, but she would have the law so framed that he would have to serve whether she were willing for him to do so or not and whether or not he be willing. Furthermore, she wants the law so framed that all other young men of like age will be required to serve, so all would be on a level, which, I believe, would be a very fair and reasonable method of raising an army. It would require the sons of the rich and of the poor, of the great and of the small, of the high and of the low to serve alike, each to render equal service to his country.

All honor to this Montana mother and widow for her patriotic sentiments. She is deserving of ranking with the mothers of Sparta, who put the honor and welfare of their country above all else in this world. Such Spartan motherhood makes men worthy to be soldiers, makes nations worthy to be nations; yea, makes for liberty and the rights of mankind; makes life worth living. I am proud to have such a constituent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Mississippi.

The motion was agreed to.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. JAMES. I present to the Senate and ask to have printed in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the members of Pineville Council, No. 77, of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Kentucky, approving the course of the President and expressing loyalty and support to the Government.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PINEVILLE, KY., *April 10, 1917.*

Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed find copy of a resolution passed by the members of Pineville Council, No. 77, Junior Order of United American Mechanics.

Please accept this with the same sincerity and gravity with which it was passed by this organization, and be assured that it expresses the sentiment not only of this fraternal organization but the sentiment of 99 per cent of the people of the mountains.

You will confer a favor upon us by placing this resolution in the hands of those who would call upon us should our services be needed.

Obediently, yours,

G. J. JARVIS.

Whereas there is every indication that the United States of America are to be drawn into the world war through the ruthless and inhuman tactics of the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas President Wilson has called Congress into extraordinary session for the purpose of taking such action as to them seems best in the impending crisis; and

Whereas the Junior Order of United American Mechanics ever stands ready to defend the Stars and Stripes and to protect the interests of the American people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved—

1. That we unquestioning and unqualifiedly indorse the action of President Wilson in calling Congress into session at this time for the purpose of protecting the rights of America from the unlawful and ruthless ravages of Germany.

2. That we, as a patriotic and American order, pledge to our Government whatever assistance we may be able to lend, whether on the battle field or in furnishing our share of the supplies necessary to carry on the war.

3. That we denounce as un-American any defense of the warfare naw being waged by the Imperial German Government upon defenseless women and children, and in the name of virtue, liberty, and patriotism call upon every home-loving American to put his face to the front and search for no vision but the Stars and Stripes.

4. That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minute book of the lodge and a copy furnished Senators JAMES and BECKHAM.

PINEVILLE COUNCIL, No. 77, JR. O. U. A. M.,
REUBEN HENDRICKSON, *Councilor.*

A copy.
Attest:

G. J. JARVIS,
Assistant Recording Secretary.

Mr. WALSH. I send to the desk patriotic resolutions of the General Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, adopted on February 7, and also resolutions adopted on the eve of the dissolution of the last session of the legislature, and ask that they be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate joint resolution No. 4. (Introduced by Mr. Edwards.) A resolution relating to international affairs.

IN THE SENATE.

February 5, 1917: Introduced without previous notice by unanimous consent of senate. Read and adopted. Transmitted to House for concurrence.

IN THE HOUSE.

February 5, 1917: Read and adopted. Returned to the senate.
February 6, 1917: Referred to enrolling committee.

Whereas it is apparent that our Nation is facing a great international crisis, and that despite our persistent efforts to maintain peace and good will with all the world, we are compelled to meet a situation that threatens the tranquillity of our relations with other world powers; and

Whereas a part of the press and people of the great European nations seem to mistake our democratic method of free and vigorous discussion of internal and external problems for a lack of national unity; and

Whereas it is important at this time that all the world should know that no consideration of previous association, of foreign birth, or even the ties of kindred and of blood outweighs in the hearts and minds of our people of the loyalty and love which they feel for this Nation that has given to us all the greatest measure of freedom and opportunity ever bestowed on any people in the world's history: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the people of the State of Montana, speaking through their servants, the members of the legislative assembly, communicate to the President of the United States and through him to all the world our unquestioned, undivided, and unanimous support in whatever course the exigencies of the situation require; and be it further

Resolved, That while we hope and pray for peace with all the world, we pledge ourselves, severally and collectively, and in our representative capacity, with all our resources, as individuals and as a Commonwealth, to the unequivocal and undivided support of the Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States.

W. W. MCDOWELL,
President of the Senate.
JAS. F. O'CONNOR,
Speaker of the House.

Approved February 7, 1917.

S. V. STEWART, *Governor.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
State of Montana, ss:

I, C. T. Stewart, secretary of state of the State of Montana, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of Senate joint resolution No. 4, a resolution relating to international affairs, and pledging the support of the State of Montana to the President, enacted by the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana and approved by S. V. Stewart, governor of said State, on the 7th day of February, 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of said State. Done at the city of Helena, the capital of said State, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

C. T. STEWART,
Secretary of State.

Senate resolution No. —. (Introduced by Mr. Hogan.)

Be it resolved by the Senate of Montana, That we renew the pledges heretofore made by this body of the moral, financial, and physical support of the President of the United States, in dealing with the grave international situation that confronts him, in any emergency that may arise and to any limit. We call the attention of the Congress of the United States to the fact that Montana has millions of acres of fertile land now unused that, if properly utilized, will produce food enough to feed a large portion of the Nation's people. That if speedy action is taken the cultivated area of the State can be tripled, and the great Indian reservations within our borders can be made to produce immense quantities of potatoes, wheat, and other cereals. Individual efforts can not accomplish the results in time for this year's planting o crops, but the combined efforts of the State and Nation can produce results in this line that would be a mighty factor in the struggle which appears to us to be inevitable.

We have great mineral resources, great water power, and great agricultural assets, and last, but not least, we have men, all of which are at the disposal of the Government for national defense.

We express as our sober and deliberate judgment the conviction that the dangers that threaten us are great enough to require and demand the mobilization of our national resources for war or peace, as the case may be, and we urge that immediate action be taken to that end. We pledge the cooperation of the State in any plan that the wisdom of the National Government may adopt for the development and use of our resources and, if necessary, will bond the State for this purpose. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President and Congress of the United States.

Mr. BORAH. By request, I present a memorial signed by a great number of citizens against compulsory military service. The memorial is not long, and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD, omitting the list of names.

There being no objection, the memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. MARIES, IDAHO, *April 1, 1917.*

To the President of the United States and the Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States, in session:

We, the undersigned, American citizens, residing at St. Maries, Idaho, belfeving that it would be taking an unfair and dishonorable advantage of the present high national tension due to the present international situation to attempt to pass a law so obviously unnecessary to meet the crisis as the universal military training measure, we petition the President and Congress, whatever their personal sentiments may be, to give us a fair deal by delaying the measure until such a time as it can be given calm and unbiased consideration.

Mr. NEW. I present a petition from the Commercial Club, of Madison, Ind., with reference to the improvement of the Ohio River. I ask that the petition be received and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HUSTING. I submit two telegrams, the first embodying a resolution adopted by the Order of Elks, of Grand Rapids, and the Second from the Order of Elks, of Janesville, Wis., expressing loyalty and support to the Government, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOYALTY RESOLUTION, GRAND RAPIDS (WIS.) ELKS' LODGE.

GRAND RAPIDS, WIS., *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. PAUL O. HUSTING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution was unanimously adopted this evening at a meeting of the Elks' Lodge at Grand Rapids, Wis.:

"Whereas the United States is now on the verge of war, therefore we, as citizens of this Nation and members of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, in meeting assembled, with malice toward none and with charity for all, but with loyalty and patriotism in our hearts and with firmness in the right, do hereby

"Resolve, That as loyal citizens, irrespective of political creed, we hereby approve of the action of President Wilson in his efforts to establish national preparedness and to maintain our integrity and honor as a Nation; that we, as members of this great American order, hereby pledge to him and to this Government our hearty and loyal support in every act to protect the safety of our citizens and honor of our Nation and the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world; that we hereby pledge anew faithfulness to our obligation to foster and promote love of country, devotion to our flag, and fidelity to our republican institutions."

W. H. CAREY, *Exalted Ruler.*

LOYALTY RESOLUTIONS, JANESVILLE (WIS.) LODGE OF ELKS.

JANESVILLE, WIS., *April 4, 1917.*

Mr. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

Therefore be it Resolved, That the Order of Elks, being composed soley of American citizens, the American flag being our emblem, we again affirm our loyalty to the flag as loyal American citizens, without regard to any party affiliation, pledge our hearty support to the President and Congress in their every act for the safety and protection of our citizens both at home and abroad and the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world; and be it further

Resolved, That should war be declared we urge Congress to immediately enact a law providing universal obligatory military training as the only efficient, just, and democratic method of defense; that we urge Congress without delay to equip our existing troops and those to be raised with the most modern appliances of war, so that the equipment of our Army and Navy shall be second to none, and that if war is declared we urge the Government of the United States to conduct it with all of its power.

JANESVILLE (WIS.) LODGE, No. 254.

Mr. HUSTING. I also present a telegram from the Wisconsin Defense League signed by Wheeler P. Bloodgood, chairman, and others, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOYALTY TELEGRAM OF WISCONSIN DEFENSE LEAGUE.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *April 2, 1917.*

Senator PAUL O. HUSTING,
Washington, D. C.:

Following telegram has been sent to the President:

"The Wisconsin Defense League has come into being as the result of the telegram sent you on February 27, and the mass meeting held March 17, which was addressed by Senator HUSTING, Representative LENROOT, and others. It has the indorsement of more than 10,000 individual citizens of Milwaukee and of organizations aggregating 30,000 more of her male population. Meetings held in six representative Wisconsin cities within the past four days have been attended by thousands, by whom the Government has been indorsed and patriotic allegiance expressed with the utmost force and enthusiasm. Madison, the State capital, had a demonstration yesterday, participated in by 15,000, and a monster meeting presided over by Chief Justice Winslow, of the supreme court, which passed strong resolutions, of which you have been advised. Other meetings of similar character are announced for this week. You will learn from reports of the recruiting officers to the War and Navy Departments that Wisconsin men are backing their declarations with enlistments. The people of Wisconsin have no patience with peace propagandists who are in great majority bent only upon placing obstacles in the way of this Government for the sole benefit of those who threaten our peace and freedom. Wisconsin is loyal to you and will stand behind you as the head of the Government. In the language of Chief Justice Winslow, we believe that 'in the midst of the greatest calamity of the ages we have taken our stand upon the side of human rights and fundamental principles of civilization. If we abandon that position now, we would shirk a plain duty and proclaim ourselves the greatest cowards in all history.'"

WHEELER P. BLOODGOOD,
Chairman Wisconsin Defense League.

Executive committee: F. R. Bacon, W. W. Coleman, Walter Davidson, Rev. Herbert C. Neenan, S. J. Guy, D. Goff, George Cudahy, John Callahan, Willet A. Spooner, Ellis B. Usher, Frank M. Hoyt, Thaddeus M. Wild.

Mr. HUSTING. I also present resolutions adopted by the Democratic county committee of Sauk County, Wis., and a petition signed by a large number of citizens of Markesan, Wis., which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution and petition were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PATRIOTIC RESOLUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC COUNTY COMMITTEE OF SAUK COUNTY, WIS.

We, the Democratic county committee for Sauk County, Wis., duly called together and assembled, do resolve as follows:

That we pledge our loyalty to our country, and hereby renew our allegiance to democracy at home and abroad. We hereby extend to our brave President in his effort to support stainless the honor of the United States our hearty and unreserved support.

We congratulate our State and the Government upon the loyal Americanism of Senator HUSTING, and as Democrats are proud of his support of our President, and we recall that our honored Senator has in the past supported with zeal that basic democratic principle of universal service.

We further commend Congressman LENROOT and all of the Wisconsin delegation who have with patriotic loyalty supported our President in the trying situation that has been and now is.

Lastly, at this solemn moment we avow that no man can serve two masters, and for ourselves and our constituents we reaffirm that we stand for the United States and ever shall.

We, the undersigned business men of Markesan, Wis., earnestly petition for the passage by the United States Congress of the joint resolution introduced in the United States Senate by Senators MORRIS SHEPPARD and JACOB H. GALLINGER, and in the House by Representatives EDWIN Y. WEBB and ADDISON T. SMITH, providing for the prohibition of the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

R. G. WILLIAMS
(And others).

Mr. POMERENE. I present sundry communications and resolutions from citizens of Ohio, which I ask may be incorporated in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the communications and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Cleveland, April 4, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: At a meeting held under the auspices of this board of education yesterday evening, at which I had the honor to preside, and which was attended by citizens of a great variety of races and stocks, the following resolution was carried by a most unanimous and enthusiastic vote:

"*Resolved*, That we, 465 citizens of the United States of America, assembled at Nottingham School, Cleveland, Ohio, do hereby declare our heartfelt allegiance to the United States of America and our support of the President in his defense of the right of American citizens and American commerce to traverse the high seas in accordance with the principles of international law, notwithstanding the edict of any foreign nation or potentate whatsoever; and

"*Resolved*, That the chairman is requested to send a copy of this resolution to the President."

Respectfully submitted.

F. G. HOGEN,
Director of Schools.

—

NORTH END IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION,
Toledo, Ohio, March 30, 1917.

Whereas our President, Woodrow Wilson, has used his utmost endeavor to keep this country out of the European holocaust; and

Whereas notwithstanding the President's endeavor to the contrary it has become quite evident that this country is becoming embroiled in war with certain European nations; and

Whereas it has also become evident that our present voluntary military system is grossly inadequate in case of serious emergency, and it is also unfair to them to rely on only our most patriotic young men for national protection: Now therefore be it hereby

Resolved, That the North End Improvement Association, of Toledo, Ohio, do hereby express our appreciation and confidence in President Wilson and pledge to him and his almost unanimous conferees in both Houses of Congress our support in upholding and carrying out the measures they shall deem wise in the premises; and be it further

Resolved, That Congress should immediately enact proper laws providing for universal preliminary education and training to commence in youth and be continued with organization and equipment at stated periods for a reasonable time thereafter; and be it

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to President Wilson and to Senators POMERENE and HARDING and Congressman SHERWOOD, and a copy to each of the Toledo daily papers.

F. M. KNIORIM,
JOHN F. JONES,
J. P. DOLPHY,
Committee.
J. F. BOSTWICK,
Secretary.

—

Resolutions adopted by Mansfield Lodge, No. 56, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Mansfield, Ohio, at the regular session of the lodge April 3, 1917.

Whereas the President of the United States has declared to the Congress that a state of war has been forced upon our country by the Imperial Government of Germany and has asked authority to use the power and resources of the Nation to defend and protect the rights and interests of our country and its citizens against the unlawful aggressions of the German Empire and has called upon the citizenship of the Republic to rally to the defense of our common country: Therefore be it

Resolved by Mansfield Lodge, No. 56, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Mansfield, Ohio, That we indorse the action of the Chief Executive of our country and urge upon the Congress united support of the administration of the Nation; and further, that we pledge our fealty to our country and renew our obligation to sustain and protect its flag and all the institutions which it represents.

Resolved also, That we indorse the proposed action of the Congress to adopt a stable and universal citizen soldiery, and we urge the passage of the measure known as the Chamberlain bill and believe it to be a reconsecration of our faith and allegiance to this great democracy.

C. HAUTZENROEDER,
Exalted Ruler.
W. A. HAMBLETON,
L. A. OTT,
CHAS. C. BEELMAN,
F. M. BUSHNELL,
Committee.

—

THE FREMONT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
FREMONT, OHIO.

At a regular meeting of the Fremont Chamber of Commerce, held this 14th day of March, 1917, the following resolution was presented for adoption by F. E. Seager:

"Whereas we believe it is the desire of our people to live in peace and amity with all nations; that neither our national leaders nor our people covet the territory or possessions of any race or people on earth; and

"Whereas we, as a Nation, have been engaged in peaceful pursuits and in the amassing of wealth for many years; as a country we are rich in agriculture, mining, and manufacturing; and being rich in lands and gold we invite attack from the powerful and envious; other nations, rich and weak, have been despoiled; only a people willing and able to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions; and

"Whereas we believe it to be a self-evident fact that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service: Therefore,

"*Resolved by the Fremont Chamber of Commerce*, That we favor the immediate establishment by Congress of a permanent and democratic system of compulsory universal military training for national defense, under Federal control, adapted to American requirements, and embracing all young men between the ages of 19 and 24 years for such period or periods of annual service as may be prescribed by law, coupled with the obligation of service in time of war up to the age of 45 years, according to each man's capacity; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we ask Congressman OVERMYER and Senators HARDING and POMERENE to favor and work for the enactment of permanent laws embodying the above or similar provisions, and that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our Congressman and to each United States Senator from this State, and that they be furnished to the press of the county."

Moved by C. L. Halter, seconded by Lester Wilson, that the above resolutions be adopted. Voted on and carried unanimously.

F. E. SEAGER, *Secretary.*

Resolutions passed by the Richland County Bar Association, April 3, 1917, regular meeting.

Whereas the Nation is on the verge of war or in a state of war; and

Whereas American ships have been sunk on the high seas by the submarines of the Imperial German Government, with loss of American lives, in violation of specific solemn treaty obligations and in violation of international law and in contempt of the decent opinions of mankind; and

Whereas the President of the United States has assembled Congress in special session and laid before it the causes that impel action in defense of national safety and honor: Therefore we, the members of the Richland County Bar, "with malice toward none," "with charity for all," but "with firmness in the right," do hereby

Resolve—

First. We approve the action of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with the German Empire, in raising and equipping troops, in the creation and the assembling of the appliances of war.

Second. We urge Congress to enact a law providing for universal, obligatory military training and service as the only just, fair, democratic, and efficient method of national defense.

Third. Should armed neutrality fail and if war must needs occur, we urge upon the Government of these United States to conduct it with all the power of the Nation, to the end that there may be a speedy termination of the horror and barbarism on land and sea, and, at last, to us civilization may be saved.

Fourth. We direct that the president of our association send a copy of these resolutions to our respected Senators, Hon. WARREN G. HARDING and Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, and our faithful Member of Congress, Hon. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK.

—

PORT CLINTON, OHIO, *April 4, 1917.*

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Port Clinton Business Men's Association, held Tuesday evening, April 3, 1917, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas conditions, which the United States of America are in no way to blame, have made it necessary for the President of the United States to sever diplomatic relations with Germany and for Congress to declare a state of war existing between the United States and Germany: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the Port Clinton Business Men's Association, do hereby pledge our undivided and unqualified loyalty to the President and Government of the United States, indorsing in its entirety the action taken by President Wilson and Congress in severing diplomatice relations and in declaring a state of war to exist with the Imperial Government of Germany; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we pledge that in thought, word, and deed we will use our utmost endeavor to the end that loyalty and patriotism, irrespective of race or class, shall prevail in our community."

Respectfully, yours,

PORT CLINTON BUSINESS MEN'S ASS'N.

—

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Cleveland, April 6, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Five hundred citizens of Cleveland assembled in Waring School April 5, 1917, approve unreservedly the recommendations in our President's message to Congress April 2, and each pledges to the utmost his person and property as the country may call for the same, to maintain the principles of liberty and justice and individual freedom which we possess to-day only because our fathers made the sacrifices now demanded of us; and we have instructed the chairman of this meeting to forward a copy of this message to our Senators and Representatives.

Respectfully submitted.

F. G. HOGEN, *Chairman.*

—

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
Cleveland, April 6, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Seven hundred citizens of Cleveland assembled in West Technical High School April 4, 1917, approve unreservedly the recommendations in our President's message to Congress April 2, and each pledges to the utmost his person and property as the country may call for the same, to maintain the principles of liberty and justice and individual freedom, which we possess to-day only because our fathers made the sacrifices now demanded of us; and we have instructed the chairman of this meeting to forward a copy of this message to our Senators and Representatives.

Respectfully submitted.

F. G. HOGEN, *Chairman.*

Mr. SHERMAN. I have a communication from a clergyman, representing what is commonly called the New Amish Church. Like some other religious organizations, its members have conscientious scruples against military service. This communication sets out more fully than any of the many I have had the nature of their scruples; and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELGIN, ILL., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been requested by the members of the Elgin congregation to consult you as to what steps, if any, it would be desirable to take in order to be placed on record officially in the various States where we have congregations as being opposed to doing military service on account of religious scruples.

While we understand that the General Staff's bill provides exemption from military service to certain sects, such as our own, whose creed forbids its members to participate in war, we, nevertheless, feel that because most of our people are of German and Swiss extraction (probably 75 per cent being native-born Americans) it would be best to make our position clear right at the commencement of war.

In explanation I wish to say that the official name of our church is "The German Apostolic Christian Church." However, in the central parts of Illinois we are probably better known as "The New Amish," while in other sections of the country we are better known under such names as "Swiss" and "Schwaben."

We would like to have it understood that we are thoroughly loyal to the Government of the United States, and that our opposition to war and military service is not influenced in the slightest degree by the fact that it is Germany who is now our enemy.

The members of our denomination have never taken up arms, either during the American wars or the wars of Europe. In the present great war our brethren in Europe—in Germany, Austria, and Hungary—have been granted exemption from doing military service in which the use of weapons is necessary.

I am inclosing a partial list of the names of the towns and cities in the United States in which our congregations are located.

Greatly appreciating your advice in this matter, and trusting that during these busy and trying days at Washington you will find sufficient time for an early reply, I am,

Very respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM STETTNER,
665 Lillie Street, Elgin, Ill.

P. S.—To make our position to you as clear as possible, wish to add that our belief rests entirely upon the Holy Scripture, which teaches us, "Thou shalt not kill."

We ask exemption from military service where it would be necessary to bear weapons.

We have congregations located at Elgin, Peoria, Gridley, Fairbury, Eureka, and Roanoke, Ill. Also a number in the rural districts. Also have a number of congregations in the following States: Iowa, Kansas, Ohio, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Minnesota, Indiana, Michigan, Oregon, and Oklahoma. I don't know the names of all the places where our congregations are located in these States, but will gladly get the names of the towns should you desire.

Mr. SHERMAN. I present an editorial from the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, a German newspaper of the city of Chicago. The editorial is of such a character, calling upon those of German birth to be loyal to the Government and to obey the laws, that I consider it important enough to ask that it be prined at length in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO OUR READERS.

The Illinois Staats-Zeitung was established over 70 years ago and ever since has not missed a day of publication in this city. During its existence it never veered from its duty to advocate good citizenship and those principles that seemed to it to be for the welfare of the people of the United States and for the best interests of this country. The United States is its native land, and to that country alone the Illinois Staats-Zeitung has always proclaimed and acted allegiance and loyalty.

For the first time in its history the Illinois Staats-Zeitung is called upon to take part in a war between Germany and the United States. It does so now as a part of this great Republic and as one of its molders of public opinion. It is unequivocally upon the side of the United States. At no time did it champion German interests or the interests of any foreign country to the detriment or in preference to the interests of the United States, and it will never do so.

Before a state of war was declared by our Congress against Germany the Illinois Staats-Zeitung printed the German view of the war events of the day, and in that respect it was but one of many papers. It expressed its sympathy for Germany as against her numerous enemies abroad, but never against the United States. It proclaimed fair play for Germany. It sought to keep the United States from declaring war upon Germany at present, believing that the people did not want war. It repeatedly announced its determination to support any course our Congress decided upon.

Congress decided to declare a state of war against Germany. The Illinois Staats-Zeitung stands behind Congress and stands behind President Wilson.

That constitutes good citizenship. There is no other course possible for a patriotic publication.

It also constitutes good citizenship for the individual. In fact, it is the plain duty of every American.

The citizen may be sorry that this country is at war with Germany. The heart may be wrung with grief. His mind may not quite grasp the importance of the matter. But the citizen should be of a contented mind. Nothing can be done to alter the fact that the United States is at war with Germany. Much harm can befall the citizen who fails to grasp that fact.

The fact is that our country—the United States—has officially declared that Germany—the fatherland of millions of the people of the United States—is the enemy of the United States. It does not mitigate that fact to assume that we are at war with the German Government. The German people stand behind their Government and the American people—all of them—must and will stand behind the American Government.

Our people of Teutonic extraction will do so.

In no way whatever should any American give counsel or aid to our enemy. Neither by uttered or written words or by acts will Americans worthy of the name assist the enemies of our beloved Republic, nor venture to defend the words or acts of our enemies, unless, indeed, our American Government finds in them comfort, aid, or advantage for the United States. Good citizenship demands loyalty in thought as well as in words and acts. Personal safety suggests it. The interest of our country compels it. The Illinois Staats-Zeitung preaches it.

For the peace of the world it would be well if Germany rescinded her decision as to unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare and ceased to sink unarmed merchantmen without warning and contrary to the established laws of nations. Prior to the War of 1812 France receded from her decrees of Berlin and Milan and thus avoided war with the United States. Were Germany to do as France did, perhaps the war between Germany and the United States would end. If that happened, then the soul-absorbing torment of millions of our citizens would end, too. Peace with honor to the United States might be concluded.

Meanwhile the war against Germany will be prosecuted with increasing vigor and skill and resources. The United States needs volunteers—men and women—for the service. Whether or not enough individuals volunteer, there will be universal compulsory military service enacted before many weeks elapse. Under compulsion all young men of certain ages and physical condition will be drafted into the service.

It will cast more credit and honor upon every young man to enlist as a volunteer rather than wait to be drafted.

The Illinois Staats-Zeitung is prepared to receive names and addresses of young men who will enlist and obtain information for them as to any branch of the service, and will forward all such names and addresses to the proper Government officials.

Mr. LODGE presented resolutions of the Freemen's Forum of Massachusetts, supporting the Government in the war with Germany and urging national prohibition as a war measure, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SUTHERLAND presented telegrams from sundry citizens of Elkins, Wellsburg, Beckley, Grafton, and Weston; of Lodge No. 411, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Morgantown; and of the Ohio County Medical Society, of Wheeling, all in the State of West Virginia, pledging support to the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions from the Chamber of Commerce of Ronceverte; from E. H. Vickers, of the West Virginia University, Morgantown; the Board of Trade of Spencer; of Clarksburg Camp, Sons of Veterans; of the Chamber of Commerce of Bluefield; of J. G. Caldwell Post, No. 21, Department of West Virginia, Grand Army of the Republic, of Moundsville; of the Board of Commerce, of Parkersburg; of Kanawha Camp, No. 2, United Spanish War Veterans, of Charleston; of Charleston Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; of Local Lodge No. 153, Knights of Pythias, of Bluefield; of Local Lodge No. 204, Knights of Pythias, of Beaver; and of sundry citizens of Lewisburg, Welch, and St. Marys, all in the State of West Virginia, pledging support to the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WEEKS. I send to the desk a statement on the subject of universal military training, signed by the president of Harvard University, the president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the president of Boston College, and one other president of a college. I ask to have the statement read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

There being no objection, the statement was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

APRIL 3, 1917.

We, the undersigned, would not put the slightest obstacle in the way of thorough and adequate training of every citizen for duties which his country may require of him. We would, however, call the attention of Congress to the fact that young men at a given age are not equally mature, and that therefore the requirement of one period of many months of continuous service after a particular birthday would cause needless hardship.

We therefore urge that several years' option be given each individual, so that his training may come at some desirable stage in his education or occupation.

We would also recommend, if possible, a division of continuous training into periods of, say, three months, connected and continued by such instruction as may be deemed wise, since there will be thereby not only a saving to the Government but, as many occupations have three-month periods of slack work, a valuable adaptation to individual conditions.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.
RICHARD E. MACLAURIN.
L. H. MURLIN.
HERMON C. BUMPUS.

Mr. WEEKS presented petitions of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. LANE) presented memorials of sundry citizens of Oregon, remonstrating against compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WATSON submitted sundry papers to accompany the bill (S. 382) for providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present a telegram from the Patriotic League of Colfax, Wash., and a petition of sundry citizens of Walla Walla, Wash., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the telegram and petitions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLFAX, WASH., *April 8, 1917.*

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.:

The Colfax Patriotic League extends hearty congratulations to you for your attitude and vote on the recent war resolution passed by Congress. In public mass meeting here to-day over 1,000 citizens unanimously indorsed the action taken by Congress and the President.

B. F. MANRING,
President Colfax Patriotic League.
S. E. RATLIFF,
Secretary.

Resolutions.

The citizens of Walla Walla and adjoining communities, assembled in mass meeting March 31, 1917, recognizing the existence of a momentous crisis in the life of the world and the probability that the course of the German Government will force our country to take part in the world war, give expression to our sentiments in these resolutions:

"That we reaffirm our fealty to those ideals of freedom, equality, and humanity which came into being with the birth of our Nation, and which, marching under the leadership of our sacred Stars and Stripes, have brought hope and ambition and advancement to all men, and that we avow our determination to defend them by peace if possible, by war if necessary.

"That we denounce the lawless and inhuman attacks on our citizens and those of other neutral countries on the high seas as a challenge to the continuance of those very ideals for which our fathers lived and died.

OBLIGATIONS ACKNOWLEDGED.

"That we recognize the present war as fundamentally a combat to the death between military despotism on the one side and free government on the other, and that we acknowledge as a logical consequence the obligation upon America to preserve not alone her own honor and her own flag from stain or defilement, but to help sustain the vital cause of popular liberty throughout the world.

"That we interpret the tremendous overturnings in Europe, and particularly the revolution in Russia, as the forerunner of changes whereby there shall become established throughout the world that genuine ideal of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, which has been the inspiration of the greatest souls in our history.

ALLEGIANCE PLEDGED.

"That in this crisis we declare the indispensable necessity of maintaining one citizenship, one allegiance, and one flag, and that we will not tolerate disloyalty on the part of any residents within our limits, and yet, while thus demanding undivided allegiance, we wish to recognize the true worth of the many citizens of German birth, who have gained our deepest regard by years of residence with us, and we therefore express our belief that the great majority of these foreign-born Americans are genuine patriots, who will contribute of their substance and lives to maintain a country as dear to them by adoption as to the majority of us by birth, and we wish, therefore, in the spirit of true fraternity, to call upon all such to rally with us around a common cause.

MORE GARDENS URGED.

"Be it further

"Resolved, as especially applicable to our local conditions—

"First. That inasmuch as the future may call for vast expenditures and consequent economics such as we in this land of plenty are little accustomed to, we recommend to city and school authorities that they undertake a systematic utilization of vacant lots and tracts around the towns for gardening purposes by boys and girls, to the end that the young people may secure lessons in frugality and industry, as well as means, both for practical support and for money, which may be used for contributing to relief work for the starving people of Europe.

"Second. That we urge upon our citizens to assist in every way the noble work undertaken by the Red Cross and other relief organizations.

THE PECUNIARY BURDENS.

"Third. That while we urge our young men to join the State guard or the National Army, we should not forget that it is oftentimes a great sacrifice for men to leave business careers and dependent families for the meager pittance of a soldier's pay, and that it is therefore a duty upon the community and Government to assist needy families thus left, as well as an obligation on the Government to increase largely the wages of soldiers, for surely men who offer time and life to the service of their country have the right to expect those who remain at home to bear the pecuniary burdens.

"In conclusion, we, representatives of this large section of southeastern Washington, recognizing our obligations as inheritors of a sacred legacy of service and sacrifice from the fathers of America, our duty to the world, and our reverent faith in the Divine Providence whose hand has been manifest in our history, do hereby pledge to our President and our Congress the loyal support of our hands, our resources, and our lives."

CONSERVATION OF FOOD SUPPLIES.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, on April 10 the National Agricultural Society held a convention in the city of Washington, and during that convention adopted certain resolutions in respect to the conservation of food supplies in the United States. I ask that the resolutions be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted by the National Agricultural Society at agricultural mobilization convention, Washington, D. C., April 10, 1917.

Whereas the United States of America is entering upon a war practically without a food reserve; and

Whereas the state of war is upon us at the very opening of the crop season, and an emergency exists; and

Whereas the limiting element of food production is labor on the farm, and disregarding military enlistment the labor supply was never so short as now, and indiscriminate enlistment from the farms with no plan for labor replacement will reduce food production below the level of absolute need; and

Whereas if an adequate food supply is to be assured, the plan for public defense must include provision for food production as definite as for service at the front: Therefore be it

Resolved, That enlistment for active service in the field should be so regulated as not to interfere unduly with the necessary supply of labor on the farm; and be it further

Resolved, That we recommend the establishment in each State of a State council of defense that will cooperate with the existing national council of defense in the mobilization of the civilian resources of the State and Nation; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of this body that suitable legislation be immediately enacted creating a Federal food commission which shall have authority and power to supervise, direct, and control the marketing and distributing of all food and clothing supplies, including specifically the right to take such action as shall be necessary, including the establishment of minimum prices, to protect the farmer and guarantee him against loss by reason of the increased production to which he is being urged; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the judgment of the advisory board of the National Agricultural Society that this is not the time in which to experiment with new and untried crops and processes. The American farmer should be encouraged to devote his principal efforts to the production of such crops and the employment of such methods as are well established in his community and as are likely to yield the maximum return in food or clothing material; and be it further

Resolved, That there is yet time in which to increase substantially the bread supply of the Nation by enlarging the area sown to spring wheat in those regions where this crop has proved to be staple. Attention is also called to the fact that we are milling our wheat wastefully, and that the flour produced by the normal wheat crop of the United States may be increased one-twelfth, or approximately 18,000,000 barrels, by milling on the basis of 81 per cent flour instead of 73 per cent flour as at present; and be it further

Resolved, That an important increase in our food supply may be made by enlarging the area planted to navy beans in the North and West and to Mexican and Topary beans in the Southwest by stimulating in every reasonable way an increase in the area of potatoes planted and of such crops as may be used for bread substitutes; and be it further

Resolved, That there is yet time in which to enlarge substantially the area planted to corn and cotton, America's two most important crops, and that by the use of manures and fertilizers and more intensive methods of cultivation the production may be greatly increased. With a corn production above normal it will be possible greatly to increase our livestock products. It will be possible under such circumstances to double poultry production within a year, to increase the milk production from one-fourth to one-third by the more liberal and intelligent feeding of the cows now being milked and to increase the pork production substantially through fall litters and through better methods of care and feeding; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge as a patriotic duty as well as an economic advantage at present prices increasing the numbers and improving the quality of breeding animals on the farms; and be it further

Resolved, That every effort be made to encourage the development of the gardening movement both in town and country and the preservation of the surplus by canning or proper storage; and be it further

Resolved, That special effort be made to use every feasible method of controlling and preventing injury to crops and animals by disease and insect pest; and be it further

Resolved, That as the production of sheep and wool in the United States has been steadily decreasing for several years past, and since the production of wool in 1916 was approximately only 285,000,000 pounds, while the normal quantity needed for manufacturing annually is over 600,000,000 pounds, and whereas the rapid decrease in the number of sheep is largely due to the destruction of sheep by dogs, that we recommend to the different State governments that adequate dog laws be enacted for the protection of the sheep industry; and be it further

Resolved, That so far as possible everyone be urged to refrain until after the planting season and during the harvesting season from making improvements which will require labor which should be employed on the farms; and be it further

Resolved, That the agricultural colleges be urged to put into immediate effect such arrangements as will make the members of their classes available for the planting of the present year; and be it further

Resolved, That the banks be urged to extend to farmers such reasonable credit as may be needed to increase crop production.

JURISDICTION OF COURT OF CLAIMS.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for a change of reference. Several days ago I introduced the bill (S. 83) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims in certain cases. At the last session of Congress this bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee, was reported favorably, and passed, but failed of action in the other House in the closing days of the Congress. When introduced at this session it was referred to the Committee on Claims. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Claims be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, which considered it during the last Congress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that order will be made.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. THOMPSON. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back Senate resolution 23 and submit a report (No. 7) thereon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 23), as follows:

Whereas differences have arisen between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. (a street railway corporation in the District of Columbia, created and existing by virtue of the act of Congress approved June 5, 1900) and certain of its employees, by reason of which said employees declared a strike or "walkout" on Monday March 12, 1917, and withdrew from the service of the company; and

Whereas the failure of the said street railway company and its employees to settle and adjust their differences has caused and is causing great public inconvenience and loss; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the public safety and welfare that the causes of the existing differences between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and its employees should be ascertained and a means devised, if possible, whereby the same may be justly accommodated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate, who are hereby given full authority to investigate the cause or causes which have occasioned the present strike by the said employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co., and to report the result of its investigation, with such recommendations as it may deem proper to make, to the Senate at the earliest possible day, and the said committee or subcommittee thereof is hereby given power and authority to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testi-

mony under oath as to all matters and things covered by this resolution and to employ such clerical and stenographic assistance as may be necessary in the premises, the expenses of said committee to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. THOMPSON. The report accompanying the resolution is short, and I ask that it be read.

The Secretary read the report, as follows:

The Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred Senate resolution No. 23, authorize the expenditure of the money for the investigation provided for in the resolution, but report the resolution back to the Senate for reference to the proper committee.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I am going to make the point of order that the committee has no power to direct the reference of the resolution. This resolution was sent to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate under the statute which requires that every resolution of that character which calls for the expenditure of money shall be scrutinized and sanctioned, or scrutinized and not sanctioned, by that committee. They have discharged their full duty when they authorize the expenditure of the money. The resolution is now before the Senate for action. I presume under the rule, however, it will go over on objection for one day; but I first want it understood that I make the point that the committee is going far beyond its jurisdiction when it suggests to the Senate, or to the presiding officer of the Senate, that a resolution should be referred. Matters of reference are settled here. Motions with regard to reference are made here.

Pending a decision of that motion, I am going to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, if this resolution, when offered, could have been referred to the appropriate committee to consider the subject matter of the resolution, it would have been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. That committee has the subject matter of the resolution under its jurisdiction; but it could not go to that committee for consideration until it had been referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and it was, of course, properly referred by the presiding officer.

Mr. HUGHES. I am not complaining about that.

Mr. SMOOT. The statute provides that—

Hereafter no payment shall be made from the contingent fund of the Senate unless sanctioned by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, or from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives unless sanctioned by the Committee on Accounts of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate for the purpose of having that committee sanction the expenditure of the money necessary to conduct the investigation if a committee of the Senate or the Senate itself should decide to make the investigation. Mr. President, this same course has been followed time and time again since I have been a Member of this body.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit an interruption, I should like to have him indicate a case where it has been done. I know that the Senator's own committee—I examined the records and minutes of the committee this morning—has refused to do the very thing that he has succeeded in having this committee do in reference to this case. The Senator is as familiar with those precedents as I am, but whether the committee attempts to usurp that jurisdiction or not makes not the slightest difference to me. It goes beyond its province when it suggests a reference to any committee. It is charged with the duty of deciding whether or not this is a proper expenditure of money. When it decides that, its functions are ended as the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. The Senate itself is perfectly capable, without direction from the Senator or the committee of which the Senator is a member, of deciding whether there shall be a reference of this resolution to a committee, or whether it shall act upon it at once. The Senator knows that, of course, as well as I do.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the Senator asks me to name an instance where the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate have simply reported back to the Senate sanctioning the expense that may be incurred on account of the investigation. I want to say to him that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] introduced here a resolution in reference to an investigation of certain questions involved in the interstate-commerce law. He wanted an investigation. That matter was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate because it involved the payment of moneys out of the contingent fund of the Senate. The Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate reported to the Senate that they sanctioned the expenditure necessary to carry on the investigation, and it was immediately referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce for that committee to decide the advisability of entering upon the investigation.

Mr. HUGHES. Because that committee was to make the investigation.

Mr. SMOOT. No, Mr. President; only a part of the committee was to make the investigation. The members of the committee were to be named. A part of the committee from the House and a part from the Senate were to make the investigation, if authorized.

Mr. HUGHES. Exactly. It was perfectly proper, although it was no part of the duty of the committee to make any recommendation.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the report made by the committee this morning simply sanctions or authorizes the payment of the expense, whatever it may be, attached to this investigation, if the investigation is made, and asks that the resolution be referred to the proper committee. The presiding officer can decide as to what committee that may be, and of course the subject matter is under the jurisdiction of the Committee on the District of Columbia. There is no question in my mind that it is perfectly regular.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not think the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate can bind the action of the Senate at all on a question of that kind.

Mr. SMOOT. No; nor do I suggest such a thing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The recommendation is not doing any harm, and it is not doing any good that the Chair can see, unless the Senate carries it out.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I am not very familiar with the procedure of the Senate; but it seems to me that a resolution of this character should have been referred first to a committee to determine whether or not the investigation should be entered upon. Certainly it was not in contemplation that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate should pass upon the advisability of such an investigation as this, and the language of the statute governing such matters seems to imply just that. It uses the word "sanction," evidently contemplating that the merits of such a proposition shall first be investigated by some other committee, and then the matter shall be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate so that it may sanction the expenditure, provided such expenditure is first deemed necessary.

I think the resolution in the first instance should have been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia or some other appropriate committee, and that committee should have determined whether or not it was advisable to have the investigation made; and if it determined in the affirmative, then the resolution should have been referred to the committee simply to investigate the status of the fund to determine whether or not the fund would stand it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, it has been the almost universal custom of the Senate that when the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate reports covering the point of there being sufficient money in the contingent fund to warrant an investigation, if it is a question of moment, of substance, then the matter goes to the proper committee for consideration. If the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate reports upon a mere resolution paying money to the family of a dead employee, for instance, that concludes the matter; but in all questions such as this—and this is a very important matter—there is no question that it ought to go to the proper standing committee for consideration and report. I trust, therefore, that will be done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is not this the situation: This is a Senate resolution. It comes back with a report from the committee, with a recommendation that the Chair does not think either helps or harms any. It can be taken up by unanimous consent and agreed to without going to the committee, or it can lie over a day if there is objection, or any Member of the Senate has a right to move to refer it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly. Then, Mr. President, I move to refer the resolution to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks that motion is in order.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, that motion is debatable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks not. He will see in a minute, but he thinks not.

Mr. HUGHES. Well, I will not attempt to debate it, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. At this time the Chair does not think the motion is debatable.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I will not attempt to debate it, but I will ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to refer the resolution. I think everybody understands the situation and what is going on here, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH]. I do not see him in his seat, so I withhold my vote.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when Mr. GOFF'S name was called). I desire to state that my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], is detained at home by illness.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (when Mr. LANE'S name was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. LANE] is ill. I wish to have this announcement stand for the day. I also desire to announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] has been called out of the Senate on official business.

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I am paired with the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN], who is absent. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. SAULSBURY (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] to the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and vote "nay."

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER]. In his absence I withhold my vote.

Mr. TILLMAN (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] to the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] to the junior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] and vote "yea."

Mr. BRADY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN]. I observe that that Senator is absent from the Chamber, and I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. HARDING (after having voted in the affirmative). I note that the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] has not voted. Because of a general pair with him I am obliged to withdraw my vote.

Mr. OVERMAN (after having voted in the affirmative). I notice that the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] has not voted. Having a general pair with him I withdraw my vote.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. POINDEXTER] is necessarily absent on public business.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to state that the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] is unavoidably detained by illness.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS].

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 36, as follows:

YEAS—30.

Beckham	Gallinger	Penrose	Townsend
Chamberlain	Jones, N. Mex.	Sherman	Wadsworth
Curtis	Kellogg	Smith, Ariz.	Watson
Dillingham	Knox	Smith, Mich.	Weeks
Fall	Lodge	Smoot	Williams
Fernald	Nelson	Sterling	Wolcott
France	New	Sutherland	
Frelinghuysen	Page	Tillman	

NAYS—36.

Ashurst	Hitchcock	La Follette	Sheppard
Borah	Hughes	McKellar	Shields
Broussard	Husting	Norris	Simmons
Culberson	James	Owen	Smith, S. C.
Fletcher	Johnson, Cal.	Phelan	Stone
Gerry	Johnson, S. Dak.	Pomerene	Swanson
Gore	Jones, Wash.	Robinson	Thompson
Gronna	Kenyon	Saulsbury	Trammell
Hardwick	Kirby	Shafroth	Walsh

NOT VOTING—30.

Bankhead	Harding	Martin	Smth, Ga.
Brady	Hollis	Myers	Smith, Md.
Brandegee	Kendrick	Newlands	Thomas
Calder	King	Overman	Underwood
Colt	Lane	Pittman	Vardaman
Cummins	Lewis	Poindexter	Warren
Goff	McCumber	Ransdell	
Hale	McLean	Reed	

So the Senate refused to refer the resolution to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I ask that the resolution go over for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go over under the rule.

Mr. HUGHES. I understand the Senator objects to its present consideration?

Mr. SMOOT. The Senator from Utah does.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution goes to the calendar.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. KNOX:

A bill (S. 1728) granting a pension to Nancy Ellen Guthrie; and

A bill (S. 1729) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Sharp Neal; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUSTING:

A bill (S. 1730) granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Ginther; and

A bill (S. 1731) granting a pension to Thomas Kent; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 1732) granting a pension to Laura Workman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 1733) to regulate radio communication; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 1734) for the relief of William G. Welles; and

A bill (S. 1735) to create an additional judge in the southern district of Florida; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1736) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the diseases and insects affecting cigar leaf tobacco; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 1737) for releasing and quitclaiming of all claims of the United States to arpent lot No. 28 in the old city of Pensacola, Fla.; and

A bill (S. 1738) for the relief of the Southern States Lumber Co.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1739) granting a pension to Isabel Romero Rockwell;

A bill (S. 1740) granting a pension to Rebecca A. Beery;

A bill (S. 1741) granting an increase of pension to Mollie Thompson; and

A bill (S. 1742) granting a pension to Fleming R. Moodie; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 1743) to provide for the protection and preservation of the United States bird preservation on Passage Key, at the entrance of Tampa Bay, Fla.; to the Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game.

A bill (S. 1744) for the relief of W. H. Overocker; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 1745) providing for a site and building at Arcadia, Fla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1746) for the relief of the heirs of Paul Norton;

A bill (S. 1747) for the relief of the legal or equitable owners or claimants of the United States steamship *Nueces;*

A bill (S. 1748) for the relief of Mrs. Nellie E. Stockton;

A bill (S. 1749) for the relief of Edward J. Fisher;

A bill (S. 1750) for the relief of Frank A. Kopp;

A bill (S. 1751) to appropriate $95,000 for the relief of Henry W. Cook, Arthur G. Cummer, and Waldo E. Cummer, trading as Cook-Cummer Steamship Co., copartnership, for the loss of schooner barges *South West* and *North West;*

A bill (S. 1752) for the relief of Mary E. Boyd; and

A bill (S. 1753) for the relief of Luanna Ross; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRADY:

A bill (S. 1754) authorizing the submission to the Court of Claims of the claims of sundry citizens of Idaho for damages sustained by reason of the overflow of their lands in connection with the construction of the reservoir to irrigate lands belonging to the Indians on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1755) granting to the State of Idaho 2,000,000 acres of land to aid in the construction and maintenance of public roads in the State of Idaho.

A bill (S. 1756) for the relief of Elizabeth Davis; and

A bill (S. 1757) to grant certain lands to the city of Pocatello, State of Idaho, for a municipal park and for the protection of its water supply; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A bill (S. 1758) authorizing the settlement of certain outstanding liabilities of the Government by the issue of new drafts upon the return of drafts heretofore issued, and providing for settlement of the lost drafts representing said liabilities; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD:

A bill (S. 1759) to give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix the hours of labor and determine wages for employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 1760) to authorize the sale and disposal of an island in the Coosa River, in the State of Alabama; and

A bill (S. 1761) to authorize sale of certain land in Alabama to the heirs at law of Thomas Tumlin, deceased; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1762) to increase the limit of cost for the Federal building and site therefor at Birmingham, Ala.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1763) for the relief of Lieuts. E. E. Bennett, W. N. Porter, and W. W. Hicks; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1764) granting a pension to George Beals; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD (for Mr. BANKHEAD):

A bill (S. 1765) to reimburse certain fire insurance companies the amounts paid by them for property destroyed by fire in suppressing the bubonic plague in the Territory of Hawaii in the years 1899 and 1900; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JAMES:

A bill (S. 1766) authorizing the President to appoint Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army and place him on the retired list (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 1767) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tenn., three brass cannon, with carriage; and

A bill (S. 1768) for the relief of Barneybass Eastridge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1769) granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Chambers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I note that bills are being introduced without their titles being read. I do not know whether they are bills of a general character or not; but, as one Senator, I should like to have the titles of bills of a general character read.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. My colleague [Mr. LANE] is ill. At his request, I desire to submit two bills for proper reference.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (for Mr. LANE):

A bill (S. 1770) authorizing an investigation to determine the true north and west boundaries of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1771) granting an increase of pension to John J. Swain (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 1772) to provide that noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of the United States Army on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall receive the rank or rating and the pay of the next higher noncommissioned grade; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1773) to repeal a portion of the act of April 30, 1908, making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1774) to reserve certain lands and incorporate the same and make them a part of the Coeur d'Alene National Forest Reserve; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 1775) for the relief of John Green and others, of the State of Idaho;

A bill (S. 1776) for the relief of Albert E. Magoffin;

A bill (S. 1777) for the relief of Clarence Hazelbaker;

A bill (S. 1778) for the relief of William Fitzgerald;

A bill (S. 1779) for the relief of Albert Ostner;

A bill (S. 1780) for the relief of Michael C. Mizar (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1781) granting a pension to Mrs. George Rowland; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNALD:

A bill (S. 1782) granting an increase of pension to Patrick G. Conley (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1783) to make the gold certificates, silver certificates, and Federal reserve notes issued by the United States full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 1784) to provide for a Government munitions plant and supply depot at or near Pueblo, Colo.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HARDWICK:

A bill (S. 1785) prescribing the rates of postage on certain mail matter; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. SMITH of South Carolina:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 31) to increase food crop in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 32) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire by purchase the estate known as Monticello, in the State of Virginia, including the former home of Thomas Jefferson and lands surrounding the same, being about 700 acres, said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. WALSH:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 33) to relieve owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the military or naval service of the United States as officers or enlisted men from performing assessment work during the term of such service; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I introduce a joint resolution for the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL], who is absent on account of illness.

By Mr. SHEPPARD (for Mr. RANSDELL):

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 34) proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States to authorize uniform laws on the subject of marriage and divorce, and to provide penalties for enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CROW INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT.

Mr. WALSH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 30), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture be requested to transmit to the Senate information as to whether and what part of the land within the Crow Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, is susceptible of cultivation to cereal crops without irrigation; what amount of wheat or other breadstuffs could be raised thereon; and what addition to the annual food supply of the Nation would be secured, if the said reservation were opened to settlement.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.

Mr. GORE submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 31), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-fifth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding $1 per printed page; to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate.

EXPORTS TO NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 32), as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Commerce be, and is hereby, requested to furnish to the Senate a statement of the exports from the United States to the neutral countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland since the opening of the European war in August, 1914; that said statement include specifications as to the quantity, value, and classification of said exports; and that the Secretary of Commerce be, and is hereby, requested to furnish to the Senate a statement of the same scope and specifications covering exports from the United States to said neutral countries for the period of two years prior to August 1, 1914; also that the Secretary of Commerce be requested to furnish such data as may be available to him bearing upon the question as to what proportion of the exports to such neutral countries during the period of said war found their way into Germany or Austria-Hungary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

Mr. STONE. Before the resolution is acted upon——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York was recognized.

Mr. STONE. Does the Senator address himself to this resolution?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I expect to do so, Mr. President.

Mr. STONE. Very well; I thought the Senator rose for another purpose.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I simply desire to ask the author of the resolution if he will explain its object at this particular time? I am impressed with the idea that the executive departments are overrun with work. The resolution apparently calls for a great mass of information. I would like before consent to its immediate consideration is given to understand the reason for its presentation at this time.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I want to look into this matter, and I ask that the resolution may go over under the rule.

Mr. KING. I have no objection to its going over under the rule.

Mr. STONE. I will state what I desired to say. I do not wish to address myself to the merits of the resolution; but the resolution as I caught it is in the form of a request to the Secretary of Commerce to furnish such information. The form is that the Secretary be directed to do so, and I think that form is important and ought to be followed.

Mr. JAMES. If not incompatible with the public interest?

Mr. STONE. It does not go to the Secretary to decide whether it is incompatible with the public interest; it goes to the President to decide whether it is incompatible; but the heads of departments are directed to furnish information, and not requested to do so.

Mr. GALLINGER. Let it go over.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I have no objection to the resolution going over, or to its reference, but the importance of the information desired it seems to me must be obvious to the Senate at this time. I will say now that I purpose having this information to introduce at the earliest possible date for consideration a bill placing an embargo upon exports to neutral countries where it is apparent that the goods, merchandise, or property exported to those countries find their way into Germany and are an aid to Germany in the prosecution of the war against the allies and against this country.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will go over under the rule.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATIONS—CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I ask that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN], who has been called away on account of illness, be excused from serving as one of the conferees on the part of the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the general deficiency appropriation bill (H. R. 12), and that the Chair appoint the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the vacancy.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair appoints the Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] in the place of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN].

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it be until 12 o'clock on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 28) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings, returned from the House of Representatives in compliance with the request of the Senate.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move to reconsider the votes by which the joint resolution was ordered to a third reading and passed.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the joint resolution be indefinitely postponed, inasmuch as a joint resolution of the same character has passed the Senate and awaits the action of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 2 hours and 25 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 16, 1917, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 12, 1917.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

William C. Fitts, of Birmingham, Ala., to be Assistant Attorney General, vice Ernest Knaebel, resigned.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Commander Arthur Crenshaw to be a commander in the Navy from the 13th day of August, 1916.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Clarence S. Kempff,
David C. Hanrahan,
Joseph K. Taussig (an additional number in grade),
William S. Miller, and
Charles E. Courtney (an additional number in grade).

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Charles S. Kerrick,
Louis P. Davis,
Arthur W. Sears,
George C. Pegram, and
Harold G. Bowen.

Passed Asst. Surg. Wrey G. Farwell to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 2d day of October, 1916.

Asst. Civil Engineer Ralph M. Warfield to be a civil engineer in the Navy from the 14th day of January, 1917.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

William H. Pritchett,
Edward A. Greene,
Raymond B. Sullivan,
Howard H. Kipp, and
Nelson P. Vulte.

First Lieut. Frederick A. Gardener to be a captain in the Marine Corps from the 12th day of June, 1916.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Howard C. Judson,
John Potts,
Benjamin S. Berry,
Harry W. Weitzel,
Arthur J. White, and
Samuel P. Budd.

Second Lieut. William C. MacCrone to be a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps from the 12th day of June, 1916.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps from the 29th day of August, 1910;

Harry K. Pickett,
Maurice S. Berry,
Harold D. MacLachlan,
John B. Sebree,
Egbert T. Lloyd, and
Ethelbert Talbot.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 12, 1917.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

W. R. Smith to be United States district judge for the western district of Texas.

MEMBERS OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION.

Frank W. Taussig.
Daniel C. Roper.
David J. Lewis.
William Kent.
William S. Culbertson.
Edward P. Costigan.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Passed Asst. Surg. Wade H. Frost to be surgeon.
Passed Asst. Surg. Eugene H. Mullan to be surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Mather H. Neill to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. John H. Smith, jr., to be passed assistant surgeon.
Asst. Surg. Henry F. White to be passed assistant surgeon.
Dr. Joseph Thomas Applewhite to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Julius Stanley Shourds Gardner to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Paul Darwin Mossman to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Harry Stoll Mustard to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Thomas Parran, jr., to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Roy Preston Sandidge to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. John Wilson Tappan to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Richey Laughlin Waugh to be assistant surgeon.
Dr. Ralph Chester Williams to be assistant surgeon.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *April 13, 1917.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Infinite and eternal Spirit, from whom all things proceed, we are finite; Thou art infinite. We are weak; Thou art almighty. Our knowledge is limited; Thou art omniscient. The past, present, and future are as an open book to Thee. We pray for increased wisdom, strength, and courage; that we may meet the great responsibility forced upon us, with calm deliberation and an earnest determination to do the right as it is given us to see the right; that out of the world-wide holocaust may come a brighter day when men shall learn war no more, and liberty, justice, and peace shall reign supreme, to the glory and honor of Thy holy Name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, April 11, was read and approved.

PRINTING OF DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] rise?

Mr. FOSTER. At about the close of the last session of Congress permission was granted to print the diplomatic correspondence, and so forth, in reference to the war. Now, I would like to ask unanimous consent to add to that the President's message, the war resolution, and the proclamation of the President.

Mr. MANN. That is for the purpose of bringing it down to date?

Mr. FOSTER. For bringing it down to date.

Mr. MANN. Along with the matter largely submitted by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS]?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. Reserving the right to object, what is included in the previous request?

Mr. FOSTER. All of that correspondence——

Mr. BORLAND. Between our Government and the Imperial Government of Germany?

Mr. FOSTER. There is a lot of other correspondence with it.

Mr. MANN. Does that include the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a compilation gotten up by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ODD FELLOWS' BUILDING, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement relative to the amendment of the act of June 29, 1916, for the purpose of constructing an Odd Fellows' building in the District of Columbia. There is a bill pending now, which I have introduced, for that purpose.

Mr. MANN. I did not hear the gentleman's request.

Mr. RAKER. It is for the purpose of amending the act of June 29, 1916, so as to permit the Odd Fellows' organization of the District of Columbia to build a new hall.

Mr. MANN. What is the object of inserting it in the RECORD?

Mr. RAKER. It is for the purpose of getting the information to the Members so that they may at an early date hope to get it up by unanimous consent, as they have made all their contracts and made all arrangements to go ahead. The title company will not complete the contract unless the bill is enacted so as to clear the title beyond any question.

Mr. MANN. Has the bill been reported by the committee?

Mr. RAKER. The committee is not completed yet. It is the idea to get this statement in so that the Members may see the necessity for it.

Mr. MANN. I think it should be presented to the committee.

Mr. RAKER. The committees have not been appointed yet.

Mr. MANN. It should not be acted upon without a report from the committee. However, I will not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The following is the statement referred to:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. J. E. RAKER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE RAKER: Referring to the bill to amend an act approved June 29, 1906, entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate," discussed with you and Congressman JOHNSON, chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, the following is a statement of the reasons for the passage of the bill:

The property known as Odd Fellows' Hall, on the east side of Seventh Street, between D and E Streets NW., is owned by eight of the Odd Fellow organizations of the District in different interests, proportioned in accordance with the amounts contributed by each for the original purchase, and the title is held by the Grand Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia, a corporation, in trust for these several organizations.

The grand lodge itself is the owner of a large interest in the property. Recently all of the organizations interested have, by formal resolution, decided to raze the building now on the ground and erect a seven-story building, the first five floors and basement of which have been leased to an old-established business concern for a store, and the two upper floors of which are to be fitted up for the uses of the order in the District.

The contract for the building has been let to the George A. Fuller Co., and the deal made with the Washington Loan & Trust Co. and other trust companies associated therewith to finance the building project.

We have agreed to turn the building over to the contractor on May 1, and the contractor has let the contract for wrecking the old building, the work to be started on that date.

In having the papers prepared for the loan the title company raises the question as to whether or not, under the act of June 29, 1906, we can properly proceed as agreed upon.

The act of June 29, 1906, was passed by Congress at our request, to enable us to sell the old property and build a new building on another site with the proceeds of the sale. At that time we believed this plan was to go through, and the Congress readily passed the act on our request. The plan then in contemplation was not carried through, and now the title company questions whether or not the words "so to be purchased," in section 2 of the act of June 29, 1906, do not limit our right to encumber the ground to such ground as might be purchased by the proceeds of the sale of the present property instead of giving us the right to encumber the present property as well as any other property we might purchase. The title company suggests that in order to remove any doubt respecting this question we should have the act amended as provided in the proposed bill above referred to.

Every organization owning an interest in the property has joined, by formal resolution, in approval of the present plan for building the new building, and the grand lodge has authorized and instructed the grand master and the grand secretary to execute all papers required to carry the proposition through. Everything is, therefore, progressing to the end desired, and we only need to have this doubt cleared up in order to enable us to proceed.

As all of the plans and contracts have been let under the provision that the work shall start on May 1, I trust that unanimous consent for the passage of this bill may be obtained. We appreciate very much your kind offer to assist, and the assurance of Congressman JOHNSON to aid us in securing the prompt passage of the bill.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely and fraternally, yours,

E. W. BRADFORD,
Chairman of Building Committee and Representing Board of Trustees I. O. O. F. Hall.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 13. An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 14. An act making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following order:

Ordered, That Mr. UNDERWOOD be substituted in place of Mr. MARTIN as a conferee on the part of the Senate on the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior years, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep sensibility the announcement of the death of the Hon. HENRY T. HELGESEN, late a Representative from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Senators be appointed by the Vice President, to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the Senate do now adjourn.

And that in compliance with the foregoing resolutions the Vice President had appointed, under the second resolution, as the committee on the part of the Senate Mr. GRONNA, Mr. MCCUMBER, Mr. KENYON, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, Mr. JONES of New Mexico, Mr. HUSTING, Mr. CUMMINS, Mr. BROUSSARD, Mr. SMITH of South Carolina, and Mr. FERNALD.

The message also announced that the President had approved and signed joint resolution of the following title:

S. J. Res. 1. Joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same.

ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN LABOR IN WAR AND PEACE.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement on the attitude of American labor in war and peace.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona asks unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement on the attitude of American labor in war and peace. Is there objection?

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 13, the Army appropriation bill, for the purpose of moving to disagree to the Senate amendments and ask for a conference. I will state that I do not see the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] here to-day, but he and I had an agreement.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 13, the Army appropriation bill, disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. That is the military appropriation bill?

Mr. DENT. That is the Army appropriation bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none and appoints the following conferees: Mr. DENT, Mr. FIELDS, Mr. QUIN, Mr. KAHN, and Mr. ANTHONY.

PRINTING OF DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reverting for a moment to the matter of the document that has been ordered printed by unanimous consent, the compilation made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], I understand that under the order there will be only about 1,300 copies printed. I think there ought to be more copies than that. I can not give a cost estimate, so I will not be able to answer any questions as to the cost.

Mr. MANN. I suggest to the gentleman that the Committee on Printing might properly report a resolution, if some one will introduce it, providing for additional copies.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The matter is now in print, so I am informed, and the proofs are in the hands of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], and the sooner we have them printed the sooner we will get the benefit of this document. I do not hesitate myself to take the responsibility of asking unanimous consent that 10,000 copies be printed of this document.

Mr. MANN. I think it ought to come from the Committee on Printing, I will say to the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] objects.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing certain telegrams from Colorado relative to a very important matter of legislation that is pending here.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. GARNER. Upon what subject, Mr. Speaker? Over here we can not hear the nature of the gentleman's request.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. On the subject of military preparedness and compulsory military service.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, if I understood correctly a moment ago, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] asked unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD along the same line and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER] objected. Now, it seems to me that if objection is going to be made to one gentleman extending his remarks in the RECORD, there should be some understanding as to what the policy will be.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following are the telegrams referred to:

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I strongly urge adoption of national compulsory military service; believe compulsory service the only solution that is fair to all. Large majority of acquaintances agree with me in this.

FORD M. P. TAYLOR.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Please work and vote for universal military service bill.

WILL HOWARD SWAN.
ANNA C. SWAN.
MABEL DAVIS.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
Washington, D. C.:

We strongly urge the adoption of universal military service as against the volunteer system; we have given subject much thought and believe compulsory service the only solution fair to all. This opinion is undoubtedly shared by large majority of your friends in this section, and we urge your support of the plan.

CHAS. L. TUTT.
WM. THAYER TUTT.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
Washington, D. C.:

I believe that universal military service is vitally necessary for the welfare of this country, and I would therefore, respectfully, urge that you use your best efforts to the passage of the bill now before Congress or some modification thereof looking forward to that end.

WILLIAM A. OTIS.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I understand there is doubt of the passage of universal liability to military service bill. A very great majority of men of my acquaintance strongly favor this, thinking it the best and fairest solution and strongly urge your support on this.

HAROLD INGERSOLL,
Broadmoor, Colorado Springs.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
Washington, D. C.:

As mother of four sons, think universal liability military service only solution fair to all. Other mothers feel same way. Urge your strong support.

MARY MCKENZIE GAMBRIL.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
Washington, D. C.:

Notice a very strong sentiment here in favor of universal service.

F. DREXEL SMITH.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

As two of your constituents we wish strongly to urge you to vote for selective conscription and compulsory universal military service. Believe this to be view of majority of our townsmen.

LIDA M. and CHARLOTTE M. TOUZALIN.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

As one of your constituents I wish to urge upon you the support of the President's program for universal service, feeling that an attempt to raise an army on any other basis will prove ineffectual and might result in national humiliation. In expressing my views I reflect the sentiment here of patriotic citizens with whom I am thrown in contact.

W. M. VANCE.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I wish to add my most earnest and sincere indorsement of the sentiments expressed in the telegrams of Hamlin, Penrose, and others sent you to-day. Colorado is without question in favor of compulsory service, and looks to you to save it from the misrepresentation of HILLIARD and KEATING.

CHAS. T. FERTIG.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We have been surprised to learn that you have some doubt as to the wisdom of universal military service. Believing as we do not only that this is the fair way of recruiting an army, but is, in fact, the only way which will prove effective, we urge you to back the President in his recommendation for universal service, not only with your vote but with your influence, as nothing could be more humiliating at this time than to attempt to raise an army by the volunteer system and fail. We are now at war and believe that such being the case only the most effective and far-reaching methods should be employed. In sending this telegram we believe we voice the sentiments of a vast majority of this community.

C. C. HAMLIN.
E. P. SHOVE.
J. ARTHUR CONNELL.
SPENCER PENROSE.

—

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Congressman CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,
Washington, D. C.:

Please wire at our expense for publication your position on universal military service bill.

EVENING TELEGRAPH.

—

EVENING TELEGRAPH,
Colorado Springs, Colo.:

Your telegram received asking for my position on universal military service bill. I am and have always been in favor of universal military training, and generally opposed to the draft in raising an army except where volunteer service has failed to meet conditions. That in this war it may be necessary to enter into some form of selective conscription, the outlines of which have not been presented for consideration, I have no doubt. I do not desire to declare myself favoring any pending legislation until fully acquainted with exact provisions. I want to assure you, however, that having supported the war resolution I shall support such legislation as may be deemed necessary for the vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful and speedy termination, believing in this course I will reflect the patriotic sentiment of my constituents.

CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I renew the request I made a moment ago, to extend my remarks in the RECORD as indicated.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COMSTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting resolutions passed by the authorities of Perdue University, and letters by men and boys in the Friends' School in Indiana, respecting the military bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a lot of resolutions, letters, and telegrams.

Mr. FITZGERALD. What are they about?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York inquires what they are about.

Mr. COMSTOCK. They are in reference to the military-training bill, and two or three resolutions have been adopted by organizations of the Society of Friends, who, of course, are opposed to war, but asking in the event that the bill for universal military training be passed there be an exemption from service of those who entertain that belief.

The SPEAKER. They are letters and telegrams concerning the bill for universal military service, and asking exemption of Friends in case of a draft.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I object. We can not print all of those letters.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York objects.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an article by the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture upon the shortage of the food supply.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EMERGENCY BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now I move, Mr. Speaker, that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of House bill 2762, to authorize an issue of bonds to meet the expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union to consider House bill 2762. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] will please take the chair.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 2762, with Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 2762, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, in presenting this bill we take the first step in financing the biggest, most momentous enterprise ever undertaken by the Government of the United States.

This bill contains the largest authorization of bond issues ever contained in any bill presented to any legislative body in the history of the world. I am happy to report that this bill has a unanimous approval and indorsement, and has the unanimous vote of the entire membership—Republican, Democratic, and Progressive—of the Ways and Means Committee. [Applause.]

The terms of the bill are simple. We provide for the issuance of $5,000,000,000 of bonds and an additional issue of $2,000,000,000 of one-year certificates of indebtedness. The terms and conditions of the bonds—that is, as to the maturity, the payment, the denomination, and all terms and conditions—are left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury and the President, except that they must bear interest at not more than 3½ per cent per annum and do not possess the circulation privilege. The proceeds from the sale of $3,000,000,000 worth of these bonds are to be used by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, in their discretion, to loan to foreign Governments in war with the Imperial German Government. In other words, the bill provides that this Government, through the Secretary of the Treasury and the President, can purchase of foreign Governments their bonds, not to exceed $3,000,000,000, but such bonds must have the same terms and conditions, the same rate of interest, the same maturity, and all other conditions as the bonds of the United States have.

It is provided further that if, before December 31, 1918, Congress should authorize an issue of bonds with a greater rate of interest than 3½ per cent, then the Secretary of the Treasury, at the option of the holder, can convert the bonds already issued under this act into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest.

It is provided further that the bonds of the foreign Governments which we buy with the $3,000,000,000 must also have those conditions; that is, that they must also be convertible into obligations bearing the higher rate of interest if we increase the rate of interest on our bonds in order to make them more salable.

Two billion dollars of the proceeds of this five billion dollar bond issue will be used by our Government for itself in the prosecution of the war.

The $2,000,000,000 of certificates authorized to be issued, bearing interest at a rate not to exceed 3½ per cent, are payable within one year from the date of issue, but they can never exceed, or there can never be outstanding, an amount in excess of $2,000,000,000. This is made necessary for the reason that the Government must have the money with which to prosecute the war, and taxes will not be available within perhaps a year; a sufficient amount of taxes will not be available within perhaps 18 months or 2 years, and therefore this issue of bonds becomes necessary.

Another provision in the bill is that the bonds already authorized for the construction of the Panama Canal and available to be issued, amounting to $222,000,000, and for the shipping act, amounting to $50,000,000, and for the nitrate plant, the Danish West Indies, and the Alaskan Railway, and the $150,000,000 worth of bonds that we authorized on the last day on which we met before the adjournment of the last Congress, and also the bonds to meet the Mexican situation, amounting to about $162,000,000 already authorized, shall bear when issued interest at the rate of 3½ per cent, the same as these other bonds. The interest rate was 3 per cent in the original acts.

Mr. MADDEN. Will it interrupt the gentleman if I ask him a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADDEN. It is proposed that these bonds shall bear 3½ per cent interest, and if new bonds are found to be necessary at a higher rate of interest, that the interest rate on these bonds shall be increased.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Have we the power to legislate to bind the European nations, whose bonds we take, to issue new bonds at the higher rates of interest that we shall have to pay?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think we have the power to bind them, but it provides that the Secretary of the Treasury and the President shall make arrangements with the Governments whose bonds we buy, so that, if we have to increase the rate of interest, they will be likewise obligated to increase the interest rate of their bonds to the same rate of interest that our bonds will bear.

Mr. MADDEN. The bonds of the allies are selling below par——

Mr. KITCHIN. I will answer the gentleman. We have to trust the Governments to whom we loan the money, for the reason that we have no power to legislate for them nor have we any power to make them pay for the bonds, even at 2 per cent, or at 5 per cent, or at 8 per cent. We have to trust them, of course.

Mr. MADDEN. I am asking for information only.

Mr. KITCHIN. I know that.

Mr. MADDEN. I am not trying to embarrass the gentleman.

Mr. KITCHIN. Not a bit. I will not let the gentleman embarrass me.

Mr. MADDEN. We have about $700,000,000 of bonds already issued, which are held by the national banks of the United States on deposit for circulation, which bonds bear 2 per cent interest. What effect will the issuance of these 3½ per cent bonds have on the value of the 2 per cent bonds held by the national banks?

Mr. KITCHIN. It will have no effect at all, because the value of those bonds is based, of course, upon their circulation privilege. These bonds which we are now proposing to issue will not have the circulation privilege. If they were to have the circulation privilege, of course, there being so many on the market, and there being so many other bonds held which would be in competition with the bonds having the circulation privilege, this bond issue would reduce the value of the 2 per cent bonds.

Mr. MADDEN. The bonds issued by the allies are selling below par. Is it proposed that we shall take those bonds at par in exchange for our bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is the proposition.

Mr. MADDEN. It seems to me we ought not to appropriate money out of the Federal Treasury to take bonds selling below par and pay par for those bonds.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit me——

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. SHERLEY. Is it not true that it is not contemplated that bonds now issued by the Governments of the allies and now owned by individuals are to be taken by us, but that what is contemplated is that bonds from the allied Governments, with terms similar to those of ours, shall be taken to such extent, not exceeding $3,000,000,000, as in the discretion of the President may seem proper?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is correct. The bonds will be purchased from the foreign Governments, not from individuals. There is not to-day in existence a bond of any foreign Government that meets the terms of the bonds provided for in this bill which we must buy.

Mr. MADDEN. The mere fact that new bonds are to be issued by the Governments of Europe, to be exchanged for the bonds issued by the Government of the United States, will be no evidence that they will be worth any more on the market than the bonds already issued by those Governments.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; to be candid, I do not think they will be worth par, but that is not the protection for us to consider.

Mr. MADDEN. Why not?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would oppose any purchase of bonds of the allied Governments if it was not going to help us more effectively to prosecute this war. That is the very object of it, and we leave it to the Executive, to the war-fighting power of our Government, to use the $3,000,000,000 for the best interests of this country in order to quicken the termination of the war in which we are engaged, and if the Executive thinks that a loan to a foreign Government is the best way to do it, I for one am willing to give him such authority. The Constitution provides that the President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

Mr. MADDEN. I realize all that, but the Members of the House and Senate ought not to be mere automatons. They ought to get information upon which to base their judgment. Although the people of the United States recognize the fact that the President is at the head of the Army and Navy and charged with the prosecution of the war, I apprehend they do not expect the Members of Congress to sit here and blindly do the things that are expected to be done without finding out why they are doing those things.

Mr. CALDWELL. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. CALDWELL. Is it contemplated that any firm of bankers or brokers or fiscal agents of a foreign country are to collect any commission or revenue of any kind whatsoever by reason of this loan?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is expressly provided that no commission shall be allowed or paid on any bonds issued under authority of this act.

Mr. CALDWELL. Has any inquiry been made to see what kind of a contract the fiscal agents of these foreign countries in the United States have as regards any additional bonds that are sold here?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; we have not investigated that, because it is not necessary under the provisions of this bill, which forbids the paying of any commissions.

Mr. CALDWELL. The bill forbids the Government paying any commissions, but does it forbid anybody in the United States from collecting commissions from a foreign Government? Let me tell the gentleman what I have in mind. It is the usual and customary thing in the financial district in New York that when a country or a company or any kind of a concern or aggregation of people are endeavoring to float bonds to obtain money for the fiscal agent to take a contract not only for those bonds but for future issues of bonds providing that it is to get them at a certain rate and a certain commission. Now, for instance, if the contract held by J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. with the foreign countries that they represent specified in advance, before we issue these bonds, that on all bonds sold in the United States, whether through their office or through some other office—that is the usual term—they should receive all over and above 98 and a commission of 2 per cent, then what protection have we that J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. are not going to collect 4 per cent on the bonds issued?

Mr. KITCHIN. We have no protection in this bill and could not put any such protection in this bill if they already have such a contract. This bill reposes confidence in the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, and they are to issue these bonds. They are to take the bonds of the foreign Governments, and I believe that they will protect the interests of the United States as well as you or I or our committee of the House could do it.

Mr. CALDWELL. I do not want the gentleman to understand for a minute that I have not as much faith in the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury as he has, but the point is this: This legislative body is about to practically instruct the purchase of $3,000,000,000 of bonds. Now, if there is in existence a contract between a foreign country and a citizen of this United States or a citizen of any other country by which that person is going to collect $100,000,000 for our purchase I think we should put something in the statute to stop it.

Mr. STEENERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. STEENERSON. I notice, by section 7, that one-fifth of 1 per cent on the bonds and one-tenth of 1 per cent on the $2,000,000,000 certificates, amounting in all to $12,000,000, is given to the Secretary of the Treasury in a lump sum for the purpose of meeting the expenses of issuing these bonds and certificates. Can the gentleman explain why the Secretary of the Treasury should not perform this work on the same conditions as he runs the Treasury? This is more money than we appropriate to run the whole Treasury. It gives him $12,000,000 with which to do what he pleases and to play favorites, and we will have more trouble than we had in the Civil War.

Mr. KITCHIN. With every bond issue that we have authorized for the last 50 years we have provided for one-tenth of 1 per cent to meet the necessary expenditures of the issue.

Mr. STEENERSON. This is one-fifth of 1 per cent.

Mr. KITCHIN. One-fifth of 1 per cent for the bonds and one-tenth of 1 per cent for the certificates of indebtedness. The Secretary of the Treasury came before our committee, at our request, and explained all that, and the full committee considered it. At first some took the view that the gentleman is now taking, but finally the committee was practically unanimous, and the opinion was that this was necessary and that it was a fair and reasonable amount to be charged. The gentleman must remember that the cost of printing and everything else has advanced about 100 per cent.

Mr. STEENERSON. The gentleman knows that the whole cost of running the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is only $4,000,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Has the rate been raised from one-tenth of 1 per cent to one-fifth of 1 per cent on the theory that the actual cost for providing these bonds has doubled?

Mr. KITCHIN. That entered partly into it, but the cost of advertising and the placing of bonds of such an immense amount throughout the United States was, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, who has looked thoroughly into the matter and consulted with the Government experts, thought to be necessary. We are not experts and I do not believe many of us are, and we preferred to take the view of these men who are experts.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Let me say that the one-tenth of 1 per cent for the issuance of bonds which has been appropriated heretofore has been more than ample, and the mere suggestion that advertising will be so much greater——

Mr. KITCHIN. That is only one factor.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will not justify the $6,000,000 additional. For my own part I should be glad to have the gentleman give any facts more than the one that there has been some increase in the cost of advertising.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will give the gentleman the further fact which would increase it, and that is the reissue of the bonds provided for in case the bonds do not sell for 3½ per cent. In that event, the cost of the new issue would be as much as the original issue.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That may be, but that all comes out of the new issue.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know whether or not it will cost more than $10,000,000, but I do know that the experts who have been doing this work and the Secretary of the Treasury have considered the matter thoroughly, and it is their opinion that this is a reasonable amount and that they ought to have it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Knowing something about experts, I venture the opinion that nobody in the Treasury or anyone else can justify an authorization of one-fifth of 1 per cent for doing this work. [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. I can not see how the Government would lose anything. Suppose it does not cost $12,000,000; suppose it costs only $8,000,000; we will have $4,000,000 unexpended.

Mr. FITZGERALD. On that theory we might appropriate the whole proceeds; but that is not the way we run the Government.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will repeat what I said a while ago. We have to take somebody's expert knowledge, somebody who knows the intricacies and the technicalities of such work, in preference

to the opinion of the gentleman from Minnesota or the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. SABATH. If I am not mistaken, the gentleman made a statement that the bill provides for interest at 3½ per cent, and that if for any reason the bonds should not be sold at that rate we are authorized to reissue them.

Mr. KITCHIN. To convert them.

Mr. SABATH. To convert them into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Has the committee considered—and I suppose it has, for there is this provision in the bill—that it may retard the sale of the bonds at 3½ per cent; that people will refuse to purchase them at 3½ per cent but will want to wait to secure a higher rate of interest?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say that that is not the view of the Secretary of the Treasury or the administration. We discussed it fully.

Mr. SABATH. I think that that language ought to be eliminated.

Mr. KITCHIN. We finally concluded that it would be best to leave that language in, considering the immense amount of bonds we had to float.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HOWARD. In what denominations will these bonds be issued? Are they going to be put within the reach of hundreds of thousands of people of this country who want to make a small investment? Are you going to give us any baby bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say to the gentleman that the denomination of the bonds was left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, but it is provided that they shall first be offered as a popular loan to all of the people.

Mr. HOWARD. In what denomination?

Mr. KITCHIN. Such denomination as the Secretary of the Treasury may conclude will be best for their sale.

Mr. HOWARD. I see it is suggested in the press that some of these bonds would probably be issued at $20. Does the gentleman know whether any of them would be issued in that denomination?

Mr. KITCHIN. I am sure that many will be issued as low as $50, and perhaps they will be issued as low as $20. I do not know; but they will be issued in whatever denominations it is believed will be most conducive to the purchase by the people generally by popular subscription. The Secretary will fix the denomination.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, the bill provides that these bonds shall be first offered as a popular loan at not less than par, and as to any bonds not so disposed of it is provided——

Mr. KITCHIN. That they can be disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury on the best terms that he can make.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does that give the Secretary of the Treasury authority to dispose of the bonds at less than par?

Mr. KITCHIN. That was not called to our attention, but in reading the bill carefully I think the power would really be given to him to do that.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Would be?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think so, under the bill.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does the gentleman think it would be wise, if it is demonstrated that we can not float a popular loan at par, that the bonds should be offered otherwise at less than par?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Secretary of the Treasury has the power to do it, I understand from that provision.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Have we reached the point yet where we should authorize anyone to dispose of the bonds of the United States at less than par? I think that is a very serious question, and I ask it so that the gentleman will discuss it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Suppose it is less than par; suppose after the Secretary has submitted this to popular subscription, there should be three billions taken at 3½ per cent, and he can not sell the remaining two billions at 3½ per cent—that is, at par—and he must take either ninety-eight or ninety-seven, then either the Secretary of the Treasury has to be given that power or else Congress has to give him the power by special act.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Not necessarily. We might still dispose of our bonds at par by providing a higher rate of interest.

Mr. KITCHIN. One or the other.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Let me suggest to the gentleman that if we sell $3,000,000,000 of bonds at par by popular subscription and then sell the same bonds to the extent of $2,000,000,000 to the financial syndicates at less than par, we will have a result that we have been condemning for many years.

Mr. KITCHIN. We will not sell the bonds in that manner.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I imagine that is the only way they can be sold, if they can not be sold at par.

Mr. KITCHIN. So the gentleman's remedy would be to sell them at 4 per cent if we can not sell them at 3½. If that be so, we would not sell any at 3½.

Mr. FITZGERALD. My remedy would be, if they are not sold at popular subscription, then to dispose of them otherwise at not less than par, because I believe we can compel these bonds to be taken——

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that when the time comes I shall have no objection to that amendment.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am asking the gentleman for his views upon the matter. I have my own.

Mr. KITCHIN. I myself would prefer to provide that we should not sell them below par.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It involves such a tremendous question in our fiscal policy that the matter should be seriously considered.

Mr. KITCHIN. If we should adjourn and the Secretary of the Treasury can not sell the bonds at 3½—that is, the balance—he would have to wait until we got back here, or we would have to come back in extra session to give him additional authority.

Mr. FITZGERALD. From conferences which I have had with men who are familiar with financial conditions I am assured that $5,000,000,000 will not scratch the available money resources of the United States for the use of the Government at this time. We ought not to discredit our own bonds at the outset.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that I am sure every man on the committee, when he voted for this bill, thought the Secretary could not sell any of the bonds under any circumstances for less than par; but after reading the bill this morning I came to the conclusion that really by the words of it he could, although it was not the intention to so provide. I propose to bring that matter up with our committee before we finish the consideration of the bill, and discuss it with the committee before I offer a committee amendment. I am sure the committee, as well as the Secretary, was under the impression that they should all be sold for not less than par.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Does not the gentleman think the very fact that there may be some permissive authority in the bill to sell bonds in the future at less than par would influence a great many people in the country to withhold purchase at first?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is correct.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Instead of going on the market at first?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Whereas if it was made positive they could not get them below par, they would come in at first and buy them?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said to the gentleman, I have made note of this, and I intend before the bill is passed, when we get to the consideration of it under the five-minute rule, to call together our committee and put this proposition before it.

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will first yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Chairman, the Farm Loan Bureau of this country is offering bonds at 4½ per cent with the security of 50 per cent agricultural loans. Now, will these bonds sell at par? Will these bonds sell above par?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know, but I think these bonds will sell at par; I do not know about the farm-loan bonds.

Mr. LOBECK. They are 4½ per cent bonds and are secured by 50 per cent of all of the best agricultural land in the country.

Mr. KITCHIN. I should think they would sell at par.

Mr. LOBECK. And they are sold under the guaranty of the Government.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MASON. I want to call the attention of the chairman of the committee to the fact that I think he is laboring under a misapprehension as to the cost and the process of the distribution of bonds in the past. I remember distinctly the sale of the first bonds—I think of $200,000,000—for the Spanish War.

The law in that Congress, which I propose to offer as an amendment to this bill, provides for a public distribution, substantially as the gentleman has it in the bill, with this addition—that those who subscribe in the smaller allotments be made first; and I presume from a reading of the bill that that might be done and that that would be a matter of discretion with the Secretary of the Treasury. But upon the question of cost I have here before me Mr. Gage's report. I remember dis-

tinctly he, as Secretary of the Treasury, opposed the distribution of these bonds by popular loan, saying that it would cost more. Now, as a matter of fact, that loan was small; it was infinitesimal compared with what we are about to do; and yet over 240,000 people subscribed for sums of $500 and less, just as they would do now probably, only in a larger number and larger amounts. I have his report as to the cost, and it is eighteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent upon that small loan; and I would respectfully suggest, and I expect to offer, unless the chairman can convince me that it is unnecessary, that this amendment should go on, saying that the bonds should be allotted to the smaller subscribers first, and not only that there should be no commission paid, but that there should be some assurance in the legislation, not that we have any doubt about the honesty of the Secretary of the Treasury, but in order that there may be no mistake made, that there should be some provision made that in accepting these foreign bonds, with our bonds practically as security for them, that there should be no adjustment or arrangement made with the banking houses whereby large amounts of money which have been made from the sale of bonds in the past could be made in the future.

In other words, I hope the chairman will see the propriety of putting in an amendment allowing allotment to the smaller bidders first. An examination of Mr. Gage's report will show that it costs less that way than in any other way; but the thing we want to do, as it seems to me, is to put the people of this country in close touch with the administration of this Government. The chairman of this committee and I both voted against this declaration of war; but, speaking for myself, we are now at war and everyone of us, of all convictions, have determined to do that thing which is best to make a successful termination of that war, and to that end there is nothing so important as to inspire the people of this country with confidence, respect, and affection for the administration, and there is nothing that will bring it so near as to follow the Biblical injunction that "where your treasure is there will your heart be also." [Applause.] If you will put these bonds—the $20, these $50 bonds—out in the post offices, as you did in the Spanish War, I believe they will be subscribed for forty or fifty times over by the people. I simply suggest to the chairman this idea in favor of the amendment which I propose to offer.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I do not know that I can answer all of the gentleman's question; but I will say, appreciating the reasons that the gentleman has given, that we inserted this provision in the bill which will cover his proposition:

The bonds herein authorized shall first be offered at not less than par as a popular loan, under such regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury as will give all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity to participate therein.

I presume the Secretary of the Treasury will take the same view as the gentleman does. We felt also that these bonds should be issued in such denominations or in such terms as will get just as many American citizens to take them as possible, but we were of the opinion that it was best to leave this matter to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. MASON. I do not want to delay the gentleman——

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield.

Mr. MASON. Just for a suggestion: Would it not be better to put in the old law, the law of 10 or 20 years ago, that allotments should be made to the first small subscribers? It does not embarrass or delay it in any way, and I hope that that will be put in the bill.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I understand the gentleman is going to consider some suggestions——

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I want to call his attention to the fact that if the committee intends to make section 2 effective for the purpose intended without further action by Congress the language specifically appropriating the money must be contained in it. Now, there is one other thing. I understand these credits are to be extended under our war power under the general-welfare clause?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I had in mind to offer this amendment, but I shall suggest it now and submit it to the tender mercies of the gentleman's committee.

Amend section 2 to read as follows:

To enable the President more effectively to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government by establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments at war with the Imperial German Government during the continuation of the war between this country and the Imperial Government.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman——

Mr. FITZGERALD. What I had in mind was this: That in the first place we ought to state the purpose of the issuance of these bonds. They ought to be limited to Governments at war with the Imperial German Government, and the power ought to be restricted to the duration of the war.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that another similar amendment has been submitted to me. That is, in line 21, page 2, after the word "Governments," insert "in order to more effectually prosecute the war in which the United States is now engaged." That would cover about what the gentleman wants.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It would not limit the Government with which credits might be established. I presume the purpose of this is, as we all understand, to aid the nations now at war with Germany.

Mr. KITCHIN. I imagine as a matter of policy it would not be the wisest thing to put in the names of the Governments in that way.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not naming any Governments.

Mr. KITCHIN. And I repeat again that, on line 21, page 2, after the word "Governments," it strikes me this should go in, and that it would cover your proposition, not entirely, but the spirit of it: "In order to more effectually prosecute the war in which the United States is engaged." I think that that is needed there, and possibly needed for another purpose, namely, in order to make this absolutely constitutional and so that it is a war measure. Because in times of peace I have very serious doubts whether under the Constitution Congress can appropriate money to buy bonds of foreign Governments; but when you put such a provision in the bill it makes it a war measure entirely, and I think it eliminates any doubt as to its constitutionality.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. The language the gentleman suggests would not in fact be any restriction whatsoever upon the Secretary?

Mr. KITCHIN. It would not be, except that we thought it best and wisest not to mention any governments.

Mr. LENROOT. If it was confined to belligerent Governments.

Mr. KITCHIN. The administration thought it was not advisable to put such a provision in the bill. And I will say, personally, that some of us were in favor of putting it in.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say to the gentleman that on page 2, line 21, after the word "governments," I had intended to offer an amendment as follows: "at war with Germany." The gentleman will recall that that question was discussed, but the question of expediency and propriety at once arose as to whether it might not hamper the President in certain "arrangements," which is the word used in the bill, that he might desire to make with certain nations to more speedily bring the war to a close, not necessarily nations engaged in the war with Germany.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is true.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield for a further question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. Is there any reason why this authority given to the Secretary of the Treasury should not be restricted to the duration of the war between the United States and Germany?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should think that the whole point and intent would be that.

Mr. LENROOT. But this may go on as permanent legislation as it reads. Hereafter, 10 years from now, they could loan the money of the United States to Mexico or to the South American Republics.

Mr. KITCHIN. As it is, that might be true, but not if you put in the words which I suggested.

Mr. LENROOT. The gentleman concedes that is not a restriction at all?

Mr. KITCHIN. I concede that when you put in the words "in order to more effectually prosecute the war in which the United States is engaged" it would. I would say it could not be after peace was made.

Mr. LENROOT. Would the gentleman have any objection to expressly stating in the bill that authority shall terminate when peace is declared between the United States and Germany?

Mr. KITCHIN. It think it would with the amendment I suggested.

Mr. FESS. We are at war with Germany, but not with Austria or Bulgaria or Turkey. Will the loan to the allies, which are at war with these three countries, be regarded as an act of war against them?

Mr. KITCHIN. I really can not tell the gentleman. I will say it is necessary not to confine it to Germany, because we do not know what other steps we may have to take in the future. We do not know what countries we may be at war with before peace is reached. We may be at war with this country or that in our war with Germany, and therefore it would be unwise to limit it to Germany, because then we might have to come back in an extra session and put in a provision for war with other countries.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, in answer to the suggestion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], if we were at peace and were to lend money or give direct Government aid to certain nations at war, that would be an unfriendly act as to such nations' enemies. But all of the countries that the gentleman has mentioned are aiding the country with which we are at war with men and supplies. That has not forced us into war with them, and our supplying moneys to the nations that are fighting with us against Germany under existing circumstances can not properly be held as an act of war on them.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a further interruption?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. FESS. I am rather of the opinion that our loan will be considered as an act that is unfriendly, but I agree with the chairman that I do not see that we can do anything else.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask the gentleman if there is anything in this bill that prevents the allies who receive this money—this $3,000,000,000—from the United States from taking up former issues of bonds now in the hands, for instance, of their agents in this country?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes.

Mr. HAYES. Should there not be express language in there limiting those bonds to be exchanged for absolutely new issues?

Mr. KITCHIN. The bill expressly provides that the bonds shall be purchased from the foreign Governments on equal terms with the bonds we authorize to be issued, so that could not apply to the bonds of any foreign Government in existence, because there is not in existence any such bond which would comply with the terms that would be put into the United States bonds under this act. They must be bonds hereafter issued, purchased by this Government.

Mr. HAYES. The thought I had was this: There is nothing to prevent these foreign Governments from taking up these higher-rate bonds bearing, some of them, 6 per cent interest and issuing in lieu these bonds or taking the money and retiring those bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. There is nothing specifically to prevent that, but I can hardly conceive that that would be done. If we are going to lend this money to the Governments that we are cooperating with to more effectively prosecute this war, why not leave it to them to expend the proceeds in any way which their judgment tells them is the best way to achieve success in the prosecution of this war and not limit or qualify the use of that money? [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. I presume it might be the best policy, but some time ago I read an article in which it was stated that Great Britain, in making loans to its allies, the smaller and poorer nations, made provision before she agreed to lend this money that all of these moneys that Great Britain is to advance to its allies shall be expended in Great Britain. Now, I do not know, but the chances are that the same arrangement could be made in this case, so that the moneys that will be loaned by this Government to the allies can be, and should be, expended in the first instance in the United States if it can be done. I wish to say that if Great Britain can do it and has successfully done it and has made such arrangements, I do not see why our Government can not make the same arrangements and agreements.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that if we are going in whole-heartedly to cooperate with the allies in war against Germany, I would not be in favor of qualifying or of limiting their right to expend that money in any way they see fit. [Applause.]

Mr. BUTLER. They are fighting our battles.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. You will understand that they will be fighting with our money their battles, and we will be fighting with our money our battles, too. I will say to the House that the committee has considered what the gentleman has suggested, and we are of the opinion that most of this money that we will loan to the allies for the purchase of their bonds will of necessity have to be expended in the United States.

Mr. BUTLER. They can not use it anywhere else.

Mr. BORLAND. Now, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do.

Mr. BORLAND. On the question of the popular nature of this loan, I want to ask the gentleman whether his committee considered the application of these bonds for the investment of postal savings bank money? You know the postal savings bank money is not now drawing 3½ per cent, and it is accumulating very rapidly. In the last two years, I think, it has nearly trebled, so that there is a large fund now on hand in the postal savings banks which is not drawing 3½ per cent interest. Has the gentleman considered that question?

Mr. KITCHIN. We considered the question of the postal savings banks and other financial institutions as well as people of wealth and people of moderate means, and we expect they will all subscribe to this, and it will be to the interest of the postal savings banks' depositors to buy these bonds.

Mr. BORLAND. Would it not require a special provision in the bill for that purpose in the interest of the postal savings bank depositors themselves?

Mr. MADDEN. The postal savings bank law provided for that very thing.

Mr. KITCHIN. I believe so.

Mr. HAYES. I merely want to suggest the thought that I had, that we should see to it that the money that we seek to provide is used for the prosecution of the war, and not to pay old obligations.

Mr. KITCHIN. That can not be done with this money, and I think it will not be done.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. McFADDEN. I want to ask the chairman of the committee whether he or the other members of the committee have considered the possible effect of this issue of $3,000,000,000 of securities on the $641,000,000 worth of bonds at 2 per cent already issued?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said earlier in the day, that will have no effect, in my judgment, because the value given to these bonds to which the gentleman refers arises from the fact that they possess circulation privileges, whereas the bonds authorized by this bill do not possess the circulation privilege. The bonds possessing the circulation privilege will be unaffected by the issuance of these new bonds.

Mr. McFADDEN. The gentleman contends that the circulation privilege will maintain the market value of the bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I think that is true.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. There is so much confusion that the proceedings can not be heard. I ask the Chairman either to ask Congress to adjourn or else have its Members listen to this argument. Those gentlemen who want to talk and can not remain quiet while this discussion is going on ought to be requested to retire to the cloak rooms. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order made by the gentleman from Michigan is well taken. Gentlemen will please be seated. All gentlemen will please be seated except the two engaged in the colloquy. Gentlemen on the right of the Speaker's stand and gentlemen on the left will please cease conversation.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Chairman, the thought I had in mind in connection with that was simply this, that the national banks of the country are carrying to-day six hundred and forty-one million and odd dollars of these 2 per cent securities. I have no doubt that those banks are very much concerned over the issuance of this large amount of securities bearing a much higher rate of interest. I do not quite agree with the chairman in his statement that it will not affect the price of those securities. The bankers of this country are patriotic, and they will invest largely in the new issue of securities. Now this bill that is before us to-day provides for an exchange and a refunding of certain other of the securities, namely, the $63,000,000 of 3 per cent bonds which mature in 1918. The thought occurs to me that in connection with this matter the same exchange privilege should be given to the holder of these 2 per cent bonds that is extended to these other securities.

Mr. KITCHIN. There will be no objection to that, provided the circulation privilege is taken from them. But I will say to the gentleman that I have discussed this matter with bankers who hold some of these 2 per cent bonds, and they do not have that fear.

Mr. SNYDER. I agree with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN]. I have talked with several bankers this last week, and I do not find any such situation as my friend suggests. I think the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] is right about it. The bankers and people of the country look upon this as a protective, patriotic loan, and there will not be any question about their being taken at par, and there is no occasion for any fear of some one offering them for less or more later on, because, in my judgment, there will not be

any to offer in a short time after they have once been offered to the public.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am inclined to agree with the gentleman.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. MADDEN. I have some information that just came through the mail which I would like to give the gentleman. One thousand Russian rubles are equal to $510 United States money. Russian bonds bearing 5½ per cent interest sold in Chicago at $273 per thousand rubles, and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland bonds, secured by $120 to each $100, bearing 5½ per cent interest, sell to-day at $950 per one thousand. Now, how would the value of these bonds be fixed in exchange?

Mr. KITCHIN. The information which the gentleman has there shows the necessity of this bill and the necessity of our Government helping the allies, especially Russia.

Mr. MADDEN. The question is whether we shall hand them $2 for $1.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not regard that as a question of so very much importance, I will say to the gentleman from Illinois. We are in this war. We ought to do everything possible to help not only the United States, but to help those who are cooperating with us in this war. We ought to help the allies, and if their bonds have gone down to 80 or 75 or 50 per cent, all the more necessity exists for us to loan them this money at the lowest possible rate of interest, because they are helping to fight our cause. [Applause.]

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I do not know whether there is any impropriety in asking this question——

Mr. KITCHIN. If there is, there have been more improprieties committed this morning than I have known in a long time——

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I should like to know to what Governments we are going to make these loans.

Mr. BUTLER. To any Government that is cooperating with us.

Mr. KITCHIN. The loans will be made to some of the Governments that are fighting the war with us. I would not care to mention any particular Government.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will suggest to the gentleman that I understand that Great Britain, France, and Russia have pooled their finances and have agreed to share among themselves in certain proportions the expenses of the war. Therefore it is quite important to know whether we are making this loan to the allies as a group or merely to the separate nations.

Mr. KITCHIN. That would be in the discretion of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, but, in my opinion, it would be to the separate nations.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. They will not be bound as a group?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not think they will be bound as a group.

Mr. ANDERSON. Section 2, on page 2 of the bill, provides—

That for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President is hereby authorized—

And so forth. I want to suggest to the gentleman this language instead:

That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national defense and carrying on the war by the establishment of credits in the United States with foreign Governments engaged in war with Germany, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized—

And so forth. It seems to me there are only two purposes for which we can make this loan. One of them is to provide for the national defense and the other is to carry on the war, and that those purposes ought to be expressed in this section.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that before we reach the five-minute debate I will be glad to consider the language he suggests. It strikes me favorably right now, but I have not time to discuss it at length now.

Mr. ANDERSON. In reference to the appropriating language of this section, it seems to me it would be very much better if instead of the language used in the last sentence of this section, which is, "For the purposes of this section the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use not exceeding $3,000,000,000 of the proceeds of the bonds of the United States that may be sold under authority of section 1 of this act," the language I have suggested should be used.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think the gentleman is correct about that. There are some suggestions made by the gentleman from New York also which I think are good ones.

Mr. DEWALT. Referring to section 2, lines 24 and 25, I find that authority is given to the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, to buy the obligations of foreign Governments, which shall bear the same rate of interest and contain in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States. The question I desire information upon is this: In the judgment of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, does that clause preclude the possibility of buying the present outstanding bonds of these foreign Governments?

Mr. KITCHIN. It does.

Mr. DEWALT. How does it thus preclude them?

Mr. KITCHIN. Because in the first place you must have bonds of a foreign Government in terms equal to our bonds, the same terms in all essentials with the bonds provided for by this act, and, as no bond of any foreign Government complies in any way with these terms, therefore they are not bonds that can be purchased. The only bonds that can possibly be purchased under the authority of this act are bonds to be hereafter issued by foreign Governments. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. DEWALT. Now, if there be such bonds, the question which arises in my mind, Mr. Chairman, is this: In looking over the stock reports last evening I found that the French bonds now are quoted in the New York market at 94. I do not know at what figure they were sold to the French customers nor what the syndicate paid that purchased them and distributed them, but in my mind there arises this possibility, that the French people who bought the bonds might, at the instigation of the French Government, or the English Government if they were English bonds, return them for a small premium to their respective Governments, and this clause provides that the United States shall buy these obligations at par. Therefore, if there be any outstanding bonds of these respective Governments which are similar in their terms to these bonds proposed to be issued by the United States, the purchasers of the bonds who heretofore obtained them might again sell them to their respective Governments and they would make their small profit, and their Governments would make a profit by selling them at par to the United States. Therefore it strikes me, Mr. Chairman, that the suggestion made by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee ought to be incorporated in the bill that these bonds, if purchased by the United States Government, should be exclusively such bonds as are to be hereafter issued.

Mr. KITCHIN. They are excluded by the very terms of this bill. They are to be bonds hereafter to be issued. But suppose they were not. Take France, for instance, how would it help France to get a billion-dollar loan from us if it had to take it and pay bonds for an indebtedness already incurred? What she needs is a billion dollars to prosecute the war; she wants the money to buy new provisions, new supplies, for new purposes. There would be no sense in her doing otherwise.

Mr. DEWALT. That is rather foreign to my question.

Mr. KITCHIN. I say that it is impossible under the terms of this bill for this Government to purchase from a foreign Government any bonds that have now been issued; they must be bonds issued hereafter, for the reason that there are now no bonds which will comply in the necessary essentials with the bonds authorized in this act.

Mr. DEWALT. Does not the gentleman think it would be the part of wisdom to make it definite in that regard and incorporate the language in the bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. Let us see how much more definite it would be:

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase from such foreign Governments—

Not for Tom, Dick, or Harry, who now hold those bonds—

at par, their obligations, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this act.

That is absolutely exclusive.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I will get through in five minutes.

Mr. MANN. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman's time be extended one hour.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from North Carolina be extended one hour. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield for a question in that connection?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. MANN. There is nothing in the bill which would prevent a foreign Government issuing bonds for the purpose of paying off the indebtedness which it now holds in this country and obtaining bonds from the United States?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is true, if it issued new bonds.

Mr. MANN. Under this bill we would have to buy the foreign bonds from foreign Governments. Take the case of Russia, which desires to establish credit in the United States. There is probably no way it could more firmly establish credit than by paying off the indebtedness which it has already incurred in the United States. Is the gentleman able to say whether, in any of the plans which have been suggested, money that is practically and really loaned to the foreign Governments is to be used in the United States in the main for the purpose of purchasing supplies of various sorts or for the purpose of paying off some of the bonds which are now below par?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is my understanding that it will be used for purchasing supplies, and not for paying past indebtedness.

Mr. MANN. I am not sure which would help the Russian Government the most.

Mr. KITCHIN. But suppose it did; suppose the Russian Government owed a billion dollars. If she paid that billion dollars off to-day, it would establish credit for another billion dollars, and she could buy another billion dollars' worth of supplies on credit.

Mr. MANN. Very well. I agree with the gentleman about that.

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said, I think this money will not be used that way, but will be used to get new supplies and new munitions of war.

Mr. MANN. I do not know which way would do the Russian Government the most good, but I think it would be the sentiment of everybody here that the stockbrokers, or our good friends, the financiers of Wall Street or elsewhere, ought not to be able to thimblerig the matter in such a way that they would be able to collect in full for Russian rubles that are now worth only 50 per cent of par.

Mr. KITCHIN. I agree with the gentleman about that.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. In reference to the same section which provides that the bonds purchased of foreign Governments shall contain in all essentials the same terms and conditions as the United States bonds authorized to be issued in the act, is not one of the essential terms and conditions the time of payment?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. Expressed in the obligation?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LENROOT. Then I would like to ask the gentleman what is meant by the language in lines 3 to 5 on page 3 authorizing the secretary "to enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign Governments and for the subsequent payment thereof." What does the language "subsequent payment thereof" mean when the term of payment is expressed in the obligation itself?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that we were expressly informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that probably some of these bonds, while they may be for, say, 15 or 20 years, would be paid back in perhaps 5 or 6 years, and we permit him to accept payment of those; and there is another provision of the bill that he should apply such payments, if paid, before maturity, to our bonds, but not to pay any premium therefor.

Mr. LENROOT. Then should not the language contain the limitation that the authority to arrange for subsequent payments should not extend beyond the life of the bonds? Ought not Congress to determine that question?

Mr. KITCHIN. If Congress is going to permit the Secretary of the Treasury or the President to fix the date of maturity of our bonds, why should we try to control the date of maturity of foreign bonds, when the law itself provides that they shall be of the same maturity?

Mr. LENROOT. But the language "subsequent payments thereof" would practically vitiate the promise in the foreign obligation as to time of payment through a separate agreement made by the Secretary of the Treasury collateral to and outside of the terms of the bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say to the gentleman, of course, just reading exactly what he did, that he might at first get that inference, but I will ask him to read section 3, which provides:

That the Secretary of the Treasury, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, is hereby authorized to receive, on or before maturity, payment for any obligations of such foreign Governments purchased on behalf of the United States—

And so forth.

Mr. LENROOT. Does not that affect that question? In other words, the question is this: Ought there to be a separate agreement, not expressed in the obligation itself, as to time of payment other than payment before due?

Mr. KITCHIN. Does the gentleman contend that by any language in this bill the Secretary of the Treasury could extend the payment of a bond of a foreign Government beyond the dates specified in the bond itself?

Mr. LENROOT. There is no question about it. You give him that absolute authority in that language.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say to the gentleman that, in my opinion, there is nothing in the language of the bill in spirit or which through any strained construction could empower the Secretary to do that.

Mr. LENROOT. If here is an obligation maturing in 1918, and we give the Secretary of the Treasury, as you do in this language, power to arrange for subsequent payment of that obligation, you give him power to extend the time of payment.

Mr. KITCHIN. That just shows the gentleman did not read two or three lines beyond that, just cut off by a comma—

but such arrangements shall provide that if any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations shall thereafter be converted into other bonds of the United States, * * * then and in that event the obligations of such foreign Governments held by the United States shall be, by such foreign Governments, converted in like manner and extent into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States issued under the provisions of section 5 of this act.

Then section 3 provides that he may receive payment before due, and in section 2 there is a provision that these bonds shall have the same essential terms and conditions. What is an essential term? The maturity thereof, the rate of interest, the amount, are absolutely essential.

Mr. LENROOT. The gentleman is a lawyer, and he well understands the elementary rule of law that general language and general authority are controlled by specific language and specific authority, and if Congress gives the right to the Secretary of the Treasury to make a different contract than that contained in the obligation with reference to a specific term of that obligation, the specific authority controls the general language.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from North Carolina will permit, I will say to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] that my understanding of that language is that it does not give the Secretary of the Treasury power to extend the time of any bonds which foreign Governments have issued, but it does give him power to accept payment prior to the maturity of the bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is all there is to it.

Mr. HILL. It is directly the opposite of the contention of the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. Would the gentleman have any objection to so expressing it—that the subsequent payment thereof be before maturity?

Mr. HILL. I do not see how any language could violate the contract that will be made. I think it does give him power to accept voluntary payment before, and it was suggested in the committee that possibly some of these bonds which we take would be paid before becoming due by the foreign Governments.

Mr. LENROOT. That is my only point.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would not object to that amendment at all.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will permit further, it will not be possible for me to participate in this debate as I would like to. I intend to vote for this bill just as it stands, if it is not amended. If I had my way personally, I would make one amendment, and that would be this: It covers all of these questions which have been asked in the last half hour, in my judgment. I do not believe it is possible to specify now in this bill the purpose for which this money shall be used that is loaned to foreign Governments. We do not know what is ahead of us. I do not believe it is possible—although I did prepare an amendment to that effect and then did not offer it in the committee—to specify to what Governments it shall be loaned. We have got to trust the future and the persons who will then have control of it. I wish to broaden that control. I recognize, if the gentleman from North Carolina will pardon me, that the time is going to run and conditions will change materially before we can know what we must face ultimately. What I would like is to see a permanent committee chosen from the representatives of the people unite in some way with the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to the present and future disposition and management of this loan.

I would like to see the gentleman holding the position occupied by the gentleman from North Carolina named on such a committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], from the Appropriations Committee, named on such a committee, and all parties and all views brought together by naming Mr. GILLETT and the corresponding member on the Ways

and Means Committee, Mr. FORDNEY, all to unite with the President in the control and disposition of this money in the future. I would ask the same of the two corresponding committees in the Senate. These committees are standing committees. Congress can not do it, because Congress may not be in session; but a small committee, covering the representatives of the people, the committee that raises the money and the committee that expends it, might act with the President in regard to this enormous financial transaction, the greatest the world has ever seen. I do not want to distrust the President and I do not want the President to distrust the American people in this matter. [Applause.] Let us go forward unitedly as one people, with no party distinctions, in disposing of and controlling this amount during the entire life of this bill, which may be 30 or 50 years; nobody knows what it will be. Let them be brought all together in the control and disposition of this great sum of $3,000,000,000, which can only come from the resources of the people. That is the only amendment you can make which will fully meet the situation, Mr. Chairman, and you well know it. Presidents change and Secretaries of the Treasury change, but I hope that the legislative power of the people may continue. We know that no proposition specifying countries can go in here safely now; that no proposition specifying how this money shall be spent can go in here safely now. We have got to trust somebody. Let us trust the American people. [Applause.]

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Chairman, by the question asked by the gentleman from California [Mr. HAYES] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DEWALT] and the suggestions of several gentlemen on the floor, it is apparent that the idea carried in this bill is not understood relative to the foreign bonds, many gentlemen having the understanding that this money could be used to buy our bonds outstanding in this country now. Therefore would it not be wise—I offer this as a suggestion to the chairman of the committee—that an amendment be made in line 24, page 2, after the word "obligations," by inserting the words "hereafter issued"?

Mr. KITCHIN. I really do not see any harm in such an amendment, and I would not object to that, but I do not think it would add anything to it.

Mr. HELVERING. I understand that——

Mr. KITCHIN. But it will do no harm, and if it would satisfy gentlemen I do not think I would object to it.

Mr. DEWALT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DEWALT. I would suggest with reference to the proposed amendment of which the gentleman has just spoken that the amendment be on page 3, line 2, after the word "act," in this form: "Amend section 2 by inserting in line 2, page 3, after the word 'act,' the words 'but such purchases of obligations shall be confined to obligations authorized and issued after the passage of this act and shall not apply to any obligations authorized or issued prior thereto.'"

Mr. KITCHIN. I would suggest that the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Kansas covers that exactly.

Mr. SHERLEY. If the gentleman will permit, why talk about something that is beyond even an eventuality and is simply impossible? These bonds now issued by other Governments bear interest way above 3½ per cent. What Government with any common sense would undertake to issue those obligations to this Government when they could issue new obligations at 3½ per cent?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have explained that a half dozen times.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. In reference to the suggestions that have been made by gentlemen that the loan we make may be used by foreign Governments to cover obligations already issued, is not this the fact: If you make this great loan, the greatest in all history, it will be for the purpose of sustaining and extending the credit of foreign Governments at war with our enemy?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is true.

Mr. MONDELL. We shall accomplish our purpose best if we use these funds in the way by which the cause of these foreign Governments will best be sustained and their credit extended, and what if they should refund some of the bonds now outstanding in order to bring them under the provisions and conditions of this bill?

If in the opinion of these Governments such action would best sustain, extend, and strengthen their credit, will we not have accomplished just what we have set out to accomplish through that method? And therefore why should we be disturbed if by reissuing or refunding, some obligations already resting on foreign Governments, they may be relieved through the loans we make? [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. I assume the committee has given consideration in authorizing this loan to the question of security, and I would like to inquire, because the question is one I think very pertinent, as to whether any information was furnished the committee as to the time of the maturity of these bonds? Many believe that it might involve us ultimately in entangling alliances if these bonds are ever to be owned by this Government, and when peace has been declared the sooner that we relieve ourselves of this bonded indebtedness the better for the welfare of the country in following out the policy long established of merely confining ourselves to American affairs. Now, I wish to ask whether any information was furnished the committee as to the duration of these bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. The Secretary of the Treasury said, however, that he thought some of these Governments would be able to meet their obligation in some four or five years after the loan was actually made, and especially after peace. But we thought best under all the circumstances and facts presented to us to leave the date of maturity to the discretion of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. The date of maturity is going to be the same as the date of maturity in the United States bonds that we issue.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Does the gentleman have any knowledge as to whether or not there will be any existing contracts by which there must be commissions paid to certain bonding houses in this country for any bonds that are sold in this country?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I have no information on that.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Does not the gentleman think it would be wise, in order to carry out the intention of this particular act and to give the very highest degree of results to the people with whom we deal at the lowest possible expense to them, that we should write a provision in this bill forbidding the payment of commission by any foreign Government whose bonds we shall purchase to any concern in this country for that purpose, or anyone else?

Mr. KITCHIN. As you will see on page 2, line 18, no commissions are allowed in any way for the issuance of any bonds authorized under this act.

Mr. RAGSDALE. That is, our bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. Now, so far as a foreign Government is concerned, I doubt whether we are in a position to legislate on that subject, and I for one am willing to leave it to the President and the Secretary. We have to leave a great many things of more importance and of more momentous character than this to them, and I believe that they will purchase those bonds and see that they are issued in a way that will redound to the real interest of the Governments to which we make this loan.

Mr. LONGWORTH. If the gentleman will permit, this bill provides we must deal directly with the foreign Governments.

Mr. RAGSDALE. While I understand that this bill provides that we shall deal directly with the foreign governments, if the gentleman has had any experience in financing of loans for people who are borrowers from some of these big loaning concerns, he knows that, no matter who gets a loan in certain localities, under the contracts that they have with their general agents, no matter who places them, they receive a commission. Now, why should not the United States Government say that regardless of any condition that now exists a new condition has been created under this act by which we come into the war, by which we propose to protect our allies in giving them this credit, and by which they forbid any American citizen from taking any commission from any foreign Government where we take their bonds. Why is it not within our power to control the acts of American citizens and make it an improper thing for them to do?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I have said several times, I think, so far as I am concerned, I will not be bothered about that. I believe we will be protected. The interest of the allies to whom we loan the money and our interests will be protected by the President and by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will yield.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from South Carolina has raised a point that, to my mind, is crucial in this whole matter. I assume that we want to avoid entangling alliances, and I assume that if we attempt to dictate to a foreign nation to which we have loaned money the terms on which it shall deal with anybody else, we interfere with its internal affairs. I question whether the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE] or any other Member of Congress

would tolerate for a minute a suggestion from a foreign Government as to whom we should employ to do business for us. What we want to avoid is such entanglements as will involve us in the political or economic conditions of foreign Governments. They stand on their own ground and we stand on ours. They make their own terms and we are making ours. We are protecting ourselves, therefore, from the dangers the gentleman has in mind.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I should like to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania if it is interfering in any way with the power of the country whose bonds we buy if we say it is improper for a bonding house in the United States, or for citizens in the United States, to take commissions out of the money which we are taxing the people of the United States to carry on the war?

Mr. KITCHIN. Do you believe that the President and the Secretary of the Treasury at this moment, when it is our purpose only to help the allies, would permit any foreign Shylocks to gouge the allies?

Mr. RAGSDALE. Certainly not, if they can prevent it; but I would like——

Mr. KITCHIN. They can prevent it, because it is in the discretion of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. They can make any condition before they buy any of these bonds.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Now, if the gentleman from North Carolina will permit me, suppose there exists, as I believe there does exist, an agreement at this time between the allies and certain bonding houses in the United States by which the bonding houses receive commissions on all bonds sold in the United States without regard to who purchases them. Suppose they hold the allies to this agreement. The allies can not in honesty say they will not pay that commission. But if the act of the United States Government or the act of the American Congress under which these bonds are to be purchased makes it impossible for them to accept it, then the foreign Government, having that, may keep faith with the citizens of this country and this Government, because our citizens may not then violate our laws and accept that which otherwise the foreign Government would stand ready to pay. I would protect the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, and I would protect foreign Governments dealing with us and make it improper and illegal for American citizens to hold up our allies and bleed them under conditions of this kind. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. One moment, please. The Chair desires to admonish the occupants of the galleries that under the rules applause or manifestations of approval or disapproval will not be permitted. The Chair begs the occupants of the galleries to observe this rule of the House.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, I agree fully with the gentleman's premises that the object here is to assist the allies, and I want to ask him if the committee has thought of any other way than buying the bonds of the allies by which we could help them and probably assist them to get the money more readily even than they will in this way? I think that if the United States Government would make the proposition to the Imperial Government of Great Britain to buy their North American possessions, paying therefor $10,000,000,000 and issuing therefor our bonds, would that not be a wise proposition? They can sell those bonds, backed by that security, in addition to the other wealth of the United States Government, much above par, and they can get all the money they need to finance their Government and we are not taking any doubtful risks whatever. Besides, we can help to democratize Canada.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say to the gentleman that that raises such a big question that really the Committee on Ways and Means had not reached it. [Laughter.] We had not thought about that.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If the gentleman will indulge me again——

Mr. KITCHIN. I will think about it hereafter, I will say to the gentleman. [Laughter.]

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Oh, well, as to buying foreign possessions we have recently paid $25,000,000 for a little bunch of islands down here in the West Indies, and I tell you that Canada, compared with it, even at $10,000,000,000 or $20,000,000,000, would be an excellent investment, and we had better pay to Great Britain enough money to finance their war if it should last for even 10 years, and more than that, if thereby they could with the money get relays of men from their own possessions and train them and not ask us to send our boys into the trenches of Europe for a cause not really ours. [Applause.]

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HUSTED. I noticed on page 2 that the bonds we issue are to be exempt from taxation by Federal and State Governments. I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means whether he thinks the "like terms and conditions clause" would protect us against excessive European war taxes on the bonds we buy; and if that would not protect it, would it not be a good idea to provide in the bill that the bonds we buy shall be exempt from taxation in the European countries where issued, just as our bonds are exempt from taxation here?

Mr. KITCHIN. I understand that all bonds are issued with that condition in them.

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. JUUL. I want to ask the gentleman if he does not think the language between lines 12 and 19, on page 2, is apt to work injury to the sale of public bonds. The language is—

> The bonds herein authorized shall first be offered at not less than par as a popular loan, under such regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury as will give all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity to participate therein; and any portion of the bonds so offered and not subscribed for may be otherwise disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Would not that give the people the idea that, after all they had subscribed and paid at par for bonds, the Secretary of the Treasury might drop the value of the bonds and the bankers and others might get them for less? And would not an amendment of a few words—for instance, the striking out of the semicolon and adding the words "not less than par," on line 18—be beneficial?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. I think that ought to go in. I made a note of that before I addressed the House.

Mr. JUUL. I tried to sit back here and listen, but there is such a noise all around that we lose half of what we want to hear. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will again endeavor to obtain order. The Chair wishes to repeat what he stated a few moments ago. Frequently a few gentlemen will not be interested in what is going on at the immediate time and will indulge in conversation, and thereby disturb a number of gentlemen who are sitting about them who do desire to hear. The Chair thinks that gentlemen who desire to converse owe it not only to themselves but to those who are on the floor and to those who do wish to hear to retire where their conversation will not be disturbing.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I would like to ask the chairman whether or not in considering this measure the committee considered the advisability of providing that the redemption of these bonds purchased from any one of the foreign powers at war with Germany should be guaranteed by the other foreign powers at war with Germany?

Mr. KITCHIN. That was not discussed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The fact is that if we ever get this money back at all when the war is won we will get off cheap.

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. I asked that question, or made that suggestion, for the reason that I believe it will make this legislation far more popular among the people of the United States, who will thereby be led to believe that this is a business transaction—money loaned and expected to be repaid—if there is a guarantee given by the other powers, guaranteeing the redemption of the bonds purchased by any of the other powers, and for this reason: The credit of some of these nations is good while the credit of some others of them is not so good, and if we are to conduct this as a business transaction and not as a gift we ought to proceed to give the protection within the bill itself. We ought to provide that some assurance be at least given by this body, that is spending money by the billions, that some of the money may be repaid.

Mr. EMERSON. I have listened to all these questions, and I should like to ask the chairman of the committee one question: I presume the committee went over this bill carefully, did they not? [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman ought not to treat this thing with such levity.

Mr. EMERSON. I am just asking——

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; they did.

Mr. EMERSON. Does this bill have the indorsement of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said in the beginning, it has the indorsement of the President and the Secretary of the Treas-

ury and the members of the Cabinet and all the Democratic, Republican, and Progressive members of the Ways and Means Committee. [Applause.]

Mr. EMERSON. That is all I want to know.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. HARDY. If my understanding is correct, the lines at the bottom of page 2 and at the beginning of page 3 stipulate that these bonds of foreign Governments which we take must be conditioned the same as the bonds issued by us?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; in all essentials.

Mr. HARDY. One essential element of our bonds is that they are exempt from taxation. We are now occupying the position of contemplated ownership. Does not the gentleman think that it would be best to have it expressly stipulated in this bill that the bonds we buy are to be exempt from taxation by the Government issuing them ?

Mr. KITCHIN. Does the gentleman think that is one of the essentials?

Mr. HARDY. It seems to me so.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then that provision must go in the bond, so it is not necessary to insert it specifically in the bill. If that is one of the essentials, then according to the terms of this bill that provision must go into the bonds. But I will say that all Government bonds are written in that way, anyhow. I never saw a State bond or Government bond of this country or of any foreign Government that did not have an express exemption from taxation.

Mr. HARDY. I think we ought to be very sure that they are exempt.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think there will be no question about that.

Mr. HARDY. In reference to the question asked by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE], is it a fact that there is any commission agency in the United States that has a contract for a commission on the sale of these bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know. We had no evidence with reference to that. There may or may not be.

Mr. HARDY. If there were, there might arise a question as to whether such agent is entitled to the commission on these bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me say to the gentleman from Texas, suppose there was such a contract; suppose it to be right to put in the qualification which the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE] says ought to be put into this law; does not the gentleman think we can trust the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, before they issue the bonds, to do the right thing? It is in their discretion. They are not bound to do it. If they find out that there is any commission house in this country, or anybody who is shylocking the allies, does not the gentleman think they will say, "Look here, this contract must be avoided," if that is to the interest of the allies?

Mr. HARDY. Does the gentleman think that the administrative officers ought to be expected to think of every essential thing?

Mr. KITCHIN. They can find out a great deal better than you or I can whether there is such a contract between the allies and anybody in this country, or whether it is conscionable or unconscionable. We must leave that to them, and we do leave it to them. If the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE] knows of any evidence or any fact tending to sustain what he says, if he will produce it to the Secretary of the Treasury or to the President, or if he will tell me about it, I will communicate it to them, and they will protect the allies and themselves. I am sure of that.

Mr. HARDY. The only thing with me was that an inhibition of that kind would be so simple and easy to put into the bill that I did not know whether the gentleman would object to it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I would object to it, anyway, because it might be to the interest of the allies to comply with these contracts. They may be proper contracts.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Will these bonds stand on the same basis as the Panama Canal bonds and the Philippine bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. What does the gentleman mean by "on the same basis"?

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. The insurance departments of a great many States will not take Panama Canal bonds or Philippine bonds, because the faith and credit of the United States Government are not pledged to their redemption, but only the taxes derived from the pledges.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is not true of the Panama Canal bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. The Panama Canal bonds are entirely different. They are bonds of the Government direct, and I will say to the gentleman that by the terms of this very act the Panama Canal bonds to be issued hereafter are put upon an exact equality with these $5,000,000,000 of bonds which we are going to authorize here. There are $222,000,000 of the Panama Canal bonds available to be issued.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Do I understand that the faith and credit of the Government are pledged to the redemption of these bonds and stand back of these bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. Absolutely. They are bonds of the Government.

Mr. BURNETT. In regard to the questions suggested by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] and the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE] as to commissions on these bonds, it is a well-known fact that there are large houses in this country that did profit by just such commissions in negotiating the loans that the allies have negotiated in this country before, and, on the basis that they have done that, is it not a very proper and reasonable assumption that they will do the same thing again?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think there have been contracts for the purchase of munitions of war and that sort of thing, but if you will let me give you my opinion about this, I will say that I have no idea that they will make a copper cent out of any of the bonds that this Government will buy from the foreign Governments; and if they have any such contracts the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury will find it out, and they will do what is right and best and proper to protect the allies from any such contracts heretofore or hereafter made.

Mr. BURNETT. But if the contract is already made and the commissions paid, then those contracts certainly could not be annulled.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; not if the commissions are already paid.

Mr. BURNETT. How will they find it out? Probably they will not find it out until months afterwards.

Mr. KITCHIN. If we put a provision in the bill, in order to carry out that provision somebody would have to find it out. The President would have to find it out in order to enforce that provision, and if you do not have that provision in the bill he will have to find it out if he is going to protect the allies in that particular.

Mr. BURNETT. My idea is that much of the propaganda for this war was financed at least by those who had these very financial interests in view, and had we not better put a check on that now, while we can, instead of letting them do it, and then locking the stable after the horse is gone?

Mr. KITCHIN. You know, before April 5 I had a little fear that they had something to do with this propaganda, too, but I do not think about that now.

Mr. BURNETT. I want to ask the gentleman if he does not still have that fear? I do not want to commit him on that.

Mr. KITCHIN. The committee considered this phase of the matter, and I think they will be amply protected by leaving this as it is.

Mr. BURNETT. Will the gentleman yield for another question? I am not sure whether it has been gone over or not, but it seems to me from the reading of the bill that these bonds can be negotiated at less than par under the provisions of this bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. The United States bonds? Yes; we are going to amend that.

Mr. BURNETT. I hope so, because I fear that certain persons might prevent the sale of them in order to beat them down and get them for less.

Mr. KITCHIN. As I said some time ago, I am sure that the committee when they reported the bill out, although they had studied the bill carefully, was of the opinion that they could not be sold below par; but after going over the bill last night I think it probable that they might be sold below par and that we ought to correct it.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Having in mind the apprehension that has been expressed by several Members along the lines indicated, does not this situation remove any reasonable ground for that apprehension? Heretofore the foreign Governments have placed their loans in this country through the use or intervention of private concerns while, with respect to the transactions contemplated by this bill, nation will deal directly with nation without the intervention of a third party or a fiscal agent?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. I understood the gentleman to state that all the bonds that this Government has issued were exempt from

all taxes, and probably these bonds of foreign Governments would be exempt from all taxation.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think that is the custom for Governments issuing bonds to insert therein a clause exempting them from taxation.

Mr. BLACK. This act provides that these bonds shall not be exempt from inheritance or estate taxes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; inheritance and estate taxes.

Mr. BLACK. Would not it be possible for foreign Governments by means of a clause of that kind to seriously impair the sale of the bonds in the hands of the United States Government?

Mr. KITCHIN. If the gentleman will read the bill, he will see that the Secretary of the Treasury and the President shall put all the essential terms and conditions in the bond, and I presume that they will see that they will not be exempt from estate and inheritance taxes.

Mr. BLACK. Why should we not provide that they shall be exempt from all classes of taxes?

Mr. KITCHIN. If the President and the Secretary of the Treasury do not protect us in that respect, it would be perfectly legitimate and constitutional for Congress to do so. We can exempt any bonds and property from taxation or make them liable to all taxation.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. PLATT. I want to ask if the gentleman does not think the language in line 11, page 2, rather loose in so important a statement. It says, "Such bonds shall not bear the circulation privilege." That is the technical language, which bankers understand, but it is not legal language. Does the Secretary of the Treasury approve this?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. I had hoped that some one would ask this question, because I want information on it for my own benefit. In the title of this bill I notice the clause at the end, "and for other purposes." In lines 7 and 8, section 1, on the first page, also the language, "and other public purposes authorized by law." The idea that was in my mind was—and what I would like to be informed about is this—whether after the war is closed the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to sell any part of the bonds authorized by this bill to defray the current expenses of the Government, irrespective of whether they are incident to the war or not.

Mr. KITCHIN. I should say not. The language "and for other purposes" relates to section 4 of the bill—the authorization of bonds for the Panama Canal, for the construction of the Alaskan Railway, and for the Mexican situation.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Does not the gentleman think that other public purposes would also include general expenditures of the Government aside from this?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should not think so.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Another question. The gentleman referred a while ago to an amendment that the committee were considering, or might consider, making this entirely a war measure. Would that cover the point I had in mind?

Mr. KITCHIN. The bonds issued under section 1; yes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. So that the expenditure of the proceeds of the sale of the bonds would be limited entirely to war expenses.

Mr. KITCHIN. To the national-defense security. I think there will be no trouble about that.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. I notice that the bill provides that foreign bonds shall contain essentially the same terms and conditions as the bonds of the United States Government issued under the authority of this act. One of the provisions with reference to the United States bonds provided for in this bill is the customary provision that the principal and interest shall be payable in gold coin of the United States of standard value. Does the gentleman understand that these foreign bonds shall be payable in gold coin of standard value?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; of standard value.

Mr. WINGO. Not payable in pounds sterling.

Mr. KITCHIN. Gold coin of standard value; I should say that they would make them payable in gold coin.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman thinks that would be one of the essentials.

Mr. KITCHIN. If they were paid in gold coin with the same number of grains in those coins, it would be the same thing. I think I understand what the gentleman from Arkansas means by his question, that foreign bonds must contain essentially the same terms and conditions as the bonds of the United States.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Chairman, I will say I thought that; but I wanted to know if it was the gentleman's view?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. I have heard the view expressed that it was not.

Mr. KITCHIN. In other words, if we loan $1,000,000,000 they have to pay us $1,000,000,000 back in gold coin.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee whether the question of exchange, which on so large a sum of money would be an important item, has been taken into consideration. In other words, whether the obligations of these foreign Governments which we take in exchange for our bonds will be payable in the United States or payable in London, and subject to the rate of exchange?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say that they will be payable in the United States.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, I am not very clear in my mind as to the extent, if any, to which this bill is an appropriation measure in addition to being an act providing for revenue. Section 1 of the bill sets forth the fact that these issues are authorized for expenditures for various purposes authorized by law. Pages 4 and 5, section 4, set forth certain purposes for which expenditures may be made, which have been heretofore authorized by law. Lines 13 and 14, page 5, contain the language—

As may be necessary to meet public expenditures on account of the Mexican situation.

Lines 18 and 19 contain the words—

Emergency naval construction or expediting naval construction.

The question in my mind is this: Does the language that I have read authorize expenditures from bond issues for the purpose of meeting our ordinary expenditures on account of the Mexican situation and for emergency naval construction and the expediting of naval construction in addition to that which has been authorized by the joint resolution referred to in the upper part of the same page? Are we simply in section 4 authorizing the use of these funds for the payment of expenditures already authorized specifically, or are we also appropriating an indefinite sum out of these bond issues to meet the expenditure of the Mexican situation, to make emergency naval construction, and for the purpose of expediting naval construction, in addition?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say that all of these are provided for and authorized in other acts. The bonds already authorized have their terms and conditions separate from the bonds authorized by this act. Section 4 is simply to make those bonds which the Secretary has been authorized to issue conform in terms and conditions to the bonds issued under the authority of this proposed act.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman thinks there is no question about that?

Mr. KITCHIN. There is no question about it in my mind.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I quite agree with what the gentleman has said with reference to that, that that is not an appropriation and is merely descriptive; but as a matter of description, ought it not to go out of the bill? Here are certain bond issues already authorized. The amount is fixed in the provision authorizing those bond issues which provided they were for certain purposes, and now this section provides that so much of those bonds already authorized that may be necessary for certain purposes may be issued under the provisions of this act. It seems to me we ought to clearly say all of those bond issues not yet issued, where we have authorized them, may be issued under the provisions of this act, so that there will be no question as to the legality of that and the total amount that may be issued.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I believe the gentleman is correct about that. I think that is useless surplusage and may perhaps raise in some gentleman's mind a doubt as to what is meant. I think it will be sufficient to just refer to the bonds authorized under the several acts which precede the descriptive language.

Mr. MANN. Simply say that the bonds not issued, already authorized, which may be issued under the provisions of these acts or resolutions, shall be issued under the terms provided for in this bill. That would cover the whole subject.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say that is correct.

Mr. MANN. Because those acts themselves show what the purpose is.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, I would say that I think the suggestion offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] a very wise and proper one, because, first, it is a clearer statement of our intent; and

second, because while I think the committee did not intend—and the chairman assured us the committee did not intend—to make any appropriations in section 4, yet the language I have read might in the minds of some people be held to have authorized expenditures other than those already provided by law.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am confident it would not, but I believe it is better to leave out the descriptive words and thereby make it clear, so that no one will have any doubt.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has again expired.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman desire any further time?

Mr. KITCHIN. I am through, if nobody desires to ask any further questions.

Mr. MANN. I will ask that the gentleman's time be extended for 30 minutes. I think possibly the gentleman may desire a little time in which to close.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am sure, so far as I am concerned, I am through. How many more gentlemen desire to ask me some more questions?

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then I will ask the gentleman to give me 10 minutes additional.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois modify his request?

Mr. MANN. I will leave the request as it is, and if the gentleman does not desire to use the time he may not. I think the time has been very profitably expended so far.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from North Carolina be extended for 30 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWELL. Some moments ago the gentleman was discussing the negotiations in reference to the bonds of foreign governments. Heretofore loans have been negotiated by agents in this country who have received large commissions for the negotiations of those loans. Some gentlemen a moment ago suggested that these transactions would be made by one nation with the others and that agents would not take part in the negotiations. I find nothing in the bill which precludes these foreign Governments from negotiating these transactions through agents in this country.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, I imagine the agents in this country who would have charge of these negotiations would be the officials, the ambassadors of foreign Governments to our Government.

Mr. DOWELL. But should we not make provision in the bill that no commission should be paid by a foreign Government to agents in this country to negotiate these transactions that we are preparing for here to-day?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think it is not necessary. I have said several times before that we can trust the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to protect our people and the allied Governments.

Mr. DOWELL. Could there be any harm in putting such an amendment in this bill if that is the understanding of the committee?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know whether it is the understanding of the committee or not, but I would not be willing to put the language in the bill, because there might be some contracts that they have already made that are all right and some they may make hereafter that are all right. Let us leave that to the executive branch of our Government.

Mr. DOWELL. Should it not be the purpose of Congress to prevent just such contracts——

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I would rather leave that to the executive branch of our Government, which has as much interest as any of us in protecting our rights and protecting the rights of the allies.

Mr. CANNON and Mr. SMITH of Michigan rose.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman think there is any way by which the people who are not American citizens, and people who are, who have negotiated loans in this country before we were engaged in this war—and possibly lost money or possibly made money—is there any way that we can pass an ex post facto law to put them in the penitentiary?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should say no.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I am inclined to think there is as far as power is concerned, that we would have the right to put a penal provision in the bill, if we wanted to do so, forbidding American citizens from receiving any commissions growing out of any bonds issued under the provisions of this act, because no American citizen has had the right under the law heretofore to make a contract or receive commissions on money loaned by the United States to foreign Governments.

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. In a second. I do not believe you can put a provision in the bill forbidding the loaning of money to a foreign Government unless the foreign Government should refuse to pay commissions. If it had a contract which it was obliged to keep, that would not be an excuse for not helping the foreign Government. I also say this because if gentlemen want to offer an amendment on that subject it seems to me the amendment should be one not affecting the issuance of the bonds and sale of the bonds, but forbidding any American citizen from accepting any commission because of the purchase by this Government of the bonds of foreign Governments.

Mr. DOWELL. Does not the gentleman think such a provision should be put in this bill?

Mr. MANN. Well, I doubt it. If there is any probability of that occasion arising it might properly be put in the bill, but if there is no such probability—and I think any contract to that effect would be void if it was made—I doubt the desirability of sticking language of that sort in the law.

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DENISON].

Mr. DENISON. I was going to ask the chairman of the committee with reference to section 7, which authorizes the expenditure by the Secretary of the Treasury of something over $10,000,000.

Mr. KITCHIN. Twelve million dollars.

Mr. DENISON. Under the law now in force, would the Secretary of the Treasury be required and expected to make a report of this expenditure and also report to the Congress what has been done with the proceeds of these funds and the foreign Government bonds that he had purchased?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes; he will make a report; yes.

Mr. DENISON. The transactions authorized here will be included under the general law requiring him to make reports?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. When will Congress be informed of what bonds have been purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury under this law?

Mr. KITCHIN. He makes a report to Congress once a year with reference to receipts and expenditures, and I suppose he will do so in this case.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Just as a matter of information I would like to inquire this: I notice in the press that it is proposed to raise $7,000,000,000. The bill authorizes the issuance of $5,000,000,000. Is it proposed that a bill will be brought right in to cover the $2,000,000,000——

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, the bill itself provides for $2,000,000,000 of certificate indebtedness to run not exceeding one year and that makes $7,000,000,000.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And the $3,000,000,000——

Mr. KITCHIN. The $3,000,000,000 of this money is going to be offset by $3,000,000,000 of bonds of foreign Governments, so we are really out, so far as the bond issue is concerned, but $2,000,000,000.

Mr. McFADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield.

Mr. McFADDEN. I realize that our information on the negotiations leading up to this issue is very meager. I would like to ask the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee why $3,000,000,000 was decided upon as a loan to the allies? Why not $5,000,000,000 or $10,000,000,000? Was it an application or was it an offer?

Mr. KITCHIN. You could ask "Why not $1,000,000,000?" The administration, which is in full possession of all the facts that can be known of all the necessities of the several allies, and in full possession of all knowledge that could be obtained as to the whole situation, thinks that this is a proper amount; and that it will require in order to help us more vigorously to prosecute the war, $3,000,000,000 of money to loan or to buy the bonds of the foreign Governments.

Mr. McFADDEN. Let me ask this further question: Might we not be a little premature in fixing this amount, owing to the fact, as I understand it, that the minister of finance of England, Mr. Balfour, and the minister of finance of France are on their way here, and that probably in sitting around the table this amount may be changed?

Mr. KITCHIN. He is not bound to issue the entire amount.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. In the report—and I find it is a most interesting one, and I hope the chairman will put it all in the RECORD—it says the Secretary of the Treasury at the present time has authority to issue $472,000,000 worth of bonds. And then comes a semicolon. That statement means $472,000,000 plus these other issues?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. Four hundred and seventy-two million dollars' worth is the entire amount authorized and available to be issued. Let me give you a statement of this. You now have outstanding an interest-bearing indebtedness amounting to $973,000,000. Under various acts, as set out in section 4, we authorize $472,000,000 worth of bonds. This bill would authorize $5,000,000,000 worth of bonds. There would be $6,445,000,000 worth of bonds that would be the amount of outstanding bonds of the Government when all of these bonds were issued. From that deduct $3,000,000,000 of bonds, which we will have of the foreign Governments, and it will leave $3,445,000,000 of net interest-bearing indebtedness of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. So, as a matter of fact, now $3,000,000,000 of the deal is a trade deal?

Mr. KITCHIN. The bond issue for which we will have no security will be $3,443,000,000.

Mr. TILSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. TILSON. A number of inquiries have been directed to the gentleman in regard to this being a war measure, and I do not know that I fully understand the gentleman whether it is going to appear in the bill anywhere that this is a war measure and that its effect will cease upon the termination of the war.

Mr. KITCHIN. If you will notice, the title of the bill says:

To authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments—

And so forth.

Then, in section 2, which provides for extending this credit, we shall offer an amendment, which I hope will be inserted, showing that this is done in order to more effectually prosecute the war we are now engaged in.

Mr. TILSON. As the bill now reads it did not appear to me there was anything whatsoever limiting it to the war itself, and I was not clear as to the amendment the gentleman referred to.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say to the gentleman from North Carolina that in the questions that have been asked him to-day in most instances there seems to be great harmony and a disposition in respect to voting for the bill. But the form of the bill has been criticized, or, rather, questions have been asked in regard to it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this measure, as well as other measures to follow, called war measures, are based, as I understand it, and predicated upon the suggestion made by the President that "we bring Germany to terms and end the war," and that this loan is to carry out that suggestion or declaration. If we are lending this money to the allies of European countries simply to help them out because they are broke, then there is no affair of ours as to commissions, or anything as to the issue of the bonds; but if this money is to go, as suggested by the President, "to bring Germany to terms and end the war," then, Mr. Chairman, it is proper for us to see that this money goes with great directness to the accomplishment of the purpose, and it is up to Congress, I believe, Mr. Chairman, to see that these terms are explicit, inasmuch as there is no declaration in this bill whatever in respect to a war.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the chairman of this committee a question. It may be sensational, but nevertheless it may satisfy the minds of many Members, some of whom voted against the war resolution, and who voted conscientiously, of course. Many voted for it under protest and many voted for it with enthusiasm, but now we are all for it, and I would like to have your opinion right here now whether this bill and the provision for these vast sums of money, unheard of before in all the previous history of the nations of the earth, as to whether the money that we are preparing to appropriate is actually to be converted into implements of war for ourselves and for Europe "to bring Germany to terms and end the war," or are we just anticipating the close of the war and preparing to rehabilitate the allies following the war? In other words, is not the war about over and peace near at hand?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is my judgment, undoubtedly and unhesitatingly, that we are going to use the money that we will have and the allies are going to use the money which we will loan them to bring Germany to terms and not to help rehabilitate the allies or any other country.

Mr. FESS. In loaning money to the allies we are not designating, are we, whether it is to go to Russia or to Great Britain or to any other particular country? We will have to leave that entirely with the allied authorities?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; believing that the President will use this money to quicken the termination of the war and bring Germany to terms.

Mr. FESS. Is it thought that the President will be consulted by the allies, when they get the money, as to its use?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, I believe that the President, the head of this Government, will understand to what uses it is going to be put, of course, when he lends it. I presume they will not lend any of this money unless they know or feel that every dollar of it is going to be used in the prosecution and termination of this war.

Mr. FESS. When the allies get it the application will probably be entirely out of our hands. But at the same time it will be reasonable that the wishes of the President would be consulted? For example, we think the situation in Russia might be such that we might want to know something about how they are helping?

Mr. KITCHIN. Surely.

Mr. FESS. I have no hesitancy whatever in voting for the measure, but there are some things that might be involved that I would like to have cleared up. I presume that when the money is gone we will still be consulted in its application, although they would not be compelled to consult us.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would think that, I will say to the gentleman. Now, gentlemen of the House, I am going to ask permission——

Mr. HELM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. HELM. On page 3 it is provided—

That if any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations shall thereafter be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent per annum under the provisions of section 5 of this act, then and in that event the obligations of such foreign Governments held by the United States shall be, by such foreign Governments, converted in like manner and extent into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States issued under the provisions of section 5 of this act.

Is that a moral or an enforceable obligation of this act upon the foreign Government? In other words, how can this Government compel the foreign Government to act, to issue a series of bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent? They are required under this act to issue their bonds at a higher rate than 3½ per cent. How can we enforce that?

Mr. KITCHIN. We have no power to enforce that, more than we can enforce the payment of any bonds. It would simply be a moral obligation on their part, as it would be a moral obligation on the part of our Government to pay its bonds. The Government will make an arrangement which will be not only a moral but a legal obligation contained in the bond itself. We could enforce payment by law if they would not pay.

Mr. HELM. Our bonds issued at 3½ per cent per annum are a legal and enforceable contract, but there is a provision in this bill requiring the other Government to change the rate of interest that their bonds shall bear.

Mr. KITCHIN. This act provides that the Secretary of the Treasury and the President must require the other Governments to make that agreement to convert their bonds.

Mr. MANN. Our bonds are not an enforceable contract.

Mr. KITCHIN. Not at all.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I realize that the situation I have in mind is not likely to arise, but nevertheless I want to ask the gentleman this question: If, in exercising this broad power, the President concludes that he can aid in bringing this war to a speedy determination by making a loan to one of the central powers not at war with us, would he have the power to do that? [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. He might really have the technical power. Of course, I will tell you one thing, that I would not so much object to it if we could spend the money to bring this war to a close and Germany to terms. I would not object.

Mr. LANGLEY. They might take the loan of a billion dollars and then quit, although I do not think that would be possible. [Laughter.]

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I yield with pleasure to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. I wanted to call your attention to the matter that was answered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN]. It may not be necessary, but in speaking

of the obligation in the contemplation of this act that these terms shall be included in whatever negotiations are made with foreign Governments——

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; and therefore it would be a legal obligation.

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. But not enforceable against a national sovereignty in any other way than through war?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. So that they would have to comply with that particular term as much as with any of the other terms whatever?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it would have the same obligation in an English bond, no more and no less than if one of those Governments held our bonds. It would be the same obligation. There is no way to enforce a foreign Government to pay its bonds, if it refuses to pay, except by war.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if there are no other questions, I am going to conclude by asking permission to append to my remarks the report of the committee, and I wish to ask for about three minutes to conclude the debate on this bill.

Mr. ROBBINS. Before the gentleman concludes, may I ask him a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. Is it not true that the limit under this bill is about $5,000,000,000?

Mr. KITCHIN. Five billion dollars of bonds and $2,000,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness.

Mr. ROBBINS. That is what I understand. The bonds are to go to foreign nations?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; the proceeds from $3,000,000,000 worth of them.

Mr. ROBBINS. And the certificates of indebtedness will be used in the United States and will be immediately available?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. ROBBINS. Then what does the provision at the end of page 4 mean when it says, "The bonds authorized by this section shall be in addition to the bonds authorized by section 1"? That would seem to mean additional bonds. What does that mean?

Mr. KITCHIN. With the exception of the $63,945,460 bond authorized, the bonds referred to in section 4 are bonds already authorized by law. They are not connected at all with this matter.

Mr. ROBBINS. Then why refer to them?

Mr. KITCHIN. They are not issued yet, but they are authorized to be issued. We are going to put them on the same terms of equality as the bonds issued under section 1 as to the rate of interest and the conversion privilege. Otherwise we could not sell them.

Mr. ROBBINS. In other words, you are going to increase the Alaska railroad bonds and the Shipping Board bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. They are not issued yet. We could not sell them for 3 per cent when we are going to offer $5,000,000,000 of other bonds at 3½ per cent. It is necessary.

Mr. GARNER. And they have the convertible feature.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; they have the convertible feature. Now, as I said, I would like to have three minutes before we conclude the discussion of the bill.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I will yield to the gentleman. He is always so good-natured that I will have to yield to him.

Mr. AUSTIN. I was called out of the Chamber and have not heard all of one of the gentleman's usual able speeches. That is my misfortune.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have not made any speech to-day. I have been on the witness stand.

Mr. AUSTIN. I have no doubt the gentleman has proved to be a good witness.

Mr. KITCHIN. For my side—an interested witness.

Mr. AUSTIN. I want to ask this question: What will be the fixed interest charges, the total amount of the interest on these bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. Three and one-half per cent.

Mr. AUSTIN. What is the total amount in dollars?

Mr. KITCHIN. Can not the gentleman calculate 3½ per cent?

Mr. AUSTIN. What have we got the chairman of the committee for?

Mr. KITCHIN. To do the gentleman's sums in arithmetic?

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. If the gentleman will just sit down there now and help me out—because I have been helping him out for two hours and a half—take $5,472,000,000 and multiply it by 3½ per cent, and cut off the two ciphers, and you will have the numbers of dollars' interest which we will have to pay per year. Will the gentleman admit to this House that he does not know how to do that? If he does, I will calculate it for him; but I have not time to calculate it if he can do it. But calculating it in my head, I should say, it would be in the neighborhood of $200,000,000 a year.

Mr. GARNER. Three billion dollars of that will come back to us.

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course, the interest on $3,000,000,000 of that will be paid by foreign Governments.

Mr. AUSTIN. How are we going to raise the money to pay the interest?

Mr. KITCHIN. By taxation.

Mr. AUSTIN. What form of taxation—direct taxation?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Lord only knows. There are thousands of different ways.

Mr. AUSTIN. Have not the committee considered that?

Mr. KITCHIN. We have not considered that yet. I imagine we will have to tax many articles that we never dreamed of taxing.

Mr. AUSTIN. The committee have not discussed that yet?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. I will say that before this session closes we will have to bring in by far the largest bill for additional taxation ever presented to any legislative body on earth.

Mr. AUSTIN. Has the gentleman any prejudice against raising some of that money, at least, by increasing the tariff dues?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, I am not going to talk tariff to the gentleman now. Wait until the war is over and then we will talk tariff.

Mr. SABATH. You will not forget to see that Tennessee pays her share.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no; Tennessee will pay her share. Now, gentlemen, I thank you for asking me so many questions and keeping your patience with me. [Applause.]

The report upon the bill above referred to is as follows:

[House of Representatives, Rept. No. 3, 65th Cong., 1st sess.]

Mr. KITCHIN, from the Committee on Ways and Means, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes, having had the same under consideration, report it back to the House without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

The proposed bill authorizes a bond issue of $5,000,000,000. It provides that not to exceed $3,000,000,000 from the proceeds of these bonds may be used in extending credits to foreign Governments. The remaining $2,000,000,000 is to be used in meeting expenditures authorized for the national security and defense.

The bill also authorizes an additional bond issue not to exceed $63,945,460 to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918, maturing August 1, 1918. The remaining bonds specified in section 4 of the bill are already authorized by law.

The bill also authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue $2,000,000,000 worth of certificates of indebtedness, payable within one year from the date of issue.

Your committee deem it advisable to authorize the $5,000,000,000 bond issue at this time in order to enable our Government to extend liberal credits and in order to provide immediately ample funds to meet such expenditures as are authorized for the national security and defense.

The bill provides that the rate of interest shall not exceed 3½ per cent per annum, and leaves the terms and denominations of the bonds to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

If at any time prior to December 31, 1918, a subsequent series of bonds are issued at a rate of interest in excess of 3½ per cent per annum, the bill provides that the bonds issued under authority of this act may be convertible at the option of the holder into bonds bearing the higher rate of interest.

This bill also authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue the remaining bonds still available to be issued under the Panama Canal bond provision of section 39 of the revenue act of August 5, 1909; the bonds authorized for the construction of the nitrate plant in section 124 of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916; the bonds authorized under section 13 of the shipping act of September 7, 1916; the bonds authorized under section 400 of the revenue act of March 3, 1917; and those authorized under the public resolution of March 4, 1917, bearing interest at not to exceed 3½ per cent per annum and subject to the conversion privilege should a subsequent series of bonds be issued prior to December 31, 1918, bearing a higher rate of interest.

The Secretary of the Treasury at the present time has authority to issue $472,000,000 worth of bonds; $222,000,000 worth are still available to be issued under the Panama Canal bond provision of the revenue act of August 5, 1909. The revenue act of March 3, 1917, authorizes the issue of $100,000,000 worth and the public resolution of March 4, 1917, authorizes the issue of $150,000,000 worth. The national-defense act authorizes the issue of Panama Canal bonds for the construction of the nitrate plant. The shipping act likewise authorizes the issue of Panama Canal bonds for the purposes of that act.

The bill as heretofore stated authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, to extend credits not to exceed $3,000,000,000 to foreign Governments. It authorizes the purchase with the proceeds from the sale of these bonds, by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, of the obligations of foreign Governments bearing the same rate of interest and containing essentially the same terms and conditions as the bonds issued under authority of this act. It provides, however, that should any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations, be converted into United States bonds bearing a rate of interest higher than 3½ per cent, that in that event the obligations of the foreign Governments held by the United States shall be converted into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the like bonds of the United States. It will, therefore, be observed that the

$3,000,000,000 credit proposed to be extended to foreign Governments will take care of itself and will not constitute an indebtedness that will have to be met by taxation in the future.

In view of the fact that a very large portion of the taxes now levied and proposed to be levied at a future date will be payable yearly, and therefore will not be capable of yielding a continual flow of revenue into the Treasury, your committee deem it advisable to recommend the authorization of the issuance of $2,000,000,000 worth of certificates of indebtedness, payable within one year, to the end that the Treasury may at all times have ample means of securing funds to meet the immediate needs of the Government.

The total interest-bearing debt outstanding February 28, 1917, amounted to $973,000,000. Under existing law $472,000,000 worth of bonds are available to be issued. This bill authorizes, in addition to the bonds already available to be issued under existing law and exclusive of the $3,000,000,000 bond issue to extend credit to foreign Governments which takes care of itself, the issue of $2,000,000,000 worth of bonds. Should this amount of bonds be issued the total interest-bearing indebtedness, exclusive of the $3,000,000,000 credit to foreign Governments, will amount to $3,445,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] is recognized for one hour. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, as a general proposition I am opposed to issuing Government bonds for the purpose of raising money to pay the ordinary running expenses of the Government. I am going to vote for this bill for reasons which I will state. It is an unusual situation to find in this House Democrats and Republicans in the same bed.

Mr. GARNER. Especially in revenue matters.

Mr. FORDNEY. Especially on the question of raising revenue for the running expenses of the Government; but the conditions confronting the people of this country at this time are unusual. We are at war with Germany, or likely to go to war with Germany. I hope that no American soldier may find it necessary to cross the ocean to fight in Europe during this war. [Applause.] I believe that England and France and their allies in this war need money and supplies to-day more than they need men. [Applause.] I hope that most of the money that it is proposed by this Government to loan to England, France, and their allies in this war will be spent in this country. I believe it unwise for the Congress of the United States to attempt to say where those European nations shall spend that money or how they shall spend it. If we are to aid those nations in this great struggle, I believe we should give them a free hand in the use of this money that we propose to loan to them. [Applause.]

As has been said here, no authorization for the raising of such an immense sum of money has ever been presented in any legislative body in the world before, and it is my purpose to attempt to show to the gentlemen of this House just what this means to the American people in the way of taxes. We should understand that, and we should proceed with our eyes open, realizing fully the obligations we are imposing on the people.

Prior to the last session of Congress the national debt of this country was $973,000,000. There were outstanding prior to last December $682,284,000 of Government bonds bearing interest at 2 per cent. There were $10,039,000 in round numbers of bonds bearing interest at 2½ per cent per annum. There were outstanding $162,542,000 bearing a rate of interest at 3 per cent per annum, and $118,489,000 of Government bonds bearing interest at 4 per cent per annum.

The total interest-bearing debt of this Nation then required about $23,512,000 annual interest to be paid by our people. Our public debt at that time amounted to $9.73 per capita, based on a population of 100,000,000.

The authorization of the bond issue at the last session of Congress (together with the Panama bonds then undisposed of—$240,000,000) increased the interest-bearing debt of the people $7.90 per capita. The bonded indebtedness proposed in this bill will place upon the people an additional debt of $70 per capita, or a total of $87.63 per capita, the interest upon which indebtedness must be paid annually by the American people at the rate of interest provided for, if all the bonds authorized by this bill are issued.

Mr. GARNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Is not the gentleman in error to the extent of $2,000,000,000, and is not the added per capita debt $50 instead of $70, because $2,000,000,000 are to be in the shape of Treasury notes to be taken up at the end of a year?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will explain to the House how it is proposed to take care of the payment of these certificates of indebtedness. I stated that if all these bonds were disposed of, to bear 3½ per cent——

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman also made the statement that it would be an annual tax against the people.

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Whereas the Government will not have to continue to pay interest on the $2,000,000,000 certificates, because they will be taken up at the end of a year with the money in the Treasury.

Mr. FORDNEY. If the gentleman will permit, I will explain how it is proposed to take care of that matter. But, gentlemen, prior to the war in Europe I looked up the public debt of the principal nations of the world. I call attention to this in order to prepare your minds for what we must be ready to meet. I found that our public debt was less per capita than that of any great nation in the world by far. Germany came next. Our public debt at that time was a little less than $12 per capita. Germany's public debt was more than $13 per capita, and the public debt of Great Britain was the highest of any country in the world prior to the war. It was $36 per capita. Great Britain owed more money in proportion to her population than any nation in the world.

If we engage in this war and prosecute it for any length of time, we are going to spend all the money authorized here to-day. I hope we do not. I do not understand that it is the intention of the Government to spend one dollar more than is absolutely necessary; and while I do not agree politically with the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, I want to say that I have every confidence in their honesty to spend this money in the most judicious manner that their judgment will permit. [Applause.] I have faith in the honesty and good faith of the people of this country. [Applause.]

Prior to four years ago the largest sum of money ever appropriated for one year's expenses for the running of this Government was $1,100,000,000, or $11 per capita. It is proposed, and I believe that the proposition will be carried out, to raise additional money by direct taxes on the people before this session of Congress adjourns, and to raise a sum in round numbers amounting to $1,750,000,000 in the next 12 months in addition to existing revenue laws.

These certificates of indebtedness it is proposed to authorize and offer for sale are for the purpose of enabling the Government at this time to get ready money to carry it along until such time as the additional taxes can be raised which I have just mentioned. Now, I think that answers the question of the gentleman from Texas.

When the money is raised and there is sufficient money in the Treasury of the United States to retire these certificates of indebtedness they will be retired. At the last session of Congress, in what was known as the excess profits tax law, there was an authorization of $300,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness, all of which shall be paid within 12 months of the date of their issue. The Secretary of the Treasury has already sold $50,000,000 of these certificates at a rate of interest of 2 per cent. They were issued for a period of 90 days, and are to be redeemed, I believe, in June or July next with the moneys expected to be collected from individual incomes and corporation taxes due in June. It is proposed to retire that $50,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness at that time.

Let me show you where we have gone in the bond issue and authorization of bonds in this country. It is proposed that the $240,000,000, or the most of that sum, of Panama Canal bonds issued recently are either to be disposed of or are outstanding now.

Congress authorized in what is called the excess profits tax law passed at the last session of Congress $100,000,000 of long-time bonds, and, as I have said, $300,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness. It was proposed to use that money in strengthening our Army and Navy. Later, on the 4th of March, we passed a bond issue of $150,000,000 additional long-time bonds. It was suggested that this money is needed to meet the necessary expenses in building up our Navy and recruiting our Army, and for the payment of bills created by sending our troops down to the border last year. So that when we adjourned Congress on the 4th of March we had authorized the issuance and sale of $790,569,000 of Government bonds in addition to the revenues to be raised from direct taxes this year.

Let me tell you what the revenues are estimated to be. It is estimated that from all sources as provided for by law during the last session of Congress we will collect $995,000,000. In addition to that it is estimated that we will collect about $325,000,000 from postal receipts, and the excess profits tax law passed at the last session of Congress will yield, according to estimates, in round numbers, $250,000,000; in all, the revenues of this Government under existing laws from direct taxes this year will be $1,570,000,000. In addition to that it is now proposed, as I have stated, to enact additional internal-revenue laws, and it has been whispered about that it is possible at this session of Congress there may be some legislation placing an additional import duty on certain articles coming from foreign countries which are not competitive products and on which a duty could be arranged without making it necessary to have hearings on a

tariff bill—namely, articles of antiquity, crude rubber, and so forth.

But if we impose a duty on raw rubber, so called, we must then arrange a compensatory duty on manufactured rubber, and that will necessitate hearings, so that the compensatory duty may be equitably adjusted in the law to fit particular cases, the cost of conversion. But if we do pass additional internal-revenue laws at this session to raise an additional $1,750,000,000, then during the next fiscal year, according to the estimates, we will raise in direct taxes from the people $3,320,000,000, or $33.20 per capita. That is a large sum of money, gentlemen, to be raised from the people of this country in any one year.

It is my belief, and it has been my aim, that the expenses of this great war in which we are about to engage should not be imposed upon the people within the next 12 months; that a great portion of it should be spread over the future; that the future generations that may enjoy the maintenance of this Government by the efforts of men living to-day should pay their share, or a fair portion, of that money. [Applause.] In addition to the bonded indebtedness which I have mentioned, this proposition is now to issue $7,000,000,000 of bonds. Seven billion dollars' worth of bonds added to the amount of bonds already authorized and direct taxes to be collected next year totals a sum of $11,110,000,000. Whoever heard of any nation under God's sun having outstanding over $8,700,000,000 of Government bonds that were not issued because of some great conflict with some other nation of the earth? It is true that we propose to loan to foreign Governments $3,000,000,000 of this money and to take in exchange bonds of the Governments to which we loan that money, and take their bonds at a rate of interest at which we can borrow that money from our people in this country without profit to us—a most magnanimous proposition, and it meets my approval.

I am glad to see such a provision go into law. We are not loaning this money as an investment; it is not proposed that we shall loan this money to foreign Governments for any other purpose than to aid them in fighting our battles; no profit expected.

Mr. CURRY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. CURRY. Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote for this bill, but if what the gentleman states is true I think it ought to be amended in one particular. I understand that this country holds at the present time—or that the people in the country do—between one and two thousand million dollars' worth of foreign bonds that have been accepted in exchange for munitions of war and foodstuffs supplied to the allies; that we have accepted those bonds at a discount of from 10 to 25 per cent; and that they are underwritten by American securities, most of them held in American banks. Is there anything in this bill that would prohibit a foreign Government, one of the allies, from issuing 3½ per cent bonds, sending them to the United States and getting the money for them, and taking up the depreciated bonds at par, releasing the American securities, and practically making a present of $150,000,000 to $250,000,000 to the banks?

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, let me say to the gentleman that the Governments of England, France, Germany, Russia, and all of the Governments in Europe at war are in a life-and-death struggle, fighting for their existence, and it will be my purpose in loaning this money to the nations we propose to join, and with whom we propose to cooperate to end this frightful war, to let them have the money and use it to the very best advantage for themselves, whether that be to buy food supplies in this country or arms and ammunition or to save their credit at home. So long as the people engaged in that great war get that money into their possession, I have every confidence and belief that they will expend it to their very best advantage in bringing this war to a successful close. [Applause.] I know of no set of sane men who would do otherwise.

Mr. CURRY. Possibly not. I am willing to vote $3,000,000,000 or $5,000,000,000 or $7,000,000,000 for future credit or for the use of the foreign nations to pay their armies in the future, but I am not willing to vote a profit of $150,000,000 to $250,000,000 into the banks of the United States and Great Britain and Germany simply by the foreign Government issuing a 3½ per cent bond, getting the money from the United States, and retiring the depreciated bonds already in circulation, already used, and already in the hands of the banks. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. I agree with the gentleman, and I have no idea that such a proposition is in the mind of any man in Europe.

Mr. CURRY. Why does not the committee present that in the bill?

Mr. FORDNEY. My idea is that those people are much in need of money to prosecute this war. There is no other object on the face of the earth in the minds of the American people in loaning European nations this money. Their only purpose is to aid them in the best way possible to fight our battle across the sea without calling upon our men to go there. I do not believe that one single dollar of the money to be loaned to them as provided for by this bill will ever be used for the purpose suggested by the gentleman; if so, I would like to see some provision of law that would prevent it, because if they were to borrow this money from us and then retire outstanding bonds, what they would have to do when in need of money would be to come again and sell their own bonds at a higher rate of interest than they are getting this money from us for, a thing not at all likely to be done by them.

Mr. CURRY. I do not think this bill should be amended from the floor; I want to vote for it just as it comes from the committee, and if that is the opinion of the committee, why does it not amend the bill so as to prevent the possibility of any such thing happening?

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, let me say to the gentleman that this bill was presented to the Committee on Ways and Means. Republican members were called in. Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, appeared before the committee and for three hours explained the purpose of the law to the committee, and satisfied me that he meant everything he said.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Assuming that there might be something in what the gentleman from California suggests, does the gentleman see any way by which this bill could be amended to cover his point that would not infringe upon the rights of a foreign nation to do as it pleased with its own property?

Mr. FORDNEY. I would say this: I am not a lawyer and I have no prejudice against lawyers, but I wish half the men in this House were business men and not lawyers.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman submit to another question?

Mr. FORDNEY. I have seldom, if ever, seen a will drawn by a lawyer that did not complicate the wishes of the deceased.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman submit to a further question?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The proposition is that the United States issue bonds and from the proceeds of the sale thereof purchase certain foreign bonds issued in corresponding terms. If there has been any depreciation in prior issues of foreign bonds, can the United States suffer?

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh, it has been explained over and over again by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] that these bonds when issued are to be sold for the purpose of obtaining money to be loaned to the foreign Governments, and that the bonds to be accepted by the United States Government for that money shall be essentially and exactly the same in every respect as our bonds and contain every feature as to the amount, the time of payment, the rate of interest, and every condition imaginable set forth in their bonds to conform to our bonds so that the payments of the foreign bonds will come due at the same time our bonds come due, and the interest payable at the same time, so that the rate of interest collected from the foreign Government shall be the same amount, payable at the same time, that we may have that money to meet the payment of the interest on our bonds.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. TOWNER. The gentleman stated that he believed that this money ought to be used and given to foreign Governments to fight our battles for us, and yet the language of the bill is that this money may be loaned to any foreign nation whether they are fighting battles against Germany or not. Does not the gentleman believe that ought to be stated in the bill?

Mr. FORDNEY. That question came up in the committee and it was explained in this way so that it satisfied me, that would not be a wise provision to go in the law. Here is England, France, Russia, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, and Belgium, in Europe, and Japan in the Orient, at war with Germany and her allies. The Lord only knows how many more nations may come into this great conflict before it is ended.

Mr. LANGLEY. There are not many more left.

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh, yes; quite a good many. It was not thought wise to designate the particular nations or governments in Europe to which this money should be loaned lest we might make a mistake. It might not be necessary to loan any of this

money to one of these great nations, or to several of them, whereas others might need it. Now—if the gentleman will pardon me—it was stated by the Secretary of the Treasury that because of the new form of government in Russia at this time this new Government is in sore straits financially. It is hard for them to obtain money under the circumstances, and it would be quite likely that Russia would call upon us for a large portion of this money, agreeable perhaps to the other allied nations. Therefore it was not thought wise that the Governments to which this money is to be loaned should be mentioned in the law. Now, if the House thinks it wise—and I will accept its judgment against my own—I shall be satisfied to have such a provision go in the law.

Mr. TOWNER. It would not be necessary to state it except in general terms. Does the gentleman believe we can trust more safely the Secretary of the Treasury to determine what nations and the amount and on what terms this money should be paid than the Congress of the United States?

Mr. FORDNEY. Let me say to my friend that if Congress put the exact provisions in the law by which that money could be loaned we do it with the conditions existing to-day, but what conditions might arise to-morrow the Congress of the United States does not know, and we ought to have some confidence in the administration, or turn it out of office. That might be a thing agreeable to some of us, of course.

Mr. TOWNER. Does not the gentleman believe that for that very reason it is unwise for us to say that we place $3,000,000,000 in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury to loan to any nation that he may determine without the Congress of the United States determining whether that particular loan is wise or unwise.

Mr. FORDNEY. Now, there are two sides to that question, and there is much wisdom in the gentleman's statement. But do you think for one minute Holland, not being at war with Germany, Spain not being at war with Germany, Switzerland not being at war with Germany, China not being at war with Germany, that if the Secretary of the Treasury loaned some of this money to one of these countries to-morrow why he would be turned out of office in 15 minutes and I would help to do it. Does not the the gentleman think that is reasonable, too?

Mr. TOWNER. I do not know about his being turned out of office, I have not seen any indication so far.

Mr. FORDNEY. I would like to see it done if he did anything of that kind.

Mr. TOWNER. One more question; if the gentleman will be kind enough to yield to me.

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. There is no statement in the bill that any of this money is to be used for the prosecution of the war. It may be loaned to the nations for any purpose whatever. Does not the gentleman believe that, at least, he ought to state in this bill that it is to be used for the prosecution of the war?

Mr. FORDNEY. I believe if the gentleman from Iowa were Secretary of the Treasury, knowing him as I do, I would have confidence in him not to expend Uncle Sam's money except for the best interests of the American people, and I would place confidence in him.

The responsibility rests on the administration. I believe the administration will spend this money as best they know how. If we can point out to them any better way, any more enlightened path than the one which they are on, let us do it. I do not know that we can help them more by throwing around them restrictions and penalties than by giving them a free hand to do the best they can under the circumstances.

Mr. TOWNER. Just one more question. Does not the gentleman believe that, when we are to give this money for the prosecution of this war, understanding it shall be used by the nations in the prosecution of the war, at least we should say in this bill that that money should be loaned to them for that purpose and none other?

Mr. FORDNEY. It is very possible that would be best, but I do not think so. I thought the language was broad, and yet specific, after all, as to the intention of the administration as to what use ought to be made of this money.

Mr. GARDNER. In the first place, I think the gentleman from Iowa has overlooked the fact that, although they speak of the Secretary of the Treasury continually, these loans are to be made subject to the approval of the President.

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. GARDNER. Would it not be a very good purpose to put some of this money to, if cases should arise, to loan it to Turkey, for instance, on condition that they should get out of the war?

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh, my good friend, I would be ready to vote for a very reasonable appropriation to be given the Kaiser if he would hie away to the woods and stop this awful war.

Mr. MONDELL. I understood the gentleman from North Carolina to say in answer to a question that he personally had no objection to an amendment which would limit these loans to nations at war with Germany.

Mr. FORDNEY. Neither have I.

Mr. MONDELL. It occurs to me that would be a very wise amendment, to which might wisely be added a further amendment that these loans were to occur only while we were at war with Germany.

Mr. FORDNEY. The gentleman from Wyoming does not think for a minute the Secretary of the Treasury would issue those bonds and loan the money to European countries after the war is over? If you do, you have a different idea about human nature and mankind than I.

Mr. MONDELL. If the entire matter is to be left to the Secretary without any condition, why have any conditions at all if you want to leave it entirely with the Secretary?

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman stated that the $2,000,000,000 of bonds authorized for expenditure by the Government would be expended only as needed. Can the gentleman inform the committee whether the $3,000,000,000 of bonds authorized as a loan to foreign Governments will be expended forthwith?

Mr. FORDNEY. It was, as I remember it, the Secretary's opinion that foreign countries would call for some of this money very shortly. In other words, they would call for credit here; that they are sorely in need of money, of credit, and especially such credit as we can give them at this rate of interest.

Mr. STAFFORD. If it is not violating the confidence of the Secretary of the Treasury given to the members of the committee——

Mr. FORDNEY. It is no secret.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to inquire how the Secretary of the Treasury arrived at the enormous amount of $3,000,000,000 for loans to the foreign Governments? The newspapers carried the information two weeks before we assembled here to pass on the war resolution that it was the policy of the administration to recommend a loan of $3,000,000,000 for reloaning to the belligerent powers at war with Germany. I should like to inquire how that sum was arrived at?

Mr. FORDNEY. I do not know.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it a mere guess?

Mr. FORDNEY. I do not know whether it is or not. I do not know that the Secretary of the Treasury brought out that point, but it is thought that those European nations will call immediately for all the credit they can get here. They are like myself; their credit is strained. I know what it means when I go to a bank. When I have good collateral and go to a bank to borrow money, I dictate the rate of interest I pay. When I go to the bank and want to borrow money, without first-class collateral, the banker dictates the rate of interest I pay, and he is not at all mild about it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Nothing has been furnished to the committee about what amounts will be loaned to the respective nations under this $3,000,000,000 authorization?

Mr. FORDNEY. No. The Secretary stated one Government might ask for considerably more than another, and he will call the representatives of those Governments together and talk the matter over, and then decide upon the amount to be loaned and the length of time they wish to borrow that money, and the conditions to be set forth in their bonds to comply with the conditions to be set forth in our bonds.

Mr. SLOAN. Touching the stability and burden of making these loans, would the gentleman approve of an amendment like this in section 2?—

That for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, after he has been advised by the Speaker and the minority leader of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore and the minority leader of the Senate.

Does the gentleman approve of such an amendment as that as I have it prepared?

Mr. FORDNEY. I do not know but that would help it—offhand. I do not like to jump at conclusions quickly. This is a very serious matter to the people of the United States, because once the obligation is put upon us we will be called upon to pay it. Pay day comes around. Oh, men say, 90 days is a long time. Well, just give your note for 90 days and see how quickly time passes. When once these bonds are issued then a pay day is fixed and we will be called to account, my friends, for our work here to-day. Those bonds must be paid, and will be paid.

We are a great and rich Nation. Let me point out briefly to you, gentlemen: When the Civil War broke out in 1860 there were, in round numbers, 31,000,000 people in the United States. Ten million of this number were south of the Mason and Dixon line, none of whom contributed in the way of direct taxation to

the prosecution of the war in the North. Twenty-one million people, in round numbers, supported the war in the North, and there was placed upon the people of this country an income-tax law very shortly after the declaration of war, or within a few months, which provided that all incomes above $800 and below $5,000 should pay a tax of 5 per cent, and all incomes above $5,000 should pay a tax of 10 per cent.

In 1862 or 1863 the exemption was lowered to $600, and incomes between $600 and $5,000 paid an income tax of 5 per cent. The high rate of 10 per cent was not changed. The first full year for which those taxes were paid the people of the North—21,000,000—contributed in income taxes $72,000,000, a sum greater than was collected in this country last year by our present income-tax law. And directly after the war that limitation, that exemption, was raised to $1,000 and then to $2,000, and immediately those taxes were cut in two, and instead of raising $72,000,000 some $34,000,000 was collected. That exemption, that difference, between $600 and $2,000 cut the total revenue squarely in two. And for the purpose of raising money to carry on this war I am ready and willing to lower the exemption in the present income-tax law to $1,500 and $2,500, and we will thereby double the income taxes collected. [Applause.]

And, again, we must call upon our people for a large sum of money in addition to existing taxes. One billion five hundred and seventy million dollars is a large sum of money, but that is the amount we are raising now, and if we are called upon for more than double that we must look around for other sources of revenue. I know of no more equitable, just, and easy way to raise a very large portion of that money than to provide for a 3-cent instead of a 2-cent postage on first-class mail matter, and double or treble, if necessary quadruple, the postage rates on second-class mail matter, because the postage paid by the great newspapers and magazines of this country have never paid more than about one-eighth of the expense to this Government for handling their products.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Just let me conclude that sentence, and then I will.

Mr. MADDEN. Very well.

Mr. FORDNEY. The Postmaster General's report a few years ago showed that the great magazines of this country were carried in our mails, one class a thousand miles from the point of mailing to the point of delivery, and another class about 1,100 or 1,150 miles, and the great metropolitan newspapers were carried an average distance of 300 miles from the point of publication; and on that class of mail matter the Government received 1¼ cents a pound in postage, and the cost to this Government was 9¼ cents, a loss of 8 cents to the Government on every pound mailed. During that year there was a profit in the postal receipts of more than $53,000,000 on first-class mail matter and a loss to the Government of some $64,000,000 on second-class mail matter.

Gentlemen, I favor putting an equitable and just rate of tax upon the newspapers that have done more through their columns to bring on this war than any other one power in the country. [Applause.] There is little that the Congress of the United States could have done to benefit the great metropolitan newspapers and the magazines to yield them more income than to declare war, and why should they not pay a just and equitable rate of postage to help out this great tax upon the people.

Now, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADDEN. I think the gentleman has answered the question I was going to ask.

Mr. FORDNEY. Thank you.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Certainly.

Mr. AUSTIN. When the gentleman stated he favored the increase of postage on first-class mail matter, did he mean to increase the rate on letter postage?

Mr. FORDNEY. I mean to increase the rate of postage on first-class mail matter that now pays 2 cents. I mean to increase it to 3 cents, and it will yield us $140,000,000 additional revenue annually. The newspapers and the magazines of the country, for second and third class mail matter, paid into the Treasury of the United States $20,000,000 last year. Why should not they pay a little more? I am only suggesting this. I am only offering suggestions now. You will always find me working in harmony with the majority of my party, and I will go hand in hand with whatever the majority of my party here decides upon. But I believe this is the way to get a certain portion of our money now needed.

Another way would be to increase our internal-revenue taxes. Last year we collected from fermented liquors—beer—$87,000,000, gentlemen. I did not drink my share of it. [Laughter.] We collected $140,000,000 in taxes on strong liquors—whiskies and brandies. We collected $512,000,000 from all sources by the internal-revenue taxes. We can increase our internal-revenue taxes without distressing anybody. It would be my purpose to put a tax upon theater tickets, baseball tickets, races, picture shows, and a great many of those things. Everything in the shape of amusement can afford to pay a little more tax to help out in this great crisis, gentlemen, and I know of no one who should be more willing to contribute than the one seeking amusement. Prepare yourselves for it; because it is coming into this House in a few days—an internal-revenue measure to raise a billion and three quarters in addition to the amount already raised.

I mention it so that you may get ready for the question. It will not be my bill. I will not have the honor to prepare that bill. Our beloved friends with whom we are cooperating and going hand in hand on the floor of the House will prepare that bill.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. PLATT. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the newspapers are responsible for bringing on this war, and that they advocated war for the purpose of increasing their income?

Mr. FORDNEY. No; I did not say that; not at all. The gentleman misunderstood me. I said—and I repeat it—that the publications through the newspapers of the country contributed more to bring on the war than anything else.

Mr. PLATT. The newspapers were upholding the Government. The gentleman does not mean they advocated the war for profit, does he?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will let you be the judge of that. They advocated war, did they not?

Mr. PLATT. The newspapers gave the people information, stated what the Government was standing for, and in some cases urged the administration to stand firm.

Mr. FORDNEY. In some cases they gave us misinformation. [Laughter.]

Mr. PLATT. I do not think they have given misinformation purposely. If misinformation was given, in most cases it came from sources that they were not responsible for.

Mr. FORDNEY. Anyway, there was some fellow down at El Paso, Tex., on the border, who sent messages here frequently to the effect that a great many of our men were being killed, and that Villa was crossing the border line with a great force, and nobody was able to tell where he was the next day. The newspapers were issuing extras every few hours, and we had 20,000 men down in Mexico, and they were within 60 miles of Villa, and the War Department sent orders down to our soldiers "Do not go one step nearer," and that they could not find Villa, and so on, and so forth. Is not that true?

Mr. LANGLEY. If the gentleman will permit me, I bought five different extras on five different days announcing the death of Villa.

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes; I think you are stating facts.

Mr. PLATT. The publication of the Zimmermann note in regard to Mexico had a good deal to do with arousing the American people to a realization of what Germany was trying to do to the United States. The gentleman would not say that the newspapers ought not to publish such things because they might bring on war, would he?

Mr. FORDNEY. I do not know whether one-tenth of what is said in the newspapers is correct or incorrect. I do not know whether anybody else knows, but I do know that in the last 12 months I have not read a paper that discouraged going to war with Germany, not one. They were all prodding us on, encouraging the administration and the people to declare war against Germany because our rights on the seas had been encroached upon. We are in that mix-up now, and we can not wade across the sea. Neither can the newspapers send us over there. It must be the bone and sinew of this Nation and the money and brains and blood of the Nation that must go over there and fight this war, not the newspapers. Now, all I am asking is that they pay their fair share of the tax that is going to be imposed on the people. [Applause.]

Mr. PLATT. The gentleman did not read the newspapers published by William R. Hearst all over the United States, which were in favor of surrendering every American right so that we would not get into war, did he?

Mr. FORDNEY. No; I never agreed with William R. Hearst, politically or otherwise. [Laughter.]

Mr. FOCHT. The gentleman has referred to the debate being largely conducted by lawyers of the House, but it happens that the gentleman and myself are not lawyers, but are just plain, ordinary business men. I agree that the money desired to be raised can readily be secured by the means the gentleman from Michigan has suggested. There is no trouble about raising the

money. But inasmuch as the President has called upon the Congress and the country to support him in his declaration that we should "bring Germany to terms and then have peace," what objection is there to stating that purpose in this bill? I ask you, as a straight business man across the table, if the definite and specific purpose of this war is to crush Germany, why is it that you and others object to stating that? I do not believe, from my study of history, that any war has ever been conducted in which Governments raising money have not fallen a prey to the money sharks, who have been referred to here to-day. I would therefore be glad to see this war different from other wars with respect to the commonly alleged rotten financial methods. If this is to be a war for human liberty and democracy and "to bring Germany to terms," why not so state, and let us fight for that objective?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will say to my good friend, whom I love as I do a brother, no man on the face of this earth regrets more than I do that we felt obliged to go to war with Germany. Germans are among the best people of the world and among the best citizens of the United States. I believe there are few congressional districts in this country which have a greater percentage of German people than the district I have the honor to represent. They are my friends. There are no better people in the world. I regret that we have been obliged to go to war with the people of their fatherland. But I voted for the resolution because of conditions that had been brought about, which made me feel there was no other course for me to follow. I am ready and willing to join with you in amending this bill to meet your views, provided the amendment meets with the approval of the committee. I have no objection, except that possibly it might be a mistake to tie the hands of the administration; but if a majority favor the amendment I will willingly join with you. Let us amend it so as to have it in the best form possible. I am with you on that point. Do not misunderstand me. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, I have taken too much time. My hour is up.

Mr. AUSTIN. I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. FORDNEY. May I have five minutes more?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. AUSTIN. I have heard the gentleman suggest different methods of taxation in order to meet this emergency.

Mr. FORDNEY. I offer them only as a suggestion.

Mr. AUSTIN. What have you said in reference to increasing the tariff duties, and also to putting a duty on a large number of articles which are now on the free list, and which articles are manufactured in this country? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. FORDNEY. If the House will bear with me just a moment, I will answer that question. Personally I am exceedingly anxious to increase our tariff duties and to raise a large portion of this money in that way. I realize, as my Democratic friends do, and as they are now ready to admit, that the Underwood tariff law as a revenue producer is a failure. [Applause on the Republican side.]

But, my friends, I do not believe that we ought to take up at this session of Congress any legislation except that which pertains directly to this war and the things for which we have been called here. Of course, if we were to increase our rates of duty by a tariff law we could raise a very large additional sum of money without placing a burden upon the people. But let me say, gentlemen, from my experience on the Committee on Ways and Means, where such legislation originates, I believe that in order to prepare a tariff law equitably, justly, and fairly, and to put into that law the various compensatory rates of duty, at least three months' hearings before the committee would be required, so that the people who have their money invested in the great industries of this country and representatives of the consumers might come before our committee and be heard as to the rates to be placed in the law. And after hearings were had, in order to prepare that law in a sane and sensible manner it would require at least an additional two months of work by the committee. That would be five months, and I do not believe any bill could be wisely or correctly framed in less time.

And at the present, when the whole world is in an uproar and prices are abnormal at home and abroad, both for labor and for products of every description, agricultural and manufactured, it is no opportune time, gentlemen, to establish tariff rates and have them correct and do it quickly. [Applause.] It could not be done by the best talent in the world and be done right. At the earliest possible moment—and I believe that time will come in December next—I want this Congress to take up the question of a revision of our tariff laws and more correctly adjust those rates than they are in existing law. I believe we can get along until December next without bringing that kind of legislation before us, as much as I would like to see it done to-morrow.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will.

Mr. LANGLEY. The gentleman's word goes a great ways among the people in my district. That is the reason I ask this question: Does he really believe that we will take up the tariff question in December, or at the next session; and does he believe that there is any chance in this Congress of getting an increase of rates in the direction of protection? That is what my people are for.

Mr. FORDNEY. I think we can; and for this reason: Several of my Democratic friends—and I hope they are all my friends—on that side of the House have said to me that they must concede that the Underwood tariff law as a revenue producer is a failure, and that while they have always stood for tariff for revenue only, they are ready to eliminate that word "only" and pass a law and put in that law such rates as will raise the greatest amount of revenue and call it a tariff for revenue. When that is done, gentlemen, you will have an old-time, dyed-in-the-wool Republican tariff law. [Applause.] I am ready to join with you any time in framing a law of that kind.

Mr. CANTRILL. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. FORDNEY. My time has nearly expired, but I will answer the question briefly if I can.

Mr. CANTRILL. If the Payne-Aldrich tariff law was on the statute books to-day, does the gentleman think that it would raise sufficient revenue to meet the extraordinary demands now made by the war?

Mr. FORDNEY. No; but I will tell you what it would do. Up to the 1st of last January—and I have not figured the difference since that time—up to the 1st of January last the Underwood tariff law had been on the statute books a little over two years. The difference between the amount of money raised under that law and the amount that would have been raised had the Payne rates of duty been in effect, with the same amount of imports, would be $520,000,000 more than has been collected. [Applause.] You are going to collect this fiscal year in customs receipts about the same amount of money collected last year—$210,000,000. Two hundred and ten million dollars on an ad valorem of 9½ per cent on all imports, free and dutiable, and if we had the Payne rates, which were 19½ per cent ad valorem during the life of that law, you can see what we would have raised. We would have raised about $450,000,000 annually instead of $210,000,000.

Mr. AUSTIN. Will the gentleman permit one question?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. AUSTIN. If the Committee on Ways and Means reports a bill to raise the necessary amount of money to run the Government and does that by direct taxation and increase of the income tax, postage tax, internal-revenue tax—if we raise a sufficient amount—does the gentleman expect to get the Ways and Means Committee next winter to increase the duties when we are already collecting a sufficient amount of money to run the Government?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will tell you what we would do if the majority were on this side of the House. What they will do, I do not know; but I believe that there are gentlemen on that side of the House who will join us at the next session of Congress and pass a tariff law. Whether it will be a nonpartisan law like the nonpartisan tariff board, I do not know. [Laughter.] But that is a joke.

Mr. AUSTIN. Why not make the issue now and submit it to the other side whether we will increase the tariff duties and put on the dutiable list a large free list, and make the foreigners who are enjoying the American market help pay some of these expenses rather than take it all out of our people?

Mr. FORDNEY. I am ready to do it if we do not have to stay here all summer. I believe that the best thing for the Congress of the United States to do is to do what the administration is anxious for it to do and to adjourn and go home. [Applause.]

Mr. LANGLEY. Does the gentleman think that when that is done, when the new tariff law is passed, that the cost of living will be any higher than it is now?

Mr. FORDNEY. Oh, my Democratic friends in their Baltimore platform criticized Republicans for the high cost of living and the great extravagance of appropriations of the peoples' money. Potatoes were then 60 cents a bushel and now they are $4 a bushel.

The bonded indebtedness of this Government then was $900,000,000, and now it is $9,000,000,000. They criticized us for extravagant expenditure of the people's money, and we then spent $1,100,000,000 in one year. Now, they are spending three and

one-half billion this year. Oh, what a lovely mess. [Laughter and applause.] But please forget it, gentlemen; I don't want to be sarcastic, because I am with you in war, although I am against you in politics.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I want to say with reference to the tariff that in one year Canada sent into the United States 4,000,000 feet of prepared lumber more than the whole United States sent into the rest of the world.

Mr. FORDNEY. Don't get me started on lumber, because I am a lumberjack. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Well, with the lumber export of both those countries gone, is it hardly fair for Canada to have the United States market free of charge?

Mr. FORDNEY. No; it is not.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested.

EMERGENCY BOND ISSUE.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. Mr. Chairman, I am surprised to see Members hesitate now. It is too late to be counting the cost. The time to have done that was before we entered into the horrible conflict. I was opposed to it and did everything in my power against it. I faced traduction of newspapers and submitted to the sneers and jeers of those who were clamoring for war. If I could have averted the awful catastrophe by the sacrifice of my life I believe I would have paid the price.

Under our Constitution nobody but Congress had power to choose between peace and war. An overwhelming majority chose war. We are all bound by the action of that majority. The war resolution directs the President to wage war on Germany and to use all the men and all the resources of the country necessary to bring it to a speedy and successful conclusion. In the performance of that task every loyal American must stand by the President.

He must have men. It is said that he needs 500,000 now to be sent to Europe. He has told us that we must pass laws enabling him to conscript the soldiers required.

The greatest sacrifice any citizen can be required to make for his country is to lay down his life under her flag. That is the sacrifice demanded of our boys now.

But to successfully conduct war the President must have money and resources. These would be even more reluctantly volunteered than would soldiers. These things must also be conscripted. If we compel our boys to yield up their lives, we should likewise compel the wealthy to yield up of their wealth. The bill which we are considering, which is probably but a beginning, fastens a debt of $7,000,000,000 upon the country. To allow it to stand as a perpetual burden to oppress our children through the ages would be not only unwise but unpatriotic. Let the strong arm of the law which compels our young men to go out on the battle plains to struggle and die also lay hold of a share of the wealth of the land to sustain those who fight the battles of the Republic. With that end in view I offer the following amendment to the pending bill:

That to provide funds for the payment of the bonds and other indebtedness of the United States created under the provisions of this act, in addition to the taxes now provided by law there shall be levied and collected upon all net incomes of persons in excess of $4,000 a tax of 1 per cent on the first $1,000 of such excess and an increase in the rate of such tax on a sliding scale on each succeeding $1,000 of such excess to a point which will not allow any person to retain an annual net income in excess of $50,000; and upon the profits of all corporations and joint-stock companies in excess of 8 per cent of their capital stock a tax of 8 per cent of the first 1 per cent of such excess and an increase in the rate of such tax on a sliding scale of 2 per cent on each succeeding one-fourth of 1 per cent of such excess to a point which will not allow any corporation or joint-stock company to retain an annual profit exceeding 12 per cent of its capital stock. The levy and collection of the taxes herein provided for shall not be continued after the bonds and other indebtedness of the United States created under the provisions of this act have been paid or funds sufficient for that purpose have been secured.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, there are 14 Democrats, 9 Republicans, and 1 Progressive on the Ways and Means Committee. Thank the Lord, every man Jack of them voted to lend $3,000,000,000 to the allies. You can not beat that for a good beginning. Now, let us stop boggling and give the President the Army he wants. If the President sits tight he will get his Army draft bill through by a big majority.

For four years this has been a rubber-stamp Congress when there was no need of it. Now the time has come when there is imperative need of it, and yet we start to boggle over the Army bill. Well, I for one, here and now, announce that so far as these war measures are concerned I propose to be a rubber-stamp Congressman, and I believe that the large majority of the Republicans in this House have exactly the same intention. I appeal to my Republican colleagues in this House to join with me in voting for what the President wants without a day's delay. We have been talking a lot about rising above partisanship; now let us quit talking about it and proceed to do it. What the President says he needs, that I shall vote to give him, not because I want to shove off my responsibility on him, but because he knows what is going on and I do not.

Mr. Chairman, as sure as you are an inch high the people want us to send any troops we can spare over to France right off quick. Even if we can only send a small brigade of Regulars, the people want the Stars and Stripes waving over those trenches just as soon as the color bearer can get there. They want a first-class sample of our manhood to go over and clap the allies on the back and wish them well and tell them to hang on till we can get there to help them.

If you do not believe what I say, Mr. Chairman, try out the next audience you speak to. I wish you could have been over in Baltimore last Sunday to hear the people howl when one of the speakers advocated a trip to the trenches for Uncle Sam's boys. In New York an audience of 7,000 took the roof of the Hippodrome off when they heard the same thing suggested.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

Mr. LANGLEY. I wanted to remind the gentleman that he just tried it out on this audience and there was not much applause. [Laughter.]

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, I have tried a great many things out on this audience and I never had any applause. [Laughter.]

If you want enthusiasm in this country, Mr. Chairman, pitch in; do not hang around the edge. Do not try to fight a duel with swords at 30 paces. If it takes us a year to get a trained army of half a million Ironsides, all right; we must wait; that is all. Meanwhile, if Roosevelt or any other Pied Piper can whistle 25,000 fanatics after him, for Heaven's sake give him the chance. He may whistle his division into the trenches half trained, of course; but I will wager that they will make up in nerve what they lack in drill. Roosevelt is no fool. He will not make a botch of it. He will do the same sort of a job with his division that he did with his Rough Riders if you only give him the chance. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will once more admonish the galleries that under the rules of the House expressions of approval or disapproval are not permitted, and if indulged in again the Chair will have the galleries cleared.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, just one moment. I would like to state I would be very much pleased if we could finish general debate by 6 or half past 6 to-day and then meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning and go on with the bill under the five-minute rule; and I hope gentlemen, if they can, will cut their remarks as short as possible, so that we can finish general debate by 6 or half past 6.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, if that is the purpose why would it not be better to have the time controlled by the gentleman from North Carolina and the ranking member of the minority [Mr. FORDNEY] so that the time might be parcelled out so that it would not go beyond that time?

Mr. KITCHIN. We could have made that arrangement before we went into the committee, but we had no idea that so many people desired to discuss the bill, and we thought general debate would have been finished by 4 o'clock.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. How many speakers has the gentleman on his side?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know, because they have been asking their time from the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has six requests with no statement as to the amount of time in some instances.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that general debate be closed so that we may rise this evening at half past 6 o'clock.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does not the gentleman realize it would not be fair unless some arrangement was made as to parceling out the time?

Mr. KITCHIN. I would ask that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] control half the time and I control half, if that would be satisfactory.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is there any possibility of finishing this debate to-day?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should think so.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I mean to finish the debate so as to have a vote upon the bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; not to vote upon the bill but close general debate and rise and adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow, and then take up the bill under the five-minute rule.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Can not we come to some arrangement as to when we shall adjourn to-morrow? I know of a number of gentlemen who have engagements for to-morrow evening.

Mr. KITCHIN. I could not tell, but if we get through general debate at half past 6, then I should ask that we adjourn to meet at 11, and I should say we would get through in two hours under the five-minute rule.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I would like to ask the gentleman if he feels that we can complete the bill in two hours' time to-morrow?

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course, I do not know; but I should not think it would take any more than that. We have discussed here practically all the serious amendments to be offered.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is it the idea we might come to a vote by 1 o'clock?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should say between 1 and 2 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I doubt very much whether debate will be exhausted in two hours under the five-minute rule, and there is no use in misleading anyone.

Mr. KITCHIN. I should think we could get through in an hour or two if we meet at 11 o'clock.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I know; but you can not do it in two hours.

Mr. KITCHIN. We can close debate, I should think, in three hours.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Why could not the gentleman run a little bit to-night, so as to make it a short day to-morrow?

Mr. KITCHIN. I was hoping we could make an agreement to close general debate to-night about half past 6, but I could not guarantee how long it would take to-morrow.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I have no objection to that.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman, unless there are more amendments offered than those which have been suggested to-day, I should think we could close debate under the five-minute rule before 2 o'clock.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman can not do that; as long as amendments are offered they will be debatable.

Mr. KITCHIN. Under the five-minute rule? Yes; you can.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman can not fix any time in the Committee of the Whole House when he is going to finish debate under the five-minute rule.

Mr. KITCHIN. I said I will move to close debate.

Mr. FITZGERALD. On the different amendments?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. That might not enable the gentleman to finish by 2 o'clock.

Mr. KITCHIN. I say, if there are no more serious amendments offered than those that have been suggested here to-day.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why not come to some agreement, so far as the termination of general debate is concerned, and leave the other matter open for future consideration?

Mr. KITCHIN. I could not make an arrangement about to-morrow, but it is my opinion that if we can meet at 11 o'clock we can finish by about 2 o'clock. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all general debate close at half past 6 this afternoon, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] to control half of the time and I to control the other half.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object——

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, let me suggest this, if I may do so, to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] is not here. I see on his list requests of gentlemen for time which will take two hours. That would bring us until a quarter past 5 on this side. How much time does the gentleman himself want?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think there are requests for about an hour and a half on this side.

Mr. LONGWORTH. May I make this suggestion——

Mr. KITCHIN. That would make it up until half past 6.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Let me make this suggestion, Mr. Chairman, namely, that we agree to close at half past 6, and then, if we find that there may be some other gentlemen, to begin at 11 o'clock to-morrow and let general debate run until 12.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then we will not get through to-morrow. Let us finish general debate at half past 6 to-night. Give me an hour and a half. I do not think we will use over an hour.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I would like to say that four hours have now been consumed, all of them in favor of the bill as it now stands, and I would like to know whether there will be any opportunity for anyone at an early time to get time who is opposed to the bill as it now stands?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I will say to the gentleman that on this list he is accorded 30 minutes, and the Chairman informed me a moment ago that they would recognize anyone opposed to the bill in preference to one now who was in favor of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] has submitted a unanimous-consent request. The Chair is not clear what his duty is under the circumstances.

Mr. KITCHIN. I recognize it is not in order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is not clear whether or not the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union ought to submit the request. The Chair suggests that the committee rise and get an agreement.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Thereupon the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

HOUR OF MEETING TO-MORROW.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

EMERGENCY BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2762, and, pending that motion, I ask unanimous consent that general debate close in three hours and a half, and that the time be divided as follows: Two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] and an hour and 30 minutes by myself.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2762, and, pending that, he asks unanimous consent that the general debate be limited to three hours and a half, two hours to be controlled by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] and an hour and a half by himself. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, that includes the 30 minutes yielded to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]?

Mr. KITCHIN. He is down on the list of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY].

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That includes him?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit for foreign Governments, and for other purposes, with Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee in the chair.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLIER].

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, the bill now before the House provides for the issuance of $5,000,000,000 of bonds to be sold at not less than par and bearing an interest rate not in excess of 3½ per cent. Three billion dollars of this issue is to be used in purchasing the bonds and obligations of foreign Governments, the purchase to be made under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury with the approval of the President of the United States. The remaining $2,000,000,000 is to be used to conduct our own operations in the conduct of the war.

The purchase of $3,000,000,000 of the obligations of foreign countries is for the purpose of establishing credit in the United States for foreign Governments in order that these Governments may have the means to prosecute the war against Germany in a more efficient and effective manner.

Congress has pledged the resources of the country to the President of the United States in order that vigorous measures may be taken and the war with Germany carried on to a successful and speedy conclusion. This is no time for us to hold back because of expense. Failure to assist with money and supplies those countries which are now waging war against an enemy of the United States would be a serious mistake on our part.

Strengthening the credit of those foreign countries to whom this money will be loaned is a severe blow to the common enemy. Wisdom dictates and common sense approves that at this stage of the war no more effective blow can be delivered by the United States against Germany than the passage of this bill. The foreign countries who will benefit by the passage of this measure have strained their credit by continual borrowing until they are now forced to pay such exorbitant interest rates that their usefulness in the field has been restricted. The need for money and supplies is great. Purchasing their obligations will enable them to obtain the supplies and munitions needed. I sincerely trust that there will not be a single vote against the passage of this bill.

Never before in the history of the American people has the Ways and Means Committee ever reported to Congress so stupendous a bill. There will be other bills to follow this, as it is already estimated that in addition to the $5,000,000,000 bond issue now before the House and the $472,000,000 bond issue authorized at various times during the closing days of the last Congress, $1,500,000,000 will be needed to carry on the war. No one can foresee how much more may be needed, but we all admit and know that this is no time to curtail expense when money is needed to prosecute the war.

Before going into the details of this bill it might be interesting at this time to review the bonded indebtedness of the United States as compared with several of the larger and more powerful countries of Europe.

On February 28, 1917, the entire bonded indebtedness of the United States was $973,000,000. To this must be added $150,000,000 for the use of the Navy authorized to be issued a short time ago, $100,000,000 authorized in the last revenue bill, and $222,000,000 Panama Canal bonds, making a total of $1,445,000,000. The $5,000,000,000 authorized in the present bill makes the total bonded indebtedness of the United States $6,445,000,000.

The $3,000,000,000 we intend to loan to foreign Governments should be deducted, as the money provided for this purpose will be returned by the foreign Governments, which leaves, after the passage of this bill, a total bonded indebtedness of $3,445,000,000.

The debt of the United Kingdom on March 31, 1914, was $3,400,000,000, about what our bonded indebtedness will be when this bill becomes a law. By the middle of November, 1916, the debt of the United Kingdom had increased to $15,800,000,000. The debt of France on January 1, 1914, was about $6,000,000,000, which has been increased up to August 31, 1916, to about $14,000,000,000.

The enactment of this bill into law will give us a bonded indebtedness of $3,445,000,000, not counting the $3,000,000,000 we loan the foreign Governments. But it must be remembered that the amount provided for in this bill will not be sufficient for our needs, as the estimates now are $3,500,000,000; $2,000,000,000 of this amount is provided for in the bill before the House and $1,500,000,000 must be provided for by taxation or otherwise.

At the close of the Civil War the United States had a bonded indebtedness on August 31, 1865, of $2,381,000,000, which was the largest bonded debt the United States has ever owed in its entire history. In that year there was a population in the United States of 34,748,000. Now our bonded indebtedness will be by the passage of this bill $3,445,000,000, deducting the $3,000,000,000 to be loaned to the foreign Governments, and we have an estimated population of 103,000,000 people.

The wealth of the United States in 1870 was estimated at $30,068,518,000, which was a per capita wealth of $779.83. The wealth of the United States in 1912 was estimated at $187,739,071,090, with a per capita wealth of $1,965.

During the eight years prior to 1912 the wealth of the United States was increased about 75 per cent, or about 9 per cent per year. During the last four years the increase has been upon a much larger percentage than that, but estimating the increase of the Nation's wealth at 10 per cent per annum and we find in 1917 that the wealth of the United States is something like $263,000,000,000, which is a per capita wealth of about $2,600.

These figures are reassuring and conclusively demonstrate that there is no reason for anyone to become apprehensive because of the increase in our national debt.

The total ordinary receipts—that is, the receipts from customs, ordinary internal revenue, emergency revenue, corporation and income tax, sales of public lands, and miscellaneous items—during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, amounted to $779,664,532.49. It is estimated that the like receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, will be $975,750,000. We estimate that under existing law the like receipts, including the receipts from the excess profits tax and the receipts from the estate tax at the increased rate during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, will amount to $1,237,750,000. This amount, however, will all be needed to run the ordinary expenses of the Federal Government and does not in any manner include the additional amount needed for war purposes, which is $1,500,000,000.

But to return to the bill before the House.

The $5,000,000,000 of bonds provided in the bill bears an interest rate not exceeding 3½ per cent, and these bonds are exempt from all kinds of State, county, municipal, and Federal taxation, but the transference of these bonds shall be subject to both State and national taxes on estates or inheritances. I understand, however, that a motion will be made to strike this feature from the bill and exempt these bonds from the inheritance tax, but the committee after much deliberation decided to leave this exception in the bill. I hope that this will be done.

Three and one-half per cent is a higher rate of interest than United States bonds have borne in many years, but we must remember that these bonds are issued for a stupendous amount. It is a war debt. Other countries are paying 6 per cent, and in some instances, I understand, even more. Certainly with the enormous collateral foreign countries are forced to put up in order to sell their bonds, it makes the rate much higher than 6 per cent.

These bonds will be offered in small denominations to the public and will prove an attractive field of investment for small investors. They will be offered at not less than par, and it is hoped and believed that they will command a premium, as all citizens of the United States will be given an equal opportunity to participate in the purchase and sale, and as the bonds are subject to be converted into higher interest-bearing bonds if at a later date the Congress should authorize the issuance of bonds at more than 3½ per cent.

The bill specifically provides that no commission shall be allowed or paid on any bonds issued in this bill.

As far as the lending of the $3,000,000,000 to the foreign Governments which are now waging war against Germany is concerned, this bill is carefully drawn, and the Government of the United States is protected by every means care and caution could devise.

If at a future day we find that it may become necessary to issue more bonds at a higher rate of interest than those bear which are provided in this bill, then the bonds authorized in this bill will be converted into bonds bearing the higher rate.

The only bonds this bill will permit the United States to purchase from foreign Governments are their own Government bonds sold to us by the foreign Government itself. It does not permit the United States to purchase any foreign Government bonds from an individual who may own them. The purchase must be made from the foreign Government itself.

Now, then, in case the bonds provided for in this bill should be converted into higher interest-bearing bonds, then the foreign governmental bonds which we hold by purchase shall automatically be converted into bonds bearing the same rate of interest as the converted United States bonds.

The Secretary of the Treasury, under the terms and conditions he may subscribe, is authorized to receive payment on these foreign bonds on or before maturity, and he is also authorized to sell at any time, at not less than the purchase price, any or all of these foreign obligations and with the proceeds redeem and purchase any outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States which may at such time be subject to call or which may be purchased at not more than par or accrued interest.

The $150,000,000 bond issue authorized in the last Congress for the immediate need of naval construction, the $100,000,000 issue provided for in the revenue act of last March, and the $222,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds to meet public expenditures on account of the Mexican situation, the construction of the armor-plate plant, the construction of the Alaskan Railway, the purchase of the Danish West Indies, and other expenditures amounting to $472,000,000 are reauthorized by this bill, and are

converted into bonds similar to the issue of the $5,000,000,000 bonds in this bill.

In addition to this, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow from time to time on the credit of the United States to carry out the purpose of this bill and to meet public expenditures such sums as he may deem necessary and to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness at not less than par and in no larger amount than $2,000,000,000 and not exceeding an interest rate of 3½ per cent, which certificates shall be paid and redeemed at a time not exceeding one year from the date of their issuance.

The fear has been expressed by some here to-day that placing $5,000,000,000 of 3½ per cent bonds upon the market will depreciate the $682,000,000 outstanding 2 per cent bonds. These 2 per cent bonds have the privilege of circulation, a privilege which is denied the issue authorized in the bill before the House. For this reason I do not believe that the sale of the $5,000,000,000 issue will materially affect the outstanding 2 per cent bonds.

This is a large revenue measure, larger than any ever before presented to Congress. It will be followed by a tax measure which of itself will perhaps be the largest tax bill ever presented to Congress.

I do not believe that there will be need for us to appeal to the patriotism of our people to get their assent to these measures. We, acting for them, pledged the resources of our country to the President of the United States to carry on this war. That pledge we gave in their behalf will be in part redeemed by them by their cheerful acquiescence in the tax bills we may present. I hope this bill will receive the support of every Member of the House. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask if there is any recognition to be given to the opposition to this bill? If not, being the ranking member here on the committee, I shall proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that, prior to the making of the agreement entered into in the House a few moments ago, the Chair had indicated that a number of gentlemen having spoken, all in favor of the bill, he would recognize those opposing the bill; and if the House had proceeded under that authority the Chair would have recognized some one who stated he was opposed to the bill. But the Chair feels that that matter has now passed out of the Chair's control and is in the control absolutely of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN].

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. As the gentleman from Michigan has arrived, I shall ask him to yield to whomsoever he wishes to.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin says that in my absence there was an agreement made with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] that he should have 30 minutes. I left the list to be given to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE]. I do not care which gentleman is recognized first, but I had the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] down to be recognized next. The gentleman from Wisconsin says that the agreement was with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH].

Mr. LENROOT. All the speeches that have been made so far have been in favor of the bill as it now stands. I am opposed to the bill as it now stands, but would vote for it with an amendment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman from Wisconsin follows, it violates the courtesy that is due to the members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that that is hardly a matter for argument on the floor.

Mr. FORDNEY. Without any discourtesy, I had agreed to recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

Mr. LENROOT. But the gentleman had no power of recognition at that time; it lay with the Chair. The gentleman could not make an agreement.

Mr. FORDNEY. The gentleman could not make an agreement with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH].

Mr. LONGWORTH. There was no agreement. I simply said that the gentleman from Wisconsin was included in that agreement and was to have 30 minutes.

Mr. FORDNEY. Well, Mr. Chairman, I will have to yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I do it with all courtesy and friendly feeling to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, hoping for an honorable peace, but solemnly weighing the responsibilities imposed upon me as a Representative, I voted, on the morning of April 6, for the resolution urged by the President of the United States declaring the existence of a state of war with the Imperial Government of Germany. That determination arrived at, I now feel it my duty to loyally support all reasonable measures asked for by the President to prosecute to a successful and speedy termination the war thus proclaimed.

The President is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and upon him devolves the duty of mobilizing and directing our forces upon land and sea. It remains our privilege, however, under the Constitution, which we are both sworn to support and defend, to cooperate with him and to provide him with those ways and means which he may deem necessary to adequately and effectively enforce and sustain the national security and defense and to quickly restore, as we trust and believe he will, that "domestic tranquillity" and those "blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" which were guaranteed by our forefathers in the Constitution—our bulwark and our guide from the days of Washington to this hour.

The bill reported by the Ways and Means Committee and now under discussion is the first of the measures advanced by the President to obtain the necessary resources for financing the war. Its tremendous import is instantly apparent, since no American Congress has ever before been called upon to consider anything approaching it in domestic and world-wide significance, and possibly no legislative body in all the world's history has been called upon to deal with a legislative parallel. In short, the measure now before us may be regarded as absolutely without precedent. It is the first of its kind.

The bill is in the nature of an authorization to the President to perfect his plans. It provides for the raising of $5,000,000,000 by bond issues and $2,000,000,000 by an issue of certificates of indebtedness, a total of $7,000,000,000—certainly the largest amount ever provided by an American Congress, and, in a monetary sense, the largest sum ever struck off in a single measure in any country. Charged directly against the people of the United States, it would represent a tax of $70 upon every man, woman, and child, or of $210 upon every family of three. Hasty calculations show that reduced to dollar bills, placed end to end, the amount herein provided would several times encircle the globe.

Of this colossal obligation which the Government of the United States is about to assume—more, I believe, for the benefit of other nations than for our own—$2,000,000,000 is to be raised by certificates of indebtedness, the proceeds of which are to be applied to preparedness purposes and for the prosecution of the war, as set forth in certain estimates already submitted to Congress, or to be submitted, by the Secretary of the Treasury; $2,000,000,000 of the permanent bond issue is also to be applied to these expenditures as authorized by Congress, and the remaining $3,000,000,000 of the proceeds of the permanent bond issue is to be set aside as provided in section 2 of the bill, "for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments." This vast sum, far exceeding the cost of the Civil War, is to be passed over for the purpose indicated for disposal by "the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President," "to purchase from such foreign Governments, at par, their obligations, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States, issued under authority of this act." The Secretary of the Treasury, "with the approval of the President," is authorized "to enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign Governments and for the subsequent repayment thereof," and so forth, as may be approved by the President. It is clear that as to this $3,000,000,000, which is to be used "for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments," Congress, with the passage of this act, relinquishes all authority to the President. Except as provided in the bill, there is no official information as to which foreign nations the President proposes to favor, nor is it certain that he may limit the assistance intended "for foreign Governments" to those nations which are now actually at war with Germany.

If the bill passes with section 2 unamended the President will probably have power to purchase the securities of nations not at war if, in his judgment, such assistance may contribute to the early termination of hostilities and to a victory satisfactory to the United States. It was my intention to introduce an amendment to section 2 limiting the powers of the President in the "arrangements" to be made with foreign Governments, to straight-cut financial loan transactions, free from possible entangling alliances of a political or economic character; but I have been advised that such an amendment would not be agreeable to the administration and am persuaded it could not pass. I do not hesitate, however, to express the hope that such "arrangements" as the President may make with foreign Governments at war with Germany may be so made that all American rights may be securely safeguarded so that when the war

ceases the United States of America, with due consideration and regard for all other nations, whether in the past they have been our friends or our foes, may stand forth free and independent, generous to all, but cringing to none.

The various addresses of the President to Congress setting forth his high purposes in this regard, contending for world peace and a purer democracy as a result of this war, are such assurances as can not in this crisis be misunderstood. Giving the President authority, as we do by this bill, and placing him in funds to sustain the honor of our Nation as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, we must trust the President. It is the one way now, no matter what the sacrifice, to quickly end the war.

There are some details of the bill which may be briefly discussed. The bonding feature presents some of these, especially as they relate to the possible influence of large banking interests, which will naturally figure in such an unusual financial transaction. It has been stated that through American bankers certain foreign Governments, sadly in need of funds, might be tempted to unload ancient foreign securities upon the United States, and that ultimately the United States would be asked to extinguish its loans or to suffer repudiation. Apparently the administration is not impressed with the thought that any one of the foreign Governments whose bonds may be purchased by the United States will not be amply able to repay. It is pointed out also that as the interest charges for both the United States bonds and the corresponding foreign bonds are to be identical, i. e., 3½ per cent, that Congress and the country would soon be advised of such delinquencies.

This question was discussed in committee, but having sought independent information with respect to it I may be privileged to say that the matter of repayment of these foreign loans, frankly speaking, is not clearly defined. It is up to the President; but it seems to me that if we are to send both men and money to the belligerents, apart from our direct participation in the war, there should be fixed a limit of time for these foreign loans to run. A 30-year period would not, in my judgment, be unreasonable.

Mr. Chairman, another detail of the bill relates to interest charges. It provides for the conversion of existing bond authorizations at 3 per cent to the 3½ per cent rate, or to a higher rate if Congress shall later on determine to increase the rate. As to foreign bonds purchased, however, the same conversion condition would apply, and if foreign interest is paid as promptly as American interest is paid and all bonds are ultimately redeemed, conditions would equalize themselves as to any part or all of the $3,000,000,000 issue to establish foreign credits.

Mr. HILL. The gentleman has evidently read the bill with a good deal of care. Does he find anywhere in it a limitation on the power given to the Executive, or is it not a general power for national purposes and defense to last until the payment of these bonds?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. As I read it, there is absolutely no limitation on the President as to whom he shall make these loan exchanges except to "foreign Governments."

Mr. HILL. Nor is there any limit of time.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There is no time limit fixed in the bill.

Mr. HILL. It may run until the time of final payment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The bonds are to run indefinitely. I think they ought to be redeemable in 30 years. They could be extended if necessary.

The bill does not specifically provide for taxation, although it is clearly the intent of the President, as expressed in his war address of April 2 and since, to relieve at least a part of the bond issue by direct taxes. Most, if not all, of the $2,000,000,000 issue of credits of indebtedness may be repaid by taxes. We are not yet informed as to the manner in which these taxes are to be distributed, although recommendations from the administration are said to be forthcoming.

It is a certainty, however, that direct taxes will be levied, and unless the war is speedily ended will necessarily be increased. This is another reason for treating our foreign loans as financial transactions which we expect to have paid in good faith, for ultimately the people of the United States must pay if the foreign Governments do not.

Assurance is given in the bill that "no commissions shall be allowed or paid on any bonds issued under authority of this act." But it is not to be understood that this monumental financial authorization is to be effected without cost. The final section of the bill—section 7—provides for an equivalent of $12,000,000, which the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use "to pay all necessary expenses, including rent, connected with any operations under this act." As to the expenditure of this money, Congress will have no responsibility after the passage of this bill.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes. I have two minutes more.

Mr. HASTINGS. The gentleman is a member of the committee that prepared this bill. I was not in the House this morning when the majority leader discussed it at length. I want to ask the gentleman if this section of the bill was discussed in the committee, and if there was a discussion as to how this $12,000,000 would be expended?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. There was some discussion, and the Secretary of the Treasury related some of the reasons why so large a sum should be appropriated for this purpose. I understand that all the certificates are to be printed in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, but there has been an increase in all costs upon which the Secretary laid some stress. He also indicated that much advertising would have to be done, and that there would have to be a strong drive in order to dispose of these bonds promptly and to effectuate the purpose the President has in mind. The Secretary indicated that he might give information more in detail if desired.

Taken all in all, Mr. Chairman, this bill, so brief and direct in its phraseology, is the most portentious—may I say the most awesome—that American legislators have ever been called upon to consider. It involves each and all of those important factors which the President described in his address of April 2—the financial credits, the organization and mobilization of our material resources, the equipment of our Army and Navy, and the immediate action of our armed forces—and it will also involve, as it has already involved, the business, the happiness, and the homes of a peace-loving and God-fearing people, who have believed themselves secure from the ravages of a European war. But involving all these as it does, Mr. Chairman, there is now but one side to this controversy, and that is our side. There is but one course to pursue and that to stand steadfastly by the flag we have learned to revere.

I shall vote for this bill, trusting in the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy to vigorously prosecute this war and to bring us speedily to an honorable and a permanent peace. [Applause.]

Mr. RAINEY. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] 10 minutes.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen are right in saying that this measure presents a new theory in American politics. It has not been unusual in the past for nations to subsidize the military operations of other nations. In fact, it has been the most usual course of war since the time when money as a circulating medium was in existence; but it is a new proposition to the American Nation. We have never had occasion before to confront so novel, so difficult, and so important a question as we have presented in this bill.

It is new in this respect also that this act is to be done by the representatives of the people themselves, by general legislation. Usually all forms of subsidies given by one nation to another have been through the devious and underhand course of diplomacy. We to-day in the open daylight, and upon the plain-deal table of the business counter, are committing ourselves to a policy of extending our aid and advancing our credit to those who are fighting the same battle that we are fighting.

I am for this proposition for many reasons, and not the least of them is that it is a perfectly open transaction. Having entered upon this war it is our duty to perform from the very beginning the most effective part in it that we can perform. At this time the most effective part that we can perform is to strengthen and extend the credit of the nations already in the field with their armies, and permit them to purchase the necessary supplies to make those armies efficient and successful. But it has another interesting phase in it beside its great political change, and that is its financial and commercial change. It brings to our Nation definitely and finally, as I believe, the control of the finances of the world, and makes of us the financial center of the earth. It makes the dollar the medium of exchange, and provides for the repayment of these obligations in the coin and currency of the United States. The transaction so far is a benefit to us. It is a benefit to us that we have the power to finance these great movements of other nations, and it is a benefit to us that they must come and ask such aid of the great American Republic. It is a benefit to us that the financial capital of the world has been transferred to American soil. It is a benefit to us that our financial resources are sought for by the nations of the world, and it is further a benefit to us that by the very restrictions of this bill this money

is to be expended among the business men, producers, and toilers in America.

Mr. HILL. There is no such limitation in the bill.

Mr. BORLAND. Well, I take it that that is the practical and necessary operation of the bill.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. No.

Mr. BORLAND. It is expressed in section 2 of the bill that the purpose is to reestablish the credit of those countries "in the United States." It is so expressly stated, and their credit has been mostly used in this country. I will say to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL] that if the administration was not fully assured that this issue of bonds would unquestionably be absorbed in this country, no such proposition would have been put forth.

Mr. HILL. That is true. We shall take the bonds——

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman does not doubt that.

Mr. HILL. But the money goes to the credit in the banks of the countries to which it is loaned, and they will spend it where they please and as they choose, and it can not be done in any other way. Do not get the idea that we are going to work it out.

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman is a very shrewd business man and fully conversant with business conditions. He knows that if a bond issue of that magnitude is absorbed in this country it will be largely absorbed through the same sentiment that makes the sale of the goods, and that it is practically not within the realm of probable conjecture that any of it will be spent in other countries.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Does the gentleman think that sordid sentiment will actuate those who invest in these bonds?

Mr. BORLAND. I think not. These bonds are not all for the purposes of the allies.

Mr. ALEXANDER. The proceeds of $2,000,000,000 of these bonds are to be expended to fit us for war, and $3,000,000,000 of them we simply exchange bonds with the allies, and the proceeds of those bonds will go to the allies to spend where they please.

Mr. HILL. Certainly.

Mr. ALEXANDER. And I do not want any sordid sentiment to be injected into our part of this enterprise.

Mr. BORLAND. Sordid, as the gentleman may call it, I still think every dollar of that $3,000,000,000 that goes to the allies will go to sustain their credit in the United States and not elsewhere. In fact, the bill so states. The point I am making is that up to that point it is a sordid benefit. It is a sordid benefit for us, and we have derived and will derive a benefit from the issue of these bonds.

I hope that our part in this war shall be greater and different in kind from the mere question of advancing credit. I hope that gentlemen are wrong when they say we shall keep our men safely at home and simply sell goods or loan money to those engaged in war. I would not consider that we had a just cause for war if it extended no further than to loan money to the nations who are fighting and whose troops are in the field. I hope that when the time comes we will be willing to perform, and not only willing but be ready and prepared to perform, our full part in this world war. It might easily be that if we had challenged the right of any nation to assail our commerce on the sea we would have conducted that war single handed. We would have had by our own force, by our own men, by our own ships to maintain the dignity and the sanctity of the American flag. I think we owe the same duty, having declared war in concert with other powers, to use our full resources as we have pledged in the resolution of war we should do. We pledged the full resources of the United States, not in a trafficking agreement by which we sold goods in exchange for foreign bonds, however valuable and desirable that may be and however necessary it may be at this stage, but we have pledged the full resources of this country to carry this war to a successful and early conclusion. I hope this will only be a step, an important step it is true, and at this time a necessary and indispensable step, in carrying on this war, but that it will not mark the measure of America's participation in the war. I hope we will not ease our conscience with the idea that because we have furnished these men things absolutely needed for them by which they may continue the struggle that we will have done our part in the war. We should look upon this question as though we were the sole combatant, as though we were maintaining the rights and dignities of America single handed and without the aid of any other nation. We should prepare from now on to fight that battle as though all of the other nations were to conclude peace before daylight to-morrow morning and leave us alone single handed to reckon with those whom we claim have assailed American rights.

It is very easy for gentlemen to comment on the enormous amount of this bond issue. The burden of taxation and the burden of bonded indebtedness is relative. I shall undertake to say that never before in the history of the world, and never in the history of any other nation in the world, could such an issue of bonds be made and absorbed at such a rate of interest and with similar ease as that with which this will be absorbed. What does that mean? It means that it does not exhaust, it does not impose a serious burden upon, the great and growing wealth of the American people, and that this act, large as it seems in our eyes, is but the beginning of the struggle upon which America is entered.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS].

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote for this bond issue, and I do it with the full realization of what it means in the way of an extended bonded debt. It is bewildering, but we have no other choice. We did not voluntarily go into the war; the war came upon us, and we so declared; and now I intend to vote for what seems to be necessary to do our part in it. I do it in the hope that the indebtedness will not increase as it has in Europe. It is absolutely bewildering to state the fact that the interest charge upon the debt of the European belligerent countries is greater than the entire budget of all of the countries prior to the war. We hope that will not be the case in our own country; but though it be, we can not withhold the support of the Government in the time of its supremest trial, and I shall vote for the measure as my duty to my country.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT].

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, unless this bill shall be amended in at least one important particular I shall feel compelled to vote against it; but I hope and expect from the speech of the chairman of the committee this morning that in at least that respect, which I shall hereafter mention, the bill will be amended, and I then hope that it may have the unanimous vote of this House. At the very outset I want to make plain what my position is upon the bill. My objections to it in its present form relate wholly to section 2, the section providing for the purchase of bonds of foreign Governments. I am willing to vote for a bond issue of $5,000,000,000, to authorize the issuance of certificates of indebtedness for $2,000,000,000, as is provided in the bill. I am willing to vote for the purpose of aiding us in carrying on this war a loan to the allies of $3,000,000,000; but when we go that far that is as far as we should be asked to go. Section 2 is not limited in that respect at all. In the first place, from beginning to end, while this bill is treated as a war measure, there is nothing whatever in the bill to so indicate. This $3,000,000,000 loan, so far as the bill is concerned, is not confined to the purpose of carrying on this war. The authority of the Secretary of the Treasury is not so limited. He may loan the $3,000,000,000 with the approval of the President to any country upon the face of the earth for any purpose that he may see fit that seeks to establish a credit in this country. Moreover, his authority does not cease with the termination of the war between the United States and Germany. This is permanent legislation upon its face, and his authority will continue long after this war shall cease. It may not be the present President of the United States; it may not be the present Secretary of the Treasury using this power. Any future Secretary may use what may be left of the $3,000,000,000 for any purpose that he sees fit in the purchase of bonds of foreign countries. Mr. Chairman, there is very great necessity in this crisis of harmonious action between the legislative and the executive branches of the Government. We ought to be united upon all of these propositions as far as possible, but the responsibility for united action does not rest in Congress alone.

The executive branch of this Government is responsible as well in that respect, and it should make no demand of the Congress of the United States that can not be justified in carrying on this war. So this language ought to be limited, and I know of no way by which Members of Congress can register their protests against this unheard-of exercise of power and delegation of authority except to protest upon this floor and at this time and by their votes which shall be cast. I realize full well, as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] stated the other day, that in this war time the Congress in its legislation can not and should not go into full details. There must be very broad power and very wide discretion reposed in the President of the United States, but we have the right to insist that any legislation concerning this war that is asked of us shall upon its face confine the powers delegated to those necessary in the carrying on of this war.

Now, with reference to the loans that may be made. I fully agree with gentlemen who have said that it would be unwise to

attempt to specify that these loans should be made to England or France or Russia or to any of the belligerent countries, or to attempt to specify the proportions of the fund which should be made to each of them. That from the nature of things must be and should be left to the discretion of the executive branch of this Government; but I do say we have the right to insist that when we are voting these staggering sums it is our duty to say to the executive branch of this Government that while we are willing to give you this power to make these loans to foreign governments, they shall be made only to such foreign governments as are engaged in war with our enemies, and that the purpose of these loans is not a matter of philanthropy to assist some foreign government but its only purpose is to enable the United States to win this war in which we are now engaged.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. What phraseology would the gentleman use in which to include our ability to loan money to Italy?

Mr. LENROOT. I am very glad you speak of that. In the first place, while I understand Italy is at war with Germany, I can not positively so state. I have made many inquiries and I have not yet found any definite expression as to what the actual fact is. I am free to confess that I do not know, but, assuming that Italy is not at war with Germany to-day, she is at war with Austria. We are not, and, although diplomatic relations have been severed by the act of Austria, our status with Austria to-day is that of neutrality. Whatever may happen in the near future, and it is fair to assume and expect we will be in war with Austria before many weeks shall pass by—assuming that Italy is not in war with Germany and we are not at war with Austria shall we now loan a part of this $3,000,000,000 to Italy? I say no for two reasons: First, I assume we desire that our war be confined to Germany, and we should not give Austria an excuse and a reason for declaring war upon us, that while we were in the attitude of neutrality we had committed an unneutral act by loaning money to Italy which was one of the belligerents with her.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. I do.

Mr. PLATT. Suppose we loan money to Russia, Russia is at war with Austria?

Mr. LENROOT. I understand that, but we have the right to loan money to Russia, to France, and to England for our purposes to assist in our own war, and the fact that they may be at war with some country with which we are not in war can not in the least affect our status of neutrality. Throwing that aside, Italy, we will say, is not at war with Germany. We are. I would say to Italy, if you want a part of this $3,000,000,000, the only way you can be considered to get a part of that $3,000,000,000 is to help us fight Germany. Instead of that you are offering inducements to a country——

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman logically extends that doctrine to apply to loans to all countries who are not in war with Germany?

Mr. LENROOT. What does the gentleman mean?

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman says we are offering inducements to Italy to become involved with Germany in order to secure a portion of this money. Why not extend it generally to all neutral countries not involved in war to induce them to become involved in war with Germany?

Mr. LENROOT. No; I would not loan money to any neutral country; but if that neutral country is willing to help us fight our enemies I would loan them money.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is not Italy neutral so far as Germany is concerned—not engaged in war with Germany—and are not we offering inducements, in the gentleman's words, to have her become provoked into a war with Germany in order to secure a portion of this fund?

Mr. LENROOT. So far as that is concerned. I will very frankly answer the question of the gentleman. So long as we are in war with Germany we must aim to secure a successful termination of that war, and we should welcome aid and help from every quarter, no matter whence it comes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then the logic of the gentleman's position is to involve all neutrals in war by offering this money as an inducement for them to become involved in war with Germany?

Mr. LENROOT. If $1,000,000,000 or $2,000,000,000, if other countries are in such condition that they are willing to join with the United States in this war with Germany if the United States will help finance them, to bring this war to an early conclusion, I would say, come on. [Applause.]

Mr. FLOOD. Can I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. Did I understand the gentleman to say that Italy was not in war with Germany?

Mr. LENROOT. My understanding is that she is, but it has been denied.

Mr. FLOOD. Italy declared war on Germany on the 28th of August, 1916.

Mr. LENROOT. That is exactly my understanding, and I have simply made this argument because of the fact that I was not in a position to give any official affirmation one way or the other.

Mr. FLOOD. The gentleman is right.

Mr. LENROOT. The gentleman now gives the exact date. So Italy is now entirely out of this question, and if these loans are confined, as they ought to be confined, to the aid of those countries that are now or hereafter may be engaged in war with Germany or any other country with which we are engaged in war, then Italy would have the benefit, if the administration sees fit to extend it, of a portion of these funds.

But I do say that Congress ought not to blindly, at least, vote an authority to the administrative side of this Government to loan any part of this $3,000,000,000 to any country that is not in war with our enemy.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. Do I understand, then, that the gentleman's point is that this legislation ought to restrict the right to loan money or purchase bonds to such countries as are in war with Germany and to be coextensive with the period of that particular war?

Mr. LENROOT. Or with any other country that may be in war with us or we may be in war with.

Mr. BORLAND. Is not the gentleman taking an unusual ground with foreign nations, to dictate whether they shall be at war and whether they shall continue in war?

Mr. LENROOT. Not in the least.

Mr. BORLAND. Suppose, for instance, we should make a loan to Italy on the theory that she should be at war with Germany. A loan would come, payable when she would be in peace with Germany. What influence would that have on the conclusion of peace between Germany and Italy?

Mr. LENROOT. I would be very glad to have from the majority side of the House this afternoon some interpretation of what this bill really means. I take it from the gentleman's position it means the administration may loan a part of this $3,000,000,000 to some country that is not at all involved in this war. Is that the gentleman's position?

Mr. BORLAND. That is not the intention.

Mr. LENROOT. What is the meaning of the argument?

Mr. BORLAND. The intention is that when we buy the securities of this Nation we buy them on the credit of the Nation, whether in war or peace, and the Nation is under obligation to redeem those and use the money as it sees fit.

Mr. LENROOT. If Italy should to-morrow make peace with Germany, does the gentleman want the United States to use a portion of this $3,000,000,000 to buy the securities of Italy, if Italy is not assisting the United States at all in the prosecution of this war?

Mr. BORLAND. No such intention is expressed.

Mr. LENROOT. Then I do not catch the point the gentleman is making.

Mr. BORLAND. The money is loaned to these countries for the purpose of enabling them to continue this war, but not to place any restriction on their action as to how long they may continue it.

Mr. LENROOT. I have not made any such assertion or intimation, and if the gentleman had followed me he would have seen that I had not. My only point was that these loans, when made in the first instance, should be made only to countries that are now in war with our enemies.

Mr. BORLAND. To that extent the gentleman has the protection of the policy of the administration that proposed it. That is the very purpose of the loan.

Mr. LENROOT. Then why not express it in the bill? Will the gentleman answer?

Mr. BORLAND. I have already answered that, to the effect that that would be controlling the diplomatic relations of those countries to an extent that we have no right and no desire to do.

Mr. LENROOT. How do we control the diplomatic relations if we specify that these loans shall only go for war purposes to countries which are now engaged in war or countries hereafter engaged in war with our enemies?

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman said they should come to an end when peace was concluded.

Mr. LENROOT. I said nothing of the kind.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. I will.

Mr. MANN. Under the terms of the bill as it stands, would not the Secretary of the Treasury have power to at once take the bonds from and loan money to the Republic of Colombia?

Mr. LENROOT. Absolutely.

Mr. MANN. Or any of the governments in Mexico?

Mr. LENROOT. Absolutely. Not only that, but when peace is declared between this country and Germany, if there is any portion of this $3,000,000,000 left, he will have the power after that to loan this money to Colombia, to loan it to Mexico, or to buy the bonds of any country upon the face of the earth.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] said that in this war time he was willing to become a rubber stamp. He may be. That is for him to decide. But Members of Congress have a responsibility; they have a duty to perform, and this legislation in section 2 is peculiarly a legislative proposition. I am not willing to become a rubber stamp.

Mr. GARDNER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. Does the gentleman really think that all those possibilities that he conjured up about the President loaning money to Colombia and to other nations not at war are reasonable? Does he expect the President may possibly do that?

Mr. LENROOT. I will answer the question. If this administration did not have some thought of loaning a portion of this $3,000,000,000 to countries other than those which are now engaged in war with our enemies, why was this broad power included in the bill?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does the gentleman consider the possibility that other powers may be involved?

Mr. LENROOT. Certainly; and the amendment I shall propose provides for that.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. So it is the same as the bill as it now stands?

Mr. LENROOT. No; it is not. There is no limitation or restriction whatever. Every speech on this floor to-day has assumed that this $3,000,000,000 is to be loaned to these allies engaged in war as we are engaged in war. The gentleman knows there is not a line in the bill containing any such restriction. The gentleman knows there is not a line in the bill that authorizes or limits this $3,000,000,000 even for the purpose of carrying on this war.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Let me understand the gentleman, if the gentleman will permit. Does he mean to say that we ought to offer in this bill an inducement to other powers which go to war, and say to them that we will loan them money if they go to war?

Mr. LENROOT. No. I would say we will not loan money to any country that is not helping us, because the only purpose of this immense sum of money is to help the United States win this war.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Very clearly; but the bill, while it is not exclusive, as the gentleman desires, is inclusive.

Mr. LENROOT. It authorizes the administration to loan money to every country on the face of the earth, for any purpose that it sees fit, so long as it establishes a credit in the United States.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. Would he not go further and try to prevent the borrowing nations from expending that money injuriously? In that way the gentleman could add a great many amendments.

Mr. LENROOT. No. This is a practical amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. LENROOT. I understood I was to have 10 minutes additional.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman be kind enough to read his amendment?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes; I will in just a moment. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] suggests that we might go much further and determine the manner of the spending of this money. But that is not a practical thing. I very freely concede it. But I want to say that nowhere, from any corner of the United States, until this bill came into Congress was there a suggestion from anybody from anywhere that a single dollar of this money should be loaned to anyone except to those who were fighting our enemy, namely, Germany.

Now, I have proposed an amendment; and I am glad to say that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] in his speech this morning stated that undoubtedly an amendment would be proposed to section 2 by the committee that would make it clear that the authority to loan this $3,000,000,000 should be for the purpose of carrying on this war and for the national defense. If that is done, I want very frankly to say that that will constitute a restriction and very much curtail the authority given. I think if that amendment is adopted I shall be able to vote for the bill, and I should like to see, in addition, two other amendments adopted that I would like to read. The first amendment, if adopted, to section 2, would make it read this way, if you have the bill before you:

That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national defense and carrying on the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments engaged in war with the Imperial Government of Germany or with any other Government with which the United States Government shall be at war, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized—

And so forth, to do these various things. That limits it. These loans, then, must be made not alone to the countries now at war with Germany, which is at war with us, but to any country that afterwards may come in and be making war upon our enemies. And the next amendment is a proviso that it seems to me ought to have the unanimous vote of this House when the time comes. It is in the form of a proviso to section 2. It reads:

Provided, That the authority granted by this section to the said Secretary of the Treasury to purchase bonds of foreign Governments, as aforesaid, shall cease upon the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial Government of Germany.

Can there be any objection to that? Is there any Member of this House that wants to continue the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury after our war is over to loan any portion of this $3,000,000,000 that may remain unexpended to any nation that he may see fit? There surely can not be. What objection can there be to putting that restriction in the bill? If that restriction is opposed, there can be only one conclusion, and that is that, notwithstanding the views expressed by my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] that the administration would have no thought of loaning money to the United States of Colombia or to Mexico, that, nevertheless, if this restriction or a similar one is refused in this bill, we have the right to believe that there is some such thought upon the part of the administration.

Mr. SWITZER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SWITZER. Suppose that the Secretary were negotiating for bonds, taking up foreign bonds, and a foreign government had contracted a debt. Would this hinder or in some way handicap him in carrying out the intention of this Government?

Mr. LENROOT. No. My only limitation is upon the purchase of bonds; all the other provisions of section 2 will remain in full force for the future.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. Does the gentleman contend, simply because some Member of this House objects to putting in a restriction, that that must necessarily mean that the President proposes secretly to do that which you propose to restrict? Because if so, I would like to ask the gentleman if he ever heard of a man's objecting to being restricted on account of the fact that we can not foresee future contingencies?

Mr. LENROOT. I am very glad to answer that question. In the first place, if they had no such thought as the gentleman has in mind, the bill, in the first instance, should have expressed it. If the restrictions are objected to, based upon such broad and plain policies, we have the right to assume that there must be some reason for the objection. I gather from the gentleman's statement that because we can not foresee the future he thinks the time may come when we ought to make loans to neutral countries of a portion of this $3,000,000,000. My answer to that is that if that time should come the Congress of the United States should settle that question when it arises. But for the present, we should confine our loan of this $3,000,000,000 to the allies, to those who are now engaged in war fighting our enemies.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. HILL. I think there should be an amendment, but I think it should be much broader than the gentleman's amendment. Let me make the suggestion: It is a well-known fact that Germany has financed Bulgaria and Turkey to go into the war.

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. HILL. What objection would there be if the Presiden acting in harmony with the legislative power of the Gover

ment, as I think should be done, financed Turkey and Bulgaria to get them out of the war? [Laughter.]

Mr. LENROOT. There may be no objection whatever. [Laughter.] But, Mr. Chairman, if the United States is to enter upon that kind of a proposition, we are entitled to act upon that proposition and let the legislative branch of this Government decide it. [Applause.] And it is not an authority that ought to be granted to the administrative side of this Government.

I am heartily in accord with the purpose of loaning the money of the United States to those who are engaged in war, either now or hereafter, with our enemies, because then the loan of that money clearly helps the United States to a successful prosecution of the war. But I am not willing to vote and I shall not willingly vote any authority to the administrative side of this Government to make loans of the money of the United States to neutral countries that are doing nothing to help the United States fight this war, until such time as the facts may be brought before Congress and Congress can intelligently act upon such facts.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, as I said before, I sincerely hope that at least some of the amendments I have suggested will be adopted and, if so, I shall be glad to vote for the bill. It seems so clear and so plain that these loans ought to be restricted, not to specific countries but to countries that are making common cause, so to speak, with us, that by fighting are helping the United States to win her fight, that there ought not to be the slightest objection to placing a restriction of that kind in the bill. And, second, there ought not to be the slightest objection to the termination of this tremendous authority, necessary in war time, just as soon as peace shall be declared. [Applause.]

Mr. RAINEY. I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY].

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, I shall not at this time undertake to reply definitely to the suggestions made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. I do not believe that even by the statements of individual Members we should commit or attempt to commit this bill to amendments which can not be considered more in detail than is possible by having them stated on the floor now.

I am somewhat in sympathy with what the gentleman has said touching the termination of this power to make this foreign loan being coincident with the termination of war with Germany; but from a very hastily formed judgment of the amendments that he has proposed touching a curtailment in the exercise of the power during the time that it shall exist, I am of the opinion that the amendments suggested would go very much further than the gentleman from Wisconsin himself would desire to go in restricting the power of the President in negotiating these loans.

I think it is perhaps fortunate that we shall not be called upon to vote upon this bill and its amendments until to-morrow, and in the meanwhile proper consideration can be given to the matter, and a decision reached as to whether any amendment should be offered along the line suggested by the gentleman.

But I asked the time of the committee, not with the intention of discussing that phase, but very briefly to call attention to the strength of America in connection with the very great loan that it is proposed shall now be financed at a very low rate of interest.

The sums that we are dealing in are so gigantic that it is impossible for the mind really to grasp their meaning by any thought other than a comparative one.

We are proposing by this bill an issue of $5,000,000,000 of bonds, $2,000,000,000 of certificates, and the reissue, or rather the issue under new terms, of $472,000,000 of bonds now authorized to be issued, all to bear interest at three and a half per cent.

The bonded debt of the United States at this time amounts to $973,357,250, so that if all of the bonds and certificates of indebtedness are issued which will be authorized after this bill shall have become a law we will have outstanding an indebtedness of bonds and certificates of debt of $8,445,357,250, a sum so tremendous that, I repeat, it is impossible for the mind to grasp the significance of it except when used in terms of comparison. And yet, in my judgment, that bonded and certificated indebtedness does not represent a fraction of the strain upon the credit of America that was represented by the indebtedness that existed at the close of the Civil War.

At the close of the Civil War the wealth of America, roughly, amounted to something like $20,000,000,000. In 1860 it had been estimated at $15,000,000,000, and in 1870 it was estimated at $30,000,000,000. I think it is a fair and liberal statement to say that the wealth of America at the close of the Civil War did not exceed $20,000,000,000. Yet at that time we had a bonded indebtedness of $2,381,530,000 and we had an outstanding noninterest-bearing debt of $456,000,000.

The interest that we were required to pay upon our bonded debt at the close of the Civil War amounted to $150,977,000 per annum. The interest that we would be required to pay if all of this $8,000,000,000 of indebtedness should be issued under present conditions would amount to $284,974,000. In other words, assuming that we can make these issues upon the rate of interest that is being prescribed in the act of 3½ per cent, we would have an annual interest charge upon this indebtedness that would not be equal to twice what the interest charge was upon the national debt at the end of the Civil War. Yet as against a national wealth of $20,000,000,000 at that time we have now a national wealth that has been estimated at from $200,000,000,000 to $250,000,000,000. When that is borne in mind, when the tremendous wealth of this country is contemplated, the issue here proposed, gigantic as it is, and without precedent, yet it presents much less of a strain upon the ability of the country to absorb the bonds, and of the Government subsequently to take care of the interest and provide for their retirement, than was required as to bonds outstanding at the close of the Civil War.

In the brief time that I have I can not submit the figures I have gathered touching the wealth of the allied powers that are at war with Germany; but great as is their expenditure, tremendous as is the bonded indebtedness that has been created by those countries since the beginning of their war with Germany, they have yet not reached a period in financial indebtedness that would warrant the belief that they will not be able to meet both the interest and over a course of years the principal of their debt. In considering these sums the trouble is that we are apt to forget also the tremendous increase in the wealth of the world and in the productive capacity of man. Man to-day is capable of producing wealth in manyfold more quantity than he could a few decades ago, and the wealth of the whole world has so increased that, notwithstanding the tremendous burden that this war is placing upon these countries, there is no reason in my judgment to believe that the allied countries can not or will not provide for their debt and its interest. The condition that confronts Great Britain to-day is not worse, if it be as acute, as that which confronted her at the termination of the Napoleonic wars. But in the very brief time that I have I may not go into the detailed statements that would warrant the conclusions I have so briefly given to the House.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SHERLEY. Just for a moment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the belligerent countries borrowing from us are able to pay their debts, then $3,000,000,000 of this loan is practically equalized and takes care of itself.

Mr. SHERLEY. I have no doubt that the $3,000,000,000 of loans, if made as I believe they will and should be made to the chief nations engaged in war with Germany, will be repaid, principal and interest. But in stating to the House the obligation upon the country and the Government in the way of financing the interest and principal of these bonds I have preferred to count them directly as obligations of the Government, without alluding to the offset of $3,000,000,000 that will come by virtue of a similar payment in interest and an ultimate payment in principal by the allies to whom we make the loan.

But the point I want to impress upon the House and the country before taking my seat is this: Great as is the power of America to carry this indebtedness and provide for the interest, no more fatal mistake could be made than to postpone the collection of greatly increased amounts of money by taxation for the conduct of this war, and for the ultimate retirement of these bonds. The one fatal mistake that was made by the Government in the Civil War was the delay—a delay which grew out of a distrust of the people which was not warranted by the fact—in the imposing of heavy taxation in order to gradually increase the income of the Government; and it was only after we had been at war for several years that the Federal Government began to raise anything like the proportion it should have raised by taxation of the funds necessary to carry on that war. We ought to determine that immediately upon the passage of this bill authorizing this great bond issued there shall follow it a taxation measure sufficient to raise a great proportion of the expense of conducting the war in the months that are to follow. Unless we do that, the very issuance of this tremendous amount of bonds will have a tendency to greatly inflate all business in America, to make prices soar, to lead to extravagances that can breed only harm and weakness to the Republic;

and if we are to profit by experience that history dictates, we will accompany this legislation with taxation sufficiently heavy to let this generation realize now some of the burdens that grow out of the war, and I have sufficient faith in the patriotism, in the loyalty, in the devotion of the people of America to know that they are ready and anxious to bear their share now of the burden necessary to successfully conduct a war that they believe the honor of the Nation required the making and the safety of the Nation requires winning; and I hope that we will not hear complaints by Members here of excessive taxation. The danger that confronts the Congress is not that it will tax too heavily this generation, but that it will not tax heavily enough, in order to properly safeguard the true interests of America. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN], a member of the committee.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, it has been quite truly stated that, in comparison with any other sums heretofore authorized or expended, the amount provided by this bill is prodigious. In the last days of the Civil War, when we had nearly a million men in the field, our expenses were only about $3,000,000 per day, and the total expenses of the National Government for the whole of the Civil War were about $3,200,000,000, small indeed by comparison. But a comparison more useful for our purposes can be found in considering the expenses of carrying on this war as now being shown by the budgets of those nations engaged in it. Since the beginning of this war down to the 10th of March of this year Great Britain had expended about $20,600,000,000, of which about $4,565,000,000 have been loaned to her allies. Since April 1 of last year, which would be approximately the last year of the war, Great Britain has expended something over $10,000,000,000, part of that also in the form of loans to her allies.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] has proposed an amendment to prevent any of the bonds provided by this bill being sold after the war. While I am in sympathy with the purposes of his amendment, I would call the attention of the House to the fact that the amount provided for by this bill, immense as it is, will finance the war on the part of all of the allies for but a few months. As I have said, I am in accord with the principle of the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin, but I would carry that principle further. I think there ought to be an amendment to this bill in the line of the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] a few days ago to the effect that there should be a committee appointed on the conduct of the war, which should supervise the loaning of this money, this immense sum of $3,000,000,000, which under the terms of the bill as it now stands is to be loaned to foreign governments without any restrictions being made by Congress. To what purpose it shall be applied or to whom it shall be loaned is not specified. I shall propose an amendment later on to remedy this defect, but whether that amendment be carried or not, I expect to support the bill. The question is now whether the bill shall be adopted, and on that question I must unhesitatingly answer yes.

Mr. Chairman, we need money now. We can not wait for the slow process of taxation. We must act. The fatal weakness of republics have always been indecision, division, and delay, while the mailed fist of a military despotism strikes swift and far and hard. We have seen its blows fall like lightning. It struck here and a kingdom disappeared; it struck there and a nation was wiped from the face of the earth. What of Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania now? Where are their Governments, their rulers, and their statesmen? Exiles in a foreign land.

Where are their armies that once formed more than 2,000,000 of effective fighting men? Scattered, captured, destroyed, disorganized, no longer an effective fighting unit. Lloyd-George said not long ago that ever since this war had begun, everywhere there had dogged the footsteps of the allies the mocking specter of "too late." The allies were too late in Belgium, too late in Serbia, too late in Roumania, too late at the Dardanelles. Too late everywhere for the first two years of the war. Shall we wait now until another of those nations who are cooperating with us in this war has been overwhelmed and we also shall be too late? Shall we continue to debate, to dispute, to disagree until the time for effective action is passed, or shall we act now? I say that now is the time for effective action and the only time.

We have ourselves recently experienced how swift and dreadful could be the attack of a military autocracy. How long was it after Germany had issued its order with reference to our ships and told us that they would be destroyed if they violated that order before the threat was carried into execution? Only a few short weeks intervened before the shattered bodies of our citizens strewd the waves, mute evidence of the relentless and remorseless energy with which our adversaries prosecute the war. Even while we discuss this measure, short as time is, a vigilant and ever-active foe is taking measures to crush its enemies by exerting its power to the utmost. The military strength of Germany is now at its maximum. Its armies in the field are greater than ever before. We must see that the strength of the allies does not diminish.

On the Far East front a nation has received a new life. Russia has thrown off the shackles of despotism and tyranny. It rises with a new strength and in its veins pulses the spirit of freedom. It is a giant in power and in resources, but, however strong it may be, it can not fight without arms and without ammunition, and I might say, also, without money. On the western border of Russia there is assembled to-day a great German army ready to spring upon its prey as soon as the barrier of winter is removed. Is Russia ready to meet the attack? Not as it should be. Its Government has been recently revolutionized; it has experienced the disorganization that must follow after a revolution. The staggering task confronts the new Government of forming new systems, of administration, and perfecting a new system of taxation. It needs money as well as materials and munitions, and in my judgment it ought to have them. A wall of steel surrounds to-day the Empire of the Hohenzollerns, but that wall is no stronger than its weakest section. If one section gives way, the whole will crumble, and we will be left to sustain alone the attack of that power which has for more than two years and a half successfully defied the greater part of the armed forces of the whole world. The time has come, I repeat it, for action for the benefit of those nations that are so sorely, so hardly pressed; and which are now fighting our battles.

Mr. Chairman, having declared war, we must now carry it on. And how? We can not at this time send troops to Europe, for we have no Army to send there. We can act against the German forces on sea alone, but there their submarines lurk in darkness and hide beyond our reach in the depths of the ocean. Just now Germany can not send troops to attack us here. It can only strike us upon the ocean by some submarine that escapes the search of the fleets that are hunting for it. There is, however, another way that we can act effectively, and it is the only way we can act effectively. We can furnish money to the allies for the purpose of establishing credits here that will buy them munitions and supplies and for other purposes, if necessary, for them to successfully carry on the war. In modern wars the financial burden is so overpowering that it is not unlikely that the last dollar may determine the winner. At all events a nation whose credit is gone can not successfully carry on modern war. I can not agree with my colleague [Mr. TOWNER] that we should not loan money to the allies. Money is the only effective weapon that we possess at this time, and it would, in my judgment, be a fatal mistake not to use it.

In the few moments that may still be left to me I shall call the attention of the House to the necessity for the amendment to the bill which I suggested in opening. During the time of the Civil War there was, as everyone knows, a committee appointed for the conduct of the war. I think that such a committee ought to be provided for now, and I say that it implies no distrust to the President nor distrust of his Cabinet when we suggest its appointment.

Rather would it imply that as we have granted confidence, and all confidence, to the President in passing this bill, that we are merely asking that he give some confidence to us. I know, of course, and every gentleman knows, that all the details of these matters can not be spread before the public at large nor even before the Members of this House, but a select committee could determine as to where this money should go, could settle all of the questions that have been raised here in debate, and obviate the objections which have been made as to the possibility of a misuse of this money. It could defy all slander. It would be known that in these men the leaders of the House and the leaders of the Senate there rested sufficient wisdom and sufficient judgment to properly manage and control this great fund. The task is too great for any one man. I repeat that it implies no distrust of anyone when we ask that some opportunity should be given to us——

Mr. LANGLEY. Does not the gentleman think such an arrangement would in reality carry out the spirit of that provision of the Constitution which vests in Congress the power to declare war and to make appropriation for it?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I agree with the gentleman. I also say that in my judgment we ought not to part with our powers as under this bill we will if it should be adopted in its present form. But I do not care to pursue this argument further at this time. I shall call the attention of the committee to it later when the proper time comes to offer amendments. I have in-

tended to and I feel that I must vote for this bill, even though it be not amended as I desire, for I believe if my amendment is not adopted here its purpose will in some manner be carried out by the Senate. What we wish to do, what everyone desires to do, is to make the war short and decisive. If we vacillate or delay, we will prolong it, and perhaps prolong it fatally. [Applause.]

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. CARAWAY].

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I have not any idea I shall use all the time yielded me. I make no pretense of being an expert in financial matters, and shall not attempt a learned discourse on that subject. In the beginning let me announce I shall vote for this measure if no better one is devised. I shall, however, utter a protest against some provisions of the bill that seem to me should find lodgment in the minds of the representatives of the American people. I want to protest against the bond provision—I want to protest against a bond issue at all. Do not misunderstand me. I am perfectly willing that we shall raise the money necessary to do our full part as belligerents in this war in which we are now engaged, and do so now. I feel that when we haggle about the cost of war, that, in a measure, we belittle ourselves, as though dollars were more sacred than honor and more to be considered than the security and safety of our country. Therefore, what I shall say will not be against the amount of expenditures here contemplated, but to the manner in which we propose to raise these funds. I have heard gentlemen on the Republican side of the House proclaim again and again in your opposition to revenue bills brought into this House since I have been a Member of it, that direct taxes were passed down to the ultimate consumer, to the producer, to the poor people. You made that statement even in reference to the provisions of the 8 per cent excess profits tax contained in the revenue bill passed in the closing days of the Sixty-fourth Congress. In a measure I agree with you. Wealth has a way of shifting burdens of taxation to those least able to pay. Finance this war by a bond issue and the entire cost of the war—every dollar of it—will finally be paid by the people who fight the war. It will be paid by the poor people of this country. Wealth will not suffer at all by reason of the tremendous expenses made necessary in waging this war. You propose now to issue bonds—$5,000,000,000 worth—bearing interest at the rate of 3½ per cent.

The suggestion has been made that they run 30 years. It is also provided if other bonds are issued bearing a higher rate of interest the rate on these bonds shall be increased to the same rate. The wealth of this country will find in these bonds a haven of refuge. The rich will invest their wealth in these $5,000,000,000 worth of bonds, bearing interest at 3½ per cent, exempt from all taxation except that of inheritance; then the wealth of this country goes off the tax books immediately; it is transferred to the opposite side of the ledger; it becomes a liability and not an asset of this Nation in time of war. These bonds, of course, are not the subject of taxation, municipal, county, State or National. They prey upon the people. They draw from their resources $175,000,000 every year. And who shall eventually pay it? The producers—the working people and farmers of this country, of course, because wealth can create nothing; brains can not do so. It is the hand of toil which must guide the plow and turn the wheel of industry. Money can do none of these things.

Will wealth seek this investment offered in these bonds? Yes; and gladly do so. Call money on the 9th day of this month in New York was 2½ per cent. Time money was from 3¼ to 3¾ per cent. Now, this is money seeking investment in the open market. Taking the risk of not being employed all the time and not having, therefore, an earning period of 365 days in the year, at the same time it was subject to bear some of the burdens incident to government. It can be taxed. It was seeking investment after this declaration of war had been made, in New York City, the great money market of this country, at 2½ per cent for call loans and 3½ per cent for time loans. It will, of course, fly to this city of refuge opened to it by the stupendous bond issue.

By this act we say to wealth: "We must have money to wage this war. We will therefore make a bond issue of $5,000,000,000. It will pay 3½ per cent interest and is exempt from every kind of tax except that of inheritance." Not much of it will be subject to that burden because most of it will be held by corporations, and they do not die. The result will be, as I said a minute ago, a city of refuge for the wealth of this country. It will be shifted out of the column of assets and transferred to that of liabilities and eventually be borne by our young men who go out and bare their breasts to the shot and shell of our country's enemies in this time of war. And by distributing it thus through the years that are to come wealth will escape even the slight burden of paying the meager salaries of these their own boys who die that our country may live. I fear it may find means of laying on them even the cost of arming and equipping them for this struggle and paying their pensions if they are disabled, if they shall be so fortunate as to come back at all.

The point I am trying to make is simply this, gentlemen, that we ought not to make this war, which we are waging in the interest of the people of this country, a war for liberty, a war for justice, a war for right, and a war for all those things for which America has stood through all the years, a means whereby the wealth of this country can actually increase its holdings, and the poor people of this country, compelled in the first instance to bear the brunt of the battle, in the second compelled through the years, and after them their children's children be compelled, to repay to the wealth of this country every dollar the war shall cost. You ought not to do it.

Just to illustrate what wealth is even now taking from the people of this country I refer you to the yearbook of Armour & Co., issued a few days ago. It shows that at the end of this fiscal year it had made a net profit of $20,100,000 on an investment capitalized at $100,000,000 and a reserve of something between $36,000,000 and $37,000,000. That does not represent all the earnings of this company. Included in its earnings, but not in its net earnings, was $7,500,000 of permanent improvements, or a net profit approaching 20 per cent upon its investment. Now, then, I do not see any particular hardship in requiring it to turn over these earnings to the country when the country needs these resources to carry on this war. I am not a socialist. I do not believe in confiscation, but I do not think wealth is more sacred than human life. If we require our young men to make the supreme sacrifice for our country, why should wealth complain if we also drafted it into service? Many of you gentlemen on the Republican side of the House have been advocating what you call the selective draft, which, in my judgment, is the most obnoxious way of getting soldiers that could possibly be devised. At least, if you are to draft men you ought to follow the old plan that was adopted during the war between the States, of putting white and black beans in a box and let every man have a fair chance. If we compel our young men to gamble with death, let us not use loaded dice. Let lot determine who shall serve and who not serve. But your selective draft system, of course, means simply this, that anyone who can convince the department that he is necessary to the industry of the country, that he can best serve by staying at home, will be excused.

The man who has not yet made a place in the world for himself will be conscripted and sent abroad. It means the boys from the farms and those from the mines and from the workshops who have not acquired skilled trades will have their places taken by others too old to serve in the ranks or those who are physically unfit to serve, or maybe by women, and these young men will be drafted under this selective system and sent to the war. The rich, the skilled laborers, the high-salaried men, or those who can run automobiles and lead the dance—it will be found necessary for them to stay at home, and they will stay. They will have, if rich and powerful, provided for them some fictitious job. They will escape the selective draft. The poor, the dumb—not dumb in that they have no power of articulate speech but dumb because they have neither wealth nor powerful friends—they will fall victims of this selective draft.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes.

Mr. LANGLEY. Did I correctly understand the gentleman to say that somebody on this side of the House had suggested the selective draft?

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes, sir; I said that.

Mr. LANGLEY. Why, I thought it was a suggestion that came from the President. I have not heard of anybody over here suggesting it. I know I have never made such a suggestion, and I would not vote for it as a separate proposition.

Mr. CARAWAY. It seems that I have heard the gentleman say many times he would not vote for a thing; then I have looked in the RECORD and been surprised to find that he did vote for it. [Laughter.]

Mr. LANGLEY. I did not quite understand the gentleman. I do not understand to whom he is referring, but I suppose he must have had himself in mind.

Mr. CARAWAY. I thought I was referring to my good-natured friend from Kentucky.

Mr. LANGLEY. I do not recall any instance of that kind, where I have talked one way and voted another, but——

Mr. CARAWAY. Look in the RECORD.

Mr. LANGLEY (continuing). If I ever did, I have some distinguished precedents for a wise man changing his mind once in a while.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes.

Mr. ALMON. I would be glad if the gentleman would continue a little further and explain as to his understanding of what is meant by "selective conscription" that we read so much about in the newspapers, and what the gentleman understands to be the practical workings of it as the term is commonly used.

Mr. CARAWAY. I was just trying to explain what I thought it was and what the practical result of it would be. Selective conscription, as I understand it—of course, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY] can set me right if I am wrong——

Mr. LANGLEY. I will, if you make a mistake. [Laughter.]

Mr. CARAWAY. It means the right to conscript by selection. I understand the age suggested is from 19 to 25 years; that every man between these ages who is physically sound is subject to conscription. A military survey of this country is to be made to ascertain how many men are subject to military duty within the limitations I have made, then the department has the power to determine which of those who are liable to service shall go.

If one man is thought to be more necessary to an industry at home than another, the officer who is in charge of that particular district has the discretion to take which of the two he pleases. It will, as I honestly believe, take the unskilled laborers from the cities and the farm laborers from the fields and leave to the highly organized industries all their skilled people, and to leave at home all those people who happen to have sufficient influence to convince the officer in charge, whose duty it is and whose right it is to exercise this right of selective draft, that they should be left at home—and their neighbors' sons should go. It opens the door to favoritism. It is undemocratic and subversive of liberty. Under it I should be very much surprised indeed if any rich man who had a chauffeur who drove extremely well should lose him. [Laughter.] I should also be much surprised if any widow who had an only son who had no particularly skilled calling and no powerful friend should be able to keep him. I would not, however, endanger my country or retard its forward march to victory for the sake of any views I hold.

That is not, however, what I wished to discuss. It was bond issues; and however poorly I may be able to present my ideas, I wish to impress upon you this idea, war ought to pay as it goes. It is not right to shift this burden of repayment to some other age and generation. We ought to be men enough to fight our wars and pay our bills as we go. If you do that, the wealth of this country will fight its country's wars, so far as money can fight at all, because if by taxation and not by bond issue is raised a sufficient fund to meet the burdens of war as they arise, wealth can not pass down this great burden suddenly laid upon it to the consumer, the poor people of this country, who will at that time be at the front fighting the battles of this country. Wealth will then be compelled to do what it ought to do—pay the expenses of the war as they arise. But if you provide a bond issue wealth will not be one dollar the poorer by reason of the war. On the other hand, it will have been furnished a profitable investment, exempt from taxation, and the repayment spread over long years of time. Wealth will then do what wealth has always done in every war since the world began—profit by war—and the people who fight the battles of the country, who risk their lives, and who frequently give up careers and return, if they are fortunate enough to survive the conflict, broken in health and robbed of the opportunity to win place and preferment in society, will have the burden incident to financing the war shifted to their shoulders and the shoulders of their children down to the third generation. That is what will happen if you have a bond issue. But if you say, "Gentlemen, this is a war that we did not seek. It is rendered necessary to maintain our national honor. You have more at stake than any other class, because if this country loses the war and an indemnity has to be paid to the victor, the burden will fall upon you, as it did in Belgium. You must raise, then, many millions of dollars." The result would be a resort to the banks and the resources stored there. Wealth, then, has most at issue and ought not to be so unpatriotic as to wish to shift the cost of the war to those who defend wealth.

The resources of this country right now will finance the expenses of this war without business being seriously disturbed. I am not, however, so solicitous about the business of this country now as I am about my country's safety and the future of those who have made my country. Last March the national banks of this country had resources of $15,979,000,000. They had deposits of $12,957,000,000. Incidentally I think a man who is able to have a bank account and is a stockholder in a bank is not a pauper. [Laughter.] The resources of the State banks are about 2 to 1 as compared with those of the national banks. The resources of the banks, therefore, are sufficient to meet every emergency of this country now and not seriously disturb business, because money that is lying idle in banks is not doing anything particularly for industry.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CARAWAY. Yes.

Mr. GARNER. Does the gentleman believe it is necessary now, in order to encourage those that are fighting with us against Germany, to make this loan?

Mr. CARAWAY. I would not hesitate to make it.

Mr. GARNER. Does the gentleman believe that it is possible for Congress to pass a taxing measure at this time that will provide the money in time to let the allies have it, as contemplated in this bill?

Mr. CARAWAY. If you will allow me, dealing with the words used, "possible for Congress to pass it," I may say that there are some four hundred and thirty-odd of us, and we have so many different viewpoints as to what is right that it may be impossible to pass such a measure. I do not think there is anything wrong with the plan or that the plan is not feasible, but many people think wealth is sacred and should not be interfered with. They seem to think our country has grown great by means of wealth and that he is unclean who would dare lay hand on it even in times of national peril. I do not share these views and do not sympathize with those who do. I believe that flag is the emblem of liberty, of honor, and justice, not the refuge and protector of mere dollars. I do not think the gentleman from Texas entertains different views.

Mr. GARNER. May I say to my friend that I am one of those who believe that as large an amount as possible in the way of taxes should be levied toward supporting this proposition, but I do not believe it is possible to devise a scheme whereby you can get $7,000,000,000 within six months by taxation.

Mr. CARAWAY. To start in with, there is now in national banks in the United States, that somebody can draw a check against, the sum of $12,000,000,000.

Mr. GARNER. How would you levy a tax to reach that?

Mr. CARAWAY. And if somebody is unwilling to draw his check, I am willing to write a law to draw it for him, in his name, and leave him a receipt in place of his deposit. Of course, this is used as an illustration.

Mr. HICKS. Do I understand the gentleman to say that that $12,000,000,000, because it is on deposit, is lying idle in those banks?

Mr. CARAWAY. I should not think it was doing anything except drawing interest.

Mr. HICKS. Does not the gentleman think it is being used in commerce all the time?

Mr. CARAWAY. Possibly some of it is; but commerce is not such a sacred thing as human life and human honor, or national life and national honor, and we owe something more than just defending the country. The people, in the last analysis, constitute the country. It is not mountains and rivers and valleys that make this country. It is not the material things. It is the sense of justice, of right. It is the obligations that rest upon us to make the opportunities equal to all of the people under our flag, and we do not do it if we furnish a refuge for the rich in times of war and let them escape all the burdens incident to the defense of our country, and lay all those burdens upon the poor people of this country.

It is estimated among the expenses incident to waging this war that it is going to cost this country 30 cents a day to feed each man who actually does the fighting at the front. It costs about $195 apiece to equip each man. Therefore you can see that it is going to cost but 50 cents a day to maintain each fighting man. Now, the man at home drawing an income of thousands of dollars per annum should be willing to pay all above a reasonable sum into the Public Treasury at this time, and I am willing to compel him to do so. I think any man who at this time is getting more than is absolutely necessary to maintain himself and those dependent upon him free from want should not complain if he is compelled by law to contribute the remainder of his revenue to the defense of his country. No patriotic man should want to avail himself of opportunities to make profit while his country faces so great a peril. I do not believe any good man does.

Let us make sacrifices now, that we may hand down to our children the blessings of a free country and the honor, confidence, and respect of all those who live beneath its flag. Let us write in connection with this bond bill a law that will raise from the resources of this country enough to pay the burdens of this war as they arise. Let us make this in very truth a war of

human rights and human justice. Let us make more sacred still every star and stripe of that flag beneath which our fathers fought and for which our fathers died. Let us not stain a single fold of it by greed or sully one star in its azure field by any selfish act of ours. Let us fight our fight and pay our debts and leave to our children a heritage more precious than gold. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] 15 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I had not intended to discuss this proposition, but a few remarks made by the next to the ranking Republican member of the Ways and Means Committee seemed to challenge attention. For that reason I desire to submit a few observations.

The gentleman to whom I refer, Mr. GARDNER, of Massachusetts, especially deprecated any attempt whatever to amend this measure. It seemed in its original form to have some sacredness that appealed to him, and that would prevent pagan hands from touching it. After that he made the statement that he would be a rubber stamp. I would not make such an admission for half the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I regret that the distinguished Member should stand before this body of men and admit himself to be a rubber stamp, an automaton. But I was glad that he said it, because the other most important remark that he made was the call to the trenches of the boys of America. I am right glad to have it go out to the country that the first Member of Congress who stood upon this floor and called for conscription to the trenches was the gentleman who acknowledged himself a rubber stamp. Ordinarily men are called to the trenches by the blare of bugles, but in this particular case the call was by the soft, sibilant sough of the self-confessed rubber stamp of Massachusetts. [Laughter.]

Another reason why I do not, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, allow myself to be considered as a rubber stamp is this, that I sought in that committee to amend this bill, which I expect to vote for; I thought it was our duty to amend it, especially in this case. The bill which is before you is not the product of the brain of any member of the Ways and Means Committee, but is the handiwork, so stated, of an administrative officer of this Government. This bill extends to him privileges never granted to any Secretary of the Treasury in the history of the Republic. When I say that I do not believe that he gave himself any broader privileges than any other Secretary of the Treasury might have given himself if he had had the opportunity of drawing the bill. I should probably have done it myself had I been in his place, for an administrative officer drawing a bill of this character would be inclined to give to himself a maximum of privilege with a minimum of restriction.

So we have this bill, and it is our duty under our oaths of office to examine it with critical eye throughout. For that reason I presented before the committee a number of amendments and reserved to myself the privilege to present on the floor of the House those and other amendments to this measure. I shall read those amendments, but shall not discuss them to-day. I shall endeavor to obtain a little time to discuss them to-morrow under the five-minute rule. But before I do that I want to say that I expect to support this bill in whatever form it finally reaches a vote. I do that because I think about these matters apparently a little differently from a number of Members of this body. Before the war resolution was voted upon I heard repeatedly on this floor and read from the press of the country a great deal about "standing up for the President."

At that time there was before us as the sovereign Congress of the United States a constitutional duty. If there was to be standing up for anybody, the President should have been standing up for the Congress, and the people should have been doing the same, instead of the Congress standing up for either the President or the people. But now, after the will of 431 Members, some opposed, many favorable, has been crystallized into this declaration of war, I deem it the duty of every Member of this Congress, in so far as they can, to subordinate his will and stand up for the President of the United States now in every sound and reasonable request, instead of doing so at the time when it was not his burden to bear.

The amendments that I shall submit are the following. I had prepared one in line with that presented by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], and it was, of course, voted down in the committee. I shall not present it, but I shall leave it to the gentleman from Wisconsin to work out.

The first amendment I shall propose will be after the word "annum," in line 4, section 2, to insert the words "and shall run for a period not exceeding 10 years." I believe that if we ever collect any of this money from the countries of Europe we will collect it shortly after the close of the war, because then will be the time when they will be grateful, then will be the time when they will recognize their obligations, then will the generation on their part of the earth, knowing what their duties and obligations are, be in a position to carry them out.

The second amendment I shall present is to amend section 2 by inserting in line 21, of page 2, after the word "Governments"—and this refers to the President of the United States, that he shall advise or approve the Secretary's plan—"after he has been advised by the Speaker and the minority leader of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore and the minority leader of the Senate." When I say that I make no reflection upon the present occupant of the presidential chair or the Secretary of the Treasury; it is entirely impersonal, because if this war extends during the time some people predict we may have two or three Presidents, and we may have many Secretaries of the Treasury. It reflects upon neither of these gentlemen, whomever they may be, to say that the burden of determining these great questions would be properly shared between the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the men occupying these commanding positions in this body and similar commanding positions in the other end of the Capitol, each representing the two great political forces of the Republic. I shall present also an amendment to strike out section 5, which is the convertible feature of the loan, and I shall argue that at that time. I shall submit another amendment in the last section by moving to substitute one-tenth for one-fifth where it occurs, and one-twentieth for one-tenth where it occurs, where found in section 7. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH].

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, it is highly significant of these mighty times that this bill, carrying the largest amount of money by far ever carried in a measure heretofore passed by Congress or by any legislative body in history, comes into this House backed by a unanimous report. The entire membership of the Ways and Means Committee, the only strictly partisan committee, with one exception, of the House, is as one upon this proposition. We are acting to-day not as partisans, not as Democrats or Republicans, but only as Americans.

May I be permitted to add that the nonpartisan spirit of these times was abundantly illustrated a few days ago when his most eminent and able, if not most bitter critic, called upon the President of the United States, and over clasped hands pledged him in this crisis his active and whole-hearted support.

We ask of you, our colleagues of this House, to support this bill in the same spirit, for we say to you with profound conviction that its passage is imperative if we are to make even a beginning at playing a man's part in the world events which are to come.

We must raise for military and naval purposes, and that immediately, in the neighborhood of $4,000,000,000. Of this sum it is proposed by this bill to provide $2,000,000,000 by a bond issue. The remaining two billion we must provide later by some new scheme of taxation. Whether it is an ideal system to divide evenly with posterity the cost of the war I shall not now pause to argue. I rather think myself that posterity should be called upon to pay a greater rather than a less proportion, but in either case a bond issue of at least $2,000,000,000 must be authorized at once.

In this bill we also authorize an issue of $2,000,000,000 worth of one-year certificates of indebtedness, but this is only to tide over the lean periods and stop up the gaps in the Treasury balance between times when interest and taxes are due and payable.

In addition to the $2,000,000,000 of bonds to be issued for our own immediate necessities, this bill authorizes the issue of $3,000,000,000 worth of bonds, the proceeds of which are to be used for extending credit to the allied powers.

I note that some question has been raised, notably by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], about this matter. I have assumed all along that this credit was to be extended only to the allied powers. I assumed that it would not under any circumstances be extended to any others, but if it shall be necessary to properly limit our extension of credit to those who are actively opposed to the enemies of the United States, I, for one, am perfectly willing to vote for such an amendment. The process of thus extending credit to these governments will be a simple and, I think, a just one. With the proceeds of the sale of our bonds we are to purchase from them, in such amounts as may be necessary, their bonds containing the same terms and conditions and bearing the same rate of interest as ours.

In no other way could we at this time so effectively aid these Governments, for we will be advancing to them huge sums of

money at a rate of interest nearly one-half less than they are now compelled to pay.

Whatever may have been our personal views, gentlemen of the House, of the rights or wrongs of the European conflict, with whatever contestant our personal sympathies may have abided, whether we desired to enter the conflict or not—and there were few, indeed, who openly expressed such a desire—whether when the final test came we voted for war or against it, the fact remains that we are now at war, and that with the greatest and most efficient military power in history.

Let no man minimize the importance of the course we have embarked upon. Let no man pooh-pooh the seriousness of the situation. The time has come when no American, within this House or out of it, must fail to do his full duty. This is no frivolous affair, gentlemen. It is the biggest game we have ever started to play. Let us play it like men and Americans. The cause of the allies is now our cause. Let us do everything possible to promote it. Their victory will be our victory; their defeat may mean our defeat.

This war is not of our own choosing. We enter it calmly and with no malice in our hearts. Heaven knows we have no hatred for the German people. On the contrary, we have nothing but the most friendly feeling for them. Their achievements in science and literature, in art, and perhaps more than all in music, are a part of American civilization. The sons of Germany who have cast in their lot with us have been, with their sons, among our most useful and loyal citizens, and I have not the shadow of a doubt, no matter what anyone may say, that in this crisis they are prepared to prove their loyalty. At the least I pledge you the sincere and unwavering support of every man—and there are thousands of them—of German birth or ancestry in the district I have the honor to represent in this House. It is not with the German people that our quarrel lies. It is not against them as a people that we shall wage war. It is only against that grim, inexorable military machine which crushes or attempts to crush all who oppose it, whether within or without its dominions, that machine which possesses neither soul nor conscience and which acts with total disregard either for the teachings of God or for the laws of man.

It is a big thing we are about to do to-day, gentlemen, a thing which only a big country could do. In comparison with the money carried in this bill all the financial transactions of the Civil War combined were comparatively insignificant. The $5,000,000,000 worth of long-term bonds we are about to issue represent a sum more than five times as great as our entire national debt.

We take this step calmly, with full knowledge of its seriousness, and with the profound conviction that the country is behind us. Above all, we act with the belief that the debt we are about to incur, stupendous though it is, is no greater than this, the greatest Republic of all time, owes to human civilization. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, the stupendous amount carried in the bill under consideration staggers the conception of all of us. The $3,000,000,000 loan proposed as an aid to foreign governments shows the dire straits in which those governments are placed and the need of aid from this Government. From the very start of the European war it has been my set policy to do everything in my power to prevent our Government from becoming involved in the European catastrophe. I favored the McLemore resolution and voted against tabling it. I have no apologies to make for casting that vote. It was with one purpose, and that was to keep our country out of the European conflict. I voted the other day against the war resolution. Potent reasons prompted the 50 Members of this House in casting their votes against that resolution. But that resolution has now become the law of the land. It is our bounden duty here, since that resolution has been enacted, to regard Germany as our enemy.

There is no objection so far as the authorization carried in this bill providing the $4,000,000,000 necessary to enable our Government to wage the war against Germany. There is serious objection to the policy of our Government loaning $3,000,000,000 as an aid to any foreign government—objections vital to the very principles and policies of our Government since its establishment. I do not subscribe to the policy proclaimed by some that we are the chosen people to establish a republican form of government this world over. I believe firmly in adhering to the policy of our fathers of keeping aloof from European entanglements, and since the outbreak of this war my conviction is more set that that should be the policy rather than to depart from it when we can now see the consequences that might ensue in case we should depart from that long-established policy and precedent.

But there is further objection to this $3,000,000,000 loan in that as it is framed in the bill it is entirely beyond the power of Congress to vote. Congress has no authority to tax the people of this country to loan money to foreign neutral governments. If the authority is to be found anywhere, it is to be found in the war powers of Congress. The authorization for this $3,000,000,000 is found entirely in section 2. Scan section 2 as closely as you will and you will find no reference whatsoever that the authorization of the $3,000,000,000 is for war purposes. Congress has authority to vote this money to those governments now at war or which will become involved in war with Germany, but only to such governments. I expect before this bill is finally passed that an amendment will be adopted, which has been suggested earlier in the debate, to section 2, limiting these credits to those foreign governments engaged in war with the Imperial Government of Germany, and also the amendment suggested by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, to the further effect that the loan is in order more effectively to prosecute the war in which the United States is engaged.

The best writers on constitutional law are agreed that the war powers of Congress are not so plenary that they can go to any extreme in voting the money of the Government. They hold that Congress has the power of authorizing such means as are authorized for governments engaged in war under the law of nations. The authority as carried in the bill would grant the President the right to borrow money to loan to neutrals. Certainly, if we are going to vest this great authority in the President, it should be restricted to voting it to those governments which are now engaged in war with the Imperial Government of Germany.

I am not one of those who believe that we should place any restrictions on the President other than these proper ones which come within the scope of our legislative authority in the distribution and use of these $3,000,000,000. I have no sympathy with the suggestion that there should be a congressional cabinet to confer with the Executive as to the expenditure of these immense funds. We are not organized as a responsible parliamentary government. The execution of this law devolves under the Constitution on the President, and under the President, on the heads of the departments. It would be going far and in new fields for us now to try to annex the idea that a congressional body should be apart and parcel in determining the manner as to the distribution of this amount.

I hope that the term of these bonds will be but for a few years, as was suggested by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN]. The severance of financial ties between our Government and European powers can come none too quickly at the close of the war, so that our Government will be free to follow untrammeled its historic course of aloofness from European entanglements.

Neither can I subscribe to the doctrine advocated by my colleague [Mr. LENROOT] in the colloquy had with him a few minutes ago, that this money should be loaned to governments as an inducement perhaps to involve them in this awful European struggle. The pity of it all is, as I view it, that just as the war was coming to a close we had to become involved. Do not be deceived. Our entering in the war, in my opinion, caused the war to be lengthened a year or two in the future. The die is cast. We have to do everything in our power now until Germany recedes from its position as far as submarine warfare is concerned to bring her to terms. I hope that the day is not as far distant as I think it is, but when that day comes I hope there will be some strong neutral power still on the face of the globe that has kept its peace, its good will to all concerned, so that it may participate at the council table in the arbitrament of the questions that will certainly be submitted sooner or later for determination. God speed the day when that time shall come. [Applause.]

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS].

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: This is a stupendous proposition that confronts us, but one that should readily command our support, for the very simple and manifest reason that it affords a workable plan to make immediately effective the preponderance of our wealth, and thereby bring to pass a speedy conclusion of this war.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] has made some objections to this measure. These objections may be fairly styled fantastic. It is conceivable that some of the things that he suggests might conceivably happen, but if lawmakers should concern themselves to provide by anticipation against every con-

ceivable and unlikely possibility, statute-making would be a task of gigantic prolixity. The possibilities that he suggests are so unreasonable, and so unlikely that practical people concerned with practical lawmaking, need not be disturbed by them.

He suggests we should not lend this money to any country, as I understand his proposition, except one that is at war on our side, and his argument, as I understood it, carried the implication that the loan should in some fashion guarantee that the country receiving it should continue to fight. But how can we secure such a guaranty? We might make a great loan tomorrow, to Italy, but we will secure no guaranty that a month, or six months later, Italy might not conclude a separate peace. I have no idea that such will be the case. I have no idea that any of the nations securing credit under this act, will be guilty of so gross a breach of solemnly plighted faith, as the negotiation of a separate peace. But we take that unavoidable, if unlikely chance.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. I made no such suggestion as the gentleman now makes, in any form.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Did not the gentleman suggest that we should have some guarantee that our money should go to those people that were effectively aiding us in our new relation to this world war?

Mr. LENROOT. In the acceptation of the loan.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Yes. This country can not approach the Governments at war, and by the proffer of a loan undertake to tie them down in any way in order to the continued prosecution of the war. We must take our chances in that respect. We must aid the allies upon the theory that we are aiding ourselves, whenever we increase the ability of our new associates to wage successful war upon the common enemy. But having extended that aid. we can do no more. We must take our chances that anyone of our present allies may withdraw from the war at any time. It is further suggested that the money which we are asked to vote might be used to give credit to a nation not at war with Germany. Conceivably so, but highly improbable. So improbable that it may be fairly called impossible. The one main controlling purpose of this act is to give credit to the allies who are fighting our battle.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] suggests that there are many vital objections to this bill, but neither the gentleman from Wisconsin, nor any other gentleman has paused in this discussion to present these vital objections, or elaborate any solid grounds of opposition. What are the vital objections, if any, to this measure? Can it be pretended on this floor that the United States has the authority to raise money to send the sons of America to die in the trenches of Europe, and yet is without authority as a Nation to make effective the wealth of the Nation to conclude the war in another fashion, and thereby render it unnecessary for the blood of American boys to be shed on foreign soil? It is not conceivable that such can be the case. It can not be possible that the Congress possesses the authority to provide the means to equip gigantic armies, and send them to foreign service, an authority that has never been challenged, and yet is impotent to use that same means to accomplish decisive results in another and direct fashion, to hasten the course of the war to a victorious conclusion, and keep our soldiers out of the charnel house of western Europe.

Mr. Chairman, if we will approach this question with full appreciation of what we have in mind to accomplish, we will be impressed by the fact that the lavish use of what I have called "the preponderance of our wealth," is the one potent weapon that we can put to immediate account, as an effective instrument to hasten the end of this horrible war. What do the allied countries say they need? Credit, munitions, and food. We can mobilize our wealth at once, and by that mobilization set in motion streams of munitions and of food that will flow continuously across the ocean as an effective contribution to the allied cause, long ere it will be possible for this country to train and put on continental soil, an American army.

I am constrained to support a measure that will do these things, because they are practical things, and as such they commend themselves to me. These are the things that may be done at once, and once done they will hasten the day that will see the end of this unhappy strife. I am not so favorable to the proposition to raise gigantic armies. I do not believe than an American army of 1,000,000 men, much less 2,000,000, will reach Europe before this war is ended. If credence can be given to the experience of others, and the statements of experts from the battle fields of France, it is apparent that it will not be possible to train and equip an army of a million men for service in Europe inside of a year. Further, it would be impossible to transport this army and their equipments, to Europe, in less than four months. Having in mind the distance to be traveled, the number of men and the volume of equipment to be transported, and the number of transports required, the period of four months, is all too short a time for the task. This war will not last 16 months longer.

I am not underrating for a moment the strength, or the fighting capacity of Germany. Nor is she at the end of her resources. But on the other hand I am not overestimating her resources, or crediting her with superhuman powers. The course of this war, the comparative value of what has been done by the several nations engaged, and the condition of each as to man power, munitions, and food, may be ascertained with sufficient accuracy for a reasonable judgment from the Congressional Library. I have sought information, at the sources of available information and I am satisfied, as I believe every man will be satisfied, who prosecutes this inquiry in critical and methodical fashion, that the outcome of the Battle of the Marne settled in definite fashion the outcome of this war, and eliminated the possibility of ultimate German victory.

That was the greatest battle ever fought in the open in the history of nations, having in mind the number of troops involved, the destructive instrumentalities employed, and the issues at stake. And yet battling against great odds in this greatest of all battles, an inferior French and English force outmaneuvered, outfought, and overthrew with prodigious losses a superior German Army, driving them back in headlong rout for many miles, and putting an end for all time to the ambitious German plan of a short campaign in France. This plan was designed to crush the French Army at one gigantic blow. From this was expected to follow the fall of Paris, the capture of the channel ports, to afford bases of operations against England, and then the opportunity for a swift dash to the east to compass the destruction of the lumbering enemy on that frontier.

Whatever may be our differing judgments on other things, we must be all agreed that the Battle of the Marne was a great French and English victory at a time when the French and English had not attained the full measure of their strength. I do not discredit German courage. I do not discredit German manhood. I do not discredit German military skill. The armies of the Kaiser have fought magnificently. They have illustrated a thousand times as dauntless a quality of courage as was ever illustrated at famous Thermopylæ. They have illustrated tenacity as well as dash. They have been well led. But have in mind—those of you who have read and studied the history of this war—that neither in courage, dash, tenacity, or skill have the Germans exceeded their English and French competitors. From the day of the Battle of the Marne the power of France and England has been rising higher and higher, command of the seas has given them access to, and the opportunity to draw upon the resources of the world. Germany has had to live within herself, and feed upon herself in the execution of her gigantic task.

I give her full credit for all she has done, but when you credit the combatants with equal courage, equal skill, and equal incentives to endure to the end, then superior man power, superior resources, and command of the sea will not be denied. They spell an inevitable conclusion. Day by day we see the cordon around the central powers draws closer and closer. Day by day the forces within that circle are crumbling. Day by day hunger is doing its work. All of the contributing factors are operating with increasing force to bring Germany to her knees, and end this titanic struggle of appalling horror. And yet with the progress of this drama steadily developing before our eyes, and telling plainly the story of approaching defeat, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] advises us that our contribution to this war will merely serve to prolong the conflict for several years.

Is this the lesson to be drawn from the facts of this war which are available to every student of this cataclysmic contest?

Assuredly it is not the conclusion that I derive from these facts. Mr. Chairman, this country has been slow to enter this terrific war. I take it that there is scarcely a colleague before me who did not approach with reluctance the solemn decision that has added this great neutral country to the forces arrayed against the central powers. But having reached the decision forced upon us by the compulsion of the circumstances which surrounded us, we have thrown the tremendous resources of this country into the scales, and are determined to so use those resources as to achieve the most immediate and decisive results. I approve in one respect the attitude of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN]. I agree with him that Congress ought not to abdicate its right to determine the methods by which money should be raised, and men should be secured to prosecute this war. Far from it. It is our duty to determine these things, and to exercise our discretion in this determination.

But, gentlemen of the committee, now that we are in this war, it is our duty to press it to a speedy and victorious conclusion. Speed is of the essence in this matter. Shall we quibble and quibble, and raise fantastic objections to the use of the one asset that may be immediately mobilized for effective use? Shall we withhold an application of this asset that will not only put guns and munitions in the hands of the men who are fighting in Europe against the common enemy, but in addition will feed both the men on the firing line, and the men and the women at home who are supporting the men in the trenches. Shall we say that we have no authority to make this application but are empowered to expend far greater sums to train and equip our sons for war, and then send them to fight, and perchance to die in foreign lands? What of logic or reason can be ascertained in such a contention?

Mr. Chairman, I conclude as I began. This proposition, stupendous as it is, should command our support, as a sane and workable plan to make presently effective the preponderance of our national wealth to compass the speedy, and therefore the merciful conclusion of this war. [Applause.]

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] 10 minutes.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, a week ago to-day we were called upon to pass upon the most important question and to register the most momentous decision that any of us ever has been or ever will be called upon to decide, that of taking up the gage of battle thrown down by arbitrary and despotic power which had decreed slaughter and death to all who sought the lanes of the high seas, where, by all the laws of God and man, all have the right to go.

We decided then that we should take up the sword in the maintenance of our rights, for the protection of our citizens, and in the assertion of American might and honor. We are now called upon to take the first definite step in the carrying out of the policy then decided upon. Under these circumstances it is the duty, in my opinion, of each and all of us, whether we supported that decision or not, to support the means proposed to enable the American people to carry on the war which the American Congress, the representative of the American people, following the recommendation of the President, has decided upon.

I am not one of those who believe that we must necessarily take these measures word for word as they are presented to us. It is our duty to pass judgment upon their various provisions. This bill, in my opinion, ought to be amended in declaration of our purpose of providing for the national defense, in the raising of these enormous sums, in limiting the loans we may make to those who are at war with the Government of Germany, and in providing that loans shall not be made beyond the period we are engaged in war, however brief or however long that may be. I also believe an amendment should be adopted making it clear that this is not an appropriation bill authorizing general expenditures, but a bill authorizing the raising of funds to be used for purposes heretofore or hereafter clearly and and definitely authorized by law.

I for one am glad that it has been decided that our participation in the conflict, at the beginning at least, shall largely be in the way of strengthening the arms of those who are now so valiantly fighting our enemies. That is, in fact, the only way in which we can immediately and effectively enter the conflict. It is the only way in which we can at once and forcefully and effectively make our power felt. And I am one of those who sincerely hope that it is the will of Providence that our participation in the war need not go far beyond activities on the seas and aiding with money and supplies of those now engaged in the conflict.

We can not say, and we shall not say, that we will not send our forces to any battle front where they may be needed to accomplish the purpose of the declaration of the Congress; but we sincerely hope that we shall not be called upon to do that to the extent of sending men to fight overseas. But we can effectively and in the immediate future arm and strengthen and support those who are, since our declaration of war, fighting our battles. They have already been heartened and strengthened by our declaration of participation in the conflict, and if we can hearten and strengthen them further by large supplies of funds and strengthenings of credit it is our duty and to our advantage to do so.

I hope we shall not have to send men across the sea. If we do, I am one of those who think that the best men to send to fight our battles are the men who have the courage and patriotism to go and who are willing to volunteer for that purpose. [Applause.] I am not one of those who believe that an army composed largely of those who can only be brought to the colors under conscription are the best sort of folks to fight anybody's battles. [Applause.] I hope I shall never have to vote for conscription. Unless I am further persuaded than now, I shall not vote for it, at least until volunteering has been tried. If I ever do, I shall not lay the pleasing unction to my soul, as some gentlemen who have spoken on the subject evidently have, that there is to be a sort of selective conscription that will conscript everybody's constituents except their own. I have not lost faith in American youth. This is still a Republic. We have assumed the responsibility to meet the situation of war, but, after all, it remains for the American people to say how far war shall go and to what extent we shall participate in it. If it shall seem wise and proper and necessary at any time to send soldiers to do fighting in the trenches, which God forbid, I feel confident that there will be no difficulty in getting volunteers for that service. At any rate, I am one of those who, if it shall be necessary to furnish men for that service, want to give the volunteers a chance. [Applause.]

The sums provided in this bill are stupendous; the burden of its payment will weigh heavily on our people for many years to come, but it is the inevitable result of our entrance into the war. I voted with very great reluctance to accept the gage of battle the acts of Germany seemed to thrust upon us, and, having entered the conflict, we must not hesitate to pay the price, for hesitation or faltering now would be fatal.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask the Clerk to proceed with the reading of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized to borrow, from time to time, on the credit of the United States for the purposes of this act and to meet expenditures authorized for the national security and defense and other public purposes authorized by law not exceeding in the aggregate $5,000,000,000, exclusive of the sums authorized by section 4 of this act, and to issue therefor bonds of the United States.

Mr. MANN. A parliamentary inquiry. There are three paragraphs in section 1. Will the bill be read by paragraphs or sections?

The CHAIRMAN. It is a revenue bill and will be read by paragraphs.

Mr. KITCHIN. I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SMITH of Idaho, indefinitely, on account of illness in his family.

To Mr. MARTIN of Illinois, indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. NOLAN, indefinitely, on account of illness.

LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter, transmitting a short patriotic resolution adopted by the Senate of the Legislature of Michigan.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to extend remarks in the RECORD by printing the resolution to which he refers. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

LANSING, *April 6, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN M. C. SMITH,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH: I have the honor to inform you that the Michigan Senate has this day adopted the following resolution:

"Senate resolution 53.

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of Michigan hereby expresses its approval of the action of Michigan's Senators and Representatives in Congress, who voted to maintain with all the resources of the Government the honor of the United States and to resist any encroachment on the rights of the American people.

"*Resolved further*, That the Secretary be directed to communicate this resolution to our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

Yours, very truly,

D. E. ALWARD,
Secretary of the Senate.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the subject of aviation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein resolutions adopted at a patriotic meeting held by former residents of Croatia, Austria-Hungary.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have the privilege of extending their remarks in the RECORD on the pending bill for the period of 10 legislative days after the passage of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on April 11, 1917, they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H. R. 122. An act making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 24 minutes p. m.), in accordance with the order heretofore made, the House adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, April 14, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Auditor of the War Department requesting that the additional force provided for his office for the fiscal year 1918 be made available May 1, 1917, to June 30, 1917, inclusive (H. Doc. No. 19); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Semira E. Perry, daughter and sole heir of Frank T. Barker, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 20); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Lillian A. Green, daughter, and Jordan Philip, guardian of the minor grandchildren of John S. Atwood, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 21); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Vashti Crawford, daughter of John L. Woodward, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 22); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Mary C. Griffin, widow of Daniel F. Griffin, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 23); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

6. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Cornelius D. Croley *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 24); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

7. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Silas A. Carpenter *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 25); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. PADGETT, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2340) to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 5), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2338) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 7), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 1771) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 6), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 1770) to authorize the President in time of war or of national emergency to requisition or take over ships, boats, and other water craft for the use of the Government, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 9), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2339) to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 10), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2008) to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 8), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. WEBB, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 383) to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 11), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 1) congratulating the people of Russia on the establishment of popular government, reported the same with an amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 12), which said concurrent resolution and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 2870) increasing the limit of expenditures for repairs and changes on the U. S. S. *Saratoga;* to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 2871) to provide that in the construction and application of the pension laws a soldier or sailor shall be considered of good health at the time of his enlistment; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 2872) to provide for a site and United States post office at Omaha, Nebr.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2873) providing for the classification of salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 2874) to exclude from the Arkansas National Forest all lands within the fourth congressional district and restore same to the public domain; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 2875) to fix the mileage of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress; to the Committee on Mileage.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2876) to amend the national banking laws; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2877) to prevent the use of the mails and of the telegraph and telephone in furtherance of fraudulent and harmful transactions on stock exchanges; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TILSON: A bill (H. R. 2878) to regulate and control the manufacture, sale, and use of weights and measures, and of weighing and measuring devices; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. MOON: A bill (H. R. 2879) to provide for the erection of a public building at Tracy City, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2880) to provide for the erection of a public building at Sparta, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2881) to provide for the erection of a public building at McMinnville, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2882) to provide for the erection of a public building at South Pittsburg, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2883) to provide for the erection of a public building at Madisonville, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2884) to provide for the erection of a public building at Pikeville, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2885) to provide for the erection of a public building at Sweetwater, Tenn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2886) excepting certain classes of manufacturers and dealers from the operation of the provisions of section 5 of H. R. 19410, making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2887) authorizing the Postmaster General to increase prices for certain supplies to conform to abnormal market conditions; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2888) authorizing the removal of cannon and shells from Shiloh Park, Tenn., to Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and other places; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2889) authorizing juries to fix punishment of defendants convicted in United States courts in certain cases; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2890) authorizing the Secretary of War to convey a certain strip of land to the Tennessee Coffin & Casket Co.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2891) recognizing the military service of and giving pensionable status under all pension laws of the United States to persons serving under United States officers as home guards, militia, or other provisional troops during the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2892) to determine powers of United States judges as to instructions to juries; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WEBB: A bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky (by request): A bill (H. R. 2894) regulating itinerant vendors in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DALE of Vermont: A bill (H. R. 2895) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. SNOOK: A bill (H. R. 2896) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. HAYES: A bill (H. R. 2897) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914; August 15, 1914; March 3, 1915; and September 7, 1916, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 2898) to increase the number of commissioned line officers in the junior grades of the Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. STEENERSON: A bill (H. R. 2899) granting the free mailing privilege to the American National Red Cross; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. COADY: A bill (H. R. 2900) to amend section 14 of the act of Congress approved July 1, 1898, and entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," by making certain additions thereto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 2901) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 2902) making an appropriation to establish a national park at the Oriskany (N. Y.) battle field; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2903) to amend an act with reference to the improvement of the public building at Utica, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2904) to provide for a public building at Ilion, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2905) to provide for a public building at Herkimer, N. Y.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LA GUARDIA: A bill (H. R. 2906) providing for the continuance of pay of employees in the service of the United States Government or departments thereof who render military or naval service at a time when the United States is at war with any foreign nation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TAGUE: A bill (H. R. 2907) to extend the provisions of the bond and warehouse statement to merchandise free of duty; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2908) to increase the cost of the immigration station at Boston, Mass.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 2909) providing for the continuance of the Osage Indian School, Oklahoma, for a period of 10 years from January 1, 1918; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. TAGUE: A bill (H. R. 2910) to grant official recognition to the organization of employees in the Postal Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky (by request of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia): A bill (H. R. 2911) regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 2912) to amend an act approved June 29, 1906, and entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate"; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 2913) to stimulate the production of food upon private and public lands within reclamation projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. WATKINS: A bill (H. R. 2914) providing for an increase in salary of the United States marshal for the western district of Louisiana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2915) to establish and maintain a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2916) regulating the method of keeping mortality statistics by the Census Bureau and providing for tabulating and rating separately white and colored people, and that the mortality rates of cities be based upon deaths of those residing in the city, and nonresident deaths of transients be tabulated separately; to the Committee on the Census.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 2917) to commission as officers in the Regular Army of the United States National Guard officers attending service schools; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 2918) providing for the disbursement by the Secretary of the Interior of individual Indian moneys in his hands belonging to members of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 2919) to provide for the establishment of aids to navigation to mark the channel of Shelter Island Sound, off Sag Harbor, N. Y.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2920) providing for the survey of an inland water route along the southern shore of Long Island, N. Y., from Jamaica Bay to Peconic Bay; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2921) providing for a survey of Sterling Basin, at Greenport, in the State of New York; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2922) providing for a survey of Gardiners Island, in the State of New York; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2923) to appropriate $22,500 for the improvement of Sterling Basin at Greenport, State of New York, and an approach thereto; to the committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. WATKINS: A bill (H. R. 2924) to amend section 162 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the Judiciary, approved March 3, 1911; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 2925) to provide adequate subsistence for the warrant officers and enlisted men of the Coast Guard; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 2926) to increase the pay of soldiers and seamen who serve in the Army and the Navy as privates; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2927) to preserve the purity of our flag; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GARRETT of Texas: A bill (H. R. 2928) to authorize the appropriation of $10,000,000 for the benefit of the wives,

children, and dependent mothers of persons serving in the Army of the United States during the present war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 2929) for the relief of West Virginia State troops; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2930) granting pensions to the officers and soldiers who served in the West Virginia State troops in the late Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 2931) to provide for a tax on high explosives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GARLAND: A bill (H. R. 2932) providing that an imprint shall be placed on all articles manufactured in the United States and becoming the subject of interstate commerce, and providing that no manufactured articles or goods shall be admitted to the United States unless bearing an imprint; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 2933) granting an extension of patent to the United Daughters of the Confederacy; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. GARLAND: A bill (H. R. 2934) appropriating $50,000 for the erection of a monument to the memory of Robert Morris; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. GOULD: A bill (H. R. 2935) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannons and balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2936) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannons and balls; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 2937) granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Civil War; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINKHAM: A bill (H. R. 2938) to amend an act entitled "An act to create a juvenile court in and for the District of Columbia," and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. EMERSON: Resolution (H. Res. 47) to authorize ex-President Roosevelt to organize an army of 100,000 men; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GLASS: Resolution (H. Res. 48) calling upon the people of the country to put forth every endeavor to increase the food supply; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GALLAGHER: Resolution (H. Res. 49) favoring free government for Ireland and Poland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 50) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 51) instructing the Secretary of War to make certain selections of recruits under the proposed conscription law; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial from the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts in favor of a uniform eight-hour labor law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McANDREWS: Memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, urging the enactment by Congress of a law establishing in the United States a system of universal and compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, favoring amendment of section 4 of the act to regulate commerce, so as to make it unlawful to charge a higher rate per mile for a short distance than for a longer distance, the shorter distance being included within the longer; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial of the General Court of the State of Massachusetts, favoring an amendment to the Constitution that will enable Congress to enact a uniform eight-hour law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GARDNER: Memorial of the General Court of Massachusetts, favoring a uniform eight-hour law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of the General Court of the State of Massachusetts, favoring a uniform eight-hour law; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MANN: Memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, favoring a system of universal and compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 2939) granting an increase of pension to George L. Wells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2940) granting an increase of pension to Norman Gregory; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2941) granting an increase of pension to William T. O'Bannon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2942) granting a pension to Daniel V. Long; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2943) granting a pension to Zachary T. Pentz; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BARKLEY: A bill (H. R. 2944) granting a pension to Elbert B. Marshall; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2945) granting a pension to Samuel Walker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2946) granting a pension to Mark Curtsinger; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2947) for the relief of the estate of James W. Perry, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2948) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Merrill; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2949) granting an increase of pension to Alfred D. Cosby; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2950) to remove the charge of desertion from the name of Ellery P. Roberts; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2951) to remove the charge of desertion from the name of Lee Thompson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2952) for the relief of the estate of James E. Morgan, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2953) for the relief of the estate of William J. Sailing, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2954) for the relief of the estate of John R. Martin; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2955) for the relief of the estate of John Boyer, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BARNHART: A bill (H. R. 2956) granting an increase of pension to Perry Oliver Rice; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 2957) granting an increase of pension to Edward G. Sanchez; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2958) for the relief of Faxon, Horton & Gallagher; Long Bros. Grocery Co.; A. Rieger; Rothenberg & Schloss; Ryley, Wilson & Co.; and Van Noy News Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BRODBECK: A bill (H. R. 2959) granting an increase of pension to George W. Leithiser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2960) granting an increase of pension to James Hennessy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 2961) for the relief of the officers and enlisted men of McLane's Pennsylvania Regiment, and their widows and children; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COADY: A bill (H. R. 2962) for the relief of the heirs of Benjamin Mordecai, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2963) for the relief of Ann E. H. Boyle, administratrix of James Hooper, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COMSTOCK: A bill (H. R. 2964) granting an increase of pension to Cornelius J. Richardson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COSTELLO: A bill (H. R. 2965) granting a pension to Belle S. Mager; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 2966) granting a pension to Admire M. Wood; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DALLINGER: A bill (H. R. 2967) granting a pension to Chester A. Morang; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DILL: A bill (H. R. 2968) granting an increase of pension to John G. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 2969) for the relief of Matthew McDonald; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GARLAND: A bill (H. R. 2970) granting an increase of pension to John L. B. Breighner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2971) granting a pension to John Richstein; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2972) granting pensions to emergency men of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOULD: A bill (H. R. 2973) for the relief of Uriel D. Belles; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2974) for the relief of Martin Norton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 2975) granting a pension to Charles D. Skirdin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2976) granting a pension to Kate E. Gilbert; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2977) granting a pension to Charles P. Cook; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2978) granting a pension to R. L. Rhodes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2979) granting an increase of pension to John H. Terry; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2980) granting an increase of pension to John Hutchinson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2981) for the relief of R. L. Rhodes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2982) for the relief of David Andrew Hopkins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2983) for the relief of Coles Abrams, alias Charles H. Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2984) for the relief of the owners of the steam barge *Genessee* and the barge *J. Mooncy;* to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HILL: A bill (H. R. 2985) granting an increase of pension to Emma Roselle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2986) granting an increase of pension to David E. Godfrey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JUUL: A bill (H. R. 2987) granting an increase of pension to Otto Schellhorn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KEATING: A bill (H. R. 2988) granting a pension to John Streit; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: A bill (H. R. 2989) granting an increase of pension to Louis Rinart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KIESS of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 2990) granting a pension to George H. Poust; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LOBECK; A bill (H. R. 2991) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Kells; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKENZIE: A bill (H. R. 2992) granting an increase of pension to John R. Perrine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2993) granting an increase of pension to William T. Preston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McKINLEY: A bill (H. R. 2994) granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Kappes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAYS: A bill (H. R. 2995) for the relief of Thomas Smith; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOON: A bill (H. R. 2996) granting an increase of pension to William J. Walsh; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2997) granting an increase of pension to James Layne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2998) granting an increase of pension to George W. Swafford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 2999) granting a pension to Joseph Clyde Shadden, to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3000) granting a pension to Dautry C. Baine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3001) granting a pension to Mary Emma Axmacher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3002) granting a pension to Jacob B. Mulkey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3003) granting a pension to Sam Privit; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3004) granting a pension to Andrew J. Hollaway; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3005) granting a pension to Martha M. Buchanan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3006) granting a pension to Margaret J. Ferguson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3007) granting a pension to James Besheres; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3008) granting a pension to Lou Stewart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3009) granting a pension to John B. Evans; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3010) granting a pension to Frank V. Griffith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3011) granting a pension to Hayes Brummitt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3012) granting a pension to Benjamin H. Norman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3013) granting a pension to Andrew J. Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3014) granting a pension to James B. King; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3015) granting a pension to Mary E. Pearce; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3016) granting a pension to J. L. McDowell, alias Leander Dickey; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3017) for the relief of the estate of George P. Carmichael, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3018) for the relief of G. R. West; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3019) for the relief of A. Shelton, administrator of the estate of Elizabeth W. Carper; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3020) for the relief of Mrs. David Gillespie; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3021) for the relief of Fannie Hoyl Blevins; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3022) for the relief of Albert E. Archer and of William Archer; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3023) for the relief of Mary E. Coppinger; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3024) for the relief of C. C. Acklin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3025) for the relief of John M. Heard; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3026) for the relief of the estate of Pleasant M. Craigmiles, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3027) for the relief of Jesse Walling; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3028) for the relief of Samuel McJunkin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3029) for the relief of Coleman C. McReynolds, administrator of the estate of John McReynolds; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3030) for the relief of the legal representatives of John F. Anderson; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3031) for the relief of the estate of J. K. Johnson; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3032) for the relief of James Moore; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3033) for the relief of W. W. Rutledge, sole heir and legatee of J. M. Rutledge, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3034) for the relief of the estate of P. W. Key; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3035) for the relief of the heirs at law of Robert Worthington; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3036) for the relief of the widow of the late Capt. Daniel C. Trewhitt; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3037) for the relief of John G. Brazelton, administrator of the estate of Green Brazelton, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3038) for the relief of the estate of Daniel C. Yarnell, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3039) for the relief of the estate of Louisa M. Kirklin, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3040) to correct the military record of Harvey Hendrix; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3041) to correct the military record of R. B. Hendrickson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3042) to remove the charge of desertion against Martin Van Buren, alias Martin Van Buren McReynolds; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3043) to remove the charge of desertion from the name of John W. Bates; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3044) to remove the charge of desertion from the name of William H. Travis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOORES of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 3045) granting an increase of pension to Franklin Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3046) granting an increase of pension to James H. Jeffries; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3047) granting an increase of pension to Robert B. Armstrong; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3048) granting a pension to Maggie B. Wagner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NICHOLS of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3049) granting a pension to Ida Gilhooly; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3050) granting a pension to Joseph D. Beaubien; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3051) granting a pension to Cecelia Gordon; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3052) granting an increase of pension to William E. Meadows; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3053) granting an increase of pension to William Schwicardi; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 3054) for the relief of the legal representatives of Nathaniel F. Cheairs, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. PRATT: A bill (H. R. 3055) granting a pension to Charles E. Cortright; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3056) granting a pension to Louis J. Prime; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3057) granting a pension to Byron Pierce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3058) granting a pension to Esther M. Beebe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3059) granting a pension to Rolin L. Stone; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3060) granting a pension to Helen A. Benjamin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3061) granting a pension to Elmer Bennett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3062) granting a pension to Rudolph Allmers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3063) granting a pension to Sate L. Brundage; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3064) granting an increase of pension to A. H. Shears; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3065) granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Durnin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3066) granting an increase of pension to George R. White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3067) granting an increase of pension to William B. Porter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3068) granting an increase of pension to George L. Clapp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3069) granting an increase of pension to Emmett Ellis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3070) granting an increase of pension to William H. Farrar; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3071) granting an increase of pension to George W. Frisbie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3072) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Jenkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3073) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Cuddeback; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3074) granting an increase of pension to Frank Sayre; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3075) for the relief of John E. Osborne; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3076) to correct the muster of William Ramsey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 3077) for the relief of J. B. Smith, son of S. M. Smith; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROSE: A bill (H. R. 3078) for the relief of Susan C. Bott, widow of George Bott; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWLAND: A bill (H. R. 3079) granting an increase of pension to Henry O. Bender; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3080) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Andrews; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3081) granting an increase of pension to Josephus Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3082) granting an increase of pension to Isaiah Copelin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3083) granting an increase of pension to George Ulrich; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3084) granting an increase of pension to John Stouffer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3085) granting an increase of pension to Theodore Sinzig; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3086) granting an increase of pension to William Rimert; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3087) granting an increase of pension to Henry L. McMullen; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3088) granting an increase of pension to Simon Kephart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3089) granting an increase of pension to Robert Hudson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3090) for the relief of Clement H. Cole; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 3091) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Haynes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RUSSELL: A bill (H. R. 3092) granting an increase of pension to David Whittington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 3093) granting an increase of pension to Cyrus S. Lyon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3094) granting an increase of pension to Abner A. Hurt; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3095) for the relief of R. H. Keene; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3096) for relief of Ethel Fredrickson and daughter Ethel; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3097) for the relief of Lena Garagnon; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3098) for the relief of the Longini Mexican Hat Co., of San Antonio, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3099) granting an increase of pension to James C. Haslett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEELE: A bill (H. R. 3100) for the relief of Samuel Snyder; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3101) to reinstate Paul D. Kern as a cadet at United States Military Academy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 3102) to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in case of the Presbyterian Church of Batesville, Panola County, Miss.; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3103) for the enrollment of A. O. Mallory and others as citizens by blood of the Choctaw Nation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3104) granting a pension to Rosa Carter; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STRONG: A bill (H. R. 3105) granting a pension to Deborah Sebring; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH: A bill (H. R. 3106) granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Keefe; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WALTON: A bill (H. R. 3107) for the relief of J. L. Campbell and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WATKINS: A bill (H. R. 3108) providing for the appointment and retirement of Gordon A. Dennis as a second lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE of Maine: A bill (H. R. 3109) granting an increase of pension to Alden F. Wooster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3110) granting an increase of pension to Milton W. Burnham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3111) granting an increase of pension to George F. Cooper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3112) granting a pension to Edward L. Eaton; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3113) to award a medal of honor to Henry H. Maxim, private, Company G. Twelfth Regiment, Maine Volunteer Infantry; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAMS: A bill (H. R. 3114) granting an increase of pension to Monroe J. Potts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3115) granting an increase of pension to Ora Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 3116) granting an increase of pension to James A. Brown; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3117) for the relief of the legal representatives of Thomas H. Rogers, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 3118) granting an increase of pension to Victoria Coffman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3119) granting an honorable discharge to Isaiah R. Lockhart; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Petition of National American Woman Suffrage Association, asking that a committee on woman suffrage be appointed in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), memorial of the citizens of Sheridan and Sheridan County, Wyo., in a mass meeting approving the acts of Congress and the President relative to the German situation and pledging loyalty in defense of the honor and rights of this country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Freeport (N. Y.) Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, commending the President for his action in connection with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of W. H. Preston, Esq., at the annual meeting of the voters of Fair Haven, Vt., pledging support to the President and Congress in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of the members of the Twelfth Assembly District Regular Democratic Club, of the county of Kings, city and State of New York, indorsing action taken by Congress on April 4, 1917, and pledging support to the President in the time of our country's trial; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Philadelphia (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring bond issue for financing war expenditures; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also (by request), memorial of Board of Aldermen of the city of St. Louis, Mo., pledging loyal support to the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Keokuk (Iowa) Branch of National Security League, pledging support to the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Memorials of Gambier Lodge, No. 760, Knights of Pythias, and citizens of Mansfield, Ohio, indorsing declaration of war and pledging loyal support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. AYRES: Petitions of sundry citizens of the State of Kansas, opposed to war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BRODBECK: Papers to accompany House bill 2959, for increase of pension to George W. Leithiser; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill 2960, for increase of pension to James Hennessy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CALDWELL: Petitions of sundry citizens and organizations of the State of New York, against the United States in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petitions of General Society, Sons of the Revolution; Municipal Engineers of City of New York; and New York Southern Society, pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CAREW: Petitions of Associated Rifle Clubs of New York and New Jersey, favoring location of a large rifle range near New York City; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DOOLING: Memorial of Yale Club, New York City, pledging support to the President and Congress in the war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. EMERSON: Memorial of Cleveland Branch of the Friends of Irish Freedom, pledging loyalty and support to the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: Memorial of Business Men's National Service League of New York, favoring establishment of a Federal rifle range in northern New Jersey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FOSS: Memorial of City Council of the City of Chicago, relative to the dumping of material in the waters of Lake Michigan; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of the Hamilton Club, of Chicago, indorsing compulsory universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GARDNER: Memorial of Fitchburg (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, Republican Club of Massachusetts, and citizens of Needham, Mass., indorsing action of the President in present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of citizens of Melrose, Mass., relative to present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GLASS: Memorial of Lynchburg Lodge, No. 11, Knights of Pythias, pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Memorial adopted by the City Council of Elizabeth, N. J., approving the action of Congress in the declaration of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LEHLBACH: Petition of sundry citizens of the United States, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McANDREWS: Memorial adopted by the City Council of Chicago, in relation to universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial adopted by Chicago Society of Illinois College, approving action of Congress and the President relative to German situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McLEMORE: Petition of citizens of Denton County, Tex., protesting against conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MANN: Petition of City Council of Chicago, Ill., indorsing the principle of universal and compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of city council of the city of Chicago, Ill., in re dumping of material in waters of Lake Michigan; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Chicago Society of Illinois College, favoring universal and compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MEEKER: Memorial of board of directors of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, Mo., favoring adequate appropriations for river and harbor improvements; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, resolution adopted by the Knights of Columbus of Missouri, reaffirming their allegiance to the United States of America and pledging their fealty to the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Memorial of Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, in favor of extension of life of Federal War-Risk Insurance Bureau; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MORIN: Petition of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, of Philadelphia, Pa., urging Congress to adopt not merely emergency measures but to establish a permanent and democratic system of defense, based upon universal service and compulsory training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PETERS: Petition of sundry church organizations in Maine, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRATT: Petition of Dr. Charles H. Erway, Elmira Heights, N. Y., urging immunity from war taxation to all who volunteer their services to protect and sustain their country; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Prof. Charles H. Hull, department of history, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., opposing a bond issue for financing the war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAINEY: Petitions of 102 citizens of Rockport, Ill., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAKER: Memorial by Hornbrook (Cal.) Lodge, No. 108, Knights of Pythias, pledging its support to the Government of the United States and approving the action of the President and Congress in severing relations with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial by Independent Oil Producers' Agency, urging compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial by Los Angeles Realty Board, favoring selective conscription and universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, resolution passed by the Rotary Club, of Los Angeles, Cal., indorsing universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of William B. Acton, San Francisco, Cal., favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of A. L. McCoy, president Red Bluff Rifle Club, Red Bluff, Cal., indorsing compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Petition of Phebe E. N. Franklin and 38 others, of Vicksburg, Mich., favoring amendment for woman suffrage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SNELL: Resolution of women of Franklin County, N. Y., pledging to the Government loyalty and aid in our present war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution of Rotary Club of Ogdensburg, N. Y., approving the policy of President Wilson in our war with Germany and strongly advocating his policy of conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, resolutions of Malone Lodge, No. 1303, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Malone, N. Y., supporting the President of the United States in declaring war with Germany, and offering aid in defending our country in the present war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution of pupils of public schools of Plattsburg, N. Y., through Frank K. Watson, superintendent, pledging their patriotic support to help preserve the honor, integrity, and true greatness of our common mother, America, in the present war with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SNOOK: Memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Bryan, Ohio, favoring payment of war expense by income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Bryan, Ohio, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: Petition of Charles Miller and others, of Utica, N. Y., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Grocers' Association of Rome; Trades' Assembly of Little Falls, N. Y.; and Mozart Lodge, No. 121, Free and Accepted Masons, of Camden, N. J., pledging loyal support of members to Government of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petitions of teachers and scholars of the public schools of Little Falls, N. Y., expressing confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TILSON: Petition of citizens of Meriden, Conn., urging Congress to support the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of New Haven (Conn.) Housewives' League, favoring legislation for control and conservation of the national food supply; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *April 14, 1917.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, make us conscious of Thy presence, guide us by the light of Thy countenance, uphold us by the power of Thy might in every worthy object; that at the close of this day we shall hear speaking to the soul in commendatory terms the still small voice; in His name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 11, the sundry civil appropriation bill, to disagree to all Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to take the bill H. R. 11 from the Speaker's table, to disagree to all Senate amendments, and ask for a conference. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will announce the conferees.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. SHERLEY, and Mr. GILLETT.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. ESCH. To ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing a letter of the Secretary of Agriculture with reference to food supply and seed grains.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD two short addresses delivered in New York yesterday in answer to the pacifists.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

EMERGENCY BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2762.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2762, with Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to the first paragraph of the bill. Will it be in order now, or did the Chair hold——

The CHAIRMAN. The first paragraph has been read. The gentleman can send his amendment to the desk.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman withhold that a moment until I can offer a committee amendment to the second paragraph?

The CHAIRMAN. The second paragraph has not been read. The gentleman from Iowa offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, line 8, after the word "aggregate," strike out the amount "$5,000,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof the amount "$2,000,000,000."

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] desire to be recognized in opposition to the amendment?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, I understand the position of the gentleman who offers this amendment is this: We are preparing to loan an enormous amount of money to the friends of this Government engaged in war with the enemies of this Government. The proposition contained in the pending amendment is that before loans are made to any nation the matter must be submitted to the determination of the 435 Members of the United States House of Representatives and of the Senators from each of the States, that a discussion must occur here as to the time the loan is to run, as to the amount of the loan, as to the terms of the loan in general, and as to whether or not that particular loan is advisable.

This bill drags its weary way through the Congress of the United States. Already in the making of the bill and in presenting it to this House we have occupied nearly 10 days of time. It is hoped that to-day this bill will pass the lower House of the Congress. How long it will take to pass the upper House no man can say. It will take to discuss each loan along the lines suggested by this amendment as much time as we are consuming now in determining upon this important war measure. To-day on the western front the greatest battle of the war is being waged. The entire force of the allied armies available for that purpose is being hurled against the Hindenburg line in northern France. To-day thousands of our friends and allies are dying in the trenches of northern France, and, according to the theory of this amendment, before we can loan to France a dollar we must discuss the matter at great length here in the Congress of the United States. While this awful war is raging and the very life of the States who are our friends are in danger we must permit all the Members of both Houses of this Congress to determine how much money we are going to let them have in this the hour of their national peril, in this hour when they are fighting our battle along the battle fronts of Europe. France did not treat us that way 140 years ago, when our credit was gone; when it cost $150 of American currency to buy a bushel of corn; when it cost $2,000 of American currency to buy a suit of clothes. She loaned to the impoverished young Republic of the western world millions from her Treasury at the request of the great Franklin without any discussion and without debate. And she sent her fleet and her armies, which finally led to the surrender over here at Yorktown and later to the end of that long war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to continue for five minutes more. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. RAINEY. And afterwards she remitted the interest. The millions she expended when she sent her armies and her fleet here in the defense of this young Republic in its natal hour we have never repaid. And yet the proposition is that while her young men are suffering and dying by the thousands our Secretary of the Treasury with his advisers, the Council of National Defense, shall not be permitted to determine, and to determine quickly, where these first bombs in this fight that we propose to wage shall be placed, because this proposed bond issue is the first battle in the great world conflict in which we are entering. This is the way the great Republic of the western world enters this awful war for freedom throughout the world. We enter it by here and now putting into the conflict $5,000,000,000 in money, by saying to those executives of this Government who are qualified and who are in possession of the desired information that they shall say how much we shall give to this nation, and when and how much we will give to this other nation, in order to produce the best results.

An amendment of the sort proposed here and pending now destroys absolutely and kills this bill. If we are to wage a campaign here in the House and let the representatives of these various nations who go to make up this great melting pot of ours suggest here that France shall have so much, that England shall have so much, that Italy shall have nothing at all in this loan, and proceed to wage this sort of a campaign here in this body, we might as well abandon this method of starting this fight. [Applause.]

The thing to do is to pass this bill and pass it quickly, and to say to the nations of the world engaged in the war with us, "We propose to help our friends, and we propose to do it quickly, and we propose to do it in the most effective way." [Applause.]

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. RAINEY. I do.

Mr. SABATH. Do I understand that there is an understanding, or that it is understood on the part of some Members here and others, that the loan is to be made only to three or four great powers and that the smaller nations that are at war should be eliminated or discriminated against?

Mr. RAINEY. There is no such understanding; there is no such intention. [Applause.] There will be nothing of that kind—no arrangement of that kind. In the changing battle fronts of Europe it is impossible to say this week where millions of this loan ought to be placed next week. We want this loan to be arranged so that it will be liquid; so that it will quickly and easily flow to that nation and to that battle front in the amounts that ought to be launched in that particular quarter. There is no intention to exclude any nation. [Applause.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this amendment, but for reasons different from those assigned by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY].

I do not believe that time is wasted in considering these very important measures, and although four days have elapsed since this bill was introduced into this House, a single day's discussion has disclosed the fact that amendments of a vital and important character should be made to it, and will be made to it, before it is enacted into law. [Applause.]

I am not in favor of making this enormous loan upon the theory that we have initiated a program of helping some other nation in this great conflict. There is only one justification for the enormous burden that is now proposed to be put upon the people of the United States, and that is that this country is engaged in a war to maintain and to sustain its own rights as a Nation, and the fact that financial and other help is to be extended to some of the belligerents that are engaged upon the same side of the contest as the United States is merely incidental to the purpose in view. Whatever may have been the conduct of France in the past, however much we may have been indebted to her, or now sympathize with her, those facts alone would not be sufficient to justify the United States in engaging in this contest. We have been brought into this contest because one of the belligerents has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and people of the United States which compel us as a self-respecting and decent Nation to acknowledge that situation and to accept the challenge with which the Imperial German Government has confronted us. We are now initiating the measures that are necessary to conduct that war successfully, not to conduct some one else's war successfully, not merely to aid some belligerent in the accomplishment of its purpose except as that may be incidental and necessary in the accomplishment of our own purpose.

I would not hamper the administration in the negotiation of these loans. We happen to be arrayed on the same side with other nations. I should gladly vote to give $6,000,000,000 to the nations arrayed on the same side with us if we could win this war without sacrificing American blood and American lives. [Applause.] I have little sympathy with the suggestion that possibly we will not get our money back. I care not so much if we do if American blood and American lives be preserved by the grant of the money. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, in this discussion suggestions have been made that in some way the Congress should attempt to limit the use to which the Governments to which this money is to be furnished may put it.

If we propose to help those Governments by extending credit and enabling them to get supplies, we can not quibble about what is to be done by them with portions of the money. [Applause.] It is a matter for them to determine. The only question for us to decide is whether it is advisable from our standpoint, for the successful conduct of the war in which we are engaged, to aid in the conduct of the war by the advancing of supplies of either money or men to those arrayed with us. When we decide to act we have done all that we should do. The details are administrative and must be intrusted to the executive department of the Government.

I do not wish at the outset of the consideration of these important measures to have the assertion or the intimation go unchallenged that it is a misfortune that under our Government there is such a thing as the Congress of the United States. [Applause.] The investigation conducted so far, in which I have had a part, justifies the assertion that the most important thing for the Congress to do is to be more assiduous, more searching, more careful in the performance of its duties than it has ever been before in the history of the Government. The more efficiently we do our work, the more we will lessen the burdens and responsibilities of the Executive and the more effective our Government will be. I do not believe that the time has come when because men may differ about terms of bills or suggestions as to what should be done they are to be criticized as obstructionists. I have a very keen realization of the duties that devolve upon me as a Member of this House, and I intend to discharge them according to my lights, regardless of public clamor or threats or attempted coercion from any source, and the sooner it is appreciated in every place that here is the one great forum where the American people are represented and where every man has the right and is under obligation to speak his views the better the country will be. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. MANN and Mr. GARDNER rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I will give way, Mr. Chairman, to the gentleman from Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is recognized.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I did not know that I should speak upon the bill in any of its phases, because I doubted the necessity or desirability of speaking. But, Mr. Chairman, the amendment now proposed goes to the very basis of the proposition in the bill, as to our policy in regard to the war. The administration has proposed that it shall have the authority to loan $3,000,000,000 to those nations now engaged in war with the country upon which we have declared war. When we take the responsibility of engaging in war we ought not to expect that it will be a mere paper war or a mere academic discussion.

We are not prepared to place men in the field. We are not prepared to fight with our Army. We are not prepared to do very much with our Navy; not because we do not have some Navy, but because there is little opportunity for the Navy to engage in actual war at this time. But there is one way in which we are prepared to engage in the war. There is only one way in which to-day we can do more than make our war an academic discussion, and the only way left to us is to help finance those nations who are fighting our enemy. [Applause.] This bill will authorize the loan to them of $3,000,000,000. I doubt not that before a year has passed that sum will be more than doubled; but let us hope that by advancing our credit and loaning our money we may be able thus to end the war. I think it is our highest duty, in the making of war, to give aid to those who are fighting the enemy against whom we have declared war, and I only hope and pray that the aid thus given may be effectual enough to end the war before we send our boys to the trenches. [Applause.]

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] in his opposition to the Towner amendment. I do not agree with him as to the causes for which we are fighting. Neither does his President agree with him. I do not agree that the United States has gone to war merely to enforce its rights. I admit, of course, that Ger-

many's submarine warfare has been the match which has lighted the conflagration in this country; but fundamentally the American people are actuated by a purpose even higher than the defense of our rights upon the high seas. The historians of the next generation will see with clearer eyes than ours. I venture the prediction that the future's broad survey of present-day American thought will show that the public opinion in this country which supports armed intervention in the affairs of Europe is based on a conviction that the entente allies are fighting for the rights of man and against a system of government which has become intolerable. Autocracy and democracy are engaged in a death struggle. We have taken up the sword on the side of democracy. It is high time for us to do so. Americans can not any longer permit other nations to bear the exclusive burden of a war for liberty.

Mr. KITCHIN. I ask for a vote on the amendment.

Mr. BUTLER. May we have the amendment reported again?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be reported again.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. TOWNER: Page 1, line 8, after the word "aggregate," strike out "$5,000,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$2,000,000,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. SHERLEY. Let us have a division.

Mr. MANN. Let us have a division, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. A division is demanded. Those in favor of the amendment will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Three Members in the affirmative. Those opposed to the amendment will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Two hundred and seventeen Members in the negative.

So the question being taken, there were—ayes 3, noes 217.

Accordingly the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. Mr. Chairman, I send to the desk an amendment which I offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. SHACKLEFORD: Amend, at the end of line 10, on page 1, by inserting the following:

"That to provide funds for the payment of the bonds and other indebtedness of the United States created under the provisions of this act, in addition to the taxes now provided by law there shall be levied and collected upon all net incomes of persons in excess of $4,000 a tax of 1 per cent on the first $1,000 of such excess and an increase in the rate of such tax on a sliding scale on each succeeding $1,000 of such excess to a point which will not allow any person to retain an annual net income in excess of $50,000; and upon the profits of all corporations and joint-stock companies in excess of 8 per cent of their capital stock a tax of 8 per cent of the first 1 per cent of such excess and an increase in the rate of such tax on a sliding scale of 2 per cent on each succeeding one-fourth of 1 per cent of such excess to a point which will not allow any corporation or joint-stock company to retain an annual profit exceeding 12 per cent of its capital stock. The levy and collection of the taxes herein provided for shall not be continued after the bonds and other indebtedness of the United States created under the provisions of this act have been paid or funds sufficient for that purpose have been secured."

Mr. KITCHIN. I make a point of order against that amendment, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina makes a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. I do not care to argue it, any further than to say that it seems to me that at any time when we are providing for the issuance of bonds it ought to be in order also to provide a sinking fund for their payment.

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course, this is not a tax measure at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's point of order is that it is not germane?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is not germane.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that clearly it is not germane. The point of order is sustained. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The bonds herein authorized shall be in such form and subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturities, payment, and rate of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. The principal and interest thereof shall be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value and shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation imposed by authority of the United States, or its possessions, or by authority of any State, except estate or inheritance taxes; but such bonds shall not bear the circulation privilege.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 2, line 3, after the word "interest," insert "including time of payment thereof," so that the line as amended will read:

"The bonds herein authorized shall be in such form and subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturity, payment, and rate of interest, including time of payment thereof, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. In my judgment this amendment is quite proper, and I agree with the rest of the committee; but it seems to me that it would fit better to have it read:

Rate and time of payment of interest.

Mr. MANN. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think that suggestion is all right, and I ask to modify my amendment so as to insert after the word "rate" the words "and time of payment."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to modify his amendment. Is there objection?

Mr. CANNON. Let the Clerk report the amendment as modified.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment as modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modified committee amendment: Page 2, line 3, after the word "rate," insert the words "and time of payment."

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina has the floor.

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. DOWELL. Under this amendment it only applies to the interest on the bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; because all the other conditions of the bonds are otherwise provided for.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is all it is intended to provide for?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. DOWELL. The amendment applies only to the payment of interest?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 5, after the word "prescribe," strike out the period and insert a comma and the following words: "and shall be redeemable at or before the expiration of 30 years from the date of issue."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, this fixes a time for the redemption of these bonds. There is a suggestion in the country that we are leaving open the question of redemption in anticipation of the possible request by some of the foreign Governments to be released from the payment of their obligations. I do not understand that we are making a gift of the proceeds of our bonds which we apply to the purchase of foreign bonds. I understand it to be a financial transaction to prosecute our end of the war in Europe. I do not personally like the suggestion made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] that those folks over there "are fighting our battles." That expression has been used quite commonly during the last two or three weeks, and it leads up to the inference that we are practically at the mercy of the belligerent nations and that the reason we propose to lend them the proceeds of our bonds is to reward them for "fighting our battles." My own view is that the foreign Governments are fighting their own battles and that we are aiding them.

My interpretation of our declaration that a state of war exists is that it was a declaration of an American war and that we are going in on our own account. If we bond ourselves and tax our people, as we are bound to do, we are doing it in our own behalf, though we may cooperate with the nations opposing Germany, because Germany is opposing us.

Let us grant that France was our friend in the Revolution, that Russia also has been our friend, and conceding that Great Britain is now our friend, although we have twice had difficulties with Great Britain, I am not yet convinced that any one of these countries is "fighting our battles" in the sense now commonly expressed or that we will not be able to fight our own. [Applause.]

When we lend these foreign countries money we are rendering them an assistance, and they are not rendering assistance to us. I believe we do not want entangling alliances of a political nature with any one of the belligerent nations, but we are willing to aid them financially. I am willing that we shall have financial transactions with them by which we may assist them in furthering their battles and that they may be allied to us in the declaration we have made of a war existing with Germany. But I would like them to understand that it is expected in due course that the obligations they make to us will be redeemed.

It is not desirable for us to say now that we propose to extinguish any claim we may have upon any foreign nation which we now assist. If we issue these bonds for an indeterminate period, we lay ourselves open to that suggestion. If we fix a time limit for redemption of the bonds, we make a financial transaction pure and simple. We do not at the outset, I take it, wish to have it understood that we propose to relinquish all claims upon such of the foreign nations as we are to assist.

Then, again, it is a customary thing in issuing bonds to fix a time for redemption. It affects the value of the issue. My amendment proposes that the bonds shall be redeemed in 30 years. If at the expiration of that time it appears that any foreign Government is in distress and still unable to redeem the bonds, there will be ample opportunity for it to come forward and say that it desires an extension of time; and if it has been a friend to us, I have no doubt the Congress of the United States will listen to any request that may be made.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In just a moment. Before doing so I wish to say that I have been informed that Great Britain, which probably will be the chief beneficiary of the proceeds of these bonds, has loaned $4,000,000,000 to her allies in this war, with the distinct understanding that it shall be paid back. Now, if we owe more to France and Russia than we do to England, and England is making her contract on business terms with her allies, it seems to be not unreasonable that we should put ourselves on a business basis to-day with those whom we intend to assist. Now I will yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. The gentleman's amendment relates only to the bonds issued by the United States. I would like to ask whether, if the bonds are subject to redemption at the will of the Secretary of the Treasury, it is his opinion that the bonds will find as ready a sale as if they had a fixed term?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is a financial question and could be better answered in the bond market than on the floor of the House. I am not speaking for the bankers; but I am of opinion that my amendment would apply to all bonds issued under this measure.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to disagree with my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE]. When he states that we are loaning this money to European nations to defend their interests in the war in which they are engaged, I think he stretches the case beyond the facts. We have already declared war, and we are not prepared to begin to fight the war we have declared. If we can find somebody else to fight the war for us with our money, we ought not to hesitate to grant them the credit which they want and must have. [Applause.]

There is no way to win this war except by men and money. We are not prepared to furnish the men to-day, and somebody else is prepared to furnish the men, if we furnish the money. I do not agree with the statement that we are furnishing this money for somebody else to wage war on their own account, but we are doing our part to wage the war in which we are engaged is the contention I make.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Do I understand the gentleman to mean that these loans we are going to make are not to be repaid?

Mr. MADDEN. I would not care whether they were repaid or not. We are starting out to win a victory, as I understand it, to maintain American rights; and if we can maintain American rights by furnishing money to somebody willing to fight our battles until we are prepared to fight those battles for ourselves, we ought to do it. We ought to begin the war upon which we have entered now, to-day, not to-morrow. We ought not to wait until we have enlisted an army that we can send over there. It will be a year before we can do that; but if we send our money to operate the armies that are already in the field, then we shall have done the thing that the American people are looking forward to us to do as their representatives.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman knows that if the foreign Governments do not pay the money they borrow from us the people of the United States will have to pay it.

Mr. MADDEN. I am one of the American people who is ready to pay my share of the obligation [applause], and I shall have to pay as much of the money that is to be raised in taxes as most of the men in the United States will have to pay, and I am ready to do it to the extent of every dollar I own. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is more fortunate than most of the others.

Mr. MADDEN. Most of the men who are not so fortunate will not have to pay the taxes, because the revenue that is raised now is raised by the income tax, and the men that have not the money, and the men who are not earning it, are exempt from taxation. The men who have the money ought to pay, and they are willing to pay. [Applause.] If the men who have not the money and who are able to fight, are willing to fight and offer their lives for the preservation of American honor and for the liberty of the world, then the men who are not able to fight, but who have had the good fortune to make money ought to help to pay the bill. [Applause.] The American people believe that the time for talk has passed, that the time for action has come, and for God's sake, let us get into action either through the armies that are already in the field or through the armies that we propose to raise ourselves. Every one knows that we will not have an army in the field for a year or more than a year, and our duty to posterity and to liberty is to do everything we can to-day to win victory for the American people and for the liberty of the world. [Applause.]

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, we are engaged in war with Germany, and we are strengthening, or arranging to strengthen, the credit of those nations engaged in war with Germany. We are not making this loan for the purpose of making an investment of our funds. We are making this loan in order to further our interests primarily in this world war, and from that moment when the Congress of the United States declared that a state of war existed between this country and Germany every blow struck at Germany by any of her enemies was struck also in our interest, because we have entered this war for the declared purpose of bringing it to a speedy conclusion, not for the purpose of territorial aggrandizement, not for the purpose of claiming for ourselves at the close of the war extravagant war indemnities. The amendment proposed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] limits the period that these bonds are to run to 30 years. Perhaps that is long enough for some of them; perhaps it is too long for some of them. According to the information that we have, one nation to whom we may desire during the progress of this war to make loans expects to be able to pay the loan back in four or five years, but we have outstanding bonds now which run 50 years. The Panama Canal bonds run for 50 years, and some of these other bonds, not yet issued, mentioned in this bill run that long, which are to be issued now in accordance with the terms of this bill. The effect of this amendment will be to limit every one of them to 30 years—every unissued bond of the United States mentioned in this particular bill. The theory of the committee was that the Secretary of the Treasury and his advisers ought to have the opportunity to advise with the best financial thought of the country; ought to take the matter up with our diplomatic representatives in foreign governments, and then determine the period these bonds ought to run. Some of them ought to run, perhaps, for 50 years, and perhaps some of them ought not to run that long. Some of those bonds for which we are providing a reissue, according to the terms of this bill, ought to run as long as provided for in the original acts, in all probability. We think the amendment ought to be defeated.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman think there should be any limitation of time at all?

Mr. RAINEY. I think there should be no limitation expressed in the bill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman object to a 50-year period?

Mr. RAINEY. I think they ought to be limited as appeals to the best judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury and his ad-

visors at the time the bonds are issued and the loans are made, and he, of course, will consider the economic conditions prevailing in the nations we are assisting with these credits at the time the credits are extended.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman does not understand certainly, and the bill now before us does not support the idea, that we are giving this money away?

Mr. RAINEY. Certainly not.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. We ought to get something for the money we spend.

Mr. RAINEY. We never borrowed any money even from France that we did not pay back, although we did not pay back the interest.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman object to a 50-year limitation?

Mr. RAINEY. I object to any such limitation in this bill. I think the Secretary of the Treasury——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Do we not leave the whole question open to the suggestion which certain people are evidently passing through this country to-day, that inasmuch as certain nations are "fighting our battles" therefore we will pay their bills, which I understand not to be the idea of Congress?

Mr. RAINEY. That certainly is not the sentiment of the Congress.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. MANN. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for two minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. Has it not been customary, and is it not likely that custom will be followed in the issuance of bonds, to provide that the Government may at the end of a certain time call the bonds in for redemption, that saving the right, so far as the Government is concerned, and the time is fixed for the final payment of the bonds being fixed with the idea of strengthening the value of the bonds in the market?

Mr. RAINEY. That is frequently done, and that is a very correct enonomic theory, and that may be put into force by the Secretary of the Treasury, if it appears to be desirable. The terms are so completely left to his discretion that he can follow the practice sometimes adopted, as suggested by my colleague from Illinois, if it appears to be desirable.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is not the discretion so broad that if foreign nations should appeal to the President of the United States not to call these bonds that he may exercise his discretion and not call them. Is not that the fact?

Mr. RAINEY. The idea is to give the Secretary the very widest discretion; that is the purpose of this bill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, with the consent of the House, I will ask that my amendment may be amended so that it shall read 50 years instead of 30 years.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to modify his amendment by striking out 30 and inserting 50. Is there objection?

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I simply desire to say that I think it is as objectionable as 30; that any limitation is objectionable. The Secretary may limit some of these bonds as indicated by the pending amendment, others he may not so limit.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAINEY. I do.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman realizes that some of the bonds issued under this act, or provided for under this act—for instance, the Panama bonds—are 50-year bonds?

Mr. RAINEY. I so understand, and have so stated.

Mr. LONGWORTH. So it would make them all uniform if the gentleman's amendment should be adopted.

Mr. RAINEY. It would make them all mature in 50 years or less, and that is what I would avoid.

The CHAIRMAN. The immediate question is, Is there objection to the modification of the amendment by the gentleman from Pennsylvania? Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question is on the amendment as modified.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, the House of Representatives is engaged in a most unusual proceeding. While I agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] that we should act early, I think it more important that we should act wisely than that we should act hastily. Discussion upon this unusual and most important matter is not a waste of time. We are finding out what we ourselves think. We are dealing with matters that are entirely new, new to the country and new to governmental action. We are proposing a thing that has never yet been done to the extent proposed. The loan by the Government of $3,000,000,000 to other governments introduces a new function of governmental action on our part. But we are at war; our allies are in the field with men. They need money; we can supply it. Our men are not trained for the trenches; we must furnish the money.

There are two matters before the House. The first is the raising of money by the Government of the United States from the people of the United States; and, second, to be loaned to other Governments. The manner of securing the money, the time the bonds shall run, the interest they shall bear is one proposition. What shall be done with the money by the borrowers, the manner of its loan, the duration of the loan to the Governments that borrow it is quite another question. It is important in the consideration of the time these bonds shall run that posterity should be taken into account, that the ability of the Government of the United States to pay within the next 5 years, within the next 10 years, should be taken into account, and the debt paid at the earliest day possible; and if we can resort to taxes within this year, within the next, to pay a large portion of the money we are raising to loan to friendly nations engaged in the war with us upon a common foe, we should resort to those measures of taxation for the purpose of raising that money and raise it now and save future generations from paying the burden of debt that we are creating to-day. We should pay as we go as far as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. May I have five minutes more?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas that he may continue for five minutes? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, this money that is loaned to our allies may be paid back to us and it may not. We can not decide that matter here to-day. That will be settled around the table of the conquerors at the close of the war. If we are sitting with the conquerors in this war—and we will be—we can discuss whether or not we are to receive a return of the money that is advanced to the nations fighting the same foe we are. If we sit with the vanquished—and we will not—we will have an opportunity to discuss the matter there as to whether or not we are to have a return of the money that is proposed to be raised to-day. So that we waste time when we talk now about whether or not or when this money shall be returned to the Government of the United States. Now, as to the question of the length of time these bonds shall run. In the exercise of wise discretion the Executive should exercise that discretion by placing the bonds on the market at the lowest rate of interest at which they can sell and for the shortest length of time that is compatible with a good sale. We should extinguish the debt at the earliest day possible. Now, Mr. Chairman, fearing I may not have an opportunity when other sections are reached providing for interest, I want to make this observation: If I could do so, I would amend the bill providing that there shall be a flat rate of interest of 3½ per cent without provision for a possible increase in the rate. When Grant was sent to a horse dealer to buy a horse he was told by his father to say that he would give $100 for the horse, and if he could not get it for that to offer $125.

Of course, he paid $125 for the horse. By providing in this bill a possible increase in the interest rate we invite the bond market as to call for the higher rate of interest the bonds are finally to pay. I would leave the flat rate of interest at 3½ per cent in the bill. Then if in three months or six months it becomes necessary to issue bonds at a higher rate of interest the Congress can provide then for the necessity that may arise rather than to provide for it now.

So in the interest of the people of the future these bonds should run for the shortest time possible, and that they shall bear a rate of interest of 3½ per cent without any promise of an increased rate on a reissue under a future contingency. If that future contingency shall arise, then will be sufficient time to provide for an increased rate of interest.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. MONTAGUE and Mr. HARDY rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MONTAGUE] is recognized.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Chairman, perhaps many sentiments and convictions entertained in maturer years arise from some striking saying or aphorism heard in youth. One now comes vividly to my mind, as I recall Washington's reported rebuke to the Continental Congress that a "war can not be conducted by a debating society." This sagacious criticism was intended to direct the attention of the Congress to the difference between

its business and the business of the Executive, between the domain of legislation and the domain of administration, thus compelling acceptance of the obvious truth that war and its cognate functions can not be successfully administered by the legislative branch of the Government or by a committee of that branch.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, with the implications and conclusions suggested by this wise advice, I am loath at this time to interfere by my vote or by my counsel with details relating to the form and issue of the bonds provided for in this bill. I believe such amendments are an inexpedient and unwise interference with administrative details that should be left to the executive department during the exigencies of this war.

Mr. Chairman, I also believe that in the procedure of legislation, as distinguished from the matter of legislation itself, two essentials should be kept clearly in mind—expedition and unanimity; that we should act with all practicable speed, and that our actions should as far as possible be supported by unanimous votes. When the conclusion is inevitable, when the result is most certain, it is under existing conditions most salutary that we subordinate as far as possible our personal judgments and opinions to secure a record of unanimity, in order that America's action may present to our enemy an undented line, a united and determined people. [Applause.]

I must confess, Mr. Chairman, to a weakness—if gratitude can be a weakness—certainly to a hope, that there would be in this bill some clearer recognition of our immeasurable debt to the people of France. [Applause.] I believe that for once at least in the life of our Nation our gratitude for a long-past act of transcendent generosity and our immediate national policy and self-interest not only find no conflict but an inspiring and elevating consonance. I had hoped that the nourishing succor that came to us in the hour of our weakness would now find explicit recognition in the hour of our strength. I had hoped that this Congress would be unanimous in giving definite and articulate recognition to those noble sentiments of gratitude that swell the hearts of the American people in this solemn hour. I beg to remind the Members that the existence of our free institutions, the very right to sit here, to confer and deliberate as we are now doing, upon the duty of our great Republic, were made possible, aye, were vouchsafed to us by the fraternal and heroic assistance and cooperation of the French Nation. [Applause.] The world to-day beholds the agony and glory of France; civilization itself is moved by her heroic resistance to the colossal forces now battling to extinguish her republican institutions and tear asunder the very fabric of her liberties. So I had hoped that to-day our great Nation, this puissant people, might through their Representatives in this Hall, at least write into this bill a forbearance and remittance of the interest upon any French bond purchased by the American Government. To do more would be becoming; to do less is ignoble. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, has our Republic forgotten its weakness, its dire extremities, in the days of its infancy? Let the words of Washington recall them. Writing to his beloved friend George Mason, on October 22, 1780, just a year before the surrender of Cornwallis, he said:

> We are without money, and have been so for a great length of time; without provision and forage, except what is taken by impress; without clothing; and shortly shall be (in a manner) without men. In a word, we have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer.

Writing to Sullivan, a Member of the Continental Congress, on November 20, 1780, he said:

> I will take the liberty in this place to give it as my opinion that a foreign loan is indispensably necessary to the continuance of the war. Congress will deceive themselves if they imagine that the Army or a State that is the theater of war can run through a second campaign as the last.

Again, to John Laurens, who had just been sent abroad as an agent to beg a loan from France, Washington wrote on April 9, 1781:

> If France delays a timely and powerful aid in the critical posture of our affairs, it will avail us nothing should she attempt it hereafter. We are at this hour suspended in the balance. * * * We can not transport the provisions from the States in which they are assessed to the Army, because we can not pay the teamsters who will no longer work for certificates. Our troops are approaching fast to nakedness and we have nothing to clothe them with. Our hospitals are without medicine and our sick without meat, except such as well men eat. All our public works are at a stand and the artificers disbanding. In a word, we are at the end of our tether, and now or never our deliverance must come.

These words were ringing in the ears of Benjamin Franklin, of Silas Dean, and of John Laurens when endeavoring to reach the hearts and the treasury of the French nation. How did that nation respond? The historic record answers to her glory and to our deliverance.

On January 16, 1797, Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, in a note to Pinckney, our minister in France, declared that the French nation during these days of our extremity loaned and gave to us about 53,000,000 livres; and Bancroft Davis, in his very able compilation of Senate Document No. 47, Fort-eighth Congress, second session, with his accustomed industry and accuracy of research, quotes with approval the figures just given, the purchasing value of which to-day would equal $50,000,000. France remitted the interest on her loans to us until the final signing of treaty of peace with Great Britain, and, moreover, she gave us outright 9,000,000 livres. But, Mr. Chairman, this gift and these loans, generous as they were, coming from a nation of 25,000,000 people, are insignificant when compared with the real contribution of France to our birth and life as a nation. In those fateful years France came to our assistance with an army and a navy that assured our independence; that assured the existence of free, democratic institutions on this hemisphere. A consequential right is the precious privilege of the Representatives of the people to sit in this Hall at this hour to discuss the right and duty of our now mighty Republic to associate herself with the democracies of the world in their efforts to save and perpetuate right and justice and liberty in the earth. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the figures of France's land and naval forces sent to our rescue are never cold. I give them as found in Senate Document No. 77, Fifty-eighth Congress, second session.

Sea power.

	Vessels.	Guns.	Officers.	Volunteers.	Crew.	Total.
D'Estaing's fleet	26	1,394	478	33	11,040	11,551
De Ternay's convoy	8	548	250	27	3,939	4,216
De Grasse's fleet	22	1,232	585	151	11,477	12,213
De Guichen's contingent with De Grasse	7	494	181	15	4,433	4,629
Total	63	3,668	1,494	226	30,889	32,609

Land forces.

	Officers	Men.	Total.
Under D'Estaing	121	2,443	2,564
Under Rochambeau	389	6,203	6,592
Under De Grasse	187	3,337	3,524
Grand total	697	11,983	12,680

The above is exclusive of the "garrisons" of infantry on the vessels of the fleet, taking the place of marines of the present day, there being from 100 to 150 men on each of the larger vessels, nor does it take into account drafts sent to repair casualties. The most accurate totals I have been able to obtain place the total military, naval, and transport service of France sent to aid us in the Revolutionary War at 47,989 men and 99 vessels of war and transports.

At the siege of Yorktown, which lasted 19 days, there were 5,500 American and 7,000 French troops of the line, exclusive of 3,500 militia under the command of Gen. Nelson and 36 French ships of war under De Grasse. The strategy, courage, and effectiveness of commanders and men are attested by the victory at that small town, now peacefully overlooking the great river and adjoining bay.

Mr. Chairman, Benjamin Franklin declared that without Yorktown our independence would have been set back a thousand years. This, of course, is an exaggeration, and was so intended by that great sage and patriot, in order to impress that mighty event upon subsequent generations. The American people understood the magnitude of the event, and when the Congress met after that great victory almost its first action, taken on October 29, 1781, was to provide that a monument be erected at Yorktown "adorned with emblems of the alliance" between the United States and the French nation to commemorate alike the achievements of America and France, and bearing "a succinct narrative of the surrender" of Cornwallis to Washington, the Commander in Chief of the combined forces of America and France, and to Rochambeau, commanding the French troops, and to De Grasse, commanding "the naval army of France." [Applause.] In pursuance of this resolution the Government has erected a marble monument, a classic column, overlooking the great river and bay, and casting its shadow from day to day over the soil upon which the troops of Cornwallis fought and surrendered, over the land upon which the allied armies and the majestic Washington and his great companion in arms, the young, the romantic, the incomparable Lafayette, beheld the victorious culmination of their arduous and heroic labors, and over the waters upon which rode the gallant fleet of the French nation.

Mr. Chairman, it has been variously estimated that these naval and military expeditions cost the French nation between $350,000,000 and $732,000,000. France at that time was quite unequal to so enormous an expenditure. The explicit understanding between France and America was that our Nation was to have the full benefit of the results of victory, whether in the form of booty or territory; that it should all inure to the United States. We have never undertaken to repay this great debt, and I had hoped in connection with the issue of the bonds provided for in this bill that there would be some express recognition, fixed and definite, of the gratitude of this Republic to her fair and afflicted friend across the sea for our deliverance in the years long gone by. [Applause.]

France has never asked us to repay this debt, and we have never contemplated so doing; for a debt of this character can not be paid save by meeting in like manner an event of like character in the life of France itself. Gentlemen of the committee, we can not measure assistance of this sort by money standards. Is it possible to value in coin the independence of the American Nation? Is it possible to measure in coin the immeasurable consequences that have thus far come or the consequences and the growth and the power and the glory that shall yet come to the American Nation? [Applause.]

I know it has been said, Mr. Chairman, that we should not as a Nation discriminate in our aid to the allied nations. I have heard it said in private upon the floor that we have no right "to make fish of one and fowl of another." May I remind the House that we had no qualms about a distinction of this character 140 years ago? We were then very ready and very willing to accept the French pullet picked, plucked, stuffed, cooked, and served! [Applause.]

The gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] has just intimated that there should be no discrimination as respects the allied nations. I myself would subscribe, as a general principle, to that statement; but I can never subscribe to a view that would prevent this Nation from making discrimination in behalf of a nation that made the existence of this Republic possible. [Applause.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONTAGUE. With pleasure.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I did not intimate that there should not be any discrimination. I said, in discussing what we are doing at this time, that the primary purpose and chief thing is the interest of the United States, which should not be subordinated to the interest of or sympathy with any other nation. My sympathies are such that I would very gladly do something for France that I would not do for some of our other friends at this time. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. MONTAGUE. I do not think I misunderstood the gentleman, and his reaffirmation of his position constrains me to assert that if France 140 years ago had taken the ground the distinguished gentleman from New York now takes we would never have had her assistance in our great Revolution. [Applause.] France at that time also had an ally, Spain, and we did not reject the French discriminations in our favor.

Mr. Chairman, I will not minimize the assistance of France by a consideration of any particular inducements she may have had to intervene in our behalf. I know that some attribute her intervention to her hostility to England, but I think a fair and judicial assessment of all the surrounding circumstances will negative such a motive. Bancroft, the eminent historian, gives in my opinion the fairest statement of the causes and motives. He says:

> Many causes combined to produce the alliance of France and the American Republic, but the forces which brought all influences harmoniously together, overruling the timorous levity of Maurepas and the dull reluctance of Louis XVI, was the movement of intellectual freedom.

Which is but another form of expression of the propulsive power of democracy or expanding political freedom.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proced for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Virginia may have an additional five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I appreciate the courtesy of the House.

Mr. Chairman, as suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] we have in our country what the allied nations do not have. They have soldiers, but meager supplies; we have supplies but few soldiers. We have many men—fine men—but as yet untrained; they are not soldiers. It will take a year or two years to secure, train, equip, and transport an American army to France. In the meantime France and the allied powers need commodities and supplies of various kinds and quantities. We must employ our credit for this purpose, and we must employ it at once; and to this end I believe that the sale of our bonds would be greatly facilitated if the purchasing public concretely realized that in purchasing many of these bonds our gratitude to France would be expressed and her immediate effective military power immensely strengthened against our common enemy. These have been the motives actuating me, motives that approved a union of gratitude and self-interest, of lofty sentiment and national selfishness.

But, Mr. Chairman, we should help the allies according to their necessities, and as those necessities are disclosed to us by themselves. Money and credits, therefore, should be immediately extended or expended in order that these supplies and commodities may be purchased and assembled. But first and of supreme moment, Mr. Chairman, is the necessity of transportation, otherwise our credits are vainly extended and our commodities and supplies will rust and rot upon our soil. So our immediate genius and energies should be devoted to over-seas transportation, for thereby our enemy will be struck the hardest and most vital blow; and, in the meantime, Mr. Chairman, we can bend our wisdom and energies to an expeditionary army, which will bear our flag in cooperation with the flags of those nations so valiantly fighting for free institutions. The moral effect of such a force, excluding its actual, practical compelling power, will give us a more comfortable seat at the table upon which is to be written the terms of final peace, and at which table America, of all nations, should have a seat and a pen if it is to be a peace of justice and of long duration.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I beg again to suggest that it is not my purpose or wish to embarrass any program. I am willing, if reluctant to sacrifice any personal opinion I may have as to the expediency of omitting a more direct expression of America's gratitude to France, hoping that at some future day, when the war is well over and the accounting of things is had, that the administrative department of our Government having in charge our foreign affairs may write into some convention or treaty, as was done by France in 1782, an ample and definite expression of the abiding gratitude of the American people for the transcendent generosity of France. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. COMSTOCK. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, if this were an oratorical contest, I should decline to follow the eloquent gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MONTAGUE], who has illustrated in his speech that oratory is not a lost art. I had hoped, in common, I presume, with every other Member of this House, that the war would be averted. That hope has fled. It is idle now longer to dwell upon the blessings of peace or the horrors of war. It remains only for this Congress to make ample provision for the war in which it is about to embark, and to-day that is the highest duty that devolves upon this body.

It is not given even to the wisest to forecast the cost in money or in men of conducting a war so stupendous as that with which we are now confronted. Necessarily the estimate must be made primarily by a limited number of Members of this House. That estimate has been made by our committee, whom we have every reason to believe to be conscientious and studious, after they have devoted to the question the very best and highest consideration which they could bestow. We may not know all the facts that were before that committee. We are assured, however, that in view of the conditions which confronted them and the solemn duty imposed upon them, they did not shrink from the obligation to give fair, thorough, and conscientious consideration to all the questions which it was necessary for them to consider in order to arrive at a fair conclusion. With the result reached by that committee, with the exception of certain amendments proposed and to which no serious objection is urged, I am content.

I accept the result of their judgment and the bill as an expression of their conscientious views and opinions after having considered all the facts within their reach. So, therefore, I shall vote for the measure, believing it is the best that will be offered, and I have confidence not only in the extraordinary attainments of our Chief Executive but in the learning, judgment, and patriotism of those who are to cooperate with him in the management of the vast fund which will be devoted to carrying on this war and to their wisdom and good conscience in dispensing that fund. [Applause.] It is up to them, and not to us. It is a duty which must be delegated to some one. I delegate it freely and with confidence to the Chief Executive and those associated with him in dispensing this fund. [Applause.] I take it that, being a loan, it implies repayment. As to the details of the loan and the disposition of this money, they are matters for others better equipped and better qualified to judge than I pretend to be.

In this connection I trust that, without imposing upon the House, I may be permitted to state that upon the war resolution

I voted in favor of it. I also voted for an amendment to limit the transporting of conscripted American troops to Europe to fight there. I believed then, as I believe now, that that amendment ought to have been agreed to. It was not. I accept the opinion and judgment of the majority. The opposition to that amendment was based upon the belief that the transporting of troops to reenforce the armies abroad would shorten the war and lessen human sorrow and misery. I do not believe that the transporting of our troops to reinforce the British and French troops would necessarily shorten the war. I do not believe that it would lessen the toll of human life. It would increase the ferocity of the conflict. It would not only add to the ferocity of the strife, but it would make the fortunes of the vanquished harder after the battle was done. The proposed amendment was not intended in any way to interfere with voluntary service on the part of those who wish to go abroad and take part in that war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DIXON. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana asks unanimous consent that the time of his colleague [Mr. COMSTOCK] be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COMSTOCK. I thank the gentleman and the House for the courtesy, but I will not occupy five mintues longer. If I could control matters, I would wage war to the fullest extent upon the ocean. I would clear the seas and oceans of mines and submarines. I would right the outrageous wrongs of which we rightfully complain, where they were committed upon the common highways of the world, but I would not send American soldiers against their will into the shambles of Europe. [Applause.] We have there no firesides to defend. Our household gods are here. The altars at which we worship are here, and here are our homes, which every true American would defend against the world. If there is any disposition upon the part of Americans—and there doubtless is—to take part actively and in person in the contest abroad, there are wide-open ways to all who are so inclined to go abroad and fight. There is, as there has long been connected with the military forces of France, a body of men known as the Foreign Legion, in existence perhaps for nearly a hundred years; a military body composed of earls and dukes and counts and barons, of adventurers, exconvicts, lawless men, here and there a plain gentleman. They are all there. They are men who assume the grim hazards of glory or the grave, and fight with reckless valor.

Mr. SHERLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana yield to the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. COMSTOCK. Certainly.

Mr. SHERLEY. I want to say to the gentleman that he is blackening the name of one of the most famous fighting organizations of the world. The Foreign Legion of France is not composed of the character of men the gentleman has stated. [Applause.]

Mr. COMSTOCK. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I think history will bear me out, that that body of men is made up of men without distinction of race, color, rank, or heritage, every type of man. They are soldiers of fortune.

Mr. SHERLEY. Yes; but they are not made up of assassins and cowards, and the character of men that the gentleman stated.

Mr. COMSTOCK. I do not mean to do any violence or wrong to the Foreign Legion of which I speak. The general character of that command has been known and recognized, I think, for almost a century. They are largely made up of soldiers of fortune. They fight for honor, they fight to gratify ambition, they fight from love of fighting, and some of them from the baser motive of revenge, but they are famous fighting men. [Applause.]

It is suggested to me by the address of the gentleman from Massachusetts last evening that two of our most distinguished citizens have tendered their services to the Government. This is exemplary. One has offered himself as an enlisted man. Both have rendered military service and honorably bore the same rank. Each is devoted to his country and each is of undoubted courage. If these eminent and patriotic citizens, under the impulse of duty, should find themselves shoulder to shoulder, attacking the now wavering line of Von Hindenburg, it would be a sight to make Democrats, Republicans, Progressives, Socialists, and Prohibitionists weep with pride and joy. I do not expect to see that sight. But if they do go in any capacity, I hope they will return crowned with laurels and bearing in their arms the roses of England and the lilies of France.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, at this time of crisis probably no citizen of the Republic is rendering more distinguished service than Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor. In this morning's mail I received a letter from Mr. Gompers, accompanied by a communication from Mr. George B. Hoit, of Illinois, and Mr. Gompers requests that these communications be read to this House. On account of the distinguished position occupied by Mr. Gompers, I will ask the indulgence of the House to have this letter read in my time. It may take more than five minutes, perhaps seven or eight. Therefore I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 10 minutes, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Colorado asks unanimous consent that he may proceed for a sufficient length of time to have read the communication to which he refers. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., April 13, 1917.

Hon. EDWARD KEATING,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. KEATING: To-day at a conference of representatives of the American Federation of Labor we had under advisement a number of matters affecting the vital interests of our country, as well as those of our fellow workers, and during that conference we discussed the subject of the bill H. R. 2762, reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, it being "A bill to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes."

It was our opinion and I was directed to respectfully submit that there are other available means to supply the financial needs of the Government to carry on and meet the expenses of the present war other than is proposed in the $5,000,000,000 bond issue, and that the distant future should not be mortgaged while other available means are at the command of our Government.

The following suggestions are respectfully submitted:

1. The Postal Savings Bank System should be at once made the avenue for the deposit by the people of the United States of immense sums of money.

2. The limitation of the deposits to $1,000 per person should be suspended for a specified period or, if necessary, for the duration of the war.

3. The rate of interest on postal savings bank deposits should be increased from 2 per cent to 3 per cent per annum.

4. The income tax should be substantially increased and graduated.

5. The inheritance tax should be materially increased, and these two latter suggestions should be made to bear the large proportion of the financial needs of the Government.

6. A tax on land values should be laid, not only as a war emergency measure, but also for a permanent means of raising revenue.

It is not our purpose to burden the suggestions with arguments or extensive explanations to those who have given the subjects studious thought. They are obvious and effective.

In addition to the above, I beg to accompany this with a letter which I recently received from Mr. George B. Hoit, of Geneseo, Ill. It is suggested that the above and the accompanying letter should be brought to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives and published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It should not be necessary to give the assurance that it is the aim and purpose of the men and women in the American labor movement to do their full duty in the present crisis and to give the service so essential to safeguard the principles and ideals of freedom for which the Republic of the United States stands.

With assurances of high regard, and thanking you in advance for what you may do in the matter, I have the honor to remain,

Yours, respectfully,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

HOIT'S BANKERS' AGENCY,
Geneseo, Ill., March 7, 1917.

Hon. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: In 1907, when I wrote a plan for a system of United States banks, in connection with the postal savings banks, which were not then in existence, but for which I worked steadily with my friend, Senator Carter, from Montana, I advocated the paying of 3 per cent interest by the postal savings bank, but we found this would meet with such opposition from existing banks that it would be impossible to carry.

At the beginning of the war, France and England had restrictions as to the amount any individual, or firm, might deposit in their postal savings banks. This restriction being promptly removed when the war started, and now, at this opportune time, when there is every reason in the world that we should remove all restrictions as to amounts that may be deposited, and that we profit by the mistakes of others, increase the rate of interest from 2 to 3 per cent, thereby accomplishing more in the way of preparedness for whatever may come, in my opinion, than by any single act of Congress. And this is of the greatest interest to you and the vast body of workingmen, especially men uneducated, who have no means of knowing whether the bank in which they place their savings is solvent or not; and to you or me it would be a relief at all times, especially times like 1893 and 1907, when the Government postal savings banks, supported by the Federal reserve banks, would at all times pay in cash to us the amount that we had deposited with them.

Again, if the postal savings banks pay 3 per cent, this Government, in any time of direst need and greatest stress for currency, would never be obliged to pay an amount in excess of 3 per cent upon their loans, however large they might be; never being in the humiliating position of foreign countries to-day paying 5 and over, plus unheard-of rates of brokerage, as Russia has.

Think of it, dear Mr. Gompers, the banks to-day, complaining because of the large amount of deposits, which many say on account of interest paid they are carrying at a loss, are in no position to object at a time when they would be affected the least, and when the deposits could be so used by our Government that none in authority need give a thought to the entire subscription of any and every bond issue. And the people whom you represent would feel that at last the Government had done something distinctively for their benefit.

I wish I had the power to go before the proper committee having authority to act, and I wish I knew the right Senators and Representatives at this time to present this matter, as you can readily see that opposition would develop if widely disclosed before action was taken. Not opposition on account of it being wrong, but opposition on account of selfish interests.

You can readily see there is nothing to be gained financially by any individual in championing this change, but that it will work a great good for the vast majority of the American people, and be of inestimable benefit to the Government itself.

And with your long experience and unlimited acquaintance I believe you will know the proper officials to whom this should be presented.

With the only thought of benefiting our Government and our people in writing this letter to you, I feel sure you will pardon me for trespassing upon your time, and, assuring you of my kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely, yours, GEO. B. HOIT,
Geneseo, Ill.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the amendment to this extent. There should be a limitation of the time these bonds should run—not to hamper the Secretary of the Treasury, but probably to defend him. He will have $3,000,000,000 to loan. There will be a demand of five dollars for every one dollar that he will have to loan. The importunities of the nations of Europe now involved will be enough to try the strength and fiber of the Secretary of the Treasury now, or whoever his successor may be during the years the loaning may continue. So that when, as a matter of fact, there is an attempt to limit the time for which the bonds shall run, it is to defend and not to hamper him.

But there is a phase of this matter which has not been discussed. My view of this transaction is that it is purely business. I appreciate the noble sentiments uttered by the gentleman from Virginia, Gov. MONTAGUE, in desiring at this time making a gift to France, if you please, of a large sum of money for immediate use. But we are at the beginning of an undertaking when national sentiment should give way to national business. When this war will have closed, then it will be time enough for us to consider by way of sentiment what we see fit to give France or any of our other friends. The sole proposition now is dollars and cents of value to those Governments as effective war means.

There are two propositions, only one of which has been considered. That is, How will the bonds we issue sell? Will they sell at par if drawn at 10 or 20 or 50 years? The other and, to my mind, more important phase has not been even referred to. These two phases are, How much will our bonds sell for? and, second, What is going to be the value of the securities we take? So far as I am concerned, I would rather have a bond running 50 years issued by this Government than a bond running 10, 20, or 30 years. But, on quite the contrary, I would rather have a bond running ten years issued by any foreign Government on earth than one running 50 years.

This is a new proposition of one nation taking the bonds of another, with no power on earth to collect them except at the cannon's mouth or through the good will of the obligating nation. The nation would issue bonds to us for 10, 15, or 20 years. If it were successful in the war and survived and was strong in that generation, every man, woman, and child would remember the assistance the American Government gave to them in their time of need. But let another generation rise, a generation when they will "know not Joseph," will know nothing of him only as a matter of history, and with the mutations of time and the friction between nations, and especially our Nation holding and the other owing obligations, it will become a very serious question whether or not these securities will be worth par, worth a little or nothing at all.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] asked me a question which I did not have time to answer fully, as to the salability of the bonds if a term of limitation was fixed. I ask the gentleman from Nebraska whether he believes that if the term is left indeterminate it will not be more difficult to sell the bonds?

Mr. SLOAN. I think every fact that the Congress can give to the world limiting or controlling the bonds will strengthen the bonds when issued. Too much latitude permitted or executed by the administrative authority, either allowed or exercised, tends to weaken the bonds. Now I have an amendment to be presented, if the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] be voted down, providing that the bonds which we issue, and necessarily under the terms of the bill the bonds we take, shall each run for a period of 20 years, so that we will be sure of a fair market value of our own bonds insuring a large return upon their sale; and upon the other hand, a fair and almost certain value of the bonds we take from other nations. Gentlemen must consider that this is absolutely new departure so far as the United States is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent that his time be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLOAN. I say it is purely a new proposition, so far as this Nation is concerned, the financing of any other great nation. When we take into account the large amount involved—$3,000,000,000—it is not improbable that if there is a loan made to any of these nations that there will be a billion dollars loaned to one of them. If a billion dollars is loaned to any nation and that nation holds that billion dollars, and we hold in our war chest a billion dollars of its obligations, that nation may endure 20 years and probably would; that nation may have revolutions, two or three of them, in the first 50 years. The repudiation of that debt would almost be worth a revolution in some nations. It is a temptation to a nation that might lead them to seek a change of a former government if for no other purpose than to get rid of a billion dollars of national debt.

I do not charge that any of the great nations to whom we would loan at this time would do that. But these loans are not confined to great nations. There is that practical situation that must be considered by us in taking the securities. We should look not alone to the proposition that we obtain a large amount of money from the Americans who buy our bonds, but that we shall obtain security which will be fairly of equal value. So far as I am concerned, I would rather have an efficient bond issue by any foreign nation on earth paid in 10 years than one running 50 years for the same amount.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SLOAN. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Has the gentleman in mind any great nation of the earth that has ever repudiated a debt as a result of a change in the form of government?

Mr. SLOAN. I think there are none coming under the classification in the gentleman's thought, but I am not prepared to answer the question catagorically now. I have not any in mind just now, but this is a new proposition, it is an absolutely new field. While other nations, I understand, under certain circumstances have loaned money to neighbor nations, it has never been loaned on any such colossal scale that we propose to make in this loan now. In consideration of this matter I only ask, not that I expect that this bill be changed—though I think it ought to be changed—that men resolve this proposition into its two important elements, first, the amount of money that we can obtain for our loan, and, second, the value of the security which we expect to take. From both standpoints a limitation of term would be wise. [Applause.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, unless this bill is amended as suggested by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], I shall feel constrained to follow his course when it comes to the final vote. Early in the discussion of this bill it was pointed out to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee yesterday morning that the first section of this bill distinctly provides for the disposition of the bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury as a popular loan, to be sold at not less than par. This means that bonds will be issued in small denominations, in order to give all an equal opportunity to subscribe for one or more shares. It is my understanding that the department will use the post offices and other popular mediums for the sale of these bonds and facilitate in every way their purchase by citizens who have no account with stock brokers and who are not in the custom of daily dealing with bankers or dickering on the stock market. The section then provides—I am now reading from line 16 to the end of section 1:

And any portion of the bond so offered and not subscribed for may be otherwise disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury, but no commission shall be allowed, etc.

Gentlemen, I am afraid of that word "otherwise." With all due deference to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY], I think it is quite fortunate that the lawyers of this House have taken such an active interest in the wording of this bill. I do not want to quibble on words any more than the gentleman from Michigan, but my legal training warns me, and in my way of thinking there is but one interpretation to

this section, namely, that the Secretary of the Treasury, after disposing of as many of these bonds by popular subscription at par, may dispose of the balance at less than par. What will be the result? Money lenders will not buy as long as they are at par; investors will wait until they go down; and the patriotic citizen who subscribes solely for patriotic motives—and there will be hundreds of thousands of them—will be taxed an amount equal to the difference between the par value of the bond and the subsequent market value for their patriotism and loyalty, while speculators and financial slackers will abide the time and reap a profit. I was glad to hear that the committee intends to rigidly hold these bonds at par. That being so, I trust that the committee will so amend their bill as to make it unequivocal, clear, and certain. If there is to be unanimity on this bill, let there be such plain and distinct language employed as to leave the bill capable of but one interpretation and expressing the true intent of this House.

I concur in the belief expressed that section 2 should be so amended as to limit the loans to nations now at war with the Imperial Government of Germany. This, in my mind, is an important and necessary change, and one, I should believe, which would be welcomed by the President and his Secretary of the Treasury, intrusted with the responsible duty of making this loan in such manner as to bring about the desired result in the quickest time possible.

When I first read section 7 of this bill and figured that the percentage allowed to the Secretary of the Treasury for expenses in connection with this loan amounted to $12,000,000 I was somewhat appalled. Of course I had confidence in the gentlemen of the committee, and knew that they had carefully examined this item, and so was somewhat chary of commenting on it. After the remarks, however, of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], whose opinion on fiscal matters is authoritative, I venture the statement that I, too, consider the allowance exaggerated. Appreciating the enormous cost of printing, the increased cost of stock and labor, the magnitude of the issue, I believe that with the staff and personnel of the Treasury Department, with the exercise of proper economy, the allowance could be safely cut in half. And I consider, although our minds may be somewhat bewildered after these lengthy discussions in billions, that a saving of $6,000,000 in these critical times is indeed a pretty penny to save.

While this bond issue, unprecedented in its size, may startle the country at first blush, after careful consideration I am sure the people will realize that little less could be offered. Direct taxation is the popular cry of the moment. It soon will be understood that immediately available funds could not be obtained by such means. Ultimately, and commencing very soon, this indebtedness will be paid by taxation—direct, indirect, on incomes, excess profits. No one, I am sure, will have occasion to feel offended that he has been omitted in the general list which will soon be brought before us. I am certain that the taxes will be equally apportioned and that all will be made to bear their just proportionate share of this burden. Present conditions indicate that there is every disposition to bear them cheerfully. The tax dodger will have a sorry time.

I do not share the belief of some of my colleagues who have expressed firm confidence and figure on the complete restitution of the $3,000,000,000 loan to be made to foreign Governments. Yes; I believe that a good portion will be in due time returned, but I am certain that some of it will have to be placed on the profit and loss column of Uncle Sam's books. Let us understand that clearly now and not be deceived later. Even so, if this brings about a speedy termination of the European war and permanent peace to our own country it is a good investment at that.

Rich in natural, industrial, and commercial resources; patriotic, now that we are in war, to a man; eager and willing to sustain our burden and do our share, we must provide the means to do our duty and carry out our mission in proportion to the wealth of our natural resources and the extent of our national responsibility.

With the changes suggested, I shall vote for this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I doubt whether I ought to again obtrude myself upon the House. We are about to authorize the borrowing of $8,000,000,000—very close to $8,000,000,000 I think it totals—of which close to $6,000,000,000 will be in the form of bonds. There may be gentlemen in the House who know a good deal about the issuance of bonds to be subscribed by the public, but it is very certain there is no one in the House who knows very much about the issuance of five or six billion dollars of bonds to be subscribed by the public. The total amount of the indebtedness we authorized is, I believe, about equal to or more than half the amount of deposits in all of the national banks of the country combined. Those who imagine that it will be an easy matter to float five or six billion dollars of bonds may have another guess coming. Even if they be subscribed for, the payment of them will be a matter of great and grave difficulty without unsettling the rest of the credits in the country. If I were in control of the issuance of these bonds, the first thing that I would want to do would be to call in and obtain the advice of men who have been engaged in that business, and, although I have not any particular love for some of the great financiers of the country, I think one of the men whose advice I would ask would be Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and also the National City Bank group and other men engaged in the floating of bonds by municipal corporations, railroad corporations, public-utility corporations, and people who are engaged in the selling of bonds throughout the country, in order to obtain advice as to the terms upon which these bonds are most likely to be subscribed for.

I doubt whether Mr. McAdoo, the Secretary of the Treasury, knows enough without advice, or would pretend for a moment that he knows enough without advice, to determine the terms and conditions of the issuance of these bonds. This is not floating $300,000,000 of bonds, as we did at the time of the Spanish War. This is the floating of $5,000,000,000 of bonds, with the authority to float still more to take up bonds now outstanding. It might be that in the House, if we had a committee which had investigated the subject and had taken advice upon it, we would know enough to express our opinion. I doubt very much whether we do now, and, although I admire and applaud the efforts of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] in offering his amendment, in causing a discussion of the subject in the House, I can not agree with him that it is the duty of the House to determine the terms and conditions or the length of time that the bonds shall run, when it comes to determining the best terms upon which you are going to float the greatest indebtedness that this country ever saw, if not the greatest that the world has ever seen.

I hope the loan will be a success. I do not think anyone can tell in advance. The best length of time for which the bonds shall run, the best terms to be fixed, we must leave to the judgment of men who are able in their turn to obtain the best judgment of men who know the most that anyone can know upon the subject. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I agree substantially with what the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] stated earlier in the day, when he addressed the committee, and also with what my colleague [Mr. MANN] stated who followed him. I do not know that I can make any suggestions that will inform this committee. I think you have got to give the President, who is primarily responsible in this matter, some latitude. I do not know that I would curtail it; I am inclined to think that I would not. There are certain amendments that have been agreed to back and forth which I think are wise. I have not been in the House all of the time while consideration of this bill has been going on in committee. Other duties in connection with the business of the House have required my presence elsewhere.

I think this is a loan, not a gift. We are not in a giving business by the billions or the three billions of dollars. Does anyone suppose that we would have declared war against Germany if she had not blown up our ships without notice? The war was commenced by Germany upon the high seas against us. We properly declared war against Germany. That is as far as it has gone. Austria is an ally of Germany, Turkey is an ally of Germany, and also Bulgaria. We have not declared war against those countries, and whether we will or not remains to be seen later on; but the President so far, as I recollect, and I believe I am correct, has not even given passports to the diplomatic representatives of those countries. It is well enough to hark back 100 years and talk about what France did for us. I will tell you what she did for us during the war for our independence. She was in war with Great Britain and she made that loan to us, which we later repaid, and sent her navy and army here to some extent; and why? Because she thought she could hurt Great Britain more in that way than in any other. Of course there were individual exceptions. Lafayette was an exception, but individuals come and go.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Are not we at war with Germany now?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Can the gentleman distinguish between the two cases?

Mr. CANNON. Which?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Between our assisting France now while we are at war with Germany, and her assisting us when we were at war with England?

Mr. CANNON. I am not opposing this bill. Countries, nations, after all is said and done, in the aggregate protect themselves. [Applause.] We did not rush out, like the Irishman challenging somebody to tread on the tail of his coat, in search of a scrimmage, but the time came for us to declare war against Germany, and we declared war. Now, I recollect later on Great Britain and France were again at war during the Napoleonic wars. Our independence had been established. They both seized our ships and declared them good prizes. The French spoliation claims were paid, if I recollect aright, under a judgment of the Court of Claims that, while war was not declared by us against France, it was a state of war with France.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Permit me to say that many of the French spoliation claims have not been paid, although they have been pending, lo, these hundred of years.

Mr. CANNON. But whether they ought to have been paid or not, that is behind us, and finally when the decision of the Court of Claims came the legislation was enacted. Now, later on Great Britain and France were the people who opposed Russia in the Crimean War. The Dardanelles was at stake. You see nations act from time to time from what seems to be to their best interests.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CANNON. May I have about two minutes more?

Mr. HUMPHREYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have five minutes additional.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CANNON. Now, then, you know if we are going into the kindly feeling business I have perhaps a more kindly feeling for Russia than I have toward any other foreign country. Why, I speak now of something that is not barred by the statute of limitations. When the great struggle was on for the preservation of the Union and when foreign nations were threatening to interfere and acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, Russia at the critical moment landed her fleet in the New York and San Francisco Harbors and gave notice that she would have to be reckoned with. [Applause.] I feel pretty kindly toward Russia. I am not seeking now to go back into our Civil War—that is behind us, thank God! that is all settled—so I only refer to it as I hop, skip, and hardly jump in the five minutes yielded to me. [Laughter.] I believe this money that is to be loaned under the discretion of the President to the allies will be paid. Whether 3½ per cent will bring it or not I do not know.

I hope it will; yet you all recollect that there are $6,000,000,000, yes, seven or eight billion dollars—if you take the trust companies and insurance companies, possibly $9,000,000,000—that are on a 3½ and 4 per cent basis, and most of the deposits in the savings banks are, I am informed, on the 4 per cent basis. I hope the loan will be taken at 3½ per cent. Insurance money will not go into it, however, because insurance policies are issued on the basis of 3½ per cent. Yet the country is rich, and I hope and believe that 3½ per cent interest on the bonds, in the discretion of the President, will float the bonds. But let us not fool ourselves. Sentiment is all right; righteousness is all right; "follow the Master" is all right. If everybody followed the Master we would not be at war at all; but, unfortunately, everybody does not "follow the Master." [Applause.] Now, I think that is all I want to say.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. As this paragraph now stands it is within the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to prescribe that those bonds may be issued for 999 years, which would be in the nature of a gift. The amendment now before the committee fixes a limitation to 50 years upon the life of the bonds.

Mr. CANNON. Yes; 50 years probably will be too long. I do not know whether it is or not. A 999-year bond would be more valuable, provided you have any assurance that for the 999 years the interest would be paid. The trouble is we may have future wars. I think it would be better, as we are trusting the administration with the negotiations, to let the time be fixed as the bill prescribes, because if you put "on or before" the bonds could be paid off in two, three, or four years. I would be glad to see them paid off; but "on or before" bonds are not as valuable in the markets of this country or the world as long-time bonds. There is not that option to pay them off at any time.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I would say to the gentleman the amendment gives that discretion to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman's amendment is "on or before."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I do not know that I can add anything that will enlighten the conscience and judgment of the men of this committee who are to vote upon this bill, yet I feel that I ought to say at least that which would define my position and view with reference to it, hoping that it may help some others. I voted for the resolution that recognized the existence of a state of war between my country and Germany. I now stand prepared to do everything in my power to uphold the arms of the executive departments of the Government and aid them in every way in carrying out the purpose and policy of that resolution.

We are in a state of war, and it is necessary for us, as so many men in this House have said, to work in harmony and in unity. Party lines are extinguished, and we are all Americans. "America first" is that motto which each one of us should follow.

I feel after carefully thinking over this bill that I am prepared to vote for it just as it was reported from the committee, with a few amendments that the committee itself is prepared to adopt. The declaration of the purpose regarding these great loans seems to me to be sufficiently expressed in the measure itself. I listened with great attention, as I always do, to the logical utterances of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] when he delivered his address on this floor yesterday, and it seemed to me as his reasoning was announced in words that he swept one along to the conclusion that he announced, and yet upon reflection I feel that, while logically and analytically his line of thought may be correct, yet as a substantial thing it is misleading. If three men are fighting out in the street with three other men and a great neutral man comes along and says, "I am going to declare war against you," naming one of the three, and he commences to pummel and beat that one man regardless of the other two, who are his allies and colleagues, tell me that you can draw fine lines of distinction and say the neutral is warring only against this one man and not against the others? With other allies on the other side of Germany fighting against us you can not draw these fine lines of distinction and say we will only give money to those who have declared war upon Germany and to none others. It does seem to me that there might be an occasion and a situation presented in which it would help to prosecute the war with greater efficiency if a loan could be made to a power which is engaged in the war, although without a declaration of war against Germany, for that one is helping to fight the common battle that we are fighting, and by helping to destroy an ally of our adversary is helping to destroy our adversary as well. [Applause.]

For that reason I would like to see this bill pass giving the largest power to the executive department of this Government, and giving it to them with full confidence that they will execute the great trust reposed in them with patriotic devotion to their duty. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania be extended for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania. Now, Mr. Chairman, we ought to be ready to vote upon this question. It has been thoroughly and fully discussed, and I am sure that every man in this Chamber has made up his mind as to what form his vote will take. But before concluding what I have to say I would like to call attention to what the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MONTAGUE] advocated in such eloquent terms—our relations to France. I cordially agree with the thought, and wish it were practicable to put an amendment in this bill so that we might at this time, when the situation is so exactly analogous to what it was in the Revolutionary period, say to France, "We will make you a loan, the interest upon that loan shall be remitted, and that loan itself shall be payable at your pleasure."

True, France was fighting England in those days; but we are fighting Germany. True, she loaned us money without interest. She gave us men, she gave us the immortal La Fayette to help Washington in the dark hours of the American Revolution, and it would be but a small thing for us now to say, and show that

the old remark is without truth, that "republics are ungrateful"; to show to the world that America with her higher ideals is prepared to set a new standard of action among the nations of the earth.

I am going to vote also with much regret against the amendment offered by my colleague from my own State. I do not believe that this is the place to put terms upon this loan or say in what fashion it shall be issued. I cordially concur in the remarks of the Republican leader [Mr. MANN] in all that he said upon that question, and in the unwisdom of attempting in the legislative halls to govern and regulate a purely financial matter that requires conference, advice, the best light that can be had, which must finally be shaped up according to the facts and circumstances as they will then appear for the making of this great loan, this great demand upon the American people. I believe in my heart of hearts this loan will be taken and fully subscribed by our people.

Americans will not be outdone by the loyal people of France, who have oversubscribed when called upon. And so the patriotic American will stand by his Government in this hour of crisis and render unto it loyal and patriotic service and devotion. [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and amendments thereto be closed in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto shall close in 15 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, would that give us the opportunity to present an amendment?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

Mr. SLOAN. I have an amendment I wish presented and voted upon. I do not wish to discuss it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Just present it.

Mr. SLOAN. I will just offer the amendment.

Mr. KITCHIN. Just send it to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, what will be the economic effect in this country of the adoption of this bill? I want to try to give some sort of an answer to that very important question.

First, there are vast amounts of British, French, and Russian securities held here now. They range in value from 50 cents to about 90 cents on the dollar at this time. With this immense loan made to the entente the value of those securities will be greatly enhanced, so that some of the worthy gentlemen and patriots who have been so loudly clamoring for war will have some hundreds of millions of dollars of unearned profits transferred into their pockets.

Second, there will be a tremendous inflation of values; prices of all kinds will go to the skies—the price of labor less than all and last of all.

Third, we will exchange with these foreign nations our commodities for the three billions of their bonds that we are to take over and convert into money for them. We will send across the sea three billions of dollars' worth of the produce of American labor, chiefly of foodstuffs and the necessaries of life. The result will be that food will be taken out of the mouths of our own people; hunger will stand in the door of many humble homes in this land; and thousands of American men, women, and children will go barefooted and in rags.

I shall vote for this bond issue as a war measure and as a matter of stern necessity only, but I believe that we owe our first duty to our own people. As patriotic Americans we should have as our first concern the welfare of the people here at home. We should safeguard the supplies of foodstuffs and necessaries of life for the American people before we undertake to supply the demand abroad.

Some measures have got to be adopted. I have several ideas floating through my mind. I do not know what is the best, whether it be to fix the prices at which the necessaries of life are to be sold or to place an embargo upon the export of such necessaries. I do think, Mr. Chairman, that there should be a survey made of the supplies that are on hand in this country at this time. The absolute requirements of this Nation should be ascertained, and we should not export anything which may be required to keep up our own people. We should be sure to reserve for home use what may be necessary to clothe and feed our own folks to whom we owe our first duty and concern. [Applause.]

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, I shall vote for this resolution just as the committee wants it to pass this House.

This country is now at war with Germany, or really we are at war with the Kaiser. We had no quarrel with the German people, but overt acts of the officials of Germany forced this country out of self-respect to declare war against a Government which did not respect the rules of civilized warfare. It makes no difference now how the Members of this House felt about the declaration of war. The fact is we are now at war. There is but one course for Congress to pursue, and that is the course that I shall pursue, and that is to follow our Commander in Chief, the President of the United States.

It is no time now to ask the reason why.

It is no time now to argue over the wording of resolutions.

It is no time now to suggest what some one else might have done.

It is no time now to ask what will our allies do with this money.

The only thing for us to do is to let the President conduct the war just as other nations let their rulers conduct their wars. It is no time for us to assert our individual rights and talk about the rights of Members and the privileges of Members and condemn those who criticize us.

If we do the right thing, we will not be criticized; and the right thing is to let the Executive of our Government conduct this war in the way that he deems is best for our country. No doubt the President understands many matters about our relations with the allies that it would not be proper to tell the whole world.

It is better that these movements were kept secret, and I am willing to let the President take care of that part of the conduct of this war, and I am willing to follow his lead. If we want to conduct a successful war, if we want this war brought to a speedy close, if we want this war conducted in the best way and for the best interests of our country, then there is but one policy to pursue, and this is to stand by the President of the United States, and he will steer our ship safely to the haven of victory. [Applause.]

Mr. SWITZER. Mr. Chairman, I can not agree entirely with the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON]. We have declared that a state of war exists between our country and Germany. Shall we fail, shall we make no effort to bring this war to a speedy close, to crush our enemy, because, perchance, bonds in the hands of Morgan & Co. or other holders in this country may appreciate in value? Is it not our intention to crush Germany, to bring her to terms, if we raise and equip a large army? If we can bring about the same thing by the extension of credits and the use of money, why hesitate and allow the bugbear that somebody will profit out of the transaction to deter you? There is no way, there has been no way yet devised by man, to keep the infamous from grafting in times of such great crisis.

When it first dawned upon me that war between our country and Germany was inevitable and I cast about for a method by which we could render active and effective assistance to those European belligerents who were soon to become our allies in prosecuting the war against the common enemy, I was very much impressed with the proposition of loaning $1,000,000,000 to France without interest. Possibly I was moved to that more by sentiment than by a conception of real military strategy. I thought it would be a recognition of the great debt of gratitude that we owe to the French people who contributed to our cause in the Revolution men, money, arms, ammunition, and ships. Whether they did it with a selfish purpose or otherwise, they nevertheless aided our forefathers in bringing about the independence of the Nation.

I thought it would be a fitting tribute to that great French and American general whose life-size portrait adorns the wall of this Chamber at the left of the Speaker's chair, a companion portrait to that of the Father of our Country, the idol of every American schoolboy in the land—the Marquis de Lafayette. Congress long ago—I have not been advised just when—placed the portrait of that distinguished Frenchman side by side with that of George Washington.

But the bill before us proposes the loaning of $3,000,000,000 to our allies, or those of them who need financial support, and possibly it is the better part of wisdom to at this time propose no discriminations or seek to bestow special favors, and no doubt a considerable part of the $3,000,000,000 will be loaned to France.

I have no patience with those who think that we may, by making these loans, lose some money. I agree with what was said by the Representative from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS] yesterday. We must take a chance if we raise and equip a large army and meet the Germans on the field of conflict. We must also take

a chance if we now loan our money. We must expect reverses if we equip an army to go across the water to Europe—and we would certainly expect reverses as well as victories, though we trust in ultimate victory in the end—and so it is with our money. It may be that some of these countries to which we extend our credit may make no effective use of it and that money may be lost, but we must take that chance and abide the decree of war. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SLOAN moves to amend section 1 by inserting, after the word "annum," in line 4, page 2, the words "$3,000,000,000 of which shall run for a period not exceeding 20 years."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] have an amendment?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; but that comes later.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has not yet arrived for that. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The bonds herein authorized shall first be offered at not less than par as a popular loan, under such regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury as will give all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity to participate therein; and any portion of the bonds so offered and not subscribed for may be otherwise disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury; but no commissions shall be allowed or paid on any bonds issued under authority of this act.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I send to the Clerk's desk a committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, line 17, after the word "of" and before the word "by," insert "at not less than par."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 13, after the word "loan," insert "in denominations of $25 and upward."

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I agree with what has practically been said by Members on both sides of the Chamber who have spoken on the question of leaving the entire disposition of this issue of bonds to the executive branch of the Government. But the idea embodied in my amendment has appealed to me very strongly, and I believe it will appeal to the membership of this committee, that a large portion of these bonds issued will be cared for by hundreds of thousands of patriotic citizens of this country of small means who would like to show their patriotism at this time by taking a small stake in their Government.

The trouble and complaint has been made by people in the past when bond issues were made by this Government that the denominations of the bonds were so large that the ordinary citizen who by economy and frugality had saved a few dollars could not take a stake in his Government or purchase bonds of his country. My judgment is, as suggested by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], that it is no easy matter for any country on earth to float so gigantic a bond issue as this, and we ought to place at our disposal all the means possible for the immediate subscription to these bonds. My judgment is that if we should issue $500,000,000, or, say, possibly a billion dollars, of these bonds in small denominations of $25, that they would be greedily taken by the public—that is, by citizens of small means.

Now, may I make this observation, and that is all I have to say on this transaction? I am afraid, having read an editorial in one of the leading morning papers of this city this morning, in which they suggest that the entire Congress of the United States be taken out and lined up before a firing squad and shot as deserters. I hope the suggestion of this great daily paper will not be complied with by the people of the country. I sincerely trust that the espionage bill will provide for such cymling-headed, irresponsible, pickle-brained editorial writers as this insulting little meddler, whose breed is readily distingushed by his bray. The people want the matter fully discussed; they do not want a useless consumption of time, but they want to know how and what we are doing with the taxing and appropriating powers of Congress, and they have a right to know; and I believe we have expedited debate on this particular bill, taking into consideration its importance, not only to this generation but the generations to come, as fast as it should have been expedited.

We have got to win this war. It does not make any difference what sacrifices we have to make. It is serious business; it is the most serious situation this Nation ever confronted, and I pray to God that it will never confront a more serious one; and if it takes 10,000,000 men or $50,000,000,000, weighing the consequences to posterity and our free institutions, this war will be won. The United States has got to manfully perform its part of the duty. Now, as has been said, it will be at least a year, or ought to be a year, before we can put a single volunteer or a selective conscriptive soldier into the trenches in Europe, because it would be nothing but governmental murder to put untrained and green men behind our guns in the trenches against seasoned trained soldiers. Therefore the only thing that we can do, whether we get a dollar of this money back or not, is not to be weighed at this time; the consequences of this conflict on this Nation is what we should weigh now and the most expeditious and practical way that we can help in Europe. This bond issue must be floated, and we must appeal to every patriotic American to do his part in helping this Nation float it. I saw a statement a few days ago in one of the financial journals of the country that there were at least in the United States of America to-day in these prosperous times $895,000,000 in hiding, not placed in the savings institutions of this country. Those people have saved and have it in hiding because they have not the confidence in the banking institutions to deposit their money in them and put it at interest. If an opportunity was given to these people who have the money to take an interest in the Government and lend it to the Government by purchasing small bonds, it would be greedily accepted and the bond issue would be floated. My judgment is that if we were to put in this bill a provision that these bonds should be issued in small denominations of $25, that the American public would greedily take them up, as I have stated before. I offer this suggestion, thinking that it might have escaped the attention of the able committee having charge of the bill.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Chairman, I want to oppose the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia. If the gentleman from Georgia can not afford to trust the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury to issue these bonds in denominations that will bring about the best results so far as the people are concerned, as well as for the purposes of the issue of the bonds, then he and Members on that side of the Chamber ought not to question any criticism that comes of the bill from those on the Republican side. I, for one, Mr. Chairman, am perfectly willing to leave to the President of the United States the authority that is granted to him in this bill. We must place this responsibility somewhere. The duty of Congress is to provide the money. The Constitution directs that the authority for the carrying on of war be in the hands of the President of the United States.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DYER. Yes.

Mr. HOWARD. Has the gentleman from Missouri lost sight of the fact that what is known as the servant girls' bonds of France absolutely saved the Republic in this war, and that they were in denominations of $5 of our money and upward?

Mr. DYER. I have no criticism of the gentleman's amendment, except that I do not believe we ought to put it on the bill. The President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury must be relied upon to do the very best possible thing for the country and for the objects for which the money is to be raised. Mr. Chairman, this is not an ordinary bond issue. This is a war measure. It is for the purpose of carrying on a war into which we have entered, and every American who is worth the salt that is in him ought to be anxious to do everything he can to give to the President and the Government full and complete authority without, of course, sacrificing the right of Congress as the representatives of the people to discuss these measures and to have them intelligently prepared, presented, and acted upon. But the President is the man at the helm. He is the one who is charged with responsibility in this matter, and any gentleman, whether in this House or outside, who is trying to find fault and to criticize what the Congress has already done in providing that this war shall be waged against the Imperial Government of Germany, in my judgment, does not represent the true American spirit that must and does prevail to-day in this entire country. [Applause.]

So, Mr. Chairman, I want to urge that this amendment be defeated, and that amendments that have a tendency to cripple or to take away from the President the authority to float this bond issue in such a way as he judges to be for the best interests of the people of America, and in such a way as to carry on this war successfully, should be opposed and voted down. I

am opposed to the gentleman's amendment, and I am opposed to any amendment which has any such tendency. We want the money provided for in this bill to be expended for the benefit of the people of this country wherever it will do the most good to the American people for the purposes of this war. We want it used wherever it will bring the best and quickest results. We want the war successfully waged in the shortest possible time. As some gentleman has said here upon the floor, I hope that the money here provided will be enough to pay for our part in this war. I doubt it, as all of us must doubt it; but if double the amount provided for here is needed and will result in making unnecessary the sending of our boys to fight in the trenches of Europe, then I am in favor of our voting such other amount.

Mr. Chairman, the city of St. Louis is practically to a man now behind the President in our difficulty with the Imperial Government of Germany. The members of the board of aldermen of that city are a representative body of men. There is a president and 28 members. They come from all sections of the city, one of the 28 coming from each of the 28 wards. Some of them were born in Germany, some are sons of those born in Germany, but they are all patriotic Americans and good citizens of the United States. On the 4th of April this body of men, sitting as the board of aldermen of this city, passed the following resolutions touching our duty in this hour. These resolutions are as follows:

Let it be known that every righteous citizen of the city of St. Louis is loyal to the President of the United States and the administration at Washington, D. C. Any intimation to the contrary we consider an act of disloyalty to the city of St. Louis. We all honor and love the Stars and Stripes, and we will do our utmost to defend the dignity of our Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That a committee of five members of this board be appointed by the president of the board of aldermen to act in conjunction with the national administration at Washington to aid in the betterment of local conditions pertaining to national affairs; that we will answer any call for the sake of our national honor; that we will support to the utmost the President and the National Government in the present crisis; and that we will act in accord with any suggestions from the national administration at Washington: Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the members of the President's Cabinet, and Senators and Congressmen from the State of Missouri.

CLARENCE G. FISCHER,
Clerk, Board of Aldermen.

And, Mr. Chairman, let me add that all the members of this board are Republicans.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to represent in part the people of St. Louis in this House. They are patriotic and loyal. Many of these people are of German birth or ancestry. They love, of course, the country which they or their fathers came to America from. They have many blood relatives living in that country. They were hoping and praying that we would not have to go to war with Germany. So was I, Mr. Chairman, and I prayed that we might not be compelled to. I hate and detest war. I wanted the United States to remain at peace in this terrific struggle going on in Europe. But it could not be so. The President came to us and told of the repeated outrages and assaults made by the Imperial German Government upon our citizens and our rights as a Nation. He stated that the Emperor of Germany had been waging war upon us and had refused to stop the murderous submarine warfare. He—the President of the United States—asked us as a duty to our country and our national honor to declare war upon the Imperial German Government. With these facts before us, and sworn to do our duty to our people, we voted war. It was to me the saddest hour of my life. I tried to forget everything but my duty. I voted for what was to my mind the right and honorable thing to do. I sincerely hope and pray that I did. I gave long and serious thought to it. I recalled the splendid men and women in my city of German blood. I did not want to do anything that would give them pain and anguish because of their love for the Fatherland and their loved ones in the German Empire. Then it was was made clear to my mind that it was not to be a war upon the people of Germany, but upon its despotic ruler and his Government for the continued insults to our flag and our sovereign rights as a Nation. Action having thus been taken, I, with all the people of my city, are for the American flag and all it represents. We are with the President because he is the head of the Nation and the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy. We are all American citizens in this crisis, and no one can or will dare to say that the people of St. Louis, those of German blood and otherwise, are not as good Americans as there are in any place in these United States. We have and will show to the world that in this war we are united and together for American honor and American rights. That as we are in this war we will do our utmost to bring it to an end and stop the terrible sacrifice of life now going on. We also hope to aid in doing the things that will prevent such a recurrence, and especially with so little cause. Our entrance into this war will and must be with due consideration for the people of the countries at war. We must assist to bring about more rights for the German people as against the Emperor, so that he, with all other monarchs, shall give to the people a say in making war and not abrogate to himself the sole power and authority in such matters.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, the amendment of the gentleman from Georgia——

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and amendments thereto be closed in seven minutes.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I should like five minutes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then in 12 minutes. I want 2 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate upon this paragraph and amendments thereto be closed in 12 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BORLAND. The idea embodied in the amendment of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD] is a good one, and it is the idea that is embodied in this section of the bill, that this loan shall be a popular loan. But I am going to vote against his amendment, because I see very clearly that it is not needed. There is nothing in the bill which restricts the amounts in which these bonds shall be issued, and the amendment of the gentleman from Georgia does not provide that any specified sum shall be issued in small denominations, nor does it in any way either enlarge or restrict the power that is now lodged in the Secretary of the Treasury. It expresses, however, the idea which doubtless animates all Members of Congress that this loan should be, as far as possible, a popular loan. But in that connection, and especially as we are now discussing the section as a whole, I want to commend to the attention of the House the suggestion made by Samuel Gompers in the letter read by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING], namely, that the limitation upon the postal savings bank be removed and that the funds there deposited be used, as far as possible, to absorb this issue of bonds. In fact, I made the same suggestion when the gentleman from North Carolina was opening the debate upon this bill, and the assurance was extended that the directors of the postal savings fund had full power to employ the money in that way.

I want to call the attention of gentlemen to this: Scarcely a year ago we enlarged the limit of deposits in these postal savings banks. On the 1st of July, 1916, there was $86,000,000 on deposit in these banks. On the 1st of February, 1917, there was $121,000,000 on deposit, or an increase of 50 per cent in a little more than six months' time. Much of that money is deposited by people of what has been referred to by the gentleman from Georgia as the "servant-girl" class. A large amount of it comes from foreigners, those of foreign birth who are American citizens, or who belong to foreign families, or who perhaps are themselves subjects of alien countries.

It might be a matter of great difficulty and some expense and considerable delay to bring to their attention the idea of small bonds, but they understand the Postal Savings Bank System, and they can deposit any amount there from $1 up. They do not need to buy a bond, nor are they obliged to tie their money up in a security which they must afterwards negotiate in order to obtain the cash upon it. So I think we could very easily double the present $125,000,000 on deposit in the Postal Savings Bank. This bank is the natural place of deposit for the poor man, for the laboring man, for the laboring girl, those who are unfamiliar with business but who know the relations of the Federal Government to the people largely through the activities of the Post Office Department, who know their way to the post office, but who do not know their way to the connection with any other of the great departments of the Government. The Postal Savings Bank being well established, having shown its success and having shown how it dovetails into the great industrial and commercial system of this country, I think we can well take off the limit, at least for the period of the war, and permit all this money to come out of hiding that the gentleman from Georgia speaks of—I think he is doubtless correct—and to be put into the custody of Uncle Sam.

Mr. HOWARD. I want to state to the gentleman that about 10 days ago I introduced a bill right on the very lines that he speaks of, and it has been referred to the Post Office Department.

Mr. BORLAND. I know the gentleman's views exactly, and I agree with him in every way. There are 700,000 individual depositors in the Postal Savings Bank to-day. Nearly three-quarters of a million of the workers of this country are to-day doing business over the counters of the Postal Savings Bank.

Mr. HOWARD. There ought to be 10,000,000 of them.

Mr. BORLAND. Talk about widespread patriotism and an immediate response of the people! There is no channel through which we can reach so many of the laboring class at once as through the Postal Savings Bank, in which three-quarters of a million of them are right now depositing their money, which can be exchanged for these bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE rose.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman going to speak to his amendment?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I would like to have five minutes; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the Chair suggests that he put the question upon the other amendment first.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Very well.

Mr. OVERMYER. Mr. Chairman, before that is done I ask unanimous consent to have read from the Clerk's desk the following telegram

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read.

There was no objection, and the Clerk read as follows:

NORWALK, OHIO, *April 13, 1917.*

A. W. OVERMYER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Great popular demand for $25 denominational bonds. Urge their issuance. Wire us results, rate of interest, and possible date of delivery. Can use $50,000 of this size.

CITIZENS BANKING CO.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I offered reads as follows:

On page 2, line 18, after the word "Treasury," insert "at not less than par."

The paragraph I desire to amend reads as follows:

The bonds herein authorized shall first be offered at not less than par as a popular loan, under such regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury as will give all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity to participate therein; and any portion of the bonds so offered and not subscribed for may be otherwise disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury; but no commissions shall be allowed or paid on any bonds issued under authority of this act—

Embracing all of line 12 and down to and including all of line 19. It, to my mind, plainly confers on the Secretary of the Treasury power to sell any part of the bonds not disposed of under the provision of line 12 and line 13 to the comma after the word "loan" at a price less than par, if, in his judgment, such a sale should be advisable.

Many gentlemen have privately expressed the opinion that the language of the paragraph would be taken as a whole, and each provision would relate to the selling at "not less than par" feature. I could not agree with them. I found other eminent gentlemen taking a view exactly the reverse of theirs, and with them I fully agree. With language so ambiguous and with meaning not clearly plain to everyone, I felt that if the Secretary of the Treasury is not expected to sell any of these bonds at less than par, the paragraph should state so plainly.

By leaving the language uncertain we would invite bond brokers to be slow to bid, hoping to buy below par. They are human and would naturally take advantage of any opportunity afforded under this act to take profits. By leaving this language uncertain we would invite at the outset of this war our bonds to go below par with probably disastrous effect on securities of all kinds. To allow part of the bonds to be sold to our people as a "popular loan" at not less than par and another part to be sold to bond brokers at less than par would be patently unfair. I am glad, indeed, that the chairman of the committee [Mr. KITCHIN] has offered as a committee amendment exactly the same language and accomplishing the same purpose, although inserted after a different word.

Mr. Chairman, I could not or would not have voted for this measure had not that amendment been made. There are other features of this bill that I do not like, and I hope they may be amended before it is put on its final passage. If the $3,000,000,000 bond issue for loaning to foreign Governments to bolster up their practically bankrupt treasuries had been offered in a bill to itself, I feel that I should vote against it. I do not think our people should have to bear that burden; I do not think placing their Governments' bonds with us as security for our flotation is sufficient security for our people. I shall waive my judgment there, as I do not desire to hamper our own effort to speedily prepare to prosecute this deplorable war. This bill, as amended, will have to be either voted up or voted down. I shall vote for the bill as amended.

Mr. Chairman, when the war resolution was under consideration I said:

I shall, while I am a Member of this House, in case this cup is put to our country's lips, vote for everything which, in my judgment, is essential to our success, keeping in mind always the fundamentals of our liberty.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to repeat that. I desire to say that I shall not vote in the judgment of the President of the United States when I think he is wrong, I shall not vote in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury unless I think he is right, nor shall I vote in the judgment of any man and make a rubber stamp of myself, as has been suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] as regards himself. I shall do and vote according to the judgment which I have. It may not be right, but it is that which God Almighty has endowed me with, and I shall not delegate my rights here to anyone. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the amendment offered by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will read:

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase from such foreign Governments, at par, their obligations, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this act; to enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign Governments and for the subsequent payment thereof, but such arrangements shall provide that if any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations shall thereafter be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent per annum under the provisions of section 5 of this act, then and in that event the obligations of such foreign Governments held by the United States shall be, by such foreign Governments, converted in like manner and extent into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States issued under the provisions of section 5 of this act. For the purposes of this section the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to use not exceeding $3,000,000,000 of the proceeds of the bonds of the United States that may be sold under authority of section 1 of this act.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment which I send to the desk and which I think covers the suggestion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], in the committee, and of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], on the floor yesterday.

The Clerk reads as follows:

Strike out on page 2 all of lines 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase, at par, from such foreign Governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States their obligations hereafter issued, bearing."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. GREEN of Iowa: After the word "President" insert the following: "and a joint committee of the House and Senate on the conduct of the war, to be selected by Congress in such manner as it shall hereinafter by joint resolution direct."

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Chairman, on that I reserve the point of order.

Mr. KITCHIN. I make the point of order that it is not germane.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard upon the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman on the point of order.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, with all deference to the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina and the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, I am of opinion that this point of order can not be well taken. This is not a case of introducing a new and different proposition. It simply embodies the proposition now before the House by limiting it in certain respects, or rather by adding to it in certain respects.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is prepared to rule unless the gentleman from North Carolina or the gentleman from Illinois can convince the Chair to the contrary. It seems to the Chair that this is germane. It provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall do certain things with the approval of the President and a joint committee of the House and Senate on the conduct of the war, and so forth. The Chair thinks this is germane and the Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, this is a very important amendment and I ask the indulgence of the House upon

it for a few moments. Those who wish to fully understand it can do so by taking the bills which they have in their hands and looking on line 21, page 2, and inserting the words offered by the amendment right after the word "President" in that line. As I do not happen to have the amendment in my hand I will ask the Clerk to again report it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be again reported.

There was no objection, and the Clerk again reported the amendment, as follows:

After the word "President" insert the following: "and a joint committee of the House and Senate on the conduct of the war, to be selected by Congress in such manner as it shall hereafter by joint resolution direct."

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the suggestion that such a committee should be appointed came first from the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN], and whatever credit there may be in the thought belongs entirely to him. My amendment, so far as this bill is concerned, does not go as far as the bill which I understand the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] has introduced, and which is now pending before the Committee on Rules. The provision which is made by that bill goes very much further, but the provision which I would have inserted in this bill does not interfere at all with an enlargement of the powers of that committee as provided by the bill offered by the gentleman from Illinois, so that I hope that the gentleman from Illinois will assist in sustaining this amendment. It is well known to Members of this House—it is no secret at all—that rumors, suspicions, and even charges are being made that great business houses of this country are to profit largely as a result of the loan which is to be made by this bill to foreign countries.

These suspicions and rumors were voiced to some extent by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CALDWELL] on the floor of the House yesterday. The gentleman from New York did not state all of these rumors and suspicions, nor do I think it was proper to do so, although I assume that he is familiar with them. Charges most serious and grave have been made. I place no credence whatever in those rumors, suspicions, or charges, but I do believe that the ground for suspicions, rumors, and charges ought to be removed, and it would be removed if my amendment was carried out. Mr. Chairman, the amendment which I have offered involves no distrust of the President. We have given the President our confidence to the fullest extent. We only ask, or I only ask, by this amendment that the President in turn should give us some of his confidence, which seems to be withheld by this bill as it stands. The distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MONTAGUE] quoted a short time ago from a statement made by Washington that a war could not be carried on by debating societies. I agree with him entirely, but this amendment is not to establish any debating societies but merely provides for the creation of a committee on the conduct of the war, which can hold, if necessary, secret sessions, which can sit when Congress itself is not in session, which can consider all of these matters, which can take them into consideration and act with the quickness that a small body has power to do and with the discretion which is given by the wisdom of others besides the President.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If I can get a little more time.

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman can answer my question very briefly. If the gentleman's legislative committee of watchdogs was created, and some irresponsible person should afterwards make a charge that they had shared in the advantages of some of the loans, would the gentleman be calling for an investigation by this House into the conduct of that committee?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, the gentleman is making an objection which is purely fanciful——

Mr. BORLAND. Not at all; such investigations——

Mr. GREEN of Iowa (continuing). The very purpose of the amendment is to remove any suggestion of that kind. I was about to say that the duties which now devolve upon the President are manifold, too great and numerous for me to mention. He has already devolving upon him more than it is possible for any one man to do. We are now to add to those manifold responsibilities and duties by putting upon him a responsibility that seems to be greater than anyone can bear and greater than any one man can possibly discharge. Mr. Chairman, at this time we ought to consider the fact that the President himself can not attend to duties of this kind. It will not be the President who will determine how this loan shall be awarded or managed——

Mr. FITZGERALD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman's suggestion involves a complete change in our theory of Government; that is, that the legislative branch be clothed with administrative functions along with the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Oh, no. It has been done before. The gentleman will remember that during the time of the Civil War a committee was appointed on the conduct of the war.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not know that it ever rendered any services that anybody has ever mentioned, commended, or even boasted of.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I fear the gentleman from New York has not read the history of his country with any great degree of care.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Oh, I have; I have read it.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Then the gentleman has made the remark thoughtlessly.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the gentleman's amendment and my amendment close in seven minutes, the gentleman to have five minutes and I to have two minutes.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have five minutes.

Mr. GILLETT. I would like to have some time.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then, Mr. Chairman, I will ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and the amendment to the amendment close in 15 minutes. I want two minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have three minutes; I think I said two minutes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Say 17 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment and the amendment to the amendment close in 17 minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object——

Mr. SLOAN. May I inquire of the gentleman if that would give further time to submit another amendment to the amendment if this one should fail?

Mr. KITCHIN. If it is in order, the gentleman can do so by sending the amendment up and having it pending, but there would be no debate on it.

Mr. SLOAN. I would want five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I am of the opinion myself that a greater part of this loan ought to be expended in this country and that some provision ought to be made to that effect. I assume, however, that there will be instances where the actual money will be needed by some of the foreign Governments to whom we propose to make this loan. All these matters—how the loan ought to be made, under what conditions it shall be made, with reference to the use of the money, for what purpose it shall be used, whether for our benefit—are the questions involved and all ought to be determined, as it seems to me, by a committee which in some degree manifests the wisdom and the purpose of this House. And let me say that if this be done it would do more to popularize this bill, in my judgment, than any other action this House can take. It would render, as I have said, beyond suspicion the action which we are taking to-day. It would gather to the consideration of the manner in which this money should be expended the wisdom of the highest intellects of this House and of the Senate, and it would insure that the money would be spent in such a manner that none would ever regret his vote in support of this bill. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] is recognized.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, I have in mind an amendment, which I will not formally offer, but on which I would like to have the opinion of the chairman of the committee, because I recognize that in matters as serious as this we ought to defer very largely to those who have inside information. I intend in questions of this kind to be guided very largely by the opinion of the President and his representative here, for I appreciate that in our foreign affairs he knows facts which he can not safely divulge to us. And, while I would not pretend that the last four years has given me very great confidence in the administration, yet I appreciate that in war times the Executive must be supported, and there must be no divisions; and I am trying now in my mind to cultivate confidence. I have quite a little crop started, and I hope it will flourish and that nothing will blight it.

If I were to follow my own opinion in drafting this bill, I should provide that we should make our loans only to France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia. What the condition of the Balkan States will be after the war we do not know. Our statesmen know little of the Balkan problem; it is a European question. And how it will be settled by the terms of peace

we can not guess, and we should not undertake to make loans to them. Even Belgium, although our sympathy has gone out to her more unstintedly than to any nation except, perhaps, France—even Belgium I would not put upon our list, because she has been financed now for a long time by England, and I would let the money for her continue to go through England. But, while this would be my judgment, I am willing to yield it to the opinion of the committee.

Now, the amendment I have in mind is this, that instead of "foreign Governments" we substitute the words "European Governments." It seems to me that we ought not, out of this $3,000,000,000, to subsidize nations south of us on this continent. Under the present terms we can not loan to any nation that is not in war with Germany. This is a war measure, and it ought not to be diverted to the development of this continent. Take Mexico, or San Domingo, or Haiti. Do you think that they would hesitate for a moment to declare war against Germany if thereby they thought they could become beneficiaries under this $3,000,000,000? But I do not think just because they declared war against Germany that this war revenue ought to be loaned to them in order to build up Governments there. I would like to relieve the President from the responsibility or possibility of lending to Mexico, for instance, any of this sum. Personally, it seems to me that we ought not, under this general clause of lending to any nation at war, to open an avenue for subsidizing these republics to the south of us. And I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] whether he sees any objection to putting in as a substitute for the word "foreign" the word "European" and thereby relieve the President from the pressure of having some of the republics at the south of us coming as suppliants?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman I do not think there will be any danger of the South American countries coming to us as suppliants, and I do not think it would be wise for us to put in "European Governments." I have no idea that the emergency or the occasion will occur that the gentleman anticipates.

Mr. GILLETT. Then what is the objection to putting it in?

Mr. KITCHIN. We just ought not to advise other countries with which we are at war that we are not to do that.

Mr. GILLETT. I think we ought to remember that in transactions as large as this mistakes and scandals are liable to arise. I say this without the slightest implication on the high purposes of either the President or the Secretary of the Treasury. I remember one great international scandal where the agent of a great foreign Government was charged with openly seeking bribes in connection with loan transactions with this country, and the publication of the "X Y Z letters" almost saved the life of an expiring political party here. And it seems to me we ought to be solicitous, if we can, to put barriers against any such imputation. We must bear in mind that the Secretary of the Treasury will hold a very anomalous position. He will stand with three thousand million dollars in his pocket ready to give them away to worthy applicants. Never was there such an almoner in the history of the world before. We read of the troubles of our philanthropic millionaires who have a reputation for giving away money—men like Carnegie or Rockefeller—how they are besieged with requests; but their distribution is insignificant compared with this. The Secretary will doubtless be attacked through his sympathies, through his avarice, through every motive, honest and dishonest, which it is thought will tempt him to yield up his spoils. We ought to protect him from such appeals as far as possible.

It seems to me that such an amendment would tend to prevent that. As I have said, in these matters I am going to defer to the administration, which knows conditions and possibilities hidden from me, but I think that that would be an important and prudent amendment.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILLETT. Certainly.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. I want to know if your recently inspired confidence has already suffered a blight?

Mr. GILLETT. Oh, no. What do you mean?

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. I mean, do you not think we can trust the administration not to be loaning promiscuously?

Mr. GILLETT. Well, my confidence in the administration's conduct of Mexican affairs perhaps has been as small as it has in any direction, and I would not want to see the administration exposed to a request from Mexico for what would amount to a subsidy. I think we might reasonably prevent it now.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MASON. If the gentleman will yield just one minute, I want to call the attention of the Chairman to this. I think the point of order was well made not only upon the question being germane, but to adopt this amendment now would leave us in the legislative absurdity of saying that this law is to become effective upon the passage of another law by the Congress, or a joint resolution, and if hereafter Congress fails to pass a joint resolution establishing this committee, then the whole act that you are now engaged in passing falls to the ground, because by the terms of the act the Secretary, with the consent of the President and by the terms of the amendment, must have the consent of the committee yet to be appointed, which must be appointed by an act of Congress.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Does the gentleman think if the House and Senate adopted this amendment they would thereafter fail to appoint a committee?

Mr. MASON. I do not know; but I say it is a legislative absurdity to say that this act has to await the action of another act, and for that reason I shall vote against it, although I am in favor of appointing a general committee, such as was had during the Civil War, for advice with the Executive of this Government.

The CHAIRMAN. There are three minutes remaining. The Chair feels that the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] should be recognized.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would like to have one minute. I thought we agreed that the time should be closed.

Mr. SLOAN rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair was in error. Eight minutes remained, and then the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] used one minute, leaving seven minutes. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] is recognized for four minutes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I assume that the amendment submitted by the chairman of the committee will prevail. I am in favor of the amendment submitted by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN]. I did not know that that amendment had been prepared, and so I prepared one for the same purpose. But if for any reason the amendment to the amendment should not prevail, either on account of the complication suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] or otherwise, I have pending an amendment to the amendment which I shall ask to have read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SLOAN offers an amendment to the amendment offered by the chairman of the committee: After the word "President" insert the following: "after he has been advised by the Speaker and the minority leader of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore and the minority leader of the Senate."

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, this is an amendment to which the objection of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] will not lie. Because we have a Speaker of the House of Representatives and a minority leader; we have a President pro tempore of the Senate and a minority leader of the Senate. Both sides of each of the legislative chambers would be well and ably represented. And it seems to me that if we desired to distribute the burden and in a measure relieve the Chief Executive of some of the onerous duties that devolve upon him and at the same time specially inspire the confidence of the investing public, and as a result thereof to make an advantageous sale of the bonds, we could do nothing better than to adopt this amendment. We would call into council with the President before he makes his approval of these great loans to those nations the officials I have named.

To have it known to the country that the great minority leader, of many years' service in the Senate, and the statesman who presides over that eminent body; the great student and able, keen, industrious statesman who has been for many years the minority leader of the House, and lastly the distinguished Speaker, who is beloved and trusted on both sides of this Chamber, and in whom the American people repose special confidence, would be consulted before a loan was made would mean much in the floating of these bonds and increase the amount that we received from the sale of this stupendous amount of bonds. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] that the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN] is a legislative absurdity. I go further and say that in my opinion the idea of having a joint committee of Congress to work out the conduct of the war with the Executive of the Nation and the Secretary of the Treasury is an absurd one, and the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] makes it no better.

Indeed, his amendment shows how absurd these propositions are. He wants us to put in the amendment an officer that does not exist. There is no such thing known to the law as a "minority leader." That is a caucus proposition. That is not law. There is no officer known in law as a minority leader. The gentleman from Nebraska includes in his proposed committee the minority leader, and the Speaker of the House, and the President pro tempore and the minority leader of the Senate, to be officers constituting this war board. Why, gentlemen, in my opinion the amendment of the gentleman from Nebraska is really just a little more absurd than the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa. [Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I believe at one time in this country they did have such a board as this, during the Civil War, and possibly that board was created in order to embarrass President Lincoln. It put handcuffs and hobbles upon him. I do not believe that these gentlemen desire to handcuff and hobble the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, but if this amendment were put in the bill this committee would handicap and hobble the Executive.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. I have listened to what the gentleman said about the Civil War Committee on the Conduct of the War having been appointed for the purpose of embarrassing President Lincoln. The chairman of that committee was Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, than whom there never lived any better fighter on the right side in that war. It is impossible that a committee of which he was chairman was organized for the purpose of embarrassing the President. His loyalty and enthusiasm in a just cause would not have permitted him to countenance or engage in any move to embarrass Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. KITCHIN. But he was not the author of the resolution.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. He was chairman of the committee.

Mr. KITCHIN. We would get good men. Mr. MANN would be a good man; Mr. CLARK would be a good man. The President pro tempore of the Senate and the majority leader of the Senate would be good men, as good as the late Mr. Chandler; but we ought not to embarrass the fighting power and the President and the Secretary of the Treasury by any committee of the best of men. We belong to the legislative branch. Why mix us up on a committee with the executive branch of the Government?

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. I was not speaking of the merits of this proposition.

Mr. KITCHIN. It has no merit.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. I was simply answering the challenge the gentleman made that that committee was organized for the purpose of embarrassing the President.

Mr. KITCHIN. I referred to the resolution appointing the committee.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. If I understand the position of the gentleman from North Carolina, it is that Congress, which customarily directs the appropriations and provides precisely how they shall go, should have not one word to say about what should be done with this money.

Mr. KITCHIN. There never was power given to the President or Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds which had coupled with it any other committee or any other person. This is the first suggestion of the kind I have ever heard.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. The gentleman knows that no such occasion as this, or anything like it, has ever arisen.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. Vote!

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GREEN].

The question being taken, on a division (demanded by Mr. GREEN of Iowa) there were—ayes 19, noes 125.

Accordingly the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I now offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska offers an amendment to the amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. SLOAN: Amend by inserting, after the word "President," the following: "after he has been advised by the Speaker and the minority leader of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore and the minority leader of the Senate."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN].

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KITCHIN. I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina offers a further amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 3 strike out all of line 17, after the word "section," and strike out lines 18, 19, and 20 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"There is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, not to exceed the sum of $3,000,000,000: *Provided*, That the authority granted by this section to the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase bonds from foreign Governments as aforesaid shall cease upon the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government."

Mr. KITCHIN. I move the adoption of that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. LENROOT: Page 3, line 5, after the word "thereof," insert the words "before maturity."

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, we will accept that amendment.

Mr. LENROOT. I do not care to discuss it.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, that other amendment that was agreed to was not in the form in which it was privately submitted, but as I recall it provided "not to exceed $3,000,000,000."

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. That is not a very good form of appropriation.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think so. It appropriates not to exceed $3,000,000,000.

Mr. MANN. How much is appropriated?

Mr. KITCHIN. Anything less than that—not to exceed $3,000,000,000.

Mr. MANN. It is not the usual form. The usual form appropriates $3,000,000,000, "or so much thereof as may be necessary."

Mr. KITCHIN. This is not to exceed $3,000,000,000—any necessary amount not exceeding that.

Mr. MANN. I presume it would accomplish the purpose. I do not, however, recall any appropriation in that form. I am really talking to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD].

Mr. KITCHIN. I am not going to expose him.

Mr. MANN. It ought to be $3,000,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Mr. KITCHIN. I want to satisfy everybody, and I think that would be the better language to use. I ask unanimous consent to return to that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] asks unanimous consent to vacate the vote by which the last amendment proposed by him was adopted. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now, I modify it by inserting, after the figures "$3,000,000,000," the words "or so much thereof as may be necessary."

Mr. MANN. That is what you want—

There is appropriated the sum of $3,000,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Striking out the words "not to exceed."

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to modify the amendment as indicated. The Clerk will report the amendment as it will read when so modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 3, strike out all of line 17 after the word "section" and strike out all of lines 18, 19, and 20 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"There is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $3,000,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary."

Mr. KITCHIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the amendment being modified as requested?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the question is on the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT].

Mr. MANN. Let us have that reported again.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be again reported.

The amendment was again reported, as follows:

Amendment by Mr. LENROOT: Page 3, line 5, after the word "thereof," insert the words "before maturity."

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I would like to ask the gentleman whether he does not mean "on or before maturity," not merely limiting it to "before maturity"?

Mr. LENROOT. No; I do not.

Mr. KITCHIN. The proper expression is "before maturity." "On or before" would not fit in there at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States from time to time such sums heretofore authorized by section 39 of the act approved August 5, 1909, entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes"; section 124 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes"; section 13 of the act of September 7, 1916, entitled "An act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries, to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States, and for other purposes"; section 400 of the act approved March 3, 1917, entitled "An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes"; and the public resolution approved March 4, 1917, entitled "Joint resolution to expedite the delivery of materials, equipment, and munitions and to secure more expeditious construction of ships," as may be necessary to meet public expenditures on account of the Mexican situation, the construction of the armor-plate plant, the construction of the Alaskan Railway, the purchase of the Danish West Indies, the construction of the nitrate plant, the purposes of sections 5 and 11 of the shipping act, emergency naval construction or expediting naval construction, or to reimburse the Treasury for such expenditures or to reimburse the Treasury for reimbursable expenditures made on account of the construction of the Panama Canal, or for such additional amount, not exceeding $63,945,460, as may be necessary to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918 maturing August 1, 1918. And for such sums as he may borrow under authority of this section the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue bonds of the United States in the manner and under the terms and conditions prescribed in section 1 of this act; and the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion and under such terms and conditions as he may impose, may refund the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918 maturing August 1, 1918, into bonds of the United States of like tenor as those authorized in section 1 of this act. The bonds authorized by this section shall be in addition to the bonds authorized by section 1 of this act.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

On pages 4, 5, and 6 strike out all of section 4 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to issue the bonds not already issued heretofore authorized by section 39 of the act approved August 5, 1909, entitled 'An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes'; section 124 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled 'An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes'; section 13 of the act of September 7, 1916, entitled 'An act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries, to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States, and for other purposes'; section 400 of the act approved March 3, 1917, entitled 'An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes'; and the public resolution approved March 4, 1917, entitled 'Joint resolution to expedite the delivery of materials, equipment, and munitions and to secure more expeditious construction of ships,' in the manner and under the terms and conditions prescribed in section 1 of this act.

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States from time to time, in addition to the sum authorized in section 1 of this act, such additional amount, not exceeding $63,945,460, as may be necessary to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918 maturing August 1, 1918, and to issue therefor bonds of the United States in the manner and under the terms and conditions prescribed in section 1 of this act."

Mr. KITCHIN. This amendment is proposed to meet the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] and the gentleman from Wyoming, in order to make the section clear and definite and to eliminate the unnecessary descriptive matter.

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina a question, and that is if it would not be possible to so amend this section as to enable the Members of this body to go to their constituents and explain section 4? The gentleman's amendment to section 4 does not make the work performed by the committee any clearer to me than does the first section 4, and I dare say it does not to other gentlemen on the floor. At the end of line 17, page 4, it seems to me that it ought to state how much is made available by the section. The amendment offered by the gentleman seems to contain the same defect that the original section does, that it does not inform the Members as to the amount that the section makes available.

Mr. KITCHIN. To save a little work, the gentleman can go to the library and in a few minutes find out the amount.

Mr. JUUL. I beg the gentleman's pardon, I can find out what the various acts appropriate.

Mr. KITCHIN. We never reenact these acts. We simply refer to them by title. That is the usual legislative way.

Mr. JUUL. I hope the gentleman will bear with me, I know the system; but by referring to the former acts I could not find out the amounts now available.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman can find out from the Treasury Department. They issue a statement every day.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman from North Carolina can give the information; it is in the report.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it gives the total number of bonds now available to be issued.

Mr. JUUL. That is not what I want; I can get that all myself.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will the gentleman tell me just exactly what he does want?

Mr. JUUL. I want, without reference to the department, to know what amount of money is now made available through section 4. I want to know what amount of bonds is changed from a lower rate of interest to a higher.

Mr. KITCHIN. Section 4 authorizes the increase in the interest rate on $472,000,000 worth of bonds now authorized by law.

Mr. JUUL. Would there be any great harm in stating after each section what amount is still undisposed of?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, we never do that.

Mr. JUUL. Would it not be a good thing to do? Then we could go home and tell the people what we voted for, and under this section I can not.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman can tell them that he voted in section 4 to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue the amount of $472,000,000 of bonds heretofore authorized, under the same terms and conditions as those provided for the bonds to be issued under section 1 of this bill. What I have just said now will be in the RECORD to-morrow morning, and the gentleman can cut it out and send it to them.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois made a pertinent inquiry and I think the gentleman from North Carolina ought to answer it in good faith.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have.

Mr. MANN. Oh, no; I do not think the gentleman ought to embarrass a new Member of Congress.

Mr. JUUL. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I do not want to criticize anyone, but I want simply to learn what I am voting for.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask the gentleman a question. I think the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is more sensitive about this than the other gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JUUL]—the younger gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. JUUL. Yes?

Mr. KITCHIN. Is the gentleman embarrassed at all in the answers that I have made?

Mr. JUUL. No; and if so, I hope I shall get over it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me answer the gentleman. One bond authorization under existing law is to meet expenditures incident to the Mexican situation, estimated at $162,000,000. Those bonds have been authorized under one of the acts mentioned.

Mr. JUUL. Pardon me again. There is nowhere that by referring to these former acts we can find out what amounts of these bonds, if any, have been disposed of.

Mr. KITCHIN. Not by former acts.

Mr. JUUL. If the gentleman will permit me——

Mr. KITCHIN. Does the gentleman mean how many have been authorized and disposed of?

Mr. JUUL. That is it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Or how many have been authorized?

Mr. JUUL. And have not been disposed of. If you please, in line 17 of the printed bill, if, after the word "purposes," the following words were inserted "of which the sum of blank dollars have not been expended," it would not take the gentleman introducing the bill 10 minutes to get from the various departments what the various sums amounted to, and it would enable me and every Member on this floor to go home to his constituents and tell them he knew what he was voting for.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman understands that no bill carries the evidence and testimony of the departments, but the report will show how many bonds are outstanding and how many bonds are authorized to be issued under these various acts referred to in section 4.

Mr. JUUL. But supposing an editor in my district should ask me for how many dollars I voted under this increased interest in Panama bonds, what would I answer?

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman would just go to the report of the committee which accompanies the bill and that gives the fact and the evidence and the information that the gentleman wants.

Mr. MANN. Two hundred and twenty-two million dollars of Panama bonds still unissued. Why not say so?

Mr. KITCHIN. I was reading each one of these to the gentleman.

Mr. JUUL. What would be the harm in putting these amounts in the bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not reckon there would be any harm about it, but if you give all such evidence and facts in a bill——

Mr. JUUL. It is not evidence, but it is sums of money I am expected to vote for.

Mr. KITCHIN. The reports show that. Does the gentleman understand that with each one of these bills when the committee considers it there is a report printed and that that report gives all of the facts and some of the reasons why the bill has been reported?

Mr. JUUL. I have been reading it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Did not the gentleman find the information he wanted in the report?

Mr. JUUL. Not in detail.

Mr. MANN. If my colleague will yield to me for a moment, I think I can explain the difficulty and why it does not appear in the bill.

Mr. JUUL. Yes.

Mr. MANN. There are $222,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds still unissued, which have been authorized at 3 per cent. There are $100,000,000 under another act, $150,000,000 under another act, so that there are three acts making $472,000,000; but of the Panama Canal bonds we have already authorized an issuance of $50.000,000 for a particular purpose, and in another place I believe $20,000,000 for a particular purpose, under different acts. That makes five acts. All five of those acts are referred to in the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], but you can not duplicate the amounts in each of the five acts, because if you did, it would amount to at least $70,000,000 more than the total which has been really authorized.

Mr. JUUL. I would not want that. I would simply want that bill to state the amount that remained unexpended.

Mr. MANN. That is a matter, of course, for the department, but we would know the amount. That is stated in the report of the committee.

Mr. JUUL. I do not know it, and I think there are a hundred gentlemen on the floor who do not know it.

Mr. MANN. They will know it after I have stated it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would like to say that none of the bonds authorized under these acts have been issued except the Panama Canal bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 5. That any series of bonds issued under authority of sections 1 and 4 of this act may, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than the rate at which the same were issued if any subsequent series of bonds shall be issued at a higher rate of interest on or before December 31, 1918.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. SLOAN: I move to strike out section 5.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, this is an entirely new system for the issue of bonds in this country. It has never been resorted to before and ripened into legislation. There is no foreign country that has substantially followed it. I understand from an intimation of a very indefinite character that Germany was seeking to work out the system, but, from all I can learn, has made only a limited application of the principle. Moreover, it is a desperate resort she is driven to rather than a system of wise choice starting from a solid foundation. The proposition is that whenever there is an issue of bonds at a given rate and the exigencies of the nation thereafter within a given period shall call for another issue, and the bond market is such that it would prompt the Secretary of the Treasury to issue the bonds of the second series or a third series, as the case may be, at a higher rate of interest, automatically that would raise the interest upon the former issue. To be more explicit, it gives the holders of the original issue the right to convert their bonds issued at the lower rate into bonds of the higher rate. The effect of it would be, to illustrate in this case, we are issuing $5,000,000,000 of bonds. If before the first of next year another issue of, say, only $100,000,000 or, say, $500,000,000 shall be required in this country, and the bond market, whether from legitimate operations or being manipulated by the heavy bond operators, should indicate that the 3½ per cent bonds could not be floated at par, then he would be forced to issue the new series at, say, 4 per cent. When it was issued at 4 per cent, automatically the holders of the first $5,000,000,000 bonds issued could exchange their bonds for 4 per cent bonds. This would make a difference of one-half per cent, or interest amounting to $25,000,000 per year. If the bonds issued have 30 years to run, it would make a difference of three-quarters of a billion dollars to come out of the American taxpayers during the life of the bonds. Now, I am not convinced that that is the wisest course to take at this time, and I offered my motion for the purpose of taking the temper of the House, believing that it is not a sound financial procedure at this time.

This same plan was put through the House without challenging consideration in the armed-neutrality bill last session. It involved $100,000,000. Later an attempt was made to run through this same plan in the $150,000,000 special preparedness measure, but after full hearing it was cut out by the Ways and Means Committee. This is one of the measures now being run through during the honeymoon period of the great war. It is idle now to strenuously resist it. But a year from now it will not bear its present pleasing aspect. This will give the original buyers a double claim to the Government's only one. It opens the way to surrender, not to the original bond buyers but to the holders some months hereafter, an opportunity to take advantage of the Government's necessities to compel it to yield any advantage it might have acquired in the sale.

Then, after five billions of bonds have been purchased bearing 3½ per cent, what a pressure will be brought to create a necessity for another issue bearing a higher rate. The prize offered in section 5, which I seek to strike out, is too great and too tempting to place before a bond-buying or a bond-manipulating combination.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope this amendment will be voted down——

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this section and all amendments be closed in five minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman make that six minutes, so that I may have one minute?

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, I will say six minutes.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope this amendment and any amendment of a similar character may be voted down——

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Connecticut if he is in favor of the amendment?

Mr. HILL. No, sir; I am against it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then I will not want any time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate on this paragraph and all amendments thereto close in——

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say 12 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. In 12 minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I sincerely hope that this amendment may be rejected, and all amendments of a similar character looking to striking out the convertible feature of this bond issue. In my judgment it would be fatal to the success of this loan. I understand that England has adopted this policy during the war, with regard to some of her loans at least, but not with reference to the loans floated in this country. Germany has adopted the policy of allowing subscribers to earlier loans to subscribe again for newer higher rate interest loans and paying for those subscriptions with first bond issues at par. No human being in this country to-day knows where we are going to land in this war, whether it is going to be one year, three years, or five years, or more. If it runs for two, three, or five years, this country will have an indebtedness of from fifteen to twenty-five billion dollars, and it is going to be hard work——

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HILL. I can not yield; I have but five minutes, and I have a lot to say—it is going to be hard work and require an enormous expenditure of money for advertising to encourage the patriotic spirit of this country to take seven and one-half billions of dollars of the bonds and certificates at three and a half per cent. I hope it can be done, but a very eminent authority, probably the

most eminent in this country, in the New York papers this morning advises against the flotation of this loan at this time on this ground: That 70 per cent of all the foreign loans that have been taken since this war began in this country have been taken in New York. He infers therefore that 30 per cent of this bond issue, or a billion five hundred million dollars of it, must be taken outside of New York if the same course is pursued, and he declares that it is impossible to get three and a half billion dollars on a three and a half per cent basis floated in New York City now. It can be done, gentlemen; but it will take time, and it has got to be done through the instrumentalities of the savings banks, the great insurance companies, and the patriotic spirit of the working people of this country, who have saved small amounts of money. They are entitled to just as much interest, if they come forward first, as the men who come a year from now and invest in a 4 or 5 per cent loan. It would be fatal to the war if the United States was prevented from successfully floating its first loan, and I hope sincerely that this amendment and all others of a similar character may be voted down. [Applause.]

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, before the European war began I think there was a general consensus of opinion throughout the world that no modern war could last very long. I feel quite certain that when the war began in Europe the opinion in this country—certainly in this House—was that it probably would not last so long as three or four months. Nearly every nation that engages in war starts in with the idea that it is soon to be over. A nation rarely has gone to war which believed that it is not soon to gain a victory, and we are now feeling that optimism of opinion that the European war will soon be over, since we have entered upon it. We are now authorizing a loan of $3,000,000,000 to the nations engaged on our side of the war. But who knows how long the war will last; who knows how soon they will be able to gain a great victory on the sea or break through the German lines either on the east or the west of Germany?

Certainly nothing which has taken place up to date gives any great confidence in the early termination of the war. And we will be escaping very luckily if we are not called upon to loan more money to the nations on our side and if we are not called upon to raise great sums of money in our own country to finance our end of the war here. If the war last long, you can not expect to pay the expenses of it all out of current revenues. Those people who now subscribe to the bonds which we offer for sale ought to have the same terms as those who hold back in order to subscribe for bonds subsequently issued. If we desire to encourage the idea of people subscribing for these bonds, we ought to say to them now, "We will give you just as good terms if you give us your money now as we will if you wait for a year to loan it to us then." [Applause.] And if we have other bonds to issue it is not unlikely that we will have to raise the rate of interest. Every European country engaged in the war has had to raise her rate of interest as she added to her indebtedness, and if we add to our indebtedness we are not likely to escape any better. I am not sure that the date fixed in the bill—December 31, 1918—ought not to be made further in the distance.

Mr. HILL. To continue for the war.

Mr. MANN. I believe that if we ask people to loan us their money now we ought to say to them, "We will give you just as good terms and take just as good care of you for advancing your money as we will if you keep it in the bank until we are harder up and have to pay a higher rate of interest." [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I would like the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. My understanding of this section 5 is that if the Congress finds itself obliged to issue additional bonds prior to December 31, 1918, that then the Secretary of the Treasury will have authority to raise to the new rate of interest that Congress may fix the existing rate of interest?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is true. Of course he can not raise any of the rates beyond the 3½ per cent unless an act of Congress hereafter gives him such authority.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is not stated in terms that Congress is to have this authority.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes; it is. If you read the first two lines of section 5, you will see that it reads "that any series of bonds issued under authority of sections 1 and 4 of this act." Bonds issued under sections 1 and 4 can not exceed 3½ per cent. So the Secretary of the Treasury must come back to Congress to get authority to issue bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent. If Congress gives that authority, then the Secretary of the Treasury has the right to convert the bonds issued at this rate into bonds bearing the higher rate.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The question with me was whether we might not strike out the word "issued" and insert "authorized by Congress," so that the congressional status would be fixed and understood now. If the gentleman thinks the word "issued" is sufficient as implying that Congress must act, I am satisfied.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have no doubt about that. Additional authority from Congress is necessary in order to issue any bonds at a rate in excess of 3½ per cent.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. In short, then, Congress must come together again and authorize any issue of bonds that would be affected by section 5?

Mr. KITCHIN. Absolutely.

Mr. HAMLIN. I think I got the gentleman's idea, but I do not know whether I did or not. All the bonds authorized by this bill will not be issued at once, I understand?

Mr. KITCHIN. I should think it would take several months.

Mr. HAMLIN. They will be issued in series. As I understand the bill, if some later series of this $5,000,000,000 authorized can not be floated at 3½ per cent, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to float them at the higher rate?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no.

Mr. HAMLIN. Will it take another act of Congress?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Secretary of the Treasury will have to come back to Congress to get an act authorizing him to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 6. That in addition to the bonds authorized by sections 1 and 4 of this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow from time to time, on the credit of the United States, for the purposes of this act and to meet public expenditures authorized by law, such sum or sums as, in his judgment, may be necessary, and to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness at not less than par in such form and subject to such terms and conditions and at such rate of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum, as he may prescribe; and each certificate so issued shall be payable, with the interest accrued thereon, at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. Certificates of indebtedness herein authorized shall not bear the circulation privilege, and the sum of such certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed in the aggregate $2,000,000,000.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Of course I know what the term "circulation privilege" is intended to mean, or, at least, I think I do. These are certificates of indebtedness. I think the chairman of the committee ought to state what is meant by those words, because I do not think they have ever appeared in any law heretofore in reference to certificates of indebtedness or anything of that kind.

Mr. KITCHIN. It means they shall not be receivable by the Treasurer of the United States as security for the issue of circulating notes to national banks. In other words, to say that they shall not bear the circulation privilege has no force, because they would not have it if the provision had been omitted.

Mr. MANN. I know that also; and it might be considered by somebody to mean, unless that appeared otherwise here, that these certificates of indebtedness could not circulate from hand to hand. Now, I judge that is not the purpose.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is not the purpose, of course.

Mr. MANN. If one of these certificates of indebtedness is issued to a bank, that bank has the power to hand it over to somebody else.

Mr. GARDNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman said "Oh, no." He means "Oh, yes."

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes. [Laughter.]

Mr. GARDNER. Now, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will get out of that by saying that I said "Oh, no" to the gentleman from Massachusetts. [Laughter.] Now I yield to him.

Mr. GARDNER. As a matter of fact we have already used that expression, "bearing the circulation privilege," in connection with the bonds, and I understand that its meaning has been thoroughly well understood in the past. You will find it on page 7.

Mr. MANN. We have used it with reference to bonds, but never as to certificates of indebtedness. Now, under the law the certificates of indebtedness are not to be used anyhow as a basis for the issuance of national-bank circulation. They could not be used for that, regardless of this, and when we put this provision in the bill I wanted the statement to be made that that is what is referred to, and not the actual circulation of the certificates of indebtedness themselves.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think the bill would have the same meaning even if that provision were left out.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HILL. Is it not true that in 1907, when a lack of available currency was so manifest, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Cortelyou, ruled that the temporary certificates of indebtedness should have the circulation privilege? As I understand it, this overrules that ruling of the Treasury Department, and puts these certificates on the market on their own merits, without regarding them as a basis for the circulation privilege.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is my understanding.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Was anything stated about the amount under which these certificates should be issued?

Mr. KITCHIN. Two billions.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I mean in separate denominations.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Is there any penalty or provision against using them as money, provided a person wanted to accept them as a circulation medium?

Mr. KITCHIN. They would not be issued in such denominations as would permit that. They would be in large denominations. They would run for only one year. I suppose they would be in denominations of hundreds of thousands or millions.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. How are the denominations to be determined?

Mr. KITCHIN. I suppose they would be in denominations of hundreds and thousands.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Not in smaller amounts?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, I wish to be recognized in opposition to the pro forma amendment. I desire to have read at the desk an interview contained in the Washington Post this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee desires to have read at the desk an interview contained in a clipping.

Mr. KITCHIN. One minute, Mr. Chairman. What is the subject of that interview?

Mr. AUSTIN. It will be read in my own time, so that if the gentleman is patient he will get it all. I am opposed to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have as much patience as others have. [Laughter.]

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, what does the clipping relate to?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not know.

Mr. KEATING. Then, I object.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, I have been recognized.

Mr. MANN. I do not think the gentleman should object to the reading of pertinent matter by some one else.

Mr. KEATING. This was not a matter of unanimous consent?

Mr. AUSTIN. No. I was recognized in opposition to the pro forma amendment for five minutes. I desire to use a portion of the time by having this clipping read in my own time.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Tennessee has been recognized for five minutes, as a matter of course he has the right to have it read; but as a matter of unanimous consent he has not.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would state the rule of the House is this: A gentleman recognized can occupy the floor for five minutes. A paper can be read only by unanimous consent.

Mr. KEATING. I withdraw my objection, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

VANDERLIP ADVISES DELAY IN LOAN—SHOULD NOT BE FLOATED ALL AT ONCE, BANKER SAYS.

CHICAGO, *April 13.*

Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York, arrived here today from the East. The purpose of his visit, he said, was "to sense the western feeling in regard to the financial situation and the proposed $5,000,000,000 loan."

"It will take some time to raise such an amount, and there should be no attempt to float it all at once," he continued. "Seventy per cent of previous loans to the allies has been contributed from New York. That would indicate that a very large portion of the $5,000,000,000 must be raised in New York. There is no service more important than that of the bond selling, and the one who is instrumental in placing bonds is doing as great a service for his country as the man who enlists in the Army."

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 7. That in order to pay all necessary expenses, including rent, connected with any operations under this act, a sum not exceeding one-fifth of 1 per cent of the amount of bonds and one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of certificates of indebtedness herein authorized is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I offer a committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina offers a committee amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 7, line 17, after the word "appropriated," insert the words "or as much thereof as may be necessary."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FITZGERALD: Page 7, line 14, after the word "exceeding," strike out "one-fifth" and insert in lieu thereof "one-tenth."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, as far back as can be discovered the customary appropriations for the expense in connection with the issuance of bonds by the Government has been one-tenth of 1 per cent. One-tenth of 1 per cent of the $5,000,000,000 authorized under this act will make available $5,000,000. In addition, one-tenth of 1 per cent of the $2,000,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness makes $2,000,000. So that if this amendment were adopted $7,000,000 would be available to defray all the expenses incurred by the issuance of these bonds and these certificates of indebtedness. It is proposed, instead of making the customary appropriation, to increase by 100 per cent the amount available for the issuance of bonds and to appropriate $10,000,000 to pay the expenses of the issuance of the $5,000,000,000 of bonds and $2,000,000 to pay the expense of the issuance of the $2,000,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness.

The entire annual expense of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing under the regular appropriations amounts to $4,195,000, and we are proposing to appropriate for the issuance of these bonds, including, of course, some other expenses, a sum three times the total annual appropriations for the maintenance of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

If we adopt the amendment which I offer, we will appropriate almost 200 per cent in excess of the current appropriations for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Within five weeks, under the act approved on the 3d and 4th of March, Congress authorized the issuance of $250,000,000 of bonds, with the usual one-tenth of 1 per cent appropriation. It was not suggested then that that appropriation would be inadequate.

The question was not raised. There was no intimation that one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of the bonds would not be adequate for the purpose. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, the greater the volume of bonds to be issued the less relatively will be the cost. To advertise $5,000,000,000 of bonds for sale should not take a much greater sum for advertising purposes than to advertise $200,000,000, if the issue is to be submitted all at one time. But upon the theory that some expenses have increased we are proposing to give this enormous sum of $5,000,000 additional to the customary amount. I have the report of the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for the last fiscal year. The increased cost of the work in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing last year was 4.8 per cent. One of the items which it was asserted would very materially increase the cost was the price of paper. We are paying for paper 34¼ cents per pound. It is expected that next year there will be some increase in the contract price, but the total appropriation for the distinctive paper used in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is only $521,000, and the cost of the paper is not a dominating feature of the cost of doing this work. I assume that everyone in the House is anxious to make ample provision for everything necessary in connection with the issuance of these bonds, but I am quite confident that if we make available $7,000,000, to be expended for all the purposes connected with the issuance of the bonds, without limitation or restriction of any kind, without hampering the department in any way as to how the money shall be expended, or what compensation, if any, shall be paid to persons who may be employed, we will have appropriated more than can be used.

The Panama Canal loan of $130,000,000 under the act of June 28, 1902, had available $130,000 for expense purposes. The Panama Canal act of August 5, 1909, authorizing $290,000,000 of bonds, had available $290,000. The Mexican loan of March 3, 1917——

Mr. KITCHIN. There was not $290,000,000 issued under the act of August 5, 1909. The amount issued was $29,000,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The authorized loan of $290,000,000 and the appropriation, one-tenth of 1 per cent, was $290,569.

Mr. KITCHIN. But we never issued the $290,000,000.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; we have not issued them, but that money is available, and I am coming to the point I wish to make.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman may be extended five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from New York be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Inquiry to-day in that bureau of the Treasury Department that has charge of these matters discloses the fact that all of the cost of printing the bonds issued under the acts which I have mentioned was borne out of the regular appropriations for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, without drawing upon this appropriation of one-tenth of 1 per cent.

There is another thing. Within the last five or six years the substitution of improved machinery and methods in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing—the substitution of power presses for hand presses—has very greatly lessened the cost and speeded up the output, so that the unit cost in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to-day, despite the increased cost of material, is less than it was 10 or 15 years ago, and the increase of 4.8 per cent in the last year was due very largely to the fact that the total output of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was less than the year previous, and the volume of work enters very largely into the question of unit cost. If the enormous quantity of work resulting from the bond issue is put into the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, so that that bureau will be utilized to its fullest capacity and to its utmost efficiency, there will be not a proportionate increase, but the unit cost will be less.

Mr. DEWALT. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Yes.

Mr. DEWALT. I should like to ask the gentleman what proportion of the expense of issuing these bonds is for their printing by the bureau?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not know. There will be some expenses, of course, in addition to the expenses of engraving the plates, purchasing the material, and the labor of the printing, but the formal advertisements which will be issued throughout the country in the press and in different kinds of financial publications do not vary materially when $100,000,000 or $200,000,000 bonds are to be issued and when $1,000,000,000 are to be issued. As a matter of fact, I assume that one of the ways in which these bonds will be called largely to the attention of the public will be through the local post offices in the various communities of the country, and it seems incredible that it will require an additional expenditure of $5,000,000. If it does, if there be any reason for that additional expenditure, of course no one will hesitate to vote it; but in view of our experience and of our knowledge of the past, without some substantial statement of facts being presented, I am unwilling to vote what I believe to be an unnecessary grant of $5,000,000 for this purpose, and I hope the amendment will prevail. [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I desire five minutes, and I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this section and amendments thereto close in five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto close at the end of five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KITCHIN. I believe every one will concede that we ought to give the Secretary of the Treasury the money necessary to put these bonds on the market and dispose of them. Of course, he ought not to have any more than is necessary. No doubt the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] overlooked the fact that we have offered an amendment in line 17, on page 7, of this bill, which says—

Or so much thereof as may be necessary.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Does not the gentleman think his amendment should have come in after the word "authorized"?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I think this will be all right.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I do not think the language, "Hereby appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary," is the correct language.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman from Ohio is right about that.

Mr. LONGWORTH. It should read:

And one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of certificates of indebtedness herein authorized, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated.

Mr. KITCHIN. It reads:

Is hereby appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

It is the same thing.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Oh, no; if the gentleman puts those words after the comma, they do not make good sense.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am not as good a grammarian as the gentleman is, but it strikes me that they could not use any more than is necessary.

Mr. LONGWORTH. The gentleman puts in——

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, do not filibuster now on this. [Laughter.]

Mr. LONGWORTH. I am only trying to help the gentleman's bill, and I trust my efforts will be successful.

Mr. ADAMSON. Let us not lose the war on account of a comma.

Mr. LONGWORTH. I think the gentleman ought to have it in the other place.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that we caused an isue of bonds during the Spanish-American War, and we issued $200,000,000 of those bonds. It cost one-fifth of 1 per cent of the amount issued, and at the rate it cost the Government at that time it would cost $10,000,000 to issue $5,000,000,000 of bonds, to say nothing of the $2,000,000,000 certificates of indebtedness in addition. The Government required the additional employment of a force of 600 employees.

Further than that, they only had to make one issue and one propaganda for the sale of the bonds. In this case they will have to advertise in every nook and corner of the United States to sell these $5,000,000,000 of bonds. If they could not sell them at the first propaganda, they would have to make possibly three or four efforts to do it, and they would have to advertise every time. In the Spanish-American War and in the sale of the Panama Canal bonds there was simply one effort, one advertisement, which was enough to take all that were issued. It would be impossible for the Treasury Department to sell all of the $5,000,000,000 of bonds and the $2,000,000,000 of certificates in one month or two months, and I do not think the Secretary of the Treasury can sell them in a year. It will cost much more to sell these bonds than it did under the Spanish-American War act or the Panama Canal act.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. I think there was an amendment offered, and if not, there has been discussion and declarations in favor of the bonds being issued in as small denominations as $25. Now, if you are going to issue them in such small amounts the paper bill will be very large.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am glad the gentleman from Illinois has made that remark. I was coming to that. We will probably issue a very large sum in small denominations. If we do that, it will cost for the paper alone to issue a billion dollars in small denominations many times as much as it cost to issue the bonds under the Panama Canal act or the Spanish-American War act. Paper has greatly increased in price. After all, Mr. Chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury is honest and he is going to look out for the interests of the Government. He will not spend any more than is absolutely necessary, and he ought to be given enough money to float the bonds and sell them.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman from North Carolina will not develop the habit of attempting to create an impression that every time anyone attempts to discharge his duty here by restricting expenditures he is intimating that some member of the Cabinet is dishonest. I believe the best thing we can do for the men who are most honest is to be the most careful in the performance of our duty. [Applause.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, we gave him no more and no less than is absolutely necessary to enable him to perform his duty, and that is all we ask for, and I hope the amendment of the gentleman from New York will be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FITZGERALD) there were 143 ayes and 72 noes.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill with amendments to the House, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, and had directed him to report the same back with sundry amendments, with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I demand the previous question on the bill and amendments to final passage.

The previous question was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them in gross.

There was no demand for a separate vote, and the amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. MANN. And on that, Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 390, answered "present" 1, not voting 40, as follows:

YEAS—390.

Adamson	Decker	Hadley	Lever
Alexander	Dempsey	Hamill	Linthicum
Almon	Denison	Hamilton, Mich.	Little
Anderson	Dent	Hamilton, N. Y.	Littlepage
Anthony	Denton	Hamlin	Lobeck
Ashbrook	Dewalt	Hardy	Lonergan
Aswell	Dickinson	Harrison, Va.	Longworth
Austin	Dies	Haskell	Lundeen
Ayres	Dill	Hastings	McAndrews
Bacharach	Dixon	Hawley	McArthur
Bankhead	Dominick	Hayden	McClintic
Barkley	Doolittle	Heaton	McCormick
Barnhart	Doremus	Heflin	McCulloch
Bathrick	Dowell	Heintz	McFadden
Bell	Drane	Helm	McKenzie
Black	Drukker	Helvering	McKeown
Blackmon	Dunn	Hensley	McKinley
Bland	Dupré	Hersey	McLaughlin, Mich.
Blanton	Dyer	Hicks	McLaughlin, Pa.
Borland	Eagan	Hill	McLemore
Bowers	Eagle	Hilliard	Madden
Brand	Ellsworth	Holland	Magee
Britten	Elston	Hollingsworth	Mann
Brodbeck	Emerson	Hood	Mansfield
Browne	Esch	Houston	Mapes
Browning	Estopinal	Howard	Martin, La.
Brumbaugh	Evans	Huddleston	Mason
Buchanan	Fairchild, B. L.	Hull, Iowa	Mays
Butler	Fairfield	Hull, Tenn.	Meeker
Byrnes, S. C.	Farr	Humphreys	Miller, Minn.
Byrns, Tenn.	Ferris	Husted	Miller, Wash.
Campbell, Kans.	Fields	Hutchinson	Mondell
Campbell, Pa.	Fisher	Igoe	Montague
Candler, Miss.	Fitzgerald	Ireland	Moon
Cannon	Flood	Jacoway	Moore, Pa.
Cantrill	Focht	James	Moores, Ind.
Caraway	Fordney	Johnson, Ky.	Morgan
Carlin	Foss	Johnson, S. Dak.	Mott
Carter, Mass.	Foster	Johnson, Wash.	Mudd
Carter, Okla.	Frear	Jones, Tex.	Nelson
Cary	Freeman	Jones, Va.	Nichols, Mich.
Chandler, N. Y.	French	Juul	Oldfield
Chandler, Okla.	Fuller, Ill.	Kahn	Oliver, Ala.
Church	Fuller, Mass.	Kearns	Oliver, N. Y.
Clark, Fla.	Gallagher	Keating	Olney
Clark, Pa.	Gallivan	Kehoe	Osborne
Classon	Gard	Kelley, Mich.	O'Shaunessy
Claypool	Gardner	Kelly, Pa.	Overmyer
Coady	Garland	Kennedy, Iowa	Overstreet
Collier	Garner	Kennedy, R. I.	Padgett
Comstock	Garrett, Tenn.	Kettner	Paige
Connally, Tex.	Garrett, Tex.	Key, Ohio	Park
Connelly, Kans.	Gillett	Kiess, Pa.	Parker, N. J.
Cooper, Ohio	Glass	Kincheloe	Parker, N. Y.
Cooper, W. Va.	Glynn	King	Peters
Cooper, Wis.	Good	Kinkaid	Phelan
Costello	Goodall	Kitchin	Platt
Cox	Goodwin, Ark.	Knutson	Polk
Crago	Gordon	Kraus	Porter
Cramton	Gould	La Follette	Pou
Crisp	Graham, Ill.	La Guardia	Powers
Crosser	Gray, Ala.	Langley	Pratt
Currie, Mich.	Gray, N. J.	Larsen	Price
Curry, Cal.	Green, Iowa	Lazaro	Purnell
Dale, Vt.	Greene, Mass.	Lea, Cal.	Quin
Dallinger	Greene, Vt.	Lee, Ga.	Ragsdale
Darrow	Gregg	Lehlbach	Rainey
Davidson	Griest	Lenroot	Raker
Davis	Griffin	Lesher	Ramsey
Ramseyer	Scott, Pa.	Stevenson	Walsh
Randall	Scully	Stiness	Walton
Rankin	Sears	Strong	Ward
Rayburn	Sells	Sumners	Wason
Reavis	Shackleford	Sweet	Watkins
Reed	Shallenberger	Switzer	Watson, Pa.
Riordan	Sherley	Tague	Watson, Va.
Robbins	Shouse	Talbott	Weaver
Roberts	Siegel	Taylor, Ark.	Webb
Robinson	Sims	Taylor, Colo.	Welling
Rodenberg	Sinnott	Temple	Welty
Rogers	Sisson	Templeton	Wheeler
Romjue	Slayden	Thomas	White, Me.
Rose	Slemp	Thompson	White, Ohio
Rouse	Sloan	Tillman	Williams
Rowe	Small	Tilson	Wilson, Ill.
Rowland	Smith, Mich.	Timberlake	Wilson, La.
Rubey	Smith, N. Y.	Tinkham	Wilson, Tex.
Rucker	Snell	Towner	Wingo
Russell	Snook	Treadway	Winslow
Sabath	Snyder	Van Dyke	Wise
Sanders, Ind.	Stafford	Vare	Wood, Ind.
Sanders, La.	Stedman	Venable	Woods, Iowa
Sanders, N. Y.	Steele	Vestal	Woodyard
Sanford	Steenerson	Vinson	Young, Tex.
Saunders, Va.	Stephens, Miss.	Voigt	Zihlman
Schall	Stephens, Nebr.	Volstead	The Speaker
Scott, Iowa	Sterling, Ill.	Waldow	
Scott, Mich.	Sterling, Pa.	Walker	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1.

London

NOT VOTING—40.

Bacon	Dooling	Harrison, Miss.	Nicholls, S. C.
Booher	Doughton	Haugen	Nolan
Bruckner	Edmonds	Hayes	Norton
Burnett	Fairchild, G. W.	Hulbert	Sherwood
Caldwell	Fess	Kreider	Smith, Idaho
Capstick	Flynn	Lunn	Steagall
Carew	Francis	Maher	Sullivan
Copley	Gandy	Martin, Ill.	Swift
Dale, N. Y.	Godwin, N. C.	Morin	Whaley
Dillon	Graham, Pa.	Neely	Young, N. Dak.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following general pairs:

Mr. CAREW with Mr. EDMONDS.

Mr. MAHER with Mr. FESS.

Mr. STEAGALL with Mr. FRANCIS.

Mr. FLYNN with Mr. NOLAN.

Mr. LUNN with Mr. BACON.

Mr. DALE of New York with Mr. DILLON.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina with Mr. HAUGEN.

Mr. DOUGHTON with Mr. SWIFT.

Mr. BURNETT with Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota.

Mr. WHALEY with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. MARTIN of Illinois with Mr. COPLEY.

Mr. HARRISON of Mississippi with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HULBERT with Mr. HAYES.

Mr. BRUCKNER with Mr. KREIDER.

Mr. CALDWELL with Mr. LONGWORTH.

Mr. NEELY with Mr. SMITH of Idaho.

Mr. GANDY with Mr. MORIN.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call my name.

The Clerk called the name of Mr. CLARK of Missouri, and he answered "Yea."

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make an inquiry concerning the propriety of marking up the pairs on a vote of this sort, where there have been no votes in the negative whatsoever, unless there has been some positive request to the contrary.

The SPEAKER. They are only general pairs, the pair clerk informs the Chair.

Mr. TILSON. Nevertheless it would appear that these men are one paired against the other, whereas the other Members of the House have voted all one way.

The SPEAKER. As a matter of fact, neither the Speaker nor the House has anything to do with the pairs. It is a kind of excrescence that has grown up on the body politic.

Mr. TILSON. Did the Members themselves have anything to do with arranging these pairs?

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know, and it is none of his business.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, the question was asked me, as everybody was voting for this bill, How about pairs? Members go away and ask to be paired on a bill. A number of such requests were made. It was not possible to pair Members on this bill for and against. I requested the pair clerks to put up general pairs only, which do not indicate how Members would vote on the bill and do not indicate that either of the gentlemen paired would vote against the bill, but which would give some excuse for their being absent.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. A number of gentlemen of the House are absent necessarily, because they were assigned to attend the funeral of a former colleague, and they are paired.

The SPEAKER. These pairs are general pairs.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. I know that my colleagues, Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina and Mr. WHALEY, are both unavoidably absent.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I may say that I was asked by a large number of gentlemen, some of whom are absent on a funeral, some of whom are absent on account of illness, and for various other reasons, that they be paired in favor of the bill. I think every one is in favor of the bill. They can not be paired in favor of the bill with anyone who is against it, because there is no one who is against the bill.

The SPEAKER. How would it do for the gentleman to ask unanimous consent to cancel these pairs, so far as they go?

Mr. MANN. I think the pairs ought to show in the RECORD as evidence that Members were attending to business enough to endeavor to secure a pair. I wish to make the statement that all gentlemen on this side who are paired would have voted for the bill if they had been present.

Mr. KITCHIN. I can say the same thing for those on this side.

Mr. TALBOTT. Would it not be well to have it understood that when these gentlemen return they can ask unanimous consent to make the RECORD all right?

Mr. MANN. They can not be permitted to vote, however.

Mr. BORLAND. I think what the gentleman from North Carolina said is true of my colleague, Mr. BOOHER, who is away on a funeral. If he were here, he would vote for the bill.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. I ask unanimous consent to state that my colleagues, Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina and Mr. WHALEY, both desired to vote for the bill, and would have done so if present.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I think I can state for this side, as the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] did for the other side, that all of the Democratic Members who are absent, if present would have voted for the bill. I know yesterday I told several gentleman who wanted to go out of the city or who had other business to attend to that we would probably not have a yea-and-nay vote on this question this afternoon.

Mr. LANGLEY. I know of two gentlemen who are away with that understanding.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, if the House will pardon me, I asked for the yeas and nays upon this bill, although I had originally expected not to do so. I asked for the yeas and nays because a number of the gentlemen in the House who for conscientious reasons had voted against the war resolution desired to have the yeas and nays in order that they might be recorded in favor of this bill on which we have just voted.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. NOLAN, is sick in bed, and sent word to me that he would vote "aye" if he were able to be here.

Mr. CRAGO. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. MORIN, was suddenly called out of the city to-day. He was in favor of the bill and would have so voted had he been able to have been here.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. FRANCIS, was suddenly called out of the city and sent word that if he were present he would vote "aye."

The SPEAKER. On this vote the ayes are 389, the noes none, present one, and the bill is unanimously passed. [Applause.]

On motion of Mr. KITCHIN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce that my colleague, Mr. MARTIN of Illinois, is confined to his home by illness, and if present he would have voted for this bill.

HOUR OF MEETING ON MONDAY.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 1 p. m. on Monday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 1 o'clock next Monday. Is their objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I understand it is the expectation on Monday to do no other business than to take up the conference report on the deficiency bill and then adjourn either to Wednesday or Thursday.

Mr. KITCHIN. To either Wednesday or Thursday; that is our intention, depending upon the military bill.

Mr. MANN. I hope that when we meet on Monday this side of the House will be prepared to move the election of the balance of the members of the committee.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

CONFERENCE REPORT—GENERAL DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I present a conference report for printing under the rule.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman presents a conference report the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Ordered printed under the rule.

MILITARY ACADEMY BILL.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the Military Academy, to disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 14, to disagree to the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference. The Clerk will report the bill by title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will announce the conferees.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. DENT, Mr. FIELDS, and Mr. KAHN.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leaves of absence were granted as follows:

To Mr. HULBERT, indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. CALDWELL, for to-day, on account of important business.

AMENDING SECTION 10 OF CHAPTER 2 OF CRIMINAL CODE.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 2893).

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 10 of chapter 2 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 10. Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people as a soldier or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I think it is due to the House to have some explanation made from the chairman of the committee as to what changes are made by the proposed bill in the section that is sought to be amended. I assume it is only the proviso that is new to the existing law?

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to make a statement for the information of my friend and the House. As stated by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] the only new language is in the proviso which permits allies to send their recruiting officers into the United States for the purpose of recruiting among their own citizens and subjects. It is a very important measure and a very urgent one. I do not feel at liberty to give all the reasons for the passage of the bill. I think it will appeal to the membership of this House when they know the United States can not recruit these citizens and subjects of foreign countries, but if the allied powers send recruiting officers they can enlist many to go abroad and fight their countries' battles.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is it proposed to authorize the representatives of foreign governments to come to this country and establish recruiting stations for the purpose of obtaining personnel for the various armed activities of those foreign governments?

Mr. WEBB. Among their own citizens and subjects. Permit them to do it of course. Permit them to recruit from their own citizens and subjects. And I will state to my friend, upon the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], in order to make it perfectly clear that no foreign government shall

be permitted to recruit an American citizen, I propose to offer an amendment at the end of the bill which makes that clear.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the purport of that amendment?

Mr. WEBB. To make it unlawful for a foreign recruiting officer to recruit or enlist any American citizen. It confines his activities strictly to citizens of the allies.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Will the gentleman permit me to call his attention to the fact that this bill will authorize British subjects in the United States to enlist in the German Army?

Mr. WEBB. I do not think so, and can not think that it will be done even if it is possible.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I think if we are going to pass a law it ought to be a sure enough law.

Mr. WEBB. This is a "sure enough law," I will say to my friend.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. If the gentleman will permit, the bill exempts from its operation all subjects of countries which are at war with countries with which we are at war. Therefore it leaves them entirely free to do whatever they will. All such subjects may enlist in any army they wish to enlist in. They may enlist, for illustration, to carry on a filibustering expedition against some country with which we are at peace. In other words, this law is repealed so far as it applies to the subjects of countries which are at war with any country with which we are at war. Now, that is the effect of the statute.

Mr. TEMPLE. Does the gentleman conceive that we would be idle if Germany would send recruiting officers over here to enlist soldiers?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I will say to the gentleman that I stated that as an extreme case which would be likely. We do not want British subjects residing here enlisted for a filibustering expedition against Mexico, and under its terms that could be done.

Mr. MANN. It does not permit the German Government to send anybody here.

Mr. TEMPLE. This does not repeal all the laws we have on the subject. We have other laws that would forbid such matters as the gentleman refers to.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Reserving the right to object, I would like to make an inquiry of the gentleman. A Canadian officer offers his services to the United States Government; the War Department has informed me that unless he is a citizen of the United States he can not be enlisted in the service of the United States. Does the gentleman understand that to be the law?

Mr. WEBB. That is a different question. This bill does not affect that matter.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. But it leads up to what I wanted to ask. Does the gentleman know?

Mr. WEBB. I have not examined the law, but I presume it is a fact, if you have the information from the War Department.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If a citizen of the United States were to be enlisted under such a plan as this bill might permit of for a foreign service, would he cease then to be a citizen of the United States upon taking an obligation to serve a foreign country?

Mr. WEBB. This bill we are considering does not affect that proposition at all. It only affects citizens or subjects of the foreign governments that are fighting the same enemy that we are.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I ask this, in order to make it clear to myself, at least? Will this provision permit of foreign recruiting officers setting up recruiting stations in the United States to recruit aliens for foreign service?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; if the aliens are citizens or subjects of the allied countries.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. British aliens who are in the United States may be recruited in this way to go over and fight for Great Britain; a Frenchman may be recruited in this way to go back and fight for France?

Mr. WEBB. That is the idea. That is the object of the bill entirely.

Mr. HOWARD. Are these aliens recruited by these foreign governments in this country under the laws of their own country or under the laws of our country? For instance, in England they have a conscription law. If we were to pass this act, could the English recruiting officers come to the United States and conscript a subject of England?

Mr. WEBB. No. This is not conscription. This is recruiting, which is voluntary.

Mr. HOWARD. But I am talking about recruiting under our law and under their law. Is it a voluntary proposition?

Mr. WEBB. Absolutely.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield a minute?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. WEBB. Certainly.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman explain just what the distinction is, and to whom it is applicable, made by the use of the words "citizen or subject."

Mr. WEBB. Well, they are interchanging terms. A person living in the United States who is not naturalized is a foreigner, so far as we are concerned.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What is the distinction in this country between a citizen of a foreign country in this country and a subject of a foreign country?

Mr. GARD. A citizen relates to a republic and a subject relates to a monarchy.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, there are subjects in this country.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; I yield to my friend from Missouri.

Mr. BORLAND. I understand that this proviso added to this section has the effect of repealing the foreign-enlistment act, so far as it relates to citizens or subjects of countries at war with countries with which we are at war. If it only repeals it to that extent, I will ask the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary does it not automatically come to a close when we conclude peace?

Mr. WEBB. I should think so.

Mr. BORLAND. In other words, the operation of this repealing clause is only effective when we are at war with some foreign country?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; either now or in the future.

Mr. BORLAND. And in time of peace no recruiting of that kind could be done within our borders?

Mr. WEBB. Absolutely not; the act only applies in time of war.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. This law would exempt subjects of England from punishment for enlisting recruits. What is there to prevent the Mexican Government from enlisting an Englishman in the Mexican service?

Mr. WEBB. I did not understand the gentleman's question.

Mr. LITTLE. I say this law would exempt an Englishman from any punishment for disobeying the permanent existing law. What is to prevent the Mexican Government from enlisting an Englishman or a Russian?

Mr. WEBB. Mexico is not at war with the same countries we are at war with.

Mr. LITTLE. But what is to prevent them from enlisting any man that is not to be punished by this law?

Mr. WEBB. The act only provides that an Englishman may enlist here in the service of a country engaged in war with a country with which we are at war and Mexico is not.

Mr. LITTLE. That leaves a Russian or a Frenchman free from its provisions. What is to prevent the Mexican Government from coming in and enlisting any of them in its army?

Mr. WEBB. If the gentleman will read the proviso carefully, I think he will understand.

Mr. MANN. The Mexican Government can not come here and enlist anybody.

Mr. LITTLE. What is there in the law to prevent? That is what I want to know.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] will pardon me, the existing act puts a penalty against two classes of persons: One against those who enlist for a foreign service under the government of a foreign country, and, second, those who engage in an attempt to enlist or employ the service of any other person, so that to-day no American and nobody in the United States subject to our jurisdiction has the right to enlist to serve under any foreign government, and nobody has the right to solicit or engage any person in the United States for service under a foreign government.

Now, this removes that restriction as to subjects of foreign governments who are engaged in war with a country with which we are engaged in war, so that if this provision goes through an Englishman or an Italian here could enlist now and promise to go to England or to Italy and join the English or Italian army without being subject to the present penalty. An Italian agent coming here could enlist any subject of any country outside of Germany to go and serve in the Italian Army. But a Mexican agent can not come here and solicit anybody's employment in the service of Mexico, because that penalty still applies to him.

Mr. LITTLE. An Italian can enlist in the Mexican Army here, can he not?

Mr. MANN. He can not be solicited to enlist in the Mexican Army here.

Mr. LITTLE. That is a very fine distinction.

Mr. TEMPLE. A recruiting agency of the Mexican Government can not be established here.

Mr. LITTLE. I think that could very easily be got by. I think it should be made clear.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the gentleman from North Carolina, who is familiar with the bill, what this proviso really means. For instance, we have a great many people residing in the United States who are the subjects of the Austrian Government and some of the German Empire, and they are ready and they are willing to go back to fight the Government which has for many years oppressed them. I may say, for instance, that there might be in this country a thousand Bohemians who are ready to go back and fight against Austria. They are Austrian subjects, but under this bill and under this proviso they will not be permitted to go. Is that correct?

Mr. WEBB. They might probably join the American ranks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SABATH. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have an answer from the gentleman.

Mr. WEBB. I do not think they could be recruited under this law, but there is nothing to keep them from going abroad to fight. However, they could not be recruited here, under this section.

Mr. SABATH. They can go?

Mr. WEBB. They can go, but they can not be recruited in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. RAKER. I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina if there were any hearings had on the bill by the gentleman's committee?

Mr. WEBB. None at all.

Mr. RAKER. Was the bill reported by the gentleman's committee?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; unanimously.

Mr. RAKER. Will the gentleman state about how many English subjects, aliens, will come under this bill?

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend from California that I made inquiry at the State Department to-day and at the Department of Justice, trying to get the number of English; but they will have to get the records in New York to find that out, and they can not tell yet.

Mr. RAKER. Is there any estimate of it?

Mr. WEBB. There are something like 220,000 Italians in this country.

Mr. RAKER. And how in regard to the French?

Mr. WEBB. Very few. Nearly all the French have gone back.

Mr. RAKER. How in regard to Russians?

Mr. WEBB. The Russians are estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000.

Mr. RAKER. How in regard to Japanese?

Mr. WEBB. I did not get the number of Japanese.

Mr. SABATH. Would the gentleman expect the Japanese to go?

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. RAKER. Reserving the right to object, let us find out about this.

Mr. WEBB. I want to answer the gentleman's question. I will say further, I find there are something like 40,000 to 45,000 Roumanians in this country, a total of something like 400,000 people among whom these foreign recruiting officers could recruit, asking natives of the allied countries to go and fight for their country. There is nothing compulsory about it; but it permits them to get these boys, natives of their own countries, and I hope they may go and take the place of some of our own boys who might have to go.

Mr. RAKER. What is the urgent necessity for this legislation to-day?

Mr. WEBB. I will say that a message came to me from the President and from the Attorney General and others who are deeply interested in the cause which we are now espousing, saying that it is very important to put this bill through. I do not feel like saying anything further; but it is a very important measure, so considered by our Government.

Mr. RAKER. The gentleman believes that there would be no detrimental effect occasioned by permitting the officers of a foreign country to come into this country and enlist men who are living here for service in the country to which they belong?

Mr. WEBB. I do not think so under the circumstances, because if we are going to enlist our own boys pretty soon, and probably conscript them, I see no objection to gentlemen from across the sea asking some of their own citizens to enlist to fight for their native country.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This bill may have a very serious effect upon a very large part of our foreign population. We have invited these people here, in a way, to come to this country as a haven from oppression abroad. I want to ask whether the gentleman understands that this means that foreign army officers, coming from autocratic countries, are to be allowed to come into the United States to induce these men to enlist; and if so, whether they will have any power of compulsion to force them to do so?

Mr. WEBB. There is nothing compulsory at all about the bill. It is purely an enlistment bill; and if there was any compulsion in it, the word "conscription" would have been used. I for one would be opposed to giving any foreign power the right of conscription in this country, and it is not contemplated in this bill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. After they have enlisted or indicated their purpose to enlist, will they be compelled to go? Is there any force within the United States to compel them?

Mr. WEBB. It is entirely voluntary.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina a question.

The SPEAKER. Two gentlemen can not be heard at once. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] has been seeking recognition.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I want to ask the gentleman from North Carolina what he thinks about the effect upon some poor, ignorant laborer, not able to speak our language, who had come over here, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] has just suggested, to find a haven of liberty from oppression, when he is confronted by an officer from one of the autocratic countries to which the gentleman alluded, an officer in uniform, who, in private conversation, in a language which an American can not understand, tells this laborer that he must go with him? What will the laborer say? He will go, will he not?

Mr. WEBB. I have no idea——

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will that be voluntary? Is there not an opportunity for oppression unless there be some restriction thrown around the right of a foreign officer to come here and talk to poor people of that class?

Mr. WEBB. I do not think so. If some of the men of America are going to be conscripted, I think the people of these other countries ought to go if we are to go.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield to me for a question?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. As the bill reads you would not exempt a Frenchman, because he is a citizen of a country that is at war with Germany, if he wanted to enlist in the German Army, because it will not apply to citizens of a country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war. Your bill is not directed to the fact that we want to exempt enlistment for service under a country that is engaged in war. It has nothing to do with that.

Mr. WEBB. I will say that it is certainly so intended.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Under the terms of the bill it would not exempt a Frenchman who wanted to serve in the German Army.

Mr. WEBB. He need not go at all. A French recruiting officer could not get him unless the Frenchman wanted to volunteer, and if he wanted to go into the German Army he would get out of the country the best way he could and go to Germany. No French officer would recruit him. There is no power to compel him to go with the French recruiting officer, even though he is asked to go and fight for his native country. Surely, if we are going to conscript our American boys to go and fight in Europe for the allies, natives of the allied countries living among us should be at least asked to go and do the same for their own countries.

Mr. TEMPLE. There was another point I would like to ask some information about, and in order to ask the question I must make a statement first. About two years ago the State Department published a statement concerning double citizenship. I believe that we have no naturalization treaty with Italy, and we have no naturalization treaty with Russia. Both of those

countries claim their native-born subjects, even though they may be naturalized in a foreign country.

Mr. LANGLEY. They do not admit that there is any expatriation.

Mr. TEMPLE. You say it will be forbidden to a citizen of the United States to enlist in this country for service under a foreign Government; but if an Italian recruiting office is opened in this country, or if a Russian recruiting office is opened in this country, the recruiting officers of those countries will claim the men born in their countries, although they have been naturalized as American citizens. Would it not be well to take time to draft the bill in such a way as to avoid that difficulty, because the United States Government and the Russian Government, and the United States Government and the Italian Government, have never been able to agree with regard to a naturalization treaty, and the question of double citizenship might arise?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Does the gentleman think that any Italian or Russian recruiting officer is going to raise that question in this country?

Mr. TEMPLE. If a recruiting office has been opened and an Italian goes into it speaking the Italian language and professes to be an Italian and is accepted, the recruiting officer does not know that that Italian is a citizen of the United States, and yet that citizen of the United States incurs the penalty imposed upon him by our law.

Mr. MANN. The Italian agent or recruiting officer would incur the penalty.

Mr. TEMPLE. And the citizen would also incur the penalty.

Mr. MANN. That is what we want. There is no way of preventing that. All we can do is to provide the penalty, and the bill does that.

Mr. TEMPLE. But the question would arise in a dispute between this Government and the Government that enlisted him.

Mr. MANN. It might arise in Italy but not in the United States.

Mr. TEMPLE. It might give rise to diplomatic correspondence in regard to it.

Mr. MANN. Here is a penal provision against people who are American citizens. We maintain that they are American citizens when enlisted, and it makes no difference what Italy claims.

Mr. TEMPLE. The Government of the United States might demand his discharge and the Italian Government refuse to give him up on the ground that he is an Italian subject.

Mr. MANN. That has nothing to do with this penalty.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask the gentleman from North Carolina, who drew this bill, whether it was drawn on this side of the water or on the other side?

Mr. WEBB. Nine-tenths of the bill has been on the statute books for years and years. The only thing new about it is the proviso, and that was drawn by the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I wanted to know whether the bill was drawn by Mr. Gregory or Spring-Rice. I want to ask if it will permit a recruiting officer to go into every alley and street and nook of every city, and how many enlistment officers will be permitted to come into the country?

Mr. WEBB. I can not tell the gentleman.

Mr. GALLIVAN. It is unlimited?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Is there not some danger that we would not be able to get a million fighting men; for some cities—not Boston—would be depleted?

Mr. LA GUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. This provision is for voluntary enlistment?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. LA GUARDIA. What protection are you going to give the man who voluntarily enlists that when he gets over there he will not be imprisoned or shot as being a deserter, because Italy and France and nearly all the countries have conscription?

Mr. WEBB. My best advice would be to that man not to enlist; he had better stay here.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. I object.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. SIEGEL, by unanimous consent, was given leave to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Monday, April 16, 1917, at 1 o'clock p. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia, transmitting reports of the Western Union Telegraph Co., Washington & Maryland Railway Co., and Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. for the year 1916 (H. Doc. No. 2038, 64th Cong., 2d sess.) was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MAGEE: A bill (H. R. 3120) to amend an act providing for the erection of a public building at Syracuse, N. Y., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 3121) for the allowance of certain soldiers' claims growing out of service in the Army, reported by the Court of Claims, known as travel-pay claims; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3122) to relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3123) for the allowance of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Navy, as reported by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 3124) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Ashland, in the county of Clark and State of Kansas, two bronze or brass cannons or fieldpieces with their carriages; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCOTT of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3125) authorizing the Secretary of War to enlist or transfer from enlistment an army of 200,000 men for farm, commercial, and manufacturing work in the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FOSS: A bill (H. R. 3126) to purchase land adjoining the naval training station at Great Lakes, Ill.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: A bill (H. R. 3127) to regulate the interstate transportation of fish, or products or compounds thereof, when intended to be used for fertilizer or oil, or in the manufacture of fertilizer or oil; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3128) to protect fish not remaining the entire year within the waters of any State or Territory, and authorizing the Department of Commerce to define the seasons and regulate the manner and conditions under which they may be taken or destroyed; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3129) to provide for the erection of a pedestal and base for a monument to William Procter, jr., in the Smithsonian Grounds, Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3130) to purchase or condemn the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal; to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3131) to provide for the correction of clerical errors in invoicing and entering merchandise and to define the scope of the review before the Board of United States General Appraisers in customs litigation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 3132) to amend section 2171 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to naturalization; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3133) to prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors in time of war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3134) to regulate the interstate transportation of immature calves; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3135) to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Arizona"; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 3136) to provide, in case of national emergency, for the transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department, or of the Navy Department, of vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and

Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GILLETT: A bill (H. R. 3137) to prohibit exportation of rum and other intoxicants to Africa, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 3138) to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish two condemned cannon to the village of Port Henry, N. Y., for use at the old Fort St. Frederick; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 3139) granting to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. the right to maintain a wharf across certain submerged lands of the United States in the harbor of San Diego, Cal.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. RANDALL: A bill (H. R. 3140) to amend paragraph 220, Schedule G, of the tariff act of October 3, 1913; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRIEST: A bill (H. R. 3141) granting pensions to Army teamsters of the War of the Rebellion; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3142) granting pensions to soldiers confined in so-called Confederate prisons; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3143) to provide for the monthly payment of pensions; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TAGUE: A bill (H. R. 3144) granting sick leave to postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3145) to minimize overtime service in post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3146) providing for pro rata credit of annual vacation to employees of first and second class post offices; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. IGOE: A bill (H. R. 3147) to provide for reinstatement of civil-service employees who enlist in the armed forces of the United States in time of war; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. CROSSER: A bill (H. R. 3148) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BRUMBAUGH: A bill (H. R. 3149) to encourage and recognize the patriotic spirit of volunteering and to provide for dependents of volunteers; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McCORMICK: Resolution (H. Res. 50) to print 100,000 copies each of House Report No. 1 and the President's address of April 2, 1917; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Resolution (H. Res. 51) requesting the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish to the House of Representatives copies of data on which a certain portion of the annual report of the Department of Agriculture for 1912 was based and correspondence relative thereto; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 52) providing for a committee to investigate the sanitary condition of dairies; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Resolution (H. Res. 53) directing the United States Tariff Commission to make certain investigations in the insular possessions and report upon the same; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAYDEN: Resolution (H. Res. 54) directing that there shall be printed as a House document 1,600 copies of the soil survey of the Yuma area, Arizona; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 52) directing the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to procure and use proper means of refrigeration or other methods of preserving perishable food supplies; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 53) repealing in part the act approved March 3, 1917, making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. SMITH of New York: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 54) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept assignment of patent for improvements in the manufacture of gasoline, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FOSTER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Illinois, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3150) granting an increase of pension to James R. Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3151) granting a pension to Jonathan M. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3152) granting a pension to Albert Slusser; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3153) granting a pension to John W. Warman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3154) to correct the military record of Israel Fogle; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 3155) granting an increase of pension to Melissa J. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 3156) granting an increase of pension to W. H. Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3157) for the relief of Lloyd C. Stark; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. DENISON: A bill (H. R. 3158) granting an increase of pension to William N. Oliver; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3159) granting an increase of pension to Columbus Massey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3160) granting an increase of pension to Stephen A. McDonald; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3161) granting an increase of pension to Philip P. Keller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3162) granting an increase of pension to William A. Ice; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3163) granting an increase of pension to Thomas L. Harris; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3164) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Eckols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3165) granting an increase of pension to William Eaton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3166) granting an increase of pension to James Derning; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3167) granting an increase of pension to Stith M. Carter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3168) granting an increase of pension to Silas Crisler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3169) granting an increase of pension to Samuel B. Baker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3170) granting an increase of pension to John B. Cason; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3171) granting an increase of pension to David Richardson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3172) granting an increase of pension to Silas Taggart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3173) granting an increase of pension to William M. Reid; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3174) granting a pension to Matilda J. Glass; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3175) granting a pension to Jennietta Cox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3176) granting a pension to Mary S. Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3177) granting a pension to Joseph Brookshear; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3178) granting a pension to Elizabeth Wagoner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3179) granting a pension to Grant Barnett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3180) granting a pension to Synthia M. Hale; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3181) for the relief of Joshua Cavins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3182) for the relief of Logan Collins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FORDNEY: A bill (H. R. 3183) granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Fiero; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3184) granting an increase of pension to John W. La Rue; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3185) granting an increase of pension to Charles V. D. Blackmar; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GILLETT: A bill (H. R. 3186) granting permission to Lieut. Col. Spencer Cosby, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to accept the cross of officer of the Legion of Honor conferred upon him by the Government of the French Republic; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3187) granting an increase of pension to Edward Flowers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 3188) granting an increase of pension to Eddy B. Stevens; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3189) granting a pension to Fred Siegel; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3190) for the relief of Lily Danforth Bothwell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3191) waiving the age limit for admission to the Medical Corps of the United States Navy in the case of John B. Bostick; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 3192) for the allowance of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Army during the Civil War, as reported by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3193) for the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Schiffer, deceased; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. PAIGE: A bill (H. R. 3194) granting a pension to Arthur Murphy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3195) for the relief of Edgar W. Preble; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3196) for the relief of George W. Clifford; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3197) to remove the charge of desertion from the service record of Edward Stanton and grant him an honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3198) for the relief of Albion Dyer; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3199) for the relief of Charles P. Morse; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3200) to correct the military record of Simon W. Tucker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. POLK: A bill (H. R. 3201) granting an increase of pension to Nelson W. Jameson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIORDAN: A bill (H. R. 3202) granting an increase of pension to Margaret O'Connor; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3203) for the relief of Davis & Lawrence Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SCOTT of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3204) granting an increase of pension to Rasmus I. P. Jensen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3205) granting an increase of pension to Edward N. Whitney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3206) granting an increase of pension to Oscar E. Harper; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3207) granting a pension to Thomas B. Struble; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3208) granting a pension to William Chalender; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3209) granting a pension to George A. Hewlett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3210) to correct the military record of James A. Cooper; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3211) to remove the charge of desertion against Orison Kingman; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 3212) granting an increase of pension to Jackson Hammer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of the Humanitarian Cult, New York, relative to laws placing largest share of tax burden upon manufacturers of implements of war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Memorial of Chamber of Commerce of Mount Vernon, and Mansfield Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Mansfield, Ohio, indorsing declaration of war and favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BACON: Petitions of citizens of Tecumseh and Adrian, Mich., favoring passage of the conscription bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of Business Men's National Service League, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Military Engineering Committee of New York, requesting that all new units of engineer troops be organized and maintained by the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Petition of Intercolonial Club, of Boston, Mass., against passage of House bill 10384, relative to head tax on Canadians entering United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of National Guard Association of the United States, favoring universal compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GILLETT: Memorial adopted by the Massachusetts Club of Georgetown University Law School, pledging its support to the Government in the present emergency; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GRIEST: Petitions of sundry citizens and church organizations of the State of Pennsylvania, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. IGOE: Memorial of Board of Alderman of the city of St. Louis, pledging their loyalty, as well as the citizens of the city, to the country; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petitions of William W. Cockey, the Crown Cork & Seal Co., and H. E. Carson, of Baltimore, Md., relative to advance in railroad freight rates; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Thomas Erku Carson, Baltimore, Md., and E. D. McConkey, Baltimore, Md., relative to advance in railroad freight rates; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Mrs. Emily Burke Kain, Baltimore, Md., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Mr. Edgar A. Levi, Baltimore, Md., urging the passage of a bill directing that an army be raised by universal service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of A. B. Randall, Baltimore, Md., urging that increased rates on freight be given to railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of John A. Graham, jr., Baltimore, Md., relative to railroad increases in freight rates; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Memorial of the Peabody Heights Improvement Association, of Baltimore, Md., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Old Town Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, of Baltimore, Md., favoring appropriations for rivers and harbors; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MAHER: Memorial of Military Engineering Committee of New York, requesting the Members of the House of Representatives and Senate to insist that all new units of engineer troops be organized and maintained by the War Department and not by the individual States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the representatives of the great lumber interests of New York City, Long Island, Westchester, and Jersey, indorsing the action of the President and Congress and pledging loyal support to the administration; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Dr. A. L. Bryce, New York City, favoring universal compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MANN: Petition of Realty Club of Chicago, Ill., favoring universal compulsory military training, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OVERMYER: Memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Perrysburg, Ohio, favoring universal military training and recommending historic Perrysburg for training camp; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Episcopal and Methodist churches at Milan, Ohio, asking for prohibition of manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the United States during the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial adopted at mass meeting of citizens of Vermilion, Ohio, pledging loyalty to President and country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RANDALL: Petition from Presbytery of Washington City, for the interning of all saloons, barrooms, and other places where intoxicating liquors are sold; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Petition of W. E. Kidder, of Kalamazoo, Mich., relative to taxation and revenue legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNOOK: Memorial of Wauseon Lodge, Knights of Pythias, indorsing the action of the President and Congress on the war resolution; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 16, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in this place of greatest responsibility we voice again before Thee the prayers that have ascended from a thousand altars on the holy Sabbath day. We realize that this is the day of our national testing. Cheerfully we lay aside the ease and comfort of the blessed years that have gone by and assume our part and take our place in the ranks of those who struggle for the rights of humanity. We pray that out of the tragic events of our time there may come the finer and higher and purer qualities of character, that we may be fitted for the service that Thou dost require at our hands, and that we may be prepared for a speedy and glorious victory for the cause of right. We ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

THE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Committee on Military Affairs is considering one of the Army bills, and I ask the consent of the Senate that the committee may sit during the sessions of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, leave is granted.

IMPORTATION OF PRISON-MADE GOODS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting supplementary reports from consular officers stationed at Plymouth, England, and Cardiff and Swansea, Wales, relative to the extent to which prisoners, paupers, or detained persons are utilized in the production and manufacture of the commerce of various countries, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Printing.

PICATINNY ARSENAL, NEW JERSEY.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, requesting that the appropriation of $7,500 made in the sundry civil act of July 1, 1916, for the purchase of land in connection with the Picatinny Arsenal, etc., be included in the sundry civil bill, 1918, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. FITZGERALD, Mr. SHERLEY, and Mr. GILLETT managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message further announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. DENT, Mr. FIELDS, Mr. QUIN, Mr. KAHN, and Mr. ANTHONY managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, asks a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. DENT, Mr. FIELDS, and Mr. KAHN managers at the conference on the part of the House.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have here certain resolutions passed at a patriotic meeting held in Assembly Hall, Salt Lake City, April 10, by Americans of Scandinavian birth and extraction and residents of the State of Utah. I ask that the resolutions, or declarations as they are headed, be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Declarations.

Expressive of our sentiments and in harmony with the traditions and history of our race, we, as loyal Americans of Scandinavian birth or extraction, residents of the State of Utah, convened in mass meeting at the Assembly Hall in the city of Salt Lake, this 10th day of April, A. D. 1917, declare our firm loyalty and undivided allegiance to our adopted country, the United States of America; its flag, the Stars and Stripes; and to the President and Congress of these United States.

We love, revere, and appreciate the basic principles and guaranties of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness accorded us by the Constitution and reaffirm our belief in the divine doctrines of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created free and equal, and that the just powers of governments must be derived from the consent of the governed.

We indorse and approve the patriotic, humane, and Christian declarations of President Wilson in his message to Congress April 2, 1917, and the resolution adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives confirming said message and declaring that a state of war exists, which has been forced upon us by the Imperial German Government by and through its numerous overt acts against the lives and property of American citizens in plain violation of international law and against the protests, peace, and dignity of the United States.

We have no enmity toward the German people but deplore and condemn the inhuman and tyrannical conduct of the Imperial militaristic German Government. We earnestly hope and pray that by the successful termination of this war it will be completely abolished and popular governments inaugurated throughout the civilized world.

Therefore in this crisis of our country we hereby solemnly adopt the following:

Resolutions.

Resolved, That we, citizens of Utah of Scandinavian origin, hereby solemnly pledge our loyal support to the President of the United States and to the governor of the State of Utah in obedience to any and every demand and requirement made of us for prosecuting this war, enforcing and defending the rights of our fellow citizens at home and abroad, and for maintaining the honor and integrity of our glorious Nation against any and all its enemies;

Resolved, That we aid and encourage the enlistment of all able-bodied men required for the Army and Navy, especially in the militia of the State of Utah, and the naturalization of all alien Scandinavians within our borders;

Resolved, That we increase our racial habits of industry, frugality, and economy, and produce and conserve every resource and product within our control, holding the same subject to the orders of the President and the governor for use in the prosecution of this war to a successful end;

Resolved further, That copies of these declarations and resolutions be presented to the President of the United States, the governor of the State of Utah, and our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. SMOOT. I present resolutions adopted at a mass meeting held at Salt Lake City, Utah. They are short, and I ask that they be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That while we deplore the entrance of America into the world war, we declare our willingness to serve humanity in these trying hours in any honorable way that will hasten the dawn of peace and the alleviation of suffering; that we urge upon the President and Congress the safeguarding of the sacred liberties of the Nation from censorship and conscription, believing democracy depends on the right of free speech and voluntary patriotism; and we urge men everywhere to suppress suspicions and hatreds and to unite, regardless of race, creed, or party, in a new movement to realize the common consciousness of the common human oneness of all men, out of which alone will come world peace.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented petitions of sundry citizens of Luling, Quanah, Forney, San Antonio, Houston, Belton, and Teague, all in the State of Texas, praying for compulsory military service, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a memorial of the Commercial Club of Stamford, Tex., remonstrating against compulsory military service, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Presbytery of Maumee, in convention at Defiance, Ohio, praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. KELLOGG presented a petition of the Business Men's League of Albert Lea, Minn., praying for an appropriation for the construction and maintenance of a system of national highways, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, last Saturday night, in this city, the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus met and passed resolutions of loyalty and patriotism. I am very glad to present the resolutions, which I ask may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The Secretary read as follows:

The supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, at a called meeting held this 14th day of April, 1917, in the city of Washington, realizing that the crisis confronting our country calls for the active cooperation and patriotic zeal of every true citizen, hereby reaffirms the devotion of 400,000 members of this order in this country to our Republic and its laws and pledges their continued and unconditional support of the President and the Congress of this Nation in their determination to protect its honor and its ideals of humanity and right.

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President and to the House of Representatives and to the Senate of the United States of America.

Mr. THOMPSON. I present petitions of the Clearing House Association of Lawrence, Kans.; the International Legal Fraternity of Phi Delta Phi, in province convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo.; and of sundry citizens of Hays, Kans., which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWRENCE CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION,
Lawrence, Kans., April 9, 1917.

Hon. W. H. THOMPSON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was this day unanimously adopted by the Lawrence Clearing House Association:

Resolution.

While we most deeply deplore war and regret beyond expression the conditions that forced our Government to declare a state of war in order to retain our self-respect, to maintain our honor, and protect the lives, liberty, and property of our citizens;

The associated banks of Lawrence hereby resolve that we will, as a unit, assist our Government and people in this struggle by all means in our power.

We will encourage our farmers and gardeners to increase production of foodstuffs; we will by advice and example urge our citizens to practice economy and to conserve supplies.

LAWRENCE CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION,
By W. F. MARCH, *Secretary.*

—

To. Hon. WILLIAM THOMPSON:

In this grave international crisis, when the whole-souled loyalty and support of every American is demanded, the International Legal Fraternity of Phi Delta Phi, in province convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., March 31, 1917, representing the States of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and South Dakota, pledges its support to the President and our Congress in upholding American rights against all violators thereof by whatsoever means they may deem necessary.

ELMER N. POWELL,
President of Province VI.
H. R. HANLEY,
Secretary of Convention.
K. W. PRINGLE,
WM. Z. EAGLETON, Jr.,
W. O. HAKE,
Committee.

—

Action taken by a mass meeting of 2,400 persons of Hays and vicinity, assembled in Sheridan Coliseum by proclamation of the mayor of Hays, George Philip, jr., patriotic day, Monday, April 9, 1917:

Resolutions adopted unanimously by a standing vote of everyone present.

Whereas the President of the United States has found it impossible for this Nation to remain neutral in the present great world struggle and at the same time be a leader of the democracy of the world, and has found it necessary to so state to the world with a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step and of the grave responsibilities which it involved; and

Whereas he did not hesitate in his obedience to what he deemed his constitutional duty and advised Congress to declare that the recent course of the Imperial German Government was in fact nothing less than a state of war against the people of the United States; and

Whereas the United States of America, in pursuance to this request of its President, has formally accepted the status of belligerent which was thus thrust upon it and is now taking those steps which Congress and the President deemed necessary to put the country into a more thorough state of defense; and

Whereas our President has stated very clearly that the people of the United States bear no ill will toward any people of the world, and that this war is not a quarrel with the German people, toward whom we have no feeling but one of sympathy and friendship, but against the imperialistic rulers of Germany, who in their disregard of international law in respect to the rights of neutral nations and acting on their own impulse without previous knowledge or approval of the people have provoked and waged this war; and

Whereas we have accepted the status of belligerent which the Congress and the President of the United States of America have thus declared: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the citizens of Hays and vicinity pledge their support to vindicate the principles of peace and of justice in the life of the world; and be it further

Resolved, That this mass meeting of the people of Hays and its vicinity, representing every walk of life, all nationalities, all parties, and all beliefs, unanimously pledge its unswerving loyalty to President Woodrow Wilson and the Congress of the United States, and without respect to blood or nationality stand before the world solidly as Americans; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves collectively and singly to perform whatever service our State and Nation may call upon us to perform in this crisis; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves collectively and singly to conserve the resources of our community and to eliminate waste wherever possible in public as well as in private life in order that the best interests of the entire United States may be thus served; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves collectively and singly to do all within our power to increase the production of all food crops for man and beast in order to materially assist the Government in carrying out its plans; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, Senator CHARLES CURTIS, Senator W. H. THOMPSON, Congressman J. R. CONNELLY, Gov. Arthur Capper, and be printed in the Ellis County News and the Hays Free Press.

(Prepared and signed by the committee appointed by the mayor of Hays, George Philip, jr.)

P. CASPAR HARVEY, *Chairman.*
Rev. CHAS. F. WIEST.
JOHN S. BIRD.
Rev. JULIUS BECKER, *O. M. Cap.*

Mr. McKELLAR. I present a telegram embodying resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in the city of Memphis, Tenn., held on Saturday. I ask that they be read.

There being no objection, the telegram was read, as follows:

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 15, 1917.*

Senator K. D. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas in the wisdom of Providence and under the guidance of the President and the Congress of these United States expressing the will of the people this Nation has entered into a mighty world war; and

Whereas this is a moment for the solemn consecration of every man, woman, and child in the Nation to the cause of liberty and humanity; and

Whereas every physical, mental, and natural resource of the Nation and the people thereof should, in order to assure victory and peace, be placed at the disposition and disposal of the constituted authorities of the Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the people of Memphis, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby pledge to the President and to the Congress of these United States our supreme loyalty and consecration to the national cause; and be it further

Resolved, That we do urge upon the Congress of these United States the necessity of upholding the hands of the President by adopting an immediate system of selective universal military service that will call to the colors all classes and conditions of men, conserving their efforts along the lines to which they are best suited; and be it further

Resolved, That copy of these resolutions be wired to the President, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR, Senator, and to the Hon. HUBERT FISHER, Member of Congress. It being our united wish that the chairman of this mass meeting, the Hon. T. C. Ashcroft, mayor of Memphis, express through this medium our pledge of loyalty and undying patriotism.

Respectfully transmitted.

T. C. ASHCROFT, *Mayor.*
EDWARD MCCORMACK, *Secretary.*

Mr. McKELLAR. I present a number of telegrams and communications that I desire to have printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.:

On the 2d instant you received a petition signed by myself and numerous other citizens opposing the establishment of compulsory universal military training and service, which will lead to the intrenchment of militarism in this country. I don't think that it is necessary for me to tell you what the true American thinks of conscription, especially since you have every means of knowing how much opposition is developing against this measure and the number of petitions you have received opposing militarism.

We must draw the conclusion that you are for the establishment of Prussian militarism in this country or you would have written declaring your stand; you are either for or against; there is no middle ground. The petition plainly states our views and sentiments and we don't want you to confuse the establishment of militarism, and Congress making provisions for the present state of war, to push the war to a successful issue. But for the President, the War College, and the National Defense League to foist conscription on the people is unthinkable in this Republic.

Yours, very truly,
H. B. TERRELL,
33 Pantalac Avenue.

—

PROVISIONAL VOLUNTEER REGIMENT,
Memphis, Tenn., April 12, 1917.

Senator K. D. MCKELLAR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: I hope you will support a bill to use volunteers for the following reasons:

First. The Government should accept the services of volunteer organizations which will be offered if given an opportunity to serve. There are probably about 500,000 or 600,000 men who have served in the Spanish War Volunteers or in the United States Regular Army. Of this number probably 200,000 to 300,000 would offer their services on the proper conditions. These volunteer regiments practically effect their organizations, which saves the Government large sums of money; and they can be put on a fighting basis much quicker than raw recruits, having already had years of service; and would only have to "brush up" a little and learn the revised regulations. The best of the old volunteer system should be taken and the worst discarded. They want to serve, for the war only, side by side with men they know and under officers they know to be qualified to lead them. Of this number there are thousands who are qualified as officers. Many of them have seen real service and are business men, and are really officers and leaders of men. The United States should avail itself of their services. Many of these men would not care to risk their lives under young boys as officers or under enlisted men from the Army who are made officers, but who are not leaders of men nor business men but for the most part are men who enlisted in the Army because they could earn $30 to $65 per month in the Army. These men are not home builders nor producers. Naturally, business men and wage earners will hesitate to risk their lives under such officers. But they will be ready to serve under men who are known to have capacity for leadership.

Second. Some of the enlisted men will make good officers—they should be used; but the large majority are not leaders or thinkers. Some of the volunteer officers will be failures, but the large majority are made officers because they are known to be leaders. Many of the West Point graduates are failures, but the large majority are good. There will be some mistakes made, but let's make as few as possible.

Third. The conscription plan is all right, but it should be put in effect after the volunteer shall have been accepted, and not let it appear to the world that Americans have to be conscripted. I submit it to any fair mind that a willing servant is better and more satisfactory than an unwilling one, and that a volunteer is far superior to a conscript.

Fourth. Col. Roosevelt has offered to lead an army in Europe, if necessary. He should be given the opportunity to do so for two good reasons: First. He is a great leader, in whom the men would have confidence and would carry the expedition through to a successful conclusion. And, secondly, he is a great statesman in whom the Nation has

faith, and could be used as a special envoy to transact important State business with the other nations, as well as to lead an army. Few men, if any, are so well qualified for the dual position.

Fifth. When the war is over we want a court of nations to settle all disputes and practically disband the armies of the nations.

Finally, use all the volunteers that offer; then use conscripts. And when the war is over and peace guaranteed, send them all home to build up the country and their homes.

Your friend,

EDW. MCGOWAN.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *March 30, 1917.*

Hon. K. D. MCKELLAR,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to express my most hearty approval of the universal military service bill which has been discussed in the United States for many months.

In Chattanooga, as doubtless in every other city in the country, there are hundreds of young men who spend most of their time loafing around pool rooms and street corners, etc., whom I think would be very largely benefited by the training that this service would give them.

I am also sure that the young men of the country generally would be much benefited by this kind of training.

In addition, I am also sure that the country needs the reserve that this training would give.

My son took a month's training at Fort Oglethorpe Camp last summer and it did him a world of good.

I hope that such a bill will be speedily passed by Congress at its special session.

Respectfully,

J. FRED FERGER.

SEWANEE, TENN., *March 29, 1917.*

Senator K. D. MCKELLAR,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The faculties of college of arts and of theological school of the University of the South, Sewanee, in joint session on March 28, 1917, passed the following resolutions, with instructions that they be transmitted by telegraph to President Wilson and to the Senators and Congressmen of the State of Tennessee:

"*Resolved*—

"First. That it is the judgment of this body that in view of present international condition we should have universal military service.

"Second. That in view of the situation now existing and the events which led up to it, and in the light of such data as are available to the public, it is the judgment of this body that Congress should declare for an aggressive form of war as soon the the administration considers that the internal situation makes this possible."

The first of these resolutions was passed by a unanimous vote, and the second by a unanimous vote, but with one member not voting.

WALTER HULLIHEN,
Dean of the College.

HUMBOLDT, TENN., *April 3, 1917.*

Senator K. D. MCKELLAR,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

No aggressive war. No men to Europe. No universal military training without popular vote.

G. W. PENN.
J. S. MCCALLUM.
J. H. HAMILTON.
B. S. PENN.
W. A. SENTER.
J. H. MEEKS.
R. T. DEBERRY.

DELAWARE UNDERWRITERS OF THE
WESTCHESTER FIRE INSURANCE CO., OF NEW YORK,
Memphis, Tenn., April 9, 1917.

MY DEAR MC.: I did not have the pleasure of seeing you during your recent visit—not that I did not want to, but because I knew your time was taken up and fully occupied with matters of more importance to you than "gaping" with one of your fixed friends.

The war is on us, and I'm sorry it is a necessity. I have been in a war, and I know its horrors. But I am an American now, not a rebel. What I want particularly to mention to you for consideration is the age proposition. It seems they are fixing the first call from 19 to 25 years. From my observation in the four years I served I think this is a mistake. I think they should have more matured, physically, men at first—say, from 20 to 30 years. Younger men, not fully matured, do not stand the hardships so well, and I think more susceptible to sickness, and, in addition, more indifferent and reckless. I give you this to think over It is well enough to take the younger men and train them for future use.

I am feeling very much worried over the outlook. While hoping every success for the allies and ourselves, I think I see untold misery ahead.

With best wishes,

Your friend,

JAMES BEASLEY.

Mr. POMERENE. I present sundry telegrams and resolutions in the nature of petitions on the subject of national defense and our international relations. These resolutions were adopted by various mass meetings and societies, churches, and other organizations in Ohio. I ask that they be incorporated in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 13, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

The engineering society and foremen of the National Carbon Co. unanimously indorse universal military training and urge that you use your best efforts for the passage of the Chamberlain universal military training bill or that which is being proposed by the General Staff. The country demands universal military training as being the only fair thing for all, and, furthermore, we should profit by the experience of England and the advice of Lloyd-George. Confirmation, with signatures, following.

C. A. GILLINGHAM, *President.*

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 13, 1917.*

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Four hundred citizens of Cleveland, gathered together at East Denison School, pledge their loyalty and devotion to our President, our country, and our flag. We rejoice that we are now to fight side by side with men of other nations, who for nearly three years have been defending the principles of liberty which our own fathers fought, bled, and died for, and we request our Senators and Representatives to support some plan of universal military service which will place the burden of war service on all citizens equally.

WILLIAM HILL,
President East Denison Community Center.

MIDDLETOWN, OHIO, *April 9, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas the Loyal Order of Moose was formed to promote brotherly love, and as such is opposed to war for any other purpose than the advancement of civilization and of the ideals for which America has always stood: and

Whereas the interests of civilization and the safeguarding of the ideals of our country demand that the Government of the United States should declare that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by Buckeye Lodge, No. 501, Loyal Order of Moose, That the President, Congress, and Senate be hereby commended for their actions in this crisis and be assured of the unswerving loyalty and the unanimous support of each and every member of Buckeye Lodge, No. 501, Loyal Order of Moose.

FRANK A. WALBURG,
Secretary.

VERMILION, OHIO, *April 11, 1917.*

Senator POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

At a community meeting here to-night, with opera house filled to overflowing and more than 600 persons present, a unanimous vote asked you to back President Wilson and the Cabinet plans for aggressive war. A training company enlisted 100 men. Take the fighting stand and not half-heartedly.

S. H. R. WILLIAMS, *Mayor.*
R. T. SELLERS,
Superintendent of Schools.

PAINESVILLE, OHIO, *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

The following resolution was adopted at a patriotic meeting of Lake County citizens held at Painesville last evening:

"*Be it resolved,* That we express our thanks to our Senator for his loyal support of our President in time of war; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of the citizens of Lake County that the present is no time to stand upon differences of opinion as to methods, and that our Senator be respectfully requested to support such legislation for our national offense and defense as may be desired by our President."

A. G. REYNOLDS, *Chairman.*

Know all men by these presents—

That, as a result of the present crisis in the affairs of our Nation, we, the undersigned employees of the American Rolling Mill Co., do hereby pledge our unqualified support to such patriotic measures as our President may find necessary for the maintenance of American honor and the defense of American rights; and

Whereas this crisis which confronts our Nation emphasizes the need of an adequate defensive army of trained and equipped men; and

Whereas no military system is complete that does not have as its foundation the element of man training: Therefore be it

Resolved by the undersigned, That we approve the principles of universal military training as fair and democratic, because, in our opinion, it will give the Nation an adequate defensive army of citizens who will have surrendered none of their rights as citizens because of membership in this reserve army, and because we believe that such a trained citizenship will be the surest guaranty of lasting and honorable peace; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby petition the Representatives in Congress and the Senators from Ohio that they use every proper means to secure the passage of legislation which will embody the principles of military training, universally applied.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to His Excellency the President of the United States, to Hon. WARREN G. HARDING, and Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, Senators from Ohio, and to Hon. WARREN GARD, Representative in Congress from this district.

Witness our signatures at Middletown, Ohio, this 20th day of March, A. D. 1917.

A. K. Lewis, Jos. P. Flanagan, Frank E. Morris, Hugh W. Wright, W. A. Harrison, H. E. Van Ausdall, P. S. Palmer, Ned Cleveland, T. J. Hamilton, J. L. Mitchell, J. O. Hamilton, A. C. Brann, Harold Davies, Francis Ernst, Howard P. Steinbrecher, Louis F. Steckrath, Ralph Siebert, Frank A. Brown, W. H. Edgecombe, Alf. D. Brown, Chas. E. Brokaw, B. P. Miller, T. E. Deatherage, C. E. Kemp, Thos. J. Kelly, Philip Young, Frank Wilbur, Hugh Farrell, C. J. Crink, John Bush, J. G. Kemp, Walter Winston, David Rindchee, J. M. Adams, D. Dennis, John Ross Murray, W. A. Gibson, Luther McCracken, Ralp Ayers.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Zanesville, Ohio, April 14, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the board of directors of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce March 12, 1917, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and I was instructed to notify you of the action taken:

"Resolved, That the board of directors of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce, believing that the general business conditions of the country will be benefited by an increase in revenue to the railroads, we recommend that the Interstate Commerce Commission give prompt and favorable consideration to the application of the railroads for an increase of 15 per cent in freight rates, and that the secretary of the chamber inform the Interstate Commerce Commission of action taken."

Yours, very respectfully,

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
FRED GEIGER, Jr., *Secretary.*

Know all men by these presents—

That as a result of the present crisis in the affairs of our Nation we, the undersigned, employees of the American Rolling Mill Co., do hereby pledge our unqualified support to such patriotic measures as our President may find necessary for the maintenance of American honor and the defense of American rights; and

Whereas this crisis which confronts our Nation emphasizes the need of an adequate defensive army of trained and equipped men; and

Whereas no military system is complete that does not have as its foundation the element of man training: Therefore be it

Resolved by the undersigned, That we approve the principles of universal military training as fair and democratic, because, in our opinion, it will give the Nation an adequate defensive army of citizens who will have surrendered none of their rights as citizens because of membership in this reserve army, and because we believe that such a trained citizenship will be the surest guaranty of lasting and honorable peace. And be it further

Resolved, That we hereby petition the Representatives in Congress and the Senators from Ohio that they use every proper means to secure the passage of legislation which will embody the principles of military training universally applied.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to His Excellency the President of the United States, to Hon. WARREN G. HARDING and Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, Senators from Ohio, and to Hon. WARREN GARD, Representative in Congress from this district.

Witness our signatures at Middletown, Ohio, this 20th day of March, A. D. 1917.

S. N. Holstein, E. C. Meehan, C. R. Patton, Lee W. Gillespie, Curtis Martin, Harry Lang, J. I. Matthews, D. Demory, C. W. Martin, L. M. Schlichter, C. G. Stanfill, J. F. Egan, John McCabe, B. F. Weau, H. Anderson, Earl Kilgour, Edw. Haller, S. R. Holstein, Ogle Nelson, J. Mersa Beard, Thomas Corrigan, H. T. Voglesang, F. C. Lloyd, J. Hall, Wm. Wikoff, Paul Druley, Russell Cunningham, Earnest Darnold, Taylor Weaver, Michael Meehan, V. O. Wilson, Robert Fuller, Ambrose Rowe, A. C. Bradley, Ed L. Gomia, Harry Suthonn, Homer Hodson, Arthur M. Boxwell, Frank C. Conway, Clarence Martin, Arthur Conley, W. H. Shaw, Ward Tucker; Leo Markham, —— Curtis Avenue; Thomas Bailey, Jr., 715 Yankee Road; Eph. Dimmach, 910 Logan Avenue; H. L. Beard, 21 Bundy Apartments, Fourth Street; Joseph Heffner, 304 East Fourth Street; O. H. Kinney, 507 Charles Street; Geo. F. Veitch, 115 West Fifth Street; W. C. Hayes, 602 Van Avenue; Chas. O. Connor, 424 Reynold Street; William C. Lockard, 1116 Yankee Road; John McChesney, 1005 Yankee Road; John Foltz, 711 Fairmount Avenue; Frank Blaine, 1003 Woodland Avenue; F. W. Kennedy, 118 McKinley Avenue; Frank Brill, 933 Logan Avenue; Harvey Lyons, 204 Eighth Street; John Siebert, 1010 Moore Street; Harry Mohl, 105 North Gimes Street; F. S. Barlow, 1031 Superior Avenue; J. T. Stiles, 241 North Clark Street; Wm. Specht, 912 Woodlawn Avenue; Leslie Allison, 904 Wykoff Avenue; B. D. Wells, 1314 Grand Avenue; Donald W. Brown, 804 Philda Street; Jas. Hogan, 536 South Young Street; James R. Byrnes, 103 West First Street; Wm. Stingham, 821 Stanley Avenue; Frank H. Fanning, 800 Queen Street; Jack Elrick, 1101 Yankee Road; Ernest Alexander, 638 Garfield Avenue; John Blankenship, 1220 Grand Avenue; Berton Alinger, 823 Stanley Avenue; C. A. Velker, 609 Tytus Avenue; Frank Walter, 915 Grand Avenue; Albert Sommers, 351 East Third Street; J. E. Blair, 818 Stanley Avenue; Howard W. Bradley, Middletown, Ohio; N. O. Selby, Middletown, Ohio; Grover Selby, 608 Woodlawn Avenue; Albert A. Meahl, 809 George Street; Geo. Greene, 445 Woodlawn Avenue; Thos. Hincks, 809 Queen Street; Joe Neu, 310 Clinton Street; Geo. Hincks, 809 Queen Street; Lee Miley, 608 Baltimore Street; Chas. J. Brehany, 606 Garfield Avenue; F. C. Strunk, 1207 Yankee Road; C. W. Greer, 125 Hughes Street; Herbert Fanning, 612 Yankee Road; J. B. Hosey, 822 Stanley Avenue; E. E. Halderman, 103, East First Street.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Cleveland, April 12, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Five hundred citizens of Cleveland assembled in Orchard School, April 9, 1917, approve unreservedly the recommendations in the President's message to Congress April 2 and each pledges to the utmost their person and property as the country may call for the same to maintain the principles of liberty and justice and individual freedom, which we possess to-day only because our fathers made the sacrifices now demanded of us; and we have instructed the chairman of this meeting to forward a copy of this message to our Senators and Representatives.

Respectfully submitted.

F. G. HOGEN, *Director of Schools.*

Resolution adopted by Portsmouth Lodge, No. 154, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, April 11, 1917.

Whereas the Congress of the United States has enacted and the President has approved a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provision to prosecute the same: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of Portsmouth Lodge, No. 154, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, hereby renew their allegiance to the President of the United States and all those in authority, pledge to the country their unqualified support of such measures as it may be necessary to enact in order to prosecute the war to a successful termination, and declare their intention to bear, without complaint, such burdens of the war as may come to them, to the end that there may be established throughout the world equal opportunity for all and a lasting peace with honor among all the peoples of the earth.

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Senators from Ohio, and the Representative in Congress from this congressional district.

THOS. K. BRUSHART,
Exalted Ruler.

Attest:
[SEAL.]
CLARENCE E. NODLER, *Secretary.*

Resolutions.

Whereas the Imperial German Government in the prosecution of the present conflict has waged a submarine warfare that has held as naught all restraints placed upon naval warfare by the well-settled principles of international law, sinking merchant vessels and passenger ships of all nations, belligerent and neutral, without warning and without concern for the fate of those aboard, and in spite of the oft-repeated friendly protests and solemn warnings of the United States Government has not only refused to desist from its unlawful course, but, throwing aside every restraint, has, in flagrant and defiant violation of all law and the rights of humanity, waged a ruthless war (on the high seas) against all nations; and

Whereas it has destroyed the property and taken the lives of our citizens whose legitimate business pursuits took them upon the high seas; and

Whereas the German Government has, through its accredited representatives to our Government and its secret agents, fomented strikes, created industrial unrest, destroyed property, attempted to interfere with our domestic affairs, and while holding diplomatic relations with our Government has plotted against it and endeavored to involve it in a war with Japan and Mexico; and

Whereas the conduct of the German Government for the two years past has been such that our national honor has been assailed and our citizens outraged: Now, therefore

We, the members of the chamber of commerce, representing the citizenship of Mount Vernon and Knox County, Ohio, do, this 4th day of April, 1917,

Resolved—

First. That the acts herein complained of are a menace not only to our free institutions of government, but to all mankind; and, realizing that our Government was, in the providence of God, called into being and took its separate station among the nations of the earth as the greatest exponent of the doctrine of human rights and human liberty, we now call upon the President and Congress to recognize the state of war that has been thrust upon us, a peace-loving people, by the Imperial German Government, and declare war upon it and bend every energy toward marshaling the resources of this Nation, industrial, financial, military, and naval, and prosecute the war to a successful conclusion, thereby securing the preservation of our liberties, the safeguarding of the rights of humanity, and the promotion of international justice. To this end and in this cause we pledge ourselves without reservation.

Second. That we commend the President of the United States for his untiring efforts to avoid the present crises; that we indorse his masterful message to Congress on April 2, 1917, and that we call upon all citizens to unitedly stand behind him and the administration in all measures that may be necessary for the defense and protection on land and sea of the rights and sovereignty of the United States, the rights of humanity, and the safeguarding of free institutions of government.

MEMBERS OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Mount Vernon, Ohio.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Cleveland, April 12, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Four hundred citizens of Cleveland, assembled in Mound School April 10, 1917, approve unreservedly the recommendations in the President's message to Congress April 2, and each pledges to the utmost their person and property as the country may call for the same, to maintain the principles of liberty and justice and individual freedom which we possess to-day only because our fathers made the sacrifices now demanded of us; and we have instructed the chairman of this meeting to forward a copy of this message to our Senators and Representatives.

Respectfully submitted.

F. G. HOGEN,
Director of Schools.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
Cleveland, April 11, 1917.

To the Hon. ATLEE POMERENE:

Last night I had the honor to preside at a meeting at which the following self-explanatory resolution was unanimously adopted, and I was instructed to transmit it to the President of the United States, to the Senators from Ohio, and to the Representatives of districts including parts of the city of Cleveland:

"*Resolved*, That we, 400 citizens of the United States, assembled at Hazeldell School, Cleveland, reiterate our heartfelt allegiance to the United States, and declare our full adherence to the program which the President has indicated for the prosecution of this war, including the adoption of some form of comprehensive and uniform military service, so adjusted that the duties and privileges of citizenship may be shared alike by us all."

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD BUSHNELL.

Resolution.

Whereas the Congress of the United States has declared war upon the Imperial German Government: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Zanesville, State of Ohio, That we do hereby concur in and approve all of the statements contained in

the message of our President to the Congress; that we hereby approve of the passage by our Congress of the resolution declaring that a state of war exists with the Imperial German Government.

Resolved, further, That the city of Zanesville stands ready to do its full share in preparation for the impending struggle. When the call comes to purchase the war bonds of the Government this city will not deny the call; when there is issued the call to arms, that call will be hearkened to by the flower of our citizenship. In all things necessary to the successful prosecution of the war we do highly resolve to pledge, and do hereby pledge, our unswerving loyalty and fidelity.

Resolved, further, That it is our earnest prayer and fervent hope that in the conflict of arms this Government, under the guidance of God, shall prevail; that a righteous victory may be nobly won; and, finally, that out of this great struggle a substantial and permanent peace may be secured to all the peoples of the earth.

Passed April 9, 1917.

E. M. BROWN,
President pro tempore of Council.
F. H. BUERHAUS,
Clerk of Council.
W. H. WEBSTER,
Mayor of Zanesville, Ohio.

Resolutions adopted by a patriotic mass meeting of citizens of North Olmsted, Ohio, April 11, 1917.

We, the citizens of North Olmsted, Ohio, in mass meeting assembled to consider our patriotic duty in the crisis time in which the Nation finds itself, hereby adopt the following resolutions:

"Whereas the German Government, by its inhuman and illegal policies and practices on land and sea, has proclaimed itself an outlaw among nations; and by waging relentless and ruthless submarine warfare against neutral as well as belligerent nations, has wantonly taken many American lives, along with American property, which it has destroyed; and by this means, and by the operation of a secret spy system conducted (according to President Wilson) by accredited German officials in this Nation, it has been waging persistent and continuous warfare against this Nation: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That we heartily indorse the decision of our President and the Congress of the United States, that the day has come when neutrality on the part of our Nation is no longer possible, nor under the circumstances desirable; but faithfulness to our historic principles as a free people requires us to put right and justice before peace, and to hold liberty and the rights of humanity beyond all price, to be maintained even by the terrible instrument of war; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That we pledge the President of the United States our united and unqualified support in this crisis which has been thrust upon the Nation, in spite of his supreme tact, moderation, and patience. We assure him of our confidence in his high-minded leadership, and earnestly admonish our Representative and Senators in Congress to accord to him the undivided support which he so sorely needs, and which must be given him if the Nation is not to play a dishonorable part in the struggle into which we are now entering. We hereby pledge ourselves to every possible support, with full recognition of the sacrifice that may be required of us, personally, in the giving of service, of life, and of resources; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That neither the spirit and intent of these resolutions, nor the war to be waged by our Government against the German Government, implies the slightest unfriendliness toward the people of Germany, much less toward our friends and fellow citizens of German birth or descent. We earnestly pray them to join with our Nation in ridding the race of the monster that has plunged the world into a sea of blood, that never again may human liberty be threatened as it is to-day."

We solemnly take this action in the sight of God, believing that only thus can we protect those ideals which he has implanted within us, and which we hold as dearer than life.

W. H. RILEY, *Chairman.*

Resolutions adopted by Scio Lodge of Independent Order of Odd Fellows at their regular meeting, April 7, 1917, at Scio, Ohio.

Be it resolved by Scio Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, No. 596, That we heartily concur with the Congress of the United States of America in declaring that a state of war exists between our country and Germany; that we reconsecrate ourselves to our common country, and pledge our support and loyalty to every effort that may be made to insure the successful issue of our arms, and to secure for us a lasting, honorable peace, and that we mail copies hereof to the Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, Hon. WARREN G. HARDING, and the Hon. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, at Washington, D. C., showing our appreciation for their votes.

WILLIAM C. MILLS, *Noble Grand.*
WILLIAM H. MINEHEART, *Secretary.*

The following resolutions were adopted at a joint meeting of the central and executive committees of Butler County:

Resolutions.

We, the joint Democratic central and executive committees of Butler County,

Declare and resolve—

First. We uphold and approve the action by President Wilson and Congress and the entire power of our Nation in upholding the dignity and integrity of the United States as a sovereign power whose paramount obligation is to protect American rights and the rights of humanity, and to promote international justice, liberty, and democracy; therefore we pledge ourselves and our party to support the President of the United States and the national administration in whatever steps may be necessary to these ends.

Second. We heartily indorse and approve of the ringing declaration of American rights uttered by our President to Congress on the 2d day of April, 1917. That we intend, with all the resources at our command, to stand firmly behind and support the President and Congress, our soldiers, and our sailors in all that they may do to uphold in every part of the world the flag of freedom and the full right of all Americans on land or on sea.

Third. We especially indorse the noble statement of the principles and purposes of our Nation by our President when he said:

"We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval."

The people will thank him for this expression of friendship which the good citizen feels for his brother American of German ancestry.

Fourth. We cordially indorse and approve the course in Congress of Representative WARREN GARD, of the third Ohio district, and Senator ATLEE POMERENE, United States Senator from Ohio, for their militant Americanism in backing up by voice and vote the cause of our President.

Fifth. We declare ourselves in favor of universal military service as the only just, democratic, and efficient means of national defense.

Sixth. That immediate steps should be taken to mobilize the industrial, financial, military, and naval resources and the man power of the Nation effectively to defend upon both sea and land the rights and sovereignty of the United States, the rights of humanity, and the principles of free and democratic government. And this be our motto:

"In God is our trust."
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

EDW. C. SOHNGEN, *Chairman.*
WM. F. MASON, *Secretary.*

Resolution passed by the membership of Cincinnatus Club in session on the eve of Friday, April 6, 1917.

Whereas our Government has on this day made formal acknowledgment to the peoples of the world that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of Cincinnatus Club, That they will in whatsoever manner possible conduct themselves as loyal, patriotic Americans, bear themselves in such attitude as will befit the principles and traditions of our parent body, the Junior Order of United American Mechanics; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our lives and fortunes in solemn support of our President, consecrating ourselves to hold honored before the world our flag. May its folds ever grace, unsullied, this free land of our birth.

L. J. MUELLER, *President.*

Attest:

R. H. B. WHITEFOOT, *Secretary.*

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
Cleveland, April 13, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

SIR: On last night and night before last I had the honor to preside at the meetings mentioned in the following explanatory resolutions. In each case the resolution was unanimously adopted, and I was instructed to transmit it to the President of the United States, to the Senators from Ohio, and to the Representatives of districts including parts of the city of Cleveland:

"*Resolved,* That we, 425 citizens of the United States, assembled at Warren School, Cleveland, reiterate our heartfelt allegiance to the United States, and declare our full adherence to the program which the President has indicated for the prosecution of this war, including the adoption of some form of comprehensive and uniform military service, so adjusted that the duties and privileges of citizenship may be shared alike by us all."

"*Resolved,* That we, 500 citizens of the United States, assembled at Addison School, Cleveland, reiterate our heartfelt allegiance to the United States, and declare our full adherence to the program which the President has indicated for the prosecution of this war, including the adoption of some form of comprehensive and uniform military service, so adjusted that the duties and privileges of citizenship may be shared alike by us all."

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD BUSHNELL.

The position of the Christian Church of Cincinnati and vicinity with regard to the present national crisis.

Whereas the President of the United States has, "with a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step" he was taking, declared a state of war to exist between Germany and the United States, and

Whereas there is much confusion in the minds of many as to the Christian ethics of war and the relation of the Christian Church thereto the Federation of Churches of Cincinnati and vicinity desires to give expression to what it believes is the mind of the spirit within its members in relation to the great crisis confronting the Nation.

We must remind ourselves that there are inevitable differences of conviction and judgment among equally good and patriotic men, and it is not to be expected that there will be unanimity of feeling as to the righteousness of this war. We have no desire to defend one or to deplore another set of honest convictions. We are chiefly concerned that we shall maintain the Christian spirit of love and brotherliness in the presence of differences of judgment and of interpretation of the mind of Christ, our common Lord. As Christians we can not but lament the necessity for war. As a method of determining the course of history, it carries us back to the days before civilization dawned, to the method of the jungle; in its appeal to physical force rather than to moral suasion, enlightened reason and spiritual idealism it is subversive of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion. Christianity seeks to win men by love; its ends are constructive and not destructive; its method is self-sacrifice. Even in the time of war, and however strongly convinced of the inevitableness of the present situation, the Christian Church will continue to bear witness to its high hope of the coming of a day of the Lord when men shall learn and resort to war no more.

But we are in the dilemma of the great prophet statesman of Israel who first uttered the clear hope of a day of universal peace, who in his messages to his people alternated visions of the ideal with the fearful realities which surrounded him in his nation's life. The Christian ideal can be realized only by slow progress, and to admit that we have not yet progressed to the realization of the ideal is not to be disloyal to it or to deny its desirability. The sad fact confronting us is that

our Lord Christ has not yet come in triumph into the political kingdom of this world. Wrong and injustice and oppression must still be dealt with in individuals and in nations. The State must punish its individual criminals. We would that there were no criminals. And if we admit that fact, must we not allow a nation to resist by physical force a criminal Government, which attempts to inflict violence and injustice upon it? We would that there were no criminal nation. And so the time unhappily has not yet come when physical force, even from the practical Christian viewpoint, can be replaced wholly by the moral and spiritual appeal.

We may take courage in that the Christian ideal is so far realized that a war of offense is unqualifiedly condemned. And while perhaps no war is to be justified from the standpoint of the absolute Christian ideal, one can not read with an informed and unbiased mind President Wilson's message to Congress without feeling satisfied beyond the shadow of a doubt that from the standpoint of a Christian morality relative to the stage of our present human development this Nation's course with reference to the German Government is completely justified. As Christians, therefore, with the vision of peace in a world at war under the burden of the provocations of the Nation, and with a realization of the necessity to defend our liberties and to resist intolerable crimes against God and man, we can not, we dare not condemn this war, much as we love peace and pray for its universal reign. Indeed, if we catch the spirit of the splendid idealism of the President's message, and feel anything of his sincerity in his interpretation of the high spirit and the unselfish purpose of the Nation in meeting with the challenge of the German Government without rancor and without vengeance, we feel assured not only that our cause is just, but that it is Christian in aim and motive. Without hypocrisy or self-delusion, we may in an exalted Christian spirit of sacrifice accept the burden the Nation lays upon us in the defense of honor and freedom, and in the promotion of the principles of democracy and of permanent peace throughout the world.

We would therefore urge upon the members of our churches every possible cooperation with the Government, in promoting the efficiency of its war measures, in lending aid to soldiers and sailors through the work of the Red Cross Society, in promoting economic welfare by the cultivation of vegetable gardens, and in whatever other way appeal may be made or opportunity offered. We recommend that rooms in church buildings and parish houses be placed at the disposal of communities and groups of people who may desire to meet together for united effort of whatever kind. And above all, we urge that all our work and plans be consecrated by a spirit of deep seriousness and with the sense of grave responsibility as to all that is involved in the war, and that to this end special meetings for prayer, as well as for work, be held, so that we may be saved from bitterness, hatred, and the spirit of revenge and from everything unworthy of the high motives and aims to which the war is undertaken, and that we may unite our petitions to Almighty God "that, overruling the counsel of men, setting straight the things they can not govern or alter, taking pity on the nations now in the throes of conflict, in His mercy and goodness, showing a way where man can see none, He may vouchsafe His children healing peace again and restore once more that concord among men and nations without which there can be neither happiness nor true friendship, nor any wholesome fruit of toil or thought in the world, praying also to this end that He forgive us our sins, our ignorance of His holy will, our willfulness and many errors and lead us in paths of obedience to places of vision and to thoughts and counsels that purge and make wise.

FREDERICK L. FLINCHBAUGH.
JOHN F. HERGET.
FREDERICK L. FAGLEY.

Unanimously adopted by the executive committee of the Federation of Churches, April 4, 1917.

THE TWENTIETH WARD WILSON CLUB,
Cleveland, April 13, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I beg to inclose herewith a copy of a resolution adopted unanimously at a meeting of the Twentieth Ward Wilson Club last evening.

Respectfully, yours, KEITH LAWRENCE.

Resolution.

Be it resolved by the Twentieth Ward Wilson Club in meeting assembled, on April 12, 1917, at Cleveland, That the members have and hereby express their explicit confidence in the President of the United States and approve unqualifiedly and indorse his every word and action in this great crisis of a Nation united and unafraid; and be it further

Resolved, That the members feel that it is fortunate there is in the Cabinet a Secretary of War who is so fitted by experience and ability for the task of training and equipping the Nation's manhood and developing its resources that it is rendered certain that right and justice will prevail and that democratic institutions will succeed autocracies throughout all the world; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the Senators from Ohio, and the Congressmen from Cleveland.

Resolutions adopted at mass meeting of citizens April 9, 1917.

Whereas the President and the Congress of the United States of America, after mature deliberation, have declared a state of war in defense of the institutions of our country; and

Whereas the President of the United States and the representatives of the people in Congress assembled have from time to time exercised caution and forbearance and, we firmly believe, have done their utmost to avoid a conflict of arms, and heretofore served notice to the world that we stood ready to proffer our resources toward the establishment of peace; and

Whereas the welfare and security of our very institutions of Government, of industry, and commerce and the future security of our cherished land of liberty is threatened by the violation of the laws of nations and of the humane considerations which are of the vital and fundamental bulwarks of our national life and principle, bringing upon us the serious condition of choice between national dishonor and decay or the defense of this home of this people, by the people, and for the people: Therefore the citizens of Mansfield and the surrounding community, in mass meeting assembled, "with malice toward none and charity for all, but with firmness in the right," do hereby

Resolved—

First. That as loyal Americans we indorse the action of our President and the Congress in severing relations with the Imperial Government of Germany and in declaring a state of war in defense of and to uphold the rights of our common country.

Second. That we pledge our hearty support to the President, the Congress, and all those in authority in the affairs of our Government in every act to protect the safety of our Nation and to further the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world.

Third. That we believe the time is opportune when law shall require all citizens to serve alike to the call of country, and therefore urge that Congress immediately enact into statute the proposed measure providing for universal training and service to the country, and believe this to be the most just and efficient democratic method of national defense.

Fourth. That we urge Congress without undue delay to equip our existing troops and all troops to be raised with most modern appliances, to the end that our soldiers and sailors may have the means to render the service they may be called upon to do and shall be in preparedness to keep true the traditions of the American soldier, second to none in the world.

Fifth. That a committee, of which the presiding officer of this meeting shall be a member, be appointed by the chair to place these resolutions before the President of the United States and the proper committees of Congress and to urge the adoption of the policies declared therein.

EDWIN G. SLOUGH, *Chairman,*
G. W. PFEIFER, *Secretary.*

Adopted at Mansfield, Ohio, April 9, 1917.

BRYAN, OHIO, *April 10, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I herewith inclose you two resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Bryan and county held at the opera house last night. These may be of value to you in arriving at a consensus of opinion of your State. Men and money must be provided, and war talk that does not arrive at anything definite probably is not much aid to you.

Very truly, R. L. STARR.

Resolved, That we recommend to the President and to Congress the passage and approval of a law that will provide for the payment of all of the expenses of the preparation and prosecution of the war with Germany by an income tax graduated from small to large incomes in increasing proportions.

We affirm that as men shall be compelled to give their lives and subject their bodies to death and suffering in order that the rights of commerce and travel on the high seas shall be free and in order that the rights of America shall be maintained, therefore it is fit and proper that men should be compelled to give their money for the vindication of these rights and privileges.

We are opposed to a Government sale of bonds to provide money for carrying on this war, and thus make of it an investment for money.

Resolved, That we recommend to the President and to Congress the passage and approval of a compulsory military-service law, making no exemptions or exceptions in favor of marriage or religion. We affirm the principle that the rights and benefits of citizenship carry with it the duties and obligations of defense. Therefore let no man hide behind the skirts of his wife or the prejudices of his religion and thus escape military service.

Mr. WALSH. I send to the desk a copy of resolutions adopted at a mass meetings at Butte, Mont., presided over by a former Member of this body, Hon. Lee Mantle. I ask that the resolutions be read.

There being no objection, the resolutions were read, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the citizens of Butte, Mont., April 7, 1917.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has by its inhuman action and in open defiance of the laws of humanity as well as the law of nations brought about a condition as intolerable to this Nation as any that has preceded a previous war; and

Whereas the Government of the United States in keeping with the spirit of our fathers did patiently seek by all honorable means to avoid conflict with the Empire of Germany; and

Whereas the said German Nation did wage war upon the United States of America by sinking our vessels and murdering our citizens; and

Whereas Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, did ask that the Congress of the United States recognize that a state of war existed between our beloved Nation and the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas the patriotic Congress of the United States did respond by declaring that a state of war existed, as aforesaid, and did give unto the wise and patriotic President of the United States full power and authority to call upon the armed forces of the United States to tne end that the said war be brought to a successful conclusion: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the citizens of Silver Bow County, State of Montana, in mass meeting assembled do hereby commend the actions of our President and of our Congress in recognizing that a state of war existed between this free Nation and the Imperial German Government; and be it further

Resolved, That we, and each of us, do hereby pledge our individual and collective support to the President of the United States in assisting him to uphold the honor and the dignity of the United States of America in its battle for humanity against a barbaric and unprecedented campaign of butchery that has been and is being waged by the war-mad lord of Hohenzollern; and be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our lives and our world possessions to our Nation to the end that mankind be served for permanent betterment.

LEE MANTLE, *Chairman.*

Mr. MYERS. I present a patriotic resolution adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Red Lodge, Mont., which has my hearty approval. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD with the names of the signers.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions by the citizens of Red Lodge at a mass meeting called by the mayor, held on April 6, 1917.

Whereas the Congress of the United States has formally declared that a state of war exists between this country and Germany, thereby officially noticing a condition that has existed in effect for the last two months; and

Whereas the Imperial German Government has openly waged war against our people and our Government by many acts of depredation and lawlessness, and by her unscrupulous conduct has sought not only to disregard the rights of American citizens to travel the highways of the world, but has utterly disregarded the common dictates of humanity by the ruthless destruction of American lives, the only offense the owners of which have committed was to refuse to abide by her arbitrary, unnecessary, and tyrannical edict; and

Whereas the Imperial German Government has for a long time maintained in this country a system of espionage and has conceived and fostered plots, intrigues, and conspiracies against our industries, our Government, and our people, which act in itself constitutes an act of war; and

Whereas the situation that now confronts this country is one which will require, not only all of our resources but the active, enthusiastic, and whole-hearted support of all of our people, our industries, and our vast wealth: Be it

Resolved by the citizens of Red Lodge, in mass meeting assembled, That we do enthusiastically, and unreservedly pledge our whole-souled indorsement and support to the Government of the United States; that we approve the action of Congress in formally declaring the existence of a state of war; that we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold the hands of that noble patriot and statesmen, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and commend his stupendous efforts to avoid the unfortunate situation which now confronts this Government; and that we further pledge the active cooperation and earnest support of whatever further measures shall be necessary to insure a victory, a permanent, and a lasting peace; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our congressional delegation for presentation by them to the proper authorities of the Government; that another copy be forwarded to Gov. Sam V. Stewart, and that a copy be presented to the city council to be spread upon the minutes of the city council.

FRANK P. WHICHER,
RAYMOND H. HOUGH,
CHAS. H. DRAPER,
G. L. FINLEY,
QUINCY SCOTT,
Committee.

Mr. MYERS. I present two telegrams from Missoula, Mont., in behalf of the conscript-service bill, both of which have my hearty approval and express my sentiments. I ask that they be printed in the RECORD, together with the signatures.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISSOULA, MONT., *April 15, 1917.*

Senator H. L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

I am directed to inform you that at a mass meeting of the members of the Missoula Chamber of Commerce and citizens of Missoula the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That we favor the policy of selective conscription for active military service rather than the undemocratic volunteer policy, under which one patriot shoulders the shirked military duties and dangers of other citizens who are less patriotic."

I beg to inform you that the Missoula Woman's Club also passed a resolution for selective conscription, but three dissenting.

MISSOULA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
D. D. RICHARDS, *Secretary.*

MISSOULA, MONT., *April 14, 1917.*

Senator H. L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

The Missoula Woman's Club goes on record as favoring conscription.

Mrs. GEORGE BRIGGS, *President.*

Mr. LEWIS. I present two petitions, one from the United Irish Societies of Chicago, the other from the City Council of Chicago, in my State, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD. I will not have them read at this time.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED IRISH SOCIETIES OF CHICAGO.
Chicago.

Hon. J. HAMILTON LEWIS,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas one of the results following the ending of the world war, which has rocked Europe from center to center, will be the consideration of terms of peace; and

Whereas in the making of such terms of peace by the victors and the vanquished, the consideration of the rights and wrongs of the weaker nations must play a great part.

President Wilson has wisely said: "No peace can last or ought to last which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed. No nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every nation should be left free to determine its own policy, its own development unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

In speaking thus President Wilson has appealed to the conscience of the world. Will his appeal find lodgment in the peace conference which must soon settle the peace of the world?

If civilization is to be saved and Christianity is to be preserved, then the rights and wrongs of the weaker nations must be considered in the terms of peace.

If Poland is to emerge from its century of misrule as a consequence of this peace settlement, and the tragedies of Belgium and other smaller nations are to be taken into account and settled at the peace conference, what of Ireland, which for seven centuries has been misruled, devastated, and almost destroyed by the hand of oppression?

Resolved, therefore, That we demand that the voice of Ireland be heard and answered in this peace conference, and that Ireland receive back its autonomy among the nations, which she lost seven centuries ago.

Resolved, That the time has come when every country, great or small, should enjoy the fullest measure of freedom.

When Russia, the nation of slavery has successfully broken manacles that enslaved its people, deposed monarchy, dethroned czardom, and established a republican form of government on the ruins of autocracy, is it not time that the people of Ireland emerged from their centuries of misrule and took their place among the nations of the earth, vested with the power to govern themselves, and left free to determine their own policies, their own development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid?

Be it further resolved, That the United Irish Societies of Chicago and Cook County appeal to the Federal Congress to demand that Ireland, as one of the conditions of the peace settlement, be given their autonomy, and to take their place among the nations.

Be it further resolved, That copies of the foregoing resolutions be sent the Senators and Representatives at Washington, requesting them to take favorable action thereon.

Jas. P. Walsh, president; Thomas P. Bonfield, 154 West Randolph Street, chairman; James F. Murray, 3637 Douglas Boulevard; P. J. Farley, 4317 Gladys Avenue; Philip Collins, 4440 Wilcox Street; John D. Roche, 1530 St. Louis Avenue; John R. Cook, 2141 Garfield Boulevard; Patrick Breslin, 5315 Maryland Avenue; Thomas McGinn, 1240 South Harding Avenue; William Casey, 3253 Van Buren Street; John J. Ryan, 1018 South Oakley Avenue, congressional committee.

Whereas a system of universal military training will not only prepare the citizens of this Nation for efficient service in the event of war, but when properly administered will promote the beneficial physical development of those subject to such training and will instill in the citizens of our country a sense of democracy, patriotism, discipline, and responsibility to duty; and

Whereas the want or lack of such a system of universal military training may result in disaster to our country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the City Council of the city of Chicago is in accord with and favors the principle of universal military training and requests the two United States Senators from the State of Illinois and the Members of Congress from the districts in whole or in part within the city of Chicago to employ every effort to secure the enactment by Congress of a law establishing in the United States of America a system of universal and compulsory military training, and that the city clerk be, and he is hereby, requested to transmit copies of this resolution to the public officials herein referred to.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
County of Cook, ss:

I, Joseph Siman, city clerk of the city of Chicago, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the certain resolution adopted by the City Council of said city of Chicago on the 28th day of March, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] JOSEPH SIMAN, *City Clerk.*

Mr. KING. I desire to present and ask to have read a set of resolutions adopted by a large number of German and Austrian residents of the State of Utah, and also a letter from the governor of the State of Utah to the President of the United States accompanying the resolution. I ask to have the resolutions and letter read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The Secretary read as follows:

STATE OF UTAH,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Salt Lake City, March 30, 1917.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT: I have the honor to transmit herewith, through the courtesy of Senator WILLIAM H. KING, resolutions which were unanimously adopted at a largely attended meeting of American citizens of German and Austrian birth or extraction, which I called and at which I had the honor to be the presiding officer.

My personal observations lead me to the belief that these resolutions correctly interpret the attitude of practically every American citizen of this State of German or Austrian birth or extraction.

Respectfully,

SIMON BAMBERGER, *Governor.*

Resolutions.

As loyal American citizens of German or Austrian birth or extraction, assembled in mass meeting at the Auditorium, in Salt Lake, this 29th day of March, 1917, we have met to reaffirm our allegiance to the American Flag and the American Government;

While, with every other good citizen, we deplore the state of war which is devastating and depopulating Europe, and deprecate any necessity which may force this country to participate in that war, we unreservedly pledge our support to the United States Government in such an emergency. Should war be declared against any foreign power or potentate for the protection of American rights and lives, we hereby

Resolve, To do our part as citizens of the Republic, whose liberty and opportunities we have enjoyed and whose hospitality has sheltered us when we sought refuge from oppression and injustice in other lands; and we further

Resolve, That we neither owe nor consider any higher national allegiance or obligation than that which we hereby acknowledge to the United States; and we further

Resolve, To expose and defeat, by every means within our power, any and every effort made either secretly or openly by citizens or foreigners, to embarrass, hinder, injure, or betray this Government, its officials, its Army or Navy, in carrying on war against any foreign foe whatsoever; and we further

Resolve, That we stand ready and willing to do our duty as citizens in war as in peace, and to fight, if need be, for the defense of American rights and the glory of the American Flag; and we

Resolve, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the governor of this State to the President of this Republic as a pledge of support from loyal citizens of Utah, whose ties of birth, blood, and recollection are not strong enough to hold against the bonds of duty, gratitude, and patriotism which bind us to the land of our adoption.

Mr. KING. I send to the desk a letter from Hon. I. C. Thoresen, of Salt Lake City, and a copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Scandinavians, residents in the State of Utah, and ask that they be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to say to my colleague that I have already presented a similar set of resolutions which he now sends to the desk, and they can not be ordered printed in the RECORD a second time.

Mr. KING. I was not aware that my colleague had previously offered these resolutions, and I will therefore withdraw them.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be withdrawn.

Mr. KING. I send to the desk and ask to have printed in the RECORD two letters from citizens of Utah. They are expressive of the same views contained in numerous letters which I have received in favor of the military bill which is to be submitted by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN]. I ask that these letters be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR KING: I am taking the liberty of writing you on a subject in which I am deeply interested.

I believe that the volunteer system is unjust and undemocratic, and that our Army and Navy should be filled up in the present crisis on the plan of universal and obligatory liability for service. I urge you to do all in your power to gain the immediate enactment of an adequate bill for compulsory universal military training.

Very respectfully, yours, PAUL F. KEYSER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KING: I wish again to inflict myself upon you. Now, that the President very properly advocates universal military training, I hope you will use every effort with the President and otherwise to prevent the raising of regiments or divisions by the volunteer system, whether the offers to do so come from ex-President Roosevelt or from any other person. The principle is the thing, and no stronger argument could be placed at the command of the opponents of universal military training than a partial recognition or acceptance by our Government of the volunteer system. The men who would volunteer can better serve their country by acting as officers or instructors of the men who are selected under the universal system.

Very respectfully, WM. M. BRADLEY.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Oregon praying for the enactment of legislation to agricultural preparedness, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Portland, Oreg., praying for prohibition in military camps, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JONES of Washington presented petitions of the Harvard Club, of Spokane, the Home Guard, of Tacoma, and of Lodge No. 174, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Tacoma, all in the State of Washington, praying for compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. POINDEXTER presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Bellingham, Wash., praying for compulsory military service, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of Dr. R. S. Gregory, of Newport, Wash., praying for the passage of the so-called national colonization bill and the industrial army bill, which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. KNOX. I presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
FILE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Concurrent resolution 11. (Mr. Hecht, in place, March 26, 1917.)

Whereas the subject of universal military training has been and will be presented to the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas there should be enacted into law a universal military training bill; now therefore be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (if the senate concurs), That we earnestly indorse the principle of universal military training and urge upon the Members of Congress from the State of Pennsylvania to aid in the enactment of such a universal military training law as will now and hereafter provide for the common defense, promote and maintain the general welfare, safety, and happiness of all the people and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, together with the action thereon, be sent to each Member in the Congress of the United States from the State of Pennsylvania.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a resolution passed in the house of representatives on April 2, 1917, and concurred in by the senate on April 3, 1917.

THOMAS H. GARVIN,
Chief Clerk House of Representatives.

Mr. KNOX presented petitions of sundry citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the extension of the Federal War Risk Insurance Bureau until after the close of the present war, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. NELSON presented petitions of sundry citizens of Minnesota, pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a memorial of the congregation of the First Norwegian-Danish Methodist Episcopal Church, of Canby, Minn., remonstrating against the further use of foodstuffs for alcoholic beverages owing to the unusual demand, caused by the international crisis, of foodstuffs, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Two Harbors, Minn., praying that a post-office building be erected in that city, which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present a telegram in the form of a memorial, signed by the president of Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., and 60 other officers and members of the faculty of that institution, protesting against the present system of enlistment and in favor of the method proposed by the President of the United States. I ask that the telegram be printed in the RECORD without the signatures.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANOVER, N. H., *April 14, 1917.*

Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned officers and members of the faculty of Dartmouth College, wish respectfully to make record of our convictions that a policy of relying upon volunteer enlistments for prosecution of the war will result in an entirely disproportionate assumption of the earliest burdens and risks of war by the youth of greatest initiative and maximum worth throughout the country, thus creating a dearth of men of such characteristics needful for successive levies that the Government is altogether likely to be obliged to make. We believe this to be unwise in theory and dangerous in practice. We subscribe ourselves as believers in the principle of universal service urged by President Wilson, and as being desirous of having this principle enacted into law.

ERNEST MARTIN HOPKINS, *President*
(And others).

Mr. PENROSE. I present a petition of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, favoring the immediate adoption of a system of universal military training, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF TRADE,
Bourse Building, Philadelphia, April 9, 1917.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Your memorialist, the Philadelphia Board of Trade, respectfully urges the immediate adoption of a system of universal military training for the United States.

And your memorialist will ever pray.

PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF TRADE,
[SEAL.] WM. M. COATES, *President.*
Attest:

W. R. TUCKER, *Secretary.*

In support of the foregoing request the following summary of reasons is submitted:

ARGUMENT.

Our country is engaging in a war the ultimate results of which no man can with assurance predict. The fact that it is not of our seeking, that it is forced upon us in spite of the exercise of the utmost forbearance, is conclusive that more than a desire for peace is necessary to safeguard our institutions and the lives and well being of the hundred millions of our people.

This war finds us not only unprepared (our national pursuits and temperaments will never lend themselves to an instant readiness for hostilities), it finds the whole people so unversed in the rudiments of national defense that very many months, perhaps a year or more, must elapse before anything approaching a reasonable condition of safety can be expected. Only the accident of favoring conditions saves us from national humiliation or disaster. A system which will at once meet the present crisis and prevent the recurrence of such a condition is urgently needed.

The war may not only lead to situations which will test to the utmost our capacity and endurance—it is certain to lead in the end to extensive readjustments between the nations, to new alignments of powers, to new methods of international competition. During the whole period of such readjustment there will exist a special need for preparedness, for a condition of readiness to meet emergencies. To adequately provide for the responsibilities which can be now reasonably foreseen a system must be adopted which will make constantly available in case of need the great unorganized power of the country. This can not be accomplished unless the oncoming generations are given a sufficient education in the fundamentals of military training.

The proposal does not involve the maintenance of a large standing army, it obviates the necessity for such an army, and is the measure which democracy must of necessity take if it would avoid the dangers of militarism and at the same time preserve democratic institutions from the constant threat of autocracy, on the one hand, or disorganization on the other.

The proposal does not create a military caste, it gives sufficient education and training to the people generally to fight in defense of democracy if the necessity arise.

The proposal will cure the manifest unfairness and fatal weakness of our present militia system, which is based on an unequal participation of individuals and States in matters affecting the common defense. The present system results not in the formation of a coordinated, competent, national force but of a number of small unrelated units which can not be bound together. The result of this lack of cohesion entails on the individual members dangers to life and health to which it is mere murder to subject them in the event of serious warfare. In any crisis our militia must find itself outnumbered and at a hopeless disadvantage in every point of organization, training, and equipment.

So completely have the conditions of national life changed in the last half century, so different are the methods of modern warfare, that this readjustment in our methods of defense is necessary to maintain the margin of safety which our isolation has heretofore accorded us. If, as is confidently hoped, general military training shall raise the standards of physical health, make for better understandings between all classes, and engender a spirit of national unity and service, it would amply repay the expense and effort involved, quite apart from the primary need for which it is intended.

The need, however, is, we believe, urgent and calls for the prompt action of Congress.

PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF TRADE,
WM. M. COATES, *President.*
W. R. TUCKER, *Secretary.*

Mr. SIMMONS. I present a letter from the Chamber of Commerce of Elizabeth City, N. C., favoring universal military training, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF MANAGER,
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Elizabeth City, N. C., March 24, 1917.

Senator F. M. SIMMONS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We are addressing you in the interest of a bill for universal military training, which we understand will be presented before the session of Congress that meets in April. The bill as we understand it provides for the establishment of training areas and training units. These units will organize and train men in the several areas.

We believe that it is a proper measure and our citizens are interested in its passage.

Thanking you for giving this matter your attention, we are,

Yours, very truly,

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
By C. R. PUGH,
Business Manager.

Mr. SIMMONS. I present a resolution of the Board of Trade of Asheville, N. C., favoring universal military training, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASHEVILLE BOARD OF TRADE,
Asheville, N. C., April 2, 1917.

Senator F. M. SIMMONS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR SIMMONS: At a special meeting of the board of trade held at 12.30 p. m. last Friday, the 30th, the following resolution was unanimously indorsed:

"*Resolved*, That the Asheville Board of Trade goes on record as being in favor of some form of universal military training."

This organization will be glad to support our representatives in their efforts to secure the desired legislation.

Yours, very truly, N. BUCKNER, *Secretary.*

Mr. SIMMONS. I send to the desk and ask unanimous consent to have read certain resolutions passed by citizens of Raleigh, N. C., indorsing the President and the action of Congress in the matter of declaring war and of preparedness, and also favoring universal military training.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

RALEIGH, N. C., *April 12, 1917.*

Be it resolved by the citizens of the city of Raleigh in mass meeting assembled, That we unqualifiedly commend the course of the President of the United States in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States Government, and unreservedly indorse the action of Congress in declaring that a state of war exists between the Government of the United States and the Imperial Government of Germany.

That we feel that this is a righteous war and necessary for the preservation of our national rights and of democratic ideals against the aggressions of Prussian absolutism; that we believe it is necessary to the liberties of the world that the central powers should be freed from the autocratic rule of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties.

That in our opinion the Government of the United States should wage this war with every energy and resource at its command, upon a basis of universal military service, preserving to each State, as far as may be consistent with military efficiency, the identity of the troops enrolled from that State; and we are of opinion that the Government of the United States should make common cause to the fullest extent with the Governments of the entente allies.

That we urge the State government and the people of North Carolina immediately to formulate plans for conserving, increasing, and mobilizing the resources of the State.

Mr. WARREN. I present a petition of sundry citizens of Sheridan County, Wyo., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The citizens of Sheridan and Sheridan County, Wyo., in mass meeting assembled, on April 5, 1917, unanimously adopted the following:

"We heartily approve of the acts of Congress in declaring war against Germany, and the acts of our President in recommending this course, and we pledge our loyalty in the defense of the honor, rights, and just interests of our country.

"The wrongful acts of the Imperial Government of Germany in violating the sovereignty of peaceful, neighboring nations, maiming and murdering their citizens, destroying their homes, their industries, and their land, and carrying their men and women into slavery; the waging of ruthless submarine warfare, thereby sinking merchant ships without warning, resulting in the wanton murder of our citizens—men, women, and children—while peacefully on the high seas, and forcing the survivors into small, open boats hundreds of miles from land, in direct violation of our treaty with Germany, and contrary to the law of nations, all place the Imperial German Government beyond the pale of civilization, brand that Government an outlaw, and justify all free and peace-loving nations in uniting to overcome the Prussian menace to free government, to forever destroy the rule that 'might makes right,' and to establish for all time the doctrine of the inalienable rights of all people to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without molestation from ambitious and covetous rulers of other nations.

"We urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a law providing for universal military service as the only and most truly democratic way of obtaining an army which will be at all adequate in the present crisis.

"We call upon all young men of this State to come forward and offer their services to their country. No nobler sentiment than that of patriotism ever inspired heroic action; and it ought to be a sacred honor, duty, and privilege for young men of this Nation to again do, suffer, and sacrifice for the Nation as our ancestors did and suffered and sacrificed in its founding and preservation.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President, both Houses of Congress, and to each of our Senators and Representatives from Wyoming."

E. E. LOUDBAUGH,
Chairman of the Meeting.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I ask to have read a letter from the governor of Michigan which I received this morning.

There being no objection, the Secretary read the letter, as follows:

STATE OF MICHIGAN,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Lansing, April 13, 1917.

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter and will say that we promptly took up the matter of conserving and increasing our food products.

I agree with you that our food production is one of the principal war measures that we have It would almost be a crime to take the young people from the farms and put them into field duty. We need their help in raising foodstuff more than we do in fighting.

We have had a great many people come in here offering their services in all kinds of ways, many hundreds of them within the past week, representing many thousands of people, and in each case everyone was willing to do his whole duty and willing to shed every drop of his blood in defense of his country, but I can say that without exception they did not approve of conscription, nor did they approve of our soldiers going across the water. I am writing this to you to let you know the feeling of the people, and you can act accordingly.

Yours, very truly,

ALBERT E. SLEEPER, *Governor.*

Mr. TOWNSEND. I have two petitions adopted by mass meetings in Michigan with reference to universal military training and conscription service, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADRIAN, MICH., *April 14, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
The Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting under auspices of the Patriotic League of Lenawee County at the opera house to-night the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we solemnly demand that Congress pass without delay a law providing for selective conscription for the duration of the war, to take effect as quickly as it can be put into operation; and to stand by the President in every way.

We further declare that this community is intensely opposed to the volunteer system; that universal service has been indorsed unanimously by the county board of supervisors and by a Red Cross mass meeting of 1,500 citizens in this city of 11,000 population; that unless Congress authorizes conscription at once it will be impossible to raise even our proportion of the half million volunteers first called for; and that any effort to raise a larger number would fail utterly. We protest that we are bitterly disappointed and profoundly alarmed by the folly of those who oppose this vitally necessary step, and we warn them that they assume a terrible responsibility.

ROBERT DARNTON, *President.*
R. C. ROTHFUSS, *Secretary.*

McCORD MANUFACTURING CO.,
Detroit, April 13, 1917.

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned citizens and voters, wish to express our appreciation of the patriotic stand taken by our Representatives in Congress during the present national crisis and our gratification that the Michigan delegation was a unit in supporting the President in his war measures.

We further wish to state that we believe in an immediate and effective national defense and urge that you use your every power to bring about the prompt enactment of a law providing for compulsory universal military service under Federal control.

We are convinced such a system affords the only permanent, equitable, democratic safeguard for the liberties of our Nation, to the support of which we give our pledge.

Respectfully, yours,

PERCY L. BARTER,
WILL HUNTER,
EDWARD C. GRANT,
H. O. MARTIN,
E. S. SABIN,
A. C. PECARD,
E. G. HUNTER,
F. J. KOSTAT,
W. A. COYNE.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I have a letter from the largest makers of potato machinery in the world, with an attached letter proffering that concern to the President, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JACKSON, MICH., *April 14, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TOWNSEND: The need for cooperation of each and everyone of us in the present crisis appeals strongly to every true and loyal American.

You, as our representative in the United States Senate and as an active worker as well in aiding our Government in preparing for the work cut out for it in this hour of peril, will be interested particularly in the steps this company has taken to manifest its loyalty, patriotism, and willingness to support the Government in its endeavor. The food situation is of paramount importance, and it is in that direction that we can be of some assistance as a unit; therefore wired the Hon. Woodrow Wilson as per copy of telegram inclosed, writing him as per carbon of letter herewith, sending proffer of cooperation likewise to the United States Department of Agriculture.

You, better than anyone else in Washington, know that we are in position to render the assistance offered if it is desired, and perhaps can make this apparent to those in authority who might want to be advised.

Trusting our action is one that has your approval and can be taken as another example of the willingness of Michigan Americans "to do their bit," remain,

Very truly, yours,

ASPINWALL MANUFACTURING CO.,
By C. G. ROWLEY,
Vice President and Manager.

—

[Copy of telegram.]

JACKSON, MICH., *April 13, 1917.*

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President United States of America,
White House, Washington, D. C.:

The extreme necessity for greater food crops this year in the support of our allies and our own Nation renders it the duty of every patriotic American to do his share; therefore this company offers you for Government use machines of its manufacture, consisting of potato cutters, planters, sprayers, diggers, sorters, at cost.

Await your commands if we can be of service.

ASPINWALL MANUFACTURING CO.

—

APRIL 13, 1917.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In this hour of national peril your words come like an inspiration, and from every true, loyal American heart meet with ready response.

What part we can play, whether great or small, we know not; but we can serve, and the service we can now render, as we see it, is freely offered you.

The growing of food is of paramount importance, and realizing the problem that confronts the National Government do, in the hope of rendering assistance, offer our machines at cost for Government use, that if desired they can be used by the Government in the development of a greater potato acreage, which truly is of such vital necessity.

With this willingness to serve in our heart, wired you to-day as per copy of message inclosed.

Most respectfully, yours, ——— ———.

Mr. CUMMINS. I present certain telegrams relating to Senate bill 1078, which afterwards became an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill, and I ask to have them printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DES MOINES, IOWA, *April 14, 1917.*

Senator A. B. CUMMINS,
Washington, D. C.:

Pledge Senate Conferees WARREN, MARTIN, and OVERMAN to support and adopt naturalization item in Senate bill 1078. Important.

THOS. J. GUTHRIE.
HUBERT UTTERBACK.
CHAS. HUTCHINSON.
LAWRENCE DEGRAFF.

DES MOINES, IOWA, *April 14, 1917.*

Senator A. B. CUMMINS,
Washington, D. C.:

We urge you to consult Senate Conferees WARREN, OVERMAN, and MARTIN for their support of Senate bill 1078.

DES MOINES BUSINESS MEN'S LEAGUE,
By WALTER STEWART, *Secretary.*

—

DES MOINES, IOWA, *April 14, 1917.*

Senator A. B. CUMMINS,
Washington, D. C.:

Urge Senate Conferees MARTIN, OVERMAN, and WARREN to strongly support naturalization item in Senate bill 1078.

R. H. FAXON,
General Secretary Chamber of Commerce.

—

STATE HOUSE,
Des Moines, Iowa, April 14, 1917.

Hon. A. B. CUMMINS,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Iowa Legislature enacted night-school law for foreigners. We urge you to prevail upon Senate Conferees MARTIN, OVERMAN, and WARREN to retain naturalization item in Senate bill 1078.

A. L. RULE.
B. W. NEWBERRY.
CLEM F. MIMBALL.
E. M. SMITH.
N. J. SCHRUP.
A. M. PARKER.

Mr. PITTMAN. I have a letter from Thomas H. Barry Camp, No. 7, United Spanish War Veterans, of Reno, Nev., favoring the universal-service bill, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered published in the RECORD, as follows.

HEADQUARTERS THOMAS H. BARRY CAMP, NO. 7,
UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS,
Reno, Nev., March 7, 1917.

The undersigned hereby certify that at the regular meeting of the above camp, held on the 16th day of March, 1917, at Reno, Nev., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved by Thomas H. Barry Camp, No. 7, Division of Nevada, United Spanish War Veterans, an undeniably American organization, with a right to speak on such a question,* That this camp go on record as favoring universal and compulsory military training under proper United States Army officers; that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President, one to each of our United States Senators, one to our Congressman, and one to our national headquarters; and that it become a part of the minutes of this meeting."

A true copy.

J. B. WAHL, *Camp Commander.*

Attest:
[SEAL.] CHARLES H. BURRILL, *Camp Adjutant.*

To Hon. KEY PITTMAN, *United States Senate.*

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I present a petition from farmers of my State praying for an investigation of the binder twine conditions, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SISAL FIBER MONOPOLY.

Petition.

To the honorable United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Nebraska:

We, the undersigned farmers of your State, users of binder twine, an indispensable article in the harvesting of our wheat, oats, rye, and barley, respectfully call your attention to the conditions affecting the price of that commodity.

In the year 1916 we paid an advance of 2 cents per pound over the price of 1915, an advance of $5,000,000 in the total twine bill of American farmers; and we are informed that we will be compelled to pay an additional advance of 5 or 6 cents in 1917, an advance that will add from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 to the total twine bill. These advances have resulted from the control and manipulation of the sisal fiber market by a Yucatan fiber commission, which receives financial backing from American bankers. Under existing conditions we are forced to depend upon Yucatan sisal fiber for the bulk of our binder twine requirements, and competition in the sale of that fiber has been completely destroyed by the action of the Yucatan government in placing the sale of the fiber in the hands of the Yucatan Fiber Commission. This commission has advanced the price of fiber nearly 200 per cent since it obtained control in the fall of 1915.

For additional information concerning the Yucatan monopoly and its operations we respectfully refer you to the proceedings of an investigation conducted by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in February, March, and April, 1916, and to the report of the findings of that committee submitted to the Senate January 10, 1917.

Believing that nearly all of the advance in the price of sisal fiber is unwarranted and that the combination, consisting of the Yucatan Fiber Commission and the American bankers, exists in violation of the Sherman or other antitrust acts, we earnestly ask your careful consideration and investigation of the situation with a view to obtaining relief for the grain growers from excessive and extortionate prices on binder twine, of which approximately 250,000,000 pounds are used annually by the farmers of the United States.

M. L. Pittenger, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; Chas. Steele, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; L. A. Stiles, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; A. Walters, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; L. S. Penkany, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; D. E. Mavity, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; E. E. Watkins, Vesta, Nebr.; J. W. Walter, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; F. R. Gustav Wooge, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; Fred Smidt, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; Clay Bacon, Adams, Nebr.; Geo. R. Edwards, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; J. E. Edwards, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; Wood Lovett, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; J. H. Hazelton, Filley, Nebr.; C. L. Rothette, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; C. E. Stout, Crab Orchard, Nebr.; L. D. Spence, Crab Orchard, Nebr.

Mr. SHERMAN. I present a copy of a joint resolution passed by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois approving the declaration of war and urging its speedy prosecution and pledging support to the Government. I ask that the joint resolution may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
FIFTIETH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Senate joint resolution 16.

Whereas it is essential that the United States of America, as one of the foremost nations of the world, should be prepared at all times to defend itself against attacks by hostile forces, to protect its citizens in the exercise of their just rights and privileges, and to prevent unwarranted curtailment or restriction of such rights and privileges; and

Whereas the organization in an emergency of an army of untrained civilians to repel an invasion or to vindicate the Nation's just rights, or those of its citizens, works a great and severe hardship on such civilians in that they, without sufficient military training, may be called upon to meet a hostile army, highly trained and efficient in the art of making war; and

Whereas a system of universal military training will not only prepare the citizens of this Nation for efficient service in the event of war, but, when properly administered, will promote the beneficial physical development of those subject to such training and will instill in the citizens of our country a sense of democracy, patriotism, discipline, and responsibility to duty; and

Whereas the want or lack of such a system of universal military training may result in disaster to our country: Now therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Illinois (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the General Assembly of the State of Illinois is in accord with and favors the principle of universal military training and requests our Senators and Representatives in Congress to employ every effort to secure the enactment by Congress of a law establishing in the United States of America a system of universal and compulsory military training, and that copies of this resolution be transmitted to our Senators and Representatives in Congress by the secretary of state under seal of the State.

Adopted by the senate March 27, 1917.

JOHN G. OGLESBY,
President of Senate.
J. H. PADDOCK,
Secretary of Senate.

Concurred in by the house of representatives April 5, 1917.

DAVID E. SHANAHAN,
Speaker of House of Representatives.
B. H. MCCANN,
Clerk of House of Representatives.

Filed April 6, 1917.

LOUIS L. EMMERSON,
Secretary of State.

I, Louis L. Emmerson, secretary of state of the State of Illinois, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true copy of senate joint resolution No. 16 passed by the Fiftieth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, the original of which is now on file and a matter of record in this office.

In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand and cause to be affixed the great seal of the State of Illinois.

Done at the city of Springfield this 11th day of April, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] LOUIS L. EMMERSON,
Secretary of State.

Mr. SHERMAN. I present a resolution adopted by a number of German-American citizens of Kewanee, Ill., a manufacturing town, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHER BUERGER VEREIN,
Kewanee, Ill., April 9, 1917.

Senator L. Y. SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: At the regular meeting of the German-American Citizen Society of Kewanee, Ill., and vicinity, held Sunday, April 8, the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That the German-American Citizen Society of Kewanee, Ill., and vicinity hereby tenders its loyal support as American citizens to the President of the United States in the present controversy."

WILHELM BUCK, *President.*
OTTO BUELOW, *Secretary.*

Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to say that of the communications I have received, amounting to some 2,200, I have made a collection of those I have desired printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and confined the number to a few.

Mr. ASHURST. I present a petition of sundry citizens of Safford, Ariz., pledging support to the President, which I ask may be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. LODGE. I present petitions of the Boston (Mass.) Lodge of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks and of sundry citizens of Norfolk, Mass., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the people of the United States have been denied all right upon the ocean; and

Whereas the Imperial Government of Germany has lawlessly and wantonly destroyed the lives and property of our fellow citizens; and

Whereas the President having unavailingly exhausted all peaceful means to protect the United States from insult and affront now calls Congress to meet in special session "to receive a communication by the Executive concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken immediately under consideration; and

Whereas his excellency the governor has requested financial and military preparation to protect the law-abiding citizens against the criminal activities of enemies within the State:

With full confidence that the President and Congress will uphold the dignity and defend the sovereignty of the United States before all the peoples of the world we, members of Boston Lodge, No. 10, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, American citizens, in peace or in war, do pledge unto our President and our Congress the full measure of our fortunes and our services to the end that "the government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth: Therefore be it

Ordered, That a committee of 25 be appointed to be known as Boston Lodge of Elks defense committee; that the said committee be empowered to appeal for and collect money in the name of Boston Lodge, and acting in conjunction with properly appointed public-safety committees, to expend such money with the approval of the exalted ruler and the finance committee; and be it further

Ordered, That Boston Lodge, through its exalted ruler, tender the use of the Elks' Home to the governor of the Commonwealth or to the mayor of the city of Boston for such purposes as these officials deem necessary for public defense; and further be it

Ordered, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to each Representative in Congress from Massachusetts and that an additional copy be sent to Congressman JAMES A. GALLIVAN, to be by him transmitted to the President; and further be it

Ordered, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to his excellency the governor and to the chairman of the committee of public safety; and also be it

Ordered, That a copy of these resolutions be printed in the Lodge Bulletin for three months.

—

FRANKLIN, MASS., *April 13, 1917.*

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.:

At a mass meeting to-night of the citizens of Norfolk it was voted to indorse the stand taken by the President in the present crisis and their support was pledged.

WILLIAM N. GALLANGHER,
Chairman Public Safety Committee.

Mr. ROBINSON. I desire to present a telegram for the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS], who is detained from the Senate, and ask that it may be printed in the RECORD, together with the signatures.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANOVER, N. H., *April 14, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY F. HOLLIS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, officers and members of the faculty of Dartmouth College, wish respectfully to make record of our convictions that a policy of relying upon volunteer enlistments for prosecution of the war will result in an entirely disproportionate assumption of the earliest burdens and risks of war by the youth of greatest initiative and maximum worth throughout the country, thus creating a dearth of men of such characteristics needful for successive levies that the Government is altogether likely to be obliged to make. We believe this to be unwise in theory and dangerous in practice. We subscribe ourselves as believers in the principle of universal service urged by President Wilson and as being desirous of having this principle enacted into law.

Ernest Martin Hopkins (president), William Jewett Tucker, Craven Laycock, Chas. D. Adams, Chas. E. Bolser, H. E. Burton, Frances Lane Childs, F. W. McReynolds, J. W. Young, Wm. H. Murray, Eugene F. Clark, F. M. Morgan, Raymond W. Jones, Chas. A. Proctor, Wm. Patten, Chas. N. Hastings, Arthur B. Meservey, Ralph D. Beetle, J. W. Goldthwait, E. B. Woods, N. L. Goodrich, Foster E. Guyer, Ashley K. Hardy, Geo. D. Lord, Fred. P. Emery, Norman S. Gilbert, E. Gordon Bill, F. H. Dixon, J. H. Gerould, W. K. Wright, G. F. Hull, S. G. Patterson, John Hornicek, Edwin J. Bartlett, James J. A. Neef, Chas. R. Dines, Warren C. Shaw, A. H. Chivers, A. L. Priddy, David Lambeth, Sydney Lee Ruggles, Grover C. Loud, R. D. Kilborn, C. H. Forsythe, W. H. Sheldon, J. N. Kingsford, W. R. Gray, W. L. Mendenhall, Peter S. Dow, Howard F. Dunham, Winslow H. Loveland, Claude R. Oule, Kenneth A. Robinson, W. J. Stewart, Courtney Bruerton, Fred'k H. Page, John M. Poor, C. P. Clark, John W. Bowler, Walter M. May, G. B. Zug, Howard M. Tibbetts, Elbon C. Evans, Hoitt N. Charlton.

AMERICAN FARM LABOR IN CANADA.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have here a letter from Mr. William H. Brown, formerly a citizen of my State. Mr. Brown is an influential citizen, and he has written me a letter touching upon a question in which I believe the Senate and the country are very much interested at this time. I wish to have the letter read and also a clipping from the Chicago Tribune.

There being no objection, the Secretary read as follows:

JUDITH BASIN, MONT., WHEAT AND ALFALFA FARMS,
Chicago, Ill., April 13, 1917.

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GRONNA: I know that you are a busy man and that you do not have time to write to everybody who writes to you. I should like to call your attention to a few facts with which I am familiar.

I inclose herewith an advertisement which has been published in our Chicago Daily Tribune and, I presume, in other newspapers throughout the country, by the Canadian Government. This advertisement speaks for itself. Have you seen it before? It is headed "Farm hands

wanted—Western Canada farmers require 50,000 American farm laborers at once." It states they want American farm laborers. Please read all of it.

What has our Government to offer to our farmer boys and to the farmer boys in Canada?

I want to suggest that the food producers of this country are largely the boys on the farms. If these boys are rushed away to war, who will produce the wheat, beef, chickens, mutton, ham, eggs, butter, corn, potatoes, and vegetables? The father of these boys alone can make a good living for himself, but he will be unable to produce sufficient food to supply the demand. I think that he and the boys should be urged to stay on the farm. If any great number of the farmer boys is sent to war it will only be a short time before the big cities of this country will face starvation and the big producing farm districts will be ruined for some years to come. The late James J. Hill was right a few years ago when he said, "Unless our farmers farm more intensively, and more of our people stay on the farms, within a few years this great and glorious United States will not produce enough food for its own use."

Some of our farmer boys are enlisted in the Army, and more are ready and desire to go. I think that more of our people should be urged to go back to the soil, or in a short time this country will face starvation, to say nothing about supplying food for other nations.

If it is absolutely necessary, in view of the present crisis to resort to conscription as a means of raising an army, that conscription should be restricted in such a way as to exempt the farmers, upon whom this country is dependent for its very existence.

Why not offer the volunteer soldiers reasonable wages, so that they may be able to provide a living for those dependent upon them?

I know that already it is difficult for us to hire enough men at good wages to go out and work on our farms in the Judith Basin, Mont., and in North Dakota, several thousand acres of which we are now having seeded.

Yours, very truly, WM. H. BROWN.

[From Chicago Tribune, Apr. 4, 1917.]

FARM HANDS WANTED—WESTERN CANADA FARMERS REQUIRE 50,000 AMERICAN FARM LABORERS AT ONCE.

Urgent demand sent out for farm help by the Government of Canada. Good wages. Steady employment. Low railway fares. Pleasant surroundings. Comfortable homes. No compulsory military service. A splendid opportunity for the young man to investigate western Canada's agricultural offerings, and to do so at no expense. Only those accustomed to farming need apply.

The demand for farm labor in Canada is so great that as an inducement to secure at once the necessary help required, Canada will give 160 acres of land free as a homestead and allow the farm laborer, who files on land, to apply the time he is working for other farmers as residence duties the same as if he had lived on the land he had applied for. This offer made only to men working on Canadian farms during 1917, thus making it possible to reduce the necessity of actual residence to two years instead of three years, as under usual conditions. This appeal for farm help is in no way connected with enlistment for military service but solely to secure farm laborers to increase agricultural output. A wonderful opportunity to earn good wages while securing a farm. Canadian Government will pay all fare over 1 cent per mile from St. Paul and Duluth to Canadian destination.

For particulars as to railway rates and districts where labor is required or other information regarding western Canada, apply to

_____,
Authorized Canadian Government Agent.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I present resolutions which I am glad to say will appear in connection with the letter that has just been read, although indicating a somewhat different spirit.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting at Safford, Ariz.

Whereas the President and Congress of the United States have officially declared that a state of war exists between this country and the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas such a declaration by the United States Government became absolutely necessary because of Germany's utter disregard of every principle of international law, as shown by her acts, unparalleled in history, of utterly destroying, without warning, our ships on the high seas, while they were engaged in the lawful pursuit of carrying passengers and merchandise, and thus casting many of our citizens adrift on the sea without hope of rescue, many of whom, in some instances even women and children, being sent to a cruel and untimely death; and

Whereas in the language of President Wilson, "The world must be made safe for democracy," and the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed must not perish from the earth; and

Whereas it is essential to the accomplishment of this purpose that all governments in which the people rule must stand together against the threats and encroachments of autocratic government wherever found; and

Whereas this nation, through its history of over 140 years, has established beyond question that popular self-government can be and is a success; and

Whereas through the strength and character of our manhood and womanhood, loving good and hating evil and true to our sentiments of loyalty to citizenship and patriotism, we believe in upholding our traditions and preserving our national life, be the cost what it may: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, citizens of the United States of America, residing in Graham County, Ariz., in mass meeting assembled in Safford, in said county, without qualification or reservation on account of religious or political beliefs, hereby commend and indorse the patriotic action of President Wilson and Congress, to the end that American lives and American interests shall be fully protected on land and sea, wherever the flag floats; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby pledge our earnest, patriotic, and loyal support to the President in this hour of the Nation's peril, in the use of all the Nation's resources at his command for the protection and defense of our beloved country against foreign aggression and for the preservation of our national integrity and honor.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 2762. An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I desire to say that in a very short time I shall be able to file the report of the Finance Committee upon the bill just referred and known as the bond bill.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I submit the conference report on the deficiency appropriation bill, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. GALLINGER. Will not the Senator from Colorado withhold the report until morning business is concluded?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the urgency of the situation arises from the fact that the House of Representatives has adjourned until 1 o'clock to-day in anticipation that we would in the meantime adopt the conference report and return it to the House by that hour. I have waited nearly 25 minutes for the conclusion of the presentation of memorials.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, that appeal can not be resisted by me, of course.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not believe the conference report will consume any great length of time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, will the consideration of the conference report interfere with the morning business?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do not think so. I presume morning business will be resumed immediately upon the conclusion of the consideration of the report.

Mr. HUGHES. I want to know about that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is not a prophet.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The consideration of the conference report will only interfere with morning business during the time it is being considered, and morning business may be resumed immediately after the report is disposed of.

Mr. HUGHES. I shall object to the consideration of the conference report if it is going to interfere with morning business, for I have an important resolution which I desire to have considered during the morning hour.

Mr. SWANSON. I suggest to the Senator from Colorado that he permit the introduction of bills, and then the conference report can be taken up.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The difficulty is, as I have explained it, that the other House has adjourned until 1 o'clock to-day, having no business to transact, and is merely waiting for the disposition of this conference report by the Senate. For that reason, it seems to me, we should dispose of it as soon as possible.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read.

The Secretary read the conference report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 11, 12, 14, 17, 22, 32, 42, 46, and 48.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$2,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$175,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the following: "who are hereby authorized"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 4 and 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "to be immediately available," and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to continue available during the fiscal year 1918"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Transpose the matter inserted by said amendment to follow line 3 on page 54 of the bill; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Amend the matter inserted by said amendment as follows: In line 2, after the word "sums," insert the following: ", not exceeding $50,000"; in line 8, strike out the word "years" and insert in lieu thereof the word "year"; in lines 9 and 10, strike out the following: "and 1918, respectively"; and after the word "offices," in line 26, strike out the remainder of the amendment; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

"For employees from April 15 to June 30, 1917, inclusive, at annual rates of compensation as follows: Director, $4,500; assistant director, $2,500; chief clerk, $2,000; draftsman, $1,800; clerks—1 of class 3, 2 of class 2, 2 at $900 each; messenger, $600; in all, for park service in the District of Columbia, $3,666.67, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be in lieu of salaries during such period of the Superintendent of National Parks and four other persons authorized to be employed in the District of Columbia during the fiscal year 1917 by the sundry civil appropriation act approved July 1, 1916."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 26, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Traveling and miscellaneous expenses: For traveling and other miscellaneous and emergency expenses, including advances made by the disbursing clerk, authorized and approved by the Attorney General, to be expended at his discretion, the provisions of the first paragraph of section 3648, Revised Statutes, to the contrary notwithstanding, to remain available during the fiscal year 1918, $35,000,"

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 4 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the sum "$992.67" and insert in lieu thereof the sum "$991.67"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 35, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 11 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "to be immediately available" and insert in lieu thereof the words "to be available during the fiscal year 1918"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 51, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 2 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "cost of suit" and insert in lieu there of the words "costs of suits," and in line 12 strike out the word "judgment" and insert in lieu thereof the words "respective judgments"; and the Senate agree to the same.

OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD,
JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
F. E. WARREN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

J. J. FITZGERALD,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

ISSUANCE OF BONDS.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on Finance I submit a favorable report (S. Rept. No. 8) with amendments on the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, and I submit a report (No. 8) thereon. The written report I will file just as soon as it can be typewritten, so that both the report and the bill may be printed and ready for the use of the Senate to-morrow morning. In fact, it is my purpose to request to have it printed at once, so that it may be distributed among the Senators this afternoon.

I shall not call up the bill for consideration to-day, because it is thought that probably we may expedite its passage by letting it go over until to-morrow. Immediately upon the conclusion of the morning business to-morrow I shall ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill; and it is the hope and expectation of the committee that we shall to-morrow be able to secure final action upon it before we adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. WEEKS. I am directed by the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 995) to authorize the issue to States and Territories of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards, to report it favorably with an amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. POMERENE, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 634) to promote export trade, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 9) thereon.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.

Mr. THOMPSON, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 31, submitted by Mr. GORE on the 12th instant, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-fifth Congress to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths; and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expense thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate; and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 1786) to amend certain sections of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 1787) for the relief of Thomas Mulvey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1788) to protect railways engaged in interstate commerce from injury by trespassers; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. OVERMAN:

A bill (S. 1789) to commission as officers in the Regular Army of the United States National Guard officers attending service schools; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 1790) to amend the act of Congress approved February 6, 1907, entitled "An act granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico";

A bill (S. 1791) granting a pension to L. H. Fowler; and

A bill (S. 1792) granting an increase of pension to Emma Hangliter (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 1793) for the appointment of an inspector of national parks and cemeteries; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Georgia:

A bill (S. 1794) to repeal section 178 of the Criminal Code of the United States; and

A bill (S. 1795) to relieve Congress from the adjudication of private claims against the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 1796) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914; August 15, 1914; March 3, 1915; and September 7, 1916; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. SWANSON. I introduce sundry bills for reference to the Naval Affairs Committee.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, if these are bills of a general nature, I ask that the titles be read.

By Mr. SWANSON:

A bill (S. 1797) to authorize the President, in time of war or of national emergency, to requisition or take over ships, boats, and other water craft for the use of the Government; and

A bill (S. 1798) to provide, in case of national emergency, for the transfer to the service and jurisdiction of the War Department, or of the Navy Department, of vessels, equipment, stations, and personnel of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 1799) to amend section 4433 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to working steam pressure allowable on boilers in steam vessels, and section 4418 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to hydrostatic test of steam boilers; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 1800) to amend an act approved June 29, 1906, and entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 1801) for the relief of the heirs of John H. Richardson, deceased (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CULBERSON:

A bill (S. 1802) to amend section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAULSBURY:

A bill (S. 1803) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Georgetown, in the State of Delaware; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1804) for the relief of George T. Hamilton;

A bill (S. 1805) for the relief of the Delaware Transportation Co., of Wilmington, Del.; and

A bill (S. 1806) for the relief of Clyde E. White; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KIRBY:

A bill (S. 1807) to provide for increasing the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BROUSSARD:

A bill (S. 1808) to close part of the alley in square 377, in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota:

A bill (S. 1809) providing for judicial practice in the Bureau of Indian Affairs; and

A bill (S. 1810) providing for qualifications of special examiner in the Bureau of Indian Affairs; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1811) providing for the counting of service in the Army or Navy of the United States as equivalent to residence and cultivation upon homestead entries, and in the event of the soldier's death in such service, providing for the issuance of patent for such land to his widow or minor children (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 1812) to create a national rural-credit society for the purpose of promoting agricultural credit, of devising forms of obligations eligible for rediscount at Federal reserve banks, and acceptable as security for Federal deposits, of acting as fiscal agent for the United States Government, and of establishing a suitable form of investment for postal savings-bank funds, trust funds in possession of United States courts or departments, and time deposits in national banks;

A bill (S. 1813) to provide for the establishment of national cooperative banking associations; and

A bill (S. 1814) to provide for the establishment of national cooperative rural banking associations; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 1815) to establish the national chamber of agriculture for the purpose of promoting the equitable distribution of farm products; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. ROBINSON:

A bill (S. 1816) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 1817) to provide for an increased production of foodstuffs by the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

Mr. KENYON. I introduce a number of bills. I am somewhat in doubt as to the committee to which the first two bills should be referred. They might properly be referred to the Judiciary Committee or to the Finance Committee. I would prefer to have them referred to the Agricultural Committee if it were possible. While they relate to finances and amend the internal-revenue laws in their purport, at the same time they relate to the question of the conservation of food. I am inclined to think they should go to the Finance Committee.

Mr. PENROSE. It is almost the invariable rule that any amendment to the internal-revenue laws is referred to the Finance Committee.

Mr. KENYON. I think that is true. The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry have been having hearings on this question; but it would be a little incongruous, I think, to refer the bills to the Agricultural Committee, much as I should like to have it done. Hence I ask that they may be referred to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 1818) for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated, mislabeled, or misbranded linseed oil, turpentine, or paint; to the Committee on Manufactures.

A bill (S. 1819) to amend the internal-revenue law of the United States; and

A bill (S. 1820) to amend the internal-revenue law of the United States; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 1821) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Newton Primm;

A bill (S. 1822) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Green;

A bill (S. 1823) granting an increase of pension to Charles Blitz;

A bill (S. 1824) granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Anderson;

A bill (S. 1825) granting an increase of pension to Lewis G. Turner; and

A bill (S. 1826) granting an increase of pension to John A. Wise; to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I introduce a bill entitled "A bill to promote the efficiency of the United States Army and Navy," and ask that it may be printed in the RECORD. It prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors to soldiers in uniform, and also establishes a prohibitory zone about military posts, encampments, etc. I ask that the bill may be printed in the RECORD, and I present certain other bills for reading and proper reference.

The bill (S. 1827) to promote the efficiency of the United States Army and Navy was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A bill (S. 1827) to promote the efficiency of the United States Army and Navy.

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall be unlawful to sell, supply, or have in one's possession any intoxicating liquors at any military or naval station, cantonment, camp, fort, post, officers' or enlisted men's club, navy yard, or on board ship, or in any other place which is being used at the time for the purpose of military or naval training or for mobilizing the land or naval forces during the war, and it shall be unlawful to sell, furnish, or give away intoxicating liquor to any officer or member of the military or naval forces while in uniform, or to knowingly furnish to such person or persons intoxicating liquor, whether in uniform or not, or to any employee of the Army or Navy. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are hereby directed to carry these provisions into full force and effect, and they may make regulations permitting the purchase and use of such liquors in hospitals in the military and naval departments for medicinal purposes only.

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation to sell, furnish, or give away any intoxicating liquor as a beverage in, upon, or within 20 miles of any military or naval station, cantonment, camp, fort, post, officers' or enlisted men's club, navy yard, or any other such place which is being used or shall be used at any time during the war for the purpose of training the land or naval forces or mobilizing the same for military or naval service, and no such training or mobilization camp or place shall be established within 20 miles of a city or other location where the sale of intoxicating liquors is permitted for beverage purposes. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are hereby directed to carry these provisions into full force and effect.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 1828) to promote the efficiency of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1829) to promote the efficiency of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 1830) prohibiting the abridgement of the right of citizens of the United States to vote for presidential electors and Members of Congress on account of sex; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A bill (S. 1831) granting a pension to Rosa Flake (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STERLING:

A bill (S. 1832) authorizing the Federal land banks to make loans on lands within irrigation projects and giving priority of lien for loans so made; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 1833) granting an increase of pension to John M. Holmes (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 1834) granting an increase of pension to John E. Rogers (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Arizona:

A bill (S. 1835) for the erection of a public building in the city of Tucson, Ariz.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. SHIELDS:

A bill (S. 1836) to provide for the appointment of a district judge in the middle judicial district of the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 1837) granting an increase of pension to William S. Reed (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STONE:

A bill (S. 1838) for the relief of Lloyd C. Stark.

Mr. STONE. I submit certain papers to accompany the bill. A similar bill has passed the Senate. I move that the bill and accompanying papers be referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 1839) granting an increase of pension to Annie H. Quill;

A bill (S. 1840) granting an increase of pension to George Lansil;

A bill (S. 1841) granting a pension to Leonora V. Lunt;

A bill (S. 1842) granting an increase of pension to Edward Curtis (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 1843) granting an increase of pension to Jotham B. Jacobs (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 1844) granting a pension to Hollis Tibbetts (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 35) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

BOARD OF MERCHANT SHIPPING DEFENSE.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I submit an amendment to House bill 92, providing a system of national defense, and for other purposes. As this amendment deals with the most important problem in this war—the solution of the question of the submarine torpedo—and upon that solution we could have a termination of the war, I ask that the amendment, which is very short, may be read and referred to the appropriate committee.

There being no objection, the amendment was read and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

There is hereby created in the Department of the Navy a board which shall be known and designated as the "Board of Merchant Shipping Defenses." Said board shall consist of the Chief Constructor of the Bureau of Construction and Repair of the Navy Department, the naval constructor of such bureau, the Commissioner of Patents, and the following other persons to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to wit, one of the highest recognized skill and experience in the construction of merchant ships, one with the highest recognized skill and experience in the navigation of such vessels, and two with the highest recognized skill, experience, and knowledge of mechanical devices used in the great steel manufacturing plants of the country. The Chief of Construction shall be the chairman of said board.

Each member of said board shall receive a salary of $5,000 per year and reasonable expenses while employed in the duties of said board: *Provided*, That officials receiving salaries from the Government shall not have their salaries diminished by reason of services on said board.

The duty of said board and the purpose of its creation is to provide for and perfect in the shortest possible time such mechanical device or devices as can be successfully used and employed upon a merchant ship while navigating the seas to check or deflect the course of a submarine torpedo and to prevent the same from coming in contact with the hull of the merchant vessel, or to explode the same before such contact, or the perfection of any other mechanical device to protect merchant vessels from destruction by submarine other than by use of defense guns.

The said board immediately upon its organization shall advertise for suggestions from mechanics, inventors, and others, and shall examine into and pass upon the practicability or feasibility of any proposed mechanism. For the purpose of directing the inventive genius of the people of this country toward the protection of merchant shipping against the menace and enormous devastation of submarine torpedoes the sum of $5,000,000 is hereby appropriated as a reward to any person or persons who shall succeed in inventing or producing any mechanism that will accomplish the purpose aforesaid, said sum to be divided among those who have furnished material assistance in the perfecting of any such mechanism, in accordance with the degree of services rendered by him or them, and to be apportioned by said board.

The said board shall furnish all reasonable assistance and opportunities for testing such proposed means and appliances for accomplishing this end.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask unanimous consent to have the President's address of April 2 printed in certain foreign languages. A few days ago the Senate passed a resolution ordering a reprint of the President's address to Congress, and there is a great demand for that address in certain foreign languages, particularly Spanish, Portuguese, and a few other languages. I think there can be no objection, but it can not be done without a resolution. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 33) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the address of the President of the United States delivered at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on April 2, 1917, be reprinted in such foreign languages as shall be determined upon by the Joint Committee on Printing.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY BY THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. OWEN. I send to the desk a resolution, on which I ask immediate action.

Mr. PENROSE. Let the resolution be read for information.

Mr. OWEN. Very well.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 34), as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby earnestly indorses the appeal to the American people made by the proclamation of the President of the United States, and joins with the President in urging every citizen of the United States, in this great national crisis, to do his or her utmost to serve the country with the highest patriotic spirit and zeal, with strenuous industry and economy, in factory, field, mine, and forest, on land and sea, and in commerce, and especially to promote and produce the largest supply of nonperishable foodstuffs possible for the ensuing season.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. It is adopted.

INCREASE OF FARM PRODUCTS.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, in connection with the President's address and appeal to the farmers of the country, published in the papers this morning, urging that every tillable acre of land be cultivated, I have certain correspondence from the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs showing what the Indian Bureau is doing in this regard and the responses made through the Indian agents of our country. I wish to commend the position taken by the commissioner, as outlined in the correspondence, and showing the wonderful work he is undertaking to accomplish on the Indian reservations, which is in accord with the President's recommendations. In this connection, so that the Senate may know just what is being done, I ask that the letter addressed to me by the commissioner, together with certain other correspondence, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, April 16, 1917.

Hon. REED SMOOT,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Complying with your verbal request, I am sending you copy of my telegram sent to 130 superintendents of Indian reservations and schools on April 9, 1917, also copy of my letter to the same people and others of April 12, 1917, together with a few of the many similar telegrams and letters received in reply.

There is every indication that the employees of the Indian Bureau and the Indians will patriotically and promptly respond to our appeal for intensive food production, and that the result will be exceedingly gratifying.

The Indians of the country have come to understand and appreciate their true relationship to our Government. They are fast becoming producers rather than altogether consumers. I am confident that in the impending war situation the Indians will demonstrate themselves, both as tillers of the soil and as soldiers, in such manner as to command the admiration of the white citizens of the Nation.

Sincerely, yours,

CATO SELLS,
Commissioner.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 9, 1917.*

To KNEALE, Supterintendent,
Uintah and Ouray, Utah:

War situation makes it imperative that every tillable acre of land on Indian reservations be intensively cultivated this season to supply food demands, particularly wheat, beans, potatoes, corn, and meat. Call farmers and leading Indians together immediately for organized united effort under your continuous supervision. This is of the highest importance and requires aggressive action. There must be no delay in anything necessary to insure results. You are authorized to take older boys out of school temporarily for farm work. Wire what may be expected and report progress by letter.

CATO SELLS, *Commissioner.*

—

FOOD SITUATION.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, April 12, 1917.

To SUPERINTENDENTS:

I am much gratified at the prompt and enthusiastic responses to my telegram of April 9, urging increased production of foodstuffs by the Indians. Plans are already under way on practically every reservation. This campaign must be aggressively followed up by every means within our reach. The exact methods to be followed will depend upon the conditions on each reservation and upon the superintendent's ingenuity in devising ways and means.

As stated in my telegram the war situation makes it imperative that every tillable acre of land be intensively cultivated. With the entry of the United States into the world war the importance of an increased food supply can not be overestimated. We must sacrifice every nonessential along other lines for this supreme object. The service farmers should get into the field early and stay late, encouraging and

assisting the Indians in every way possible. Enlist the cooperation of the lessees of Indian land and of the white farmers in the vicinity. This appeal is based on both enconomic and patriotic grounds. See that it is brought home to every employee and Indian on the reservation through the farmers and other industrial employees. Publish it in the school and agency papers and circulate it by every other means which may occur to you. Appeal to the patriotism of the Indians. Show how they can serve their country effectively in the present emergency by exerting themselves to the uttermost in the production of foodstuffs. While my telegram mentioned foodstuffs, "particularly wheat, beans, potatoes, corn, and meat," there should be no diminution in the production of forage for your own use.

With "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together," I feel that the Indians will play a large and important part in the economic history of the Nation during this period of war stress.

Bread and meat are an essential factor in this dreadful emergency, and I am extremely anxious that the Indians shall fully demonstrate their devotion to our country and their capacity for industrial accomplishment, as well as otherwise should circumstances require.

The success of our efforts in this respect will depend very largely upon the ability, aggressiveness, and diligence of the superintendents having immediate supervision. Report progress from time to time by letter and do not permit any let-up in this campaign.

CATO SELLS, *Commissioner.*

—

[Telegram.]

UINTAH, UTAH, *April 11, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Office wire 9th. Country peculiarly adapted navy beans. Believe can seed 2,000 acres Indian lands.

KNEALE, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

MOUNT PLEASANT, MICH., *April 11, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Your telegram 9th. All employees and pupils willing to forego vacation and do everything possible to put entire farm under cultivation.

COCHRAN, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

SANTA FE, N. MEX., *April 11, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Reference telegram food supply. Every foot of school land which can be utilized will be put to best possible use. Much interest shown to produce abundant crops this season. Flower garden and campus will be planted to beans. If season is favorable, much more will be produced here than ever before.

SNYDER, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

EL RENO, OKLA., *April 12, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Your wire 9th. All school farm seeded. Doubled garden space. Breaking new ground. Holding meetings in all districts. Practically all Indians working. Prospects good. Letter follows.

SCOTT, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

RIVERSIDE, CAL., *April 12, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Answering your wire 9th, every acre school farm utilized; in addition have rented and in crop 175 acres for forage and 25 for vegetables, including potatoes and beans. Will increase if I can get land.

CONSER, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

FLANDREAU, S. DAK., *April 12, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Will cultivate every acre of land not necessary for pasture and hay for stock. Will have enlarged garden, and plant about 25 acres potatoes and 10 acres of beans. Every employee with family and employees' club will have garden. Am arranging to buy seed corn and potatoes for a few Indian families not able to buy for themselves.

PIERCE, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *April 13, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Your message 9. All suitable land will be planted to food and forage crops, also large quantity pork, some beef, poultry, and dairy products will be produced; sufficient boys to handle situation without taking them out of school.

PERRY, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

TOMAH, WIS., *April 13, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Your wire 9. Have rented 160 acres pasture, 80 acres tillable land. Will cultivate school farm of 340 acres to the limit, even though we are compelled to dismiss school early to insure money for seed.

COMPTON, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

BEMIDJI, MINN., *April 13, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Your telegram 9th. Indians loyal and preparations being made for largest crop increase in history of Red Lake Reservation.

DICKENS, *Superintendent.*

—

[Telegram.]

IGNACIO, COLO., *April 13, 1917.*

SELLS, *Commissioner:*

Your telegram 9th. Indians are responding nobly to special call for intensive farming on account of war situation. We have talked individually to 90 per cent of male adults. General council to-morrow. Will report further by letter.

WEST, *Superintendent.*

HASKELL INSTITUTE,
Lawrence, Kans., April 11, 1917.

Hon. CATO SELLS,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. COMMISSIONER: Your telegram of the 9th relating to the shortage of food supply and suggestion that we make the best possible use of the school farm during the coming season was received and answered by wire yesterday, the message being as follows:

"Your telegram 9th. Pushing farm and garden work to the limit of man and horse power. Season very dry, therefore favorable for Haskell farm. Practically all land plowed. Early farm and garden crops planted. Doing well. Definite plans made for planting every available acre of school land and have rented a farm of 70 acres adjoining school. I assure you hearty cooperation from all here. If the season is favorable throughout will break the record here in producing food supplies. The elements only can defeat the effort being and to be made. Letter follows."

Having seen the school farm here, you may be interested to know just what the plans are and how they are developing, therefore I am writing because I could not give full information in a telegram without making it too long.

The present season has been very dry, and therefore has been unusually favorable for getting the spring work done on the school farm. The organization of the help has not been very satisfactory, but that has been corrected by changing the position of assistant farmer to that of laborer, thus making it possible to use help that we have at the school without increasing the total salary list.

As I said in the telegram, practically all of the tillable land available for cultivation has been plowed. In fact, the plowing will be completed within a day or two. Sixty acres of wheat were sowed last fall, and the prospect is fairly good for a reasonable crop. The winter was extremely dry and some of the wheat killed out, but I believe if the spring season is favorable we ought to get at least three-fourths of a yield. I am sorry that there was not a larger acreage sowed, but, of course, it was too late to sow wheat in this section of the country when I came.

The following spring crops have been planted:

Thirty-five acres of oats, for grain crop.

Thirty-seven acres of land is ready to sow to oats and alfalfa, the oats to be used as a hay crop. The land is thin and needs to be seeded. We will need the alfalfa for the dairy as well as to bring up the land.

Ten acres of alsike.

Twenty-two acres of red clover.

One hundred and thirty acres ready for corn.

Thirty acres of potatoes, planted.

Ten acres ready for sorghum, for hay.

Seven acres ready for cane, for making sirup.

Five acres mangels and turnips.

Two acres ready for broom corn, from which we will make brooms for use in the school.

Two acres ready for rape, for hog pasture.

Garden crops as follows, planted or to be planted:

Two acres beans, string, for canning.

Three acres peas, for canning.

Two and one-half acres onions, for winter use.

Three acres cabbage for winter use.

Five acres tomatoes, for canning.

Seven acres corn, for canning.

Two acres pumpkins, for canning.

Ten acres beans, navy and other varieties, for winter use.

Five acres sweet potatoes.

Beets, cucumbers, squash, cauliflower, and miscellaneous garden vegetables of great variety, of sufficient acreage to supply the school during the summer and fall months, and, so far as possible, for winter use.

There are 280 acres of wild hay, all of which will be cut twice, if the season is favorable. Also 25 acres of alfalfa, which should yield four crops; 5 acres of alsike and timothy; and 15 acres of timothy.

Because of so much of the pasture land of the school farm being low and subject to floods, I thought it advisable to rent some land adjoining the school, if possible, and have made arrangements for about 70 acres which joins on the east. This land is not of a strong quality, but there are probably 35 acres of good blue-grass pasture; about 20 acres of prairie meadow, which will be cut for hay and pastured in the fall; and probably 10 to 15 acres of land, which will be put into oats to furnish oats hay. There is also a small field of crimson clover, which will be used as pasture late in the fall.

I have had the space between the trees in the orchard plowed not only because the trees will be better because of the plowing but because the land should be utilized for raising garden stuff. I am planning to have even the spaces in the rows utilized in raising cucumbers, canteloupes, and water melons. Have advised employees to raise their own vegetables so far as possible, and will allow each family which cares to do so to have a small garden patch. The employees' club will be given a small tract of land and will raise vegetables for their own use. In fact, as I stated in the telegram, we are planning to use every available acre, or fraction of an acre, on the school farm and in the garden, orchards, and everywhere to produce food supplies.

We are also planning to establish a large poultry department. We are moving what poultry houses there are to higher and drier land, and getting ready to start the poultry business in such a way as to make it really worth while for the school. Hope to be able to raise chickens enough to supply the school on special occasions, such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, etc., and to furnish as many eggs as possible.

The dairy is supplying at this time about 150 gallons of milk per day. As soon as we can turn the cows on the pasture, that quantity will be increased. If the season is favorable, we ought to raise plenty of forage and rough feed of all kinds for the dairy. Of course, with as large a dairy as is kept here, it will probably be necessary to buy ground feed unless we are unusually fortunate. The conditions last year, as you know, were such as to make the results very unsatisfactory. Every pound of grain and ground feed not only for the dairy but for the horses has been purchased, and it is a very heavy expense, of course. Corn chop at the present time is costing $52 per ton and bran $38. With a favorable season it certainly will not be necessary to buy anything next year except bran. Of course, very much depends upon the season, but I assure you we will do everything that it is possible for us to do to produce food supplies of every kind. The general conditions in this section of the country with reference to wheat are really alarming. I am told that a large proportion of the acreage of wheat in the western part of this State is in very bad condition and it is probable that the crop will be almost an entire failure over most of that portion of the State. The prospect at present for a fruit crop is fairly good. It is

out intention to purchase a canning outfit and to can fruit and vegetables of all kinds during the summer if we succeed in raising them.

I shall be very glad indeed to have suggestions at any time concerning the effort to make the agricultural department of this school do its whole part.

Very truly, yours, H. B. PEAIRS, *Superintendent.*

PRICE OF AMERICAN FLAGS.

Mr. POMERENE. I send to the desk a resolution and ask that it be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 35), as follows:

Resolved, That the Federal Trade Commission be, and is hereby, directed to make an immediate investigation into the operations and accounts of the leading concerns engaged in the industry of the manufacture, distribution, and sale of American flags and the materials out of which they are made, for the purpose of ascertaining the facts concerning the recent increase in price of American flags, and into any unfair practices or monopolistic conditions that may obtain in the industry, and report the same to the Senate during the present session of Congress, if possible.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I was prompted to offer this resolution by a letter I received from a very prominent firm of merchants in Ohio who are dealers in flags. This firm is reputable and reliable, and I beg the indulgence of the Senate while I read just a paragraph from the letter written to me on the subject:

On account of the recent demand for flags, the jobbing price of one grade of flags has been increased from $3.35 to $8.50 per gross. On the wool bunting flags recently a discount of 40 per cent on the list price was allowed to jobbers. The price to-day has been advanced to 35 per cent added to the list price and the factories refuse to accept any more orders for shipment on April 15 except at prices which may prevail at that time. You can readily figure that the advance during the past month has been from 100 per cent to 250 per cent already, and as quotations have been withdrawn it rather indicates an advance of 300 to 400 per cent.

I feel that this matter ought to be investigated, and I therefore ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. PENROSE. I did not hear the resolution when it was read. What method is suggested for the investigation?

Mr. POMERENE. By the Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. PENROSE. That is all right.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

OSAGE INDIAN LANDS.

Mr. WALSH submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 36), which was read:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, requested to transmit to the Senate information as to the number of leases of lands of the Osage Indians, in the State of Oklahoma, issued or authorized since the 1st day of January, 1916, and the area embraced therein, designating the number of and area embraced in leases of lands within the bounds of the so-called Foster lease, and particularly as to how far there is community of actual ownership between the lessees in such leases, what effort is being made to prevent the monopoly of such lands under such leases; to advise the Senate of the number of applications for leases pending and the area covered thereby, and to supplement such communication as he may make in reply to this resolution with a schedule showing as to both leases issued and applications pending, the lessee or applicants, the date, the area, and the community of interest, if any such exists.

Mr. GALLINGER. I suggest to the Senator from Montana that in accordance with our usual custom the word "directed" should be substituted for the word "requested" in the resolution.

Mr. WALSH. I gladly adopt the suggestion of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. Let it be so amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be so modified.

Mr. WALSH. I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. OVERMAN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 37), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee; that the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate, and that expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. OVERMAN, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. WARREN conferees on the part of the Senate.

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. HITCHCOCK, and Mr. WARREN conferees on the part of the Senate.

MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 14) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments, agree to the conference asked for by the House, the conferees on the part of the Senate to be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. HITCHCOCK, and Mr. WARREN conferees on the part of the Senate.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I call up Senate resolution 23.

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of Senate resolution 23, submitted by Mr. HUGHES on the 4th instant, and reported from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate by Mr. THOMPSON on the 12th instant, which was read, as follows:

Whereas differences have arisen between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. (a street railway corporation in the District of Columbia, created and existing by virtue of the act of Congress approved June 5, 1900) and certain of its employees, by reason of which said employees declared a strike or "walkout" on Monday, March 12, 1917, and withdrew from the service of the company; and

Whereas the failure of the said street railway company and its employees to settle and adjust their differences has caused and is causing great public inconvenience and loss; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the public safety and welfare that the causes of the existing differences between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and its employees should be ascertained and a means devised, if possible, whereby the same may be justly accommodated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate, who are hereby given full authority to investigate the cause or causes which have occasioned the present strike by the said employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co., and to report the result of its investigation, with such recommendations as it may deem proper to make, to the Senate at the earliest possible day, and the said committee or subcommittee thereof is hereby given power and authority to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony under oath as to all matters and things covered by this resolution and to employ such clerical and stenographic assistance as may be necessary in the premises, the expenses of said committee to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, when the resolution was before the Senate a few days ago I made a motion to refer it to the Committee on the District of Columbia, feeling that it was of sufficient moment to warrant the careful consideration of a standing committee. The Senate in its wisdom voted against the motion I had made by a majority of 6, as I remember it.

I have no disposition, Mr. President, to make any further effort to secure what I think ought to be done in the interest of good legislation. We have a Committee on the District of Columbia and we also have a Committee on Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia. Either one of those committees would properly have jurisdiction over a matter of this kind. But the Senator from New Jersey was earnest and determined in his purpose of having the matter disposed of directly, without committee action. If the Senator still thinks that is the wise thing to do, I shall make no further objection to the resolution, but I can not help believing that the Senator from New Jersey is making a mistake in forcing the matter at this time without sending it to a committee having jurisdiction of the subject,

which committee would determine whether or not it is wise to make the proposed investigation.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, as a member of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I was perfectly willing that the cost of the investigation should be authorized, or "sanctioned," as the law terms it. The only object I had in desiring it reported as I thought the committee should report it, and did report it, was because the Committee on the District of Columbia has the subject matter of the resolution under its jurisdiction. I do not think there is a member of that committee who would not have given attention to the resolution and as to whether it was really a proper thing to undertake an investigation of the question at this particular time.

I shall not object, Mr. President, to the present consideration of the resolution. The Senate, as the Senator from New Hampshire has said, decided that this matter should not go to the regular committee or the committee that has jurisdiction of the subject matter of the resolution, and that a special committee should be appointed for the purpose. As far as I am concerned I care nothing more about it. I suppose that the special committee will give it just as close attention and as much care and investigation as the regular committee having the subject matter under jurisdiction would have done.

Therefore, Mr. President, as far as I am personally concerned I did not object to the present consideration of the resolution, and I shall say nothing further in relation to the question.

Mr. HARDING. I should like to submit an amendment to the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of line 5, on page 2, after the word "Company," insert the following:

And to make full inquiry into such acts of violence and lawless destruction of property as have taken place during the progress of the strike and what steps have been taken by the police force of the District of Columbia to prevent such acts of lawlessness.

Mr. HUGHES. I have no objection to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I observe there is no limit to the expenditures this committee may make, and I think it might well be limited. I move, at the end of the resolution to have the words inserted "not to exceed the sum of $5,000."

Mr. HUGHES. I have no doubt that $5,000 will be sufficient. At the same time I do not think we ought to treat this investigating committee any differently from the way in which we treat any other committee. There has been an additional element of investigation injected into the resolution which may be quite far-reaching in its scope. Of course, as the Senator knows, I do not like to see public money squandered any more than he does; but I do not think we ought to put a limit of $5,000 upon the investigation.

Mr. GALLINGER. It does not seem to me that the investigation is going to be very wide in its scope. There has been a strike on a street railroad in the city of Washington, and the strike has failed, and having failed they come now to Congress and ask Congress to take up the controversy and make an investigation. I recall, Mr. President, an appropriation that was made not long ago for the investigation of a certain matter in the District of Columbia, and if the newspapers are correct the amount of money that was suggested in that resolution has been greatly exceeded, and that seems to be the rule nowadays. I feel sure that $5,000 is more than should be expended, but at the same time it is always well to put a limit on the amount of money that is to be expended in an investigation. It has been almost the universal rule. Yet if the Senator feels this ought not to be done I will withdraw the amendment.

Mr. HUGHES. I do. I hope the investigation can be conducted with an expenditure of much less than $5,000, and I will cooperate in every way I can to see that it does.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think, myself, it ought not to cost $5,000.

Mr. HUGHES. I agree with the Senator, but I prefer under the circumstances not to have that limit placed upon the investigation.

Mr. GALLINGER. Very well. I will withdraw the amendment, in deference to the wishes of the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMOOT. Does not the Senator from New Jersey know that it will not cost $5,000?

Mr. HUGHES. I hope so and believe so. At the same time I prefer that it be not limited. In view of the situation as it exists, I do not think we ought to put ourselves in the position of attempting to hamper any investigation.

Mr. SMOOT. Perhaps I ought to say that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate did not discuss the question of cost. The Senator from New Hampshire is right wherein he states that the cost of an investigation is generally limited. I will say to the Senator that I do not think there was anything presented to the committee to indicate what the cost would be, nor was there any intimation made as to how extensive an investigation would take place. I asked the Secretary of Labor for his opinion as to the investigation, and he stated that he had already done all that he could, that the Public Utilities Commission of the District had done all they could do, but expressed the opinion that the investigation might bring out something new regarding the situation. That is as far as he recommended the investigation, and I thought it very proper that it should go no further.

Of course, if the Senator does not desire to have a limitation put on the expenditure I shall not insist, but I do not believe the investigation is going to cost $5,000.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Was the amendment of the Senator from New Hampshire withdrawn?

Mr. HUGHES. It was withdrawn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

HOUR OF MEETING TO-MORROW.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it be until 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HITCHCOCK subsequently said:

Mr. President, since the Senate acted on the motion that when it adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow, my attention has been called to the fact that a Republican conference has been called for 10 o'clock to-morrow. Therefore I ask that the motion be reconsidered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the motion is reconsidered.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senate therefore will meet to-morrow under its standing order at 12 o'clock noon.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR WITH GERMANY BY THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, a few days since I received a letter from a well-known lawyer in Oklahoma advising me that many of the people in his neighborhood were opposed to war with Germany, and saw no reason for it, and asking me, gravely, what justification I could offer for it. It is clear from my correspondence that some of our citizens do not fully understand some of the most important facts which justified the United States in accepting the repeated challenge to war by the Imperial German Government. Some of our people seem moved by the obvious truth that war is deplorable and to believe we ought not to engage in this war.

Mr. President, certainly war is deplorable, but abject cowardly submission to tyranny, to persistent wrong, to brute force, is more deplorable—it is despicable. America is incapable of such submission.

Submission to the brute force of Germany by France, by Russia, or by England in the last two years would probably have ended the democracies of the world; would have put the United States in the most deadly peril; and for us to submit to her brute force now would put both our present and our future in jeopardy.

I rejoice that the President of the United States has pointed out the danger to the world and to the civilization of the world of the triumph of the Imperial Government of Germany in this European conflict. I rejoice that on entering this conflict the mighty powers of this great Republic will be used alone in defending and preserving liberty; not in a spirit of malice or hatred of the German people, but against the house of Hohenzollern; to assist in taking from the hands of William II the power to further brutalize the great German people who have infinitely deserved a better fate.

I have always admired the German people. I have admired their sturdy common sense, their industry, their virtues, and their home-loving qualities. I have admired their intellectual attainments, their internal democratic development, their progress in the sciences, in the arts. I have loved their music and enjoyed their poetry and their literature. Notwithstanding their confessed good qualities, their natural peace-loving qualities, the actual governmental control of the German people has since 1870 been under the directing hand of the Prussian military machine, that subordinates every other interest of statecraft—agriculture, factories, commerce, school, church, home—to military power and to the aggrandizement of the house of Hohenzollern and of the smaller allied German kings and princes.

The Prussian King, ex officio Emperor, claims to rule by "divine right," without the consent of the German people, and he does rule them without their consent.

Any citizen who criticizes the Government, the Emperor, or the King of Prussia is guilty of a crime, lèse majesté, subject to instant imprisonment. The citizen is a subject; he is not free.

The press is not free, and the educational system, from kindergarten, gymnasium, and high school to university, is controlled by the dominant power of the Kaiser, and the people have been taught systematically and thoroughly that obedience is the first duty of a subject of the Kaiser and that the doctrine of the military powers is right; and, unhappily, the doctrine of the military powers of Germany is that might makes right; that military necessity is not bound by treaty, by moral law, or by any other law; that terrorism or frightfulness is a lawful weapon in the hands of the military machine; that when a soldier makes himself terrible by wholesale slaughter and destruction, regardless of the laws of humanity, he shortens the war by intimidating those who would oppose.

Thus it is that the German people have been led to their doom by this ungodly, vicious military machine; thus it is that they have alienated the sympathy of the whole world, and those Americans who have loved the German people see no way to protect the world or to protect the German people except by overthrowing Prussian militarism, overthrowing the Hohenzollerns.

While the people of Germany are by nature democratic and peace loving, nevertheless their order, obedience, industry, their very virtues, their efficiency, as subjects of the Kaiser, have been made an instrumentality in the hands of the military machine which threatens the peace of the whole world, which threatens our peace, and has waged war on us in spite of every effort on our part to prevent it.

Mr. President, while Bismarck made many concessions to the development of local democracy in Germany and developed a great democratic efficiency in Germany as a concession to the constantly increasing intelligence of the German people, as a concession to the constantly increasing demand for democracy in Germany, nevertheless in framing the German Empire he and the Hohenzollerns so framed it as to put that Empire under the practical domination of the Kingdom of Prussia, whose King claimed to govern mankind by the "*divine right*" and in partnership with Almighty God Himself, a doctrine descended from Frederick II, sometimes called "the Great," but who did not believe in God at all in the affairs of men except in so far as the affectation of that belief served his selfish ambitions.

The control of the German Empire by Prussia and the control of Prussia by the house of Hohenzollern left William the Second the master of the army and navy, of the war machine, with the power to declare war. The consent of the subordinate Bundesrath, composed of appointees of the kings and princes of Germany was not necessary. He and his military captains have been moved by the principle of the Hohenzollern family, *ambition*, first, last, and all the time; *ambition*, wrapped in the cloak of pure patriotism, parading as Germany, as the fatherland; but always beneath has been the determined purpose to aggrandize the house of Hohenzollern and the army. Hence arose the military slogan "Deutschland über Alles," which being interpreted meant "The house of Hohenzollern and the military autocracy—über Alles." Hence the greatly exploited notion of "Weltmacht," which meant power over the world by the Hohenzollerns and their military autocracy. Hence that mysterious toast "Der Tag," which meant THE DAY when the house of Hohenzollern and the military autocracy would rule all mankind, the day when autocratic military power would rule mankind under the blasphemous claim of "divine right," and should impose its will over the liberties of the civilized and uncivilized nations of the world through brute force and terrorism or "Schrecklichkeit." The world is compelled to teach the Kaiser and his subject soldiers the folly of trying to terrorize the world.

In some things this Government may well profit by the glorious example of the German Government. They have magnificently developed vocational industrial education, have established innumerable cooperative democratic societies, State insurance against old age, accidents, and so forth, and have thoroughly cared for the unemployed man and made him self-supporting, and have wonderfully developed municipal ownership, and so forth. Organized industrial democracy has been made the helpless tool of political military autocracy, and the Germans in large measure seem not to see this.

In August, 1914, when the ambitious Hohenzollerns had artfully contrived to prepare their war machine with an overwhelming supply of cannon, powder, shells, machine guns, rifles, transportation material, and all the accouterments of war; when they found France inadequately protected, Russia without war supplies, England with no army, Luxemburg and Belgium incapable of defense, they threw suddenly this desolating war machine of terrorism like an avalanche on the fair fields of Luxemburg, Belgium, and France, intending to seize Paris, force a treaty with France, impose a giant indemnity, as it did it 1870, then dominate Russia, and establish throughout the world "*Der Tag*," "*Weltmacht*," "*Deutschland über Alles*," and establish the house of Hohenzollern as the military autocratic rulers of mankind in the sweeping destruction of the liberties of the world.

The Hohenzollerns under Frederick William of Brandenburg and Prussia, under Frederick the Second and his successors have always followed the doctrine that—

Might makes right.

They have always despised the American doctrine of Abraham Lincoln, who had "the faith to believe that right would make might."

The Hohenzollerns always believed in the doctrine of *absolute monarchy* as against limited monarchy or *democracy* in any form. Under them Prussia has been an armed camp, an army for over a hundred and fifty years, glorifying war and military power and for 50 years keeping Europe in a state of constant suspense and apprehension of the blow which all Europe feared but believed would sometime surely fall. The Hohenzollerns believed in the false monarchial doctrines of the Bourbons, whose principles you will find cast in bronze on the cannon we took from Spain in 1898, now mounted at the north end of the War Department in Washington City.

On the mouth of one of these cannon, called de Mareschal Le Duc de Humieres, you will find these words:

"Le passe par tous"—

The passway through everything. That is, the cannon's mouth is the passway through broken treaties, through the boundaries of undefended neighbors, through justice and righteousness, through industry and honor—the pathway to the so-called "*glory*" of kings and the ruin of peoples. On the base of that cannon you will find the words:

"Nec pluribus impar"—

Not unequal to many. That is, the cannon is not unequal to many people—to very many people. It can slay people; it can dominate people; it can tax millions without the consent of the people. This is the doctrine of autocracy against democracy.

On the body of that Bourbon cannon you will find the phrase:

"Ultima ratio regum"—

The final argument of kings. When the people argue for self-government, when the people argue that justice is justice, that right is right, that their conscience is the whispering of the spirit of God, then the people hear the final argument of kings, the final argument of the Hohenzollerns and of military autocracy—*the cannon's roar*—who would teach the world the pernicious doctrine that *might makes right*.

These are the real principles of military autocracy when moved by the royal family pride; by cold, selfish ambition, playing upon the prejudices, the weaknesses, the ignorances of mankind. Yes; playing upon the most sacred sentiments of mankind; playing even upon the trust of mankind in the Divine Spirit. These vicious military autocratic forces which are now assailing the liberties of mankind under the grossly false pretense of protecting the German people against their supposed enemies are the same in spirit that established the "*Holy Alliance*" signed by "Alexander the First," Emperor of Russia, of the Romanoff family; by Francis the First, Emperor of Austria, of the Hapsburgs; by Frederick William the Third, King of Prussia, of the Hohenzollerns, in 1815, in which they pledged themselves—

"to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion (the Savior taught), namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, peace";

Pledged themselves—

"by unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated; to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom—that is to say, God, our Divine Savior, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life."

The *Holy Alliance* had for its sinister, deceitful purpose the misleading of the people of these great countries, through the piety and good will of the people, into the belief that their leadership was actually moved by these high *holy* sentiments.

The history of Europe demonstrated that they were moved by nothing of the kind, but alone by their own selfish ambitions,

and that they made this pretended treaty for the purpose merely of establishing themselves in the confidence of their people and of neighboring religious peoples, while in reality they were constantly engaged in enriching themselves and their court favorites and their own families at the expense of the people, and never hesitated to sacrifice the poor people, their subjects, their quasi slaves, on the field of battle or in exile in order to further the family interests of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns. It was an autocratic military combination intended to promote the selfish interests of these families by military force and to enable them in concert to prevent the people of Russia, Prussia, and Austria making any headway in self-government, and to prevent the self-government of men making progress in any other part of the world. This blasphemous combination—I say blasphemous, because they pretended to have a charter from the Throne of Grace and to govern by divine right under the special sanction of the Almighty, when they well knew the corruption of their own courts and of their own selfishness—amended this self-serving declaration of 1815 of their own "*holiness*" by adding several articles to this treaty of peculiar interest to all democracies.

In 1822 the "*Holy Alliance*" added certain articles known as the Secret Treaty of Verona, as follows:

"ARTICLE 1. The high contracting powers being *convinced* that *the system of representative government* is equally as *incompatible* with the *monarchial principles* as the maxim of the *sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner*, to use all their efforts *to put an end to the system of representative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe*, and to prevent its being introduced *in those countries where it is not yet known.*

"ART 2. As it can not be doubted that *the liberty of the press* is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures *to suppress it, not only in their own States, but also in the rest of Europe.*"

Here we find the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, who still dominate Germany and Austria, making a solemn covenant with the Romanoffs of Russia and with the Bourbons, through King Louis XVIII, of France, whom they had placed upon the French throne, and solemnly engaging in—

A deliberately prepared and deadly compact to destroy all the democracies of the world;

To stamp out the liberty of the press in all Europe, even outside their own dominions; and thus—

To keep all mankind in ignorance, in order that they and their families, who were constantly intermarrying with other like families, might continue to dominate mankind by military force.

This blasphemous "Holy Alliance" by this very treaty furnished 20,000,000 francs annually to Louis XVIII to wage war on the limited monarchy of Spain, which the people of Spain had by painful revolution established and to reestablish an absolute monarchy in Spain under the same prince, in order to discourage and break down any right whatever of the people of Spain to govern themselves. They did not hesitate to cause the murder of the people of Spain to carry out their "*holy*" Christian purposes.

This blasphemous "Holy Alliance" then sent an Austrian army into Italy and accomplished the same identical purpose, murdering the Italian people for the same "*holy*" Christian reasons. This wicked "Holy Alliance" then proposed sending other armies and navies to North and South America for the purpose, as they said, of "reducing the revolting colonies of Spain and Portugal on the Western Hemisphere" and thus strangling all representative governments at their birth throughout North and South America. What they really meant was that they intended to send an army into Brazil to destroy a republic in Brazil, to send an army into the Argentine, into Chile, into Colombia, into Peru, into Venezuela, into the Central American States, and into Mexico, to suppress the freedom of the people, to prevent their governing themselves, to put them again under an absolute monarchy, so that the monarchial principle should govern all mankind, and democracy never should be permitted to establish its foot upon the entire earth. That was their purpose.

Canning, of Great Britain, notified this detestable conspiracy, known as the "Holy Alliance," that Great Britain would oppose such an assault on the former colonies of Spain and Portugal, for Great Britain, though a limited monarchy, was already a great representative government, loving liberty and justice.

President Monroe, advised of this conspiracy of the houses of Hohenzollern and of Hapsburg to invade the liberties of North and South America, sent his message to Congress in December, 1823, in which he made the following statement of principles known as the "Monroe doctrine."

He said:

"It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference."

He said:

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This firm stand taken by Great Britain and the United States prevented representative government and the democracies of the Western Hemisphere from being destroyed by the unlimited rapacity and cold-blooded ambition of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburg, and their "*holy*" associates.

Mr. President, this same group attempted to set up a monarchial government in Mexico, when the United States was embarrassed and in the throes of the Civil War, by sending Mexico an emperor—Maximilian, an Austrian gentleman of the Hapsburg family—who quickly had some unhappy dealings with the democracies of the Western Hemisphere. Let him repose in peace. The action of the United States overthrew Maximilian and ended an overt act of the Hapsburgs against our national peace.

Mr. President, those who have observed the development of this great war machine in Germany as an instrumentality by which the Hohenzollerns might dominate mankind will see quite clearly the attitude of the military autocracy set forth in the book, Germany and the Next War, by its mouthpiece, Gen. von Bernhardi, October, 1911. Von Bernhardi is fairly a spokesman of the military autocracy of Germany. He glorified war. He insisted in that volume—and it was sent all over this country, by hundreds of thousands—that the German people must be awakened and *compelled* to show their *military strength*. He praised to the skies the great elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, the first important member of the House of Hohenzollern. Listen to Von Bernhardi praising this wonderful Prussian general, ruling by divine right a population of two and a quarter millions, with a hundred thousand armed men trained to the last degree of efficiency and better supplied with munitions of war than any other army in Europe. Listen to his praise of the great elector:

"The great elector laid the foundations of Prussia's power by successful and *deliberately incurred* wars. Frederick the Great followed the example of his glorious ancestors. He noticed how his State occupied an untenable middle position between the petty States and the great powers, and showed his determination to give a definite character (*décider cet être*) to his anomalous existence; it had become essential to enlarge the territory of the State and *corriger la figure de la Prusse*, if Prussia wished to be independent and to bear with honor the great name of KINGDOM. The King made allowance for this political necessity and took the bold determination of challenging Austria to fight. *None of the wars which he fought had been forced upon him;* none of them did he postpone as long as possible. *He had always determined to be the aggressor.*"

Frederick II followed him, idealizing war, waging war on defenseless people, as when he first took his place as King of Prussia he violated the treaty with Maria Theresa of Austria, broke faith, treated the treaty as a scrap of paper, threw 50,000 highly trained, seasoned, skilled soldiers upon Silesia, undefended because relying upon his good faith, and he kept all Europe in turmoil for years and years and years, and at that time waged seven years of continuous warfare.

It might be said that his opponents in France and in Austria were no better than he, as far as keeping faith was concerned, because the house of Bourbon and the house of Hapsburg occupied the French and the Austrian thrones, and were represented by those who were just as deceitful as was Frederick himself.

Frederick the Great is now the ideal of the Prussian military autocracy. Only a year or two ago the United States was presented with a statue of Frederick the Great, and it is standing down before our War College now. My own opinion is that the statue of Frederick the Great ought to be gently and quietly

removed from its spot and dropped in some quiet place in the Potomac River where it will no longer serve to give dignity and honor to this cruel and unscrupulous prince.

The Imperial German Government presented us with its ideal in the statue of Frederick, the embodiment of war and rapacity and broken treaties.

France presented us with the French ideal, Bartholdi's wonderful conception, standing guarding the entrance to our greatest port—New York—where all the world may see "Liberty enlightening the world."

God bless France and speed her prophecy.

Once too often the Hohenzollerns have been the aggressors of the world's peace, and now this world-wrecking spirit will be terminated forever by the indignant power of the whole world. In that respect I am rejoiced to see Brazil following the United States; first of all, little Cuba declaring war on Germany, and following her father, the United States, who gave her peace and gave her liberty against a prince of the Hapsburg family. Here comes Brazil; the Argentine will follow; Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, and the Central American States may be expected to follow; and I expect to see even Mexico show her sympathy with the democracies of the world, and with this great struggle to put down forever the irresponsible ambitions leading armed military forces that have no conception of human liberty, whose one idea is obedience and to rule the world by military efficiency and by terrorism.

Mr. President, I rejoice to believe that this war which we shall now wage with all the resources of 100,000,000 people; with all the financial power of the richest Nation on the globe; with all the vast equipment of material, of factories, of American inventions on the Imperial Government of Germany, will render the most gigantic service to the German people which it is possible for one people to render to another in delivering them from the military tyranny and the political control of the Hohenzollerns and their military clique, who have taxed and driven the German people beyond all human endurance; who have kept all the nations of Europe trembling under the load of universal military preparation for 50 years. It was Germany that prevented disarmament a few years ago at The Hague. Even Nicholas II proposed it, and Germany, of all the nations, prevented it.

This German military autocracy have finally driven the people of Germany to overwhelming slaughter on the battle fields of Europe, and have compelled the liberty-loving, God-fearing democracies of the whole world, in defense of liberty and righteousness, to turn their guns on the unhappy Germans led to the shambles by the heartless ambitions of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns.

No man who has studied the history of recent Europe questions for a moment the bloodguiltiness of the Hapsburgs, who in avenging the wicked assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary imposed 10 demands on Serbia, to everyone of which Serbia submitted save the relinquishment of her sovereignty and the violation of her constitution. (See chap. 4, Obstacles of Peace, by S. S. McClure.)

The gist of the Austrian demands, of which there were 10, was as follows:

"1. Serbia shall suppress all anti-Austrian publications.

"2. Dissolve the Narodna Odbrana and all similar societies, confiscate their funds, and prevent their re-forming.

"3. Remove from public education in Serbia all teachers and teaching that are anti-Austrian.

"4. Remove from military and civil service all officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda; Austria will name the persons.

"5. Accept collaboration of Austrian representatives in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda.

"6. Take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot against the archduke; Austrian delegates will take part in the investigations.

"7. Arrest Maj. Voija Tankositch and the individual named Milan Ciganovitch.

"8. Prevent and punish the illegal traffic in arms and explosives.

"9. Send to Austria explanations of all unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian officials at home and abroad.

"10. Notify without delay that the above measures are executed. Reply before 6 p. m. on Saturday, July 25."

The answers to the 10 points may be summarized thus:

"1. Yes; will suppress all anti-Austrian publications.

"2. Yes; will suppress the Narodna Odbrana and similar societies.

"3. Yes; will expel all anti-Austrian teachers and teaching as soon as evidence is given.

"4. Yes; will expel all anti-Austrian officers and officials, if Austria will furnish names and acts of guilty persons.

"5. Yes; will accept collaboration of Austrian representatives in these proceedings, as far as consonant with principles of international law and criminal procedure and neighborly relations.

"6. Yes; will take the judicial proceedings; will also keep Austria informed; but can not admit the participation of Austrians in the judicial investigations, as this would be a violation of the constitution.

"7. Yes; have arrested Tankositch; ordered arrest of Ciganovitch.

"8. Yes; will suppress and punish traffic in arms and explosives.

"9. Yes; will deal with the said high officials, if Austria will supply evidence.

"10. Yes; will notify without delay.

"If this answer not satisfactory, Serbia will abide by decision of The Hague Tribunal."

Everybody felt that the Hapsburg note did not seek or contemplate honorable adjustment, but arbitrarily imposed impossible conditions and really meant war, as indeed it did, for in 48 hours Serbia was actually invaded.

The record shows that every possible effort was made by the authorities of England, through Lord Grey, by the authorities of France and of Russia, to reach an adjustment, and that it was the refusal of the German Emperor to cooperate with Lord Grey which led to the failure to avert the war on Serbia by Austria, which was instantly followed by the German Emperor issuing an order to mobilize and then declaring war on Russia and on France and the sudden and violent invasion of Belgium, Luxemburg, and France, and Russia; and the German and Austrian Emperors and their armies were prepared. Luxemburg was not prepared. Belgium was not prepared. France was not prepared. Great Britain had no army. Russia had no materials of war, had no factories, no adequate means of waging war. The fact that all the invaded countries were unprepared, and that the German Army had reached the highest point of its efficiency and preparedness, is the damning answer of all history to the shameless contention of the German leaders that they did not bring on this war, but that it was thrust on them. Let us thank God Himself that they have the decency to pay tribute to the love of justice and righteousness in the hearts of mankind by pretending, at least, that they are not responsible for this gigantic cataclysm in which all mankind is involved and the blood of all nations is being shed.

Here is a case where the house of Hapsburg and its military bureau, regardless of the Parliament of Austria-Hungary, regardless of public opinion of the people of Austria-Hungary, took a step to precipitate war on Servia on a few hours' notice, knowing it threatened a general European war, which, indeed, instantly followed.

Here is an example of where the house of Hohenzollern and its military bureau refused to cooperate in reaching an adjustment of the threatened war of Austria against Servia, which the leading powers of Europe earnestly endeavored to avoid in the hope of avoiding a general European war.

"ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS."

The German and Austrian Imperial Governments stand forever condemned by the judgment and conscience of mankind.

And then Germany, violating her plighted faith to Luxembourg for protection of neutrality, swept with violence the treaties aside, treated them as "scraps of paper," and drove her soldiers through Luxemburg in violation of the law of nations and of good faith. The same thing is true of Belgium. The German Government violated its faith to the nations of all the world. I have always regretted that the United States did not on that instant raise a strong protest against this violation of international law, although under the treaties and under the understandings of The Hague we were not called upon or expected to do it.

It will be remembered that it was the ambition of the house of Hohenzollern which led to the war between Prussia and France in 1870. The Hohenzollerns nominated a hereditary Hohenzollern prince to be King of Spain.

They wanted to be on both sides of France for "friendly" purposes, so that they could embrace France conveniently when the time was opportune. France naturally objected, and because of the excitement which it created in France the foreign office of France indicated to the King of Prussia, William I, that they would like to have an assurance that the French peace would not in the future be threatened in that way by the nomination of a Hohenzollern prince to take the Spanish crown. They had a right to ask that. Bismarck, the head of the mili-

tary machine, the adviser of William I, changed the dispatch sent from the court of William I to Paris in such a way as to leave the impression of an insult to France, and in that way, by artfully playing upon the passions of the French King and upon his pride he was led to take the initial step. It is exactly as though a trained duelist would step on the foot of an innocent man and then, when the innocent man resented it, shoot him on the spot. That was the act of Bismarck. The French at that time were utterly unprepared; there was no order; there was perfect confusion. The Prussian military machine, in good working order, under Von Moltke, up to the last ounce of working efficiency, pounced upon France, besieged Paris, starved the people of Paris to utter exhaustion and surrender, and imposed an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs on the French people, and then, through the prestige gained by overwhelming unprepared France in that way, and through this gigantic fund, established the German Empire, with the hereditary absolute King of Prussia as the official Emperor of the German Empire. That is what occurred.

The Hohenzollerns have been active in putting princes of Hohenzollern blood on the thrones of adjacent kingdoms, as in Greece, and just as they proposed to do recently in establishing a kingdom of Poland.

They have been aiming to get control of the whole world. That is their real purpose.

Just as in recent times the peace of Europe has been overthrown by the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, so in the days of Frederick the Great Europe was kept in a turmoil by Frederick the Great and his military bureau.

The first act of Frederick's reign after writing his famous book "Anti-Machiavel," in which he denounced the dishonest doctrines of statecraft of Machiavelli, was to practice the craft of Machiavelli and violate the treaty of Prussia with Austria by invading and secretly entering the unarmed Province of Silesia with a large army. During the conquest of Silesia Frederick made a treaty with France, which he secretly betrayed by sending an authorized agreement to Austria, and which was accepted by Austria, in contravention with his obligations to France. Frederick then, having by this ruse obtained the evacuation of Silesia by Austria, promptly denied having authorized the agreement which Austria had accepted and by which he obtained the retirement of the Austrian troops.

The house of Hohenzollern should not be regarded merely as a dynasty; it is a dynasty interwoven with a gigantic military machine under the domination of the King of Prussia, who is ex officio Emperor of Germany and active commander in chief of the army and navy.

Germany is governed substantially by the military powers, who may illtreat the German subject with perfect impunity.

The German youth and the German citizen are taught from their childhood to regard their obligations to the army and the Kaiser as the first duty of good citizenship, and the ideals of the army have been in this way grafted in a large measure into public opinion of the German people, who have been led to believe that loyalty to Germany and the German people and loyalty to the Kaiser and his war machine are identical.

When William, therefore, under the pressure of his war machine, gave the order of mobilization, the citizens of Germany had no alternative except death but to seize their rifles and go to the trenches in an assault upon their neighbors.

There were 4,000,000 socialist voters who were thus forced into the ranks against all their principles of international brotherhood. They were driven through Belgium against their socialist brothers of Belgium, with unspeakable atrocities committed by the German soldiers; they were driven against France and Italy and Russia, against their socialist brethren, without any regard to their long-taught principles of international brotherhood. They could not help themselves. They had no power of organization. They dared not, under penalty of death, take the first step toward liberty. They were unhappily under the irresistible domination of Prussian militarism; under a monarchial autocratic structure of government which they had never been strong enough to change into a democratic government of the German people, by the German people, and for the German people.

Under a democracy or under a limited monarchy, with a responsible ministry and a parliament in control of government, this enormous disaster to the German people, to the Austrian people, to the people of all Europe, and to the people of America, and to the people of the world would not have occurred.

The world ought not to permit the recurrence of this gigantic disaster at any future time, and the only way in which to prevent its recurrence is that the world shall demand, as England is demanding, as England has demanded, as France has demanded, as Italy has demanded, as Russia and America are now demanding, the end of the warlike and irresponsible Government of Prussian militarism, the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, and the establishment of a government truly responsible to the German people.

Mr. President, these considerations are far more important considerations justifying war against Prussian militarism by the people of the United States and by all the Republics on the face of the earth than even the murder of our citizens and the submarining of our ships, because the house of Hohenzollern and the house of Hapsburg are sworn and deadly enemies to the democracies of the world, and if they succeed in overthrowing the democratic people of France, England, Italy, and Russia this military machine would immediately make war on us, and with their millions and millions of trained and seasoned soldiers they might devastate America before we could organize our armies in adequate resistance.

I do not underestimate or ignore the tragedy upon tragedy which has attended the invasion of our international rights.

On the *Lusitania*, without warning, we had 114 American citizens murdered on the high seas in cold blood, in violation of international law.

On the *Gulflight* we had two Americans killed without warning.

Mr. President, it is one thing for an American citizen to be killed in a street fight in a foreign country, to be murdered in a foreign country by some irresponsible citizen or subject of a foreign country, and it is another thing when the responsible head of that Government commits murder on a single son of this Republic by or through executive, military, or naval orders.

On the *Armenian* we had 23 Americans killed;
On the *Iberian* we had 3 Americans killed;
On the *Anglo-Californian* we had 2 Americans killed;
On the *Hesperian* we had 1 American killed;
On the *Arabic* we had 3 Americans killed;
On the *Persia* we had 2 Americans destroyed;
On the *Ancona* we had 7 Americans killed;
On the *Englishman* we had 6 Americans killed;
On the *Sabota* we had 1 American killed;
On the *Marina* we had 8 Americans destroyed;
On the *Russian* we had 17 American citizens destroyed;
On the *Eaveston* we had 1 American destroyed;
On the *Vedamore* we had 10 Americans killed;
On the *Turino* we had 1 American killed;
On the *Athos*, 1 American killed;
On the *Lacona*, 8 Americans were lost;
On the *Sjostad*, 1 American killed;
On the *Vigilancia*, 5 Americans killed;
On the *Healdton*, 7 American were lost;
On the *Crispin*, 19 Americans were lost; and 18 of our American ships have been torpedoed, sunk, or burned by this submarine warfare, not to mention innumerable ships—over 700 ships—belonging to other neutral nations, and numbers of citizens of other neutral nations destroyed, because they had the courage to maintain their international rights on the high seas.

Our citizens have been ordered to keep out of and not to dare exercise their international rights on the high seas within an arbitrary zone a thousand miles long and fifteen hundred miles in the opposite direction surrounding Europe, where four-fifths of the commerce of the world must pass. We have been ordered that we shall not pass this line under penalty of death. That is military autocracy in action. Over 700 ships of neutral unoffending nations have been destroyed in violation of international law and neutral citizens innumerable murdered without notice to intimidate Great Britain and the world to a profitable peace for the Prussian military autocracy.

Under the international law the failure to maintain our neutral rights on the high seas under the threat of the Prussian military machine would be a violation of our neutrality, indeed, with other nations, who have the right to buy goods from us and have a right to ask the delivery of such goods in accordance with international law.

The United States has made every effort that it is possible for a self-respecting nation to make in the endeavor to avoid this war, and we have been unable to do it except at the sacrifice of our national rights, our national dignity, and our national honor.

It will be remembered that in the Spanish War the Imperial German Government furnished Spain with munitions of war and undertook to interfere with us in Manila Bay through her armed men-of-war.

It will be remembered that Germany attempted to interfere with Dewey in Manila Bay.

It will also be remembered that the battleships of Great Britain interposed and stopped interference of Germany with

the rights of this great Republic, although I think that Dewey could have taken care of himself.

It will be remembered that the German Government sent munitions of war to Mexico to be used against America.

It will be remembered that the German Government undertook to invade Venezuela in violation of the Monroe doctrine.

It will be remembered that the Imperial German Government has distinguished itself by maintaining a fixed hostility to the Monroe doctrine.

It will be remembered that we were compelled to send the Austrian ambassador home, representing the Hapsburg war machine, for his conspiracies against our peace in the United States, when he, in conjunction with the agents of the Hohenzollern machine, were promoting the blowing up of American factories, filling our country with spies, promoting disloyalty in the United States, and stirring up the hostility of citizens of German extraction against our peace, and stirring up the activities of hundreds of thousands of German subjects, permitted by courtesy to reside in the United States, to interfere with our peace at home.

It will be remembered that the German agents have been stirring up disorders in Mexico, in Central and South America, and promoting war on our borders, and are now doing so at a very great expense to the United States.

That pernicious activity of the agents of Prussianism will go far to account for the things we have found difficult to understand; why the South American Republics did not feel more friendly to us in view of our sincere friendship for them; why little or no reciprocity. It was because the Hohenzollern agents persuaded those people that we had designs upon their peace and upon their property.

Perhaps the crowning offense against the United States was disclosed in the proposal of Zimmermann, representing the Prussian military machine, to make an alliance with Mexico at a time, January 19, 1917, when we were still at peace with the Imperial German Government, in which Zimmermann proposed to Mexico that Germany and Mexico would make war together on the United States and make peace together; that Germany would give Mexico general financial support and that Mexico should reconquer the lost territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona; and that Japan should be invited to join Germany and Mexico in this war on the United States.

There was no alternative for the President of the United States, charged as he was with the protection of the people of the United States, informed as he was of all the things I have mentioned, and very many other things equally sinister and corroborative of the evil intent of the Imperial German Government against the United States, except to sever relations with the German Empire and to take up the gauge of battle flung into our teeth.

I agree with the President of the United States that it is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, and I also "appreciate that the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our heart—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of every peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

No treaty and no agreement with the Prussian military government or with the house of Hohenzollern is worth, or ever will be worth, the paper it is written on except where those who have the pledge have the military power to compel obedience to the promise. Their treaties are "scraps of paper." If they succeed in this war, they will attack us at their convenience.

I am pleased now that we join with those who are determined to establish liberty in the world. Together we shall establish the peace and happiness of mankind.

The world can not allow the Prussian military machine to succeed; otherwise their brutality would dominate the world.

I insert as an addenda to my remarks the brutality shown by the official orders of the German military machine in dealing with the peaceful, unoffending people of Belgium, whose neutrality they violated in willful disregard of their plighted faith to the people of Belgium.

Mr. President, I fervently pray with all my heart that the great, liberty-loving German people, who in their local affairs have developed such a high degree of representative self-government, will overthrow the house of Hohenzollern, whose wicked leadership has led them to this ruinous war and to the shambles. Whenever the German people establish a democracy—a representative "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—the democracies of the world will no longer be unwilling to trust the Government of the German people. Treaties with republics are sacred; treaties with the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs are "scraps of paper." No assurances which the Hohenzollerns or the Hapsburgs can give to the democracies of the world are worthy of any faith or credit whatever, when against their fancied interest, as the history of the Hohenzollerns prove from Frederick the Second, of Prussia, down to the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium.

Mr. President, the American people wish the happiness and the welfare of the German people and of the Austrian people as Americans wish the happiness of the British and the French and the Russian people. We wage our war not on the unhappy German people but on the military autocracy and on the house of Hohenzollern and the war machine that knows no conscience, no justice, no mercy, but can only be persuaded at the cannon's mouth. May the Lord of Hosts bless our arms and protect the liberties of mankind.

Mr. President, I found in a western paper a few days ago an editorial in the Muskogee Phoenix, Muskogee, Okla., written by Tams Bixby, Esq., former chairman of the Dawes Commission. It breathes a high, pure note of Christian patriotism, which I think deserves a place in our annals at this time. I wish to read it. It is very short. It is entitled:

ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS!

The United States of America, given to the world by the Pilgrim Fathers, through their love and devotion to the Omnipotent Ruler of the destinies of men, has declared war on the anniversary of our Savior's crucifixion.

It is altogether fitting and proper that it should be as it is. Loyal Americans will go forth to war not only as the champions of liberty and freedom and humanity but as soldiers of the cross. As He died upon the cross nearly 2,000 years ago for the salvation of mankind Americans will die upon the field of battle to make this a better world.

Through America's blood the world is to be purged of a barbaric, heathenish dynasty that in its lust has forgotten the teachings of our Savior. It is a noble thing to die and to suffer that men may be brought nearer to God.

America, unafraid, girded with the armor of righteousness, strides forth to battle. There is no hatred in our hearts; we bear no malice toward our enemies; we ask no conquest nor material reward. America, true to the traditions that gave her birth, is to wage a noble, Christian war. We are willing to die if need be to bring to all men once more the message of peace on earth, good will. And in this sacred hour America offers for her enemies the prayer of the cross, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."

The call to arms has been sounded. America, champion of righteousness, of civilization, and of Christianity, with a clear heart and willing hand, marches forth.

Amid the clamor and the cries of battle come the strains of the hymn of the united allies of mankind:

"Onward, Christian soldier!"

ADDENDA.

[The language of the original is omitted. The photographic copies of the original can be seen in the publication from which English translations are taken.]

SCRAPS OF PAPER—GERMAN PROCLAMATIONS IN BELGIUM AND FRANCE.

[With a foreword by Ian Malcolm, M. P.]

FOREWORD.

There are some things which the human imagination can not fully picture, and the horrors of war are, perhaps fortunately, among them. Even those who have lived through the past two years at the front tell me that they can not believe all that they have seen; how much less can we at home grasp the grim realities of war and of German invasion, we whose knowledge is perforce drawn only from the reading of books.

The following pages contain reproductions of a series of inhuman documents, the careful perusal of which may do something to supplement our existing information concerning the actual conditions under which hundreds of thousands of our gallant allies are now living—if "living" be the appropriate word to denote so precarious an existence. Ill-informed persons in this country have been heard to say: "Would it much matter if we were under German rule?" I am inclined to think that they would not be disposed to repeat that question if they clearly understood the meaning of some of these threatening and brutal proclamations.

Such documents require no explanation and no comment. They are reduced photographic facsimiles of posters and placards, pasted by the Germans on the walls of cities, towns, and villages in invaded France and Flanders. The originals are in my possession.

Let the reader imagine himself to be studying anyone of these, when he suddenly finds it affixed to the door of his private house or his church or his town hall; he may then be able to enter more fully into the feelings of those who, for two long years, have been subject to a reign of terror; and to appreciate the patience, as well as the endurance, with which these people are watching for the return of freedom.

IAN MALCOLM.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *London, S. W.*

TO THE BELGIAN PEOPLE.

It is to my very great regret that the German troops find themselves compelled to cross the Belgian frontier. They are acting under the constraint of an unavoidable necessity, Belgium's neutrality having been violated by French officers who, in disguise, crossed Belgian territory by motor car in order to make their way into Germany.

Belgians!

It is my greatest wish that there may still be a way of avoiding a conflict between two nations which have hitherto been friends, and at one time even allies.

Remember the glorious days of Waterloo, where German arms played their part in founding and establishing the independence and prosperity of your country. But we must have a free passage. The destruction of bridges, of tunnels, and of railways will have to be looked upon as hostile acts.

Belgians!

It is for you to choose! I hope the German Army of the Meuse will not be forced to fight you. A free passage for attack is all we desire.

I give formal pledges to the Belgian population that it will have nothing to suffer from the horrors of war, that we will pay in gold for the provisions that must be taken from the country, and that our soldiers will prove themselves the best of friends to a people for whom we feel the highest esteem and the greatest sympathy. It rests with your good sense and with an intelligent patriotism to save your country from the horrors of war.

The general officer commanding the army of the Meuse,

VON EMMICH.

THE VIOLATION OF BELGIUM.

This proclamation was distributed by the German Army among the Belgian civil population on August 4, 1914. This was the day they violated Belgian neutrality, and they still hoped that the Belgian Army would offer no resistance. But when Belgian troops checked their advance that afternoon at the passage of the Meuse, they changed their tone and wreaked their revenge on the Belgian civilians. At Warsage, the village where this proclamation had been scattered by the Uhlans, 3 civilians were shot, 6 hanged, 9 others murdered in various ways, and 25 houses were burnt down.

—

ORDER TO THE PEOPLE OF LIÉGE.

The population of Andenne, after making a display of peaceful intentions toward our troops, attacked them in the most treacherous manner. With my authorization the general commanding these troops has reduced the town to ashes and has had 110 persons shot.

I bring this fact to the knowledge of the people of Liége in order that they may know what fate to expect should they adopt a similar attitude.

GEN. VON BULOW.

LIÉGE, *August 22, 1914.*

TERRORIZATION.

Two hundred and fifty civilians—men, women, and children—were killed by the Germans at Andenne on August 20 and 21, 1914, and 50 at Seilles, on the opposite bank of the Meuse. A hundred and fifty-three houses were burned at Seilles and 37 at Andenne. It is not true that the Germans were attacked by the civil population or that they received any provocation whatever. The murder and arson were started in cold blood, at a signal; the object was to give point to such a proclamation as this.

As a warning to Liége, however, the atrocities at Andenne were superfluous. The Liégeois had already had personal experience of German terrorism, for on that very night of August 20, again at a given signal, the Germans had burned 55 houses at Liege and murdered 29 civilians—shooting some, bayoneting others, and burnings others alive.

—

NOTICE TO THE MAYOR—REQUISITION ORDER.

The commune of Luneville will furnish by September 1, 1914, under penalty of a fine of 300,000 francs in case of refusal or opposition—

1. One hundred thousand cigars or 200,000 cigarettes or 5,000 kilos of tobacco.
2. Fifty thousand liters of wine (in cask or in bottle).
3. One thousand kilos of tea or of cocoa.
4. Ten thousand kilos of sugar.
5. One thousand kilos of roasted coffee.
6. One thousand woolen stockings.
7. A quantity of soap, of toilet paper or cut paper, and a great number of pocket handkerchiefs and of knives.
8. Ten kilos of glycerine.
9. Ten kilos of grease.

I expressly add that all the goods demanded must be of the best quality, and that in all cases where they are not so the commune will be held responsible. All appeals against this order will be null and void.

VON FASBENDER.
Officer Commanding First Bavarian Reserve Corps.

CHION, *August 29, 1914.*

REQUISITIONS.

The best commentary on this proclamation is the Hague convention of 1907, concerning the laws and customs of war on land. The following articles may be singled out for quotation:

"52. *Requisitions in kind and services shall not be demanded from the local authorities or inhabitants, except for the needs of the army of occupation. They shall be in proportion to the resources of the country.* * * *

"53. *An army of occupation shall only take possession of cash, funds, and realizable securities which are strictly the property of the State.* * * *"

At Lunéville the Germans blew up with dynamite the walls of private houses into which safes had been let. They were directed by a non-commissioned officer who had done business in Lunéville before the war and knew which safes were worth blasting out. (Report of the French Commission on German Atrocities, I, pp. 25–26, French original; 21–22, English translation.)

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NOTICE TO THE POPULATION.

On the 25th of August, 1914, inhabitants of Luneville made an attack by ambush on German columns and ammunition trains. On the same day inhabitants also fired on ambulances bearing the Red Cross. Shots were also fired on German wounded and on a military hospital containing a German ambulance unit.

On account of these acts of hostility an indemnity of 650,000 francs is imposed on the commune of Luneville. The mayor is ordered to pay over this sum on the 6th September, 1914, at 9 o'clock in the morning, to the representative of the German military authorities. Fifty thousand francs of the payment must be made in specie. All appeals will be considered null and void. No postponement will be granted.

If the commune does not punctually execute the order to pay this sum of 650,000 francs, all goods that can be distrained upon will be seized.

In case of nonpayment, house-to-house visits will be made and all the inhabitants will be searched. Any person who has deliberately concealed money or tried to withhold goods from seizure by the military authorities, or who attempts to leave the town, will be shot.

The mayor and the hostages taken by the military authorities will be made responsible for the exact execution of the above orders. The mayor is ordered to publish these directions to the commune immediately.

VON FASBENDER,
General Commanding.

HENAMENIL, *September 3, 1914.*

PUNISHMENT TO PROVE CRIME.

The motive of the present proclamation is found in the German military maxim that "Punishment is a proof of crime." The heinous charges made in the first paragraph against the inhabitants of Luneville are just as false as those trumped up against the Belgian civilians of Andenne and Liege a few days earlier. The truth in all these cases was that the Germans had committed atrocities in cold blood, on a given signal, for a deliberate purpose of terrorization. At Luneville there were 18 victims (including a boy of 12 shot and a woman of 98 bayoneted), and 70 houses were burned. Such incidents require explanation, and the Germans, true to their policy of the offensive, hoped to fix the guilt on their victims before it could be brought home to themselves.

—

PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of both sexes are strictly forbidden to leave their houses so far as this is not absolutely necessary for making short rounds in order to buy provisions or water their cattle. They are absolutely forbidden to leave their houses at night under any circumstances whatever.

Whoever attempts to leave the place, by night or day, upon any pretext whatever will be shot.

Potatoes can only be dug with the commandant's consent and under military supervision.

The German troops have orders to carry out these directions strictly, by sentinels and patrols, who are authorized to fire on anyone departing from these directions.

THE GENERAL COMMANDING.

THE STRONG HAND.

This proclamation imposes restrictions upon the people of Luneville which barely allow them to keep themselves alive, while the penalty for infraction is death by shooting, at the discretion of the German sentinels and patrols.

These restrictions are the German general staff's ideal of the state to which conquered peoples should be reduced. This process of terrorization is carried out in two stages: First comes the crushing blow—the carefully planned outbreak of murder, rape, arson, and pillage similar to that which was contrived at Luneville on August 25, 1914. Then, when the victims are presumed to be sufficiently paralyzed in action and broken in spirit, they are bound down with a network of drastic regulations to prevent their recuperation.

At Luneville, fortunately, the process was cut short. The Germans only occupied the town three weeks, and were driven out by the French Army on September 11.

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NOT TO BE REMOVED—GERMAN MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

The mayor of the town of Luneville officially requests the inhabitants, under the sanction of the most severe penalties, to abstain from making any signals to aeroplanes or other details of the French Army.

It would be very imprudent, even out of simple curiosity, to follow too attentively the maneuvers of the aircraft that fly over Luneville or to try to communicate with the French outposts.

The immediate steps to enforce this, which would be taken by Col. Lidl, commandant of the communications depot, would consist in the seizure of *a considerable number of hostages from the working class as well as from the middle class.*

In order to prevent or repress criminal behavior in war time, as well as to insure the security of the German troops and the civil population, the special police stations flying a white flag are to receive, day and night, all communications which may be addressed to them on this subject.

KELLER,
The Mayor of Luneville.

HOSTAGES.

In the present proclamation the mayor of Luneville is made to warn his fellow citizens against rendering any assistance to their own national forces. The threat to take hostages in case of disobedience is very properly underlined. To be seized as a hostage in the invaded districts of Belgium and France was almost equivalent to a sentence of death. Hostages who were not shot by their captors or driven under the fire of their fellow countrymen as living screens were often deported to prison camps in Germany for an indefinite period and exposed to a more lingering death by exposure, starvation, and brutality.

—

PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF ST. DIE.

The Government of the French Republic has sent its troops over the German frontier to come to the help of Russia.

I know well how unpopular this war is in France and how it has been forced upon you by your government against the considered will of the country.

It is now for arms to decide.

European civilization as defended by Germany and Austria against the Serbs and the Russians, who are protectors of political murder, and the well-known German discipline are the guarantees that our arms will only be directed against the military forces. All noncombatants may be sure that they will not suffer interference either with their persons or their property so long as they remain quiet.

The German Armies have made their entry into France.

Although we will respect the liberty of noncombatants, we have at the same time decided to repress with the gratest energy and without mercy any act of hostility committed against German troops.

The following will be immediately shot:

All persons guilty of any act of hostility against a member of the German Army.

All the inhabitants and proprietors of houses in which Frenchmen belonging to the army, or persons firing on our troops, may be found, unless these facts, or the presence of suspected persons, have been announced to the local command immediately after the entry of our troops.

Any persons who try to help or who have helped the enemy's forces, or who try to harm or have harmed our armies in any way whatever, especially by cutting the telephone and telegraph wires.

Anyone who tears down these notices.

The following will be held responsible for acts of hostility by the population: *The curé, the mayor, the mayor's assessor, and the schoolmasters.*

All buildings will be burnt in which or from which acts of hostility have been committed. In case of repetition the whole town will be destroyed and burnt. Besides which, it is ordered that:

(1) All arms (guns, pistols, revolvers, brownings, sabres, etc.) are to be deposited with the local command from the moment of entry of our troops.

(2) All traffic in the streets is forbidden between 8 in the evening and 6 in the morning. The sentinels will fire without challenging on every individual disobeying this order.

(3) All gatherings of more than three persons are forbidden.

(4) It is forbidden to ring the bells or communicate with the enemy by any means whatever.

(5) The curé, the mayor, the mayor's assessor and the schoolmasters are to present themselves immediately after the entry of our troops before the local command, which reserves to itself the right to retain them as hostages for the execution of the above stipulations in regard to them.

(6) It is forbidden to approach on any pretext the sick, wounded, or dead belonging to our armies, or the prisoners of war who are under the protection of our armies.

(7) All persons infringing the above rules or committing any reprehensible act against our authorities or any of their representatives will be punished according to German martial law.

THE GENERAL COMMANDING,
KNOERZER.

ST. DIE, *August 27, 1914.*

HOW TO TERRORIZE A TOWN.

This proclamation posted at St. Die (Vosges) is a very complete example of German style in this vein of literature.

First, a self-glorificatory version of the origin of the war; second, a misleading promise of security to the civil population, like the proclamation at Warsage—the voice of the wolf addressing the lamb; third, the threat of wholesale fire and slaughter breathed out against this same civil population if the German Army is in any way incommoded by anybody in its conduct of war—the commune and the communal authorities to pay a collective penalty of the last severity for any alleged infringement of the proclamation by an individual; and, last, a network of minute regulations and restrictions to perpetuate the effect of the sweeping threats that precede. In their conception of their victims' psychology the Germans betray their own.

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NOTICE.

The numerous acts of hostility committed by the inhabitants of this country against the German troops force me to give the following orders:

1. Any inhabitant who shall be guilty of an act of hostility against a member of the German Army, or any inhabitant of a house from which our troops are fired upon, will immediately be shot and the house of the guilty person will instantly be burned.

2. All arms (rifles, pistols, sabers, etc.) must be deposited by 4 o'clock at the town hall. Whoever retains arms or hides in his house any members of the French Army will be punished according to the laws of war.

3. All traffic in the streets is forbidden during the night from 8 o'clock in the evening to 7 o'clock in the morning. The sentinels have orders to fire without challenging them on all persons who do not obey these orders.

4. All gatherings in the streets are forbidden.

5. It is further forbidden to ring the bells, or to communicate with the enemy, by means of optical signals, lanterns, or other methods of conveying intelligence. In case of disobedience the offenders will be punished by death. The same penalty will be inflicted on those who destroy any means of communication.

It is likewise forbidden to leave the town under any pretext whatever without being exposed to the same penalties as are mentioned above.

THE GENERAL COMMANDING.

SAINT-DIE, *August 28, 1914.*

TWO KINDS OF GERMAN OFFICER.

In this proclamation the German commandant sees fit to repeat his warnings and prohibitions of the day before.

A comparison of the two proclamations reveals a deterioration in the commandant's nerves in the course of the intervening night. The civil population of Belgium, France, and Poland has paid a heavy price for the German Army's nervousness. A criminal is never more dangerous than when he is afraid.

*But there was another German officer at St. Die who had a cooler head. When the French and German troops were fighting from house to house for the possession of the town this German officer placed three civilians on chairs in the street, to screen his men from the French troops' fire. He claims that this "brilliant idea" was responsible for the German conquest of St. Die. "The civilians were killed by French bullets * * *. One becomes terribly callous at this business * * *."*
(Letter from this officer, Lieut. Eberlein, published in the Munchener Neueste Nachrichten (Vorabendblatt), *7th October,* 1914.)

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PROCLAMATION.

All functionaries of the French Government and of the municipality are informed as follows:

(1) All peaceable inhabitants will be able to follow their regular occupations in complete security without interference. Private property will be absolutely respected by the German troops. Supplies of all kinds serving the requirements of the German troops, especially provisions, will be paid for in cash.

(2) If, on the contrary, the population should dare to take part in any way whatever, openly or secretly, in hostilities against our troops, the most severe punishments will be inflicted on the guilty.

All firearms are to be deposited immediately at the town hall. Any individual found in arms will be put to death. Any person cutting or attempting to cut telegraph or telephone wires, destroying railway lines, bridges or high roads, or committing any action detrimental to the German troops will be shot summarily.

Any towns or villages, the inhabitants of which may take part in the fighting against our troops, fire at our baggage or at our supply columns, or lay an ambush for German soldiers, will be set on fire and the guilty persons immediately shot.

The civil authorities alone are in a position to save the inhabitants from the terrors and scourges of war.

It is they who will be responsible for the unavoidable consequences of disregarding this proclamation.

VON MOLTKE,
Chief of the General Staff of the German Army.

EPERNAY, *September 4, 1914.*

CHIEF OF STAFF VON MOLTKE AND SUPERINTENDENT KAHN.

This proclamation contains the same promises, prohibitions, and threats as those which precede. Its interest lies in the signature of Gen. von Moltke, at that time chief of the German general staff, and therefore supreme executive head of the German military forces.

In spite of his exalted rank, Gen. von Moltke failed to bring his subordinates' action into conformity with his own laudable intentions, as a comparison between this proclamation and the following will show:

On September 4, 1914, the general assured the people of Epernay that "private property will be respected by the German troops, and that supplies of all kinds serving the requirements of the German Army, especially provisions, will be paid for in cash." But for the sequel see the next page.

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MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF EPERNAY—OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF SATURDAY, THE 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.

In the year one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, on Saturday, the 5th of September, at a quarter past nine o'clock in the evening,

The Municipal Council of the Town of Epernay, duly summoned, met at the Town Hall, under the presidency of M. Maurice Pol-Roger, the mayor, for the holding of an extraordinary session necessitated by a requisition made by the German Commissariat.

There were present—

MM. 1. Maurice Pol-Roger; 2. Eugène Jacquet, first assessor; 3. Perrault, assessor; 4. Gallice; 5. Cerveaux; 6. Fleuricourt; 7. Lemaître; 8. Villiot; 9. Brunette; 10. Michelot; 11. Edouard Boizel; 12. Gaullier; 13. Granier; 14. Waline; 15. Machet; 16. Doctor Chapt.

Absent—

MM. 1. J. Chandon; 2. Chaurey; 3. Dépuiset, serving. MM. Geoffroy and Raulet, excused attendance. MM. 1. Moineau; 2. Bource; 3. Ch. Dubois.

Summoned to this meeting and present—

MM. Ernest Goubault, Edmo Goubault, Claude Chandon.

The mayor communicated the following document:

"Epernay, the 5th September, 1914.

"At the request of the mayor, we certify that the commissariat of the Royal Bodyguard has imposed a fine (according to convention) on the town of Epernay amounting to 176,550 francs, payable on the 6th of September, at noon, for not having delivered in time the provisions necessary for the troops.

"In the name of the Commissariat of the Royal Guard,
"(Signed) KAHN, Director."

The president read the details of the provisions demanded:

"For the 5th of September, 1914—		
"Oats	120,000	kilogrammes.
"Bread	21,000	"
"Roasted coffee	500	"
"Preserved vegetables, mushrooms, and semolina	10,000	"
"Salted bacon, lard, &c	12,000	" "

He then pointed out that only the required quantity of salted bacon could not be supplied; there were only about 2,000 kilogrammes available, and that, in spite of all his endeavours, he had not been able to obtain either the items of the sum claimed or any reduction in the amount of the fine.

In default of payment of this sum the German authorities threatened to take the most rigorous proceedings against the population itself, and to conduct forcible perquisitions in the houses of the inhabitants.

A long discussion arose on this subject.

Finally, being unable to resist the demands of the German Commissariat, and on account of the threats made, the council decided that to-morrow morning an appeal should be made for the cooperation of the people of this town to collect the sum of 176,550 francs. The session closed at 11.30 in the evening.

(Signed) MACHET, BRUNETTE.

N. B.—Payment has been deferred to 5.30 p. m. instead of noon.

He was evidently unaware that one Kahn, superintendent of the commissariat of the Prussian guard, was at that moment demanding a quantity of salt bacon from the town, which the town was utterly unable to furnish, and imposing a monetary fine of 176,550 francs for the default in the amount produced, under the threat of "taking the most rigorous proceedings against the population itself and conducting forcible perquisitions in the houses of the inhabitants."

—

NOTICE TO THE POPULATION.

In order sufficiently to insure the safety of our troops and the tranquillity of the population of Reims, the persons mentioned have been seized as hostages by the commander of the German Army. These hostages will be shot if there is the least disorder. On the other hand, if the town remains perfectly calm and quiet, these hostages and inhabitants will be placed under the protection of the German Army.

THE GENERAL COMMANDING.

REIMS, *September 12, 1914.*

"TO INSURE THE TRANQUILLITY OF THE POPULATION OF REIMS."

What is the meaning of "the least disorder"? By the terms of the proclamation the interpretation of these words was to mean life or death to the hostages whose names (80 in number, with a note that others had been taken as well) were published on another poster pasted up beneath. The phrase can hardly have inspired tranquillity in the hostages themselves; it had too formidable an elasticity. At Aerschot, on August 19, a German soldier had fired in the air; at Dinant, on August 23, French soldiers had fired at German soldiers in open warfare; at Louvain, on August 25, German soldiers had fired on one another; and in each case the "disorder" had been punished by the massacre of the civil population. For the hostages at Rheims these were not tranquilizing precedents.

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NOTICE.

The persons mentioned below were condemned by the tribunal of the council of war and shot this same day at the citadel, namely: Eugène Jacquet, wholesale wine merchant; Ernest Deconinck, sublieutenant; Georges Maertens, tradesman; Sylvère Verhulst, workman; (1) for having concealed the English aviator who alighted at Wattignies on the 11th of last March; for having given him shelter and facilitated his passage to France so that he was able to return to the enemy's lines; (2) for having maintained and assisted members of the enemy army who, after discarding their uniform, remained in Lille and its suburbs, and having enabled them to escape into France.

By the proclamation of the governor, of the 7th of April, 1915, these two cases, being considered as espionage, are brought to the knowledge of the public in order that they may serve as a warning.

THE GOVERNOR.

LILLE, *September 22, 1915.*

"CONSIDERED AS ESPIONAGE."

Espionage is punishable with death—that is a commonly acknowledged rule of military law. But there are other services which the civil population of an occupied territory may perform, and be impelled by all the claims of patriotism and humanity to perform, for their allies and follow-countrymen under arms, which are absolutely distinct from espionage, of infinitely less danger to the occupying power, and undeserving of the death penalty by all the traditions of civilized warfare.

The Germans wished to punish these acts of service with the extreme penalty. They therefore "considered them as espionage," shot four patriotic citizens of Lille who had been guilty of performing them, and posted this proclamation in order to leave no one in doubt that they intended to repeat this action at the next opportunity.

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PROCLAMATION.

In future the inhabitants of places situated near railways and telegraph lines which have been destroyed will be punished without mercy (whether they are guilty of this destruction or not). For this purpose hostages have been taken in all places in the vicinity of railways in danger of similar attacks, and at the first attempt to destroy any railway, telegraph, or telephone line they will be shot immediately.

VON DER GOLTZ,
The Governor.

BRUSSELS, *October 5, 1914.*

"THE INNOCENT SHALL SUFFER."

In this proclamation the German governor general of Belgium announces that he will shoot Belgian civilians "without mercy" if certain acts are committed, "whether they are guilty of those acts or not." This announcement would have been still more startling if he had added that no guilt attached to these acts at all, and that they were done by the Belgian Army as legitimate acts of war.

From August 19, 1914, when the Belgian Army retired within the lines of Antwerp, to October 9, when Antwerp fell, it carried on the war by making sorties through the German lines and by sending out patrols, many miles behind them, to cut the German communications. This warfare was as effective as it was legitimate, and it was its effectiveness that made the German authorities shrink from no means of bringing it to a stop.

The means announced in this proclamation are characteristic. Innocent civilians were to suffer—not for guilty civilians, for there were none—but for their compatriots in the Belgian Army whom the Germans could not cope with by other tactics than these.

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PROCLAMATION.

The tribunal of the Imperial German council of war sitting in Brussels has pronounced the following sentences:

Condemned to death for conspiring together to commit treason: Edith Cavell, teacher, of Brussels; Philippe Bancq, architect, of Brussels; Jeanne de Belleville, of Montignies; Louise Thuliez, professor, at Lille; Louis Severin, chemist, of Brussels; Albert Libiez, lawyer, of Mons.

For the same offense the following have been condemned to 15 years' hard labor: Hermann Capiau, engineer, of Wasmes; Ada Bodart, of Brussels; Georges Derveau, chemist, of Pâturages; Mary de Croy, of Bellignies.

At the same sitting the war council condemned 17 others charged with treason against the imperial armies to sentences of penal servitude and imprisonment varying from two to eight years.

The sentences passed on Bancq and Edith Cavell have already been fully executed.

The governor general of Brussels brings these facts to the knowledge of the public that they may serve as a warning.

Gen. VON BISSING,
The Governor of the City.

BRUSSELS, *October 12, 1915.*

THE "TREASON" OF EDITH CAVELL.

Treason means the opposite of patriotism, but the German word "war-treason" means loyalty to patriotism at the risk of one's life. Acts of war-treason are acts done by the inhabitants of an occupied territory, on behalf of their native country and their fellow countrymen, for which the German military code prescribes the penalty of death. Edith Cavell and her companions had done such acts and well knew what awaited them if they were discovered. It was in this that their heroism lay. But the German Government knew, on its part, that whatever it might lay down in its military code, the execution of Edith Cavell for what she had done was an outrage which would arouse the indignation of the civilized world. That is why, during the whole course of her trial and to within a few hours of putting her to death, the German authorities at Brussels kept the American Legation at arm's length by procrastinations, prevarications, and lies. When intervention was no longer possible, they hastened to proclaim their achievement to the population of Brussels, for, as the German under secretary for foreign affairs, Herr Zimmermann, explained to an American journalist, "the sentence had been carried out to frighten those who might presume on their sex to take part in enterprises punishable with death."

—

PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN MILITARY COMMANDANT OF LILLE.

The attitude of England makes the provisioning of the population more and more difficult.

To reduce the misery, the German authorities have recently asked for volunteers to go and work in the country. This offer has not had the success that was expected.

In consequence of this the inhabitants will be deported by order and removed into the country. Persons deported will be sent to the interior of the occupied territory in France, far behind the front, where they will be employed in agricultural labor, and not in any military work whatever. By this measure they will be given the opportunity of providing better for their subsistence.

In case of necessity provisions can be obtained through the German depots. Every person deported will be allowed to take with him 30 kilogrammes of luggage (household utensils, clothes, etc.), which they will be well advised to make ready at once.

I order, therefore, that no one may, until further order, change his place of residence. No one may absent himself from his legally declared residence from 9 p. m. to 6 a. m. (German time), unless he is in possession of a permit in due form.

Inasmuch as this is an irrevocable measure, it is in the interest of the population itself to remain calm and obedient.

THE COMMANDANT.

LILLE, *April, 1916.*

THE DEPORTATIONS FROM LILLE.

This proclamation was followed up by the deportation of 25,000 French civilians from the towns of Roubaix, Turcoing, and Lille. There were girls as young as 16 among the victims and men as old as 55. Families were ruthlessly broken up.

The first batches were obtained by sporadic slave raids in the streets and houses. Then the garrison of Lille was reinforced, and on April 22, 1916 (Holy Saturday), the first systematic deportation was carried out. "About 3 in the morning, troops with fixed bayonets barred the streets, machine guns commanded the roads—against unarmed people. Soldiers made their way into the houses, the officer pointed out the people who were to go, and half an hour later everybody was marched pell-mell into an adjacent factory, and from there to the station, whence the departure took place." French Yellow Book: Memorandum of June 30, 1916, by the minister of war (based on documentary evidence).

Only a part of the exiles were employed on agriculture in the occupied territory. Others, contrary to the German promise and contrary to every recognized concept of justice, were compelled to do work of a military nature for the advantage of the German Army.

—

NOTICE.

(French text.)

All the inhabitants of the house, with the exception of children under 14 and their mothers, and also of old people, must prepare themselves for transportation in an hour and a half's time.

An officer will definitely decide which persons will be taken to the concentration camps. For this purpose all the inhabitants of the house must assemble in front of it. In case of bad weather they may remain in the passage. The door of the house must remain open. All appeals will be useless. No inmate of the house, even those who will not be transported, may leave the house before 8 a. m.—German time.

Each person will have a right to 30 kilograms of luggage; if anyone's luggage exceeds that weight, it will all be rejected without further consideration. Packages must be separately made up for each person and must bear an address legibly written and firmly fixed on. This address must include the surname and the Christian name and the number of the identity card.

It is absolutely necessary that people should provide themselves in their own interest with eating and drinking utensils, as well as with a woollen blanket, strong shoes, and linen. Everyone must carry his identity card on his person. Anyone attempting to evade transportation will be punished without mercy.

ETAPPEN-KOMMANDANTUR.

(The "Etappen" are the German military depots on the lines of communication.)

LILLE, *April, 1916.*

"AN HOUR AND A HALF'S NOTICE."

In this proclamation the German transport officer at Lille puts the commandant's decree into effect. He allows the exiles an hour and a half to settle their affairs and leave their homes for an unknown destination. "Anyone attempting to evade deportation will be punished without pity."

*"It was terrible," writes a witness. (French Yellow Book, Ann. 13.) "The officer went round, pointing out the men and women whom he chose and giving them, to make their preparations, a period varying from an hour to ten minutes. * * **

*"They left Madame X. the choice between her two servants. She chose the elder one. 'Good,' they answered, 'that is the one we will take.' * * **

*"Madame D. took the place of her maid, who was ill. When she was sent back she wanted to stay. They threatened to send her back forcibly. * * **

"The concentration camps looked like slave markets."

—

INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF LILLE!

In refusing to execute military work imposed by the enemy, you are within your rights and doing your duty as Frenchmen. The Hague convention, ratified by all civilized nations, justifies your action. The disloyal citizens who accept work of military value, direct or indirect, will commit a serious crime against their country. They will, moreover, expose themselves to the rigor of the law when the French flag waves again over Lille.

That time is not far off.

The strength of the allies increases steadily; that of Germany, on the contrary, is becoming exhausted as the time passes. It will very soon not be equal to the task.

Everything bids you hope.

Courage and confidence through all.

THE SPIRIT OF FRANCE.

This proclamation is a noble answer to the last. It was scattered in Lille in defiance of the German authorities, and breathes the spirit that Germany can never conquer.

*"Our people," writes an inhabitant of Lille (French Yellow Book, Ann. 13), "preserved their calm and their dignity admirably. They all started off with cries of 'Vive la France!' 'Vive la liberté!' and singing the Marseillaise. They comforted those who were left behind, their poor weeping mothers and the children. Pale with grief and choked with tears, they forbade them to weep. They did not weep themselves * * *."*

*"Our soldiers at the front must not avenge us by similar acts; that would sully the fair name of France. Let them leave it to God to avenge such crimes * * *."*

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JONES of New Mexico in the chair). Upon the suggestion of the Vice President the Chair appoints Senators HUGHES, POMERENE, PITTMAN, DILLINGHAM,

and HARDING as the committee to make the investigation, in accordance with Senate resolution No. 23, which was adopted this morning.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I am always willing to perform any duty the Senate may impose upon me, but I am a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and we have a matter of contest pending before that committee now, depending, of course, upon what the committee may recommend to the Senate and what the Senate may afterwards instruct the committee to do. I feel that I have about all the committee work that I can undertake at this session, and I ask to be excused for that reason.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will bear in mind the request of the Senator from Ohio and will reserve the matter for a few moments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER subsequently said:

In view of the request of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] he will be excused and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] will be appointed to serve upon the committee provided for in resolution No. 23.

EXPORTS TO NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask for the consideration of Senate resolution No. 32, which is now on the table. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate resolution numbered 32, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution S. Res. 32, submitted by Mr. KING on the 12th instant, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Commerce be, and is hereby, requested to furnish to the Senate a statement of the exports from the United States to the neutral countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland since the opening of the European war in August, 1914; that said statement include specifications as to the quantity, value, and classification of said exports; and that the Secretary of Commerce be, and is hereby, requested to furnish to the Senate a statement of the same scope and specifications covering exports from the United States to said neutral countries for the period of two years prior to August 1, 1914; also that the Secretary of Commerce be requested to furnish such data as may be available to him bearing upon the question as to what proportion of the exports to such neutral countries during the period of said war found their way into Germany or Austria-Hungary.

Mr. KING. I move to amend the resolution by striking out, in lines 2, 9, and 13, the word "requested" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "directed."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I have no objection to the adoption of the resolution, but I have received a number of communications from shippers in New York in relation to this matter. I have one that I believe will be of very great interest to the Senate and also to the public generally throughout the country. I shall ask permission to insert the letter just at this point in the RECORD, so that it may be considered by Senators in reading the proceedings of to-day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter referred to is as follows:

NEW YORK, *April 13, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM M. CALDER,
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

SIR: As one of your constituents engaged in the steamship business, as an agent of the Norwegian America Line, I desire to call your attention to the inequity of placing an embargo on exports to Norway, as it appears to be Senator KING'S idea, in view of his resolution introduced yesterday, calling upon the Secretary of Commerce to furnish your honorable body with data on the export from this country into Germany and Prussia through Scandinavian countries.

Being thoroughly familiar with the situation as to Norwegian exports, I wish to state that while during the early part of the war considerable of our exports may have been passed through Norway into the central powers, I can state with absolute assurance that during the past year nothing has gone through, for the following reasons:

1. The shipper, in order to make shipment, has to secure what is called a letter of assurance from the trade department of the British Embassy, which letter is issued only after the British foreign office has investigated the consignee and through the local British consul secured satisfactory guaranties, backed by indemnities, that the goods he desires to import will not be reexported in any shape whatsoever to any of the powers allied against Great Britain.

2. The control exercised by Great Britain through the issuance of these letters of assurance have so restricted the quantity of commodities necessary to the barest amount of actual consumption.

3. Through the necessity of steamers carrying cargoes to Norway having to call at a British port, or as at present the Canadian port of Halifax, where manifests and letters of assurance are carefully scrutinized, there is no possibility of the shipper fictitiously describing his shipment with the idea of violating any of the principles involved in this British control system. So much for the question of actual consumption in Norway of the goods shipped to that country.

The question of necessity next arises, as Norway is not self-supporting, and, of course, prior to the war received imports from European countries of approximately about sixteen times the value of the imports received from the United States, so it would be decidedly unfair to compare the exports from this country of the years prior to the war with the present exports, as the European countries are absolutely closed to Norway, who is at present compelled to buy all of her steel and iron and manufactures of same in this country which were secured from Germany up to last year.

As to foodstuffs, this is the only market in which Norway can obtain supplies. The Norwegian sentiment, as far as I can ascertain, is proally. The regulations and laws passed by Norway strictly prohibit the exportation from that country of any goods imported into it, and I understand that there has been over 100 merchants placed in jail for a violation of the regulations relative to exporting of their products, which were clandestinely sent to Germany.

It would be well also to consider the local effect of such an embargo, since flour and cereals comprise approximately 50 to 60 per cent of our cargoes. It is my fear that if a step is taken in establishing an embargo upon foodstuffs later action will be taken to embargo all shipments. It must be considered that if all shipments are embargoed it will be a great hardship to a number of manufacturers, as the automobile industry is securing a wonderful footing in Norway, and the same applies to the question of cotton, prints, shirts, hosiery, and various other articles which prior to the war our manufacturers had no opportunity to ship, or apparently were unwilling to enter the export field. It would simply paralyze these new lines of business.

To bring the matter closer home, it would also have a serious effect upon our South Brooklyn community, as we are using upon our Thirtieth Street Pier anywhere from two to five hundred men weekly in the loading and discharging of the Norwegian-American Line vessels, and my greatest argument is upon the basis of the necessity of protecting in so far as possible your constituents.

I can only secure at the moment approximate figures, but I understand that the total exports from all ports of the United States to Norway during the past year approximate $175,000,000, which is only about equal to the present fortnightly clearances to the allied powers.

In conclusion I would refer you to the records of the British authorities, which show conclusively that a similar agitation against Norway was raised in the British press, and the foreign office issued a statement that were they to discontinue shipments to Norway not Germany would starve, but Norway.

I trust that you will give this matter your courteous consideration, and if I can be of any assistance to you in giving you any data that may be advantageous to you, kindly command me.

Respectfully, yours,

J. J. MCGOWAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ROBINSON. If there is nothing more to come before the Senate to-day, in the absence of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 20 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 2 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 17, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 16, 1917.

ASSISTANT APPRAISER OF MERCHANDISE.

Charles E. Victory, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to be assistant appraiser of merchandise in customs collection district No. 10, with headquarters at New York, N. Y., to fill an existing vacancy.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

Surg. William J. Pettus to be senior surgeon in the Public Health Service, to rank as such from May 15, 1917, in place of Senior Surg. James M. Gassaway, who has been placed on waiting orders.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

J. J. Tanner, of Skagway, Alaska, to be United States marshal for the first division of Alaska, vice Harry A. Bishop, resigned.

UNITED STATES CONSULS.

CLASS 6.

Wesley Frost, of Kentucky, now a consul of class 7, to be a consul of class 6 of the United States of America.

CLASS 7.

Paul H. Foster, of Texas, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

Arthur C. Frost, of Massachusetts, now a consul of class 8, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

CLASS 8.

Albro L. Burnell, of Maine, now a consul of class 9, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

James H. Goodier, of New York, now a consul of class 9, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

O. Gaylord Marsh, of Washington, now a consul of class 9, to be a consul of class 8 of the United States of America.

CLASS 9.

Ralph F. Chesbrough, of Wisconsin, now interpreter at Beirut, to be a consul of class 9 of the United States of America.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Commander Edwin T. Pollock to be a captain in the Navy from the 1st day of January, 1917.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Harlan P. Perrill,
Arthur J. Hepburn,
Cyrus R. Miller,
David F. Boyd,
Andrew T. Graham,
Zeno E. Briggs,
Clarence A. Abele,
Thomas L. Johnson, and
Edward T. Constien.

Lieut. Commander Edgar B. Larimer to be a commander in the Navy from the 1st day of January, 1917.

Lieut. Commander Alfred W. Johnson to be a commander in the Navy from the 19th day of January, 1917.

Lieut. Commander Walter M. Hunt to be a commander in the Navy from the 28th day of March, 1917.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:

Isaac C. Johnson, jr.,
Leigh M. Stewart,
Richard P. McCullough,
George V. Stewart,
Jonathan S. Dowell, jr.,
Nelson H. Goss,
Stanford C. Hooper,
William O. Spears,
Walter H. Lassing,
Ernest Durr, and
Harry E. Shoemaker.

Civil Engineer Luther E. Gregory, with rank of lieutenant commander, to be a civil engineer in the Navy, with rank of commander, from the 29th day of August, 1916.

The following-named gunners to be chief gunners in the Navy from the 18th day of February, 1917:

Henry W. Stratton, and
William Seyford.

Lieut. Commander Frank L. Pinney to be a commander in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Lieut. George M. Baum to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Civil Engineer Homer R. Stanford, with rank of lieutenant commander, to be a civil engineer in the Navy, with rank of commander, from the 29th day of August, 1916.

Boatswain Michael J. Wilkinson to be a chief boatswain in the Navy from the 9th day of January, 1915.

Boatswain Emory F. Hosmer to be a chief boatswain in the Navy from the 21st day of December, 1915.

Gunner Clyde Keene to be a chief gunner in the Navy from the 18th day of February, 1917.

Machinist Albert A. Hooper to be a chief machinist in the Navy from the 27th day of June, 1913.

Midshipman Lewis L. Gover to be a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps, from the 30th day of March, 1917, in lieu of Midshipman Earl S. Hurlbut, withdrawn.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 16, 1917.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Oscar T. Crosby, of Virginia, to be Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to fill an existing vacancy.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Francis J. Kearful to be Assistant Attorney General.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Joseph Moore, of Louisiana, to be United States attorney for the western district of Louisiana.

Joseph W. Montgomery, of Louisiana, to be United States attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana.

SECOND ASSISTANT CHIEF BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

Chauncey D. Snow, of Massachusetts, to be (Second) Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles F. Rattigan, of New York, to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 8.

NAVAL OFFICER OF CUSTOMS.

Edwin G. Hunter, of Louisiana, to be naval officer of customs in customs collection district No. 20.

CONSUL GENERALS.

CLASS 2.

John G. Foster, of Vermont, to be a consul general of class 2.

CLASS 4.

William Coffin, of Kentucky, to be a consul general of class 4.

Maddin Summers, of Tennessee, to be a consul general of class 4.

CLASS 5.

Marion Letcher, of Georgia, to be a consul general of class 5.

CONSULS.

CLASS 4.

E. Haldeman Dennison, of Ohio, to be a consul of class 4.
William C. Magelssen, of Minnesota, to be a consul of class 4.
Jay White, of Michigan, to be a consul of class 4.

CLASS 5.

John K. Caldwell, of Kentucky, to be a consul of class 5.
North Winship, of Georgia, to be a consul of class 5.

CLASS 6.

John A. Gamon, of Illinois, to be a consul of class 6.
Walter A. Leonard of Illinois, to be a consul of class 6.
José de Olivares, of California, to be a consul of class 6.

CLASS 7.

George K. Donald, of Alabama, to be a consul of class 7.
Felix S. S. Johnson, of New Jersey, to be a consul of class 7.
Ezra M. Lawton, of Ohio, to be a consul of class 7.

CLASS 8.

John S. Armstrong, jr., of North Carolina, to be a consul of class 8.

Lawrence P. Briggs, of Michigan, to be a consul of class 8.
Francis J. Dyer, of California, to be a consul of class 8.

CLASS 9.

John S. Calvert, of North Carolina, to be a consul of class 9.
George G. Duffee, of Alabama, to be a consul of class 9.
Thornwell Haynes, of Alabama, to be a consul of class 9.
Horace Remillard, of Massachusetts, to be a consul of class 9.

COAST GUARD.

First Lieut. Herman Howard Wolf, to be captain.

Second Lieut. Russell Randolph Waesche, to be first lieutenant.

Third Lieut. Clement Joseph Todd, to be second lieutenant.

First Lieut. of Engineers Harry Upton Butler to be captain of engineers.

Second Lieut. of Engineers Albert Frank Patterson to be first lieutenant of engineers.

POSTMASTERS.

ARIZONA.

Otto Janssen, Clarkdale.

CALIFORNIA.

I. L. Casey, Loma Linda.
George W. Mallory, Ojai (late Nordhoff).

GEORGIA.

R. F. Duckworth, Union City.
C. W. Stephens, Wrens.
J. R. Wimberly, Jeffersonville.

IDAHO.

Eloda M. Long, Arco.
W. F. Morgareidge, Moscow.

MONTANA.

John Budge, Hingham.
R. M. Fry, Park City.

NEW YORK.

Mary A. E. Barrett, Fort Terry.
George C. Staud, Rochester.
John N. Cullen, Blue Point.
Harmon P. Payne, Quogue.
Michael J. Walsh, Yonkers.
George W. Witbeck, Nassau.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Charles L. Ingram, Franklin.
Isaac J. Young, Henderson.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Earl W. Edwards, Rolette.
Ruth L. Woldy, Edmore.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Bud Reeve, jr., Buxton.

TENNESSEE.

W. N. Lacy, Lenoir City.

TEXAS.

Belle Kleinecke, Hitchcock.

VIRGINIA.

Ambler H. Cardwell, Fortress Monroe.
John B. Graves, Clifton Forge.
Raleigh T. Green, Culpeper.
J. R. Owens, Lawrenceville.

WASHINGTON.

W. W. Askren, Bothell.

WISCONSIN.

Arthur J. Egan, Highland.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *April 16, 1917.*

The House met at 1 p. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Father of truth, purity, justice, mercy, love, let Thy spirit possess us that we may think clearly, act wisely, and do justly whenever we are called to act in the affairs of life, whether as individuals or servants of the public weal, that we may possess an approving conscience, a tranquil mind, a pure heart, and look forward with boundless faith in the overruling of Thy Providence for the good of mankind, after the similitude of the Master. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, April 14, 1917, was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein the patriotic appeal of the President of the United States to the American people which appears in the morning papers, and which contains some very timely and valuable advice as to how those who are not to enlist can render invaluable aid to the country in other lines of endeavor in this hour when it needs their help.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing the address of the President to the American people as appearing in the morning papers. Is there objection?

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would it not be better to have that published as a public document and sent out in that way?

Mr. LANGLEY. I thought of that, Mr. Speaker, but I take it that all of the newspapers of the country will reproduce the address, and my purpose was merely to aid in the publicity of this well-timed and most interesting statement from the head of the Nation, which I think every American citizen ought to read, by printing it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to suggest that there ought to be half a million copies of it printed, so that we can circulate them over the country.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, of course that matter can come up a little later, after unanimous consent is given to the gentleman from Kentucky to extend his remarks. The question of printing the President's address as it appears in the morning papers will come up as a separate proposition.

Mr. LANGLEY. I think so, too.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a resolution of the Lincoln Republican Club, of the city of Yonkers, N. Y., in loyal support of the President.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a resolution adopted by the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the same subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a patriotic song written by Eleanore See Inslee, of my district.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, I did not understand the request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a patriotic song. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein communications from and resolutions adopted by certain organizations in my district.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein resolutions adopted at a patriotic mass meeting in the city of Memphis, Tenn., presided over by Hon. T. C. Ashcroft, mayor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon the question of food products by printing therein a report made by the University of Illinois, and also upon the same subject an advertisement calling for farm hands in western Canada.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner stated. Is there objection?

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, do I understand the gentleman desires to print an advertisement for farm hands in western Canada?

Mr. MASON. I wish to do that, but I shall strike out the name of the advertiser so that it will not be an advertisement.

Mr. BARNHART. I have no objection to the first part of it, but I shall object to it unless the advertising feature is omitted.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman will permit, there is a reason for it.

Mr. BARNHART. I will hear the reason.

Mr. MASON. It is simply to call the attention of the censors to the matter. It is an advertisement offering high wages, a comfortable home, without any expense, to American farm boys; and it contains a statement there shall be no compulsory military service. I think that ought to be censored. I do not think any country ought to be allowed to put that sort of an advertisement in, and for that reason I strike out the name of the advertiser so it does not become an advertisement.

Mr. BARNHART. I will ask the gentleman from Illinois what is the purpose of inserting an advertisement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

Mr. MASON. There are two purposes. One is to show the censors of the newspapers of this country that there is an unfriendly advertisement running in an endeavor to take away the food producers of the country and invites them to Canada, where there will be no compulsory military service. The other object is to show the people who are asking for compulsory military service that we may help some of our allies that do not have compulsory service in their own country and in their own colonies, so there is a double purpose.

Mr. BARNHART. I have no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object for a moment, I do not know whether it is the same advertisement, but my attention has been called to an advertisement, I think of the Canadian Government, advertising for 50,000 Americans to come to Canada and cultivate the soil there.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the same subject of crop production.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks on the same subject as the gentleman from Illinois. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of military service.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman desires to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of military service. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code, which bill was up Saturday afternoon and partially discussed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do not know that I shall, I see the gentleman from North Carolina is not here. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] told me the other day that the bill was reported, but I have not gotten a reported copy and it has not been printed as being reported and it is not on the calendar. His attention ought to be directed to it.

Mr. GARNER. What is the title of the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. It is the bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code by adding a proviso—

That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war.

Mr. Speaker, rather than take up the time of the House I desire to place a statement in the RECORD at an early date containing some information regarding the bill. I ask that privilege.

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] told me on Saturday this bill has been reported.

Mr. MANN. I see it is not on the calendar; I looked this morning, and it is not on the list of reported bills. I am careful to get all bills reported, and I have not received that.

The SPEAKER. One of the clerks informs the Chair that the report on this bill has just been put in the basket.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman told me the other day it was reported; I did not know.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the conference report on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments to the bills of the following titles, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, had agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. HITCHCOCK, and Mr. WARREN as the conferees on the part of the Senate:

H. R. 13. An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 14. An act making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 11) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes, disagreed to by the House of Representatives, had agreed to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. OVERMAN, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. WARREN as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 13)—GENERAL DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the general deficiency bill (H. R. 12) and ask unanimous consent that the statement may be read in lieu of the report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the statement on the general deficiency bill may be read in lieu of the report. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The statement was read.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 11, 12, 14, 17, 22, 32, 42, 46, and 48.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$2,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 4: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$175,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 8: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the following: "who are hereby authorized"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lines 4 and 5 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "to be immediately available" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to continue available during the fiscal year 1918"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 20: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Transpose the matter inserted by said amendment to follow line 3 of page 54 of the bill; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: Amend the matter inserted by said amendment as follows:

In line 2, after the word "sums," insert the following: "not exceeding $50,000"; in line 8 strike out the word "years" and insert in lieu thereof the word "year"; in lines 9 and 10 strike out the following: "and 1918, respectively"; and after the word "offices," in line 26, strike out the remainder of the amendment; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 23: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 23, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

"For employees from April 15 to June 30, 1917, inclusive, at annual rates of compensation as follows: Director, $4,500; assistant director, $2,500; chief clerk, $2,000; draftsman, $1,800; clerks—1 of class 3, 2 of class 2, 2 at $900 each; messenger, $600; in all, for park service in the District of Columbia, $3,666.67, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be in lieu of salaries, during such period, of the Superintendent of National Parks and four other persons authorized to be employed in the District of Columbia during the fiscal year 1917 by the sundry civil appropriation act approved July 1, 1916."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 26: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 26, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Traveling and miscellaneous expenses: For traveling and other miscellaneous and emergency expenses, including advances made by the disbursing clerk, authorized and approved by the Attorney General, to be expended at his discretion, the provisions of the first paragraph of section 3648, Revised Statutes, to the contrary notwithstanding, to remain available during the fiscal year 1918, $35,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 29: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 4 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the sum "$992.67" and insert in lieu thereof the sum "$991.67"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 35: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 35, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 11 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "to be immediately available" and insert in lieu thereof the words "to be available during the fiscal year 1918"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 51: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 51, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: In line 2 of the matter inserted by said amendment strike out the words "cost of suit" and insert in lieu thereof the words "costs of suits," and in line 12 strike out the word "judgment" and insert in lieu thereof the words "respective judgments"; and the Senate agree to the same.

JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

O. W. UNDERWOOD,
JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
F. E. WARREN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conference committee and submitted in the accompanying conference report as to each of the said amendments, namely:

On No. 1: Strikes out, as proposed by the Senate, the paragraph authorizing the Bureau of Efficiency to occupy not less than 5,000 square feet of space in the Department of Commerce Building.

On No. 2: Appropriates $5,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the purchase, maintenance, and repair of motor trucks for the Treasury Department.

On No. 3: Appropriates $2,000,000, instead of $1,500,000, as proposed by the House, and $3,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the collection of the income tax, excess-profits tax, etc.

On No. 4: Authorizes the use of $175,000 of the appropriation of $2,000,000 for the collection of internal revenue, instead of $125,000, as proposed by the House, and $250,000, as proposed by the Senate, for personal services, equipment, etc., in the District of Columbia.

On No. 5: Appropriates $75,000, as proposed by the Senate, for contingent expenses of the Independent Treasury, and strikes out, as proposed by the Senate, the paragraph authorizing shipment of packages of coin and currency under the penalty privilege.

On No. 6: Appropriates $7,500, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $5,000, as proposed by the House, for recoinage of minor coins.

No. 7: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the payment of $4.50 to Frank N. Vannater for expenses incurred in connection with the Mount Clemens, Mich., post office.

On Nos. 8, 9, and 10, relating to the Coast Guard: Appropriates $94,000 for pay and allowances and $12,000 for rations or commutation thereof, as proposed by the Senate.

On Nos. 11 and 12: Restores to the bill the paragraphs, stricken out by the Senate, authorizing the transfer from the credit of the District of Columbia to the credit of the United States the sums of $24,300.76 and $211,450.12, respectively, representing fines in United States cases and judgments of the Supreme Court and the police court of the District of Columbia.

On No. 13: Corrects the reference to a House document.

On No. 14: Strikes out appropriation of $19,827.82, inserted by the Senate, for payment to Littlefield, Alvord & Co., Christian Heurich, and the Cranford Paving Co., pursuant to a finding of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

On Nos. 15 and 16: Corrects the reference to House documents.

On No. 17: Strikes out the paragraph, inserted by the Senate, making deficiency appropriations for the Naval Establishment available during the fiscal year 1918.

On Nos. 18, 19, and 20, relating to the Capitol Buildings: Appropriates $4,360, as proposed by the Senate, for overhauling the elevator machinery in the Senate wing, $23,000 for the protection of the Capitol Building, including the Senate and House Office Buildings and the Capitol power plant, and $6,500 for maintenance of the Senate Office Building.

On No. 21: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, authorizing the use of certain unexpended balances of appropriations for the various bureaus of the Interior Department, for the purchase of furniture and equipment of the new Interior Department Building, modified, so as to limit the expenditures to not exceeding $50,000 of unexpended balances of the fiscal year 1917, and eliminates from the unexpended balances which may be so used the revenues and appropriations of the national parks.

On No. 22: Strikes out the paragraph, inserted by the Senate, requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish heat, light, and power for the new Interior Department Building.

On No. 23: Substitutes for the paragraph relating to the National Park Service, inserted by the Senate, a paragraph providing for the period from April 15 to June 30, 1917, the same employees at the same rates of pay in the District of Columbia as are provided for that service in the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1918.

On Nos. 24 and 25: Appropriates $150,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $50,000, as proposed by the House, for "Detection and prosecution of crimes," and authorizes the use of $6,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $2,000, as proposed by the House, for employees in the District of Columbia.

On No. 26: Appropriates $35,000, as proposed by the Senate, for traveling and miscellaneous expenses of the Department of Justice, modified so as to eliminate authority for personal or extraordinary expenses at the seat of government.

On No. 27: Appropriates $1,500, as proposed by the Senate, for the salary of an additional United States district judge in the State of Texas from April 1 to June 30, 1917.

On Nos. 28 and 29: Appropriates for the salary of the United States district judge and the clerk of the United States district court for Porto Rico from March 2 to June 30, 1917.

On No. 30: Strikes out, as proposed by the Senate, the appropriation of $23,000 for salaries of officers and crews of light vessels and lighthouse tenders.

On No. 31: Corrects the reference to a House document.

On Nos. 32 and 33, relating to the Coast Survey: Strikes out the appropriation of $10,000, inserted by the Senate, for a power lithographic press and provides $35,000, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $25,000, as proposed by the House, for printing charts.

On No. 34: Appropriates $19,400, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $15,000, as proposed by the House, for the contingent expenses of the Steamboat-Inspection Service.

On No. 35: Appropriates $20,000, as proposed by the Senate, for expenses of the Joint Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, modified so as to make the appropriation available during the fiscal year 1918.

On No. 36: Inserts the paragraph, proposed by the Senate, requiring the appropriation acts which failed of passage at the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress and are passed at the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress to be included in the statement of appropriations for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

On Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45, relating to the Senate: Inserts the appropriations, proposed by the Senate, with the exception of authority to expend not to exceed $250 from the appropriation of $35,000 for the expenses of the inaugural ceremonies, without reference to section 1765 of the Revised Statutes.

On Nos. 46, 47, and 48: Strikes out the appropriation of $700, proposed by the Senate, for payment to Charles C. Allen, and corrects the reference to a House document.

On No. 49: Appropriates $5,000, as proposed by the Senate, for operation and maintenance of fire-control installations in connection with the fortification of the Panama Canal.

On No. 50: Appropriates $100,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, for the national defense.

On No. 51: Appropriates $9,884.83, as proposed by the Senate, for payment of judgments of United States courts.

On Nos. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, and 57, relating to the judgments of the Court of Claims: Appropriates $162,190.47, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $80,778.63, as proposed by the House, to pay judgments certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House, and corrects the reference to a House document.

On No. 58: Appropriates $46,927.50, as proposed by the Senate, instead of $24,927.50, as proposed by the House, to provide for payment of judgments in "Indian depredation claims" certified to Congress after the bill had passed the House, and corrects the reference to a House document.

On No. 59: Corrects the reference to a House document.

On No. 60: Appropriates for the payment of claims certified to Congress by the accounting officers of the Treasury after the bill had passed the House.

JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
JOHN J. EAGAN,
J. G. CANNON,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman in charge of the bill a question. On page 56 of the bill, amendment numbered 30, as the bill was presented to the House it passed the House with the following language:

Lighthouse vessels, for salaries and wages of officers and crews of light vessels and lighthouse tenders, including temporary employment when necessary, $23,000.

Do I understand the House conferees agreed to have that language eliminated from the bill?

Mr. FITZGERALD. They did.

Mr. HAWLEY. For what reason?

Mr. FITZGERALD. The provision was for crews for new vessels that it was expected would be in commission before the beginning of the next fiscal year. The Senate committee was informed by the department that the vessels would not be available and could not be put in commission and that the money will not be required.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question. I notice in the report of the conferees that Senate amendments 37, 38, and so forth, were agreed to by the conferees on the part of the House, except one amendment proposing to pay not to exceed $250 from the appropriation of $35,000 as part of the inaugural expenses. I wanted to state to the gentleman that the service rendered was by the Deputy Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, and consisted of a great deal of labor and work in preparing and distributing the tickets to the inaugural platform.

To my personal knowledge this man worked both day and night, many times at night, with the force of clerks in order to prepare those tickets and invitations for distribution. The question came up at one of the meetings of the inaugural committee, and all of the members of the committee—the three Members representing the Senate as well as the three Members representing the House—thought he ought to have $250 as a reasonable compensation for the services rendered by him. I see that has been stricken out, and I would like to ask the gentleman why?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the managers upon the part of the House did not agree to the amendment because of the somewhat peculiar situation. For a number of years there has been a controversy between the two Houses because of the fact that the Senate has from time to time proposed to pay to certain of its employees money in addition to the compensation fixed by law. After six or seven years the House has now come to an understanding with the Senate that that practice shall be abandoned. It has not been followed in the last year or two. Section 1765 of the Revised Statutes provides:

No officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salary, pay, or emoluments are fixed by law or regulations, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation, in any form whatever, for the disbursement of public money, or for any other service or duty whatever, unless the same is authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly states that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation.

It seemed to the managers on the part of the House that it would be unjustifiable to waive that provision of the Revised Statutes on behalf of this man. He may have done some extra work. So far as a somewhat hasty investigation disclosed, no similar provision has been made at other inaugural times. The managers on the part of the House did not believe it was wise to establish the precedent of paying this additional compensation in the face of the express prohibition of the Revised Statutes.

Mr. RUCKER. If the gentleman will permit me, my judgment of the Revised Statute quoted by the gentleman is that it has reference to extra pay for performing the official duties of the employee. These were duties entirely outside of his official duties.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The Revised Statutes state "for any other service or duty whatever." It could not be more comprehensive.

Mr. RUCKER. It must be considered in the light of the purpose for which it was enacted.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The House and its Representatives are continuallly condemning the executive departments for attempting to increase the compensation of employees in those departments in contravention of the statutes, and it was not thought desirable to set such a pernicious example by doing for an employee of the Senate what is not permitted in any other place.

Mr. RUCKER. Will the gentleman yield three minutes to me?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will.

Mr. RUCKER. I want to say in connection with this matter—and I speak for myself and my associates on the inaugural committee—that we have no earthly interest in the item under consideration. But we found it necessary to employ somebody who was competent to render the services rendered by Mr. McGrain, and he happens to be a deputy sergeant at arms of the Senate. He is the best qualified man, in my judgment, that could have been selected, by reason of his long experience in connection with similar matters. My judgment and recollection, differing from the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], is that heretofore this service has been paid for. At a meeting of the inaugural committee, at which Members of the Senate and of the House were present, this matter was brought up, and by unanimous action we agreed to recommend that the gentleman referred to be paid $250 for the services rendered by him. Much of that service was rendered after office hours and during the night. I myself went to his room and sent to his room several times after night in connection with the arrangements for the last presidential inauguration. We thought there would be no question about the payment for this service in view of the fact that the $250 was only a part of and taken out of the appropriation made for inaugural expenses. Personally and in behalf of the committee on the part of the House I wish to say that we feel very much embarrassed at the action of the conference committee. While I am not complaining of their action, it embarrasses us, because in good faith, speaking as I feel authorized to speak for the House of Representatives, we agreed that this sum should be paid, and we never had a thought that it would not be paid. If there is any way by which it can be paid it certainly should be paid. And if necessary, in order to do simple justice—and I have a little more concern and feel a deeper interest than if he was a House employee, the gentleman being a Senate employee—in order to keep faith and to do what we in effect pledged we would do and what we thought we had authority to pledge the House to do, I would like to see this conference report voted down and sent back to conference in order that we might place ourselves in a correct attitude with reference to this item of $250, which does not increase the appropriation a particle, but is to be paid out of the sum appropriated for inaugural expenses.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUCKER. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I take it that there has been no question but that if the Joint Inaugural Committee had employed a special clerk or person to do this work there would have been no complaint concerning it. I would like to verify, of my own knowledge, what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUCKER] has said, and that is that this gentleman rendered service which had to be rendered, and which was entirely outside the line of his ordinary official duties Of course, I appreciate the force of the statute which the gentleman from New York has read, but it seems to me that this is a very just item. If it had not been for the services which were rendered by this gentleman, we would never have been able to have handled the tickets with the satisfaction that apparently they were handled to the Members of the House.

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I conclude by making the additional observation—and I believe the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] will also concur in this statement—that there is no one about this Capitol or about the city of Washington who could have rendered so efficient service as the gentleman who rendered the service, and he ought to be paid for it. I do not know whether it is proper or not, but, so far as I am concerned, I hope the House will vote down the conference report.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In view of the fact that the bill carries $62,000,000 for services of the Army, for which it is in need, including pay of the National Guard who have been deprived of their money, and carries $100,000,000 as an emergency fund for the national defense, if the gentleman wishes to ask the House to vote this conference report down in order that a Senate employee may be paid $250 in the face of an express prohibition of the statute, I do not believe the House will gratify him.

Mr. RUCKER. Well, Mr. Speaker, as a lawyer I do not agree with the gentleman's construction of that statute—at least on this occasion. [Laughter.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. Well, I would not expect the gentleman to agree to it. If he agreed to it, I am sure he would not have urged the payment of that amount in violation of the law.

Mr. RUCKER. Our committee agreed to it.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not a personal matter. As a matter of fact, if the statement had been made that the Members of the Senate and House had agreed to it, I do not know that it would have affected my position. No doubt this man rendered satisfactory service, but the service was rendered by him in the time he was employed. The Deputy Sergeant at Arms of the Senate during the last few weeks of the session has not any evenings off, and any work performed at night was undoubtedly performed by him when he was subject to the call of the Senate. A Member of Congress has no time off. He is not off when Congress is not in session. He is still on the pay roll, and his time still belongs to the Government.

Mr. RUCKER. If the gentleman will pardon me, it is hardly fair, in view of the statement I have made and the statement made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], for the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] to say that, because it is true that this man did work at night. I state this as a fact within my personal knowledge.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No doubt this man rendered valuable service, but he did not do it in time that did not belong to the Government.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, may I ask the gentleman from Missouri a question in that connection?

Mr. RUCKER. The gentleman can, if I have the time.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. MANN. Well, I hope the gentleman may have time granted him to answer this question: Why did not the inaugural committee get the service of one of the sergeants at arms of the House?

Mr. RUCKER. Well, I will be glad to answer the gentleman, but it may involve a recitation that I may not have time to make. As a matter of fact, elsewhere there is a sentiment existing that the House has nothing to do with presidential inaugurations.

Mr. MANN. I know that, and that is the reason why I asked the question. Having "hogged" the place, now they want to pay for it. That is the fact.

Mr. RUCKER. No; if the gentleman will permit me to finish my answer which I had not concluded. I want to give him full information. This suggestion does not come from employees. It comes from other gentlemen who are not recognized as employees of the Senate, and by reason of that sentiment, which I confess has too long existed, and existed to too great an extent, it happens that in connection with the Senate we find men better qualified to perform this service than any of those who serve in connection with the House. Let me say to the gentleman that your committee on inauguration amply took care of the officers of the House. At least we tried to do it.

Mr. MANN. Yes. I think they did. I think they took care of the House in very good shape. But we all know that when it comes to these plans of inauguration the Senate insists on being practically the whole thing. It insists upon having its employees handle the work of the inaugural committee, because it thinks it has the right to control. That being the case, they having one of their employees working at a time when he ought to be willing to work all his spare time in the closing days of the session, I doubt whether there is any reason to pay him extra.

Mr. RUCKER. The service ought to be paid for.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will permit, we are always confronted with this actual situation that exists; that is, that technically there is no organized House on the day of inauguration. There are certain of the inaugural ceremonies which under custom always occur in the Senate Chamber—the inauguration of the Vice President, for instance. A goodly portion of the work of the inaugural committee consists of the preparation and issuance of tickets to the Senate Chamber. I am inclined to think the Senate is quite "hoggish," but I do not think that in this matter it is entirely accurate to say that the Senate has "hogged" the whole thing——

Mr. MANN. Well, then, I will withdraw that statement. [Laughter.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee (continuing). When really the House had no official status at that time.

Mr. MANN. Well, the House had a committee and had officers and had employees, and they all had official status. The committee had an official status. While the House itself had then no official status, it did up to that time have an official status, and the committee had also. However, I am not complaining at all. I think the committee this time on the part of the House took care of the House in an admirable manner and did everything that could be asked. [Applause.] It did better than any committee has ever done before.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. We did the best we could.

Mr. RUCKER. We made this agreement while we did have an official standing.

Mr. MANN. I understand. The gentleman from Missouri and the gentleman from Tennessee always have an official status with me.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question with reference to amendment numbered 22. The Senate put in a provision that the new central heating and power plant furnish heat, light, and power for the new Interior Department Building. To tell the truth, I had supposed that that had already been provided by law until the Senate put this provision in. Now, that has gone out. The gentleman from New York and myself are members of the House Office Building Commission, and we recently authorized, at the request of the Treasury Department, connection with the Capitol heating and power plant temporarily to furnish heat, light, and power to the new Interior Building until the central heating plant could be completed and it would be able to furnish those things to the new Interior Building. Having stricken this out, is it the idea of the gentleman from New York that the Capitol heating and power plant is to furnish permanent heat and light to the new Interior Department Building?

Mr. FITZGERALD. This building is enumerated among the buildings to be furnished with heat, light, and power from the new plant. This particular provision requires the Secretary to furnish heat, light, and power. The managers on the part of the House did not know what the effect of this provision would be, unless it was intended to compel the Treasury Department to furnish that heat, light, and power from the new building and to eliminate the chance of any possible appropriation for the Interior Department being charged with the cost of it. As it was enumerated with the other buildings and was in the same position as the other buildings to be furnished, the committee did not wish to have this mandatory provision left in.

Mr. MANN. I supposed it was about completed until I saw this item, and then I thought I might be mistaken.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We looked up the item carefully, and there is no mistake about it.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield to me for an inquiry?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Certainly.

Mr. MONDELL. There has been quite a good deal said about an item of $250 which very properly has gone out of the bill; but so far I have heard nothing said about the little item of $100,000,000 for national security and defense. Does the chairman intend to make a statement to the House of the purposes for which it is expected that money will be expended?

Mr. FITZGERALD. Not so comprehensive a statement as the inquiry of the gentleman would indicate. The Senate——

Mr. MONDELL. We all realize the very proper attitude of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and we have listened with great interest and approval to his statement that he believes that while Congress should be liberal in making appropriations, it should do its duty in keeping track of expenditures. Therefore I am confident that he has some general information with regard to the use of this money.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, the bill as it passed the House carried $62,617,964.81.

The Senate added $102,260,354.82. The Senate receded from $1,033,362.15.

The House receded from $101,226,992.67. Of this sum $100,000,000 is contained in Senate amendment No. 50, which reads as follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE.

For the national security and defense, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President, and to be immediately available and to remain available until December 31, 1917, $100,000,000.

This item was inserted in the bill by the Senate. There was no formal hearing by the Committee on Appropriations about the item. Statements were made to me personally by a member of the Cabinet, speaking for the President. It was stated that as the country had just engaged in war there were innumerable things apt to arise which could not be anticipated and which would require some expenditure of public funds; that it was impossible to say what the exigencies might be or what the requirements would be; that it was believed that in the first six or seven months of this period, even though Congress might be in session, there might be innumerable matters that it would be desirable from a military standpoint to have done without the publicity accompanying a request for the money and an explanation of the purposes for which the expenditure was to be made.

In view of the fact that there were pending in Congress at the time estimates aggregating $3,400,000,000 for military purposes,

and that the estimates had been submitted in such shape that it would be impossible either to know what was proposed to be done or what would be done with the money, except in the most general way, and that accompanying the estimates the request had been made, to the extent of $500,000,000 at least, to suspend all limitations of every character upon the expenditure of public money, and that in the estimate for $2,900,000,000 the request was made that the money should be expended under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the President, which, in effect, would be to suspend all those safeguards that the years of our experience have demonstrated to be necessary, the managers upon the part of the House believed it to be highly desirable to place $100,000,000 at the disposal of the President for emergency purposes. Thereafter in recommending the appropriations for the military expenditures of the Government it would be possible to have them in sufficient detail and to have applied to them the present limitations of law, so that the Congress would be assured not only that it was giving ample funds for the prosecution of the war but that it was performing its duty in a manner that would be most beneficial to the country.

Mr. Speaker, at a time like this, as I have said several times within the very recent past, the most patriotic duty this House can perform is not to put unlimited means and power without restriction in the hands of the Executive, but to so safeguard public expenditures as to relieve the executive departments of the burdens and responsibilities that would result from such unlimited power. In a time like this, when enormous expenditures are to be made, unless the utmost care is exercised both by the legislative and the executive, waste, extravagance, and indefensible expenditures will inevitably result. We can do much to eliminate and prevent waste and extravagance and improper expenditure by safeguarding, as far as possible, the expenditure of public funds; so it is believed that if $100,000,000 be placed at the disposal of the President for the time between now and December 31 of the present year, to be disbursed by him, in his discretion, for the national defense, it will enable and will justify the making of the other appropriations that are required in such enormous sums, with such particularity as has been customary in making appropriations for the support of the Government.

I can repeat what I said on Saturday, based on further information that has come into my possession, that there is a greater necessity for making these appropriations in detail than I had suspected when the estimates were first submitted, and a statement could be made to the House that would require the House, in the interest of the public welfare, not to make such large grants in lump sums without restriction. I say this much without in any way reflecting upon the integrity, the capacity, or the disposition of any official to do other than what is for the best interests of the country.

The managers upon the part of the House have made a technical violation of the rule in that they transferred from under the Interior Department an item applicable to the Senate over to the legislative department; but as it was only a transposition it was not believed that objection would be made, although I believe the House should be informed of the fact.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MANN. There is on the calendar now a Senate bill which authorizes the United States to prosecute practically all crimes which might be committed within the confines of our exterior boundaries, regardless of State control. There is another bill on the calendar which authorizes the President to take all vessels, shipping, barges, or anything else that navigates the sea, that we de not already own. I suppose this $100,000,000 will come in very handy for these purposes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The statement that was made was that it was to be used for purposes that would be different. At least that is the impression I got. I understand a request is to be made for a very large appropriation for the purposes indicated by the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MANN. Those bills are on the calendar. They do not either of them carry any appropriation.

Mr. FITZGERALD. They should not. They should first get the authority and then ask for the money.

Mr. MANN. Perhaps they should not, but usually they do where there is any reason for it. The Committee on Naval Affairs have reported one bill, and that committee have the authority to report appropriations. I do not know whether they will use this $100,000,000 and thousands of millions of dollars more for such purposes. However, I would like to ask the gentleman another question. In view of the fact that the claim has sometimes been made that the House ought to be a mere rubber stamp and ought not even to change phraseology—in this case the phraseology has not been changed—I suppose this $100,000,000 appropriation was probably prepared in the Treasury Department in the form in which it appears.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I do not know where it was prepared.

Mr. MANN. It was prepared in the Treasury Department or in the Senate, but how long since it became necessary in a deficiency bill to make an appropriation and say the amount shall be immediately available?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is not necessary.

Mr. MANN. I know that it is not necessary, and the Treasury Department ought to know it, although doubtless the man who drew it did not know it. I call attention to it to show the carelessness with which a lot of these items come to the body that really watches them. Think of sending down a deficiency item from the Treasury Department to go into a deficiency bill with a statement that it is to be immediately available. That is what a deficiency bill is for.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FERRIS. The chairman of the committee a moment ago said that there had been one instance where there was a violation of the rule. I want to ask the gentleman if that has any reference to the transfer of the new building for the Interior Department.

Mr. FITZGERALD. No; it was an amendment for the maintenance of miscellaneous supplies for the Senate Office Building. It belongs under the head of "legislative" and in that portion of the bill, and the Senate inserted it under the portion in connection with the Interior Department. For the sake of convenience and reference it ought to be in that part of the bill where such items should be found.

Mr. FERRIS. I have no objection at all.

Mr. FITZGERALD. It has nothing to do with the item in the bill with reference to the transfer of the new Interior Department Building for the use of any other department. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 15 minutes.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my time may be extended 15 minutes for the purpose of yielding half an hour to the gentleman from Missouri.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that his time be extended 15 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT OVER.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next at noon. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

GENERAL DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 29 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND].

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, there was an understanding on Saturday that the deficiency bill would be agreed to as soon as possible and that then we would adjourn.

Mr. FITZGERALD. But the gentleman from Missouri wants to speak for half an hour, and following that I will move the previous question and then move to adjourn. However, the Committee on Accounts has one resolution which it wants to bring in.

Mr. MANN. I have some work to do, but I will stay here until we adjourn. It may put off the appointment of committees another day; I do not know.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I will make this statement to the gentleman, that at the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from Missouri I will move the previous question, and after that I will move to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman that Judge PARK, chairman of the Committee on Accounts, has a resolution that he wants acted upon.

Mr. MANN. And I want to be here when it comes up.

Mr. STAFFORD. Why can not the gentleman from Missouri postpone his remarks?

Mr. BORLAND. I could have taken time in my own right, but I did not.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not think the gentleman could on this proposition.

Mr. BORLAND. I think so.

Mr. FITZGERALD. In order to keep the agreement with the gentleman from Illinois I will move that the House adjourn after

this conference report shall have been agreed to before anything comes up.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, this bill as it comes to this body contains an appropriation of $100,000,000, to be expended at the discretion of the President of the United States for national defense. We all recognize that that is simply the beginning of a very large expenditure upon a very large plan for national defense, and it is to that particular item of the bill and to that particular policy that I desire to address myself during the time that is allotted to me.

Mr. Speaker, we have every reason to expect that this Nation is on the eve of a very serious struggle which will put to the test all of its resources and demand its best efforts. Even if it should happily prove that the contest is not as long or as bitter as we have anticipated, still it is the part of wisdom for us to marshal our resources in the most prompt and efficient way. It is the part of wisdom to avoid the ghastly mistakes of the past which have been so costly in human lives as well as in national treasure. It is well for us to benefit by the lesson of the other nations who have been drawn into this great modern war, especially our British cousins, who were so unprepared for a contest on land and who have had to create, drill, and equip an army while holding the enemy at bay.

The very suggestion of universal liability to military service as applied to our own country seems to have caused a shock to the minds of many gentlemen in this House. To my mind it is the fairest, safest, and most democratic method of national defense. [Applause.] It is infinitely superior to a mercenary force or to a system of voluntary enlistment. It contains an element of justice and equality which should appeal to all Americans. Say what we will, in the last analysis it is the sole resource for national defense. It will not be amiss, therefore, even this early in the contest, to consider it seriously and to contrast it with other possible methods of creating a military force.

There are three methods of providing an armed force: The first is a purely mercenary army of professional soldiers—enlisted, paid, and drilled in time of peace for immediate use when the danger of war arises; the second is the creation of an army of volunteers to meet and repel a hostile attack; the third is universal training, universal liability to military service and the selective draft of the necessary number of trained men at the time and to the extent that the need for their service appears. You are asked to consider seriously the latter, and to eliminate all prejudice of opinion in contrasting its advantages with the other two.

No one in a republic like this, I venture to say, would undertake to advocate or to defend the creation of a mercenary force of soldiers large enough to furnish any adequate protection to the Nation in case of need. The evils of such a system are obvious. It is impossible to get sufficient men to enlist in the Army in time of peace in competition with the rewards and opportunities of civil life. It would be a sad day for this country if service in the Army offered better attractions than employment in the great productive industries in the land. I hope the day will never come when the career of professional soldier will attract such a number of men in this country away from the pursuits of industry and peace. Yet in the past we have depended wholly for our emergency protection upon a mercenary force, which really means that we have had no protection at all. Our professional Army has been large enough to constitute an extremely expensive toy, but utterly inadequate for any other purpose. For a generation following the Civil War our little Army was useful in protecting the western frontier against the turbulent Indians, but since the Indian troubles have ceased our Army has been of no value whatever although it has cost us an enormous amount of money. It has provided, to a certain extent, a number of officers, educated and trained at the national expense, but the men who pass through its ranks by enlistment have not formed a national reserve available in time of war.

Prior to the recent national defense act our standing army numbered barely 80,000 men for a Nation of 100,000,000 people, and yet this Army cost us $125,000,000 annually. Our sister Republic of Switzerland provided itself with a trained force of 425,000 men at a national cost of $9,000,000. These figures are humiliating as well as shocking. Our Army costs thirteen times as much as the Army of Switzerland, and yet is only one-fifth the size. But even if we were able to provide a mercenary army of sufficient size to be of real value, and even if we were willing to pay the disgraceful cost of such a system, I still feel that the mercenary army is the most undemocratic and dangerous form of militarism. No patriotic American, no true Democrat, should wish to see in this country a mercenary army large enough to be a real source of protection to the Nation under modern conditions of warfare. Such an army would be a constant menace to our own institutions.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BORLAND. No; I can not yield now.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I make the point that no quorum is present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington makes the point that no quorum is present, and the Chair will count.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will withdraw the point of no quorum at present, but I would like to have the gentleman yield to me for a question.

Mr. BORLAND. I would like to, but I am limited in my time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The gentleman promised me that he would yield.

Mr. BORLAND. No; I asked the gentleman to ask for time in concert with me, but the gentleman declined to do it.

But it is a favorite theory that we do not need either a standing army or any other form of military preparation, because patriotic volunteers will spring to the defense of the flag by unnumbered thousands at the first clarion call of danger. Much weight is given to this opinion by the fact that our American people are extremely patriotic and volunteer very readily upon every summons of the Nation. Yet the system is inherently weak and dangerous. The danger will become more and more acute under the highly organized and scientific conditions of modern warfare. An army of volunteers who have had little or no previous military training is perfectly useless for immediate service. It is criminal carelessness approaching deliberate murder to send such men into the field to meet a trained and disciplined army of the foe, and a statesman who would advocate such a thing would be guilty of ignorance so gross as to amount to self-confessed incompefence.

It takes from 6 to 18 months to physically train such a force, and it takes at least that long to equip it with arms, munitions, camp supplies, hospital facilities, and other essentials for efficient action. The recent example of England ought to be enough to teach us its bloody lesson. Who doubts that if it had not been for the English fleet the fair fields of old England would to-day be in the condition of northern France and Belgium, and the historical English cathedrals would present the same ghastly ruins that marked the course across the Channel? Behind the protection of her fleet England has created in a little more than two years a trained and equipped army of 5,000,000 men. She gave voluntary enlistment a thorough and adequate trial. Those gentlemen who say we could succeed any better with volunteer enlistment will have to admit that they are reckoning with a partially defeated foe and are sheltering themselves behind the English fleet. If we had the grave peril of being confronted with a fresh and unhampered enemy with the conditions under which this war began in 1914 those gentlemen would have to admit that their policy of volunteer enlistment, with the training and equipment to follow after enlistment and while the enemy was vigorously attacking, would be a policy of criminal folly. They would find themselves wasting thousands of innocent lives and blasting the homes, fortunes, and families of our people.

Assuming that we could enlist 5,000,000 men, I contend that it would be unjust as well as unwise. Let no man attempt to twist this into a reflection upon the patriotic impulses of the American people.

I represent a district which has always furnished more than its just proportion of volunteers and I believe always will. In the recent troubles in Mexico we sent from that district one full regiment of Infantry, two batteries of Field Artillery, one company of Signal Corps, one company of Hospital Corps, and contributed more than 500 recruits to the Regular Army and to other military organizations throughout the State. I should like to see this record contrasted with the record of every congressional district in the United States. The very promptness and enthusiasm of this response in the way of volunteer enlistment and the contrast it might offer to the results in other sections of the country only adds emphasis to the contention that it is not equality, not justice, and not sound national policy.

But there are other evils of the volunteer-enlistment system besides the criminal folly of sending men into the field without any equipment but enthusiasm and patriotic valor. It is the very essence of the volunteer system that it takes the best—the cream of the community, the enterprising young men who are of value in every walk of life. They are the first to volunteer, the first to go, and the slacker stays at home to be protected. The volunteer system often—and, in fact, commonly—takes young men out of the most necessary pursuits in the community, cripples its industries, and demoralizes its efficiency, while those

who could be more readily spared do not volunteer. I believe that if a country is worth having it is worth protecting, and if it is worth protecting it is as much the duty of one man to protect it as another. The volunteer system has never succeeded in raising an army of any magnitude, and the number of men who can be enlisted under this system with reasonable promptness is very much smaller than we are led to believe. The first burst of enthusiasm sounds so general and widespread that men are deceived into overestimating its actual results. Very soon after the first cream is skimmed off the young population of the country, resort is had to the offer of bounties, and then we have the professional bounty jumper, the deserter, and all the other disgraces that are so carefully covered up in the flamboyant exuberance of the oratory of the professional demagogue. We see the strange spectacle of men being appealed to by fiery and unbridled harangues, their passions inflamed, and their sentiments worked upon by professional orators. We see them tempted by bounties and other real or imaginary rewards, and even cajoled by feminine beauty into enlisting into the ranks of the Army. These are some of the things clinging closely about the volunteer system that few public men care to lay open to the gaze of their fellow citizens, but the time has now come to look national danger squarely in the eye and to tell the truth at least to ourselves. Why were there such frightful losses by disease and exposure during the Civil War, and why did we come finally to conscription as an ultimate resource? Let us look unflinchingly at the bare truth.

The statistics of the War Department show that the total enlistments during the Civil War were 5,175,320 men. Of these the number between 22 and 45 years of age was 681,044; between 18 and 22, 2,139,798; and between 10 and 18, 2,334,478. Examine these figures with care. Less than 25 per cent of the men in the Civil War were 22 years or older, and a very large percentage of these were bounty men and substitutes.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BORLAND. No; I can not yield; I have not the time. The real volunteers are represented by the four and a half million men under 22 years of age, and the darkest part of the picture is the fact that 51 per cent of the men were between 10 and 18 years of age. It is possible to beat the tom-tom through the streets of the village to enlist the schoolboys. Are we ready to do that a second time, and can this great Nation dream of relying upon such a method of national defense?

This is a plain, unvarnished record of the greatest example of volunteer enlistment which the world has ever seen. If such results occurred with all the wonderful fire of enthusiasm of the Civil War, can we expect anything better or different in the contest with a foreign enemy? Are not gentlemen soberly advocating a system which will enlist the schoolboy and the thoughtless enthusiast and make of him more than 50 per cent of the fighting force of the Nation? Nay, worse; send him into the trenches by the thousands to die by reason of inexperience and lack of physical training?

For my own part I am strongly impressed with the democratic method of universal military service and selective draft. Every man in the Nation of military age and physical capacity should be ready and willing to defend his country. He owes this duty to the Nation which protects him, and the Nation owes him the duty to provide the necessary machinery of organization and proper arms and equipment for service. It owes nim more than this. It owes him the plain justice that he shall not be called upon unless his services are needed, and that every other man in the country shall be liable to the same call under the same circumstances.

It owes him protection from the gross injustice and discrimination of the volunteer system. It owes also to the people at large the duty of selecting for service in the field those men who can be best spared from the industrial and agricultural pursuits at home so that the full resources of the Nation may be marshaled for the common defense. A selective draft will raise the required number of soldiers with the least disturbance of those industrial pursuits which feed the Army and equip it for the field.

A volunteer force deranges every activity of the Nation. The argument for utility and efficiency is strongly in favor of a selective draft as against the volunteer system, but the argument of abstract justice, equality, and democracy is still stronger. To fight a war on voluntary offers of military service is like running the Government on private charity. I would as soon advocate that the Government, when it needed money for its national existence, should pass around the hat among the taxpayers and ask voluntary contributions. If taxes for the support of the Government in time of peace and for its protection in time of war are universal, uniform, and compulsory there is no sound reason why military service should not also be.

What would we think of a nation which relied upon voluntary contributions to carry on its governmental work? What would we think of the sense of justice of a nation which would permit part of its citizens to contribute toward the national support and relieve all those who were unwilling to do so? What would we think of a system which would take the money of the generous and patriotic and spare the hoards of the miser and the extortionist? Yet that is precisely the system which gentlemen are advocating when it comes to personal military service in the defense of the Nation.

Has the system of universal military training ever been tried by a republic and has it proven disastrous to republican institutions? Has it inculcated a spirit of militarism or a desire for conquest or aggression? Has it destroyed the dignity of the citizens or undermined the safety of the State?

All of these questions are answered by the experience of our sister Republic of Switzerland, which has had such a system in operation since 1848. There is no more democratic nation in the world than Switzerland nor one more progressive in its legislation for the rights of the individual man. In fact, there is no nation in the world to-day which has a wider sphere of local self-government, not excepting our own glorious Republic. There is no nation in which there is less centralization of power or less opportunity for the abuse of federal or national authority.

Switzerland has no standing army, but every Swiss citizen from his twentieth to his forty-eighth year is liable for military service, except those who are excused for physical defects, and they must pay a special exemption tax. There are no professional soldiers in Switzerland except a limited number of the higher officers of the army, but every Swiss soldier is engaged in some useful pursuit in civil life. Their system really begins with the training of boys in physical exercise in the public schools, so that when the lads reach manhood they are sound in body and mind and capable, with a small amount of technical instruction, of developing into good soldiers. For the size of their nation the Swiss have been for hundreds of years the greatest soldiers the world has ever produced. This very fact, that every man is trained to arms and is able to defend his own rights and the rights of his country, is the strongest pillar of their democracy. No military despotism can flourish in a nation where every man is a part of the trained fighting force. It is only where some of the population can be used to overawe or oppress other portions of the population that a military despotism is possible.

The complete answer to the charge that militarism will arise from universal military training is found in the experience of the Swiss. Every Swiss citizen in his twentieth year is required to take 10 weeks of active military training in the field. Each year thereafter up to his thirty-second year he must spend 2 weeks of military training in the field. From his thirty-second to his fortieth year he spends but four periods of 1 week each in active service, and from his fortieth to his forty-eighth year he spends but two periods of 1 week each. By this system, therefore, their first line of defense is men between 20 and 32, their second line of defense men between 32 and 40, and third line of defense men between 40 and 48. The second and third lines of defense are only kept in sufficient training to know their places in the various companies, regiments, and divisions and to keep up with the necessary inspection and drilling. This system, light as it is upon the individual man, has proven, by reason of its universality and uniformity, sufficient to put the entire nation upon a basis of adequate defense. It has stood the test of the last three years under circumstances of the most extraordinary peril. No hostile foot has touched the soil of Switzerland. Yet Switzerland lies in the very path of the contending armies, and all the treaties in the world would have been mere scraps of paper to protect her from invasion if it had suited the military necessity of any nation to cross her territory.

It is apparent that it would have been very advantageous to have used Switzerland as a highway in the present war. Why was she not made such a highway, and why did not the armies rush across her soil as they did across that of Belgium and Luxemburg? There is but one answer, and that is the cost would have been greater than the result was worth. Any one of the big nations could have overwhelmed Switzerland, but it would have cost more in blood and treasure that it was worth to do so, and predatory forces were glad to find an easier road to their goal.

At the first declaration of war in Europe, in August, 1914, Switzerland mobilized her entire military force on four frontiers—Germany, France, Austria, and Italy. Four hundred and twenty-five thousand bayonets gleamed along the borders of Switzerland as a legible notice to the world not to invade its national integrity. Behind those rifles were the finest marksmen in the world. The most ruthless commander, the most un-

principled violator of national rights, the blindest devotee of military necessity, the most bloodthirsty feudal despot hesitated to assail the little Republic protected by a hedge of bayonets.

Suppose Switzerland, instead of having universal military service and a trained force in 1914, instead of having the men to call to arms and the rifles to put in their hands, had relied upon the theory of a volunteer service growing out of spontaneous patriotic enthusiasm. Suppose her statesmen had arisen in the Federal Assembly and said, "A million men will spring to arms overnight with the first sound of danger to our beloved land." Suppose the recruiting officers had gotten out on the street corners and said, "Come on, boys, and enlist. If you enlist, we will try to find uniforms and guns for you." Suppose they had said, "We will try and teach you a little military tactics and inure you to the hardships of camp life before the enemy concludes to cross the Swiss border."

If any or all of these absurd things had occurred, which are now being seriously advocated by responsible public men in America, the result to Switzerland would have been no joke. It would not have been the roaring farce that these questions imply. It would have been the appalling tragedy of the ages. The little Republic that for 600 years has maintained its freedom from tyranny, has held aloft the light of religion, science, literature, and art, and has made itself the greatest force in the history of Europe and the world, would have been wiped out in a single night and its civilization engulfed in a sea of blood. Only the hedge of bayonets saved Switzerland.

As I believe, a great war is upon us. At least, we have challenged the right of any nation, great or small, to destroy our commerce, murder our citizens, and invade our national rights. We propose to make American citizenship mean something. We intend to do so by a patent of nobility respected at home and abroad. We intend that the flag shall protect the American on land or sea; that all of the highways of the world and all the pursuits of civilization shall be open to our citizens without let or hindrance, without asking the leave or permission of any other nation. We intend that America shall stand squarely upon its own feet as an independent Nation and not as a commercial or political vassal of any power.

This is the common purpose of all Americans and the common instinct of every patriotic soul. To issue this challenge, to throw down the gage, to enter this contest under conditions of modern warfare, is the most serious and appalling business which has ever confronted our Nation. Our national isolation is gone. We are grown too big to keep out of the way of other nations. Our paths must cross theirs and our rights must sometimes clash with their pretensions. We can defend those rights and defend them with vigor and success. A nation of 100,000,000 people, the richest nation to-day on the globe, inhabiting a country of boundless natural resources and inexhaustible wealth, with a population highly intelligent and skilled in every useful art, we have nothing to fear in a contest with any nation on earth. Our greatest danger, our greatest suffering, may come through our own negligence, our own criminal carelessness, our own failure to see clearly and estimate honestly the difficulties which we have challenged. If we marshal our resources of men and money, with the use of diligence, the sense of fairness, and the heart-searching honesty that real American patriotism demands in this hour, we have nothing to fear for the successful outcome of this struggle. Care at this time will save thousands of lives and protect thousands of homes from useless suffering and distress. Honesty and political courage will clothe our soldiers with the mighty armor of adequate and complete preparation, and make every life which is offered upon the altar of our country's need a potent force for victory instead of a useless sacrifice to political cowardice and incompetency.

If America arises in her true might, stretches her muscles and steels her nerves for the struggle, she will make of herself not only a foe respected, but a potent force in bringing again to the world universal peace, in driving from the political stage the last gnarled visage of feudal despotism, in showing again through the glowing pages of history that a democracy is not only able to live, that it is not only able to perpetuate itself, but that it is able to resist invasions upon its rights and to carry the banner of republican institutions across the tottering drawbridge of every feudal castle in the world. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. FITZGERALD, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

LV——47

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted as follows:

Mr. ROSE, for to-day, on account of important business.

Mr. SCHALL, for a few days, on account of the death of his mother.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. BOOHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a letter to the President, accompanied by resolutions passed at a mass meeting of the citizens of northwestern Missouri.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting therein some arguments in favor of a bill which I introduced providing for universal military training at our schools and colleges.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the war declaration, a period of 10 days was granted within which all Members might extend their remarks. My colleague from Virginia, Mr. WATSON, has been preparing some extension of remarks, but has been sick and has been unable to complete them, and he asks unanimous consent to have three days longer in which to complete them.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SAUNDERS] asks unanimous consent that his colleague [Mr. WATSON] have 3 days additional to the 10 days allowed within which to extend his remarks in the RECORD upon the war resolution. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

CLERK AND MESSENGER TO COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I present the following privileged resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 33 (H. Rept. No. 16).

Resolved, That the Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers be allowed a clerk, at the rate of $6 per diem, and a messenger, at the rate of $60 per month, during the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question. What does the Committee on the Disposition of Useless Executive Papers do, and what clerical work have they for clerks to perform?

Mr. PARK. I do not know. This was a resolution presented by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. TALBOTT], the father of the House, who has been here in service as long as any Member of the House, and it is something that has been done for three Congresses past.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I will state to my colleague that we get a communication every few days from the various departments in reference to the destruction of various documents which they have in their files, and they all have to be examined. There is a joint committee of the Senate and the House upon it, and they need a clerk, and I presume ought to have a janitor.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 30, authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds, and the Senate and House Office Buildings.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, I object.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. RUBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the address of the President to his fellow countrymen, appearing in the newspapers this morning, which has been already ordered printed in the RECORD, be printed as a public document, and that 300,000 copies be distributed through the folding room.

Mr. FITZGERALD. We can not do that unless we have some knowledge of the cost.

Mr. RUBEY. I have made an investigation as to the amount that this will cost, and it will not cost more than $500. That is the amount that we are entitled to use without the consent of the Senate.

Mr. MANN. Has the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART], the chairman of the Committee on Printing, been consulted?

Mr. RUBEY. I talked with him about the amount, and he does not object.

Mr. MANN. This is agreeable to him?

Mr. RUBEY. I think it is; yes.

Mr. LANGLEY. We ought to know whether it is or not.

Mr. MANN. I think that he is entitled to be consulted on a matter of this sort.

Mr. RUBEY. I spoke to him about it this morning. I did not ask him if he was in favor of it, but he said he wanted to find out how much it would cost; if it would come within the limit, all right; and I stated to him that it would come within the limit.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] said that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUBEY] or any other gentleman could ask unanimous consent, if he desired to do so; and these figures were secured and stated to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MANN. I do not understand what the gentleman from Georgia has just stated.

Mr. ADAMSON. It is agreeable to the gentleman from Indiana. Several of us talked to him about it when he was in the House.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FISHER] states that the gentleman from Indiana requested him to introduce a resolution for this purpose.

Mr. FISHER. And it would be introduced at once.

Mr. MANN. Why not let the Committee on Printing act upon it?

Mr. RUBEY. The only objection is the delay. We would like to have this printed at once.

Mr. MANN. So far as delay is concerned, every newspaper in the country has published it. We meet again on Wednesday, and the Committee on Printing can report by that time.

Mr. RUBEY. If the gentleman insists upon it, I shall withdraw the request.

Mr. MANN. I hope the gentleman will withdraw his request at this time.

Mr. RUBEY. I withdraw the request for the present, Mr. Speaker.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. SUMNERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a letter received from a man who has a son in the Navy, with reference to the general situation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, we could not hear what the gentleman from Texas said.

Mr. SUMNERS. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by having printed therein a letter, written to me by a man who has a son in the Navy, with reference to his attitude—he is a countryman—toward the general military proposition before the country.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I think I will not object at this time, but if I should ask to have printed in the RECORD all of the communications that I have received the size of the RECORD would have to be enlarged.

Mr. SUMNERS. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois this is the first request I have made during this whole matter, and I do not think I shall make another.

Mr. MANN. I shall not object.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is this a criticism of the Navy?

Mr. SUMNERS. No; it is a discussion of a matter from the standpoint of a man who has a son in the Navy and who has two or three other boys whom he expects to enlist and he believes the age limit ought to be above 25 years.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I move the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 39 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned to meet at 12 o'clock noon on Wednesday, April 18, 1917.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of the Navy submitting an estimate of appropriation for the acquisition of land and equipment of the same for a fleet operating base, Hampton Roads, Va. (H. Doc. No. 26), was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bill and resolutions were severally reported from committee, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. WEBB, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 14), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. PARK, from the Committee on Accounts, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 30) authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 15), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 3213) to secure information relative to food products stored in cold-storage warehouses; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3214) providing a tax on certificates of stock; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WALTON (by request): A bill (H. R. 3215) creating the national park of the cliff cities; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 3216) to make unlawful the export of any article from the United States whenever in time of war the President shall find that the public safety and welfare shall so require, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH: A bill (H. R. 3217) providing for an increase of authorization for the Federal building at Steubenville, in the State of Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. EDMONDS: A bill (H. R. 3218) to incorporate the Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3219) to permit the manufacture of denatured alcohol by mixing domestic and wood alcohol while in process of distillation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 3220) to increase the pay of enlisted men in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHACKLEFORD: A bill (H. R. 3221) to provide funds for the payment of the bonds, indebtedness, costs, and expenses of the United States created or incurred on account of the existing European war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MORGAN: A bill (H. R. 3222) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Newkirk, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3223) to authorize the payment to the State of Oklahoma of an amount of money equal to 5 per cent of the proceeds of the sales of public lands lying within what was formerly Oklahoma Territory, on sales made between April 22, 1889, and November 16, 1907, inclusive, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3224) to equalize the grant of lands to the State of Oklahoma for common schools with grants made to other States for such schools, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3225) to compensate the State of Oklahoma for loss of revenue from nontaxable Indian lands, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3226) to create the United States Chamber of Agriculture, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3227) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Cherokee, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3228) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Fairview, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3229) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Perry, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3230) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Ponca City, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3231) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Alva, Okla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 3232) to authorize exploration for and disposition of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, or sodium; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. McCORMICK: A bill (H. R. 3233) making further provision for national defense by providing for an increased supply of food; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 3234) to be known as the Daughters of the American Revolution Old-Trails act, to provide a national ocean-to-ocean highway over the pioneer trails of the Nation; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. PARK: Resolution (H. Res. 55) to pay E. C. Rost; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. FISHER: Resolution (H. Res. 56) authorizing the printing as a House document the proclamation of the President, issued April 16, 1917; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. BRITTEN: Resolution (H. Res. 57) applying to certain exemptions to military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Resolution (H. Res. 58) directing the Secretary of the Navy to furnish to the House of Representatives copies of all regulations and orders pertaining to the inspection of food supplies for the Navy in time of war; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, resolution (H. Res. 59) directing the Secretary of War to furnish to the House of Representatives copies of all regulations and orders pertaining to the inspection of food supplies for the Army in time of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: Resolution (H. Res. 60) authorizing the installation of an electrical voting machine in the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. EDMONDS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 55) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to authorize uniform laws on the subject of marriage and divorce and to provide penalties for enforcement; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 56) to authorize and direct the engineer of highways of the District of Columbia to take over and perform all the authority and duties of the Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3235) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Blizzard; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3236) granting an increase of pension to Arthur C. Gregg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3237) granting an increase of pension to H. H. Herlocker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3238) granting an increase of pension to Jere M. Fitzer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BOWERS: A bill (H. R. 3239) granting a pension to Malvern E. Rodgers; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3240) granting a pension to Frank L. Schaarman, alias Frank L. Sherman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3241) granting an increase of pension to John Grozinger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COOPER of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 3242) granting an increase of pension to Hiram Marshall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DEMPSEY: A bill (H. R. 3243) granting a pension to Chester T. Goodenough; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FORDNEY: A bill (H. R. 3244) granting a pension to Dell J. Harrington; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 3245) granting an increase of pension to John Wise; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3246) granting an increase of pension to William E. Kinmann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3247) granting an increase of pension to J. H. Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3248) granting an increase of pension to William B. Shephard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3249) granting an increase of pension to W. T. Westmoreland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3250) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Kirkpatrick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3251) granting an increase of pension to William H. Carr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3252) granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Steele; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3253) granting a pension to Clara McMeekin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3254) granting a pension to Washington Badgley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3255) granting a pension to Columbus O. Perkins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3256) granting a pension to Theodore Lange; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3257) granting a pension to Peter S. Perkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3258) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Herman Kneofler; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GANDY: A bill (H. R. 3259) for the relief of Oscar Smith; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3260) for the relief of Alfred Sjostrom; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HAMLIN: A bill (H. R. 3261) granting an increase of pension to William Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HELM: A bill (H. R. 3262) granting a pension to William L. Chandler; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 3263) to waive the age limit and authorize the appointment of C. C. Ammerman as passed assistant surgeon in the Medical Corps of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 3264) for the relief of the estate of Alexander Gardner; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 3265) granting a pension to David Funk; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3266) granting an increase of pension to Hartwell C. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NEELY: A bill (H. R. 3267) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Mickey; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBBINS: A bill (H. R. 3268) granting an increase of pension to George W. Alms; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROUSE: A bill (H. R. 3269) granting a pension to Clarence P. Hoffhaus; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RUCKER: A bill (H. R. 3270) granting an increase of pension to Albert Fetterhoff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3271) granting an increase of pension to John C. Fletcher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3272) granting an increase of pension to Michael Burke; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3273) granting a pension to David R. Miles; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3274) granting an increase of pension to George W. Brookover, jr.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3275) for the relief of Nathan McDaneld; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3276) granting a pension to Edward L. Fisher; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3277) granting an increase of pension to Jasper N. Cummings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3278) granting an increase of pension to Orville H. Patton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3279) granting an increase of pension to John M. Stanley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3280) granting an increase of pension to David H. Crumpacker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3281) granting an increase of pension to Charles Chaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3282) granting a pension to William Skinner; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3283) granting an increase of pension to Nancy J. Oden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCHALL: A bill (H. R. 3284) granting an increase of pension to Hugh Longstaff; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3285) granting a pension to Mary Glover; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3286) granting an extension of patent to the United Daughters of the Confederacy; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. SLOAN: A bill (H. R. 3287) for the relief of Benjamin F. Willis; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3288) for the relief of James M. Brown; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3289) for the relief of Dudley Walton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3290) for the relief of Martin Hagarity; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3291) for the relief of Thomas J. Chesney; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3292) for the relief of William H. Phillips; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3293) for the relief of Joseph Post; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3294) reinstating Maj. Benjamin M. Koehler to his former rank and grade in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3295) granting a pension to Mary L. Stultz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3296) granting a pension to Lucy B. Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3297) granting a pension to Jane Lattimer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3298) granting a pension to Edward Waldo; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3299) granting a pension to Charles Simacek; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3300) granting a pension to Andrew S. Gardner; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3301) granting an increase of pension to Nathan Dunlap; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3302) granting an increase of pension to David L. Hackett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3303) granting an increase of pension to Michael Killean; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3304) granting an increase of pension to William McKenney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3305) granting an increase of pension to William H. Crane; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3306) granting an increase of pension to Albert Mason; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3307) granting an increase of pension to Edmond V. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3308) granting an increase of pension to Calvin Custer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3309) granting an increase of pension to Andrew W. Sponsler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3310) granting an increase of pension to Oliver Freel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3311) granting an increase of pension to Francis Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3312) granting an increase of pension to Horton C. Calland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3313) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Erit; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3314) granting an increase of pension to Warden J. Wilkins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3315) granting an increase of pension to Hannah Sanders; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3316) granting an increase of pension to Oscar E. Bartlett; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SWEET: A bill (H. R. 3317) granting an increase of pension to Henry Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3318) granting an increase of pension to Charles T. Higgins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 3319) granting a pension to Richard G. Trotter; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3320) granting a pension to Emerson E. Paden; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3321) granting a pension to Serelda Pargin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3322) granting a pension to Mary J. Berlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also a bill (H. R. 3323) granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3324) granting an increase of pension to Silas J. Pickerell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3325) granting an increase of pension to Lemuel Kingsbury; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3326) granting an increase of pension to Ephriam Bartlett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3327) granting an increase of pension to Adah L. Addleman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3328) to correct the military record of William Martin; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3329) to correct the military record of John R. Smith, deceased; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Memphis, Tenn., pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of the Annapolis (Md.) City Council, approving the action of the President and Congress of the United States in declaring that a state of war exists between Germany and the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Rock Lake Grange, No. 13, Patrons of Husbandry, of Wheatland, Wyo., opposing compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of the Baptist Union of Philadelphia, in re war legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), memorial of Joint Labor Legislative Board of Illinois, pledging loyalty to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Westchester County Commission of General Safety, in re war legislation; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Memorials of mass meeting of citizens of Butler, Ohio, approving declaration of war and pledging support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNING: Memorial adopted unanimously by the Grand Lodge Independent Order of Odd Fellows of New Jersey, expressing confidence in the national leadership and pledging support thereto; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 42 citizens of Camden, N. J., against military conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAREW: Memorial of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, relative to treaty relations and bargaining tariffs; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorials of Italian Chamber of Commerce, board of trustees of the College of the City of New York, and the Lumber Trade Division of the Business Men's National Service League, approving action of the President in relation to Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Memorial of Westchester County Commission of General Safety, favoring universal military training to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Philadelphia Board of Trade, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Milwaukee Medical Society, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial adopted by the Brooklyn Engineers' Club, pledging loyalty and service to the United States Government in the present international crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Westchester County Commission of General Safety, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, relative to further taxation of life insurance funds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DYER: Petitions of the engineering societies of the country relative to engineer troops under the control of the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Brotherhood of Jesus Evangelical Church, St. Louis, Mo., protesting against the loan of American money to the Governments of the entente nations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Memorial of the General Assembly of Illinois, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of the members of the Harvard Improvement Association, urging that the Government take steps to protect the people against the high cost of living; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Boston Post Office Clerks' Association, extending its thanks to the Members of Congress from Massachu-

setts for interest shown in the welfare of postal employees during the last session of Congress; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. HELM: Petition of sundry citizens of Wilmore, Ky., against conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH: Memorial by members of the board of directors of Steubenville (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce, favoring conscription and universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Ohio Dry Federation, pledging loyalty to President and Congress and asking suppression of liquor traffic as essential element of military efficiency; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Scio Lodge of Odd Fellows, pledging its support to President and Congress in prosecution of war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorials of W. H. Mullins, president, and A. R. McFarland, secretary, chamber of commerce, Salem, Ohio; and H. G. Dohrman, Steubenville, Ohio, favoring universal compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KING: Resolution of the German-American Citizens' Society, of Kewanee, Ill., signed by Mr. Wilhelm Buck, president, and Mr. Otto Buelow, secretary, tendering its loyal support as American citizens to the President of the United States in the present controversy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of Farmers' Club of East Wallop, town of Enfield, State of Connecticut, pledging support to the President and Congress during the present war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SCHALL: Memorials of Sumner T. McKnight and other Yale graduates in Minneapolis, Minn., urging universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Woman's Club of Wayzata, Minn., relative to financing war by taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of Young Men's Christian Club of St. Mark's Church, Minneapolis, Minn., approving the act of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Fifteenth Minnesota Spanish-American war veterans tendering their services to the President; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SCULLY: Petition of sundry church organizations in New Jersey, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Philadelphia Branch of the Associate Alumnæ of Vassar College, indorsing universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, resolution of the Grand Lodge Independent Order of Odd Fellows, expressing confidence in our national leadership, and pledging their support; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of City Council of the city of Elizabeth, N. J., approving action of the President and Congress relative to the international situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: Memorial of Philadelphia Board of Trade, in favor of universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WASON: Memorial of the citizens of Walpole, N. H., recording their hearty approval of the action of Congress and pledging their support in the prosecution of the present war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of the officers and members of the faculty of Dartmouth College, of New Hampshire, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *April 17, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, at every time in our past history when our national resources have been put to the test our fathers have sought Thy aid and Thou hast delivered them from all their troubles. We thank Thee to-day for the abundance of our possessions, for our bountiful wealth, for the rich fields which produce the harvest, for the spirit of patriotism which animates our universal life. We seek Thy aid that we may conserve those spiritual forces which can make us great and unconquerable. We pray that Thou wilt minister to each one of us this day by Thy spirit and truth, that we may be men of God, fighting under Thy direction, facing the responsibilities of our day that we may come speedily to a final and glorious victory. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings when, on request of Mr. HITCHCOCK and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, which will be inserted in the RECORD.

The concurrent resolution is as follows:

Concurrent resolution.

Be it resolved by the Senate of the Territory of Hawaii (the House of Representatives concurring), That we recognize that the pending acute national crisis creates a situation fraught with grave possibilities to the Nation and which challenges the patriotism of every American citizen.

Resolved, That we highly commend the position taken by the President of the United States in regard thereto as maintaining our highest standard of national honor and as promoting the humanitarian ideals of enlightened civilization.

Resolved, That should every honorable means be exhausted to maintain the neutrality of the United States inviolate, and should war prove inevitable, we pledge our loyal support and fullest aid to our country; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii.

THE LEGISLATURE OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII,
SENATE, 1917.

Senate concurrent resolution presented February 24, 1917, by Senator M. C. Pacheco, relating to commending the position taken by the President of the United States in regard to maintaining our national honor.

Adopted in senate February 24, 1917.
Adopted in house February 26, 1917.

O. LOARES.

SENATE CHAMBER, *February 24.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, which will be inserted in the RECORD.

The resolution is as follows:

[State of Rhode Island, etc., in general assembly, January session, A. D. 1917.]

Resolution indorsing daylight saving and urging Congress to pass necessary legislation.

Whereas the question of daylight saving, so called, has been forcibly brought to the attention of the world by the emergency of war; and

Whereas the adoption by Great Britain and other European countries of daylight saving in 1916 has resulted favorably, and the various countries that have accepted the plan will continue to do so in 1917; and

Whereas the trend of public opinion in the United States of America is distinctly in favor of the adoption of the daylight-saving plan in this country, inasmuch as the impending danger of war would make it advisable to adopt daylight saving as a necessary expedient at this time; and

Whereas it has been conclusively proven to be an efficient and economic practice, and will have a beneficial effect upon all persons in this State: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island hereby declares its firm conviction that the interests of the country will be benefited by the passage of this necessary legislation; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent by the secretary of state to the Vice President of the United States, that it may be by him transmitted to the Senate of the United States, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the House of Representatives.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
PROVIDENCE.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original resolution approved by his excellency the governor on the 5th day of April, in the year 1917.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the State of Rhode Island this 9th day of April, in the year 1917.

[SEAL.] J. FRED PARKER, *Secretary of State.*

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a telegram from Frank P. Bothwell, chairman, and Arthur E. Kelly, secretary, of a mass meeting of citizens of Ligonier, Ind., which was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIGONIER, IND., *April 16, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS R. MARSHALL,
Vice President, Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That the citizens of Ligonier, Ind., and vicinity in mass meeting assembled heartily approve and indorse the action of the President and the Congress of the United States in relation to the declaration of a state of war existing between this country and Germany and pledge our support to such action as may be deemed necessary in the future.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to each the President, Vice President, and Speaker of the House of Representatives.

FRANK P. BOTHWELL, *Chairman.*
ARTHUR E. KELLY, *Secretary.*

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Baptist Union of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. LODGE. I present resolutions adopted by the Board of Trade of North Attleboro, Mass., sustaining the President. I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOARD OF TRADE,
North Attleboro, Mass., April 10, 1917.

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The following resolution has been prepared under the direction of the North Attleboro Board of Trade:

Inasmuch as we are in the midst of the greatest series of events in the world's history, at a time when the very foundation principles of democratic government are most seriously menaced, when the rights of nations and of individuals have been most shamelessly abused, when the Government of the United States and her President are confronted with the gravest problems which have ever challenged her idealism, her courage, and her devotion to the broader interests of humanity and righteousness, the North Attleboro Board of Trade in full recognition of its own limitations expresses to His Excellency, the President of the United States, its full appreciation of these most unusual, unforeseen, and unprecedented situations which have arisen, and extends to our Government and its President our united sympathy and support in this great international struggle, together with our willingness to translate these our words and professions into such acts as shall be deemed most fitting by our Government and its President and Commander in Chief in the present emergencies. We further renew our obligations of fealty and service to our most glorious country and the cause for which it stands. That in the words of the Athenian oath we may transmit our country to the next generation "not less but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

ROBERT J. FULLER, *President.*
FRANK J. KELLY, *Secretary.*

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have resolutions adopted at a large mass meeting at Seattle attended by several thousand people, and I understand that there were two or three overflow meetings. The resolutions indorse the action of the Government in declaring a state of belligerency to exist between this country and Germany and pledging support to the Government. I ask that the resolutions be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolutions adopted at Arena mass meeting April 7, 1917.

Our country is at war with the Government of Germany;

After exhausting every honorable effort to maintain peace, the President and Congress have been forced by the continued aggressions of the Imperial German Government to accept the status of belligerency so unescapably imposed upon us;

Our citizens, while in pursuit of their orderly and legitimate errands upon the high seas, have been murdered by order of that Government in defiance not only of the laws of nations but of every dictate of justice and humanity;

By like orders, and following the same course of ruthless barbarism, our ships have been destroyed, our domestic laws defied, a reign of espionage and destructive terrorism inaugurated within our own boundaries and even an invasion and dismemberment of our territory invited and urged through an alliance sought to be formed against us by enticement of nations with whom we have no quarrel;

It is plain, as stated by the President, that the question whether the world shall be governed by reason and justice or by the sword, must be answered by the people of this generation, and there can be no true peace for our country or for others until the defeat of militarism and barbarism, personified in the existing Government of Germany, is possitively assured: Wherefore the citizens of Seattle, in mass meeting assembled,

Resolve, That we pledge anew our loyalty and devotion to the Government of the United States and to the principles on which it is founded; that, while expressing with vigor our abhorrence of war, we declare our readiness to afford unwavering and enthusiastic support to the lawful authorities of our country in all measures which they may ordain for bringing this conflict, most righteous on our part, to a victorious termination; and that we individually and collectively stand ready to make every sacrifice that may be required to insure the triumph of the great principles of justice, liberty, and right, and of permanent peace among the nations, which the President has declared to be the unselfish purpose of our people in this great struggle.

The trust of the enemy in dissension and discord among our citizens by which it is hoped to weaken our efforts on land and sea must be proven groundless.

To disappoint the enemy in these expectations, we pledge ourselves to unity of action and fidelity to leadership as the first effective blow we can strike in our own defense and in defense of human liberty.

Trusting fully in the loyalty and Americanism of those of our fellow citizens who, by reason of ties of blood or because of an aversion to war, have believed that our country could or should avoid the present conflict, we are confident, since the die is cast and the Nation's choice is made, that they will uphold in the amplest good faith the cause of our common country.

In the course of our history, from Lexington to the present day, our Army and Navy have stood every test in every trial, and have won and held the admiration and gratitude of the American people. To the officers and enlisted men of both arms of the national service, embracing as an integral part thereof our National Guard and Naval Militia, as well as to all those who are to join them in this heroic struggle, and to their families and dependents, we pledge devoted and constant support and assistance.

Recognizing the duty of every citizen to bear arms or otherwise respond to the call of the country in time of national danger, each citizen doing the special work by which he or she may render the highest service, we urge upon all the willing and prompt acceptance of this duty, regardless of conditions or station in life, recalling with pride the grateful remembrance in which our country has always held its defenders.

The chairman of this meeting, Dr. Henry Suzzallo, is requested to forward to the President of the United States, and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State, a copy of these resolutions.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I submit resolutions adopted by the South Slav Culture and Political Club of Tacoma, Wash., indorsing universal military training, and also two other resolutions which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the South Slav Culture and Political Club of Tacoma, Wash., having as its members men who immigrated to this United States of America seeking refuge and peace from the tyrannous Government of Austria-Hungary, and having enjoyed here freedom and prosperity, in appreciation thereof, at a meeting regularly convened and assembled, as good and loyal citizens, do hereby

Resolve, That we do pledge to this Government of the United States of America and to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, the President thereof, our unqualified and steadfast support in this critical time in any action they think best to guard the honor and dignity of this country and the lives and rights of its citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That, being in favor of national preparedness, we do hereby approve and commend the passing of a law by Congress providing for universal military training as proposed by the staff of the United States Army and as set forth in a bill introduced by Senator George G. Chamberlain, of Oregon; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be mailed by our Secretary to the President of the United States and to our Representatives in Congress and to the Jugoslavenska Kancelarija, in Washington, D. C., and that said resolutions be spread at large on the minutes of our club.

SOUTH SLAV CULTURE AND POLITICAL CLUB OF TACOMA, WASH.

—

Be it resolved by the citizens of Arlington, Wash., in mass meeting assembled, That whereas, pursuant to the recommendations of President Wilson, the Congress of the United States has declared that a state of war now exists between our common country and the Imperial German Government, now therefore we do hereby unequivocally indorse the action of our Government in said declaration; that we esteem the message of the President justified and a declaration of world independence; and be it further

Resolved, That we do hereby tender and pledge our undivided support, irrespective of race, creed, or nationality, to our Government and its constituted authorities in all its branches in vigorous and aggressive defense of not alone our national liberties and existence but equally in defense of democracy against autocracy, freedom versus despotism.

A. M. WENDELL,
J. A. JACOBSON,
W. F. OLIVER,
Committee.

—

BRANCH NO. 852, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS,
North Yakima, Wash., April 19, 1917.

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the members of North Yakima Branch No. 852, National Association of Letter Carriers, believing that the members of the National Association of Letter Carriers, in their work for the betterment of the Postal Service and the condition of the employees, have never in their endeavors forgotten their duty to the Government and the people whom they serve but have always in their work in the time of peace placed duty to their country and department first of all: Therefore be it

Resolved, That in this hour of our Nation's crisis we, the members of North Yakima Branch No. 852, National Association of Letter Carriers, wish to extend to the President of the United States and to our Government our pledge of loyalty and support and pledge ourselves to the performance of any duty that the Government of the United States may deem it wise to call upon us to perform, whether it be in the fulfillment of our civil duties or in active service in the defense of our country; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States and also to each of the Congressmen from this district, and that a copy be made a part of the records of this branch.

W. W. DOTY, *President.*
G. A. HALL, *Secretary.*

Mr. McKELLAR. I present a petition signed by officers of the University of the South, members of the faculty, and residents of Sewanee, Tenn., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH,
Sewanee, Tenn., March 23, 1917.

The Hon. K. D. McKELLAR,
The Hon. JOHN K. SHIELDS,
Senators from Tennessee.

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned officers of the University of the South, members of the faculty, or residents of Sewanee, request that you will give your vote for the Chamberlain bill (Senate bill 1695), which provides for a compulsory six months military or naval training for every man at the age of 19, and for a citizen reserve Army

and Navy composed of those trained until they reach the age of 28. We who live in the poorest section of our State and who find that many of our citizens are unable to secure education or training of any kind believe that this gratuitous six months course will in particular bring to our poor, isolated mountaineers an increased knowledge of and love for our common country and at the same time foster in them a desire for cleaner, healthier, and more moral living, such as could not have been brought about by our own State authorities unaided in the next 25 years to come.

Henry D. Phenys, Charles Lee Wells, W. H. MacKellar, A. S. Eastman, Wm. H. DuBose, John M. McBryde, jr., D. W. Berky, C. W. Underwood, J. B. Thomas, Thomas P. Bailey, F. S. Houghteling, G. W. Baker, R. C. Walker, J. C. Preston, Telfair Hodgson, Walter Hullihen, S. L. Ware.

Mr. ROBINSON. I present a telegram from the Lions' Club, of Texarkana, Ark., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD together with the signatures.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXARKANA, ARK., *April 16, 1917.*

Senator JOE ROBINSON,
Washington, D. C.:

The Lions' Club, of Texarkana, unanimously approve your support of the President in the recent war declaration. We also approve the President's plan of raising an army and request our Representatives to support his policy.

R. H. T. MANN,
ALLEN WINHAM,
Committee.

Mr. PITTMAN. I have a resolution from the Reno Commercial Club, one of the largest associations of the kind in our State. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD without reading

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolution adopted at a mass meeting of the members of the Reno Commercial Club Friday, April 6, 1917, at noon.

Be it resolved, That this meeting of citizens of Reno, Nev., are in hearty sympathy with the principles of the League to Enforce Judicial Consideration of International Disputes, so that after the present war is over there may be established permanent peace, and commend the league to the citizens of Nevada in the belief that they will upon understanding thereof be in general accord therewith and see the necessity therefor; and be it further

Resolved, That we know that in this hour of national peril the citizenship of Reno, Nev., and of the West is united in its determination to enter and prosecute vigorous and mighty war against the Imperial German Government, the militaristic dynasty of which has brutally ravished Belgium, has defied the long-established rules of international law, has disregarded the rights of neutrals, has trampled upon the rights of the United States, and while a friendly power violated our hospitality with plots and intrigues, has ruthlessly murdered American citizens upon the high seas, and threatens by its inhuman warfare to tear out the vitals of democracy and destroy the foundations of the civilization of centuries. That we indorse the profoundly great message of President Wilson in which he rightly interprets the ideals of American institutions and manhood, and we pledge the Government of the United States our loyal cooperation in adequately preparing with promptness to meet the issue made by our enemy.

That copies of this resolution be sent by the Chair to President Wilson and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Nevada.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I ask to have printed in the RECORD, without reading, resolutions adopted at various meetings of citizens of my State.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas our constitutional Representatives, the Congress of the United States has, in pursuance of and in conformity with the high humanitarian and characteristically American policy outlined by our great President, Woodrow Wilson, declared that a state of war now exists between us and the Imperial Government of Germany; and

Whereas under such conditions it became the manifest duty of every American to heartily support the action of his Government and to declare his unswerving loyalty to his country's flag and give public and pronounced expression to his fealty and allegiance to his Nation in its hour of need: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the county board of supervisors for Delta County, Mich., in session assembled hereby affirm, declare, and renew our fealty and allegiance to the Government of the United States of America, and we hereby pledge the hearty and unqualified support of Delta County to the just cause in which the Nation is now engaged, and do hereby unqualifiedly indorse and ratify the action of our Congress in its declaration; and be it further

Resolved, That the county clerk of Delta County spread this resolution upon the records of this meeting, and that he forward a copy hereof to the President of the United States, the United States Senators for Michigan, and to the Congressman from this district.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,
County of Delta, ss:

I, Albert J. Pepin, clerk of the county of Delta, do hereby certify that the foregoing resolutions were adopted by the unanimous vote of the board of supervisors of Delta County, Mich., at a meeting of said board held April 11, 1917.

[SEAL.]

ALBERT J. PEPIN,
County Clerk.

Resolved by the board of supervisors, Cheboygan County, That we approve the action of President Wilson and the Congress in the present crisis and pledge the support of the people of this county in any future action deemed necessary to uphold the dignity of the Stars and Stripes and to protect the lives and interests of American citizens, wherever they may be.

W. H. WATKINS.
H. F. BAKER.
C. S. REILLEY.

Supervisor Watkins moved, and it was supported, that the above resolution be adopted and copies be sent to our Senators and Representatives at Washington.

Adopted by the following vote.

Which resolution did prevail. A majority of all the supervisors present voting therefor by yeas and nays, as follows:

Yeas: Aldrich, Baker, Bancroft, Brady, Buck, Caswell, Collins, Cronan, Friday, Gardner, Goddard, Heilman, Jarvis, Johnson, Langmaid, Ormsbee, Post, Reilley, Riggs, Ritter, Royce, Skeels, Smith, Watkins, Wheeler, and Wilton.

Yeas, 26; nays, none.

A true copy.

W. B. SEAMARK, *Clerk.*

To the honorable BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF LENAWEE COUNTY:

GENTLEMEN: Your committee, to whom was referred the preparation of a resolution expressive of the loyalty and patriotism of the people of this county as we are about to engage in war with one of the greatest military powers in the world, respectfully offer the following resolution:

"*Be it resolved by the Board of Supervisors of Lenawee County, Mich., in regular session assembled*, That we rejoice, in common with all patriotic Americans, in the splendid declaration of purpose made by our President, that we enter this war for no selfish end, and not alone to secure our rights on land and sea, but also in the interest of humanity and the preservation of Christian civilization, and to restore the rule of right and reason in the earth, to the end that in the future the solemn engagements and treaties of nations shall be observed and respected, and the established rules of international law, made binding upon every nation, great or small, in time of war as well as in time of peace; and

"We, as representatives of the people of this county, do most earnestly affirm and declare that the citizens of Lenawee stand second to none in their steadfast loyalty to their country and in their unswerving determination to give united support to the President as Commander in Chief of our Armies and Navy and to Congress as it gives him every possible measure of aid and assistance in this supreme hour in the life of our Nation.

"We most heartily commend the acts of those Senators and Representatives from Michigan who by voice and vote gave their earnest support to all steps recommended by the President as necessary to enable us to preserve our rights and our honor as a Nation. We do this in the belief that through these measures and others yet to be enacted into law there will be made possible the coming of a lasting peace among all nations; and to this end we do most sincerely urge upon our several Senators and Representatives in the Congress, and especially upon our Representative, Hon. MARK R. BACON, that they each and all give united, vigorous, prompt, and ungrudging support to the measures recommended by those in control of military matters as necessary for the successful conduct of our part in this great conflict.

"The blessings of liberty which we enjoy, the wideness of opportunity here, the security of life and property which this Nation gives to all its sons—whether such by birth or by adoption—entitles it to receive their best service in return, and in the full knowledge of what such service may require we confidently affirm that the people of this county will do their part and meet their every obligation.

"In this connection, however, as representatives of a great agricultural county, we respectfully ask Congress to consider that the system of volunteer enlistments which has obtained in this country in the past has permitted the unselfish sacrifice of more than a just proportion of men from the farms, and we hold that no just apportionment of duty and service is possible under this system alone. We therefore urge our Government, at the very inception of this war, to provide by law a just and equitable system of training, enlistment, and service which will assure us an army of maximum size and efficiency in the shortest possible time, with the least interruption and disorganization of the industries of our country, and in the end to so elevate our ideals or citizenship that where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is an universal heritage, universal service—now conceded to be the citizen's duty—will ere long become the patriot's privilege.

"*Resolved further*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the secretary of this board to each of our Senators and to our Representative in Congress, and that the same be made a part of the records of this session."

Done at Adrian this 12th day of April, 1917.

OSCAR H. HALLADAY,
JOHN C. HOWELL,
JOHN A. OSBORNE,
Committee.

Mr. HALE presented petitions of sundry citizens of Maine praying for Federal censorship of motion pictures; which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. POMERENE. I present several resolutions in the nature of petitions touching the present international situation. I ask that they be incorporated in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 13, 1917.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Five hundred citizens of Cleveland gathered in a meeting at Glenville High School pledge their unswerving loyalty and support to the President and entreat and urge their Representatives in Congress to vote for the universal military service bill recommended by the administration without delay.

THOMAS COUGHLIN, *Chairman.*

A. G. A. R. MANIFESTO.

At a special meeting called for that purpose the following communication, reported by Comrade Elroy M. Avery, as a committee of one previously appointed for that purpose was unanimously adopted:

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Greeting:

We, the members of Forest City Post, No. 556, Grand Army of the Republic, on guard at Cleveland, Ohio, salute you.

We thank you for your recent speech to Congress—for every word of it.

We congratulate you (and ourselves) on the prompt response with which it was received by Congress and by the people back of Congress.

We regret that one Ohio Congressman fell short of his glorious opportunity, but allowance must be made for the weaknesses of second childhood.

We sympathize with the loyal people of Wisconsin in the shame undeservedly thrust upon them.

We sympathize with those of our fellow citizens whose hearts are wrung by a war with their Vaterland and yet are loyal to the country of their choice and assure them of our warm friendship for them.

In this holy war of democracy versus autocracy, we who wore the blue clasp the hands of those who wore the gray, and with them pray to the god of battles for leaders as able and as worthy as were Grant and Lee, Sherman and Joe Johnston, Sheridan and Longstreet.

We recognize the fact that the wisdom of the President and Congress is greater than our own, yet we venture to make a few suggestions:

1. The physically strong must fight; the financially strong must pay. Even tainted money, when thus washed in blood, may be made clean.

2. The able-bodied "slacker" must be dragged from his couch of comfort, and the foe within the gates, whether alien or native, must be relentlessly repressed. (See Judges, v., 23, and Gen. Burnside's order No. 38, Department of the Ohio.)

3. Let Old Glory wave on the fighting line beyond the devastated fields and ruined temples of Belgium and of northern France, and forget not that our generous ally of 1776 is almost bleeding white; the transfusion of blood and a supply of the sinews of war are well deserved and have been long enough delayed.

Finally, lead on and we will follow, conscious in advance of what war means in men and money, in suffering on the field or in the trenches and in the agony of bereaved homes, and yet mindful of the fact that without Good Friday there could be no Easter.

God bless you and us.

For the post.

M. A. MCCLINTOCK,
Commander.
T. S. MAXWELL,
Adjutant.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *April 12, 1917.*

Assembled in response to the call of the governor of Ohio to ask divine guidance in this critical hour in our Nation's history, we, the representatives of five churches of the city of Cleveland, in number about 800, do hereby pledge our heartiest support to the honored President of our country, and we call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to cooperate with him in advancing, with united energy and whole-hearted determination, the solemn responsibilities already assumed by the United States.

We express our sincere conviction that the God who guided our fathers is still leading our people and that in ways higher than we can yet understand He is using our Nation in carrying forward His large designs, forever increasing liberty and greater opportunities for the common people of the whole earth.

CHARLES S. HOWE,
President Case School of Applied Science.
CHARLES F. THWING,
President Western Reserve University.
ALEX MCGAFFIN,
Pastor Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church.

Resolution unanimously adopted at the Euclid Avenue Congregational Church, Cleveland, Ohio, April 11, 1917.

This is a true copy.

Attest.

GEO. H. JOHNSON,
Pulpit Associate Euclid Avenue Congregational Church.

THE TRI-COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION,
Minerva, Ohio, April 12, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Last evening, at a great patriotic meeting held here, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and ordered forwarded to you:

"*Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Minerva and vicinity, do hereby assure President Wilson of our heartiest support of his war measures and our warmest approval of the course of Ohio's Senators, ATLEE POMERENE and W. G. HARDING."

Very truly, yours,

E. V. NEWTON, *Secretary.*

Mr. GRONNA. I have a telegram from certain professional engineers of my State, which I ask be printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., *April 15, 1917.*

Senator A. J. GRONNA, *Washington, D. C.:*

We, the undersigned professional engineers and citizens of North Dakota, respectfully urge you to insist that all new units of Engineer troops be organized and maintained by the War Department rather than by the individual States.

Calvin H. Crouch, Abott, Becker, Budge, Chandler, Henwood, Harrington, Mercer, Thompson, Stevens.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented petitions of sundry citizens of San Angelo and Longview, in the State of Texas, pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a memorial of the Farmers' Club of Muenster, Tex., remonstrating against compulsory military service, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Citizens' Dry Alliance of Missouri, praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN presented petitions of sundry citizens of New Jersey, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of the New Jersey State committee on public safety and the committee of one hundred, of Trenton, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation to provide for the care of dependents of enlisted men during the war, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented petitions of the Young Men's Democratic Association of Atlantic City, the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of New Jersey, of Aerie No. 667, Fraternal Order of Eagles of Elizabeth, of sundry citizens of Camden, West Hoboken, and Chester, all in the State of New Jersey; of the Conference of Governors held at Philadelphia, Pa., and of the Eastern Division Conference of the Delta Tau Delta, held at Philadelphia, Pa., pledging support to the President and indorsing compulsory military service, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HUGHES. I present resolutions adopted by citizens of my State which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELIZABETH, N. J., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM HUGHES,
United States Senate.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a copy of a resolution adopted at a regular meeting of the City Council of this city held Thursday evening, April 5, 1917.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Respectfully,

JOHN F. KENAH,
City Clerk.

(By Councilman Eldridge.)

Once more the principles of liberty and justice, the foundation of this Republic, are in danger, and the call to their defense comes to every true American. The President of our United States on the 2d day of April, 1917, delivered a message to the representatives of the States in Congress assembled which is clearly, accurately, and fully expressive of the thought and feeling of the American people toward the people of Germany, and Congress, in conformity with the will of this great people and after mature deliberation, is about to declare a state of war to exist between this Nation and the Imperial German Government; and we being fully appreciative of the gravity of such an act, and knowing no duty but that of loyalty and service to our country: Therefore be it

Resolved by the City Council of the city of Elizabeth, in the State of New Jersey, and each and every member constituting said body, That we approve of the message of the President, delivered by him to Congress on the 2d day of April, 1917, and of the action heretofore taken by the Congress of the United States upon said message.

Further, that we and each of us do hereby pledge our loyalty and assistance to our President and to our country in the crisis that lies before us.

Further, that the clerk transmit copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States and the Representatives of the State of New Jersey in Congress.

Adopted April 5, 1917.

I hereby certify the above to be correct.

[SEAL.]

JOHN F. KENAH,
City Clerk.

MOZART LODGE, NO. 121,
FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS,
Camden, N. J., April 11, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM HUGHES,
United States Senator from New Jersey,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: We have the honor of forwarding to you herewith a copy of a resolution unanimously adopted by Mozart Lodge, No. 121, Free and Accepted Masons, of Camden, N. J., at a regular stated meeting held on Tuesday evening, April 10, 1917.

Respectfully,

GEO. BACHMANN,
Worshipful Master.

Attest:

[SEAL.]

WM. A. SANGTINETTE, *Secretary.*

Whereas the Government of the United States of America has declared that a state of war exists between our country and the Imperial German Government, and while the members of this lodge, being largely composed of Americans of German birth or extraction, deeply regret that events have been such as to have led this Government to deem such act necessary, yet with a full appreciation of the unswerving loyalty and allegiance due to our country in these critical times: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of Mozart Lodge, No. 121, Free and Accepted Masons, of Camden, N. J., That we hereby pledge our loyal support to the Government of the United States of America; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to His Excellency Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America; to the Hon. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN and WILLIAM HUGHES, United States Senators from New Jersey; to the Hon. WILLIAM J. BROWNING, Member of Congress from this district; to the Hon. Walter E. Edge, governor of the State of New Jersey; and to the Hon. Charles H. Ellis, mayor of the city of Camden.

LOGGIA GIOVANNI PASCOLI, No. 142,
West Hoboken, N. J., April 10, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM HUGHES,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

MR. SENATOR: I beg with pleasure and honor to inform you that the following resolution was unanimously voted by our lodge at last meeting, at 167 West Street:

"The Lodge Giovanni Pascoli, No. 142, Order Sons of Italy in America, at last meeting, held at headquarters, 167 West Street, West Hoboken, N. J., Hudson County, unanimously resolved to pledge loyalty and fidelity to the United States of America; to obey the laws; to respect any and every official order of this adopted great land, and

loyally support the President's stand for humanity, civilization, and defense of a free people against enemies.

"This resolution, the lodge decides, shall be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the United States Senators of New Jersey, to the governor of New Jersey, to the Congressmen of Hudson County, and to the mayor of West Hoboken."

Respectfully, sincerely, yours,

Prof. A. COLLETTA, *Past Venerable.*

Mr. HUGHES presented petitions of sundry citizens of Vineland, Sewell, and New Brunswick, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. PHELAN. I present two telegrams—one from the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, and the other from citizens of Santa Cruz, in my State—which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We are advised Senate committee has agreed to report favorably Adamson bill for assessing Panama Canal toll charges on deck loads of lumber. Request you cooperate with Pacific coast Senators in opposition to bill. No disposition on part of Pacific coast shippers to avoid legitimate tolls, but would support bill to prescribe Danube measurement for all ships for purpose of assessing tolls which would give justice to all and not discriminate against American ships.

SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
SETH MANN,
Attorney and Manager, Traffic Manager.

SANTA CRUZ, CAL., *April 10, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Santa Cruz Division of Naval Militia, over 110 strong, is about to depart for headquarters in San Francisco in answer to our country's call. Many have immediate families dependent upon them. The citizens of this community feel it is the imperative duty of Nation to provide by suitable legislation for the acts and needs of such dependent relatives. Any emergency relief will, of course, be taken care of by our citizenship; but there is absolute necessity for legislation along line above suggested. Therefore, on behalf of such dependent relatives, the people of this community strongly urge that you exercise your earnest endeavors to effect such legislation.

F. R. HOWE,
Mayor City of Santa Cruz.
S. A. PALMER,
President Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. OWEN. I ask to have printed in the RECORD resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of 5,000 citizens of Woodward, Okla.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOODWARD, OKLA., *April 12, 1917.*

To Hon. R. L. OWEN,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We, the committee appointed at a mass meeting of 5,000 people at Woodward, April 11, 1917, and charged with the duty of sending the resolutions adopted at that meeting to our honorable Senators and Representatives in Congress for their action, inclose a copy of the said resolutions, and respectfully request that they be presented to the honorable Senate, and, if possible, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very respectfully,

D. P. MARUM,
C. W. HEROD,
JOHN J. GERLACH,
S. M. SMITH,
Committee.

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the people of Woodward County, Okla.

Whereas our Nation has been forced into war by acts of the German Empire; and

Whereas our national rights have been ruthlessly violated on land and sea; and

Whereas American lives have been taken and plots formulated to destroy our national existence by two powers which were responsible for the Holy Alliance 95 years ago, said alliance having been formed for the purpose of destroying all republican forms of government: Therefore we, the citizens of Woodward County, Okla., in mass meeting assembled this 11th day of April, 1917, in the city of Woodward,

Resolved—

First. That we approve the action of our President and Congress in their declaration of war on the 4th day of April, 1917, against the German Empire.

Second. That we, as loyal Americans, following in the footsteps of our forefathers, hold the enemies of our country to be our enemies and the flag of our country, the Stars and Stripes, to be the flag for which we will fight.

Third. That we pledge the entire resources of our country, even to the last drop of our blood, the last penny of our wealth, in support of our Government in its efforts to vindicate our national honor and preserve for us and all the world the sacred right of self-government.

Fourth. That we ask our Senators and Representatives to give to the President their hearty support in organizing our Army and Navy to be of the highest efficiency, that our national honor may be vindicated and our future peace and prosperity guaranteed for all time to come.

Fifth. That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee to present these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives, with the request that they be properly presented to the President of the United States and to both Houses of our National Congress as embodying the unanimous sentiment of the people of Woodward County, regardless of the countries of our birth and irrespective of our political affiliations.

FOOD SUPPLIES.

Mr. CALDER. The alarming reports of the rapidly diminishing food supply of the country have brought forth many suggestions relative to the danger of a very great shortage, particularly of wheat, the great staple product of the Nation.

I have read no better statement on the subject than the one contained in the monthly bulletin just issued by the National City Bank of New York. I send it to the desk, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD, and I trust that its further circulation will be the means of informing the people of the country of the very serious problem we are facing.

Mr. SMOOT. May I ask the Senator from New York what bulletin this is?

Mr. CALDER. It deals with the scarcity of food supplies.

Mr. PENROSE. Is it a lengthy document?

Mr. CALDER. It will cover about a half column of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK,
New York, April 16, 1917.

TO OUR CORRESPONDENT BANKS AND THE PUBLIC:

In our monthly bulletin we have repeatedly pressed upon public attention the gravity of the situation which now confronts the world in the scarcity of food supplies, but we would not feel that we had done our duty if we did not utter a final word of warning and of appeal upon the subject. The situation grows more serious as spring advances and the disaster to the winter wheat crop of this country is understood.

All of Europe—neutrals as well as warring countries—has been placed upon food rations to eke out supplies until the new crop is harvested. This country entered the present crop year last July with 164,000,000 bushels of wheat carried over from the crop of 1915, and in 1916 produced 482,000,000 bushels of winter wheat and 158,000,000 of spring wheat; total supply, 804,000,000. This year there will be practically no wheat carried over and the Government's estimate upon the winter crop forecasts a yield of only 430,000,000. On this basis the spring wheat crop must be 214,000,000 bushels larger than last year in order to give us a wheat supply equal to what we will export and consume in the crop year now closing. This is an alarming outlook. The spring wheat crop is notoriously subject to weather conditions. More spring wheat should be sown, but it is doubtful if the wheat shortage can be made up. Other food crops must be grown to meet the deficiency.

This country is now at war, and our allies, Belgium, Great Britain, France, and Italy, are dependent upon us for food. They will have no reserves and must have more from us in the coming year than in the past, or they will not be able to feed all their people. Added to the appeals of starving humanity will be military reasons making it impossible for us to put an embargo upon the exportation of food. We must divide what we grow this year with these countries, and with the neutral countries—Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain—which are not self-sustaining in grain supplies. And not only must we supply enough to keep these peoples from starving, but enough to cover the heavy losses at sea which result from the submarine warfare. If we grow no more food than we did last year—and so far the outlook is for less—there is danger of a food situation such as the world in modern times has not dreamed of. No other country has the resources in land and population to meet this emergency but the United States. There is no business upon which all other business depends as upon this of growing a big crop in America this year. And the work must be started immediately. There is no time to wait on organization from outside. The emergency can be met only by spontaneous action in every State, county, and school district forming local organizations.

Picture in your mind what conditions will be in our own cities next winter, and of the effect upon all industry, if food supplies are scarcer and dearer than they are now. It must be impressed upon everybody that no wage advances or regulation of prices can add one bushel of wheat or potatoes to the supply after the growing season is over.

The country is aroused, but mere alarm will not accomplish results. There must be organized personal work, headed in every locality by men of force and influence.

The governor of Iowa has called for the enlistment of boys from 13 to 18 to work either in town gardens or upon the farms. President Wilson says that these boys will be "soldiers of the commissary." There are fine possibilities in this idea. The boys may be brought to feel that they are serving their country as truly as their older brothers who enlist in Army or Navy; and the girls should have a chance as well. They should have a medal to keep as lifelong evidence of their service in the last great war—let us hope—of the world's history.

Some of our correspondent banks are arranging for garden plots for all their clerks. Industrial employers are doing likewise, and will provide seeds and instruction. Organized work of this kind, with suitable supervision, will be most effective. Every employer in your locality should be waited upon by a committee and invited to cooperate in this manner.

Although it is, of course, desirable to increase the farm crops, and especially the spring-wheat crop, it may be that the best chance to increase the food supply is by the intensive cultivation of garden tracts in and adjacent to towns, where labor additional to the regular farm supply can be secured for growing potatoes, beans, onions, etc. Each community is able to go ahead upon this work without help from outside. The aggregate result will depend upon the efficiency of the local organizations.

We take the liberty of addressing not only our own bank correspondents but all bankers, believing that they will be quick to recognize the gravity of the situation and that their relations with the business community are such as to enable them to secure general cooperation. We would appreciate advice as to what is being done in your locality.

Respectfully,

THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK.

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER RECEIVED BY AN OFFICER OF THIS BANK FROM SIR GEORGE PAISH, OF LONDON, DATED MARCH 21, 1917.

"I have been endeavoring to form some sort of notion of the world's supplies of food, both this season and next, and have come to the conclusion that if the American people will continue to help the world to get through this time of great stress and strain by (1) growing as much food as possible, and (2) themselves consuming no more than absolutely essential the world will weather through, although the margin of safety will be very slender. Would it be possible for the ladies of America to start an economy campaign for the benefit of the women and children, not of Belgium only but practically of the entire world, for it is evident that many a poor family will not be able to buy food in the coming 12 or 18 months in consequence of its dearness and scarcity unless those women who can afford to pay high prices voluntarily deny themselves and share the food which Providence provides with their poorer sisters? If they do this, then the heart of the world will beat with that mother love which is all powerful for good and which will prevent the recurrence of such a disaster as that now threatening the human race.

"The need of humanity is great.

"The heart of America is also great."

If the above quotation, from the editor of the London Statist and one of the best-known economists in England, is read in schools and published in local newspapers, it would doubtless assist in creating public interest.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. ROBINSON, from the Committee on Interstate Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 1816) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 10) thereon.

Mr. OWEN, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, to which was referred the bill (S. 1796) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914; August 15, 1914; March 3, 1915; and September 7, 1916, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 11) thereon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 1786) to amend certain sections of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 12) thereon.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. THOMPSON, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 37, submitted yesterday by Mr. OVERMAN, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee; that the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate, and that expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 1846) granting a pension to Susan E. Nash (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENDRICK:

A bill (S. 1847) to authorize the addition of certain lands to the Wyoming National Forest; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. POMERENE:

A bill (S. 1848) for the relief of contributors of the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1849) permitting minors of the age of 18 years or over to make homestead entry of the public lands of the United States; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 1850) to carry into effect the findings of the Court of Claims in the cases of Myron C. Bond, Guy M. Claflin, and Edwin A. Wells; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1851) granting a pension to Augustus A. Clawson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 1852) authorizing the Secretary of War to transfer to the city of New York the title of the United States to certain lands in Kings County, State of New York; to the Commitee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1853) to amend an act providing for the erection of a public building at Syracuse, N. Y., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 1854) to save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 1855) granting an increase of pension to Philander Wright (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 1856) granting a pension to George F. Thomas (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 1857) for the relief of Patrick McMahon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 1858) granting an increase of pension to Wesley B. Reed (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 1859) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McFarland;

A bill (S. 1860) granting an increase of pension to Homer E. Benton; and

A bill (S. 1861) granting an increase of pension to Rachel A. Layman; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 1862) to amend sections 2139 and 2140 of the Revised Statutes and the acts amendatory thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 1863) for the relief of the heirs of Gordon H. Meek, deceased; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 1864) for the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church, of Keyser, W. Va.; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1865) granting an increase of pension to Adam Flesher; and

A bill (S. 1866) granting an increase of pension to Milton Laird; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNALD:

A bill (S. 1867) to authorize the President, in time of war, to give direction to exports from the United States, so as to insure their wise, economical, and profitable distribution to other countries; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HUGHES:

A bill (S. 1868) authorizing the Secretary of War to cancel contract between the War Department and the Vulcan Asbestos Manufacturing Co.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1869) for the relief of William W. Danenhower; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1870) granting a pension to John Barrett (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SAULSBURY:

A bill (S. 1872) for providing additional defense for the industrial centers of the Atlantic seaboard and for increasing commerce and reducing transportation cost on the Atlantic seaboard; to the Committee on Coast and Insular Survey.

By Mr. BRADY:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 36) for the relief of Fred White; to the Committee on Public Lands.

GIFT OF YACHT "OWERA."

Mr. GERRY. Mr. President, I am the owner of the steam yacht *Owera*, a ship of about 195 feet over all and of 426 gross tons. Some time ago I offered this vessel to the Navy Department for the duration of the war. When, however, it came to entering into an agreement with the department, I found that because I was a United States Senator I was precluded by statute from doing so. As a matter of fact, if I allowed the Government to take the *Owera* I would be guilty of a penal offense.

I am therefore sending to the desk a bill authorizing me to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy in behalf of the United States for the use of this yacht and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs. Let me add that the department would like to have her and have indorsed this bill.

The bill (S. 1845) to authorize Peter Goelet Gerry to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use of the steam yacht *Owera*, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

ISSUANCE OF BONDS.

Mr. THOMAS. I desire to offer an amendment to House bill 2762. It is very short, and I ask to have it printed in the RECORD. I shall call it up when the bill is reached.

There being no objection the amendment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 6, section 6, lines 18 and 19, strike out the words "to borrow from time to time on the credit of the United States";
On line 20, same page, strike out the words "such sum or sums as";
On page 6, line 21, strike out the words "in his judgment may be necessary, and"; also the word "therefor," in the same line; strike out all of lines 23 and 24, page 7, together with the word "annum" on line 25;
On line 26, page 6, strike out the words "with the interest accrued thereon";
On line 3, page 7, strike out the word "not";
So that section 6, as proposed to be amended will read as follows:
"SEC. 6. That in addition to the bonds authorized by sections 1 and 4 of this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized for the purposes of this act and to meet public expenditures authorized by law to issue certicates of indebtedness at not less than par in such form as he may prescribe; and each certificate so issued shall be payable at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. Certificates of indebtedness herein authorized shall bear the circulation privilege and the sum of such certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed in the aggregate $2,000,000,000."

JOINT PEACE CONVENTION.

Mr. SHERMAN. I submit a resolution, which I send to the desk and ask that it may go over under the rule after it has been read.

The resolution (S. Res. 38) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate, That the Secretary of State be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered, under the direction of the President, to conclude a convention with the allied powers, binding them, and each of them, and the United States as well, not to make a separate peace with the German Government, with which the United States is now at war, nor with any of the allies of the German Government; and that such peace, when concluded, shall only be by the joint action of the United States and the Governments with which it wages war against the German Government and any other Governments which may be joined with Germany as an ally, either now or hereafter.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will change the request and ask that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so referred.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 40), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Woman Suffrage or any subcommittee thereof be authorized to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY BY THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. THOMPSON. I present a copy of the text of the President's proclamation of April 16, 1917, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our Navy upon an effective war footing, and are about to create and equip a great Army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and self-sacrifice it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless.

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea—submarines or no submarines—what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are cooperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but can not now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battle field or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, service army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the Nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the Nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own Nation and of the nations with which we are cooperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall have come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America. Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the Nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual cooperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done and done immediately to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the Nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to cooperate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the Nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy, and we shall not fall short of it.

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw material of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the Nation's life and that upon them rests the

immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service," and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does; the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great service army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the Nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the Nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one *can now* expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the Nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the Nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

WOODROW WILSON.

APRIL 16, 1917.

ADDRESS BY CLARK W. HETHERINGTON.

Mr. THOMAS. I am in possession of an address recently delivered by Clark W. Hetherington, professor of physical education and recreation of the University of Wisconsin, the title of which is "Shall Military Training be Given Our Youth?" It is a very thoughtful and valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. I ask that it be printed as a Senate document and that it be referred to the Committee on Printing for that purpose.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be so referred.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. GERRY. Mr. President, I do not think that I should serve upon the committee created under resolution No. 23, because Mrs. Gerry is interested in some securities in Washington, and I have not yet been able to find out whether they are connected with this corporation. Further, owing to my work in the Committees on Finance and Naval Affairs, I feel that I would not have the proper time to give to the investigation. I ask, therefore, that I may be excused from serving upon this special committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Senator from Rhode Island will be excused, and the Chair will appoint in his stead the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING].

ISSUANCE OF BONDS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of House bill 2762, known as the bond bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance with amendments.

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask the Secretary to read the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I wish to make just a statement. I wish to say, Mr. President, that I voted to report this bill, and I expect to vote for its passage. I think the bill should have been framed upon different lines——

Mr. SIMMONS. Would the Senator object to letting the bill be read before he proceeds?

Mr. STONE. I wish to make a statement before it is read. It is only a word or two.

I think it is entirely proper to say that I submitted to the Committee on Finance a somewhat different line for raising the revenues necessary for the prosecution of the war. The view I expressed was not apparently agreed to or even sympathized with by the committee.

This is a war measure, and I then accepted the judgment of the committee, as I do now; but I desire a little later on to express to the Senate my views of the lines that should have been followed by the committee. I do not file any objections to the bill itself—I expect to vote for it—but I reserve the right to state my individual views with respect to the plan which should have been adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized to borrow, from time to time, on the credit of the United States for the purposes of this act, and to meet expenditures authorized for the national security and defense and other public purposes authorized by law, not exceeding in the aggregate $5,000,000,000, exclusive of the sums authorized by section 4 of this act, and to issue therefor bonds of the United States.

The bonds herein authorized shall be in such form and subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturities, payment, and rate and time of payment of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. The principal and interest thereof shall be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value, and shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation imposed by authority of the United States, or its possessions, or by authority of any State, except estate or inheritance taxes; but such bonds shall not bear the circulation privilege.

The bonds herein authorized shall first be offered at not less than par as a popular loan, under such regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury as will give all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity to participate therein; and any portion of the bonds so offered and not subscribed for may be otherwise disposed of at not less than par by the Secretary of the Treasury; but no commissions shall be allowed or paid on any bonds issued under authority of this act.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of more effectually providing for the national security and defense and prosecuting the war by establishing credits in the United States for foreign Governments the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, is hereby authorized, on behalf of the United States, to purchase at par from such foreign Governments then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States their obligations hereafter issued, bearing the same rate of interest and containing in their essentials the same terms and conditions as those of the United States issued under authority of this act; to enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign Governments and for the subsequent payment thereof before maturity, but such arrangements shall provide that if any of the bonds of the United States issued and used for the purchase of such foreign obligations shall thereafter be converted into other bonds of the United States bearing a higher rate of interest than 3½ per cent per annum under the provisions of section 5 of this act, then and in that event the obligations of such foreign Governments held by the United States shall be, by such foreign Governments, converted in like manner and extent into obligations bearing the same rate of interest as the bonds of the United States issued under the provisions of section 5 of this act. For the purposes of this section there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $3,000,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary: *Provided*, That the authority granted by this section to the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase bonds from foreign Governments as aforesaid shall cease upon the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury, under such terms and conditions as he may prescribe, is hereby authorized to receive on or before maturity payment for any obligations of such foreign Governments purchased on behalf of the United States, and to sell at not less than the purchase price any of such obligations and to apply the proceeds thereof and any payments made by foreign Governments on account of their said obligations to the redemption or purchase at not more than par and accrued interest of any bonds of the United States issued under authority of this act; and if such bonds are not available for this purpose the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem or purchase any other outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States which may at such time be subject to call or which may be purchased at not more than par and accrued interest.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to issue the bonds not already issued heretofore authorized by section 39 of the act approved August 5, 1909, entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes"; section 124 of the act approved June 3, 1916, entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes"; section 13 of the act of September 7, 1916, entitled "An act to establish a United States shipping board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and a naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries, to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States, and for other purposes"; section 400 of the act approved March 3, 1917, entitled "An act to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes"; and the public resolution approved March 4, 1917 entitled "Joint resolution to expedite the delivery of materials, equipment, and munitions, and to secure more expeditious construction of ships," in the manner and under the terms and conditions prescribed in section 1 of this act.

That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States from time to time, in addition to the

sum authorized in section 1 of this act, such additional amount, not exceeding $63,945,460, as may be necessary to redeem the 3 per cent loan of 1908 to 1918, maturing August 1, 1918, and to issue therefor bonds of the United States in the manner and under the terms and conditions prescribed in section 1 of this act.

SEC. 5. That any series of bonds issued under authority of sections 1 and 4 of this act may, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than the rate at which the same were issued if any subsequent series of bonds shall be issued at a higher rate of interest on or before December 31, 1918.

SEC. 6. That in addition to the bonds authorized by sections 1 and 4 of this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow from time to time, on the credit of the United States, for the purposes of this act and to meet public expenditures authorized by law, such sum or sums as, in his judgment, may be necessary, and to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness at not less than par in such form and subject to such terms and conditions and at such rate of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum, as he may prescribe; and each certificate so issued shall be payable, with the interest accrued thereon, at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. Certificates of indebtedness herein authorized shall not bear the circulation privilege, and the sum of such certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed in the aggregate $2,000,000,000.

SEC. 7. That in order to pay all necessary expenses, including rent, connected with any operations under this act a sum not exceeding one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of bonds and one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of certificates of indebtedness herein authorized is hereby appropriated, or as much thereof as may be necessary, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct.

MEASUREMENT OF VESSELS FOR IMPOSITION OF TOLLS.

Mr. SIMMONS obtained the floor.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Carolina yield to me to submit a request for unanimous consent to have a bill recommitted to a committee?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator from Washington for that purpose.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The bill to which I refer is the bill (S. 831) providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls. It is a bill in which many of the people of my State are much interested, and they are very desirous of having an opportunity to be heard upon it. For that purpose I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be recommitted to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals. I will say that such action will cause no delay, because the people to whom I refer are ready to be heard at any time the committee may fix.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, with that understanding, I offer no objection to the recommittal of the bill. It is a very important measure, and I shall expect the Senator from Washington to have his constituents here at once and a meeting of the committee to be had immediately for the hearing which he desires, in order that the bill may again be speedily acted upon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] that Senate bill 831 may be taken from the calendar and recommitted to the Committee on Interoceanic Canals? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

COMMISSIONERS TO NATIONS WARRING AGAINST GERMANY.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Carolina yield to me in order that I may introduce a joint resolution and have it referred to a committee?

Mr. SIMMONS. Of course; I have no objection to yielding to the Senator from Washington for the purpose of introducing a resolution.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I send to the desk a joint resolution, which I ask to have read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 37) for appointment of special war commissioners to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Joint resolution for appointment of special war commissioners to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia.

Resolved, etc., That the President shall forthwith appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the duration of the war in which the United States is now engaged, a commissioner from the Government of the United States to the Government of Great Britain, a commissioner from the Government of the United States to the Government of France, a commissioner from the Government of the United States to the Government of Italy, and a commissioner from the Government of the United States to the Government of Russia. Each of said commissioners shall receive a salary of $20,000 a year and his necessary traveling expenses, and shall hold his office subject to the power of the President to remove him therefrom. It shall be the duty of said commissioners to confer with the Governments of the several countries to which they are assigned as to the best and most effective means of cooperation by the United States in the war, to obtain such information toward that end as may be available, and to aid the President of the United States, under his instruction, in bringing about such a coordination of resources and measures of the United States with all the countries now engaged in war with Germany, as may tend toward the successful prosecution of that war. Naval or military officers of the United States shall be eligible for appointment as such commissioners, in which case such appointment shall not interfere in any way with the irregular tenure of such military or naval officer, and while acting as such commissioner the total salary of such military or naval officer shall be that provided herein for such commissioner. The powers and duties of such commissioners shall be plenipotentiary within the purposes herein specified, but shall not otherwise interfere with the powers or duties of the regular ambassadors of the United States to the several countries herein mentioned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to make an inquiry of the Senate. The rules provide:

It shall not be in order to interrupt a Senator having the floor for the purpose of introducing any memorial, petition, report of a committee, resolution, or bill. It shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce this rule without any point of order hereunder being made by a Senator.

Does the Senate want that rule enforced?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I think so.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, before the enforcement of the rule is begun I will say that unofficially I have the consent of the Senator from North Carolina to submit a resolution and have it referred without reading. After that I am strongly in favor of the enforcement of the rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. This rule ought to be repealed. No attention has been paid to it for the last two years, and every time the Chair has undertaken to enforce the rule some Senator has taken umbrage at the Chair for making the suggestion.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I am sorry the Senator from New Jersey has asked for permission to violate the rule again. I think that rule ought to be enforced. Of course, we all violate it, and in what I say I do not reflect upon one Senator any more than another, or upon other Senators any more than upon myself.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, rather than yield to a debate I will not yield to the Senator from New Jersey to submit his resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the resolution of the Senator from New Jersey be received and then start fresh.

Mr. BORAH. I wanted to add my moral support to the Vice President.

Mr. HUGHES. Out of order, I ask permission to submit the resolution which I send to the desk.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 39) was read and referred to the Committee on Rules, as follows:

Resolved, That after a bill or joint resolution shall have been reported to the Senate from the Committee of the Whole no Senator shall, without unanimous consent, speak for more than one hour on the bill nor for more than 10 minutes on any amendment, and that all such debate shall be pertinent and relevant to the subject under discussion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In order that there may be no complaint of the Vice President, as it is his plain duty, the Vice President is going to enforce that rule from this time forward, and Senators will save time by not interrupting a Senator who has the floor to introduce morning business.

ISSUANCE OF BONDS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, it is proper that in calling up this very important measure I should make a brief and general statement to the Senate and to the country with reference to its main features.

The bill authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, to issue $5,000,000,000 of bonds of the United States. Three billions of this amount is to be used by the Secretary in the purchase of the bonds of countries engaged in war with our enemies for the purpose of providing for them credit here and elsewhere to assist in the prosecution of the war. These bonds which we are to buy are to be in all essential particulars similar—I might say, identical—with the bonds which we are to issue ourselves. They are to bear the same rate of interest. They are to mature substantially at the same time. If there is any change made in the interest rate of the bonds issued by us, a like change is to be provided for in the bonds which we purchase from our allies.

The other two billions of this total issue of five billions are to be used for the purposes of prosecuting the war on the part of this Government, for the purposes of national security and national defense. Of course, the money is not to be used, except as it may be appropriated by law.

The bill also provides for the issuance of about $63,000,000 worth of bonds to liquidate and pay off bonds of that amount

issued during the Spanish-American War, which will fall due in August, 1918, and will then have to be paid.

Heretofore we have authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue in all, I think, $472,000,000 of bonds—$222,000,000 of Panama bonds, and new bonds for the difference between that sum and the total sum which I have just stated. This money, as we very well understand, is for purposes heretofore approved by Congress. No additional authority of issue is given in this bill as to the above amount; but the conversion privilege which we provide in the bill for these $5,000,000,000 is to be extended to this $63,000,000 and to this $472,000,000.

The conversion privilege provided in this bill is this: If at any time between now and the 31st day of December, 1918, the Government shall issue bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than the bonds provided for in this bill, the holders of the bonds now to be issued will be given the privilege of converting their bonds into bonds bearing the higher rate of interest; and this privilege is extended to these other bonds which I have mentioned, when they shall have been issued. The purpose of extending this privilege to these other bonds is manifest. It would be difficult to sell them at the rate of interest prescribed in the present law, which is 3 per cent, while other bonds of the Government are selling for 3½ per cent. Indeed the conditions which confront us make it quite likely that we will have in the near future to issue another large block of bonds, and if it were known that the interest on the future issues will be, as it likely will have to be, still higher, it would add to the difficulty of floating these bonds at this time if no conversion privilege were given.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. CURTIS. I should like to ask the Senator if he has reference to the bonds mentioned in section 4?

Mr. SIMMONS. I did have reference to those, in part; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Can the Senator tell the Senate the amount covered by section 4? I understood the Senator to say about $472,000,000. As originally reported, if we include the sixty-three millions, it runs up to about $535,000,000.

Mr. SIMMONS. The $472,000,000 does not include the $63,000,000.

Mr. CURTIS. It does not? That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not know whether the Secretary of the Treasury has made a mistake in reporting to the committee the amount of Panama bonds that is unissued or not; but the Senator will remember that when, at the last session, the bill providing revenue was under discussion the same question arose. The committee of the House reported then that there was $222,000,000 worth of Panama bonds still available to be issued. The same committee reports the same amount of Panama bonds authorized to be issued to-day and takes that figure and adds it to the $100,000,000 and the $150,000,000 authorized by special act of Congress, making $472,000,000 worth of bonds to be taken up as soon as the 3½ per cent bonds are issued. Now, I do not know that it makes any particular difference——

Mr. SIMMONS. It makes no difference at all.

Mr. SMOOT. Because I think that under the bill itself the Treasury will be authorized to take up all of them, no matter what amount they are; but in order that there may be no mistake I want to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that there is still a balance of bonds authorized but not issued, speaking of the Panama Canal bonds, of $240,569,000, instead of $222,000,000. I do this for the RECORD, Mr. President. I am quite sure that it does not make any difference, as far as the bill is concerned, because the bill authorizes the taking up of all of the Panama Canal bonds, or converting them into the new bonds.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise to express the hope that the Senator from North Carolina may be permitted to proceed with and conclude his statement without further interruption. I am sure the Senate will get a very much better understanding of the matter if he is permitted to proceed in that way and if Senators will withhold their suggestions and questions until his remarks are concluded.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Missouri for that suggestion, although I have but very little more to say about this matter.

The Senator from Utah made during the last session the point which he now makes with reference to the amount of Panama bonds which are still available for issue. I did not then have any definite information further than a statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, and I have none now; but I think that matter is wholly immaterial, in view of the fact that the Secretary can not issue any greater amount of bonds than are necessary to cover the expenses provided for by law. If there are more of the Panama bonds available than we have thought, then the amount that will have to be taken care of by new bonds will be less. If there are less of the Panama bonds than we thought, then the amount that will have to be taken care of by new bonds will be greater. So I think it is not a material or a practical question.

Mr. President, the bill further provides for an issue by the Secretary of the Treasury, as they may be needed, of the sum of $2,000,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness. The certificates are to bear the same rate of interest as the bonds, but they are not to run for a longer period than one year. The purpose of giving this authority I think will be clear to the Senators when they consider the fact that a large part of the taxes that we have heretofore provided for preparedness purposes and a large part of the tax which it is probable we will hereafter levy for war purposes, will not become due in the manner in which our tariff taxes and our internal-revenue taxes, upon which heretofore we have relied to support the Government, have become due—that is, regularly from month to month—but nearly the whole of them will become due during the last months of the fiscal year, giving rise during the other months of the fiscal year to a condition in the Treasury which might become embarrassing unless the Secretary were authorized to make temporary loans for the purpose of securing the money to meet the expenses of the Government, to be refunded or paid when the taxes are due. Then, Mr. President, of course there may be, as there frequently has been in the past, a miscalculation as to the amount that will be realized from taxes imposed; and in view of that it will be necessary for the Secretary to have some authority to provide against that contingency.

In the business in which we are about to engage, especially unless Congress shall remain in continuous session, it seems to me that every consideration of prudence requires that we should so arm the Secretary of the Treasury with authority with reference to quickly securing money that the operations of the Government would not be liable to embarrassment by reason of a lack of funds in the Treasury. Of course, Mr. President, it is not provided when he shall issue these certificates; it is not provided how many of these certificates he shall issue; but, trusting the Secretary and the President in this matter as we have trusted them in practically all the other essential things except the interest rate on the bonds, we give him full and plenary authority to issue these certificates to meet any indebtedness that has been authorized by law and which the Treasury has not the money to meet otherwise than by a loan.

Mr. President, I might as well state here—it is not in the bill as it came from the House, but your committee has recommended that it be incorporated in the bill—the fact that it was thought wise by the Secretary and by the committee to enlarge somewhat the authority of the department with reference to the deposit in the financial institutions of the country of such funds as might come into the Treasury as the result of this great bond sale; and your committee has prepared an amendment providing that the Secretary of the Treasury may deposit this money, upon the usual terms, in any of the banks or the trust companies of the country, to be selected by him.

Any other provision to which I probably should refer is that providing for the expenses of these issues. The bill as originally reported by the Ways and Means Committee provided for one-fifth of 1 per cent upon the bonds and one-tenth of 1 per cent upon the certificates of indebtedness. Objection was made on the floor of the House to the amount allowed for floating the bonds, and the House reduced the amount from one-fifth to one-tenth of 1 per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury is of the opinion that this amount may not be sufficient, but the Finance Committee, though somewhat reluctantly, decided to accept the House rate and hope the effort I am advised may be made to further reduce this amount will not prevail.

I have confined myself in this statement to a general explanation of the terms of the bill. I do not know whether that was necessary, because the bill has been read to the Senate; but as there has been very little time for the investigation and consideration of this matter since the bill was reported, I thought probably it would be some help to the Senate for me to make a brief, concrete statement as to the essential provisions contained in the bill.

Mr. President, I think the general purposes and objects of this great bond issue, the greatest that has ever been proposed in this or in any country in the world, at any time in the history of the world, are known and understood by practically all the

people of this country. I think the purposes embodied in this legislation are not only known and understood, but have the hearty approval and sanction of the great mass and body of the American people. I do not think that there is any longer necessity to discuss the determination of the American people which lies behind this legislation and which has prompted it and carried it through the other House by a vote without a dissenting voice, and which I hope will take it through this House by a vote without a dissenting voice.

The time for discussion, certainly for discussion of the purpose of the American people, has passed. The time for action has arrived. The decree has been entered solemnly after long hesitation and much deliberation. After reflection, study, discussion on the floor of Congress and in all the vehicles of publicity throughout the country, the people have decided to take the step which has been taken. What the people desire now is that everything necessary to give effect to their purpose, as declared in the act of Congress, shall be done, and done with that quickness and dispatch which the exigencies of the situation demand. With this object and end in view, solemnly the Congress of the United States, speaking for the American people and reflecting their judgment and purpose, pledged to the Commander in Chief of the armies and the navies of the United States, in carrying out their mandate, all the resources of the country.

The step has been taken. The time for counting the cost and the consequences is past. We must press forward. We must get solidly behind the administration. Our pledges of support must be backed by action; the Commander in Chief of the forces of the United States must have at his control every resource of men and money required to bring the great undertaking in which we are now engaged to a successful issue.

Time, therefore, has become of the very essence of the great business in which we are engaged. I trust that we will take counsel from the warning of Britain's great premier when a few days ago he expressed the hope we would not make the mistake which the allies had made in ignoring time as a prime factor in the great work we have undertaken.

Since we have entered upon this thing, let us put aside all doubts and avoid the dangers of procrastination. Let us do whatever is necessary for our own preparedness to help our allies across the water to more effectually fight their battles and our battles.

Mr. President, I had hoped, and I still hope, that before this day ends, before the Senate again adjourns, we shall pass this bill. I do not know anything that we can do at this time which will give so much hope, so much comfort, so much confidence to our allies who are in the travails of war as prompt and united and whole-hearted action in the passage of this measure. It will convey to them the unmistakable assurance and guaranty that the United States has embarked on this matter in earnest; that there is to be no halting, no back stepping; that all our strength and all our resources, at whatever cost of money or sacrifice of life and human comfort, are to be thrown in the scale with them in the great fight that they are making across the water in behalf of liberty, in behalf of humanity, in behalf of that vital principle out of which the American Union sprang, the principle of representative government.

I do not think we can do anything that will bring discouragement, that will carry greater terror to the hearts and so paralyze the energies of those who fight to maintain that discarded and hated principle of autocracy among men, so certainly, so surely, as a whole-hearted, a quick response to the call that is now made upon us for money to prepare ourselves and to aid our allies in the great contest in which we are jointly engaged.

Mr. President, in these circumstances to vote for this measure to provide the means to carry out our pledges and to do the things we have commanded the chief of our armies and navies to do in our name—to vote the necessary money to do these things and do it in a way that will be a guarantee to the allies of our purpose to continue to do whatever may be necessary for the success of our cause and their cause to the very end—I esteem an act of patriotism, duty, and high privilege.

When the two great statesmen Great Britain and France have sent to this country, who now occupy seats in the cabinets of their respective Governments, shall arrive here to-morrow, accompanied by some of the great military and naval chieftains of their respective nations, for the purpose of conferring with the President as to how we may best cooperate together for the accomplishment of our common purpose in this high undertaking in which we are now jointly enlisted, I earnestly hope we shall be able to say to them, "To aid you and to prepare and equip ourselves to efficiently do our part in the great struggle we have just passed, by a unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress, the greatest budget that has ever been enacted by the legislation of any nation in the world, a budget that carries many times more money than your first war budget and your second war budget and perhaps your third war budget put together, a sum so stupendous that it staggers the imagination and mind of man."

I hope we shall be able to say to them "Wire back the tidings to the boys in the trenches; wire back the tidings to Russia, now in the throes and chaos of revolutions; wire back the tidings to the struggling heroes of Belgium and Italy and France that the great Republic of the west is unitedly with them with all of its great strength of men and money to the end."

If we can do that, Mr. President, I think some of the troubles that threaten the European situation, some of the troubles that have given concern and apprehension to our allies, will be at once remedied, will be at once relieved, and that the war in Europe will be conducted perhaps upon a plane and with a spirit that has probably been heretofore lacking on the part of some of our allies.

Mr. President, there is probably but little else we can now do to help our allies. We have not the men to send over there at present to help fight our battles; our Navy possibly can be of but very little use in present conditions. It will be long, weary months of waiting before we shall be able to render much assistance to our allies in the field. The help this bill offers is an earnest and a guaranty which carries hope and assurance of greater assistance and helpfulness in the future. It will assure them that in this great cause we stand ready to risk life and fortune. Let us do this heartily, cordially, unanimously, and without hesitation; let us do it in the spirit of men who thoroughly understand and comprehend the great cause in which we are fighting, the great thing that we are undertaking, and who are entering into it without thought of profit, without thought of financial loss, without thought of the bodily discomfort, without thought of the sacrifice, but ready and willing to make every sacrifice, even of our lives and our fortunes, in defense of our outraged rights in the cause of democracy and humanity throughout the broad expanse of the earth.

Mr. PENROSE obtained the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I want to ask the Senator from North Carolina a question before the Senator from Pennsylvania proceeds.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KNOX in the chair). Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. PENROSE. I yield for a question, but do not yield the floor.

Mr. NORRIS. May I make an inquiry of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] in regard to section 5 of the pending bill? I desire to ask the Senator if in the legislation of the Spanish-American War or of the War Between the States there was any similar provision, or if the allies in the issuing of their bonds have any similar provision contained in the acts authorizing their bond issues? I refer to the section relative to the conversion of these bonds into bonds drawing a higher rate of interest if we should later on issue such bonds. Can the Senator from North Carolina state whether or not there has been any precedent for this proposed legislation?

Mr. SIMMONS. If the Senator will permit me, I will say my impression is that practically the legislation of all of these foreign powers contains similar provisions in reference to their bond issues.

Mr. LODGE. They all have it.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is thought necessary, and I think is necessary.

Mr. LODGE. I understand that all such legislation contains the conversion privilege.

Mr. NORRIS. But have we so provided heretofore? For instance, in the legislation relative to the Spanish-American War did we have any such provision?

Mr. SIMMONS. No; but, as the Senator from Nebraska knows, that was a small scrap that we got into, and no one supposed it would require very much money. Consequently, there was no anticipation that in the near future there would have to be large additional bond issues for that purpose.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to say to the Senator from North Carolina—I am asking this question purely for information—it seemed to me on first blush that section 5 was unnecessary and would only result in our being compelled to pay a higher rate of interest on the bonds that had already been sold; and I wondered whether or not we had ever previously enacted similar legislation.

Mr. SIMMONS. No, Mr. President, we have never previously passed such legislation, for the reason that there never has been

an occasion which seemed to demand that it be enacted or which seemed to make it necessary that it be done.

I think, however, that it has been the experience of the European Governments that it has been found necessary, in order to float subsequent bonds, to raise the rate of interest, and as the total amount of the bond issue increased that the interest has been constantly raised. That will likely be our experience. Now, can not the Senator from Nebraska see that if we do not in this first issue provide for giving investors the benefit of any higher rate that we may have to pay hereafter, in a very short time there would be great hesitation on the part of capital to invest and a disposition to wait until the exigencies of the Government were greater, when they probably might be able to get a higher rate of interest; and in the anticipation and hope of getting a higher rate of interest they would merely keep out of the market for the present, so that there might be an utter failure on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury to float the present issue. It was that situation and that attitude of the human mind—especially the mind of the investing public—which led to the suggestion that in this respect we should follow the precedent set by the other Governments engaged in war.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, supplementing what the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] has stated in reply to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], although the inquiry was not addressed to me, I will say it is very evident to those conversant with these financial matters that this loan can not be floated unless this conversion privilege is accorded the bonds.

Mr. President, I do not intend to detain the Senate at this time with any prolonged observations upon the pending bill. The Committee on Finance, with practical unanimity, reserving personal opinion and reserving the right to vote on details, agreed to report the measure, and the chairman of the committee has stated in a general way the purposes of this loan bill, which has passed the House unanimously, according to my recollection, with one Member not voting.

It is well known, Mr. President, that I have been rather aggressive in this body during the last three or four years in opposing the majority program of direct taxes. I have labored at considerable length, although without any practical result, in opposition to the various revenue bills brought in by the majority and ultimately passed, and I have endeavored to present some of my own views and those of many of the minority regarding what should be the policy of the United States in these matters. The minority has been quite unanimously opposed, Mr. President, to the issue of any loan or any bond issue, particularly for such projects as an armor plant, a nitrate plant, a shipping board, and the several other projects for which loans are now being issued.

I do not, of course, at this time intend to enter into any discussion regarding financial policies. The majority and minority are united in a single patriotic purpose to sustain the Government and to exert the full power of the Nation in this state of war, which has been declared by Congress. Therefore the minority will support this loan bill, regardless of any individual or partisan views which may be entertained by them.

It is well known, Mr. President, that I have not been in political sympathy with the President of the United States in his international policies in connection with Mexico and during the last two or three years in other directions, and yet all those differences are laid aside by me, and I intend by my vote and voice in every way to support the Government and do what I can to bring this war to a successful conclusion.

This loan bill, Mr. President, is only part of the general fiscal program which will come before the Congress. It will be followed in a few days by an equally important bill providing for direct taxes to meet a part of the current expenses required in this emergency. The loan authorized in this bill, in my opinion, is not a large one when we consider the resources of the country, nor is it large when we come to sift the general character of it. Three billion dollars of it goes to the allies, or so much thereof as may be required; so that practically only $2,000,000,000 of permanent loan is being incurred for actual expenditures. Another $2,000,000,000 in the form of certificates of indebtedness to anticipate the taxes already provided for is authorized.

Mr. President, if we get the American Nation upon an adequate basis of preparedness by this expenditure of $2,000,000,000, I think we will be amply compensated for the expense incurred, and it will be a happy outcome of this whole discussion if by the end of two or three years, with the money herein authorized and hereafter to be provided, we shall have an Army and Navy worthy of the greatness and the power of the country and able to defend the American Republic from attacks from every quarter of the world. I repeat, Mr. President, that the loan is not large in proportion to the enormous wealth of the country.

How much of these current expenses ought to be met out of loans and how much out of taxes will have to be considered when the revenue bill comes to the Senate. I understand the English Government is now paying some 25 per cent of annual expenditures from annual taxation. During the Civil War, my recollection is, about 33 per cent of the annual expenses was paid from taxes and the rest from bond issues.

The Secretary of the Treasury has communicated to the committees of both Houses a statement of sources of revenue which would aggregate some $1,800,000,000 in round figures. If they should all be embodied in the tax law that amount of revenue of course would be raised annually. If it shall be deemed wiser in the next 10 days to raise a much smaller amount from direct taxes, 25 per cent or 50 per cent, whichever might be considered proper for the present generation to raise, it could be provided for from among those subjects of taxation and a further loan of, say, $500,000,000, more or less, could be provided for in the coming revenue bill to defray the balance of the estimated expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year, so that the real subject will come up when the question of direct taxes is before the Senate.

I think, Mr. President, it is desirable for me to call the attention of the Senate, and of the country, and to embody in my brief statement the fact that this bill also authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue the remaining bonds still available to be issued under the Panama Canal bond provision of section 39 of the revenue act of August 5, 1909; the bonds authorized for the construction of the nitrate plant in section 124 of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916; the bonds authorized under section 13 of the shipping act of September 7, 1916; the bonds authorized under section 400 of the revenue act of March 3, 1917; and those authorized under public resolution of March 4, 1917, bearing interest at not to exceed 3½ per cent per annum and subject to the conversion privilege should a subsequent series of bonds be issued prior to December 31, 1918, carrying a higher rate of interest.

This paragraph, Mr. President, was desirable because the Secretary of the Treasury at the present time has authority to issue $472,000,000 worth of bonds. Two hundred and twenty-two million dollars are still available to be issued under the Panama Canal bond provision of the revenue act of August 5, 1909. The revenue act of March 3, 1917, authorizes the issuance of $100,000,000; the public resolution of March 4, 1917, authorizes the issue of $150,000,000; and the national-defense act authorizes the issue of Panama Canal bonds for the construction of a nitrate plant. The shipping act likewise authorizes the issue of Panama Canal bonds for the purpose of that act.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. PENROSE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Would the Senator object to including in his remarks the different projects covered by section 4—the nitrate plant, the armor plant, and so on?

Mr. PENROSE. I am glad to have the Senator from Kansas call attention to these projects.

Mr. CURTIS. These appropriations, as I understand, include $20,000,000 for the nitrate plant, $50,000,000 for the Shipping Board, $11,000,000 for the armor-plate factory, $3,000,000 for the Alaskan Railroad, $25,000,000 for the Danish West Indies, and the expenditures in connection with the Mexican situation; all, I understand, are included in section 4, and the amount covered by section 4 is about $472,000,000.

Mr. PENROSE. Yes; they are in the acts enumerated. When these projects were authorized it was expected that nearly all of them would be provided for out of current revenues. Now, in the general authorization of loans for the war advantage is taken of the general situation to cover them in and relieve the current revenues from the burden of many ill-advised, unnecessary, and extravagant projects, and the many millions wasted in the Mexican situation.

Mr. President, I have reserved the right to vote for amendments to this bill, and amendments will be offered. In my opinion, at least one amendment will be offered from the minority side which is highly desirable, and should be adopted. After these amendments have been offered and considered, I have no doubt that a vote on the bill will be reached soon, and I hope it will be passed to-day.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I am very much impressed with the statement of the chairman of the Finance Committee that the time for discussion has passed. I crave only a few moments of the time of the Senate upon this important bill to state the conclusions which impel me to vote for its adoption.

I voted for the resolution declaring a state of war and authorizing its prosecution. I said nothing upon that resolution. I did not vote for it lightly, however, but after the most careful consideration. For those who differed with me I make no charge of disloyalty. It was a grave question, on which the American people might differ. But I am ready, now and at any time, to assume my share of the responsibility for that vote, or to leave it to the judgment of history.

I shall not take the time of the Senate to go over those questions and events, fresh in the mind of every American citizen and of the world, which impelled me to cast my vote to plunge this country into war; but in passing I wish to say that I believe we had the most justifiable grounds. I shall not stop to discuss them. Our treaties, which had been in existence for more than 100 years, had been ruthlessly violated; the pathways of the ocean had been closed to our commerce and to the commerce of neutral nations; our ships had been destroyed. But if our injuries had been confined to that, and even confined to the plotting of diplomatic agents and hired spies in this country or to inciting to war our neighbors with whom we are at peace, I might have said that we could wait until after this great conflict had passed and settle the damages with Germany. But, Mr. President, Germany made war upon American territory, American ships, and ruthlessly, by order of her Government, destroyed American lives; and we can not barter American lives for German gold or hawk American honor in the mailed markets of Europe. There is a price which a nation may be called on to pay for peace which no nation can afford to pay, and I believed we had reached the time when we had to call a halt, and, in the interest of humanity—and it is not the first time—engage in this conflict in Europe.

But, Mr. President, I have said more upon this subject—these being the grounds for the vote I cast—than I had intended. We have declared war. We have joined our forces in the greatest conflict of history, and I wish to raise my voice in warning that the war has not ended by its declaration. I do not share the opinion that the central empires to-day—the greatest military power the world has ever seen—are exhausted. Their territory is still intact. Remember, they have financed the war by borrowing the money from their own people, economically the strongest position in which they could be placed, and paying it back again to their people for the products to carry on that conflict. Their farms and their territory have not been laid waste, and the world is yet confronted with the greatest military power that time, national efficiency, and absolute power can produce.

To the east is Russia; and while I do not wish to discuss before the Senate anything which would be indelicate in our relations with foreign countries, I believe that the only hope of Russia in this war is the great heart of democracy. We must remember that no perfect democracy springs in a day from absolute imperial power. We must remember that on one side they are beset with plotting royalists and on the other by the discontented anarchists and socialists. I believe there would have been no hope for that nation carrying on to a successful issue the great war had it not been for the fact that the democratic principle came to the surface at the right time. But the Russian Army to-day, if I am correctly informed, is weaker than any day since the beginning of the war; and we must remember that France, upon the west, has been straining every nerve and employing every man and using all her resources to carry on this mighty conflict. How long she can carry it on, I do not know.

As I say, I am going to vote for this bill. We are at war. After two years and a half of discussion, the greatest legislative body of the Nation has deliberately adopted the resolution and we have crossed that bridge. I believe that we should carry on that war with all our resources, with all our power, and do it in a way that will be most effective.

I am not disturbed, Mr. President, with the feeling that we are departing from American traditions by engaging in an alliance with European nations. If we are to make war upon European nations, we can only do it in concert with those who are now carrying on the war. We can not reach German territory, and Germany can not reach ours, except upon the high seas. We can not enter independently and separately and by ourselves, a war which has been waged in the interest of humanity and the world's democracy for two and a half years. We can not successfully carry on such a war without allies.

Nor am I disturbed by what I have heard many times since this question became imminent—that by joining this war we are going to involve ourselves in the entanglements which must necessarily come in European politics when the conflict shall cease. By joining a war to defeat Germany, we are not going to say what indemnity Belgium shall demand, or whether France shall make peace with or without Alsace-Lorraine; nor are we going to decide whether there shall be an independent Poland. I believe the President did at one time say something about "peace without victory," and an independent Poland; but I take it, Mr. President, from his last address delivered to this Congress, in the face of impending war, that the President has changed his mind. Nor are we going to say whether Italy shall receive back the Trentino, or are we going to engage in the politics of the Balkan Peninsula, or insist that Russia shall realize her dream of the Golden Horn. Those are questions with which we do not concern ourselves by engaging in the war against what we call a great military autocracy.

As I said before, I had hoped for months and months that some way might be found whereby American rights might be protected, and American honor sustained, and American citizens' lives protected, without resorting to the arbitrament of war, but I came reluctantly to the conclusion that that could not be, and that there would be no peace in the world or security for this Nation until that Prussian dynasty, not a democracy, was forever driven from power.

I was in Europe when the war broke out, and I have a more or less intimate acquaintance in the German Empire and in the countries now at war with her. I found among the people of Germany and the people of France no hatred for each other, and they could not understand why they were to be plunged into the horrors of a war. I believe I understand it. I believe there is involved in this war something more than the expansion of trade, the ambition of empire, or the lust of conquest. I believe it to be the old, old struggle—as old as civilization itself—between absolute autocratic power and the growth of democracy.

Mr. President, this, of course, as everyone knows, is a most remarkable period of world history. The close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries was also a remarkable period. It witnessed, for the first time in centuries, the establishment and the growth of democracy. It saw the light of a new Republic raised in the western skies; and the French Revolution and the great Napoleonic wars which followed it were the beginning of the end of absolute monarchy and absolute power. The lapse of 100 years has seen tremendous progress in the development of government. It has seen the greatest part of the civilized world at last joined by Imperial Russia. It has witnessed a development of a large degree of self-government among the leading nations of the world, where the people have a voice in their affairs. But there is one autocracy—and I do not say one unkind word for the great, progressive, wonderful German people—there is one autocracy or one military power which has not yet felt the march of progress, and that is the German Empire. There has not been a change of parties in that Empire since the days of Bismarck.

Mr. President, I am going to support this bill. I am going to support the legislation necessary to place the power in this Government to take part in a war which I had hoped and prayed might never come. But I do so with the realization that this colossal loan and these taxes may be but a beginning, and that the American people may hereafter be called upon to make sacrifices that they have not yet dreamed of.

I believe, however, that in the progress of the world if we expect in this land to enjoy the blessings of liberty, we must be true to those ideals on which that liberty is founded, and that in the interests of our institutions and freedom of our great democracy we are called upon to-day to make that sacrifice. I believe the time has come when we must respond.

I thank the Senate.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I approve the expressed desire of the chairman of the Committee on Finance to conclude the consideration of this bill to-day. I wish to aid him in reaching that result. I would not take the time of the Senate for a moment, except that I feel constrained in justice to myself to state my attitude.

We are dealing with a great subject of present moment, but a subject which has a far-reaching future significance. Because of its future significance I feel I should say what I have in mind to say. This may not be, probably will not be, of special interest to Senators who hear me, but it is of great interest to me and to mine. I do not expect to take more than 30 minutes of the time of the Senate to say what I have in mind to say, and I hope I may say that without interruption, and this for the reason that I fear interruptions might lead me far afield in discussion, and thus possibly subject me to the criticism of having unduly consumed the time of the Senate. I have been heretofore subjected to that kind of criticism, although unjustified.

Mr. President, the bond issues authorized by the pending bill are divided into two classes—bonds for the benefit of our allies, and bonds for our own uses. I speak, first, of that provision of the bill which authorizes the issue of $3,000,000,000 of bonds to be used in establishing credits for our war allies in Europe. In effect these $3,000,000,000 bonds, or their proceeds, are to be in the nature of a loan to our European allies; but the loan is to be secured by the bonds of the borrowers, respectively; that is, each Government borrowing will issue its own bonds in an amount equal to its loan to be held by the United States as security in each case. This $3,000,000,000 issue, therefore, will be so secured as to take care of itself, without imposing a substantial burden on the American Government or people, provided we lose nothing on the bonds we receive.

As a general proposition I approve and support the purposes for which this particular bond issue is made. I approve it as a war measure—not otherwise. I say it will not ultimately be a burden on the American people, provided the Governments to which loans shall be made will be able to take care of their exchange bonds delivered to us. Having cast our fortunes with the allies, we must work with them and aid them. In aiding them to more effectively prosecute the war, no doubt at the same time we aid ourselves. Nevertheless, I would not be understood as saying that in extending these credits to our allies we are not rendering them a very important and valuable service. I think the service we thus render is both very important and very valuable. That is all I care to say at this time about this particular bond issue.

AS TO THE OTHER BONDS.

I wish now to speak very briefly about the $2,000,000,000 of bonds and the $2,000,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness authorized to be issued by the bill, not for the use of foreign Governments, but for the use of our own Government in prosecuting such activities as this Government may undertake upon its own account as a participant in the war. It is proposed by the bill to raise $4,000,000,000 for the use of this Government for the purposes stated. According to the program outlined by the bill it is proposed to divide this sum of $4,000,000,000 so as to halve it between bonds and taxes. In other words, it is proposed to issue $2,000,000,000 of 3½ per cent bonds to run for such a term of years as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, and in addition thereto to issue $2,000,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness bearing the same rate of interest, and be made payable within one year from the date of issue. These certificates of indebtedness are to be issued in anticipation of taxes to be levied and raised to pay them off as they mature. To accomplish that it will be necessary to increase taxation upon a large number of articles. It may be stated that these certificates of indebtedness are really tax certificates to be paid out of the current revenues of the Government. As I have said, both these bonds and certificates are to bear interest at the rate of 3½ per cent per annum, and both are also to be made exempt from all forms of taxation—Federal, State, and municipal.

Mr. President, at this point I desire to read an editorial article clipped from the Wall Street Journal of April 13, four days ago. It is as follows:

WE CAN NOT AFFORD FAILURE.

It is imperative that the first war loan of the United States shall be a success from the moment it is issued. We can not afford failure. When we enter the war for democracy as the richest Nation in the world, we can not afford to be laughed at for our inability to handle our mobile wealth in war. It is not the bankers, but the people that absorb Government issues. The bankers are merely the distributing middlemen.

With the serious consequences of a failure in view, Congress should see to it that no restriction is placed upon Secretary McAdoo as to the rate of interest. Congress is in no position to say that there is any such terrific sum as $5,000,000,000 waiting for prompt investment at 3½ per cent, and only requiring to be withdrawn from the savings banks and other depositories. Hundreds of thousands of depositors may never hear of the loan at all, or hear of it too late.

We are giving Mr. McAdoo full discretion in all details of the loan other than interest. But it is that detail which is more important than all the others, and that the loan shall be attractive is essential to any success. That success will go a long way to hearten the democracies of the world, but nothing could encourage Germany or discourage our allies more than to have our first war loan lamentably undersubscribed. There must be a premium from the start.

Congress sometimes forgets that while Government can commandeer inheritances, incomes, business, and property, as well as the lives and services of the citizens, it can not commandeer public subscription. It can only invite such subscription, and, therefore, the form and terms of the invitation are of the most far-reaching importance. A poor reception of the loan might have the gravest consequences in promoting home disorder by showing weakness to the enemy within, as well as to the enemy without.

We can not afford failure.

Here is a covert plea for a higher rate of interest on the bonds. I have read this for two reasons; first, to exhibit it as a fine example of Wall Street patriotism, if I may be permitted to say this without subjecting myself to an indictment for treason; and, secondly, to make a remark or two with especial relation to one clause in the article quoted. That clause I will reread:

Congress sometimes forgets that while Government can commandeer inheritances, incomes, business, and property, as well as the lives and services of the citizens, it can not commandeer public subscription.

That is true; but as this article itself admits, there are things that Congress can "commandeer." The Congress can, through the taxing power, "commandeer" any per cent of the surplus wealth of the country deemed necessary to meet the financial needs of the Government. That we can commandeer.

Mr. President, I beg leave further to say that if I could have my way—which, of course, I can not—I would hesitate to authorize the issuance of the $2,000,000,000 bonds about which I am now speaking, and I certainly would not issue more than half that amount.

If I could have my way—now, let me stop right here to interject. Senators, what are we here considering at this time? We are embarked upon a great war. The honor of the Nation is at stake; yes, the honor and the resources of the Nation are pledged to the due prosecution of this war. Every Senator and every true American must help keep that pledge to the letter. Any man who does not feel and act that way commits an offense even morally, if not technically, worse than treason, for he brands himself with the stamp of disloyalty to his Nation. But in the prosecution of a great war it is certainly within the province of the Congress which declares the war, and without whose authority there can be no legal status of war, to determine the best means of prosecuting the war and the best means of producing the necessary revenue to support the Government in its time of stress. Can not we say what we think? Should we not do so? I think and feel—I can not be convinced otherwise—that it is the legitimate function of the Congress that each Senator and Representative should express his own opinion, if, indeed, he has an opinion of his own. Do you not think so? Anyhow, I do, and, so help me God, I will stand by that position at all hazards.

If I could have my way, I would at least cut this two-billion-dollar issue half in two, so that the bond issue would be reduced to $1,000,000,000, and transfer the other billion provided for and merge it into certificates of indebtedness, so as to make the issue of certificates $3,000,000,000 instead of $2,000,000,000.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENDRICK in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. STONE. If the Senator really desires to interrupt me——

Mr. BORAH. I believe the Senator did suggest that he did not want to be interrupted.

Mr. STONE. Whenever the Senator from Idaho asks me to yield I can not resist him.

Mr. BORAH. As I understand the position of the Senator—and that is the only question I desire to ask—does the Senator think that the present generation should, through taxation, take care of more than——

Mr. STONE. I am going to discuss that.

Mr. BORAH. I understand the Senator is going to discuss it, but the idea of the Senator in changing it from bonds to certificates is on the theory of having this generation take care of that much more of the indebtedness.

Mr. STONE. The Senator has my idea.

Mr. BORAH. I wish to say also that I am in full sympathy with the Senator's view.

Mr. STONE. I am glad to know that, and I am not at all surprised.

The effect of that—that is to say, that you may catch the connection—the effect of cutting the two-billion-dollar bonds to one billion and increasing the two-billion certificates of indebtedness to three billion would be to increase by one-third the amount to be paid practically during the war out of the current revenue collections. I would do that, Mr. President, because, according to my view of what is best promotive of the public good, it is wiser to pay as we go in great national emergencies. In the long run I think that plan would be infinitely better and cheaper. In the end I believe the Nation would be far better off if the burden of carrying on war or of meeting any other form of emergency requiring great expenditures, if the requirements of the Government should be met by taxes levied on the wealth of the country and widely distributed over substantially the whole field of our industrial life instead of transmitting the burden to future generations as a mortgage on the industrial and laboring interests of those who are to succeed us and who have no voice in what we do to-day.

As individuals we are careful to guard the estates we leave to our children against burdens which impair their value and which may embarrass those to whom we affectionately transmit what we have accumulated for their future welfare. Why should not the same principle apply when, as a nation made up of fathers and mothers, we come to deal with public affairs; and particularly when, as in the case now immediately before us, we come to deal with a subject wherein we have the choice of determining whether we will ourselves bear the burden of our own course of public conduct or transmit the burden to our children?

I know that this view is the absolute converse of the view which has been expressed in our hearing by other Senators. I have no desire to absorb the time of the Senate in a useless, unavailing discussion of this subject. Nevertheless, I feel unwilling to allow the bill to go to a vote without expressing my conviction that the bill would have been more wisely constructed if it had been framed on the lines I have suggested. The lines I have suggested are those I understood the President to substantially commit himself in his address to the joint session of the Congress on the second day of this month. Let me read what he said. In telling the Congress what they would be obliged to meet in the grave exigencies confronting the country, among other things, he said:

> It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

I think I am following the President's thought in what I have been saying, not only in what I have quoted but in other recommendations he has made to Congress when tax questions were before us. I think I am in accord with the views the President has expressed more than once in this behalf.

Here I wish to have read an excerpt from the "Principles of Political Economy," by John Stuart Mill, and also a comment on the text covered by this quotation from the pen of Prof. J. Lawrence Laughlin, one of the greatest students and most authoritative writers on economic questions in America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

[From John Stuart Mill.]

"This leads to the vexed question to which Dr. Chalmers has very particularly adverted: Whether the funds required by a government for extraordinary unproductive expenditure are best raised by loans, the interest only being provided by taxes, or whether taxes should be at once laid onto the whole amount, which is called, in the financial vocabulary, raising the whole of the supplies within the year. Dr. Chalmers is strongly for the latter method. He says the common notion is that, in calling for the whole amount in one year, you require what is either impossible or very inconvenient; that the people can not, without great hardship, pay the whole at once out of their yearly income; and that it is much better to require of them a small payment every year in the shape of interest than so great a sacrifice once for all. To which his answer is that the sacrifice is made equally in either case. Whatever is spent can not but be drawn from yearly income. The whole and every part of the wealth produced in the country forms, or helps to form, the yearly income of somebody. The privation which it is supposed must result from taking the amount in the shape of taxes is not avoided by taking it in a loan. The suffering is not averted, but only thrown upon the laboring classes, the least able, and who least ought to bear it; while all the inconveniences, physical, moral, and political, produced by maintaining taxes for the perpetual payment of the interest, are incurred in pure loss. Whenever capital is withdrawn from production or from the fund destined for production, to be lent to the State and expended unproductively, that whole sum is withheld from the laboring classes; the loan, therefore, is in truth paid off the same year; the whole of the sacrifice necessary for paying it off is actually made, only it is paid to the wrong persons and therefore does not extinguish the claim, and paid by the very worst of taxes, a tax exclusively on the laboring class. And, after having in this most painful and unjust of ways gone through the whole effort necessary for extinguishing the debt, the country remains charged with it and with the payment of its interest in perpetuity." (Chap. 4, pp. 85–87.)

[Prof. Laughlin's Comments.]

"The United States, for example, borrows capital from A, with which it buys stores from B. If the loan all comes from within the country, A's capital is borrowed, when the United States should have taken that amount outright by taxation. When the money is borrowed of A, the laborers undergo the sacrifice, the title to the whole sum remains in A's hands, and the claim against the Government by A still exists, while, if the amount were taken by taxation, the title to the sum raised is in the State, and it is paid to the right person.

"The experience of the United States during the Civil War is an illustration of this principle. It is asserted that, as a matter of fact, the total expenses of the war were defrayed by the Northern States, during the four years of its continuance, out of surplus earnings; and yet at the close of the conflict a debt of $2,800,000,000 was saddled on the country.

The United States borrowed	$2,400,000,000
Revenue during that time	1,700,000,000
Total cost of the war	4,100,000,000

"In reality we borrowed only about $1,500,000,000, instead of $2,400,000,000, since (1) the Government issued paper which depreciated and yet received it at par in subscriptions for loans. Moreover, the total cost would have been much reduced had we issued no paper and (2) thereby not increased the prices of goods to the State, and (3) if no interest account had been created by borrowing. But could the country have raised the whole sum each year by taxation? In the first fiscal year after the war the United States paid in war taxes $650,000,000. At the beginning of the struggle, to June 30, 1862, the expenditure was $515,000,000 and by June 30, 1863, it had amounted to $1,098,000,000, so that $600,000,000 of taxes a year would have paid the war expenses and left us free of debt at the close.

"A confirmatory experience is that of England during the continental wars, 1793–1817:

Total war expenditures	£1,060,000,000
Interest charge on the existing debt	235,000,000
Total amount required	1,295,000,000
Revenue for that period	1,145,000,000
Deficit	150,000,000

"To provide for this deficit the Government actually increased its debt by £600,000,000. A slight additional exertion would have provided £150,000,000 more of revenue and saved £450,000,000 to the taxpayers." (Same reference.)

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, as I see it, the views of the President, of Mr. Mill, and of Prof. Laughlin are substantially in accord, and it is needless to say that I am in accord with them.

A word more and I am through. It is contrary to all my teaching and it is impossible for me to believe that a great interest-bearing, nontaxable public indebtedness, represented in the form of bonds, is a public blessing; I regard it as quite the contrary. Here we propose to concentrate and lock up two thousand *million* dollars of the Nation's surplus wealth in just such bonds. The men of great wealth will naturally seek and accept investment in these bonds, particularly so when the promise is held out to them of a higher future rate of interest. That means that this vast aggregate of wealth will be withdrawn from active business and from all obligation to participate in the support and maintenance of the Government, whether National, State, or municipal. The bonds are not taxable.

But, Mr. President, this bill has been passed by a unanimous vote in the House of Representatives, and it has been reported by a substantially unanimous vote of the Senate Committee on Finance, for I did not vote against favorably reporting it. I think it would not be improper for me to say, however, that I laid before the committee substantially and in effect the views I am now expressing; but there was no favorable response from the membership of that body, and I do not think there will be any different response from the membership of this body. It is the war measure presented by the House of Representatives, and I think it has the approval of the Senate. Therefore I shall accept the judgment of the Congress and vote for the bill, because it is a war measure and is deemed to be a measure essential to the successful prosecution of the war upon which we have entered. Nevertheless, I feel it due to myself to say that I believe every purpose sought by our Government, and every need of our Government in prosecuting that purpose, could be as well accomplished along the lines I suggest, and accomplished with far better results to the general interests and welfare of the Government and the people. I know I am powerless to impress my view on the Senate as things now are, but I wish this view of mine to stand in the RECORD for my own sake as a testimony when I am gone.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I offered an amendment this morning to the pending bill, which I now ask the Secretary to read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will inform the Senator that the amendment has temporarily been taken from the desk, but will be returned in a moment.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if the amendment is not on the Secretary's desk for any reason, I will read from the bill itself in such wise as to inform the Senators present what its object and extent are. It is offered to section 6, which is the section providing for an issue, in addition to the bonds authorized by the other sections of the bill, of $2,000,000,000 of what are called certificates of indebtedness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the Secretary now has the amendment.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Secretary now has the amendment, I prefer that he should read it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Colorado whether or not the proposed amendment has been printed

Mr. THOMAS. No, sir; it was offered this morning.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I should like to address an inquiry to the Senator from Colorado. Has this amendment been submitted or referred in any way to the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. THOMAS. It has not.

Mr. PENROSE. Nor to the committee, either?

Mr. THOMAS. Nor to the committee, either. I want to say something about that later on.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, my attention was diverted for a moment. Will the Senator please state again the general purpose of the amendment?

Mr. THOMAS. The Secretary now has it, and I have just asked him to read it.

Mr. SIMMONS. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

On page 6, section 6, lines 18 and 19, strike out the words "to borrow from time to time on the credit of the United States";

On line 20, same page, strike out the words "such sum or sums as";

On page 6, line 21, strike out the words "in his judgment may be necessary and"; also the word "therefor" in the same line; strike out all of lines 23 and 24, page 6, together with the word "annum" on line 25;

On line 26, page 6, strike out the words "with the interest accrued thereon";

On line 3, page 7, strike out the word "not";

So that section 6, as proposed to be amended, will read as follows:

"SEC. 6. That in addition to the bonds authorized by sections 1 and 4 of this act, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, for the purposes of this act and to meet public expenditures authorized by law, to issue certificates of indebtedness at not less than par in such form as he may prescribe; and each certificate so issued shall be payable at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Certificates of indebtedness herein authorized shall bear the circulation privilege, and the sum of such certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed in the aggregate $2,000,000,000.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, before speaking to this amendment a word of explanation is necessary. I had an engagement yesterday of an important character which took me away from Washington. I was consequently unable to attend the meeting of the Committee on Finance, of which I am a member. Had the situation been otherwise, I should have brought this amendment to the attention of the committee, where it properly belonged. If I had been present, I think I should say that I should have voted favorably to report it to the Senate for immediate consideration, and I shall not very long postpone a vote upon it. So much by way of preliminary.

Mr. President, I have no expectation that the amendment which I offer will receive more than the passing consideration of a small minority of the Senate. Indeed, it is somewhat embarrassing on an occasion like this to present amendments or to indulge in extended criticism of the measure itself without incurring in some quarters the suspicion of opposing the principal measure and of being an obstacle to the vigorous prosecution of the common purpose of the Nation. Indeed, it was suggested to me by one Member of this body a day or two ago that it was our bounden duty to accept without question and to adopt without hesitation all measures deemed by the departments to be essential to a successful prosecution of the war. I regret to say, Mr. President, that that view is not wholly confined to the Congress, but finds expression all over the country, although to adopt it would be to abdicate our legislative functions. For my part, I shall support the administration heartily and constantly, as I have supported it before this terrible crisis was upon us, and with greater zeal, because now we have but one object and one purpose, and that is the successful prosecution of a most serious and perhaps a protracted conflict. But, Mr. President, with regard to details, and particularly those affecting questions of revenue, Senators would be remiss in their duty, not only to themselves but to their constituencies, did they not as we go along emphasize some of the plans which may be proposed and may be accepted as desirable, although falling for the time upon unwilling and reluctant ears.

Indeed, the President only on yesterday published a statement to the country, the dominant note of which was cooperation and economy. It was a most timely and important state paper, one which the conditions and requirements of the time insistently demanded, and one which, I am sure, will be gratefully received and acted upon by all classes and conditions of men. It was addressed to us, as citizens of a common country, quite as much as to those whom we represent here, and was perhaps as much needed in the Halls of Congress as throughout the different communities of the Republic. It is in accordance with that spirit of cooperation and economy, which should be practiced now as never before, that I venture to offer this amendment and to submit some reasons for it.

I believe, Mr. President, that if it should be adopted it would save this Nation in the matter of taxes alone for the year immediately before us the sum of not to exceed $70,000,000, a sum of money which is of no comparative consequence in these times when we speak as freely and as nonchalantly of billions as did the celebrated Mr. Sellers in "The Mighty Dollar," which some time ago diverted the theatrical world, but $70,000,000 nevertheless is of sufficient magnitude to justify reference to it for a passing moment.

Two thousand millions of dollars, Mr. President, is a sum representing $20 per capita to this Nation of 100,000,000 people, and the interest upon it at 3½ per cent is 70 cents per capita, which, multiplied through a period of 30 years, would exceed the principal. The annual interest upon the proposed issue of five thousand millions will be $175,000,000 per annum, and that, too, in 30 years will exceed the principal, leaving that principal still to be paid, if it is ever paid, by other generations. So that the little item of seventy millions at this time, as I have said, worthy at least of a moment's consideration.

The amendment which I propose in substance is to strike out the interest-bearing provision of section 6, so that the certificates of indebtedness issued by the Government in anticipation of its revenues and to meet current obligations will be taken by the creditor at their face. We have been told, and it is true, that our credit never was as great as it is at present. We have with perfect truth congratulated ourselves that our vast resources, the aggregate of our national wealth, the enterprise of our people, the initiative which our institutions not only permit but encourage, and the manner in which we have met our obligations in the past all combine to make our credit gilt-edged and everlasting. If that be so, then why should not the Government of the United States, for the purpose of meeting its immediate obligations, mobilize that credit, as everything else now is about to be mobilized, in the national interest? Why should Uncle Sam be required to stand like a common pleader for money at the threshold of the money lenders, hat in hand, asking for the extension of temporary credit, with interest at 3½ per cent per annum, when, under the laws and Constitution, sanctioned and recognized by a long line of thoughtful decisions of the Supreme Court, it can lawfully exercise the power to issue these certificates for exchange at their face value for all our obligations?

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, if it does not interrupt the Senator's statement, will he permit an inquiry?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. PENROSE. Why might not the Government just as well issue greenbacks at once to the extent of $2,000,000,000? Why go through the formality of issuing certificates of indebtedness and then issuing the currency on them?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, paraphrasing my friend the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], I will reply by saying that if I had my way—which I have not—that would be precisely what this Government would do. I believe, Mr. President—I am morally certain—that if this war is prosecuted and lasts for a year and a half, that is precisely what we will do, as we did in the throes of the great Civil War, and in the doing of which this Nation was saved and the Republic of our fathers perpetuated.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator's answer has been very direct and to the point, and was what I suspected would be his reply. Why does he, then, in this amendment resort to what would seem to be a subterfuge? Why does he not make his amendment direct and to the point and provide for the issue of greenbacks to any amount necessary?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator may be able to discover a subterfuge in the proposed amendment——

Mr. PENROSE. I will say that with all due respect to the Senator's amendment, which I know is offered in good faith.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand, of course; I acquit the Senator of all reflections. I know that what he says is said in perfect good faith and without any disrespect. I want to say, however, that if there is a subterfuge in it I am too mentally obtuse to perceive it. But, Mr. President, I am endeavoring to meet such objections as I know would be presented to an amendment designed for an issue immediately of what are called "greenbacks" by taking this proposal and molding it in that direction, while at the same time robbing it of those features which to a great many men seem to be very dangerous because of the inflation which would necessarily follow.

What is this amendment? It is that the Secretary of the Treasury may issue the identical certificates provided for in the bill as reported from the committee, but when issued they shall bear no interest. They are redeemable within a year, or, to put it differently, they are to be paid by or before the end of a year, and they are given, under the proposed amendment, the circulation privilege. If a subterfuge exists in this method of legislation, it must be in the fact that the words "certificates of indebtedness" are used in place of the words "Treasury note" and in the fact that there is a limitation of 12 months upon the life of the proposed certificates, whereas the Treasury note is payable at the pleasure of the Government.

To those who fear inflation let me say that I share the apprehension entertained by a great many with regard to the evils of inflation. I believe that the two thousand millions of dollars to be borrowed by the Government at 3½ per cent under the issuance of these certificates of indebtedness, passing at once into the channels of trade and circulation, will to that extent inflate the currency and bring about the evils which are feared because of too widely extended circulation. It is not so much the amount of money within the borders of the Nation as it is the proportion of that money in active circulation which causes inflation.

Mr. President, under the proposed amendment, the Secretary of the Treasury is given authority and full discretion to issue these certificates in such wise and in such amounts as he may prescribe; and I take it that inasmuch as he is among those who are opposed to the issuance of promises to pay to circulate as money, he will see to it that their denominations are sufficiently great to make their general circulation an impossibility. Here is another provision or condition which, if subterfuge exists, must constitute it, since it is an added obstacle to this increase of circulation by flushing the channels of trade and commerce with two thousand millions of small-sized currency.

Mr. President, let me ask if we can save this $70,000,000 by authorizing the Government to utilize its first-class credit, not by borrowing money, but by issuing its certificates of indebtedness directly to those who have claims against the Government, is it not worth while to do so? You can not escape inflation, Senators. You can not possibly avoid its consequences by giving names or changing names in their application to certain things. If you issue five thousand millions of bonds, as you are going to do, you will inflate the currency. Of course the amount comprised in that figure is greater than all the money in the United States, but every actual dollar, of course, means several dollars of credit. The intrusion into this country of the vast business requirements and demands of the allies since the beginning of this war, independently of the amount of gold that has come here, has inflated our currency, and accounts in very large degree for the enormous rise in prices. The mobilization of the money of the country during the Civil War, before the greenbacks were issued, inflated the currency and, to the extent of its inflation, was reflected in the prices of all the commodities manufactured and traded in by the people.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. The statement that the Senator has just made, that the issuing of the five billions of bonds would inflate the currency of our country, I think would be well within the truth if the bonds were to be sold to foreign countries and money were to come into this country in lieu of the bonds. But, if the bonds are to be sold in the United States, purchased by the people of the United States and the money of the United States, then does not the Senator believe that it will not inflate the currency?

Mr. THOMAS. I think it will inflate the currency in the sense in which that term is generally used; and I think that the experiences of Germany, whose bonds have been sold in just the way that the Senator suggests we are going to sell ours, should substantiate the proposition, because there prices have risen very largely. There, first, the purchase of the bonds and afterwards the use of the proceeds by the Government have unquestionably increased the proportion of money in the country which is in active circulation.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; but the Senator must understand that our bonds are not going to be upon the same basis as the bonds of Germany for this reason: Germany's bonds to-day are virtually upon a paper basis; the whole country is on a paper basis; whereas every bond that we issue must be upon a gold basis, just as every obligation that the Government of the United States has to-day is on that basis. So between the two countries the comparison, I think, is unfortunate.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the bonds issued by Germany are upon a gold basis. They were bought with a paper circulation, just as the bonds issued by the Government of the United States during the Civil War were upon a gold basis, or rather upon a coin basis, and bought with a depreciated paper circulation. The thousands upon thousands of millions of securities issued by the governments at war, plus the bonds which we are going to issue now, together with those that we will probably have to issue hereafter, are all based upon the gold supply of the world, and the fact that immediately they are paid in paper does not in any sense change that proposition; and the few thousand millions of gold belonging to the people of the world is the basis of that inverted pyramid which, constantly increasing, will make it more and more difficult for the generations which are to bear this burden to meet their annual interest payments.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. What the Senator says would be true providing we were going to allow our currency to take the same course as that which has been taken in Germany; but every dollar of currency that we have issued in the United States has back of it a certain percentage of gold, and under our laws it is impossible for us to issue currency without that gold back of the currency issued, whereas the paper money that has been issued in Germany has nothing back of it to-day except the credit of the nation.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator how much gold we have in active circulation in this country, supposedly?

Mr. SMOOT. About $3,000,000,000.

Mr. BORAH. We are issuing $5,000,000,000 worth of bonds.

Mr. SMOOT. Well, I mean the Government of the United States has that much. Of course, I can not say how much there may be in the pockets of the people. The Senator is perfectly correct in saying that the $5,000,000,000 is more in amount than the gold of this country; but we have back of every one of our dollars of currency issued, as provided by law, a certain percentage of gold to secure the payment of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, of course we are all familiar with the fact that until we abandon specie payments we are upon a gold basis. Neither, however, is there any disputing the fact that if we continue issuing bonds upon a gold basis for the purpose of securing funds with which to carry on a world-wide war, with each bond issue that basis becomes the more and the more precarious. It affects not only the bonds themselves but every dollar of circulation in the country, and, as was suggested by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] a moment ago, this bond issue is itself far in excess of the total supply of gold in the United States—that in circulation and that which is not in circulation, but the basis of our gold certificates.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; but the security back of the United States bonds, although they are made payable in gold, is the property of the United States, all of it, and irrespective of what it may be.

Mr. THOMAS. I know that, of course. Now the Senator is stating something that is a good deal more substantial in support of his position, when he says that in addition to the gold of the country our bonds have back of them every dollar of the wealth of the country owned in private hands, which is merely saying that we are issuing them upon our credit; that is all. Inasmuch as we are issuing them upon our credit, why not issue these certificates which we are going to take up within a year without paying the money changers of the country $70,000,000 for them? That is my proposition in a nutshell.

I very much fear, Mr. President, that the present will not be the last measure considered, even by this Congress, and providing for a bond issue. I am very much afraid that possibly before the snows of November shall fly, probably before the spring of 1918 shall come, we will be assembled here for another issue of bonds, the equivalent of or superior in amount to the issue which we are now contemplating. It must be remembered that the bonds issued by governments in modern times are not designed to be paid. In theory they may be, but in practice they are not designed to be paid, for the British people are paying interest to-day upon the debt which was contracted in the American War of the Revolution. They are issued, I will not say entirely, but largely, for the purpose of placing our own obligations and liabilities upon the shoulders of unborn generations—a practice which, in my judgment, should not be resorted to except in the direst national necessity; a practice which will result in the bankruptcy of every nation on the European Continent engaged in this war; a practice which will either result in their bankruptcy or in revolutions which will bring about its equivalent. I believe that in a crisis of this sort, as far as possible through a system of direct taxation we should meet our expenses as we are confronted with them, placing as little as possible of the burden upon our children and upon our children's children.

Mr. President, we may not all profess Christianity; but when it comes to the payment of our obligations, we all believe in the doctrine of vicarious atonement.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. STONE. There are two thoughts I have in mind that I would be glad if the Senator from Colorado or some other Senator could enlighten me about.

Under the terms of the bill we are to take the bonds of our allies in exchange for the bonds we issue to establish credits

for them. Can any Senator here advise me with any degree of accurate knowledge as to the current value of the bonds of these allies which we are to take in exchange for, or in the way of collateral for, the bonds we are to issue to establish credits for them?

Mr. THOMAS. Does the Senator mean the market value?

Mr. STONE. The market value. I think that is what I mean.

Mr. THOMAS. I can not answer that question, but I will cheerfully yield the floor for the purpose to any Senator who can.

Mr. STONE. I have been told, but told in a way that I can not accept as absolutely reliable, that the bonds of many of these countries are very much below par.

Mr. SMOOT. That is true.

Mr. STONE. The Senator from Utah says, sotto voce, that that is true.

Mr. PENROSE. I think that is true, Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri will permit me. I think I noticed that the last issue of bonds in England was at 95.

Mr. STONE. Well, I have been told that the bonds of one of the chief countries—I do not feel justified in being more particular—are current in the markets of the world at about 50 to 60 per cent of their face value.

Mr. SMOOT. That is taking into consideration the exchange as well.

Mr. STONE. Well, whatever it is, I state that. Now, that is one of the questions I have in mind. I am curious to know just how the ultimate balance will stand.

The other question I desire to ask, if the Senator will pardon and permit me, is covered by this clause in the President's address of April 2——

Mr. THOMAS. From what page does the Senator read?

Mr. STONE. I am reading from page 6. I will read, as follows:

> It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

That, as I understood it, was intended as an argument by the President against borrowing too much money, and in favor of the policy which I advocate, as I suppose with his approval, of the present generation—the generation of this day and time—bearing the chief burden of this war instead of passing it on to our children.

Mr. THOMAS. Is the Senator quite sure he is reading from page 6?

Mr. STONE. I will give it to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I see that the Senator has a different print from mine. It is on page 5 of my print.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. There is no doubt that the bonds of all the belligerent countries are selling below par, and at the same time drawing interest, at least, of 5 per cent per annum. The object in loaning the $3,000,000,000 to the allies, as the President may see fit, is to assist the allies in securing money at a lower rate of interest than they are paying now, and also to prevent any commissions being charged the allies for the sale of the bonds. There is no question but that if England should undertake to-day to place a bond issue at the rate of interest of 3½ per cent, she would not get more than 87 to 90 cents on the dollar for the bonds. Her credit is not as good as that of the United States, and now our country is undertaking to lend to England our credit——

Mr. STONE. Which is worth 100 cents on the dollar.

Mr. SMOOT. Which is worth 100 cents on the dollar, at a rate of interest of 3½ per cent; and England, or whatever country borrows the money, will get the advantage of the credit of the United States.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Utah a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WATSON in the chair). The Senator from Colorado has the floor. Does he yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield for a question.

Mr. BORAH. In this connection, may I ask something which has occurred to me heretofore several times? We are loaning this money to the allies in order to enable the allies to avoid paying commissions and high rates of interest.

Mr. SMOOT. And to assist in the continuation of the war.

Mr. BORAH. Yes; of course. Now, are we going to have any means or method by which to control the price at which we are to sell to them the munitions of war? Are we going as a Government to loan them money and then permit a few people to get it back in the way of huge profits on war materials?

Mr. SMOOT. That, of course, I can not answer. That is a matter that is in the hands of Congress. If Congress decides to give the power to this administration to fix the price at which munitions shall be sold, I think Congress has that power; but otherwise I do not believe it will be done, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. BORAH. Well, I think it ought to be done. I think we should fix prices for the people abroad and for our own people.

Mr. SMOOT. That is a question for Congress to decide.

Mr. BORAH. We have heard a great deal in the last few months about our gratitude to France. It would seem that our gratitude is manifested in two ways—first, by making all the money that we have been able to make by reason of large profits upon our munitions of war, and, secondly, of voting a tremendous bonded indebtedness upon our children.

Mr. SMOOT. In answer to the second question asked by the Senator from Missouri, I am not so clear as to what the President really meant in his message; but if the President had made that statement with the understanding that the bonds were to be sold outside of the United States and the obligations of the United States were to be sold to a foreign country and in payment for the bonds gold sent into this country, there is no question but what there would be an inflation of the currency in our country. I do not know yet the idea the President had in view in making the statement he did, but I am quite sure that if conditions happened as I have stated there would be an inflation of currency in this country such as we have never seen before.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I hope I will not be charged with causing unnecessary delay in the final consideration of the bill by these divergences from my main purpose. They are very interesting and very important, however, and I am not complaining.

The Senator's idea of inflation may be correct and mine may be entirely wrong, and yet I can not escape the conclusion I announced that the amount of money in circulation is the standard by which inflation is to be determined. If my credit were good enough with the Senator from Utah to enable me to borrow $10,000 from him, and after having received it I should go around and take in the city of Washington, the chances are that I would increase the circulation and possibly elevate prices to a certain degree. Certainly, I would put more money out among those perhaps who need it as well as those who do not, than if I were unable to negotiate that loan. There is no more money in the country; but there is that much more money in circulation because of our arrangement and my consequent ability and willingness to put it into circulation. I think the President had that in mind, and very correctly, when he said:

> It is our duty, I must respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course, if "the Senator from Utah" had $10,000 to loan, in the first place, he would have to have that $10,000 somewhere under his control, and if he loaned the Senator from Colorado $10,000 he would have to take it from somewhere that he had it and loan it to the Senator. If the Senator from Colorado spent the $10,000 in Washington, there would be more money in Washington by $10,000, but there would be $10,000 less wherever the Senator from Utah took it from. If "the Senator from Utah" had had that $10,000 in Europe and brought the money from there to this country and loaned it to the Senator from Colorado and he spent it here in the District of Columbia, there would be ten thousand more dollars in the United States and ten thousand less in Europe.

Mr. THOMAS. There would be $10,000 less under those circumstances in the vaults of the bank where the Senator had it on deposit. Lord Bacon said a great many years ago that money was like manure, it was only good in proportion as you spread it. In the heap it is of no consequence; it might as well be nonexistent for all practical purposes. In general circulation it is a great benefit; but at the same time it tends to inflate the currency circulation. I insist we can not go into the market for one thousand million dollars or two thousand million dollars or five thousand million dollars and obtain that money for exigent purposes, for which it must be used in circulation, without producing those evils of inflation which Senators so seriously apprehend from the suggestion of the issuance of certificates of indebtedness bearing no interest.

Mr. SHERMAN Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. THOMAS. With pleasure.

Mr. SHERMAN. To lend some force to the Senator's position, would it not be well to remember that there is not an

actual exchange of money but what is equivalent to money? Some Government obligations or issues would pass in lieu of money, but upon the extension of the loan it would merely be a credit in this country to an amount equal to the issue of the obligations or the loan of our credit to the foreign government, and thereby it would add to the possible inflation. At the end of the period when the credit was to be settled up it would merely be the payment of the balance. If I borrow the supposed $10,000 from a bank I do not carry that $10,000 in currency or in gold away with me. I get credit at the bank, and as a matter of fact in the payment of debts, the purchase of supplies, the payment of wages it is merely a credit, and no actual money may ever be changed in the hands or go from the bank. Would it not be the same in the extension of credit here? Would there not be some additional danger of an inflation of credit in the real method of doing business?

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator is correct.

Mr. SHERMAN. As a rule it is true we do not do a cash business except in certain emergencies. Even at the grocery shop, where credit is extended, we pay by check.

Mr. THOMAS. That is true, Mr. President.

Mr. President, when these interruptions began I was about to emphasize my approval of the views of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] with regard to the raising of as much money as possible for our needs by taxation. For my part, I do not believe in war. Nobody in the sound of my voice does believe in it. It is the most terrible affliction to which mankind is subject. Its hideous brutality is beyond the conception of man. Its destruction of life and of property and its arrest of civilization are too obvious for discussion.

I want to see a resort to every possible means for the prevention of war, and my impression is that one effectual preventive is to make the nations engaged in it pay as they go instead of shifting the tremendous expense of conflict upon the shoulders of unborn generations. Napoleon was perhaps the greatest captain in the military history of the world, and the greatest of all his achievements was his ability to pay his expenses as they were incurred. He left no enormous legacy of millions and billions of debt upon posterity. He took with a strong hand, it is true, the hand of autocracy fortified by absolute power, but he paid as he went, and in the countries which he devastated as in his own, peace became possible for a considerable length of time largely through that fact and through the necessity of recuperation from the beginning unburdened by the hideous specter of an unpayable national debt.

I know we can not raise over $5,000,000,000 instantly. Consequently there should be a distribution of a part of this burden between ourselves and posterity. But, Mr. President, when nations reach the point where their consciousness of a sense of obligation, where the necessity of yielding up their wealth at the time for the meeting of these expenses becomes a settled rule of conduct, wars and rumors of wars will largely cease.

There is and must be payment sometime theoretically. There is always a payment of the annual interest absolutely. It comes around with unvarying regularity to governments as it does to individuals. When this war is over and the enormous burden of our expenditures will probably be doubled by the amount of our national debt, and the prosperity engendered by war and false and feverish activities shall have dwindled, hard times will come, and taxes constitute an unbearable burden upon the shoulders of the people. Your conduct and mine to-day will be called in question. We may not be here. Your children and mine, however, must bear the burdens which we create, and if in an emergency of this kind we are able to save even the pittance of $70,000,000 would it not be a little something to our credit when we are considering sums so colossal that the human mind staggers at the effort to contemplate them?

Mr. President, I have introduced this amendment with that end in view, not because I believe that mine constitutes the views of the majority of my colleagues upon this floor, but because I deemed it my duty to make it to the end that the opinions which I entertain on the subject may be spread upon the RECORD.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I do not intend to discuss this amendment at any length. I feel quite confident, however, that I am justified in making the statement that the minority will hardly be disposed to support this amendment. The Republican Party at least has always stood for sound money and sound monetary standards, and this is an attempt to revive the policy of the free and unlimited issue of fiat currency.

There has been sufficient criticism, Mr. President, about extravagance in expenditures during the last three or four years. Reference was made this morning to a list of projects which the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] supplemented to a list which I referred to, projects for which loans were issued by the party in power, which would never have been attempted if the excuse had not been made of the war in Mexico and the approaching war in Europe. This war will doubtless be made the excuse for many extravagances yet to come and much maladministration. But I sincerely hope that there will be no considerable vote in this body to give ground for apprehension that there is any considerable number of Senators in favor of a proposition of this character.

The credit of the Government should be kept untarnished and unchallenged before the nations of the world, and we should not have infused into this discussion a proposition of this kind. I do not mean to say that the Senator from Colorado has not proposed the amendment seriously and defended it eloquently, but it certainly is not in line with sound monetary policy. It would lead, if persisted in, to a depreciation of the currency and an inflation and all the conditions which we witnessed to some extent during our own Civil War and which have been seen in the experiences of other nations to a much greater and more intolerable extent.

I hope the amendment will receive little or no support when it comes to a vote. It certainly will not receive the support of the minority.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado offer his amendment?

Mr. THOMAS. The amendment is offered. I do not demand a yea-and-nay vote upon it. I know it is useless.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I had intended to call up the committee amendments first.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not care to interfere, and will let the committee amendments be first voted upon.

Mr. SIMMONS. I have no objection to taking a vote upon the amendment at this time.

Mr. THOMAS. I am willing to accede to whatever the Senator desires.

Mr. SIMMONS. It will be satisfactory to me to have a vote now.

Mr. President, I wish to say before the vote is taken that I sincerely trust the amendment will not be adopted. I think it is substantially the same proposition the Senator from Colorado presented during the last session when we were proposing a bond issue. I have no doubt myself that it would lead to very great inflation and, I fear, to business confusion.

So far as the President's declaration is concerned, I think the President had reference not to an inflation of the currency in the language he used, but to an inflation in prices, to vast increases in the prices resulting from the attempt to finance the whole war with bonds. But I do not care to discuss what the President meant by that further than to say this, Mr. President. The President certainly did not express any hope in the language used other than that a reasonable part, probably the major part of the expenses of the war should be financed by taxation.

The present proposition provides that something near $2,000,000,000 be raised from taxation. We will probably raise by taxation, to defray the expenses of the Government and to cover the expenses of preparedness undertaken before the war, about $1,300,000,000. So our total tax levy will be something near $3,300,000,000 for the fiscal year 1918. I think that is enough to demand of the present generation. I think that is in accord with the suggestion of the President. Of this money, leaving out the amount that we are going to exchange in bonds with the allies, we will probably raise by taxation $3,300,000,000, and this is a proposition to raise a still larger amount by taxation.

Mr. BORAH. The President evidently did not have in mind the figures the Senator is speaking of. The President in his address was speaking entirely of the future. He understood precisely that the ordinary running expenses of the Government and the indebtedness incurred had to be met by ordinary appropriation bills, and he was discussing entirely the one proposition of meeting the situation which would arise after the declaration of war.

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes; but the Senator recognizes the fact that in the present levy of taxes, amounting to $1,300,000,000, probably $600,000,000 is for preparedness purposes. If you add that to the nearly $2,000,000,000 now proposed to be raised by taxation you have something like $2,600,000,000 for war purposes that we propose to raise by taxation, against $2,000,000,000 to be raised by bonds.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE] has said that every Senator in this Chamber ought to express his views about this bill, and I feel it is proper that he should. We have heard a great deal about the enormous burden to be imposed upon the people and upon posterity in the yearly taxes that must be assessed to meet the provisions of this measure, and the statements have not been exaggerated. There is no question but that we are facing a situation fraught with tremendous consequences. There will be caused many a heartache to those who will lose their kindred in the awful conflict, and hardships will be visited upon the people who have to pay these large amounts in taxes. But, Mr. President, war has been declared. It becomes the duty of the people of the United States to respond in a manner that will admit of no doubt as to their loyalty, in a way that will cause no delay in the prosecution of the war, and with such unanimity of purpose as will bring the conflict to as speedy a termination as possible. That result, it seems to me, will be accomplished by appropriating a very large amount and by voting it so that it can be used with powerful effect at the beginning of the war.

Mr. President, while this is the greatest appropriation of money that has ever been made by any nation in the history of the world, yet there are compensations likely to come out of this war that will give to us the recollection of pride and satisfaction in our vote of to-day.

There are three things in my judgment that will result from our entering into the war, three blessings, and if we shall get them, or any of them, there will be ample compensation accruing to the people of the United States.

I. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

The first is the freedom of the seas; the great oceans are the highways for the transportation of passengers and the movement of commerce. Our right to the peaceful use of those highways is clear. Those rights are worth to this Nation, as well as to the other nations of the world, the expenditure of enormous sums of money. To deny them is to take a step backward to the time of the Dark Ages, when nations wantonly disregarded the rights of others and piratical incursions were considered legitimate. Consequently if we shall establish as a principle no longer to be disputed that the freedom of the seas is secure to all nations at all times, we shall have gained something of inestimable value to the progress of the world.

II. INTEGRITY OF TERRITORY OF NATIONS.

A second great result is bound to come. We shall establish the right of the smaller nations to the integrity of their territory. That right theoretically has been acknowledged, but even in this age it sometimes is not respected, and in the ages of long ago it rested solely upon the power of the nation to safeguard it. If the principle of integrity of territory is established, we shall gain another principle which must of necessity follow, and that is that wars of conquest, acts of seizing land by force of arms, will be considered as under no circumstances justifiable, and the vain excuses put forward upon which to wage a war of aggrandizement will be regarded in the future with such universal condemnation, if this war terminates favorably for us, that no nation will dare resort to such a course. Crowned heads have never considered it possible that a powerful nation would enter a war to enforce international law, but hereafter they will always reckon with that factor in determining whether they shall undertake a war of conquest. Thus the doctrine of might making right will be completely overthrown. The greed of nations for territorial acquisition has been the underlying cause of nine-tenths of the wars of the world. The far-reaching effect of the universal recognition of this principle can hardly be estimated. Our benefit and the world's benefit can not be measured in dollars and cents.

III. DEMOCRATIZATION OF NATIONS.

Mr. President, there is a third and still greater principle that, in my judgment, ultimately will be established by our entrance into this war, and that is the democratization of nations.

When Thomas Jefferson wrote the words in the Declaration of Independence that "the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed," I doubt if even he fully realized the importance of that doctrine to the people of other countries. That principle already has exerted an influence upon the government of every nation on the face of the globe. Every absolute monarchy has yielded some form of legislative tribunal in obedience to that elementary doctrine. We observe it steadily marching forward, setting up republics, not alone in the Western Hemisphere, but in all parts of the earth.

In this war there are arrayed upon one side the peoples who are trying to establish this doctrine in all the governments of the world. If we are victorious, if we are to have a voice in the peace settlement and in the treaties thereafter to be made, our participation will advance that principle still further to the forefront and will ultimately establish it universally as the right and heritage of man.

In the acceptance of that principle of government there is developed a most beneficial effect upon the individual. The idea that men should be governed without their consent was universally enforced not many years ago, but with the growth of the principle which our Declaration of Independence put forth and which is now acknowledged all over the world as a coming and a growing principle, we shall witness when the war is over, with deep and abiding satisfaction, that not only the governments but each individual in all the nations of the earth will have that right and the enjoyment of liberty, which is so dear to the American heart, and which it seems to me will become equally dear to the citizens of every other country.

Therefore, although this war is going to be costly and may be long, nevertheless, there are blessings that are likely to come out of it that will fully compensate us. They are the establishment of the principles of, first, the freedom of the seas; second, the territorial integrity of nations, with the resulting condemnation of wars of conquest; and, third, the democratization of nations, with their recognition of human rights.

With those ends in view it seems to me we can well afford to vote for this bill, believing that it is the big movement toward these great reforms.

Mr. President, this is the first time in the history of the world that a nation has entered a great conflict willing to spill its blood and spend its treasure without any hope of reward or fear of punishment, but solely for the establishment and recognition of those rights of nations and of mankind which will tend toward producing universal peace. When these principles have been recognized the incentive for war will have been taken away, and a great movement will follow for the establishment of a world's court for the determination of international disputes, with power to enforce its decrees. Let us welcome the day when there will exist "Peace on earth, good will to men."

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I am not going to enter into a discussion of the measure before us, but I desire to say a word before I shall be called upon to record my vote upon it.

There are two propositions contained in this measure: First, the one of raising sufficient funds by means of bonds to be issued and of certificates of indebtedness to meet the expenses connected with the expenditures which we in this country must make of our own for meeting the great conflict in which we are about to engage. So far as that portion of the bill is concerned, the part which has to do with covering our own expenditures and taking care of our own finances, I offer no criticism further than to say that, in my judgment, we could well have afforded to have raised more of this money by taxation and less by the issuance of bonds. We could in no way show our patriotism better than to show a greater willingness to meet this burden ourselves and less readiness to pass it on to the next generation. We have declared war; now let us follow it up by offering our own wealth and not put it so willingly and so largely on others.

As I understand the bill, we propose to provide for $2,000,000,000 in the way of indebtedness, represented by certificates, which is supposed to represent the portion that we propose to meet by taxation, and five billions is represented in bonds, which is the amount that we propose to pass on to the future and to permit our children and our children's children to take care of. Of course, in that $5,000,000,000 is included the $3,000,000,000 which we propose to exchange for bonds of foreign countries. As I have said, that portion of the bill meets with my approval, with the single suggestion which I have made, that had I been drafting the bill myself, whether wisely or unwisely, I should have pursued a different course with reference to the amount which we should raise by immediate taxation.

Mr. President, with reference to the other portion of the bill, that which provides for three billions of bonds to be exchanged for the bonds of other governments engaged in this war against the common enemy, my objections to it are fundamental. If I were permitted to vote upon that matter as a separate proposition, I should vote against it. If it were presented in such a way that I could meet it without at the same time voting against that which I deem to be vital and essential to the situation, I should undoubtedly record my judgment against it. I realize, of course, that in the exigencies of war we must do all and everything which is necessary to most effectively meet the situation and to most speedily and conclusively bring the war to a close. But, in my judgment, the chain of evil consequences to flow from this peculiar and particular kind of transactions and from others which will follow are such that I could not, upon any information which I have and upon any facts which have been furnished to the Senate up to this time, approve of that

portion of the bill. In my judgment, we will get less results and less benefit from the money invested in this way than in many other ways in which it could be invested and expended, and when I say results I do not mean financial results, I mean results in the war and as to the successful carrying on of the war.

This is not the time nor the occasion to discuss in full my objections to this course. If I felt that by discussion I could effectuate any change whatever, I would gladly enter upon it. But I realize that no change in the program can be brought about, and I shall not draw upon the patience of the Senate by a discussion which would have no other effect than that of explaining more fully my own position. At some later time and at no distant date, I hope to discuss this matter in connection with other important matters relating to our connections with foreign governments. Suffice it to say now that, upon any information which I have or any reasons which have been given at this time, I could not support that measure if it were not intermingled and intertwined with the bill as a whole. I might, of course, move to strike out, but that would be but a consumption of time.

I, of course, desire to yield all proper consideration to the views of others, and I realize, too, very fully that in emergencies like this we can not always have our individual views to prevail. But upon some questions I entertain such convictions that I feel bound to keep the RECORD in accordance with my judgment.

I shall vote for the bill as a whole because I realize the importance of acting quickly and effectively. Perhaps it was not necessary for me to even reserve my views upon this matter, but to me it seems of sufficient consequence to have done so.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, very briefly I desire to amplify a little the suggestion just made by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH].

I intend to vote for the pending bill; I intend to vote for every measure which will give the United States strength to carry on the conflict upon which it now has entered. I was somewhat reluctant to declare war, but, now that war has been declared, now that war is upon us, I believe that it ought to be carried to a successful termination as quickly and as energetically as is possible with the American Nation. There is no sacrifice of money or of life too great if necessary to accomplish this purpose.

I feel, however, that we are about to commit a grave mistake with respect to that part of the bill to which the Senator from Idaho has referred. I believe that we ought to spend our money for the people of the United States alone. I agree that to succor and to aid the allies may be the most important thing which the United States can do in its own interest; but when we do succor and aid them for our own interest, for our own welfare, what we do ought not to entail any obligation from any foreign country in the world toward us; what we do we should do for our own people and our own sake.

I am perfectly willing to give to any of the allied nations the money which they need to carry on our war, for it is now our war. I would give it to them just as freely as I would vote to equip an army or to maintain a navy of our own; but I shrink from the consequences that will, in all human probability, flow from the course which is suggested in this bill. I do not want the United States to become the bond creditor of Great Britain or of France or of Russia or of Italy; I do not want to enter the entangling alliance which the possession of these evidences of indebtedness will inevitably create. I should like to give to the allied nations $3,000,000,000, if they need the contribution, with never a thought of its repayment at any time or under any circumstances; I should like to give that or whatever sum may be thought needed as our donation to one phase of our own war; but I fear that in the years to come the fact that the United States has in its possession bonds of these great countries, which when they emerge from the war will all be bankrupt, will create an embarrassment from which the men of those times will find it difficult to escape. I think it will cost us more to take those bonds and to hold them against these Governments than it would cost us to give the money, with a generous and patriotic spirit, to do something which for the time being, for the moment, we are unable to do with our own Army and our own Navy.

I do not intend to enlarge upon this thought. I find it difficult to forget the teachings of the fathers of the Republic; I find it difficult to rid myself of the learning and the foresight of the men who created the Republic and who understood, I think, better than we can understand it, the high necessity of complete separation from the turmoil and the perplexities of European policies and politics.

I have said this because I wanted it to be understood that I give my vote for the money without a single reservation, hoping that it will be well spent, and having no reason to believe that it will not be well spent; but if I could have had my way, I would have contributed to the cause whatever we think is necessary in order to make the war successful, instead of creating an indebtedness, which for all time to come, if it be not absolved, will bind the American Republic to the affairs of Europe.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, no one has desired more than I that our country might avoid being dragged into this European struggle. I have been intensely for peace; but from the time that the German Government issued its last notice, declaring a war zone around all of its enemies, many miles in length and many miles in width, and announced the purpose to destroy with submarines the vessels of neutrals without notice, and to destroy the lives of neutrals on those vessels without notice, I have seen no escape from war unless Germany abandoned her announced purpose.

I believe that it is the duty of every Government to protect the rights of its citizens everywhere, and that no Government can excuse itself from protecting those rights except by admitting weakness and inability to protect them. We might have taken the course of ordering our citizens to keep off vessels and to keep their vessels out of that territory, but such a course, under the existing circumstances, would have been unworthy of the great Nation of which we are a part. There was therefore nothing to do but to arm our vessels and let them go through the proscribed zone, and then when Germany insisted on firing upon them and they fired in return a state of war existed.

There was nothing for us to do except what we did do a few days ago, namely, to declare that a state of war existed. It is useless now to discuss the events that preceded the notice from Germany of her purpose to conduct the submarine warfare against neutral vessels. Now the state of war exists, and the question is how are we to play our part in it.

We all hope that it may not last a great length of time, but every patriot is determined to back his Government with his life, with his last dollar, if necessary, to bring this war to a successful conclusion.

Every exercise of sound judgment must teach us that the best thing for us to do, and the only thing for us to do, is to mobilize as speedily as possible every resource of our country, and put it actively and forcefully into the struggle at the earliest moment possible.

Our Navy must do all that it can; additional small craft must be built that we may as effectively as possible seek to clear the war zone, or help to clear it, of submarines. Vessels must be built, and we must see to it that our allies across the water are supplied with those things necessary to them, both food and munitions, to aid in conducting the war. We must mobilize men and organize an Army as rapidly as possible.

I shall not discuss the bill in its minuter details. I only wish to refer to the three principal propositions—the $3,000,000,000 of bonds to be issued to raise a fund to loan to our allies, the $2,000,000,000 for a bond issue not for immediate payment, and the $2,000,000,000 of Treasury certificates, which are short-time paper and are for speedy payment. What our allies ask is not a gift; they do not desire a gift from us to maintain their armies or their vessels. We will spend the money to maintain our Navy and to construct the vessels which we need and to create our Army. That will be our money, but they desire and expect to spend their own money to maintain their armies and their navies, and what they ask of us is the use of our credit to aid them in making purchases needed here in the United States. If we loan them our credit, we will save them the cost of selling their bonds; we will lessen much of the cost now upon them in their purchases, and we will reduce greatly, I trust, the rate of interest that their loans cost them.

This bill proposes an issue of $3,000,000,000 of 3½ per cent bonds, the money derived from their sale to be loaned to our allies who engage with us in this war. They propose to give us their bonds with a date of maturity somewhat earlier than those we issue, but with the same rate of interest. We hope thus to facilitate their obtaining at 3½ per cent, with no commissions, no cost, the necessary funds they now desire through our aid.

I do not fear the consequences of such an extension of credit. It may be difficult for some time for our allies to meet these bonds. I see no reason to fear entangling alliances. I believe it will create a spirit of good will on the part of the Russian people toward the United States. There has always been an affection on the part of the people of France for us, and I believe it will make closer our friendly relations with them and be helpful for the future.

The $2,000,000,000 of bonds that we issue, with dates not for immediate payment, for our own expenses may not all be sold;

may not all be required. It is an authorization to issue. We are preparing revenue bills to raise what revenue we legitimately and properly can from immediate taxation. This is a provision to cover the necessities of the situation as the necessities arise.

The $2,000,000,000 of short-time certificates are not in any sense to be a permanent indebtedness. They are an authorization to issue short-time Treasury certificates bearing 3½ per cent interest, to run not in excess of 12 months. It is simply a power to the Treasury Department to use the national credit pending the sale of bonds and pending the collection of revenue. It in no sense constitutes an additional public indebtedness. It does not mean that we are creating a continuing indebtedness of $7,000,000,000. The continuing indebtedness is $5,000,000,000, $3,000,000,000 of which are to be covered by the bonds of the nations to whom we furnish the money. I do not think we have ever called so far for quite that much. We may not use them all, but it puts the power in the President to render this aid, if the aid is required.

I desire again to call attention to the fact that the provision for $2,000,000,000 of short-time certificates simply gives authority to use the credit of the Government pending the sale of the $5,000,000,000 of bonds and pending the raising of revenue by tax levies.

I have studied this bill very carefully. I believe it is very wisely prepared. The $2,000,000,000 of bonds for our own expenses will only be used in case it becomes necessary to use them, in case the taxes to be raised are not sufficient to meet the necessary expenses. We are about to provide equipment for a large Army. This will involve a great outlay, not exhausted in a year, an outlay of munitions, of cannon and guns and equipment. I trust it may not be required for actual use, but, if it is needed, the quicker we get ready to furnish it the better.

I vote for this bill, as large as the issue of bonds is, with confidence in its wisdom, satisfied with its detailed provisions, believing it is carefully and well prepared.

It gives great power to the President, it is true; but I have confidence in the ability of the President, and I wish further to add that I have great confidence in the ability of the Secretary of the Treasury. I served three years and a half with Mr. John G. Carlisle when he was Secretary of the Treasury, than whom I never came in contact with a man possessing a greater intellect. I have observed the work of the present Secretary of the Treasury for the last three years and a half, participating in some of it, as he has been in constant association with the members of the Finance Committee of the Senate in the preparation of revenue bills. I had occasion to observe his work in connection with the preparation of the banking and currency act, and no man rendered greater assistance in the preparation of that measure than did he. I observed his work in connection with the preparation of the farm-loan banking act; I watched him as he directed the management of the finances of his country in the summer of 1914, when we were threatened with general liquidation, and I wish to state here that I believe the time will come—and it should be here now—when he will be recognized as one of the ablest and most valued Secretaries of the Treasury that ever filled that great office. No Secretary of the Treasury has ever made a better record or rendered greater service.

I do not desire to detain the Senate in the discussion of this measure. I vote for it with perfect confidence in its wisdom.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, before the Senator takes his seat I should like to ask him a question.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It seems to me there is an ambiguity in section 1 of the bill, and I should like to call the Senator's attention to the language. In reading the first paragraph on page 2 I have been unable to make up my mind whether the intention is to permit the United States and the various States to levy inheritance taxes upon fortunes, including United States bonds.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have no doubt about the meaning of the language used.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Now, let me read the sentence to the Senator. It is as follows:

> The principal and interest thereof shall be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value and shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation imposed by authority of the United States,

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That ends that.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then follows a comma and the word "or."

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It continues:

> or its possessions.

That ends that. Then it starts over again——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, no.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. And reads:

> or by authority of any State, except estate or inheritance taxes.

Now, what I fear is that the point may be raised that, while the States will still be allowed to levy inheritance taxes, the inheritance taxes levied by the United States shall not apply to these bonds.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I do not think such a construction is possible. I am glad the Senator calls it to my attention. Now, let us see. Let us turn to the punctuation to tell what it means.

The Senator says that at the word "except" it starts all over. Not at all. "From all taxation imposed by authority of the United States," comma, "or its possessions," comma, "or by authority of any State," comma. Those three clauses each occupy the same relation. The comma separating the word "State" in the eighth line from the word "except" puts the three propositions—the authority of the United States, the authority of its possessions, and the authority of any State—in exactly the same status and causes the following language to qualify each of the three preceding clauses, and "except estate or inheritance taxes" applies to each.

I do not think there is any doubt about that being the correct construction. That is my view of its meaning.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think it ought to be specifically stated after "the United States" as well as after "any State." I do not think we ought to leave a possibility of having the limitation apply only to States.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The comma after the word "State" necessarily carries the "except estate or inheritance taxes" back to each of the other three clauses and modifies each of the three. If it were intended to carry the meaning feared by the Senator, there should be no comma separating the word "State" from the word "except," and it should read "or by authority of any State except estate or inheritance taxes," limiting the effect of the "estate or inheritance taxes" simply to the State.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There would not be any question about the meaning if it read in this way:

> Shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation imposed by authority of the United States, except estate or inheritance taxes, or its possessions, or by authority of any State, except estate or inheritance taxes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; but you would use the words "except estate or inheritance taxes" twice when it is not necessary, I think, to do so.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is a matter of such vast importance, and there is such a possibility of the contention, because in all of our legislation heretofore the language used has been very clear that men who held bonds of the United States were exempt from the payment of any taxes, either upon the principal or the interest, and that is repeated here—that they shall be exempt, both as to principal and as to interest, from all taxation imposed by the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Our general inheritance tax now does not exempt Government bonds.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I expect not, but it specifically provides that they shall not be exempt. The Senator will understand that what I am afraid of is that the exception being placed at the end of that sentence, it might be contended in court that it was intended only to apply to the various States and not to apply to the United States; and it is a matter of such large importance, and the temptation is so great for large owners of Government bonds to set up the claim that their inheritances are not the subject of these taxes, that I think we ought to be specific.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If the suggestion of the Senator were carried out, then, on line 8, after the word "possessions," the comma would be stricken out and the words "except estate or inheritance taxes" would be added, and then, after the word "State," the comma would be stricken out, so that the words "except estate or inheritance taxes" would apply solely in that sentence to "by authority of any State."

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In other words, I do not believe in depending upon a comma when the words can be inserted specifically.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Personally, I do not object to the insertion of the words, Mr. President; but a comma creates a meaning just exactly as the use of words does in grammatical construction. I do not see how any other construction could be put upon it. I am sure that the construction desired by the Senator from Nebraska is the construction which the committee places upon it. As I have said, I am perfectly willing to have the suggested amendment made if it relieves the mind of any Senator.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question, if I may, in connection with the same paragraph.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. POMERENE. I think it would somewhat relieve this language of ambiguity if, instead of the phrase "or by authority of any State," we changed the language so as to read "or by any State or local authority." That is the phraseology we used in connection with the taxation on the farm loan bonds, and I suggest that for this reason: For instance, in my own State we have State taxes, county taxes, municipal taxes, and township taxes, and the question might arise as to whether, under this phraseology, the bonds would not be subject to municipal taxes. I do not believe they would be, because municipal authorities derive their authority from the States, but I think it would make it very much clearer if we should use the language I have suggested.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think the language "by any State or local authority" is preferable to the language used here. I think the use of that language would be an improvement.

Mr. POMERENE. I move to amend, then, Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I suppose the committee amendments will be disposed of first.

Mr. POMERENE. I think that is true, if objection is raised; but as we were discussing it, it occurred to me that that would improve the phraseology.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio offer the amendment he has in mind?

Mr. POMERENE. Yes; I do offer it, if there is no objection to it, now.

Mr. McCUMBER. I did not understand what the phrase was.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio offers an amendment, which will be stated by the Secretary.

Mr. POMERENE. On page 2, line 8, I move to strike out the words "or by authority of any State," and in lieu thereof substitute the words "or by any State or local authority." That is the phraseology used in the farm-loan act.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would suggest that the Senator make it read "State or local taxing authority."

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator from Mississippi suggests "or by any State or local taxing authority." I have no objection to that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 8, it is proposed to strike out the words "or by authority of any"——

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I ask that that go over until after the committee amendments are agreed to.

Mr. POMERENE. I have no objection.

Mr. SMOOT. I make that request so that we may study what effect it will have. As far as I am personally concerned, I think the language as it now stands in the bill is just as plain as it can possibly be; and I do not want to make any hurried amendment here. Therefore I ask that it go over until the committee amendments are disposed of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will go over.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I have some hesitancy in obtruding myself on the Senate this afternoon—the natural hesitancy of a new Member who would rather prefer to simply listen to the discussion of a measure of such great importance and by his vote indicate that he had profited by it. I shall vote for the bill; but if I had my way about it I would make the bond issue $6,000,000,000 and the certificates of indebtedness one billion, and for this reason:

During the past year and a half we have been compelled, through the needs of the Treasury, to increase materially the direct taxes levied upon the people of the Nation. These taxes are in a measure a hardship; not too much for the people to bear, but yet considerable. It is proposed, if we are to judge from the statement in the press of yesterday emanating from the Secretary of the Treasury, to increase these taxes considerably; to such an extent, it seems to me, as to warrant the fear that we may stifle industry, that we may materially affect enterprise.

I am, indeed, very much concerned that the sale of the bonds provided for by this bill shall be a great success. If it is otherwise it will be a serious thing, indeed, for the Nation. Since the beginning of the war England has approached the raising of taxes and the issuing of bonds with an eye single to protecting the great business interests of the British Empire. In the beginning she increased her income taxes moderately, and then, as the needs of the war demanded, she proceeded, step by step, until now she is levying an income tax about equal to what is proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

I do not know what plan the Secretary of the Treasury has in mind, but I assume that it is his intention to issue these bonds in amounts of $1,000,000,000 at a time. I know that the country is hopeful that the great majority of the bonds will be taken up by real popular subscription. I presume they will be issued in small enough denominations to warrant their purchase by people of moderate means. But, Mr. President, I am of the opinion that the country is not yet fully aroused to the seriousness of the situation confronting the Nation. I am not certain that just at this time the smaller business men, the smaller bankers, and farmers throughout the country will be disposed to put their money into bonds at 3½ per cent interest, when the average man in every community needs all the money he can get to conduct his business. Undoubtedly some of these bonds will be taken up in the country at large, but——

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. CALDER. Certainly.

Mr. KENYON. I suppose the Senator is referring to section 5. I should like to ask the Senator if he does not believe there will be a patriotic market for the bonds in the country at 3½ per cent?

I have not been quite able to understand why it is that when these bonds are put out at 3½ per cent we follow with the other provision in section 5 that if, at any time prior to December 31, 1918, other bonds shall be issued at a higher rate of interest, these bonds shall bear that higher rate of interest. I believe there is a great deal of patriotism in the country that will manifest itself in taking these bonds at 3½ per cent. Does not the Senator believe that that is true?

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I am hopeful that what the Senator suggests is true. I am, however, uncertain as to whether the country is sufficiently aroused to the danger besetting us to induce men from all parts of the Nation to take their money out of interest-bearing investments paying 5 and 6 per cent and more and place it in these 3½ per cent bonds. If the country were really threatened, if the people of the Nation believed their homes and firesides were in grave danger, there would be no doubt of the Nation's responding in a matter of this kind.

Answering the Senator's second inquiry, my judgment is that if the rate of interest were made less than 3½ per cent, it is a question whether or not the bonds could be readily disposed of; and then again there is a possibility that before the year ends it may be necessary to make another issue of bonds. Perhaps it may be found then that the bonds can not be sold as readily as they may be at this time.

It is well enough for us to sell a hundred million dollars' worth of bonds or five hundred million dollars' worth, but we are proposing to float the biggest bond issue, by many billions, that this country has ever thought of, and we can not afford to make a mistake in a matter of such vital importance. My judgment is that the provision regarding the redemption of the bonds at a higher rate of interest is an excellent one, and is the best thing that could be done to assure the sale of the present issue.

I live in the city of New York. Congress has been accustomed of late to enact legislation requiring the people of my city to pay a very large proportion of the taxes collected in the country.

Of the income, corporation, and profits taxes to be collected from the entire country this year, I am told that the city of New York will pay approximately 50 per cent. I want to say to the Senators here that when the laws providing for these taxes were passed they heard little more than a protest from New York City. It is true that for a day or two the newspapers discussed the question, but after that they subsided. We knew the country was approaching difficult days, and the city of New York, as always in the past, was ready to respond to whatever call the Nation made. Many times in this Chamber men have criticized the patriotism of the metropolis, but I wonder if it is realized that in the Civil War my State contributed 450,000 soldiers to the cause for the preservation of the Union—20 per cent of all the men engaged in that conflict.

I will venture the statement, Mr. President, that in the first issue of these bonds, which will probably be $1,000,000,000, the business men and bankers of our city will take up at least 60 per cent.

I hope that the statement of the junior Senator from Iowa that the patriotic people of the Nation will subscribe for all of the bonds authorized by this bill may be correct. It will be a great pleasure to me, but I am afraid that something startling will have to occur before we can drive home to the citizenship of the Nation the necessities of the hour.

The point I wish particularly to make, Mr. President, before I take my seat, is this:

In the preparation of revenue measures, which we will be called upon to consider in a few days, I do hope that the Finance Committee will be very careful that they do not submit legislation that will, in the end, kill the goose that lays the golden egg. I would, as was suggested by a distinguished Senator the other day, levy taxes at this time sufficient to carry the interest on these bonds, and then wait until next winter to enact well-considered legislation that would not be a great hardship upon some particular interest or locality of the country, that would not in the end be a serious detriment to enterprise and industry.

I submit these observations, Mr. President, hopeful that we will approach this subject with the greatest possible care, to the end that every issue of bonds will be made with the greatest possible consideration for the business of the country.

It has been asked what amount of the allies's bonds are held in this country. I am informed that there are approximately $1,500,000,000 worth of English and French war bonds held here to-day, upon which is paid a rate of interest approximating 6 per cent.

Mr. SMOOT. Six and a quarter per cent.

Mr. CALDER. Six and a quarter per cent. Now, with that in mind, we should, like England, approach all of these problems in such a way that the best interests of the Nation will be served.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, that the American people may understand that even a $7,000,000,000 loan is not a large contribution of the American people to the great war in which they are now engaged, I think it very proper to place in the RECORD the fact that the warring nations to-day have expended, in cash alone, about $80,000,000,000 in this war—eighty billions, as against our proposition now to expend seven billions to start with. Let us recall, also, that a little island not more than two-thirds the size of my State has, up to the present time in this war, furnished a credit of about forty billions, or one-half of the entire expenses of this great contest.

Nor is this all, Mr. President. While we are recognizing that we are putting $7,000,000,000 into this battle, we must not fail to recognize that we are not as yet putting in a single one of our American soldiers, while blood is being poured out by our allies in unstinted measure. Even during the winter months of February and March the reports from the British side in France showed an average loss of between 135,000 and 145,000 soldiers every month. That was on the British line alone. The French losses were probably nearly as great. It is probably true that more than a quarter of a million men are going down to death or are being wounded or captured every month during this contest. Therefore, while they are suffering to that extent, we ought to be mighty liberal in the expenditure of money when we can take no part in the real battle which to-day is the battle of the American people.

Let us not forget another matter, and that is the mighty strength and power of these great central countries, reaching from the Baltic on through the richest portions of Europe down to the Mediterranean. Here is Germany, with a population of about 70,000,000; here is Austria, with a population of about 60,000,000; and then we have Bulgaria, Roumania, now practically in the hands of the central powers, and Turkey. Not only is this country the richest section of the world, Mr. President, but with their military railways those great central powers can send an army from one section of one line to another section of that line in a very few hours. They have an enormous advantage over the entente countries in every respect, not only in the beginning of the war in their power and their ability and their science, but even up to the present time in the facilities for handling their millions of soldiers.

Nor is that all. Hell-born, there comes into this war another instrumentality of destruction—the submarine. No power has been able to cope with it. Great Britain, able to control the seas, to-day sees her merchant marine gradually going down at the rate of about 500,000 tons every month, and no method has yet been devised to meet that condition. I noticed in a paper that I received this morning that this country, to meet her share of the devastation by the submarines, should build 500,000 tons every month, with the expectation that that number of tons would go down to the bottom of the ocean every month.

Mr. President, with those conditions facing us I think we ought with liberal hand and with open heart to grant this call upon the American Treasury, and the bill ought to go through without a single dissenting vote.

Nor are these the only conditions that we must meet. Russia, great in population, great in territory, enormous in her resources, is to-day a negligible quantity in this great war. Having just emerged from the darkness of an autocratic form of government, I am fearful, Mr. President, that the light of liberty will blind her eyes and possibly make her unfit to be an aggressive factor. They not only need our cash but they need our sympathy, and, Mr. President, they need the leading hand of a great nation which has been able under all conditions to maintain a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We will need to give them not only cash to sustain the Government, there, but all the influence and the power and the sympathy of this great Government should go out and be exercised for the benefit of the Russian people.

Now, Mr. President, I want to call attention to another fact in this great drama. We have not yet been able to find any character of warfare, any mechanism that can meet the devastation of this submarine warfare. I notice by a report which I received from the department this morning that there have been sunk of neutral vessels alone about 800 in number since the beginning of the war. In addition to this number of vessels about 73 have been attacked and escaped. I want to call the attention of the Senate and the American people to the mighty power of this submarine warfare, when nine out of every ten vessels that have been attacked have gone down to the bottom of the ocean. No such condition has ever been in the world before; never before has the devastation been so great. The enemy without the use of her warships, without the necessity of defending her own merchant vessels, can turn into the ocean this nest of rattlesnakes, whose stroke is always death and from which there so far has been comparatively no escape whatever.

Mr. President, there has never yet been anything invented by the human mind for the purpose of destruction that the same human mind has not been able to invent or produce something else to meet it and to destroy its effect. I believe if to-day we will provide the proper facilities and invite the inventive genius of the American people not alone in our Army and Navy but throughout all the great industries of the country and give them an opportunity to develop their ideas, give them the incentive of good pay if they succeed in their invention in producing any character of mechanism that will protect the hull of a ship from the stroke of the torpedo, we could invest our money in no better possible way, and I believe that that ought to be done.

But this is our initial step, and we ought, in my opinion, not only as a duty which we owe to ourselves but a duty which we owe to those who are now fighting our battles across the sea, to vote this $7,000,000,000 without a dissenting voice.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I shall vote for this bill without any apology. I hope it will pass with no dissenting vote. It demonstrates that there is no half-heartedness in this conflict, that we are doing the best thing we can do, and doing it speedily. There should be no dilly-dallying; this is no halfway measure. Our action must be speedy to be available.

This tremendous sum rather staggers us; but, Mr. President, it will stagger the enemy of our country a good deal more. It will cause the thoughtful people in this country to realize the stupendousness of the task we have undertaken, and they must realize it, for this Nation of ours is on trial; Congress is on trial; the people are on trial. There is a mighty union of patriotism in this Nation that never fails in the hour of need. The call has gone out to mobilize industries and for a greater food supply. It will be done. The people of this country realize their duty to raise more foodstuffs, and they demand also that Congress perform its duty and see that there is no speculation in the foodstuffs which the people will raise.

The people trust the President in giving him this great power. They want to know, and they have a right to know, that the money shall be expended carefully and economically, and a strict accounting made therefor.

I have heard some things said here to-day concerning these loans and whether or not they will ever be paid. I want to say this for myself, Mr. President, that I hope one of these loans, if we make it, will never be paid and that we will never ask that it be paid. We owe more to the Republic of France for what it has done for us than we can ever repay. France came to us with money, with a part of her army, with a navy, in the hour of our sore distress, and without the aid of France it is doubtful if we would have had this Nation of ours. I know we are told that during the Civil War France did not treat us well, but that was not the people of France.

I walked on Sunday to the square near the White House and stood in meditation at the great statue erected by this Government to Rochambeau and reflected upon the words on that statue—the words of Washington:

We have been contemporaneous and fellow workers in the cause of liberty and we have lived together as brothers should do—in harmonious friendship.

Splendid sentiment—prophetic at this time.

And then my mind in vision went out to that scene when at old Independence Hall a crowd applauded Rochambeau and his followers as they marched by on their way to Yorktown. We owe much to him.

Then, on the other corner of that square stands the monument erected to the man whose name arouses every emotion of our nature, and has from boyhood days—Lafayette. The mind wanders in vision to the time when he as a young Frenchman presented himself to Washington just before the British fleet came into our waters; and there passes before one the memory of Germantown, Brandywine, Valley Forge, and Yorktown. A nation that would forget what France has done for us, what Lafayette has done, would be a nation that was losing its virility. I never want to see this Government ask France to return the loan which we may make to her. I want further to see us match her Lafayette with a Roosevelt. What an inspiration to see the Stars and Stripes waving for the lilies of France!

Now, Mr. President, it is said that money talks. It does; and this large amount of money, which will amaze the world, will be very vocal. It carries a message to the American people—a message that they must practice frugality and thrift and turn from extravagance. It says to them that this is a mighty task to which the great Republic has dedicated itself. It carries a message to the Kaiser that the Republic of the West is in deadly earnest, and that he may as well awaken now from his dream of world power. To the boys in the trenches fighting for what is now our battle it carries a message of cheer. But the greatest message it carries is to bleeding, wounded, stricken France, with its cities burned, its fields destroyed, its fertile lands made a wilderness, rows upon rows of new-made graves, over a million men gone, another million injured and wounded, her treasure nearly spent. It carries to France this message: "When we were a young Republic in the family of nations, struggling along, hardly able to walk, you reached out and took our hand and helped us. Now we are the powerful one in that same great family of nations, and the big brother of democracy says to you that it is willing to give of its treasure and of its men enough to save you from the onslaught of the mad dog of autocracy."

That thought cheers me in voting for this measure, regardless of the stupendous amount involved. We show to the world that Republics are not ungrateful and to France that the great American Republic does not forget.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I will engage the Senate but a moment. In the shadow of this desperate emergency which I had hoped would never fall across the pathway of duty there is but one thing for the American people to do, and that is to present a militant, invincible front to the common enemy. The burden of taxation which this bill is going to lay upon the American people will be borne cheerfully, for the toiling masses are always cheerful and patriotic in the performance of a public duty, although it will press heavily upon them. Whether the amount appropriated by this bill is more than ought to be levied or not time alone will determine. I am not going to discuss that phase of the question at this late hour. I was in hopes that war might be averted. I did all that I could as a Senator to bring about a settlement of this question by negotiations. I believed then and believe now it ought to have been settled without bloodshed or a declaration of war. But Congress did not agree with me, and I must bow to the will of the majority. War has been declared. We have crossed the Rubicon, and now we must go to Rome regardless of the cost in blood and treasure. I do not like the idea of appropriating money to hire somebody else to do America's fighting. The substitute in war is not to me an admirable object. It may be that financial help to the allies will promote America's course and in that sense is excusable. It is not, however, profitable at this time to discuss that. The question of managing this campaign under our form of government devolves upon the President. Both in the capacity of a Senator and a private citizen I propose to do everything needful within my power to strengthen the arm of the Chief Executive and those who counsel with him in the management of this campaign. I am hoping and trusting they may bring the war to an honcrable, successful, and speedy end. Mr. President, I am going to vote for this bill. I do it with a heavy heart and some misgiving as to the outcome. I realize that a great many economic errors are liable to be committed. I am fearful that a great many things will be done in these abnormal times which we will all regret. It will require many years, I fear, to bring the old ship of state back to the moorings of the fathers, if, indeed, we shall be able ever to restore the old and better order of things. But, trusting that an All-Wise Providence may guide the Executive, and that prudence, patriotism, courage, and wisdom may characterize his every act, I am going to vote for the means.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I am going to support this bill, but not rapturously. It has been said that in a multitude of counsel there is safety, and there is no determined opposition to the passage of the bill here to-day, and I doubt if there will be one single vote against it.

But, Mr. President, I wish to speak along the line that might be of some service hereafter if not to-day. Necessity goads on progress and is the underlying fact that compels all material change and reforms. Necessity has compelled the courts to twist provisions of constitutions, it has compelled them to amend provisions of the Constitution; necessity has compelled our courts to abolish provisions of the Constitution. Necessity is the supreme law of war, and we are in war to-day.

Now, looking at the thing along that line, let us proceed a little further. Since we are in war, since necessity is the supreme law of war and force is the controlling factor, let us look at the thing as it really is. We went into this war, as I understood it, because we said to Germany, "Your submarine blockade and warfare interferes with our commerce; it must not be longer permitted." We then insured the ships and the cargoes to protect our commerce. We then armed our ships to protect the commerce further. We then declared war, that our commerce might be fully protected, and to-day we propose to lend the allies yonder money to buy supplies to be shipped in our commerce. We have certainly been good to our commerce.

That is the condition which confronts us to-day. It may be that necessity requires that it shall be done, but if you are looking along the particular line for the investment of your money, what do you get for this money when it is invested? Will one single ounce more of energy be brought to bear on the battle fields of Europe against our official enemy because of our lending this money to the allies? No. Will one single more submarine be destroyed because we are lending this money to the allies? No. That is, not the way we understand it now. These other nations are in the war, and it was a war in which they were at least engaged, if not commenced by them, and they were bound to use every ounce of their energy to bring it to a successful conclusion. They have been doing that. They have failed up to now. They must continue to do that, whether we lend them money or not. They can not quit.

We have entered the war, ostensibly at least, for a particular purpose. We are in the war now. We propose to spend our money, this much of it, and what will it be for? The practical effect of it will be what? To destroy submarines? No. There is Germany, our official enemy, 3,000 miles from American shores, with no army that can possibly be raised to bring here, and we are not in a position we might concede to go there. Germany has said that, notwithstanding you have declared war upon us, we do not propose to fight you at all; we are going to pursue the policy we have heretofore announced. That may be misleading. It might be to put us off our guard, but nothing has occurred, unless the newspaper story we heard to-day is true, to indicate to the contrary.

Those are the conditions, and we are advised to build more ships than can be sunk. Since we are in the war, and necessity is the only law of war, then let us consider these things as we go along. The bond issue is here. We propose the largest war budget of all time. We propose six times as much, five times as much, and four times as much in the first issue as all the first-class nations issued when they went into the war.

When it comes to the payment of these bonds—those are the conditions I want to speak a little about. The people are going to have to pay this money, and I will say that if wealth can be made to bear its just proportion of the expense and debt it ought to be made to do it.

I am not criticizing the policy that has been outlined, but it has not agreed with what I have always thought heretofore ought to be done. It has always pleased me to believe that American power and American prowess were sufficient to take care of and protect American rights in any land and on all seas. I have believed that we should not make entangling alliances with other nations all the time and up to now. It may be that we are not departing from that practice. I hope not to any great extent; we are going to have to pay these bills. I believe there ought to be such a bill proposed, and I understand there will be, to make the wealth of the country bear its just proportion of the war expenditures. If it does come about, however, a little later, on a change of administration, after this great expenditure has been authorized or debt incurred and a change of mode of taxation to indirect taxes is made, then the wealth will escape its just share of taxation for the payment of these bonds, and it will be shifted to the people who have already borne and will be compelled to bear a most

unjust burden until the indebtedness is all discharged. I do not believe that this should occur, and I am not going that far down the line.

I merely wanted to say that I am going to support this measure, and I am going to support it, notwithstanding the views that I have had about it heretofore. I am going to support it because the administration says that this is the thing to do, and because at this time it seems we have agreed to this sort of a policy, and we may as well go ahead and let it appear that we are unanimously in favor of it. We must bring this war to a successful conclusion. I favor that regardless of what the cost may be in men and in money.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, just a few words. I think, perhaps, I deplore war as much as anyone, and I have always deplored war. Even as I pick up the evening paper and read and rejoice, too, at the news of to-day's French successes, I realize the tremendous loss in treasure and in men that these successes involve; but, Mr. President, the limit of forbearance with Germany has long since been reached; patience has ceased to be a virtue. We can no longer, not only in the interest of America and of American citizens, but in the interest of humanity and civilization itself, decline to take our part in this great war.

Mr. President, the outrages of the murderous submarine is, of course, without parallel in the history of war or of the world; and yet there was a time a while ago in the history of this war when it seemed as though our great Government, with its boasted civilization, its supposed fine sense of liberty and humanity, was going to acquiesce in the German Admiralty order of February, 1916, which was to sink without warning the merchant ships of the belligerents opposed to Germany, whether armed for purely defensive purposes or not. Oh, Mr. President, how proud we may be to-day that instead of having acquiesced in that kind of warfare, which has shocked humanity and which has shamed our civilization, we are in arms against it in the interest of freedom and liberty and humanity throughout the world. Since we are in this war, we want to be in it, Mr. President, in the most effective way. We can not now—that is impracticable—send an army abroad to fight on foreign soil, but we can, as we should, equip the allies with what we have—the sinews of war, the money, the means with which to fight not alone their battle but our battle, as well, as they have been fighting our battle, I think, all along in their resistance to the perfidious doctrine that might makes right and that necessity knows no law, as Von Bethmann-Hollweg declared upon the invasion of Belgium, while admitting the invasion was a violation of international law. Yes; we can assist them in that way.

We can—it has been in my mind for some time—render some material assistance in another way. We can help them in their relief to the Belgians, who are dependent upon them, by a gift now of at least $25,000,000, which will relieve the Belgians, and at the same time relieve France and Great Britain for a period of two months of the burden of supporting the dependent and helpless men, women, and children in that unfortunate territory.

To that end, I may say here, Mr. President, that I introduced a resolution the other day, which is now before the Committee on Foreign Relations, and which, I trust, will have the earnest consideration of that committee. That, however, is simply one way in which we can help and aid them. The bill itself before the Senate provides for the other practical and effectual means—the most effectual means—by which we can now aid them.

I said, Mr. President, that I deplored war, but nevertheless there never has been a bill before the Senate on which I cast my vote, and in regard to which I voted with less hesitation, than I voted for the war resolution the other day. So there is no bill likely to come before the Senate for which I shall vote with less hesitation than I shall vote for the bill now pending here.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, $7,000,000,000 represents a sum of money which is almost beyond the mind of man to comprehend, and yet the raising of that sum by our country for the purposes for which we intend it by this bill is as little as our Nation could do under the present world conditions. The bill provides a bond issue of $2,000,000,000, as well as an issue of short-term certificates of $2,000,000,000, for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the Government up to June 30, 1918.

The necessity for this action has been brought about by the declaration of war and the necessary expenses attached to the vigorous prosecution of the war. The Secretary of the Treasury tells us that in order to meet the expenses for the coming fiscal year for the Army alone an appropriation of at least $2,950,000,000 will be necessary. He also states that it will be necessary for our Navy to expend $550,000,000 more than was provided for it at the last session of Congress. Those two items, Mr. President, amount to about $3,500,000,000; and we know that in administering the affairs of the Government during war times, and particularly directing the expenditure of the mammoth appropriations which we are compelled to make, there will be entailed upon the Government of the United States an extra expense of from $80,000,000 to $100,000,000. It is for these reasons we must provide means for raising nearly $4,000,000,000 for the extra expenses of the Government for the balance of this fiscal year and the next fiscal year, ending June 30, 1918.

The $3,000,000,000 which we are proposing to raise by a bond issue for the purpose of advancing it to the allies, I believe, Mr. President, will all be repaid; but if it should not be, or if not one penny of it is returned, I wish to say now that every penny of it will be expended for the defense of the principles in which we believe and for which we entered the war to uphold.

The junior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIRBY] asked the question, "Will one single ounce of additional energy be expended if this money is advanced to the allies?" He answered the question by saying "no." Why, Mr. President, the Senator certainly does not know the conditions existing in those countries, or he never would have made such an answer. I desire to say that the greatest present need of the allies is: First, ships; and, second, money.

Senators, there are hundreds of thousands of tons of merchandise ordered by France lying in different ports of this country which it is impossible to move, and meanwhile France is suffering from the delay in delivery. I speak of France because I think that France is suffering more than any other country for the supplies which she has ordered from our country and on which she is dependent. So far as I am personally concerned, I will say that if the President of the United States decides to extend to Russia a loan of $1,000,000,000 and takes in return the obligation of that country for the loan of the money, if it would enable the people of Russia to establish a republican form of government and forever relieve her of her past autocratic form of government, I would say "God grant that it be done," even if we knew beforehand that not one cent of the loan would be paid.

The senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] said that he believed we ought to spend our money for the benefit of the United States. So do I; and, Mr. President, I think that every dollar that will be expended under the provisions of this bill, if it is expended honestly, will be for the benefit of the United States, whether spent by us or by the allies.

I know that the countries involved in this war have a burdensome debt upon them which it will take, perhaps, a hundred years for some of them to pay; and I was going to say perhaps it would be impossible for some of them to ever pay their obligations incurred through the prosecution of the war. I notice that, according to the last reports, the United Kingdom has already issued war bonds to the amount of $15,550,000,000, all spent to the carrying on of the war and does not include the advances made to England by New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, nor does it include the money that she has expended on this war collected by taxation; but that amount represents solely what the United Kingdom has borrowed by bond issues for the purposes of the war. France has borrowed and issued her bonds for the same purpose to the amount of $10,532,000,000; Russia, $11,896,000,000; Italy, $2,520,000,000; Germany, $13,726,000,000; Austria, $3,659,000,000; Hungary, $1,730,000,000. These figures, Mr. President, do not include the amount that has been spent and borrowed by Turkey, by Bulgaria, by Serbia, and the other powers to whom money has been advanced, not only by England, but by Germany as well.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I will inquire where the Senator obtained those figures?

Mr. SMOOT. I obtained them from the statistician of the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. STONE. What is the aggregate?

Mr. SMOOT. The aggregate of the bond issues of the world to-day——

Mr. STONE. I mean war issues.

Mr. SMOOT. The aggregate of the war bond issues of the world to-day is about $58,000,000,000.

Mr. STONE. Did the Senator state what the issues of the respective Governments engaged in the war amounted to?

Mr. SMOOT. I did as to each one.

Mr. STONE. I desired that information.

Mr. SMOOT. I can repeat the figures if the Senator desires me to do so.

Mr. STONE. The Senator need not repeat them, as they will appear in the RECORD in the Senator's remarks.

Mr. SMOOT. They will be in the RECORD to-morrow morning.

Mr. President, there has been some criticism of the bill because it provides that half of the money required by this Government for the purpose of engaging in this war is to be raised by means of a bond issue, and the other half by the issuance of short-time certificates, to be redeemed by the revenues to be provided by a bill which no doubt will be passed at this session of Congress. The Senator from Missouri thought we ought to increase the short-time certificate to $3,000,000,000 and decrease the bond issue to $1,000,000,000. Well, Mr. President, I know the Senator from Missouri is just as honest in his opinion as I am in mine; but I want to say that if the Congress of the United States should undertake to impose upon the people of the United States by direct taxation $3,000,000,000 over and above the amount of $1,300,000,000 imposed during the last session of Congress, it would discourage the business men of the country and upset the finances of the country, and place a burden upon the great mass of the people, greater than they uncomplainingly would bear. Have Senators thought upon how many classes of industries and upon how many individuals taxation must fall to raise by direct taxation $2,000,000,000? The estimate, Mr. President——

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. STONE. I will wait until the Senator concludes the sentence.

Mr. SMOOT. According to the suggestion made by the Secretary of the Treasury, as reported in the newspapers, one-half of the $1,800,000,000 to be raised by direct taxation is to be raised by an increase in the income tax over and above the increase provided at the last session of Congress and by additional taxation of excess profits of the corporations of the country. A half of it no doubt will be raised in that way; and as to the other $900,000,000 we will have to resort to every known form of direct taxation to raise it. Now, to add a billion dollars more I think would be most unwise and most unfortunate for the business interests and the people of the United States.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

Mr. SMOOT. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. STONE. The Senator is a very industrious and careful student of current affairs and current legislation. If we assume, as I think the circumstances would warrant us in assuming, that this war may end speedily, probably during the present year, if the greater half of what we are told by the news reports coming to us through friendly sources can be credited, it would look very much as if we were well past the beginning of the end. Now, I wish to take the judgment of the Senator as to this—and the question is based, of course, upon the theory that the war may end during the present year and before we really get into it physically. If that happens, and yet we go on preparing for it, does the Senator think it would be best for us to make that preparation for actual entrance into the war by the use of money raised through the issue of bonds—that is, borrowed money; borrowed to run through an indefinite future period—or to make that preparation on the basis of taxes to be actually laid and speedily collected?

Mr. SMOOT. In answer to the Senator, I will say that it is absolutely necessary to prepare for every emergency, and under this bill we do prepare for every known emergency. There is nothing in the bill that directs the Secretary of the Treasury to sell these bonds all at once, or even within the year, nor is he directed to sell the short-time certificates at any particular time; but he is authorized to sell them to meet the actual expenses of our Government; and that is exactly what I anticipate the Secretary of the Treasury will do.

Mr. STONE. Yes; but what does the Senator think should be first offered—the long-time bonds or the short-time certificates?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I think the short-time certificates will be sold first, or perhaps a part of each of the issues may be sold at once. So far as that is concerned, if the bonds were all sold at once and before the certificates, what the Senator says would be in part true. The form, the duration, and sale of the bonds provided for is left entirely in the discretion of the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, let me suggest to the Senator also, on the other hand, if the money is to be raised on the theory of imposing a new and onerous tax upon the people and the taxes are collected and put in the Treasury and then the war stops, what an injury has been done to the people of this country.

Mr. SMOOT. The suggestion of the Senator from Connecticut is so obviously correct that it must appeal to every Senator here.

Mr. President, there were a number of other things that I desired to say at this particular time, but the chairman of the committee having the bill in charge desires a vote upon it at a very early hour. Therefore I will conclude at this time.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I understand from the chairman of the committee that it is his intention to hold the Senate here until we vote on this measure.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is my desire.

Mr. PENROSE. Then I sincerely hope that without unduly cutting off any debate or any amendment we may get to a vote at an early hour and be able to keep such engagements as we may have made.

Mr. SIMMONS. I think we are ready now to begin voting upon the amendments.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the first amendment of the committee, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 7, line 5, after the numerals "$2,000,000,000," it is proposed to insert a comma and the words:

and such certificates shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation imposed by authority of the United States or its possessions or by authority of any State, except estate or inheritance taxes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I propose an amendment to that amendment, which I think the committee will be willing to accept. I propose to strike out the words "except estate or inheritance taxes" an insert the same words on line 7 after the word "taxation." I will state that that transposition makes it absolutely certain that the United States inheritance-tax power, as well as the State inheritance-tax power, will still exist.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, while I do not agree with the Senator from Nebraska in the doubt that he entertains, I have no objection to accepting the amendment which he proposes.

The SECRETARY. On page 7, lines 8 and 9, it is proposed, after the word "State," to strike out the comma and the words "except estate or inheritance taxes," and to insert the same words following the word "taxation," in line 7, with a comma after it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The modification has been accepted by the chairman of the committee. The question is on the amendment as modified.

The amendment as modified was agreed to.

The SECRETARY. Also, on page 7, after line 9, it is proposed to insert a new section, section 7, as follows——

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, for that amendment proposed by the committee I offer as a committee substitute the matter which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The substitute will be stated.

The SECRETARY. As a substitute for the amendment offered by the committee it is proposed to insert the following:

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate the proceeds, or any part thereof, arising from the sale of the bonds and certificates of indebtedness authorized by this act, and such deposits may bear such rate of interest and be subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the committee withdraws the former amendment and substitutes this.

Mr. SIMMONS. The committee offers that as a substitute.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I offer an amendment to the substitute.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts offers an amendment to the amendment, which will be stated.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, our attention has been directed to the print. Now an amendment is offered on the floor, and read rather hurriedly. I should like to ask that it be read again.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is the same thing in substance.

Mr. REED. I do not think it is.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Let the amendment to the amendment be reported first—the one the Senator from Massachusetts has just introduced.

Mr. REED. Very well.

The SECRETARY. Following the word "prescribed," the Senator from Massachusetts proposes to insert the following:

Provided, That in no case shall an amount so deposited exceed the amount withdrawn from such bank or trust company for investment in United States bonds or certificates of indebtedness authorized and issued under the provisions of this act: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall require as security for such deposits United States bonds or United States certificates of indebtedness or other securities of equivalent value equal to the amount of said deposit.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Now let the Secretary read the substitute as it is proposed to be amended.

The SECRETARY. The substitute as proposed reads as follows:

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate the proceeds, or any part thereof, arising from the sale of the bonds and certificates of indebtedness authorized by this act, and such deposits may bear such rate of interest and be subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

To which the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] proposes to add the following:

Provided, That in no case shall an amount so deposited exceed the amount withdrawn from such bank or trust company for investment in United States bonds or certificates of indebtedness authorized and issued under the provisions of this act: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall require as security for such deposits United States bonds or United States certificates of indebtedness or other securities of equivalent value equal to the amount of said deposit.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, may I suggest to the Senator from North Carolina that, in the second or third line of the substitute which he has proposed, the words "such banks and trust companies" are used. I think he means "State banks." The word "such" does not refer to anything, if I understand the reading correctly.

Mr. SIMMONS. That makes it discretionary with the Secretary of the Treasury to select the banks in which the deposits shall be made.

Mr. WEEKS. The Secretary now has the authority to deposit in the Federal reserve banks and in all member banks. We are giving him additional authority to deposit in State banks and trust companies; and, instead of using the word "such," I think the word "State" should be used.

Mr. SIMMONS. As the Senator says, the Secretary now has the power to make a deposit in a member bank; and when we give him authority to deposit in such banks as he may in his discretion select, of course the Senator is right in saying that it does not refer to any except State banks or trust companies.

Mr. WEEKS. What does the word "such" refer to?

Mr. SIMMONS. Such banks as he may select.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. May I ask that the amendment be stated again, just that part of it, so that we will see the connection?

The Secretary read as follows:

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to deposit in such banks and trust companies, as he may designate, the proceeds, or any part thereof——

Mr. SIMMONS. That would include State banks and member banks as well as trust companies.

Mr. REED obtained the floor.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I will ask the Senator from Missouri to permit me, before he makes his statement, to say that so far as I am concerned, as the chairman of the committee and speaking for the committee, I accept the proviso which the Senator from Massachusetts has offered as an amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I simply wanted to say that with the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] I do not think the clause is as objectionable as it was before.

I am not going to take the time of the Senate to discuss this provision. I have been engaged on committee work all day, and had I been here during the day I should have had something to say about it. I simply want to make a matter of record my protest against changing from the rule which requires that the fiscal transactions of our Government shall be through the Federal Reserve System. I believe that every inducement ought to be offered to banks to enter that system and that one of those inducements is to be found in the custom and rule which requires the Federal Government to transact its business through the Federal reserve banks.

I think this is a piece of unwisdom. This variation is not justified. I think the clause ought to have gone to the Banking and Currency Committee. I do not believe it has received proper consideration. I do not think it ought to be done. I do not ask that the matter be delayed, however, and I do not intend to discuss it further.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, for information, I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether his amendment—which is not printed and was only read just now—limits the amount of deposits made by the Secretary of the Treasury out of the proceeds of the sale of the new bonds to the amount withdrawn from the respective banks for the purpose of investing in the new bonds?

Mr. WEEKS. It does.

Mr. PHELAN. Does that mean the investment by the banks and trust companies or the investment by the banks and trust companies and the depositors of the banks and trust companies?

Mr. WEEKS. It means deposits withdrawn by anyone for that purpose.

Mr. PHELAN. Then the bank must ascertain the purpose for which the depositor withdraws the money in order to get the benefit of the redeposit?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes; exactly.

Mr. PHELAN. It is hardly in conformity with the usual practice of banks to inquire into the uses to which depositors put their invested funds.

Mr. WEEKS. It is a practice that is frequently followed, Mr. President. As the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] has said, the Secretary of the Treasury has no authority to deposit moneys in these banks and should not do so. He should ordinarily deposit the money with banks which the law provides for that purpose; but in order to prevent the shifting of funds, greatly involving the financial situation, there has been an appeal that some of this money might be deposited in banks and trust companies from which it is withdrawn which do not belong to the Federal Reserve System. There is merit in that appeal. Therefore, if they get back from the Secretary as much money as is withdrawn for this purpose they can have no complaint, and that is as much as he should deposit in such banks.

Mr. PHELAN. Do I understand that the object of the Senator's amendment is to reimburse, as it were, the banks for the loss in deposits, so that there will be an even balance, and there will be actually no transfer of funds?

Mr. WEEKS. It helps to bring about that purpose, which is desirable.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I can perhaps give him a little information upon this subject, because it was brought to my attention yesterday in New York. A gentleman there connected with one of the trust companies said that his company would be much more likely to invest $10,000,000 in these bonds if the money, instead of being drawn out by the Government or taken across the street to a national bank, were permitted to remain there until the Government actually needed it; and that would be done in the absence of some provision like this, because under the present law the Secretary has no power to select any other than a national bank for deposit. He thought and I think that it will expedite and encourage the sale of the bonds. Of course, the money can remain in the vaults of the purchaser only so long as the Government does not need it. The purpose is to prevent the shifting of that money from a State bank to a National bank right across the street.

Mr. PHELAN. Let me add that the amendment that has just been proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] provides that deposits shall only be made in banks and trust companies where security is given in United States and other acceptable bonds. Now, where the trust company or bank buys the new issue, it can immediately use the new issue for security.

Mr. THOMAS. That may be.

Mr. PHELAN. But where the customer buys the bank can not call upon the customer for his security. So large is this transaction, beyond all previous precedent, that there will be a great deal of money which can not be deposited in the banks, because the banks have not the security to offer, in case this amendment prevails.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, the Senator realizes that this is the most enormous bond issue ever put out by this or any other country, and in all probability it will require extraordinary methods in order to properly and satisfactorily and speedily dispose of them. If the Senator and I were fortunate enough to own a trust company having the money, certainly we would be more apt to buy Government bonds, if the proceeds were left with us until the authorities needed it than if they were sent across the street to our rivals.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, just a word. I heard what my colleague [Mr. REED] said, and I approve it. I am such an ardent advocate and supporter of the reserve bank system that I want to do everything I can to strengthen it. We have here a great proposition involving the greatest financial transactions in our history, and it is proposed to let in upon equal footing banks and trust companies that do not see proper for their own reasons to enter into the reserve bank system, a privilege they could have if they cared to avail themselves of it, and which they should for patriotic reasons avail themselves of, to give them in this great emergency, where billions of dollars are to be deposited for the use of the people of the country, they are to be let in upon terms of equality with the member banks of the reserve system.

Here is the greatest chance the reserve bank system has ever had to demonstrate and exemplify its usefulness and to make its potency felt. Member banks are scattered broadcast over the land; they are in every neighborhood, and why should they not

be given the advantage of this opportunity, and why should not the example of this opportunity be presented to all the banks of the country now? Why should not our great bank system be encouraged and strengthened in this way? I think my colleague has a correct view of the situation.

Mr. PAGE. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senator from Missouri that in my judgment the banks to come forward with the greatest measure of patriotism in subscribing for this loan would be the country banks organized under State charters. It is hardly to be debated, as far as my own State is concerned, that the savings banks and trust companies of the State could probably furnish ten times as many subscriptions to this loan as the national banks. I may be wrong in my estimate, but it would be at least several times over. Those banks ought to be encouraged as much as is practicable at this time. If a trust company in any of the States loans the Government a hundred thousand dollars and if they allow the Government bonds to which they subscribe to remain as collateral, I see no reason why that money ought not to remain with the trust companies and savings banks until the Government has occasion to use it.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, the purpose of this bill, as I understand it, is to raise a great loan of five billion. The bill is not constructed to benefit the Federal reserve banks or any other banks. The object is to make successful this great loan, and we want to open the doors to every financial institution of good standing to come forward and take a part of the loan.

I think this would encourage a great many great financial institutions and trust companies to come forward and join in this loan, and I think we ought to encourage them all. We shall need all the financial institutions of the country to enable us to float the loan at 3½ per cent, and I believe that it can be done.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, just a word. If this amendment is not adopted the result, no doubt, would be that there would be a shifting of the deposits in this country which might seriously interfere with business in the different sections of the country.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the committee accepts the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SIMMONS. It is accepted.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, merely that there may not be a misunderstanding as to my position in making the statement I made a moment ago, I desire to add a few words. Of course, no one desires to make this attempt of the Government to float a very large loan a means of profit to particular banks. We all understand as well as the Senator from Massachusetts that what we are trying to do is to get money with which to meet the present urgent demands of the Government, and that all classes of citizens, all kinds of financial institutions, will be asked to invest in the securities of the Government, but when once that money has been secured the question comes as to its disposition.

The credit of the Government and the stability of our entire financial system rests to a very large degree upon the stability of the Federal Reserve Bank System which we created with such infinite care and from which we have hoped so much. Every bank and trust company of importance in the United States ought to have joined that system, and we hoped they would join that system; but many of them, in fact, nearly all State banks and trust companies, have seen fit to remain out of the system and to contribute nothing to its support, while at the same time in common with the national banks they received the benefit of the financial stability which that system has created.

It seemed to me, therefore, that we ought not to depart from the policy we have hitherto followed, namely, that the Government should at least encourage its own system by continuing to conduct its fiscal transactions through that system.

I make this statement because I do not want the question to be left as the remarks of the Senator from Massachusetts seemed to leave it, namely, that those who had advocated an adherence to the present system were acting in the interest of some particular banks. Before we are through with these fiscal transactions I think we will find there is a great strain put upon the Federal Reserve System, and that it ought to be sustained in every possible way.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WEEKS. I offer the following amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 6, line 14, after the word "interest," strike out down to and including the word "eighteen," in line 15, and insert:

before the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, the date of such termination to be fixed by a proclamation of the President of the United States.

Mr. SIMMONS. I accept that amendment.

Mr. OWEN. Let it be read with the text so that we can understand it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read in connection with the text.

The SECRETARY. On page 6, line 14, after the word "interest," strike out the words "on or before December 31, 1918," and insert:

before the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, the date of such termination to be fixed by a proclamation of the President of the United States,

So as to read:

SEC. 5. That any series of bonds issued under authority of sections 1 and 4 of this act may, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than the rate at which the same were issued if any subsequent series of bonds shall be issued at a higher rate of interest before the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, the date of such termination to be fixed by a proclamation of the President of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WEEKS. I offer the following amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 1, line 11, after the words "shall be," strike out down to and including the word "prescribe," in line 3, page 2, and insert:

issued in denominations of $50 and multiples thereof, as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine; they shall be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest if bonds carrying higher rates are issued during the present war; they shall mature serially in equal amounts annually from the date of issue to 30 years from the date of issue bearing interest, payable semiannually, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum.

Mr. HUGHES. Does that apply to all bonds to be issued?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

Mr. REED. Where is it proposed that that shall go in the bill?

The SECRETARY. On page 1, line 11, after the words "The bonds herein authorized shall be," strike out the words "in such form and subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturities, payment, and rate and time of payment of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe," and insert:

issued in denominations of $50 and multiples thereof, as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine; they shall be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest if bonds carrying higher rates are issued during the present war; they shall mature serially in equal amounts annually from the date of issue to 30 years from the date of issue bearing interest, payable semiannually, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum.

Mr. WEEKS. Unless the chairman of the Committee on Finance is prepared to accept the amendment, I will discuss it briefly.

Mr. SIMMONS. I am unable to accept the amendment.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, this amendment has three or four purposes. The bill as it is submitted to the Senate leaves to the Secretary of the Treasury all matters relating to the issuing of bonds, including their payment and other kindred matters. It is just as important, in my judgment, that when this Government issues indebtedness Congress should provide the manner of issuing it and the date of its termination as it is for an individual or for a corporation to do so. Of course the Secretary of the Treasury is given authority to provide the details of issuing this indebtedness, but it is the function of Congress, in my judgment, to stipulate the manner of issuing it.

I want to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that in the finance bill which was passed by the Senate just before the 4th of March there was a provision for the renewal of $68,000,000 of Spanish War indebtedness. That indebtedness was 20 years old, and the provision required that it should be reissued for 50 years; in other words, those of our grandchildren who will be taxpayers at that time will be paying an indebtedness incurred 70 years before in the conduct of the Spanish War. At the same time there was a provision providing for the issuing of $226,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds for 50 years.

The indebtedness which is to be incurred for the payment of the cost of this war should be paid within a reasonable time. I think a reasonable time is 20 years. My judgment is that we should raise through taxation the money necessary to conduct the civil affairs of the Government, to pay the interest on

the public debt, and to pay about one-twentieth of the actual military cost of the war. If that were done, I do not believe that legitimate business would be embarrassed in any way, and it would impose on this generation all the cost of the war.

Now, what I am afraid of is that these bonds will be issued for a much longer time than 20 years—for 30 or 40 or 50 years. In my judgment, that is bad public policy, because within that time we may have to incur other similar indebtedness.

Then, my amendment provides that these bonds shall be issued in serial form. I am not going to take the time of the Senate to-night to discuss the details involved in issuing serial bonds. I did that about a month ago in this Chamber, and I think the discussion was such that those who listened to it were convinced of the fact that serial bonds can be sold as well or better than bonds all of which terminate at one time, and that the cost of such a loan to the maker of the loan is very materially less than it would be if there were a sinking fund provided or if the bonds were all to mature at one time.

I desire to bring to the attention of the Senate one statement which I think will be sufficient to indicate what I mean by that. Last year the city of New York made a sale of $40,000,000 50-year 4½ per cent sinking-fund bonds and $15,000,000 1 to 15 year 4½ per cent serial bonds. Mr. Alfred D. Chandler, who is an expert on this subject, states in relation to this transaction:

Such an issue of sinking-fund bonds will ultimately cost New York City $16,726,320 more than if issued in serial form, assuming that the sinking-fund earnings would for half a century average 3½ per cent, or $19,182,200 more if the sinking-fund earnings averaged 3 per cent, which is the basis of computation adopted by the State of New York.

If the $40,000,000 4½ per cent sinking-fund bonds were exchanged into serial bonds at an increase of ¼ per cent, or ½ per cent, or ¾ per cent, or even ⅛ per cent, the difference in favor of the serials would be for the 50 years as follows:

	Sinking fund, 3 per cent basis.	Sinking fund, 3½ per cent basis.
As serials at 4½ per cent	$19,182,200	$16,726,320
As serials at 4¾ per cent	18,057,200	15,451,320
As serials at 4½ per cent	16,632,200	14,176,320
As serials at 4⅛ per cent	15,357,200	12,901,320
As serials at 4¼ per cent	14,082,200	11,626,320

It will be seen that the least gain that the city could have made in that case by issuing serials would have been $11,626,320.

Mr. President, we are to issue $5,000,000,000 of bonds under the provisions of this bill. If they are issued in serial form, they will cost this Government tens of millions of dollars less before maturity than they would if issued under a sinking-fund plan or issued to mature at one time. I do not think that the majority is justified in imposing on this Government a cost so immeasurably greater than would be the cost if these bonds were issued in a scientific way.

Mr. STONE. Why does the Senator from Massachusetts say that "the majority" would impose?

Mr. WEEKS. I am speaking of the majority of the Senate, and I am, of course, referring to the Committee on Finance in this matter. The State of Massachusetts has adopted the serial system of issuing bonds in part, and the city of Boston is about to do so.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes; I yield.

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator from Massachusetts has referred to the Committee on Finance. I will state to the Senator that the members who were present in the committee were, as I understood, unanimously in favor of the provisions of the pending bill without reference to party.

Mr. WEEKS. I referred, Mr. President, to the Committee on Finance, but the committee did agree to the provision which is in the bill. I do not know that this matter was taken up by the committee or was given any consideration by the committee. I hope, however, the committee will be willing to listen to argument on the subject.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I do not suppose I am violating any of the proprieties by stating to the Senator from Massachusetts that the matter was discussed by the full committee. The suggestion was made, not only in the committee but in other places, that in the case of a large bond issue of this character it might be necessary to issue some bonds not of a serial nature; in other words, that it might be necessary to issue bonds under all sorts of conditions. I think nearly everybody agrees with the Senator from Massachusetts with reference to the general desirability of serial bond issues; but at the same time the example of the State of Massachusetts can hardly be cited here with any great applicability, because the State of Massachusetts, or any other State, has a market for its bonds, while we may have to go into every kind of a market. We may have to sell bonds to people who do not desire serial bonds, but who desire to employ their money over long spaces of time.

Mr. WEEKS. Well, Mr. President, if the Committee on Finance had taken time enough to have summoned experts before them, as they should have done, to have gotten the advice of experts about the best method of issuing these bonds and of selling them, they would have learned that serial bonds will sell quite as well as bonds of any other form.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, did I understand the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] to say that this matter was discussed by the Committee on Finance?

Mr. HUGHES. Yes, sir; I said that was my recollection.

Mr. GALLINGER. The matter may have been casually mentioned, but, though I was at the meeting when this bill was finally acted upon, I have no recollection of any such discussion.

Mr. HUGHES. Well, the Senator will not blame me for that, if I am correct about it, and I think I am. The matter was discussed, and, as I recollect, the suggestion was made that in some cases long-term bonds would be preferable to serial bonds. I think nearly every member of the committee is predisposed in favor of a serial bond where the situation would permit the flotation of a serial bond, and I think the committee understood that the Secretary of the Treasury is in favor of the serial-bond proposition rather than the long-term bond, and that he will issue the serial bonds if the situation will permit and to the extent that the situation will permit.

Mr. GALLINGER. My recollection is that, while there was a casual mention made of the matter, no real consideration was given to it by the committee.

Mr. LODGE and Mr. OWEN addressed the Chair.

Mr. WEEKS. I yield first to my colleague.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I merely desire to say that at the first meeting of the Committee on Finance, when the Secretary of the Treasury was present, this matter was brought up, and the Secretary then stated that there was provision in the bill—as there is—allowing him to issue serial bonds, but that he thought it was unwise to limit the issue to any one form; that it might be desirable to issue other forms; and, as I understood it, the committee left it as it was, to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. WEEKS. Well, Mr. President, I shall feel that a great injustice had been done the people if these bonds are issued in any other form than that of serial bonds or if they are issued for a long time, one which will carry this indebtedness to several succeeding generations; and if we are to judge by the past, we may naturally conclude that the Secretary of the Treasury will issue these bonds for as long a term as 50 years, for it was as the result of his recommendation that the refunding of Spanish War loan and the issuing of the Panama Canal bonds were provided to mature at the end of 50 years.

Mr. PHELAN. Sinking fund bonds or serial bonds?

Mr. WEEKS. Neither sinking fund nor serial bonds.

Mr. PHELAN. It is, as I understand, the practice of all Governments to issue bonds for a period, then to refund them, and not to redeem them. Is that not the practice?

Mr. WEEKS. It is not the up-to-date practice of any Government; and we might as well lead as to follow in such matters. I should like to ask the Senator from California what would happen to a business man—and he is a good business man—if he issued his personal note and renewed it several times without making any reduction?

Mr. PHELAN. That would imply that the borrower was immortal. The State is immortal; it has that advantage over the individual.

Mr. WEEKS. Such a person's credit would soon be pretty bad; and the credit of our Government ought to be considered as carefully as the credit of an individual.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, the bill as drawn and as passed by the House of Representatives reposes very large discretion with reference to the issue of these bonds in the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President. It allows him to issue them "in such form and subject to such terms and conditions of issue, conversion, redemption, maturities, payment, and rate and time of payment of interest, not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe."

Mr. REED. Does the Senator know whether such a power as that has ever been reposed in a public official by any other Government?

Mr. SIMMONS. I am not able to answer the Senator that question. This was a subject of very prolonged discussion in another body; and I think, as a result of that discussion, it

was decided that in this situation it was wise and prudent to vest the administration with these large powers with reference to the issue of these securities. If the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts prevails, all of this discretion will be taken away from the Secretary of the Treasury, and he will be compelled—for the amendment uses the word "shall"—to issue only serial bonds, to be paid one-twentieth every year for 20 years.

Mr. President, when the war closes, I think there will be great need for the use of the capital of this country. I think we are likely to have a very strenuous condition of rivalry and very feverish activity, requiring the use of the capital of the country. There will also be a large permanent increase in the expenses of the Government. We will have a much larger Navy, a much larger Army, and in many other directions the expenses of the Government will be enormously increased. To undertake, in view of those circumstances, to pay off this enormous indebtedness in 20 years, it seems to me would impose a very heavy burden upon the people of this country.

But, Mr. President, aside from those considerations, I think it would be very unwise not to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to take into consideration in the issuance of this large amount of bonds the conditions which may confront him. It may be that he could float serial bonds, falling due in from 1 to 20 years, at rates of interest which we have prescribed in the bill; but I think it very doubtful whether he would be able to float these bonds at that rate of interest, running for so short a length of time. I do not know myself, nor does he know, what will be the actual conditions of the market with which he will have to deal, but those conditions will be uncertain and fluctuating; they may change from day to day; and he must have discretion, unless he is to be hampered and embarrassed in the discharge of his duties in issuing these bonds, so as to meet the actual situation not only which will exist immediately upon the authority being conferred upon him, but which may exist from time to time as long as this war shall continue. The Secretary of the Treasury was before the committee. I have talked with him about this matter, and I know that he feels that the adoption of this amendment would very seriously handicap him with reference to floating these bonds.

Without undertaking to discuss the matter more fully at this late hour, I wish to say, Mr. President, that I earnestly hope that the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts will not prevail.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SIMMONS. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. OWEN. I should like also to call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Finance to the fact that a considerable part of these securities are to be used for extending credit to those nations with whom we are now associated in the conduct of the war, and that those nations which have to put up securities of a like character might also find it embarrassing to be confined within the restrictions of the proposed amendment.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator very much for that suggestion. It strengthens enormously the general suggestion that I have made. We are issuing bonds which we propose to sell and to take the proceeds to buy the bonds of foreign Governments engaged in fighting our enemy. It is provided in the bill that the bonds which we are to take from the foreign Governments shall be practically identical in terms and conditions and times of payment with our bonds; so that $3,000,000,000 of these bonds that we are to take from our allies would have to be serial bonds payable within 20 years. Considering the financial conditions which exist in those countries, with the large issue of bonds that they have already put out on their own account in the prosecution of the war, it seems to me that we might find it very embarrassing as affecting these Governments to issue short-term bonds as proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I am not surprised that the Senator from North Carolina seized the suggestion of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] with enthusiasm, because it is about the only argument which could be made against issuing serial bonds. Of course, however, I did not intend to include the bonds which are to issue against the loans which we are to make to foreign countries in the proposition which I have made, but simply the bonds which we are to issue for our own uses.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote!

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WEEKS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when Mr. GOFF's name was called). I desire to state that my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] is absent on account of illness. He is paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN].

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], but I have assurance that I am released from that pair on any vote on the pending bond measure. Therefore I vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS (when Mr. HUSTING's name was called). I desire to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] on official business.

Mr. KNOX (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN]. As he is absent from the Chamber, I will refrain from voting. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. NORRIS (when Mr. LANE's name was called). I desire to announce that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE] is detained from the Chamber on account of illness.

Mr. SWANSON (when Mr. MARTIN's name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MARTIN] is detained from the Senate on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. TOWNSEND (when the name of Mr. SMITH of Michigan was called). My colleague [Mr. SMITH] is absent. He is paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]; but if my colleague were here he would vote "yea," the same as the Senator from Missouri has voted.

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. I transfer that pair to the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER] and vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN (when Mr. TILLMAN's name was called). I have been requested to announce that the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] is unavoidably detained; and he asks me to ask the Senate for indefinite leave of absence for him, which I will do later. He has a general pair with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN (after having voted in the negative). Noticing that my general pair, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN] is absent, I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] and will let my vote stand.

Mr. HARDING (after having voted in the affirmative). To remove any doubt, I will transfer my general pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] and let my vote stand.

Mr. STONE. Being a member of the Committee on Finance, I prefer not to vote upon this amendment.

The roll call resulted—yeas 40, nays 40, as follows:

YEAS—40.

Borah	France	Kenyon	Reed
Brady	Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Sherman
Brandegee	Gallinger	Lodge	Smoot
Calder	Gore	McCumber	Sterling
Colt	Gronna	McLean	Sutherland
Cummins	Hale	Nelson	Thomas
Curtis	Harding	New	Townsend
Dillingham	Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Wadsworth
Fall	Jones, Wash.	Page	Watson
Fernald	Kellogg	Penrose	Weeks

NAYS—40.

Ashurst	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Smith, Ga.
Broussard	Kendrick	Pomerene	Smith, Md.
Culberson	King	Ransdell	Swanson
Fletcher	Kirby	Robinson	Thompson
Gerry	Lewis	Saulsbury	Trammell
Hardwick	McKellar	Shafroth	Vardaman
Hitchcock	Myers	Sheppard	Walsh
Hughes	Overman	Shields	Williams
James	Owen	Simmons	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—16.

Bankhead	Husting	Newlands	Stone
Chamberlain	Knox	Poindexter	Tillman
Goff	Lane	Smith, Mich.	Underwood
Hollis	Martin	Smith, S. C.	Warren

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] the yeas are 40 and the nays are 40. Without the vote of the Vice President, the amendment is lost. As the Vice President knows nothing about it, he refuses to vote.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I now offer the amendment on page 2, line 8, to which I referred a short time ago. It is to strike out, on line 8, the words "authority of any State" and to insert in lieu thereof the words "any State or local taxing authority." The text exempts these bonds from Federal or State taxation. The effect of this amendment is simply to

broaden it and make it a little clearer and to exempt them from taxation by any Federal, State, or local taxing authority.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I do not think we have gone quite that far in any of our exemptions. We have hardly extended it to municipalities and local organizations.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, that is the exact provision that was contained in the farm-loan act.

Mr. SIMMONS. I shall not oppose the amendment, Mr. President, saying to the Senator that I will take it up in conference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, line 8, it is proposed to strike out the words "authority of any State" and to insert "any State or local taxing authority."

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, and if I may have the attention of the chairman of the committee, if that amendment is adopted, it will be necessary to make a like amendment to the amendment proposed by the committee which appears upon page 7; but I feel sure that there is no occasion for the amendment. If any local authority acts in the matter, it must of necessity derive its authority to act from the State, so that it would be by the authority of the State in any event.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I think the construction which the Senator from Montana places upon this language is correct; but we have adopted that language in connection with other bond issues, and it seems to me it is simply in the interest of clearness to adopt it.

Mr. PENROSE. Let it go to conference, anyhow, and we will fix it.

Mr. POMERENE. I am entirely content to have that course taken.

Mr. SIMMONS. That is the suggestion that I made.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Ohio.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. POMERENE. Now, Mr. President, I offer the same amendment on page 7, as applied to certificates of indebtedness. On page 7, line 8, I move to strike out the words "authority of any State" and to substitute therefor "by any State or local taxing authority."

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be necessary to reconsider the vote by which the amendment at that point was adopted.

Mr. POMERENE. I move to reconsider the vote, then, by which the amendment was adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Ohio to reconsider the vote by which the amendment at this point was adopted.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The section has been amended before this. The amendment the Senator offers is not to the text as it stands.

Mr. POMERENE. I offer it as an amendment to the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The section was amended before on the motion of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK]. Where does this go in?

The SECRETARY. On page 7, lines 8 and 9, the words "except estate and inheritance taxes" were stricken out, and, on line 7, after the word "taxation," the words "except estate or inheritance taxes" were inserted, so as to read:

shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxes, except estate or inheritance taxes imposed by authority of the United States or its possessions, or by authority of any State.

Mr. POMERENE. "Or local taxing authority."

The SECRETARY. Then it is proposed to insert, after the word "State," the words "or local taxing authority."

Mr. SIMMONS. "Of a State."

The SECRETARY. So as to read, "any State or local taxing authority."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I move now, on page 2, lines 8 and 9, to strike out the words "except estate or inheritance taxes," and to insert those same words on line 7, after the word "taxation."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 2, lines 8 and 9, it is proposed to strike out "except estate or inheritance taxes" and to insert, after the word "taxation," in line 7, the words "except estate or inheriance taxes."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add at the end of the bill the following proviso:

Provided, That in addition to the reports now required by law, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on the first Monday in December, 1917, and annually thereafter, transmit to Congress a detailed statement of all expenditures under this act.

Mr. SIMMONS. I have no objection at all to that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I want to say just a word in regard to the bill. I will detain the Senate for only a moment. I want to do this more for the RECORD than for anything else, because, in my judgment, section 5 ought to be omitted from the bill; and I do not, in voting for the bill, want it to be understood that I favor the principle that is embodied in section 5, by which it is provided that if any other bonds are issued during the war at a higher rate of interest, that fact shall have the effect of increasing the interest on the bonds that are issued under his bill.

It seems to me that that is bad legislation. It is not fair to the Government. Knowing that an amendment to strike it out would not prevail, and would only take up the time of the Senate, I simply wanted to let the RECORD show that while I favor the bill, and intend to vote for it, I do not want my vote to be construed as favoring the principle contained in section 5.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is still in Committee of the Whole and open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is in the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 1, line 11, after the words "shall be," it is proposed to strike out down to and including the word "prescribe," in line 3, page 2, and to insert:

issued in denominations of $50 and multiples thereof as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine; they shall be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest if bonds carrying higher rates are issued during the present war; they shall mature serially in equal amounts annually from the date of issue to 30 years from the date of issue, bearing interest payable semiannually not exceeding 3½ per cent per annum.

Mr. WEEKS. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KNOX (when his name was called). I announce my pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN]. In his absence, I refrain from voting.

Mr. OVERMAN (when his name was called). Announcing my general pair and its transfer as on the previous roll call, I vote "nay."

Mr. REED (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] to the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS], and vote "nay."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). Again announcing my pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], I withhold my vote. I would vote "yea" if not paired.

The roll call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 37, nays 42, as follows:

YEAS—37.

Borah	France	Lodge	Smoot
Brady	Frelinghuysen	McCumber	Sutherland
Brandegee	Gallinger	McLean	Thomas
Calder	Gronna	Nelson	Townsend
Colt	Hale	New	Wadsworth
Cummins	Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Watson
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Page	Weeks
Dillingham	Kellogg	Penrose	
Fall	Kenyon	Poindexter	
Fernald	La Follette	Sherman	

NAYS—42.

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Kirby	Pittman
Beckham	Hughes	Lewis	Pomerene
Broussard	James	McKellar	Ransdell
Culberson	Johnson, S. Dak.	Myers	Reed
Fletcher	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Robinson
Gerry	Kendrick	Owen	Saulsbury
Hardwick	King	Phelan	Shafroth

Sheppard	Smith, Ga.	Thompson	Williams
Shields	Smith, Md.	Trammell	Wolcott
Simmons	Stone	Vardaman	
Smith, Ariz.	Swanson	Walsh	

NOT VOTING—17.

Bankhead	Hollis	Newlands	Underwood
Chamberlain	Husting	Smith, Mich.	Warren
Goff	Knox	Smith, S. C.	
Gore	Lane	Sterling	
Harding	Martin	Tillman	

So Mr. WEEKS's amendment was rejected.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Shall the bill pass?

Mr. SIMMONS. I ask for the yeas and nays on the passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARDWICK (when Mr. BANKHEAD's name was called). I wish to state that the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] and the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] are necessarily absent, and that if present both Senators would vote for the bill.

Mr. HARDING (when his name was called). It having been stated that the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], with whom I have a general pair, would vote for the bill if present, I am free to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. SAULSBURY (when Mr. HOLLIS's name was called). I desire to state that the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] is absent on necessary business from the Senate Chamber, and if present he would vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS (when Mr. HUSTING's name was called). I desire to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] on official business of the Senate, and that if present he would vote "yea."

Mr. NORRIS (when Mr. LANE's name was called). I desire to announce that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE] is detained from the Chamber on account of illness. I am informed that if present he would "yea."

Mr. SWANSON (when Mr. MARTIN's name was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. MARTIN] is detained from the Senate on account of sickness in his family, and that if he were here he would vote "yea."

Mr. PITTMAN (when Mr. NEWLANDS's name was called). The senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] is necessarily absent. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. OVERMAN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN]. I am informed by him that if he were present he would vote "yea." I am therefore at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. REED (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH]. I received a telegram from the Senator stating that if he were present he would vote for the bill. I therefore feel at liberty to vote, and I vote "yea."

Mr. TOWNSEND (when the name of Mr. SMITH of Michigan was called). If my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Michigan] were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). I am informed by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] that if present he would vote "yea." I am therefore at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS (when Mr. TILLMAN's name was called). I am authorized to announce that the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] is detained by illness, and were he present he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is absent on account of illness. I am told that he would vote "yea" if present. He has a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN].

Mr. SIMMONS. I desire to announce that if the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] were present he would vote for the bill.

The result was announced—yeas 84, nays 0, as follows:

YEAS—84.

Ashurst	Fall	Hughes	Lewis
Beckham	Fernald	James	Lodge
Borah	Fletcher	Johnson, Cal.	McCumber
Brady	France	Johnson, S. Dak.	McKellar
Brandegee	Frelinghuysen	Jones, N. Mex.	McLean
Broussard	Gallinger	Jones, Wash.	Myers
Calder	Gerry	Kellogg	Nelson
Chamberlain	Gore	Kendrick	New
Colt	Gronna	Kenyon	Norris
Culberson	Hale	King	Overman
Cummins	Harding	Kirby	Owen
Curtis	Hardwick	Knox	Page
Dillingham	Hitchcock	La Follette	Penrose
Phelan	Shafroth	Smoot	Trammell
Pittman	Sheppard	Sterling	Vardaman
Poindexter	Sherman	Stone	Wadsworth
Pomerene	Shields	Sutherland	Walsh
Ransdell	Simmons	Swanson	Watson
Reed	Smith, Ariz.	Thomas	Weeks
Robinson	Smith, Ga.	Thompson	Williams
Saulsbury	Smith, Md.	Townsend	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—12.

Bankhead	Husting	Newlands	Tillman
Goff	Lane	Smith, Mich.	Underwood
Hollis	Martin	Smith, S. C.	Warren

So the bill was passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes."

Mr. SIMMONS. I move that the Senate request a conference with the House of Representatives on the bill and amendments, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. STONE, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. PENROSE, and Mr. LODGE conferees on the part of the Senate.

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE.

Mr. OVERMAN. From the Committee on the Judiciary, I report back favorably with amendments the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes. I give notice that I shall call up the bill for consideration to-morrow.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 7 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 18, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *April 18, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank Thee that in Thy providence and grace the light of Thy truth shines upon every problem of human life. Thou hast not left us in the darkness with reference to the final issue. There is no want to them that fear Thee. We pray that Thou wilt give to us the gracious influence of Thy presence this day that every thought may be brought into subjection to Thy will and that by perfect soul mastery we may have power to overcome and, having done all in Thy name, to stand. We ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. HITCHCOCK and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, agrees to the conference asked for by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. RAINEY, Mr. DIXON, Mr. FORDNEY, and Mr. GARDNER managers at the conference on the part of the House.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. MYERS. I send to the desk a telegram from the Rotary Club of Great Falls, Mont., in favor of conscription. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD with the names of the committee attached thereto.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT FALLS, MONT., *April 16, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

Rotary Club of Great Falls to-day passed unanimously following resolution:

"Whereas the critical condition which confronts our Nation has made it necessary to raise a large army; and

"Whereas the members of this club believe that compulsory military service is the only fair, just, and practicable solution of the problem of raising an army: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Great Falls Rotary Club stands squarely behind President Wilson in his request for a system of conscription for the Nation, and we urge the Members of the Montana delegation in Con-

gress to vote for a compulsory-service measure and to do all in their power to bring about the passage of such legislation as soon as possible."

H. P. RABAN,
J. R. ROBBINS,
SCOTT B. LEAVITT,
Committee.

Mr. CURTIS presented a petition of sundry citizens of Hays, Kans., pledging support to the President, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the petition of Col. R. W. Mitchell, proposing a plan for the increased production of foodstuffs, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. ASHURST. I have a copy of a declaration of policy in the administration of Indian affairs promulgated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The matter referred to is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, April 17, 1917.

DECLARATION OF POLICY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

During the past four years the efforts of the administration of Indian affairs have been largely concentrated on the following fundamental activities: The betterment of health conditions of Indians, the suppression of the liquor traffic among them, the improvement of their industrial conditions, the further development of vocational training in their schools, and the protection of the Indians' property. Rapid progress has been made along all these lines, and the work thus reorganized and revitalized will go on with increased energy. With these activities and accomplishments well under way, we are now ready to take the next step in our administrative program.

The time has come for discontinuing guardianship of all competent Indians and giving even closer attention to the incompetent that they may more speedily achieve competency.

Broadly speaking, a policy of greater liberalism will henceforth prevail in Indian administration to the end that every Indian, as soon as he has been determined to be as competent to transact his own business as the average white man, shall be given full control of his property and have all his lands and moneys turned over to him, after which he will no longer be a ward of the Government.

Pursuant to this policy the following rules shall be observed:

1. Patents in fee: To all able-bodied adult Indians of less than one-half Indian blood there will be given, as far as may be under the law, full and complete control of all their property. Patents in fee shall be issued to all adult Indians of one-half or more Indian blood who may, after careful investigation, be found competent, provided, that where deemed advisable patents in fee shall be withheld for not to exceed 40 acres as a home.

Indian students, when they are 21 years of age or over, who complete the full course of instruction in the Government schools, receive diplomas, and have demonstrated competency will be so declared.

2. Sale of lands: A liberal ruling will be adopted in the matter of passing upon applications for the sale of inherited Indian lands where the applicants retain other lands and the proceeds are to be used to improve the homesteads or for other equally good purposes. A more liberal ruling than has hitherto prevailed will hereafter be followed with regard to the applications of noncompetent Indians for the sale of their lands where they are old and feeble and need the proceeds for their support.

3. Certificates of competency: The rules which are made to apply in the granting of patents in fee and the sale of lands will be made equally applicable in the matter of issuing certificates of competency.

4. Individual Indian moneys: Indians will be given unrestricted control of all their individual Indian moneys upon issuance of patents in fee or certificates of competency. Strict limitations will not be placed upon the use of funds of the old, the indigent, and the invalid.

5. Pro rata share—Trust funds: As speedily as possible their pro rata shares in tribal trust or other funds shall be paid to all Indians who have been declared competent, unless the legal status of such funds prevents. Where practicable the pro rata shares of incompetent Indians will be withdrawn from the Treasury and placed in banks to their individual credit.

6. Elimination of ineligible pupils from the Government Indian schools: In many of our boarding schools Indian children are being educated at Government expense whose parents are amply able to pay for their education and have public-school facilities at or near their homes. Such children shall not hereafter be enrolled in Government Indian schools supported by gratuity appropriations, except on payment of actual per capita cost and transportation.

These rules are hereby made effective, and all Indian Bureau administrative officers at Washington and in the field will be governed accordingly.

This is a new and far-reaching declaration of policy. It means the dawn of a new era in Indian administration. It means that the competent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen. It means reduced appropriations by the Government and more self-respect and independence for the Indian. It means the ultimate absorption of the Indian race into the body politic of the Nation. It means, in short, the beginning of the end of the Indian problem.

In carrying out this policy I cherish the hope that all real friends of the Indian race will lend their aid and hearty cooperation.

CATO SELLS, *Commissioner.*

Approved:

FRANKLIN K. LANE, *Secretary.*

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have a copy of a resolution adopted at a mass meeting of citizens at Bellingham, Wash. I am going to ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

I wish to say, Mr. President, that I make this request only because the resolutions from various States are being printed in the RECORD, and, of course, if these resolutions are not printed the people will wonder why not. I really think we ought not to print so many of these things in the RECORD, but when they appear from one State they are necessarily forced into the RECORD from another.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The people of Bellingham in mass meeting assembled hereby declare—

"That we stand for liberty, humanity, and justice, as expressed in the Constitution and laws of the great self-governing nations of the world.

"That we recognize in the battle of England, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, and their allies the battle of democracy against autocracy, of individual freedom against centralized tyranny. We realize that President Wilson has done everything possible except sacrifice the Nation's honor to keep us out of war, and now that war has come it is due to the wanton aggression of the Imperial German Government.

"Therefore, as we read the long list of our dead, of the sunken ships, the hospital and relief ships torpedoed, the crews massacred in open boats, the violation of all the laws of civilized warfare, we commend our President and Congress for their action in joining with the allies in defense of civilization. We ask for universal service and pledge our lives and fortunes to the successful conduct of this righteous war."

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish to emphasize what has just been said by the Senator from Washington in relation to filling the RECORD with telegrams, private letters, and resolutions of all sorts.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. And private letters.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; private letters. I believe, Mr. President, that the Senate, as a whole, ought to restrict this practice just as much as it is possible to do, particularly under the paper conditions existing to-day.

I called attention the other day to the fact that it is the hardest thing in the world for the Government Printing Office to secure paper enough to supply the absolute necessities of the Government. I had prepared the other day a statement showing the cost of the requests that have been made by Senators and sent to the Committee on Printing, and the amount of the requests in the Sixty-fourth Congress, if they had all been complied with, would be $1,293,116.52. That is for just the printing that has been requested, where the requests were referred to the Committee on Printing. I have not the figures to show what the printing in the RECORD costs the Government, where the requests are not sent to the Committee on Printing.

I again request Senators not to ask that the RECORD be encumbered with private letters and private telegrams and resolutions of all sorts, at least, until conditions in the paper market are better than they are to-day.

I sincerely hope that the suggestion offered by the Senator from Washington this morning will be heeded by the Senate.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I do not often intrude myself upon occasions of this kind, but I heartily indorse what the Senator from Utah has said and what the Senator from Washington has suggested. I referred to this matter the other day, when the Senator from Mississippi made an error in picking up the wrong papers and dumped them in the Senate here and they were published in the RECORD.

It is a poor way for a Senator to record his appearance on an important question. It would be much better if he would answer his correspondence through the ordinary channels of the mail and rely on such ability as he may possess at the proper time to present his views without having published in the RECORD inconsequential telegrams from obscure individuals or mass meetings held here and there passing resolutions. The RECORD some mornings looks more like the copy book of an office of the Western Union Telegraph Co. than it looks like the dignified record of the proceedings of the Congress of the United States.

This practice, Mr. President, has been carried in the last few weeks to an extreme which has made it ridiculous and absurd, and it hampers the use of the RECORD by obscuring the really good matter by a vast mass of unimportant material which never should find place there. It is difficult for me to imagine that Senators, men having the capacity to get elected to this body, can so far forget their positions as to resort to such puerile methods.

I happen to represent, Mr. President, a State of nearly 9,000,000 inhabitants, equal to 20 States in parts of the country, and I do not believe in 20 years' service in this body I have inserted two telegrams. Yet it is needless for me to say that I have several thousand a week, many of them entitled to much greater consideration than any of those which appear in print. I receive scores and hundreds of resolutions passed by mass meetings for all conceivable purposes, but I refrain, out of a sense of good taste and propriety, from encumbering the RECORD with them. I take pains to acknowledge them all through the mail and through a letter, and not at the expense of the public in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It seems, Mr. President, that the Members of this body might well pause and reflect on the viciousness of this practice and stop it as far as possible.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President, I shall premise what I shall ask unanimous consent to have done by saying that I heartily concur in what the Senator from Utah and the Senator from Pennsylvania have so well said. We are encumbering the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with a great deal of very interesting literature in the shape of private telegrams and letters, memorials and resolutions, from patriotic bodies that are never read here, and none of those who have passed the resolutions probably ever receive a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, except as those who have the printing done send it to them.

There are some exceptions to the rule that ought to govern us or, in fact, that ought to be included in the rule. I refer to the dignified resolutions of a State legislature, the petition of the people of the State to the Congress of the United States, which very properly are printed in the RECORD.

There are many instances in which I never make an objection, and I hope none ever will be made, in the case of addresses delivered by Members of this body at other places on great pending questions and to prevent probably, whether it would or not, the repetition on the floor. In those instances that is usually accorded.

Under this title there has fallen under my observation an address delivered on the one hundred and seventy-fourth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson by a Member of this body, Mr. PITTMAN, of the State of Nevada. It breathes a patriotic sentiment and gives the history of the causes that led up to the war with such clearness that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD, promising the Senate that hereafter I shall intrude myself very seldom with any such requests.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The address referred to is as follows:

Senator PITTMAN said:

"Mr. Toastmaster and fellow citizens, I appreciate the honor of being invited to address this great forum upon the occasion of the patriotic celebration of the birthday of the great patron saint of democracy. I am deeply grateful that I am permitted through your courtesy to speak frankly, if not fully, with regard to our dangers and our duty.

"FIGHT FOR PRINCIPLE.

"In this moment of action we hear too much of the horrors of war and the value of life and too little of the misery of political slavery and the priceless blessings of justice, liberty, and equality. I fear lest we forget how and by what sacrifices our forefathers won and established the benign principles of democracy and our sacred duty to maintain these principles with our lives.

"The settlement of our country originated in the oppressions of autocracy and the birth of our Nation was conceived in the blood of martyrs and patriots, fearlessly and freely given that you and I might live in social and political equality under the constitutional guaranty of the freedom of speech, the privilege to worship our God as we see fit, and the right to rule ourselves.

"The fight that we face to-day, as grave as it may be, is not to be compared with the heroic struggle made by our forefathers for the natural rights of a free people. Their patriotism, self-sacrifice, and martyrdom not only secured the happiness we now enjoy but set an example to the liberty-loving people of the world that has resulted in the democratization of nearly every government on earth, and it is now up to us to make the job complete.

"God has been with us in every fight for liberty, and now in the darkest hours God will not desert us. In 1776, that the principles of democracy might be proclaimed and instituted in the world, He gave us Thomas Jefferson. In 1860, that our Union might be preserved, He raised from among the people Abraham Lincoln; and to-day, in the bewilderment of a world war, the duration of which no man can foresee, when the fate of humanity hangs in the balance and the dread darkness of the hour strikes fear to the soul, in His divine wisdom and mercy He has granted unto us and the cause of humanity the invincible leadership of Woodrow Wilson.

"CAUSE FOR WAR.

"Fellow citizens, our cause is just. Germany has for over two years murdered our citizens upon the high seas—men, women, and children—in the most stealthy, violent, and barbarous manner, in admitted violation of the universally recognized laws of nations and the dictates of humanity. Her only miserable excuse for these brutal crimes against an innocent people with whom her people were living in peace was her so-called law of necessity. There is no law of God or man that justifies the murder of innocent and peaceful people. Our people had a moral and a legal right to travel upon the high seas; no nation had the legal right to prevent it or to object; it is a right that all other people have enjoyed during modern times; it is a right that Germany has always demanded and indulged to the fullest extent. Nor has she permitted this right to be curtailed during the wars of other nations. The necessities of charity, humanity, and the exigencies of the times require that people travel upon the high seas.

"But why waste time in proving a right that is admitted by our enemy and which she solemnly promised upon the occasion of the sinking of the *Sussex* to observe and respect? And yet, after these full admissions and solemn promises, on the 31st day of January, 1917, she notified us that she will not only continue her ruthless warfare of murder against peaceful people, but that they will be slaughtered without notice, even upon a peaceful American vessel flying the American flag destined for a neutral port, if such vessel dares to go upon that portion of ocean forbidden by the German Government. In effect, the Prussian autocrat peremptorily ordered the great American Nation to get off the ocean. This is but the forerunner of the demand, should Prussianism prevail in the pending conflict, that the American Government get off the earth.

"SURRENDER OF RIGHTS.

"Is there a citizen in this country who is so cowardly or so unpatriotic who would have had the President humble the great democracy that he represents at the feet of the Prussian autocracy by admitting that our protestations against the crimes committed against our people on the high seas were but empty words, and that our warning to the German Government that we would protect the lives of our people against brutal murder was but the cowardly bluff of a nation not only unable to maintain but unworthy of the honor and privilege of self-government?

"And if we had surrendered this right where would we stop in our flight? Would we surrender the right of American citizens to receive the protection of the laws of every country wherever they may be? Would we stand to see our citizens murdered and their property confiscated in every foreign country in violation of the laws of every civilized nation because, perchance, the defending of such right might involve us in war and cost the loss of human life? And yet, if we surrendered the first right by reason of fear, it is certain that the other rights of American citizens would be treated with contempt and violated at will. No people who were afraid to die for their rights ever long retained them. Whenever the time comes that Americans will submit to the violation of their rights anywhere on earth through fear of a tyrannical military autocracy, then we will witness our Nation decay to its inevitable doom; we will behold the degeneracy of our people and see the fire of democracy, which was lighted in this country and which flashed across the world illuminating the darkest spots, smoulder and die. Fellow citizens, I believe that we have a higher duty on earth to perform than to live and fatten and die in contemptuous isolation within the limited area that may be allotted to us by the autocrats of the world.

"PEACE.

"The enemies of our liberties in this country, intentionally or unintentionally, hysterically cry out 'Let us keep out of war; let us appoint a joint commission of conciliators of the neutral nations; let us intervene and offer our services to bring about peace; let us submit the question to the American people.'

"Everyone wanted to keep out of war. No more intelligent, patriotic, or human effort was ever made to this end in the face of the most intense opposition and under the most trying circumstances than was made by the most patient, diplomatic, and peace-loving man that ever lived, our own President, Woodrow Wilson. In the early stages of the war he offered his services in the interest of peace; he exerted a forbearance in the face of wrongs that few men could have sustained; he called upon the neutral nations of the world, and on their behalf and on behalf of our own country urged the warring powers to state a basis upon which terms of peace might be considered. And all of these efforts failed, failed utterly, because one of the great groups of warring powers stated that there was no contest that was subject to arbitration; that there was no territory involved; that there was no dispute as to the right of nations; that there was nothing that could be given or accepted; that there was a sole question as to whether the world should be dominated by Prussianism or governed by democracy, and that such question was not one that could be determined through negotiations or by arbitration. Even then, so great was the longing of our President for peace that through the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the German Government he gave a last warning in the hope that they would be brought to the realization of their illegal and brutal acts and would desist. It was all in vain, and it must appear to

any thinking man that further efforts are not only hopeless but are dangerous to the security of our own Government. What agreement could we obtain from a power that instituted the war for the purpose of dominating the world except to submit to such domination? What could we expect from any peace agreement with a government which treats a sacred treaty as a 'scrap of paper'? What better guarantee would we have with regard to the word of the German Government to-day than had the unfortunate Belgian Government?

"ANSWER TO MOTHERS AND PACIFISTS.

"There is no remedy against a confirmed murderer except death, and there is no security against militant autocracy except extermination. Our heartstrings are torn by the pitiful appeal of the loving mothers that we keep their boys out of war. You and I do not possess the deep affections of these mothers; we can not even imagine the sufferings they endure in every war. I know that they have always been the greatest sufferers and borne the greatest burdens of war, and that they will be the greatest sufferers and bear the greatest burdens of this war. I wish with all of my soul that it were within our power to alleviate their grief and lift their burdens, and I frankly confess that I would have been willing to long stand the insults and contempt of the Prussian autocracy if I had not felt that staying out of this war would but have cast us into a greater war. And to the sincere pacifist let me say that in your supposed isolation and security from this great war you are but having a dream. Let Germany defeat Russia to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow it is our turn. While we glory in the great democracy of Russia, while we look forward with the greatest hope to the building up there of a great democractic government, we can not but have fear that some of her people may not understand this great opportunity. We can not but have a fear that before they grasp firmly the reins of government there may be some other disturbance that will break up the discipline of the Russian Army. If that discipline is once broken, then Russia is gone and autocracy will again be placed in control of that country, an autocracy that will be obedient to Prussianism. If, unfortunately, that thing should happen, and it is possible, then Germany would rule Continental Europe. Germany would have the navies of Continental Europe, and Germany ruling Europe, with the navies of Europe, would have no trouble in conquering the countries on our north and on our south; and then, instead of having to maintain a standing Army of 300,000 or 400,000 men, we would be compelled to have a standing Army of 15,000,000 men. There will be no peace on earth until the Hohenzollerns are somewhere in another place.

"OUR DUTY.

"Those are the facts and possibilities you face. It were better that we lose a few of our men now rather than millions of them later on. It is preferable to have a few months of war now in cooperation with the allies than to have years of war later, alone and unassisted. Now is the time to strike, now is the time to act—not to act in a hesitating manner, not act in a niggardly way, but to act with all the great force of the Government, a power that no nation or no group of nations on earth could ever overcome. I hope to God, when that power is shown to them, that the German people who have so long been misruled by Prussianism, the German people who have never been told the conditions, the German people who have been taught by the Prussians that victory is sure, will awake and will see that the defeat of Prussianism is inevitable, and that they will rise in their new understanding and in their patriotism and follow the example of the Russian people by establishing a democractic government that the allies and this country can and will treat with.

"We have no war against the German people. The minute that Prussianism is stamped out in Germany, whether it is stamped out by us or by the German people themselves, all those countries who are now warring against the Prussian autocracy will most gladly meet the new Government halfway—yes; meet them more than halfway—and not only sign a treaty of peace with them, and not only help to build up a great democracy for Germany, but they will do everything in their power to alleviate the awful suffering in that unhappy country. To-day it is in the power of this Government to stamp out Prussianism, autocracy, and absolute monarchy throughout the whole world and thereby make peace without war a possibility; and we pray God that the opportunity be accepted by the American people in the spirit that gave birth to our own glorious freedom.

"The American people must awake to the seriousness of the situation; they must understand that we are now in a war for our national existence; that we are in a war that will neither make us the subjects, the slaves, of a despotic, cruel, military autocracy, or confirm democracy to our people and to the world for generations to come.

"It is too late to wrangle over means and methods; it is no time to decide whether we will fight them on the high seas or on the land or whether we will fight them upon American soil or upon French or Russian soil. We have now but one thing to determine, and we want to determine it with all the energy and force of the American people, and that is that we will fight them on the seas; we will fight them on American soil; we will fight them on French soil and Russian soil, or wherever they may be, until Prussianism is crushed out of existence and the flag of democracy floats throughout the world. In this dire extremity it is not how we will lick them, but that we will lick them; it is not where we will lick them, but that we will lick them everywhere; it is not what it will cost us either in treasure or in human life, but that the cost to the despotic, murderous, militant Government shall be so great and its defeat so overwhelming that never again will a despotic monarch trample with impunity upon the rights of free people.

"BACK THE PRESIDENT.

"The people of our country have been consulted, and they have spoken in no uncertain terms. Through the legislatures of every State they approved the President's course and have pledged their lives and property to their country. The people of the country approved the President's efforts for peace, and to-day every true American citizen, without regard to party, descent, or creed, stands loyally with him in his determination to protect the laws of humanity, the liberties of our people, and the honor of our Government. In this great cause there is no party, and there should be no party talk. It is the cause of America, and no man could better typify and represent that cause than Woodrow Wilson.

"There has been a coalition of all our people, and that coalition confidently indorses and follows the leadership of our President. He is to-day a world figure. He holds the admiration, respect, and confidence of the statesmen of all nations. The world looks to him to play the great part in the termination of the present unfortunate conflict and the establishment of a just and lasting peace. He has been great in peace and he will be superb in war.

"Oh, fellow citizens, even in the midst of calamity and sorrow we should be forgiven if our hearts swell with pride in contemplation of the supremacy of our people and the glory of our Nation. The sorrow that we will suffer will be but as a grain of sand upon the seashore to the happiness we will feel when victory is brought to democracy and merciful peace to the victor and the conquered alike through the efforts and sacrifices of a God-fearing and peace-loving people, marching ever onward under the Stars and Stripes to the inspiring strains of the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'"

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has been greatly embarrassed with all sorts of telegrams and communications; he hardly knew what to do with them; but he is going to announce the policy for the Chair. Hereafter citizens of the United States will not get their matter in the RECORD unless they present a petition to the Senate of the United States to do something or a protest against the Senate of the United States doing it, when they are sent to the Chair.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to say just a word in line with the subject taken up by the Senator from Utah, the Senator from Pennsylvania, and others. Personally I agree with what they have said. A more serious matter presents itself to my mind, however, in regard to inserting things in the RECORD, and that is a great deal of the matter gives information outside in regard to the doings and the conditions of the Government that should not be given.

I do not desire to take up the subject now, and I shall not do so. I only wish to call attention to the fact that the prepared contents of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time should be scanned a great deal more closely by the Members of this body as to what it shall contain than it has ever been before on account of valuable information it might give to the German Government as to the condition of our Army and Navy, our plans, and various other matters.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to present a petition of citizens of Montrose County, Colo. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

I also present resolutions from the city of Salida adopted at a mass meeting held in that city at the opera house on Monday evening last. I ask that it also be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, of course I am not going to object to the request of the Senator to-day, but I think the time will come in a very few days when I shall exercise my right as a Senator and protest against such resolutions being further put in the RECORD. I will not do it to-day, I will say to the Senator, because he was not in the Chamber when the discussion occurred a little while ago.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will state to the Senator that these petitions are not long and the people who have participated in these great meetings are intensely loyal. It seems to me it is a good thing to have a reasonable number of such petitions placed in the RECORD.

Mr. SMOOT. We have had a reasonable number already.

Mr. PENROSE. Suppose the 9,000,000 people of Pennsylvania, where they hold 100 meetings to 1 in the Senator's State, should dump them all into the Senate every morning; it would submerge the Senator's petitions so that they would hardly be heard of.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will state to the Senator that there have been only three petitions or memorials presented by me from the entire State of Colorado.

Mr. PENROSE. A dozen other Senators from other States have presented them, and from 20 others the Senators had the good sense and good taste to have nothing printed.

Mr. SHAFROTH. These petitions are asked to be presented to the Senate, and it seems to me that it is wise to present them until notice is given that no more shall be presented, and then I shall try to conform to the rule that may be suggested.

Mr. PENROSE. Does the Senator know how many persons were present at this meeting?

Mr. SHAFROTH. There were very large audiences. I know that.

Mr. PENROSE. How many—50 to 100?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Oh, no; the entire population of the town and perhaps——

Mr. PENROSE. What is the population of the town?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Montrose is a town of 6,000 population.

Mr. PENROSE. They are pretty nearly qualified to have a public building.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Salida is a city of some five or six thousand population.

Mr. PENROSE. How many of these men have enlisted or indicated their intention to enlist?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I have not any doubt that they will do their due share and that there will be fully as many enlistments as in Pennsylvania, in proportion to the population.

Mr. PENROSE. I venture the assertion and prediction that there will not be an enlistment from either town.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I did not intend to take any part in this discussion. I sympathize with the point of view of the Senator from Pennsylvania, but I want to resent that reflection upon the people of my State. There will be just as many enlistments, proportionately, in the State of Colorado as in any other State, as I know there will be in the State of Pennsylvania, where they have some public buildings. My impression is that when it comes to the size and population we are neither better nor worse than any of the great Commonwealths of the country.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. SHAFROTH]? The Chair hears none, and the resolutions will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolutions are as follows:

MONTROSE'S RESOLUTIONS OF PATRIOTISM.

Be it resolved by the citizens of Montrose County in convention assembled, That we recognize but one flag as our flag—the Stars and Stripes.

That we acknowledge allegiance to but one Government, which is represented by that flag—the United States of America.

That we recognize but one head of the Government, the man who now occupies the chair formerly occupied by George Washington and Abraham Lincoln—Woodrow Wilson.

That in our present national crisis and emergency, without thought of party affiliations, we unhesitatingly commend, sanction, and indorse the address of our President to Congress, made on the evening of April 2, and pledge to him our unqualified support in the maintaining and carrying out of these principles; and this we do as fully and determinedly as did our forefathers, who pledged their fortunes, their lives, and their sacred honor.

That we are residents of an agricultural community, and as such must not forget that food staples grown by the farmers are as necessary in war as are munitions, and that of all food staples wheat is predominant; that we urge upon all farmers the growing of a larger and increased acreage in wheat and food staples that can be used not only by our own armies and people but also shipped to the people of the allied nations who are fighting our battles; be it further

Resolved, That there is no room in this country for traitors or spies. Those who are not with us are against us. We demand strict respect and allegiance from all within our borders to our President, our Nation, and our flag.

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS J. BLACK,
JAMES F. KYLE,
T. W. MONELL,
W. A. LINGHAM,
S. S. SHERMAN,
Committee.

Copy of resolutions adopted Thursday evening, April 5, 1917, for Senator JOHN F. SHAFROTH.

S. S. SHERMAN,
Of Committee, Montrose, Colo.

SALIDA, COLO., *April 11, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a patriotic mass meeting held in the Salida Opera House on Monday evening last the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government; and

"Whereas the President of the United States and the Congress should have the united support of the citizens in the conduct of the war: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That as loyal American citizens of Salida, Colo., without regard to political party lines, we approve the action of the President of the United States in severing relations with the Imperial German Government and of the Congress in declaring a state of war to exist between the United States of America and the Imperial German Government, and that we pledge to the President our hearty support in every act of the Government to provide safety for our citizens and to protect the honor of our Nation and the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the chairman of this meeting shall transmit copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

With personal assurance of my hearty support and loyalty, I remain,

Respectfully, yours,

WM. C. ALEXANDER, *Mayor.*

Mr. JONES of Washington presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from John L. Hall, of Seattle, Wash., praying that additional engineers for the Army be officered by skilled engineers and be organized and maintained by the War Department, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Tillon Water Users' Association, of North Yakima, Wash., praying for the Government cultivation of all public lands and the suspension of residence clause for homesteaders during the war, which was referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

Mr. JAMES. I present a resolution adopted by citizens of Hazard, Perry County, Ky., in mass meeting assembled, approving the action of the Congress in declaring war between the United States and Germany, and pledging support to the Government. I ask that the resolution be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that action will be taken.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I present a petition signed by 5,000 citizens of the city of Rochester, State of New York, in favor of compulsory military service, which I ask may be received and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The petition will be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. WEEKS presented petitions of the Tavern Club, of Boston; the Southbridge (Mass.) Rifles; the New England Coal Dealers' Association and the Somerset Club, of Boston; and sundry citizens of Needham, Williamstown, and Stoneham, all in the State of Massachusetts, pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. KNOX presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for compulsory military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented telegrams, in the nature of memorials, from sundry citizens of Detroit and Jackson, in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against the voluntary enlistment system, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Battle Creek, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation to increase the efficiency of the Dental Corps of the Army and Navy, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HARDWICK presented a telegram, in the nature of a petition, from the W. R. C. Smith Publishing Co., of Atlanta, Ga., pledging support to the President, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. ROBINSON. For the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS], who is detained from the Senate, I present resolutions, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE GRANGE, P. OF H.,
OFFICE OF MASTER,
Highland View Farm, Derry, N. H., March 29, 1917.

Hon. HENRY F. HOLLIS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am inclosing you a copy of some resolutions on preparedness. I do this that you may understand how the country people feel on this question.

Yours, truly,

WESLEY ADAMS.
DERRY, N. H., *April 2, 1917.*

WORTHY MASTER AND PATRONS: In the present national crisis every patriotic citizen will inquire, What is my duty? Manifestly it is every man's duty to do that which will most largely contribute to the success of the Nation in the defense of its honor and of the rights of its people.

There must be some to bear arms; there must be others to do less spectacular but equally important things.

The farm people of New Hampshire will in this critical moment look to their great organization for suggestions and advice. The grange in this State stands for patriotism, adequate and efficient equipment in men, money, and material to defend and enforce the honor and the rights of the American citizen.

Great armies are being raised and equipped; great naval forces are being enrolled, hundreds of thousands and even millions may be drawn in a few months from productive industry to military service.

The farmers of the State and Nation must provide for this vast military establishment and for the families left at home.

During the past three years the nations of the world have drawn heavily upon us for supplies of every description; enormous stores of food supplies ordinarily available have been removed. It is a patriotic duty possible to us all and no less important to our country that every farmer in the State increase to the limit the production of his land.

When the country needs them our farm people will subject themselves to the perils and privations of warfare. Until she needs them for that service they can none the less help by raising suitable equipment in food supplies to insure the success of her military operations and the sustenance of her people without unnecessary hardship.

This is service we are trained to do.

The grange tenders its good offices to the State and Nation for any service which it can render in the present situation. Its men are ready to fight when they can best serve their country by fighting, or to farm when they can best serve by farming; its women to bear, as women always have, their part and more in the burdens of this or any crisis that may arise.

We wish to serve where our service will contribute most to success.

WESLEY ADAMS,
GEO. R. DRAKE,
RICHARD PATTEE,
FRED A. ROGERS,
JOHN E. EASTMAN,
Executive Committee of the New Hampshire State Grange.

RESOLUTIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS.

Whereas Congress and the President of the United States, in extraordinary session, have declared that a state of war exists between our country and the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas the state of war which now exists has been forced upon this country by the continued violation of the rights of humanity upon the high seas; and

Whereas our President has called upon the people of this Republic for their earnest support and cooperation in the suppression of this willful murder, and it is the sense of this body that only by unity of purpose and action may the desired purpose be accomplished: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the State Council of the Knights of Columbus of New Hampshire in special meeting convened at Nashua, April 12, 1917, do sincerely and solemnly pledge our unswerving loyalty and fidelity to our country and our flag, and promise to the President and to the governor of New Hampshire the unqualified support of the Knights of Columbus of New Hampshire to do whatever may be required of them to aid in bringing this conflict to a successful termination.

THOMAS J. DOWD, Jr., *State Deputy.*
VERY REV. THOMAS M. O'LEARY, *State Chaplain.*
JOHN P. CYR, *State Secretary.*
J. JOSEPH DOHERTY, *State Advocate.*
ANDREW J. O'CONNOR, *State Warden.*
JOHN J. O'FARRELL, *State Treasurer.*

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I present two telegrams, one from Thomas W. Dekay, chairman of the committee on house defense and military training of Vernon Township, and the other embodying resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Morristown, in my State, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

VERNON, N. J., *April 17, 1917.*

JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
Senator from New Jersey, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully request you to urge the adoption by Congress of a system of universal military training and service for the United States.

THOMAS W. DEKAY,
Chairman Committee on House Defense and Military Training of Vernon Township, Sussex County, N. J.

MORRISTOWN, N. J., *April 17, 1917.*

Hon. JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully advise you that following resolutions were adopted at a meeting held at Morristown, N. J., this day:

"*Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Morristown, N. J., in mass meeting assembled, declare our unqualified approval of the action taken by the President and Congress in severing our relations and declaring war on Germany.

"*Resolved*, That we support the principles of liberty and justice and freedom for which the allied nations of Europe are fighting, and approve the use of our Army and Navy to assist them in every possible manner.

"*Resolved*, That we approve the President's plan for universal military training.

"*Resolved*, That we pledge our steadfast and loyal support to the President in his leadership of the people to assert their rights on land and sea and to uphold the national honor.

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be telegraphed to the President and to our Representatives in Congress."

GRINELL WILLIS, *Chairman.*
LELAND B. GARRETSON, *Secretary.*

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. SWANSON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally with amendments and submitted reports thereon:

S. 1537. A bill to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve (Rept. No. 17);

S. 1797. A bill to authorize the President, in time of war or of national emergency, to requisition or take over ships, boats, and other water craft for the use of the Government (Rept. No. 19); and

S. 1845. A bill to authorize Peter Goelet Gerry to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use of the steam yacht *Owera* (Rept. No. 18).

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 1536. A bill to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve (Rept. No. 14);

S. 1587. A bill to increase the number of midshipmen in the Naval Academy (Rept. No. 15); and

S. 1534. A bill to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service (Rept. No. 13).

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 1538) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 16) thereon.

ENLISTMENTS FOR FOREIGN NATIONS.

Mr. CULBERSON. From the Committee on the Judiciary I report back favorably with amendments the bill (S. 1802) to amend section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, and I submit a report (No. 21) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, let the bill be read; but before it is read I desire to ask the Senator from Texas a question. Is this a unanimous report from the Committee on the Judiciary?

Mr. CULBERSON. It is a unanimous report from the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 10. Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists, or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people, as a soldier, or as a marine or seaman, on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer, shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments.

The amendments were, on page 1, line 9, after the word "retains," to insert "or solicits"; on page 2, line 3, after the words "apply to," to insert "the enlistment or entry of"; and in line 5, after the word "war," to insert "in the service of the country of which they are citizens or subjects."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CULBERSON. I ask that the report accompanying the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that action will be taken.

The report submitted this day by Mr. CULBERSON is as follows:

[Senate Report No. 21, 65th Cong., 1st sess.]

PERMITTING CERTAIN ENLISTMENTS UNDER FOREIGN NATIONS.

Mr. CULBERSON, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following report (to accompany S. 1802):

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1802) to amend section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, having considered the same, beg leave to report it back with amendments and recommend that it be so amended and passed.

Section 10 of the Criminal Code, which forbids enlistments in and recruiting for foreign military forces, is as follows:

"Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists, or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people, as a soldier, or as a

marine or seaman, on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer, shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years."

The bill proposes to amend that section by adding to it (1) the words "or solicits" after the word "retains" and before the words "another person," and (2) the proviso at the end, which reads as follows, the amendment proposed by the committee being italicized:

"*Provided*, That this section shall not apply to *the enlistment or entry of* citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war *in the service of the country of which they are citizens or subjects.*"

The bill intends to permit the recruiting and enlisting within the United States of only those persons now or hereafter in this country who are citizens or subjects of a foreign Government which is warring against a nation with which the United States is similarly engaged. This is done by the proviso, which exempts from the operation of the existing statute the recruiting officers and the persons enlisting belonging to those definitely described countries. The law would still be applied to citizens of the United States and to all others in this country who are not citizens or subjects of a foreign nation which is at war with the same country against which the United States is fighting and would punish recruiting of them or enlistment by them. When the United States is at peace the proviso would, of course, be inoperative. The amendment to the proviso is proposed in the light of the view that each country so exempted should be specifically restricted to enlisting here only its own nationals.

The amendment, which adds the words "or solicits," will work so as to prevent, for instance, any foreign recruiting officer from merely soliciting for service under a foreign flag, though he do not hire or retain any citizen of the United States or other person whom he is not permitted under the proviso to enlist. Its application would be still broader when the United States is at peace.

The bill is much desired by the branches of the Government charged with the conduct of the war. Its enactment will furnish another way to help those countries now actively fighting our common enemy.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING (S. DOC. NO. 10.)

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I report from the Committee on Printing a resolution for the printing of the manuscript entitled "Data Prepared by the Army War College Relating to Universal Military Training," the estimated cost of which is $214. There is a great demand for this document, and the pressure on individual members of the committee has been such that the committee at its last meeting instructed me to report this resolution and to ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 41), as follows:

Resolved, That the manuscript submitted by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] on April 12, 1917, entitled "Data Prepared by the Army War College Relating to Universal Military Training," together with the accompanying letter from the Secretary of War, be printed as a Senate document.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Arizona a question. There is an appropriation in the sundry civil appropriation bill for the very purpose of printing such matter. Does the Senator from Arizona know whether or not this will duplicate the printing of the matter submitted?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I called attention in the committee to that provision in the appropriation bill, but it seems the object of that provision was to facilitate printing for the Army without coming back to Congress for authority to have the Government Printing Office do the work. We made a large appropriation, but it does not necessarily cover the printing of the document which I have now reported; and even if it did, the limited number of copies of Senate documents printed will not in any way fill the demands of the public for the particular information contained in the document I have presented.

Mr. SMOOT. With the statement made by the Senator from Arizona that this is not a departmental document, I have no objection to the request; but I will say to the Senator that if it were printed by the War Department as a departmental document I would certainly have serious objection to the printing of it as a public document.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. So would I.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, I think I can give the information about that. My understanding is that it is not printed by the department and is merely a document to be printed by the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. With that understanding, I have no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. That was my understanding or I would not have reported the resolution favorably.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator yield to me just for a moment, so that I may submit an amendment to a pending bill to be printed and lie on the table?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I yield.

Mr. HARDWICK. I offer an amendment to Senate bill 1796, to amend the Federal reserve act, which I ask to have printed and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. According to the notice that the Chair gave yesterday, the rule is going to be enforced that a Senator having the floor can not be taken off his feet for the purpose of allowing another Senator to make a report or present morning business.

Mr. HARDWICK. The Senator from Georgia was not aware of the notice or he would not have made the request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The rule should either be observed or repealed.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to ask the Senator from Arizona how many copies of the document does the resolution authorize to be printed?

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. The reguiar number. The Senator from Utah can give the information.

Mr. SMOOT. There will be 1,300 copies printed.

Mr. JONES of Washington. As I understand, they will be apportioned to each Senator—that is, each Senator will be allotted a certain number, which, I assume, will be only one or two.

Mr. SMOOT. Each Senator will be entitled to about two copies; but, under the law, the Joint Committee on Printing can order printed $200 worth without further action of Congress, and up to $500 worth can be printed by a simple Senate resolution.

Mr. JONES of Washington. If only one or two copies will be allotted to each Senator, that will not anything like take care of the demand that is going to be made for a document of this importance under the present conditions.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I understand that; and when the contingency arises we will then have to meet it. We did not desire to go any further at this time.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I will inquire what is the document?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state what the document is.

The SECRETARY. "Manuscript submitted by Mr. WATSON April 12, 1917, entitled 'Data Prepared by the Army War College Relating to Universal Military Training,' together with an accompanying letter from the Secretary of War."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. The question now is on the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

MILITARY SERVICE ACTS OF GREAT BRITAIN (S. DOC. NO. 9)

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I understand, in view of the conditions now confronting us, that there is quite a demand among those interested for information concerning the military service acts of Great Britain. The Committee on Printing has authorized me to report a resolution, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration. The estimated cost is $32.96 to print the document.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 42) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the manuscript submitted by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], on April 11, 1917, entitled "Military Service Acts of Great Britain, 1916," be printed as a Senate Document.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. THOMPSON. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, I report back favorably with an amendment Senate resolution 40, submitted by Mr. JONES of New Mexico on yesterday, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was, on line 5, after the word "committee," to insert "and that the expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate," so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Woman Suffrage, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, and that the expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

DIVERSION OF WATERS OF NIAGARA RIVER.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. From the Committee on Foreign Relations I report back favorably without amendment the "Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 13) extending the time within which the joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River" shall remain in effect, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That public resolution No. 45 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, approved January 19, 1917, entitled a "Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River," is continued in full force and effect, and under the same conditions, restrictions, and limitations, until July 1, 1918.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 1007) authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place, and I submit a report (No. 20) thereon. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ELLEN M. STONE RANSOM FUND.

Mr. POMERENE. On yesterday I introduced a bill (S. 1848) for the relief of contributors of the Ellen M. Stone ransom fund, and it was referred to the Committee on Claims. A similar bill has passed the Senate probably four or five times and heretofore has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which committee is entirely familiar with the facts concerning it. Therefore I move that the Committee on Claims be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The motion was agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 1874) for the relief of Samuel Wilson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1875) granting a pension to Cornelius Branning; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERNALD:

A bill (S. 1876) for the relief of the States of Massachusetts and Maine; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 1877) prohibiting the issuance of special-tax stamps authorizing the sale of distilled spirits or other intoxicating liquors unless public notice by advertisement has been given, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 1878) to prohibit the dealing in futures on foodstuffs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 1879) for the relief of John C. Hesse; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBINSON:

A bill (S. 1880) for the relief of Jennie Bell Cox, Robert Isaac Clegg, and Thomas Neel Clegg, children and only heirs of Thomas Watts Clegg, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KNOX:

A bill (S. 1881) granting a pension to Maude Lingenfelter (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

A bill (S. 1882) granting an increase of pension to James R. Rundlett; and

A bill (S. 1883) granting an increase of pension to Nathan H. Ellis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 1884) to promote the welfare and efficiency of the soldiers of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1885) relating to the reclamation of arid, semiarid, swamp, and overflow lands through district organizations, and authorizing Government aid therefor; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

By Mr. GALLINGER (for Mr. GRONNA):

A bill (S. 1888) to conserve the agricultural food products of the United States and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

ENLISTED STRENGTH OF THE NAVY.

Mr. SWANSON. I introduce a bill to which I call the attention of the members of the Naval Committee. It is a bill to increase the enlisted strength of the Navy to 150,000 men. I wish to state to the members of the Naval Committee that it is the bill we were discussing this morning and which we agreed to consider tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator if it is not possible to have the bill printed at once, so that it may be put in the hands of members of the committee this afternoon to give them an opportunity to familiarize themselves with it?

Mr. SWANSON. I will endeavor to have that done so that the members of the committee may have an opportunity to examine the bill.

Senate bill 1873, to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

INCREASE OF FOOD PRODUCTION.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I introduce two bills that look to the use of the public lands and also lands under reclamation projects for increasing the production of farm products. One of these bills would naturally go to the Committee on Public Lands and the other to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, but they also, as I have said, deal with the matter of increasing the food production, a subject that comes naturally under the consideration of the Agricultural Committee, and I have thought that it would probably be better to have the bills referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as that committee will have consideration of that whole subject. Therefore I ask that the bills may be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that reference will be made.

The bill (S. 1886) to encourage the production of food products on the public lands during the war, and

The bill (S. 1887) to increase the production of agricultural products on lands under reclamation projects during the war were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. PENROSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

On motion of Mr. OVERMAN, it was

Ordered, That indefinite leave of absence be granted the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] on account of illness.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill No. 2.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with amendments.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we consider this bill by chapters, the committee amendments to be first considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

The Secretary proceeded to read Chapter I of the bill.

The first amendment of the Committee on the Judiciary was on page 2, line 18, to strike out the words "SEC. 2. That if," and to insert the word "If," so as to make the paragraph read:

If any owner, agent, master, or person in charge, officer, or member of the crew of any such vessel shall refuse or fail to comply with any such proclamation or Executive order of the President or any regulation or rule issued or order given by the Secretary of the Treasury under the provisions of this chapter, or shall obstruct or interfere with the exercise of any power hereby conferred, such vessel, together with tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture to the United States in the same manner as merchandise is forfeited for violation of the customs revenue laws; and the person or persons guilty of such failure, refusal, obstruction, or interference shall be subject to a fine of not more than $10,000 or to imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 3, line 7, to change the number of the section from 3 to 2; in the same line, after the word "unlawful," to insert "within the territorial waters of the United States"; on line 8, after the words "master or," to insert "any"; on line 10, after the word "domestic," to strike out "within the territorial waters of the United States to," and insert "or for any member of the crew or other person"; and on line 12, after the word "willfully," to insert "to," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful within the territorial waters of the United States for the owner or master or any other person in charge or command of any private vessel, foreign or domestic, or for any member of the crew or other person willfully to cause or permit the destruction or injury of such vessel or knowingly to permit said vessel to be used as a place of resort for any person conspiring with another or preparing to commit any offense against the United States, or in violation of the treaties of the United States or of the obligations of the United States under the law of nations, or to defraud the United States, or knowingly to permit such vessels to be used in violation of the rights and obligations of the United States under the law of nations; and in case such vessel shall be so used, with the knowledge of the owner or master or other person in charge or command thereof, the vessel, together with her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture to the United States in the same manner as merchandise is forfeited for violation of the customs revenue laws; and the owner, master, or person in charge or command thereof, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 5, to change the number of the section from 4 to 3.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 9, to change the number of the section from 5 to 4; and on the same line, after the word "used," to strike out "herein," and insert "in this chapter," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 4. The term "United States" as used in this chapter shall include the Canal Zone and all territory and waters, continental and insular, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States: *Provided*, That the Governor of the Panama Canal, with the approval of the President, shall make all necessary rules and regulations to carry into effect the provisions of this chapter in the territory and waters of the Canal Zone within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 4, line 17, to change the number of the section from 6 to 5.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. As the Chair understands the agreement, the committee amendments to this chapter having been disposed of, if there are any other amendments to be made to the chapter they should be offered now.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the chairman of the committee, calling his attention to lines 8 and 9 on page 2 of the bill, whether it aptly expresses the desire of the committee to use the expression there "to prevent damage or injury to any harbor or waters"? Should not the word "obstruction" as well be in there, so as to clearly express that view? I understand that is the object of the provision.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is the object. I do not think it is necessary to put that word in, however.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I think it would be a matter of construction in the courts to say that damage or injury to waters meant their obstruction; but I would suggest to the chairman that "obstruction" is a well-known term which might be very aptly used there.

Mr. OVERMAN. Where would the Senator put it?

Mr. SAULSBURY. Just before the word "damage," I think, would be a very good place.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not object to that, Mr. President.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Then I move that the word "obstruction" be inserted before the word "damage," in line 9.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On line 9, page 2, before the word "damage," the first word in the line, it is proposed to insert the word "obstruction," with a comma.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there further amendments to Chapter I?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I rise simply to make an inquiry. I think it is quite right to call for amendments as each chapter is read; but I ask whether the chapter will not be open to amendment until the bill passes into the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that under the agreement entered into it will not be open to amendment in the Committee of the Whole unless it is amended now. It will be open to amendment in the Senate, of course.

Mr. CUMMINS. When was that agreement made?

Mr. OVERMAN. It was made at the outset. I thought if there were any amendments to be offered to any chapter they should be offered before we took up the next chapter.

Mr. CUMMINS. Was the agreement made this morning? I ask that the agreement be stated. I did not hear the agreement made. I ask that it may be stated, so that I may understand it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Reporter will read the agreement.

The Reporter read as follows:

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we consider this bill by chapters, the committee amendments to be first considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. CUMMINS. I submit, Mr. President, that that does not preclude an amendment to a chapter after other chapters have been considered. I think it would be very unfortunate if that were the case, because the Senators are not all here.

Mr. LODGE. The agreement as stated does not cut off amendments.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, this is an entire bill, and if any Senator wants to introduce an amendment to any chapter, I think he should do it while that chapter is being considered. I want to pass the chapters and get them adopted. Then, this being one bill with several chapters in it, after we pass the chapters, at any time before the bill goes into the Senate any Senator may introduce an amendment. I have no objection to that.

Mr. CUMMINS. I certainly have none.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Then there is no use of the agreement, so far as the Chair can see.

Mr. OVERMAN. Well, we will consider the chapters and pass on, and if there are any amendments I should like to have them introduced now.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That was not the request, and that was not the consent of the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, as I understood the reading of the request it did not involve the adoption, if you please, of the bill by chapters. It simply provided for the consideration of the committee amendments first.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It does not amount to anything unless it means that.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I may have misunderstood it. I will ask that the agreement be read again.

The Reporter read as follows:

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we consider this bill by chapters, the committee amendments to be first considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. OVERMAN. The agreement is that we shall consider it by chapters, and consider the committee amendments first; but there is nothing in that that cuts off the privilege and right of amendment at the proper time, I take it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has so ruled, in the Committee of the Whole. If the Senate does not want it that way, the Chair does not care anything about it; but in that event there was no necessity for asking for anything except to consider the committee amendments first. If the bill is to be considered as a whole, that is the well-known rule; that is all there is of it; but it was not asked in that way. It was asked to consider it chapter by chapter, the committee amendments to be considered first.

Mr. LODGE. To consider it chapter by chapter; but I can not see that that deprives us of the right of amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It does not deprive Senators of the right of amendment. It puts them to the necessity of offering their amendments to this chapter now, before the consideration of the chapter is ended.

Mr. LODGE. Well, anything can be read in to the words, but those are not the words.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, does the agreement that the bill should be considered by chapters mean that each chapter as it is finished should be voted upon as a separate matter and agreed to before proceeding to the next chapter?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair assumed that that was the purpose of it. Now the Senator from North Carolina says he is perfectly willing that amendments shall be offered——

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I have no desire to cut off anybody from offering amendments nor to take advantage of anybody. I asked that the bill be considered first by chapters for amendments to the chapters. I could have had the whole bill read first, but I wanted to have the amendments to this chapter adopted and get rid of them. If there are any other amendments to be adopted to this chapter, let them be offered now; but whenever the bill is through with, before it gets into the Committee of the Whole, it is one bill, and I have no objection to the offering of amendments to this chapter at any time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What I mean is after the committee amendments to Chapter I have been agreed to, and after individual Senators have offered their amendments to Chapter I, and they have been agreed to, then does the Senator intend to have a vote upon Chapter I as amended, settling that?

Mr. OVERMAN. I think so, Mr. President. That is my idea.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That is what I want to know.

Mr. CUMMINS. To vote on Chapter I?

Mr. OVERMAN. On Chapter I. That is the adoption in Committee of the Whole. Then, before the bill goes to the Senate, any Senator can introduce any amendment to any chapter or any part of the bill. I want to settle it in the Committee of the Whole by chapters.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Having voted on Chapter I and agreed to the amendments, it is then to be considered, as I understand it, as though it were a paragraph of a bill that had been agreed to?

Mr. OVERMAN. Adopted in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. In the Committee of the Whole; and then, in the Senate, the whole bill is open to amendment again?

Mr. OVERMAN. Why, of course, Mr. President. That is my understanding.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is just what the Chair ruled; but now the Chair does not know whether that is to be lived up to or whether it is not. The Chair just understood from the Senator from North Carolina that he has no objection to amendments being offered to this chapter hereafter.

Mr. OVERMAN. When it gets in the Senate, Mr. President. We are acting in the Committee of the Whole. I want it adopted by chapters, and that was my idea in asking unanimous consent to have it adopted by chapters in the Committee of the Whole. Then, of course, when it gets to the Senate the whole bill is before the Senate and anyone can introduce an amendment. In other words, in Committee of the Whole we do not want to go back over a chapter that has already been adopted.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. But the Senator understands, does he not—I want to understand it, at any rate—that after the committee amendments to chapter 1 have been agreed to, any individual Senator may offer his individual amendments to chapter 1 before proceeding to others?

Mr. OVERMAN. Exactly. I tried to make myself plain.

Mr. CUMMINS. I want a complete understanding. I did not understand the request of the Senator from North Carolina in that way. It is more than likely that it will prolong the consideration of the bill rather than shorten it, because all the Senators are not here and it is impossible for any Senator to say whether he wants to offer an amendment to this particular chapter or not.

Mr. OVERMAN. He will have plenty of opportunity, if he is not here when the bill is being considered in Committee of the Whole, to offer it in the Senate. I want the chapters considered and adopted, and the amendments offered to the chapters. When we get through with it upon the floor of the Senate let the chapter be adopted, and that is the end of it in the Committee of the Whole. Then, when it gets in the Senate, any Senator can introduce amendments.

Mr. CUMMINS. I do not believe there is any parliamentary procedure by which you can adopt a chapter.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The usual and customary course of procedure is to request that a bill be read first for committee amendments. That is the usual and ordinary procedure. The Senator from North Carolina has varied that by asking that this bill be considered chapter by chapter, the committee amendments to be first considered. That was the unanimous-censent agreement. The present occupant of the chair can not construe it to mean anything else than this—that before we proceed to Chapter II, any amendments that a Senator desires to offer in the Committee of the Whole shall now be offered. If not now offered, they can not be subsequently offered until the bill gets in the Senate. Of course, there they can be offered. That is the ruling of the Chair on the agreement.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, another parliamentary inquiry. Will it be in order under that ruling to offer another independent chapter to the bill in Committee of the Whole?

The VICE PRESIDENT. To take the place of this chapter?

Mr. CUMMINS. No; an independent chapter on another subject.

The VICE PRESIDENT. When the chapters are disposed of it will be. Are there any amendments to be offered to Chapter I at the present time in Committee of the Whole? The Chair hears none.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, at this point I will make an inquiry of the Senator from North Carolina. I have been otherwise engaged and I have not had time even to read the bill. I ask the Senator if this is substantially the same as the consolidated bill which we passed at the last session, which failed in the other House?

Mr. OVERMAN. It is. It has already passed the Senate. It is the same bill, with some substantial amendments offered by Senators in the Committee on the Judiciary taking away some of the drastic features. This is substantially the same bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is what I wanted to know.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Are there any amendments to Chapter I in Committee of the Whole? The Chair hears none, and Chapter II will be read.

The Secretary proceeded to read Chapter II.

The next amendment was, in Chapter II, section 1, on page 5, line 7, after the word "defense," to strike out "to which he is not lawfully entitled" and insert "with intent or knowledge that the information to be obtained is to be used to the injury of the United States, or to the advantage of any foreign nation," so as to read:

SECTION 1. That (a) whoever, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the national defense with intent or knowledge that the information to be obtained is to be used to the injury of the United States, or to the advantage of any foreign nation, goes upon, or enters, flies over, or induces or aids another to go upon, enter, or fly over any vessel, aircraft, work of defense, navy yard, naval station—

And so forth.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in Chapter II, section 1, on page 6, line 3, after the word "and," to strike out "without lawful authority" and insert "with like intent or knowledge," so as to read:

(b) Whoever, for the purpose aforesaid, and with like intent or knowledge, copies, takes, makes, or obtains, or attempts, or induces or aids another to copy, take, make, or obtain, any sketch, photograph, photographic negative, blue print, plan, model, instrument—

And so forth.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in Chapter II, section 1, page 6, line 24, before the word "note," to insert "or," and in the same line, after the word "note," to strike out "or information"; so as to read:

(d) whoever, lawfully or unlawfully having possession of, access to, control over, or being entrusted with any document, writing, code book, signal book, sketch, photograph, photographic negative, blue print, plan, model, instrument, appliance, or note relating to the national defense, willfully communicates, etc.

Mr. POMERENE. I should like to ask the Senator in charge of the bill why the words "or information" are stricken out? It seems to me that they are very appropriate words to have in this statute, unless that subject matter is provided for in another part of the bill.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think it is covered in the bill.

Mr. POMERENE. In other portions of the bill?

Mr. OVERMAN. I think so. I think everything is covered in the bill without putting in those words here. The committee thought that those words are unnecessary in this place.

Mr. POMERENE. I am very clearly of the opinion that if a man had information which he had gleaned from some document or record which might be of value to an enemy and it was given to the enemy he ought to be penalized for it.

Mr. OVERMAN. If the Senator will read paragraph (d), with reference to papers, signal books, photographs, photographic negatives, and so forth, he will see that there is no occasion for these words here. That covers information.

Mr. POMERENE. I realize that, but it seems to me it ought to be more comprehensive, and it would not be wrong to have the words retained. If, however, it is provided for in another portion of the bill I have no objection.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in Chapter II, section 2 (a), on page 8, line 3, after the words "shall be," to strike out "imprisoned for not less than 30 years, or by death" and insert "punished by death or by imprisonment for not less than 5 years," so as to read:

Provided, That whoever shall violate the provisions of this paragraph of this section in time of war shall be punished by death or by imprisonment for not less than 5 years.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in Chapter II, section 2 (a), on page 8, line 19, after the word "punished," to insert "by death or," and in line 20, after the word "years," to strike out "or by death," so as to read:

Shall be punished by death or by imprisonment for not less than 30 years.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in Chapter II, section 2, on page 9, line 9, after the word "imprisonment," to insert:

Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives or the publication of the same: *Provided*, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, this is a very important proviso. There are two provisos. The first proviso, I think, is absolutely necessary and proper. The second proviso, it seems to me, takes away the value from the first proviso.

Mr. President, I am as averse to having anything published in the newspapers that would give help to the enemy as anyone can be, and I believe it can not be too rigidly suppressed or too thoroughly punished if the law is violated; but I think to attempt to deny to the press all legitimate criticism either of Congress or the Executive is going very dangerously far.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. LODGE. I do.

Mr. BORAH. May I submit a broader question than that, which we may consider as we proceed with the discussion? Under what authority does Congress limit the freedom of the press at all? This establishes a censorship; under what authority do we do that?

Mr. LODGE. There is something in the Constitution which, I think, interferes with it.

Mr. BORAH. I do not think it is within the ingenuity of the human mind to construct a measure which may limit the discussion of these public questions by previous restraint of the press under our Constitution. This has been conscientiously tried, undoubtedly, in this instance; but the question which I want to have considered along with the consideration of the question which the Senator suggests is what power has Congress at all over this subject?

Mr. LODGE. I had not taken up the constitutional point. I think that the first proviso, as I said, removes the great danger from the bill, assuming that the bill is constitutional.

Mr. BORAH. It does remove a great danger from the bill, but the first proviso is a license; it is a permission; something which we can not under the Constitution provide for.

Mr. LODGE. Absolutely.

Mr. BORAH. It is a privilege.

Mr. LODGE. Absolutely.

Mr. BORAH. The very thing which the Constitution prohibits us from creating with reference to the press.

Mr. LODGE. But if that proviso is omitted then the freedom of the press would only be protected by the Constitution, and I am afraid that would be if not a frail a very slow protection. If we are going to pass a bill like this, with which I am in sympathy, I think it will not do to deny the right of legitimate criticism.

Mr. COLT. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. COLT. Is not the liberty of the press subject to limitation? Is there any right enumerated in the first 10 amendments of the Constitution that is not subject to the limitations of the police power or the protection of society?

Mr. LODGE. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BORAH. If the Senator presents that question in the way he has presented it, without any limitation, I would say it is not within the power of Congress to limit the right of the freedom of the press. If the fathers intended anything, beyond question it was to prevent Congress from passing any law, because that is the language—it shall pass no law—limiting the freedom of the press. Will anybody deny that this is the law after it is passed, and will anybody deny that it limits the freedom of the press? If so it is in the very teeth of the language of the Constitution. Does not it clearly provide in advance of publication that unless the censor—to wit, the President—consents, either direct or through his regulations, that upon certain subjects publication shall not be had. And if you can make the President a censor you can make anybody else a censor. Now, you may, if Congress has any jurisdiction at all, punish for results of publication, but you can not set up licensors.

Mr. COLT. I ask the Senator if the law of libel does not limit the freedom of the press?

Mr. BORAH. Not at all. You have a perfect right to publish and then you take the consequences for any injury you do. There is no limitation upon your previous right to publish, and there can not be any placed upon it either.

Mr. COLT. May I ask the Senator, then, if a statute punishing libel would not be an unconstitutional statute?

Mr. BORAH. Not at all.

Mr. COLT. When it limits the freedom of the press?

Mr. BORAH. Not at all; because the freedom to publish is in no sense limited. That is a different proposition entirely. You simply take the consequences of doing an injury to somebody by exercising that freedom.

Mr. OVERMAN and Mr. CUMMINS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield further; and if so, to whom?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. OVERMAN. I rose to ask the Senator from Idaho a question. In time of war can the press publish news about the movements of the Army, news about where a submarine base is located, news calculated to injure the United States, to give information to the enemy, and to injure the United States in its conduct of the war?

Mr. BORAH. Let me ask the Senator, who is a distinguished lawyer, if that is true, where is the exception in the Constitution which enables you to limit the freedom of the press during war? What provision or exception relates to war or the right to establish a censorship in times of war? He may publish, and no one in advance of publication can interfere.

Mr. OVERMAN. Will the Senator answer my question? Does he think the press should have or would have the right under the Constitution to convey to the enemy news injurious to his own country in time of war?

Mr. BORAH. I answer the question by repeating what I said a moment ago, that the Constitution makes no exceptions. That entire subject is discussed very ably by the father of the Constitution, Mr. Madison, in which he says if the fathers had intended for such an emergency to create a different condition of affairs they would have undoubtedly written into the Constitution "except" so and so.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Will the Senator from Massachusetts pardon me for a question?

Mr. LODGE. I will.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. If a newspaper shall publish information when the United States is at war which gave aid and comfort to the enemy, it would be treason. That is the limitation under which the press would operate in time of war.

Mr. BORAH. That is a limitation of the freedom of the press, just the same as punishing a man for libel. You can not prohibit his publishing in the first instance, but you can make it a crime if there is any injurious result from the publication.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I understand that; but I mean to assert that, to my mind, there is no distinction in the first amendment to the Constitution between the lack of power of Congress to abridge the freedom of speech among the people and its power to abridge the freedom of the press.

Mr. BORAH. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I think, of course, we must prevent the press from conveying information to the enemy, and we do it, as we prevent libel. We do it by making it a punishable offense or treating it as treason, as the Senator from Connecticut suggests.

I have not the least desire to interfere with the punishment of those who use the freedom of the press for the injury of the United States, but it is going a very long way beyond that when you put it in the hands of the Executive to punish with the heaviest penalty any legitimate criticism in the press which conveys no information of value to the enemy whatever and which is not libelous.

Mr. OVERMAN. Now, we are at war. The President is the great Commander in Chief. He is to carry the war, if possible, to a successful conclusion. He, under this amendment, is to make and formulate—and, of course, he will do it in connection with the press—certain rules and regulations as to what shall or shall not be published—not to publish such matter as is calculated to injure the United States. Does the Senator think that any President of the United States would formulate a rule which would prevent legitimate criticism?

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, here is what I mean. I will take a specific illustration. We have been told in the press that a board of censorship has been appointed to act as censors over the press of the United States. One of them is a well-known newspaper man. With him are appointed the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War, putting absolutely in the hands of the two departments that conduct this war the power to send to prison any man who criticizes their administration, though not giving information to the enemy.

Mr. NORRIS and Mr. WALSH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. LODGE. I yield first to the Senator from Nebraska, and shall yield to the Senator from Montana in a moment.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to suggest to the Senator from Massachusetts that the proviso which he is discussing applies in time of peace as well as in time of war. It is not limited to the time of war.

Mr. LODGE. I understand the whole bill is limited to the time of war. I do not think I am mistaken about that.

Mr. NORRIS. I think the Senator is mistaken as to that. A great deal of the chapter which we are discussing refers to times of peace as well as to times of war.

Mr. LODGE. Of course, such legislation as this in time of peace would be monstrous, and it should be made to apply only to a time of war.

Mr. CUMMINS. This particular provision is limited to a time of war.

Mr. LODGE. That is what I supposed.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is all limited to a time of war, except the neutrality provision.

Mr. LODGE. That is what I understood.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts now yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I desire to say that the entire committee were quite in accord with the views now expressed by the Senator from Massachusetts, that no restriction whatever should be placed upon the criticism or comment upon any policy or act of the administration. That there should be no question about that at all, the committee have proposed an amendment to the bill, which appears upon page 9, which they intend, at least, shall cover just exactly that aspect of the case. That amendment provides as follows:

Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulations herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same: *Provided*, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I fully approve of the first proviso. I think it is very desirable that it should be in the bill. My point however, is that the second proviso, as it is drawn, makes the first proviso valueless.

Mr. HUGHES. "Bad," did the Senator say?

Mr. LODGE. I say the second proviso makes the first proviso valueless, I think, as it is worded.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Massachusetts that if we are going to prohibit the publication of this most important information, it would be useless to prohibit it if we should allow it to be conveyed in the course of discussion. Let me say to the Senator from Massachusetts that it was believed that where certain acts or policies of the Government had become public property, they might be referred to as a matter of course in discussion or in comments. That would not be conveying information. Reference has been often made to the criticisms of the Dardanelles expedition and the operations on the peninsula. Those became the subject of very severe criticism, but not before the thing was accomplished; not for the purpose of exposing the whole thing or to the effect of exposing it; but reference, of course, has to be made to the things done in order to afford a basis for comments or discussion. So it could not be asserted, for instance, that the Lord Northcliffe papers conveyed any information in the discussions in which they indulged concerning that episode.

Mr. LODGE. Precisely; he conveyed no information of value to the enemy. That is the definition I want to get into this paragraph. Lord Northcliffe criticized what had been done. My contention is that under the second paragraph what has been done can not be criticized.

Let me put a case to the Senator from Montana. Suppose it was found that on some of the merchant vessels which the Government has armed the shells furnished by the Government either did not explode at all or that they exploded in the gun, and were defective. That would be something that had happened in the past. It would be a matter of moment. We ought to know if such a thing as that had happened. If it had, we ought to know who inspected the shells and where the shells came from. I do not consider that that would be giving information to the enemy.

Mr. WALSH. I quite agree with the Senator from Massachusetts. I am unable to discover, however, how the conveying of information of that character, or reference to a fact of that character in the course of comment or discussion, is prohibited by this provision.

I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts that the committee—if I may speak for them—were in very entire accord with the views that he is now expressing; and I am very sure that they would be glad to aid and unite with him in making any further change of the language which would more carefully safeguard such legitimate discussion or comment as he has in mind.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, it seems to me that the Senator from Montana is mistaken in saying that the illustration given by the Senator from Massachusetts relating to shells does not convey information.

Mr. LODGE. A past event.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. A past event; and a part of the prohibition of this section is that no information shall be given regarding war materials. Such information would certainly come under that head.

Mr. LODGE. It would.

Mr. WALSH. But that certainly would not apply to war materials that had been spent.

Mr. LODGE. I think it would. I think this language is so broad that it certainly would prohibit the publication of such information.

Mr. WALSH. I do not think so.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Just for an instant. I quite agree with all that the Senator from Massachusetts has said; but I would like to suggest to him as well that the proviso, with which apparently he is in accord and with which he is satisfied, does not in reality accomplish the result which he seeks to attain. A reading of the peculiar and extraordinarily comprehensive language which precedes the first proviso, it seems to me, would indicate that the protection sought to be accorded by that first proviso is in reality not accorded at all. If the Senator will pardon me for an instant——

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. If the Senator will follow the language of the act he will see that it reads:

Whoever in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall * * * publish—

I am omitting now the words that are unnecessary to indicate the point to which I have adverted—

shall publish * * * any information with respect to * * * war materials * * * or with respect to the plans, or conduct, *or supposed plans* of any naval or military operations * * * or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or *which might be*, useful to the enemy, shall be punished—

And so forth—

Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same.

Indeed, the general provisions of the act, its extraordinarily comprehensive terms, will do the very thing concerning which I think the Senator from Massachusetts is speaking; and the proviso, with which apparently the Senator is content, will not give the liberty of speech nor the liberty of the press which now is sought to be attained.

Mr. LODGE. I now yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I simply desire to interrupt the Senator to make one remark in reference to the illustration he has given. Suppose that it were discovered that the shells on one of our armed merchantmen were defective, and therefore the information ought to be published. That is like a two-edged sword. If it is published the enemy gets information immediately that our merchantmen are armed with shells of that character, and the result would be that they will attack such vessels without any compunction, for they would have nothing to fear. Such information, if it turns out that the shells are defective, should be communicated to the officials of the Government and not be published and advertised to the world, because that would injure us in respect to enemy vessels, who would then be forewarned that they had no danger to encounter, because our armed merchantmen were provided with defective shells.

Mr. LODGE. Does it follow, because the shells are bad on one ship, that they are bad on all ships?

Mr. NELSON. Well, the shells might come from the same factory.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, would it not be better to have a little publication rather than to have our soldiers go into battle with defective shells?

Mr. NELSON. I want to say a word in this connection, but I will not say it now in the Senator's time. I will say it in my own time by and by.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. I only desire to make this suggestion to the Senator from Massachusetts and to the Senate: This particular provision will excite a good deal of interest, I am sure, and a great deal of debate, and we are proceeding with it so far upon the theory that it applies only to publications by newspapers, by the press. It applies to every person and to all communications and all discussions, as well as to publications in the general press; and when we are considering what it means and what its effect may be, I think there ought to be in the minds of Senators its broad and comprehensive application.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I realize that it applies to individuals as well as to the press—at least, I so read the bill. I do not know whether this provision is intended to go past the constitutional privilege granted to Members of the two Houses of Congress. If we can go by constitutional privileges and constitutional rights in one respect, I do not see what is to prevent our being called in question for words uttered in debate. If all the constitutional rights are to be passed by, that right may go with the rest.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, would it be any more an exertion of that kind of power to prevent a Senator from expressing himself upon the floor than it is to prevent a newspaper from expressing itself, when they are both protected by the same definite, specific language of the Constitution?

Mr. LODGE. They seem to me to rest on much the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. WALSH. I feel warranted in interrupting the Senator again——

M. LODGE. I am very glad to be interrupted; I want to have the matter discussed.

Mr. WALSH. So as to inform the Senator as to the origin of the language in the proviso he is now discussing. A draft of the proposed censorship bill came to a number of the committee with the heading "Tentative censorship bill agreed upon by the New York newspapers." Whether or not it was so agreed upon, I have no information at all.

Mr. LODGE. Some member of the committee told me there was such a draft. I have never seen it, but I do not think that that really affects the question.

Mr. WALSH. I am sure it does not, but I give the information to the Senator.

Mr. LODGE. I have been told by a member of the committee—I do not remember whom—that there was such a draft and that the committee had not acceded to it. I have never seen it.

Mr. WALSH. It is the fact. The draft, although it originated in some criticism of the bill on the part of the newspapers, contained provisions which we thought, upon a rather hasty examination, contemplated provisions quite as drastic as those in the bill under consideration; but it has a savng provision in it—section 5—which the committee incorporated as the proviso now being considered by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. It had the second proviso as well as the first.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. I will read section 5 of the draft which was thus offered to the committee as having been agreed upon by the New York newspapers, as follows:

That nothing in this act shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives: *Provided*, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of sections 1, 2, and 3.

Mr. LODGE. Yes; I have been told that the proviso has been taken from that tentative draft, but it does not alter my opinion that the second proviso practically annuls the first. I think there is a very broad distinction to be drawn between publications which will give aid and comfort to the enemy and interfere with the conduct of the war by the United States—which is in a sense treason—and mere criticism or comment upon what has occurred—something that has already happened and gone into the past.

The Senator from Montana has given an illustration of what I mean—and it was in my mind—in the course of the London Times and others of the Northcliffe papers in criticism of the Government, which undoubtedly led to a change in the ministry. The censorship in England is very severe, if I am correctly informed, and yet no attempt was made to prevent that criticism of what had been done, although the statement by the press of what they thought were the errors in the course pursued by the Government led to the change in the ministry and to the removal of men who were thought by the Parliament or by the country not to be competent for the duties to which they had been assigned.

Under this provision, with the second proviso incorporated, it seems to me that any man who made a speech or wrote a letter or published an article criticizing something that had been done, something that had happened, some operation, could be, at the pleasure of the President, sentenced to undergo all the terrible penalties provided in the bill. It seems to me that is going very, very far, and I am one who is ready to go very far.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator is no doubt familiar with this section, but I desire to call his attention to the fact that all this depends upon whether the information is of a character "relating to the public defense" that is "useful to the enemy"——

Mr. BORAH. "Might be useful to the enemy."

Mr. OVERMAN. "Or which might be useful to the enemy." If men publish information which is useful to the enemy, are we to sit down absolutely helpless and without power to do anything?

Mr. LODGE. Not at all.

Mr. OVERMAN. What is it worth to have a Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and to appropriate $7,000,000,000 if we can not stop comment that is useful to our enemy and against our own country?

Mr. LODGE. But there is a very broad distinction between what is useful to the enemy and what a head of a department says, in his opinion, might be useful to an enemy.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is not the head of a department; it is the court.

Mr. LODGE. Yes; it is the head of a department.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is the court, when he is indicted and faced with the possibility of fine or imprisonment. Every man will have his right in court. If it has not been useful to the enemy, he is innocent. If it is, he is guilty.

Mr. LODGE. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator to suggest that there is no power here to order punishment for the commission of some act——

Mr. LODGE. Oh, they have to go before the court; I understand that.

Mr. FLETCHER (continuing). Which might be committed before the promulgation of this order. This whole section and all these provisions depend upon the first words:

Whoever, in time of war—

It is limited to that period—

in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President.

Mr. LODGE. Precisely.

Mr. FLETCHER. Now, there is no offense unless there is a violation of a regulation actually prescribed in advance by the President.

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. Not after the publication has been made, but before that, there must be regulations prescribed by the President. Now, is it conceivable that the President would prescribe regulations that are in violation of the Constitution or that would be against individual rights and privileges to an extent that would be unreasonable?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator one question. Is it conceivable that Congress would ever pass an act that violated the Constitution?

Mr. LODGE. Quite conceivable.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It frequently has.

Mr. LODGE. It has done it very often.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then it might be conceivable that the President would make the same mistake.

Mr. LODGE. It is conceivable. Although President—I say it with all respect—I think he is human.

Mr. OVERMAN. If Congress does, it is null and void.

Mr. LODGE. And when you create a censorship board on which you put, as two of the men who are to say what is to go into the newspapers, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War, and then proceed to arm them with those tremendous powers—because it is a tremendous power to be able to thrust a man into court with all of the machinery of the Government of the United States directed against him—when you put it in the hands of men who are engaged in carrying on these operations, I say you are vesting them with a dangerous power. I should be very sorry to see Senators and Representatives placed on the board of censorship.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, would the Senator strike out this section and not invest them with any power at all?

Mr. LODGE. Not invest whom with any power?

Mr. OVERMAN. The President.

Mr. LODGE. Yes; I would invest him with power, but I would not give him unlimited power.

Mr. OVERMAN. But the Senator is talking about the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. There is nothing said about them.

Mr. LODGE. Well, Mr. President, I expressed myself very unfortunately. I have said that they have been put on a censorship board.

Mr. OVERMAN. I agree with that, but that is no reason——

Mr. LODGE. And I think that is a most unfortunate thing.

Mr. OVERMAN. Well, that may be; but we are not discussing that question. The question is what the President will do, not what the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy will do.

Mr. LODGE. The Senator knows as well as I do that as a practical thing the President can not attend to every case that comes up. He has to rely on his department heads; and here are two of the department heads, the departments which are most likely to be criticized. They were criticized in the Spanish War. They were so severely criticized in that war that it led to the retirement of the Secretary of War. They were criticized in the Civil War, and it was legitimate criticism, most of it, and some of it illegitimate criticism.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I agree not to give them any power. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. LODGE. Why, they are the men that are now on the board that will draw the regulations.

Mr. OVERMAN. Well, I do not know——

Mr. LODGE. Then what are they doing on the censorship board?

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not know how that board was appointed, or anything about it. I know what this bill says. I know no more than that we give the President the power to do these things. He may call in the press. Now, the press has come before our committee and submitted a more drastic measure than this is with the proviso in it, and we have adopted what the press asked us to adopt as to the proviso here.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, even if it was drawn by the press I think perhaps they did not see quite how destructive their second proviso was.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to make a suggestion to him?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. NELSON. I think he need not fear that this board will go to extravagant limits. They are bound by the phraseology of the statute. They can not make any rules or regulations that will go outside the pale of the statute. You can assume that. There can be no dispute about that. The question, then, is, What does the statute contain? Neither this board, nor the President, nor the board that the Senator speaks of can go outside of the pale of this statute. If they do, then they have no power; and the measure is not what this board may do, but what the statute states.

Mr. LODGE. That is what I am trying to address myself to—what the statute states. I know they can not go outside the statute, and it is the statute that gives them such enormous powers.

Mr. NELSON. What does the statute say?

Mr. LODGE. Why, it says, for instance, in those last lines:

> Or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy.

Mr. BORAH. Who is to decide what might be useful to the enemy?

Mr. LODGE. Why, the President is to decide. Of course, he will do it through his heads of departments.

Mr. BORAH. Exactly; and there could not be any wider discretion than for the man in power to be given the opportunity to say what might be of benefit to the enemy. It is the widest possible discretion that you could confer upon men.

Mr. LODGE. A newspaper article appears criticizing a Senator. Suppose we have representation on the board of censorship. They intimate to the newspaper containing the offensive article that it is likely to be prosecuted and exposed to all this trouble, and perhaps to exclusion from the mails. I have not examined that section. They intimate that the newspaper is to be exposed to that. How long do you think it will go on publishing anything that that Senator does not like? It will stop all criticism unless we put some limitation in that second proviso or strike it out altogether, which would be the best thing.

I am going to move, as an amendment to the amendment, after the words in the second proviso—

> That no discussion, comment, or criticism—

It ought to be "no such discussion, comment, or criticism." I move to insert the word "such" before "discussion"—

> shall convey information of value to the enemy prohibited under the provisions of this section.

Mr. LODGE subsequently said: Mr. President, I desire to modify my amendment. I withdraw the amendment which I proposed to the second proviso, and move to strike out the second proviso.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I stated to the committee, when I voted to report this bill out, that I was very doubtful about the power of Congress to enact this provision in the language in which it appears in this bill. I want to read, in order that they may appear as a part of my remarks, a few lines which are embraced in subdivision (c). It reads as follows:

> Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans, or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same: *Provided*, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

Mr. President, the Constitution provides, in the first amendment, as follows:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

I agree, Mr. President, that especially in time of war it is very desirable, if it is possible to do so constitutionally, to prevent information being published in the newspapers which may be of benefit to the enemy, and I want to go as far as it is possible to go under our Constitution to put up the bars against the happening of any such event. But, Mr. President, as I stated when I rose, I am exceedingly doubtful whether this subclause (c), which I have quoted, can stand under the constitutional provision which I have read.

It appears from the language of the clause which I have read that the President is authorized to make and promulgate regulations; and whoever in time of war, contrary to any one of those regulations—and nobody knows now what they will be—shall collect, record even in his own diary, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States may be punished by a fine of $10,000 and imprisoned for not more than 10 years.

Mr. President, it seems to me that this provision is very badly framed. What does it mean when it says that whoever shall communicate any information with respect to the condition of any of our armed forces or our plans or our operations shall be punished in this way? Communicate to whom? Does it mean that if I think the condition of any portion of our defenses, the condition of any fort or battery, the condition of our troops, or the condition of our food supply is bad, and I tell you so, I am subject to a fine of $10,000 and 10 years' imprisonment? There is no definition at all as to what the communication shall be—whether it shall be orally or in writing or to whom made.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCKELLAR in the chair). Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. BRADY. I do.

Mr. BORAH. I understand that that is precisely what it does mean; that if you communicate it to anybody you are liable to punishment.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Of course, I agree with the Senator that if the word "communicate" is to be taken in its ordinary acceptation, as I suppose it would be in the construction of this statute, the mere statement by one person to another of the condition, or his opinion of the condition, of any of these things connected with our national defense constitutes a crime.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do.

Mr. NORRIS. I should like to call the Senator's attention to some words on that same line in addition to the word "communicate." It also says, "whoever shall collect." Now, it might be that the Senator might collect some of this information for the purpose of using it in the future, after the war was over—as the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] suggests, for the purpose of writing a history of the war—but if he was actuated by a motive of gathering information so that when the war was over he could communicate it to Congress with a view of remedying a situation that he conceived or believed to be bad, if he undertook to collect information about spoiled food, or poor clothing, or anything of that sort, he would be subject to this penalty; would he not?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I think the Senator is right.

Mr. NORRIS. Even though he never communicated it to anybody, if he undertook to collect it, he would have violated the statute.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I think the Senator is entirely correct in his statement.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator if he does not think that all of those provisions are limited by the other general provision, that this information must be calculated to be, or might be, useful to the enemy?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. If it is limited in that way, then, merely collecting information for use after the war is all over certainly could not be useful to the enemy or calculated to be useful to the enemy.

Mr. NORRIS. But——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. But, Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me, any of this information thus collected might be of use to the enemy, if it got to the enemy; but the act makes the crime the mere collecting of it.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. The collecting of the information constitutes the crime.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Precisely.

Mr. NORRIS. You do not have to wait until it is communicated to anybody in order to have the man found guilty.

Mr. FLETCHER. No; but the information itself must be such that it is calculated to be, or might be, useful to the enemy.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Precisely.

Mr. WATSON. But would not a collection of information of that character be of such a nature that it might be useful to the enemy if it should fall into the hands of the enemy?

Mr. FLETCHER. Oh, no; I think——

Mr. WATSON. Why, certainly.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think there must be the disposition and the intention to use it.

Mr. WATSON. Oh, not at all. The intention is not here. It is not set forth; it is not prescribed as a part of it.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I will yield to all the Senators as rapidly as I may.

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator from Connecticut yield to me?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. NORRIS. In answer to the suggestion made by the Senator from Florida, I would like to suggest again to the Senator from Connecticut that the crime will be the violation, perhaps, of a regulation made by the President. It applies to "whoever in time of war" acts in violation of regulations made by the President, which he is authorized to make. The crime may be a violation of regulations not even hinted at in this statute, something that we do not think of.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That is precisely the reason, Mr. President, why I thought it was wise to read into the RECORD when I began my remarks the exact language of the proposed statute, so that people could analyze it for themselves.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. WATSON. Or whoever shall "attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials," which information might be useful to the enemy. Suppose a newspaper correspondent were to go into the office of the Secretary of War and talk to him about the number of troops that were in a certain division or under a certain command, or about the movement of those troops, whether that information is ever used or not, whether it is ever published or not, under the terms of this provision that in and of itself makes him guilty of a violation of the statute. It applies to whoever attempts to elicit information which might be useful to the enemy.

Mr. BORAH. That clause is designed to protect the time of the head of the department from being interrogated with reference to the situation.

Mr. OVERMAN. It all depends upon the regulations prescribed by the President.

Mr. WATSON. Precisely, but we are giving him power here by the language——

Mr. OVERMAN. If we can not give such power, then God help this country.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask the Senator from Connecticut a question right there?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. My query is directed rather to the Senator having charge of the bill.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do not want to precipitate a joint debate between two other Senators while I have the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator will see the pertinency of it.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I will allow the Senator to ask me any question he wants to.

Mr. THOMAS. Then I will ask it of the Senator having the floor. Does the Senator think we have the power, even in an emergency of this kind, to invest the Chief Magistrate with the right to make a regulation the nonobservance of which will lead to the imposition of these tremendous penalties?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I regret to say that I am afraid we have the power to invest the President with that right. I am not absolutely certain, but there were presented before the Committee on the Judiciary certain decisions, and though I did not examine them myself, it was stated that where Congress had passed an act authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to make certain regulations as to forest reservations and acts committed in violation of those regulations had been made a crime, the Supreme Court had sustained it. But I had not personally examined that decision.

Mr. THOMAS. I have had occasion, during my practice at the bar, to defend one or two individuals charged with perjury, and the defense which I made, and effectually, was that the violations were of a regulation of the department and not of a statute of the United States. So there are decisions both ways.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. It was a very recent decision. I think it was the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] who called it to the attention of the committee. I do not know the title of the case. I will ask the Senator from Montana to state it.

Mr. WALSH. I think perhaps I can clarify the matter a little by saying that a number of lower courts did so decide, as suggested by the Senator from Colorado, and I have no doubt he contended successfully, but when the case eventually got to the Supreme Court of the United States they overruled it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Can the Senator cite us to that decision?

Mr. WALSH. I have sent for it.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. My recollection is the Senator said it was in Two hundred and twenty-first United States Supreme Court Reports.

Mr. WATSON. Then the decision set aside the express provision of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The decision itself will be here in a few moments.

Mr. WALSH. The decision considered the power of Congress to pass such a law as that under the Constitution of the United States and sustained the power.

Mr. WATSON. But did the thing finally to be done overthrow or set aside the Constitution? For instance, has Congress the power to confer upon the President the power to set aside a provision of the Constitution, thereby enabling Congress, in the first instance, to violate the Constitution? Certainly not. We all know what amendment 1 of the Constitution is, that Congress shall make no law prohibiting the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press. Now, this proposed law in and of itself does abridge the freedom of the press. Have we the power to pass a law conferring upon the President the right to set aside the Constitution?

Mr. WALSH. I did not rise to address myself to that question. I will have a word to say about it presently in my own time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Irrespective of whether Congress can delegate to the President the right to make regulations which have the force of criminal statutes, I think that Congress ought to consider—and that is all I am on my feet for now—and Congress ought to consider very carefully this provision before it acts upon it. I myself would have preferred if the committee had reported the other parts of this espionage bill, so called, and had left this question for the future, and had provided for it by a separate bill, because I think the question involves such a vital issue to the country that Congress should give it more consideration, and it could give it better consideration if it were before it as a separate proposition. However, the matter is here now.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. OWEN. May I suggest an amendment which I think would probably cover the view the Senator has? The difficulty with this language is that it is so broad there appears to be no limitation at all. It might result in the most dangerous tyrannical use on the part of a subordinate. While the United States Congress has the right to declare war and to pass acts which are necessary to make it effectual, and may not interfere with the freedom of the press, it may interfere with the license of the press or with such conduct on the part of the press as would make the war a failure.

I think that this insertion would probably cover the point: In line 7, on page 9, after the word "enemy," where it reads "or which might be useful to the enemy," insert "with the view or with the effect of making the same available or accessible to the enemy." I think that might possibly cover the matter.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, that, as I view it now hastily, would put subdivision (c) on exactly the same parity and make it occupy the same ground as subdivision (b), which deals with the doing of these things with the intent that the same shall be communicated to the enemy. Of course, if that were interpolated I would be in favor of raising the penalty in subdivision (c) to death instead of 10 years, because it would then be clearly treason if a man elicited and compiled information with the intent of furnishing it to the enemy.

Mr. OWEN. "With the intent or with the effect of."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. "With the effect of."

Mr. OWEN. He may deny the intent, but if he does a thing which puts a vital piece of information in the hands of the enemy to the destruction of our own forces there ought to be a serious penalty.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. If he did it innocently and somebody else stole it from him, or something of that kind, and furnished it to the enemy we would hardly want to shoot the man who had no such intention.

Mr. OWEN. That would be a case for the jury or for the officers who might have the matter in charge, of course.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I thank the Senator for making the suggestion. I admit it may be possible to insert some words here that would be very valuable.

Mr. OWEN. I suggest the insertion of those words and leave it to the conferees to work out a measure that will effectuate the purpose and intent along that line.

I therefore move, on line 7, page 9, after the word "enemy," to insert the words "with the view or with the effect of making the same available or accessible to the enemy."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I think the amendment is not in order just at this minute, and, in addition, I have the floor. The Senator from Massachusetts has already moved an amendment to the committee amendment, which is now under consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will recognize the Senator to move the amendment at the proper time.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. It appears that this penalty of 10 years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine is to be inflicted upon not only the newspapermen, but upon every person in the country who makes a perfectly innocent and laudable inquiry about the condition of our national defenses if that inquiry violates some regulation to be prescribed by the President, not yet known at all, and it might result in being useful to the enemy.

Mr. President, the language of this subdivision is so couched that the whole press of the country and all the people of the country are asked to suspend an unknown guillotine over their necks to drop upon the commission of something that is declared to be criminal but which is not yet reduced to writing. In the midst of the most gigantic struggle that the world has ever seen, with the whole country of 100,000,000 people aroused with patriotic fervor, with their feelings stirred to a depth never before attained since the days of our Civil War, we are asked to put in the hands of the President of the United States a power to issue some regulations which will prevent a single citizen of this country from asking a question about the state of our national defense. As I said, I would cheerfully vote for an extreme legislative measure if we can pass any without violating the Constitution and abridging the freedom of the press, which will prevent damaging publications in the newspapers which give any advance information or aid and comfort to the enemy. Of course, if I would not do that I would not have voted for the $7,000,000,000 to maintain the rights of the United States and to prosecute this war.

The Senator from North Carolina asks, Do you doubt the patriotism of the great President of the United States? Are you not willing to place in the hands of your Commander in Chief these powers? Mr. President, I do not doubt the patriotism of the Commander in Chief and I am going to follow him as long as he leads the country as he has started out to do, and I rejoice he has started; but this puts in the hands of the President the making of a whole lot of regulations absolutely about all the things described in this language. We do not know what regulations he is going to make. He is going to make anything that he thinks is necessary. Think of the power that gives him!

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. With pleasure.

Mr. CUMMINS. The point that is being made by the Senator from Connecticut impresses me very much. I want to ask him this question: Suppose that the campaign—I call it a campaign, because I believe it has been one—for preparedness is continued and our weakness from a military point of view is pointed out from day to day, would not all such discussions and all such publications be an offense under this bill if the President of the United States saw fit to make it so?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Certainly, Mr. President; the bill clearly so states, and that is what I say. It gives the President authority to make any regulations he sees fit about what people shall say to each other, what sort of inquiries they shall make, what information newspaper reporters shall obtain, what they may ask the departments. The President of the United States under the bill makes one of his regulations that no newspaper reporter shall visit any of the departments after the promulgation of these regulations to make an inquiry about the state of our troops or how the enlistments are going on, or whether the supplies are coming forward rapidly, or whether the contracts have been let, or whether the President intends to take possession of the railroads, anything of that kind, concerning which the President had said a newspaper shall not make inquiry. Here is the language of the bill, "That whoever shall attempt to elicit any information" with respect to any of these things, to the condition of our forces, ships, aircraft, war materials, or military operations "or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place," and so forth, shall be liable to 10 years in prison or a $10,000 fine.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator is now exciting my attention. What he says, I imagine, would be broad enough to include a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. There is no special exception for such a gentleman, I assure the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I should think so.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I ask the Senator if there is not one qualification, that it shall be an expression of a fact which may be useful to the enemy; but it is a qualification so indefinite that it amounts to little or naught. I quite agree with what the Senator has said. We may well pause, as he indicates, lest in our tenderness for democracy abroad we forget democracy at home.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I entirely agree with the Senator from California. All these things are subject to that qualifying clause, to wit, "If this information might be useful to the enemy." Of course that can not mean anything except this, that it might be useful to the enemy if he had possession of it. Of course it could not be useful to him if he still remained in ignorance of it. If it means that, it means that you are prohibited from acquiring it for your own benefit and your own knowledge.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. On that point I think it ought to be emphasized that the crime is committed when you undertake to elicit

the information. You are just as guilty, although the enemy may never find it out.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Of course.

Mr. NORRIS. It is not necessary for the enemy to ever know anything about it in order to be guilty.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. No; the bill does not say that with the information you ask for or the facts that you collect you would be guilty of a crime if in any way it got into the possession of the enemy; it says as to all these things which might be useful to the enemy if he knew them you shall be prohibited as a friend from inquiring anything about them.

Mr. President, I heard one of the Senators from one of the States that border along the Mexican boundary line discussing the other day the state of affairs along that boundary and deploring certain features of the arrangements and disposition of our troops there. Under this bill anybody in his State or in any of those border States who attempts to ascertain the condition of our defense along the boundary line there, running from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, if it is done in violation of any regulations that the President may lay down utterly unknown to us now, is guilty of this crime.

I agree entirely with what the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] has pointed out. It is perfectly obvious that the first proviso, which says "*Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same" does not relieve the situation at all. It relieves it so far as commenting or criticising acts or policies of the Government are concerned, but it does not relieve the man who elicits or attempts to elicit some information with respect to the condition of our national defense, or of all the thousand and one phases into which it is divided. It does not help him at all.

Here are a whole lot of things prohibited if done in violation of certain regulations to be thought out and prescribed in the future by the President, and the first proviso says that these prohibitions shall not be construed to limit or restrict discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government. The second proviso says:

> *Provided*, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

That is, the bill says you shall not do certain things and the first proviso says you may under certain conditions, and the second proviso says you may under certain conditions, provided you do not violate the previous part of the law. It is whipping the devil right around the stump, and going around in a circle.

Mr. President, I have said all I care to say at present on this subject. I can not conceive that it is within the mental ability of any men or of any board of censors to sit down now, if this act were law, and out of their inner consciousness evolve a set of regulations and rules which will prescribe the conditions under which the people and the press of this country may for the next year, under all the abnormal circumstances that exist and under all the emergencies and multitudinous and kaleidoscopic changes that are sure to arise, provide now a set of regulations which will in any adequate way give either the press or the public of this country that due notice to which they are entitled—the definition of what they may do and what they may not do.

Mr. President, it is a fundamental idea, and goes to the foundation of free governments, that people who are to be sent to the jails for the commission of crimes are entitled to have those crimes so defined in advance that they are sure, with the exercise of ordinary intelligence, that they do not violate them.

Mr. KELLOGG. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Certainly.

Mr. KELLOGG. Does not subdivision (b) cover what is necessary in time of war to prevent the collection of such information for the sake of publishing it to the enemy?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I am inclined to think, as I stated to the Senator from Oklahoma, that it does; at least that it is enough to start with. This is a novel condition with us, and perhaps we could afford to feel our way along a bit and not try to do everything in advance.

Mr. STERLING. I do not know whether from the answer given to the question of the Senator from Minnesota the Senator from Connecticut takes into consideration the first part of subdivision (b) which makes the offense there to depend upon the intent. "Whoever in time of war with the intent that the same shall be communicated to the enemy," whereas subdivision (c) covers the other class of cases where there may be no intent at all for the purpose of preventing publications or communicating without regard to intent.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I was just about to read that when the Senator from South Dakota rose. All I wanted to say about that is that I am rather inclined to think that it would suffice at present if these heavy penalties were put upon the commission or the doing of these acts with the intent to have them made useful to the enemy. There will be a thousand and one acts which under the language of subdivision (c) will be criminal if they should result in aid to the enemy, but there ought not to be, it seems to me, a crime made of something collected in good faith, or some information solicited for a lawful purpose about our own country and our own conditions simply because it might be made useful to the enemy if somebody conveyed it to them; and that is the language of this subdivision.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. Has the Senator from Connecticut noticed section 1 of Chapter XII, with a view to its application in the enforcement of paragraph (c) in section 2, which he is now discussing? Section 1 relates to the use of the mails and it provides that "every letter, writing, circular, postal card, picture, print, engraving, photograph, newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other publication, matter, or thing, of any kind, in violation of any of the provisions of this act, or intended or calculated to induce, promote, or further any of the acts or things by any provision of this act declared unlawful," shall be nonmailable matter. I would like the Senator's view as to the power there given to the Postmaster General to prevent the circulation of newspapers conveying something that he might believe to be calculated to induce or promote some violation of the law.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I will say that I was ill most of the time when this bill was under consideration before the committee; and while I knew there was such a section in the bill as that which the Senator has just read, I had not read it; but as I read it and as he has read it to me just now, it would, of course, seem to me to be a tremendous power to repose in the hands of a Cabinet official—the power absolutely to prohibit from the mails any sort of publication, matter, or thing which he thought violated some regulation made by the President under the terms of this bill.

Mr. President, what I have said is designed simply to present for the consideration of the Senators who have not given it very deep consideration some of the views that I now hold. If I could be persuaded that this was necessary, I should vote for it. I very much dislike to vote for what seems to me on the face of it to be an unconstitutional law, and to be persuaded into doing it on the theory that strong measures are necessary; and that, if the act is unconstitutional, a man can get his relief after wading through several criminal trials, and finally going to the Supreme Court of the United States. I think it is our duty in advance to try not to pass unconstitutional measures. If this provision does not abridge the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech, as inhibited by the first amendment to the Constitution, I confess that the English language has lost its meaning to me. I can not understand what would be an abridgement of the freedom of speech or of the freedom of the press if subdivision (c) does not so abridge it.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I am moved to say a few words on the pending matter—moved more by some comments made by the Senator from the State of Idaho [Mr. BORAH] than to address myself to the amendment tendered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which is the pending question, although I shall say a word about that in conclusion.

I very much regret that the Senator from Idaho seems to have left the Chamber; but I gathered from his remarks that he was under the impression that the Congress of the United States is without power to pass any such legislation as that under discussion, namely subdivision (c) of section 2 of the bill under consideration. If I understood the Senator from Idaho aright, he contended that the right guaranteed to a citizen of the United States by the provisions of the first amendment of the Constitution prohibited the Congress of the United States from penalizing the publication of anything; that the amendment to the Constitution which says that Congress shall pass no law abridging the liberty of speech or of the press is a permission and a guaranty of the right of any man to print whatever he pleases without being subject to be called to account for it. Of course, no one can believe that that is the meaning of that provision of the Constitution. The liberty of the press is not so broad in its scope as to be without any limitations whatever. Of course, everybody recognizes——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KIRBY in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. WALSH. I shall yield in a moment. Of course, everybody recognizes this limitation upon it at least, that published matter shall not be a libel against anyone.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I want to say to the Senator from Montana that I am under the impression that he misunderstood the position of the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. WALSH. I shall be very glad to be corrected.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I think the Senator from Idaho stated clearly that the press had a right to publish, but that they were held, of course, responsible, and laws could be passed holding them responsible for damages.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, Mr. President, that is putting the matter in another way, in a way that is quite inapplicable to the discussion before us. Many courts have held—it has been so held, and very rightly, by the supreme court of my State, I believe—that under a provision of this character it is beyond the power of a court to issue an injunction beforehand preventing the publication of anything, and particularly of anything that is not libelous; but we do not attempt in this proposed act to restrain the commission of the acts made punishable, to prevent by the process of injunction the publication of such articles. The publication of them is made criminal. So the bill under consideration presents exactly the case of a libel statute in which a penalty is prescribed for the publication of the article, and not of an injunction statute, which attempts to prevent the publication of the article in the first place.

Of course, Mr. President, the right to print is limited impliedly. So there can be no doubt about that. The right to print is limited so that one may not print things which constitute a contempt of court. As, for instance, one can not print while a case is on trial any comment upon the matter on trial that would be calculated to influence the court or the jury in the determination of the questions before them. So I can not doubt that the right to print—the liberty of speech and of the press—is also limited in this regard, that no one ought to be permitted to print anything in time of war that would give substantial aid to the enemy of the country. The publication of matter of that character, I think, can not be regarded as embraced within the liberty of speech and of the press that is guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution.

This matter received the consideration of the Supreme Court of the United States a few years ago in a case in which the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] was one of the counsel. It was a proceeding against a former Senator of the United States—Senator Patterson. He published in his paper certain matters concerning a lawsuit upon trial, the publication of which was regarded as a contempt of court. He subsequently urged, as I understand the Senator from Idaho now to urge, that perfect liberty to print is accorded by this amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yfeld to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. BORAH. The only thing the court held, as I recall it, was that while there could not be an inhibition against the printing, there could be a punishment for having printed something which ought not to have been printed.

Mr. WALSH. That is quite right. Neither is there any effort made here to exercise the injunctive power to restrain or prevent the printing in the first place; but it is in the same way made punishable afterwards if it should be printed. Just what was decided by the court can be gathered from the comment on the case, which will be found in the second volume of Willoughby on the Constitution, section 450. After referring to what was said in that case, the author remarks:

> It would thus appear that the prohibition of the first amendment relative to the abridgement of freedom of speech or press not only leaves to the Federal courts the authority to grant relief to persons libeled or slandered. and to punish for contempt the publication or utterance of statements reflecting upon its own dignity or calculated to interfere with the proper and efficient administration of justice and the execution of its writs, but that it preserves, or at least does not restrict, the power of Congress to declare criminal and provide punishment for the publication or open advocation of doctrines or practices calculated to destroy or interfere with the exercise of its constitutional powers.

I shall presently refer to the opinion in the case of Patterson against Colorado (205 U. S., 454), but while I have the work in my hand I will read the succeeding chapter from Willoughby, which is exceedingly pertinent to the subject under discussion. The author goes on to say:

> Thus it would seem beyond question that Congress may define and punish seditious libel, provided the publication extends to acts which clearly tend to sedition. The famous sedition act of 1798 never came before the Supreme Court, but was upheld as constitutional by three Federal judges; and by those criticising it, the argument rather was that the act was too broad, than that seditious libel, properly defined, might not be punished.

That act, as we all know, has been made the subject of much adverse criticism and comment even of a most violent character; but it has rarely been urged, so far as my recollection of the discussion goes, that it was an unconstitutional exercise of the power of Congress.

Mr. BORAH. The Senator, however, will remember that Mr. Madison did take the position in a very learned brief that the act was wholly unconstitutional. That law. however did not go any further than to punish false and malicious publications.

Mr. WALSH. Yes; but I shall immediately call the attention of the Senator from Idaho to the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has held that it is entirely immaterial whether or not the representations were true or false; that it is within the power of the Congress of the United States to punish the publication of things that are true, that are calculated, for instance, to interfere with the administration of justice, and in like manner I think it can not be disputed that it is in the power of the Congress of the United States to forbid the publication, even of matters that are true, obviously calculated to aid the public enemy of the United States.

I refer now to what was said by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Patterson against Colorado. I read from the opinion, as follows:

> The main purpose of such constitutional provisions—
>
> That is, including the one under consideration—
>
> is to prevent all such *previous restraints* upon publications as had been practiced by other governments, and they do not prevent the subsequent punishment of such as may be deemed contrary to the public welfare. *Commonwealth* v. *Blanding* (3 Pick., 304, 313, 314; *Respubica* v. *Oswald* (1 Dallas, 319, 325). The preliminary freedom extends as well to the false as to the true; the subsequent punishment may extend as well to the true as to the false. This was the law of criminal libel apart from statute in most cases, if not in all. *Commonwealth* v. *Blanding, ubi sup.* (4 Bl. Com., 150).
>
> In the next place, the rule applied to criminal libels applies yet more clearly to contempts. A publication likely to reach the eyes of a jury declaring a witness in a pending cause a perjurer would be none the less a contempt that it was true. It would tend to obstruct the administration of justice, because even a correct conclusion is not to be reached or helped in that way, if our system of trials is to be maintained. The theory of our system is that the conclusions to be reached in a case will be induced only by evidence and argument in open court and not by any outside influence, whether of private talk or public print.
>
> What is true with reference to a jury is true also with reference to a court. Cases like the present are more likely to arise, no doubt, when there is a jury and the publication may affect their judgment. Judges generally, perhaps, are less apprehensive that publications impugning their own reasoning or motives will interfere with their administration of the law. But if a court regards, as it may, a publication concerning a matter of law pending before it as tending toward such an interference it may punish it, as in the instance put. When a case is finished, courts are subject to the same criticism as other people, but the propriety and necessity of preventing interference with the course of justice by premature statement, argument, or intimidation hardly can be denied. (*Ex parte Terry*, 128 U. S., 289.)

So, Mr. President, whenever the military enterprise has been concluded and is completed, then any kind of comment concerning it may be indulged in by the press; but while it is in fieri, then it is within the power of Congress beyond a question, if it is deemed against the public interest, that it should be made the subject of discussion to prevent it.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Rhode Island for a question?

Mr. WALSH. I yield to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. COLT. The Senator from Montana has made a very thorough and deep study of this subject. I desire to ask him, when we come to the limitation or qualification of what we term "individual rights," does it not rest fundamentally upon the ground of the police power; that is—I am using the term "police power" in a broad sense—that these rights may be limited when it is necessary for the safety or the welfare of society; that the right of private property, the right of contract, the right of religious freedom, and the right of freedom of the press are not abstract natural rights but are rights which must yield or be modified where the welfare or safety of society is concerned?

I am not going into the details, but I wanted to know if this is not the general philosophy underlying this subject—that for the sake of the protection of society we have come, through interpretation and construction, to qualify in a measure the literal meaning of what we call individual rights as set forth in the Constitution.

Mr. WALSH. It occurs to me that the Senator has stated the case with accuracy and that, I take it, is the purport of this declaration of the Supreme Court of the United States, to the effect that these provisions of the Constitution do not prevent the subsequent punishment of such publication as would be deemed contrary to the public welfare. And acts so punishable do not run counter to the provision of the Constitution which is here appealed to.

So, Mr. President, I can not doubt for one moment that it is easily within the constitutional power of the Congress of the United States to punish the publication during a time of war of any information that may be of benefit to the public enemy, and that to do so is no infringement whatever of the privileges guaranteed by the Constitution.

Whether as a matter of policy—not as a matter of power, but as a matter of policy—the language of subdivision (c) is broader than it ought to be, or as to whether it ought not to be limited by amendment to be introduced, I do not undertake to controvert; but that we have power to legislate upon the subject, I think is not open to very serious dispute.

But, Mr. President, it has been suggested that there is another constitutional objection to this provision, in that it authorizes the President to make rules and regulations upon this subject, the character of which, of course, is not known in advance, and makes the violation of the rules and regulations thus prescribed by the President a penal offense. It is urged that that is an unwarranted delegation of power; that while the Congress of the United States could make the doing of these acts and the publication of information of a certain character a penal offense, it is beyond the power of the Congress to delegate the making of rules and regulations upon the subject to the President and making the violation of those rules and regulations a penal offense. There would be room, Mr. President, for much argument on that contention if it had not already been settled, as I take it, by an authoritative decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The case was referred to by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] in the course of his argument, and the character of the matter presented likewise was quite correctly stated. The case to which he referred is the case of United States against Grimaud, reported in Two hundred and twentieth United States, at page 506.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Idaho for a question?

Mr. WALSH. Certainly.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I rose to ask, in view of the fact that I am compelled to leave the Senate Chamber on a matter of official business, if this amendment, after the Senator has concluded his address, might not be passed over until I have time to submit some remarks?

Mr. OVERMAN. I will offer no objection to having it go over if the Senator desires to address the Senate upon it.

Mr. BORAH. I mean, of course, after the Senator from Montana concludes his remarks.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I read from the opinion in the case to which I have referred, as follows:

> The defendants were indicted for grazing sheep on the Sierra Forest Reserve without having obtained the permission required by the regulations adopted by the Secretary of Agriculture. They demurred on the ground that the forest reserve act of 1891 was unconstitutional in so far as it delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture power to make rules and regulations and made a violation thereof a penal offense. Their several demurrers were sustained. The Government brought the case here under that clause of the criminal appeals act (Mar. 2, 1907, c. 2564, 34 Stat., 1246), which allows a writ of error where the "decision complained of was based upon the invalidity of the statute."

The court continues:

> The Federal courts have been divided on the question as to whether violations of those regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture constitute a crime. The rules were held to be valid for civil purposes in Dastervignes *v.* United States, 122 Fed. Rep., 30; United States *v.* Dastervignes, 118 Fed Rep., 199; United States *v.* Shannon, 151 Fed. Rep., 863; S. C., 160 Fed. Rep., 870. They were also sustained in criminal prosecutions in United States *v.* Deguirro, 152 Fed. Rep., 568; United States *v.* Domingo, 152 Fed. Rep., 566; United States *v.* Bale, 156 Fed. Rep., 687; United States *v.* Rizzinelli, 182 Fed. Rep., 675. But the regulations were held to be invalid in United States *v.* Blasingame, 116 Fed. Rep., 654; United States *v.* Matthews, 146 Fed. Rep., 306; Dent *v.* United States, 8 Arizona, 138.

I dare say it is one of these cases in which the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], who is about to leave the Chamber, represented the successful defendant.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that?

Mr. WALSH. I say that reference is made in the opinion to two Federal cases and a decision of the Supreme Court of Arizona.

Mr. THOMAS. What case is referred to in which I participated?

Mr. WALSH. I do not know. I say possibly the Senator was counsel in one of them. The cases referred to are United States *v.* Blasingame (116 Fed. Rep., 654); United States *v.* Matthews (146 Fed. Rep., 306); and Dent *v.* United States (8th Ariz., 138).

Mr. THOMAS. I was not engaged in any of those cases.

Mr. WALSH. In any event those cases supported the doctrine which the Senator from Colorado advanced as possibly the correct law. The court, however, sustained the indictment and held that it was within the power of Congress to delegate to the Secretary of Agriculture the making of these regulations, and it is within its power to make the violation of those regulations a penal offense.

Mr. President, only a word about the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I do not see why any of those who support the general principle of this provision in the bill should offer the slightest objection to the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts. I trust that the Senator in charge of the bill, for the purpose, at least, of expediting the consideration of it, will agree to the amendment, because, in my judgment, the significance of the law would not be even in the slightest degree altered by the adoption of the amendment. A proviso ordinarily is intended only to make more clear that which goes before it. The acts prohibited are specifically set out in the first part of the subdivision, and then the proviso that it shall not be deemed to exclude discussion or comment or criticism makes an explanation of what goes before. So the second proviso is simply an explanation of what precedes, and, in my estimation, the act will have the same construction whether the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts is adopted or not.

I am not quite clear in my own mind that we might not with entire wisdom amend the earlier part of the section so as to obviate some of the objections that have been urged against this proposed law, but I think all will agree that it is eminently wise that we have some law upon this subject.

I should like to say that a number of the members of the committee who did not have the benefit of the full discussion of this bill which was indulged in before the committee, coming in hurriedly, reached the conclusion that was arrived at by the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG], that all the necessities of the case were met by the provisions of subdivision (b); but upon reflection it will be easily discovered that subdivisions (b) and (c) are intended to meet entirely different conditions. Of course, all will agree that the things denounced by subdivision (b) should be punished; that is, the gathering of these things with the intent and purpose to convey them to the enemy, but——

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH. But, if the Senator will pardon me for a moment, subdivision (c) is intended to reach the case of a publication of these things without any sinister purpose at all. An energetic and enterprising newspaper reporter, with no purpose at all to aid the enemy, but simply with the very commendable purpose of extending the circulation of his paper, collects a whole mass of this information and publishes it. Another man may gather it and publish it, having some consideration for his own political future or something of that character, having no purpose whatever that it shall be communicated to the enemy. In other words, subdivision (b) is not a censorship statute at all; subdivision (c) is the censorship statute.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Minnesota for a question?

Mr. WALSH. I do.

Mr. KELLOGG. I ask the question with a view of eliciting from the Senator from Montana whether in his opinion subdivision (c) is necessary after enacting subdivision (b)? I did not hear the discussion before the Judiciary Committee, but I take it that the Senator from Montana does not think subdivision (b) is sufficient.

Mr. WALSH. I should say not. I should say, in the first place, that we ought to go quite beyond the case of the man who accumulates the stuff and publishes it with the treasonable purpose of aiding the enemy. We ought to go to the man who incautiously does it, without any such deliberate purpose, but whose acts really are as destructive to our interests as the acts of the man who went about to do it for the very purpose of having the information communicated to the enemy.

Mr. KELLOGG. Would the Senator from Montana think there was any danger of an innocent person seeking information being punished under this act?

Mr. WALSH. I think there is. I have no doubt that there is that danger; and seeing that it is a war measure, applicable only in time of war, the committee believed that we could well afford to subject the innocent citizen to whatever discomfort might come to him by reason of this act, rather than to allow promiscuous publications to be made that might be invaluable to the enemy.

The revered chairman of the Judiciary Committee called our attention to the fact that during the Civil War Gen. Lee complained and complained in the most bitter manner that all of his purposes were disclosed by the newspapers of the city of Rich-

mond before he had an opportunity to mature them or to bring them to a successful fruition.

By way of illustration, Mr. President, let us suppose, now, that we are going to send troops across the water to engage in the war over there. Everybody can recognize that it would be a most unwise thing to permit papers to publish to the world just how many men were to be sent and where they were to be sent *from* and the vessel upon which they were to go, and all the terms and conditions of their departure. Obviously, a wise military policy will keep matters of that kind as secret as can possibly be done.

The press recognize that that is a necessity, and they have quite generously come forward and observed the request of the department not to give publication to these things. But, Mr. President, suppose that to-day some enterprising newspaper should go to work and publish information concerning the very ship, for instance, upon which the French commissioners are coming to this country to-day. It is not at all improbable that it will be necessary for us in the very near future to send a commission upon an armed ship of the United States to the Republic of Russia, for instance. It would be a most unwise thing if newspapers should publish that; and we are at the risk all the time of having it done, without any law which would make the publication of matters of that kind punishable at all.

The committee, I am very sure, have no desire whatever to limit the press in this matter further than the necessities of the case before us require.

Mr. KELLOGG. I assure the Senator from Montana that I was not intending to express an opinion; but, not having heard the discussion before the committee, I wished to obtain the Senator's opinion on this question.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I had intended to defer a discussion of this bill until Chapter VII was reached; but the discussion of subdivision (c) of section 2 has been so spirited, and at the same time so important and interesting, that before it goes over I wish to submit some observations regarding it.

Of course, we all realize the very serious and far-reaching crisis now upon us, requiring the exercise of extraordinary precautions and the enactment of extraordinary measures designed to meet and overcome it. We also realize the importance of placing restrictions upon all matters which, without them, might, through the information concerning them transmitted to the enemy, result to our disadvantage, if not to our very great injury; hence I am entirely in accord with the purpose of the measure. But, Mr. President, a hasty reading of this bill—and I only saw it this morning for the first time—creates the impression that in our zeal to protect the Government against certain existing and apprehended dangers we may go so far to the other extreme as to inflict a greater injury and more permanent injury than those which it is designed to avoid; and it is that apprehension which prompts me to offer some views regarding this specific subsection.

The general purport of section 2, under the title of "Espionage," is to prohibit, under very severe penalties, the obtaining and transmission of information to the enemy. It is drawn very comprehensively, and a superficial reading of it would seem to indicate that every possible avenue of action and activity has been covered. Subdivisions (a) and (b) are subject, in my judgment, to some very serious criticisms; but I am not inclined to make them here, because it is highly probable that everything covered by those subdivisions needs the legislation which is here proposed. But subdivision (c), Mr. President, which might be called a sort of general welfare clause of the section—a provision designed to include any and every possible omission from that part of the section which precedes it—is a most remarkable production.

It is provided that—

> whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans, or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Provision is there made, Mr. President, for a series of offenses the commission of any one of which may subject a citizen of the United States to the loss of his entire patrimony and to the loss of his liberty for a maximum period of 10 years; and in the commission of any one of these offenses he might commit two or three others, and each, in succession, would subject him to the same character and degree of punishment. Now, it is obvious from every standpoint that a statute capable of producing such consequences should be absolutely free from ambiguity. It should be so clear that he who runs may read, else it will be a pitfall, leading innocent men frequently into trouble of which they have no conception, and who in committing the acts for which they are called to account may have been prompted by the most worthy motives.

I think, Mr. President—waiving, for the time being, the question of the power of Congress to enact such a measure—that this subdivision should be clarified; that it should be simplified; that it should be made specific; and all of these elements, as far as I am able to ascertain, are absent from it.

In the first place, the President is given absolute power to make any regulation he may see fit in time of war under this proviso; and those regulations, however drastic they may be, will have all the force of a criminal statute—have more force than the average criminal statute—because of the extent to which his authority may go, and because of the severe character of the penalty which the citizen incurs in violating or disregarding them.

> Whoever * * * shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information—
>
> With respect to certain things—
>
> or with respect to the plans or conduct or supposed plans or conduct of any naval or military operations—

Shall be subjected to the penalties of this law. That is to say, if one seeks to elicit information regarding plans which are actual or supposititious, his liability is the same. He may merely imagine the existence of a plan and proceed to elicit information concerning it, and yet his offense under this act may be quite as substantial and quite as serious as though he actually ascertained the character of plans with a design of communicating them to the enemy.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. WALSH. For the information of the Senator from Colorado, I read from the draft which the metropolitan papers of New York prepared, to show the Senator what they thought would be quite appropriate in the way of legislation on this subject.

Section 2 of their draft is as follows:

> That when a state of war exists the President may prohibit the publication or dissemination within the United States, continental and insular, of any and all information, facts, rumors, or speculations referring to the armed forces of the Government, materials or implements of war, or the military means and measures that may be contemplated for the defense of the country, except when such publication or dissemination shall have been duly authorized, and he may issue such regulations as may be necessary to render such prohibition effective.

I referred heretofore to this draft, Mr. President, said to have been agreed upon by the New York newspapers, and if the Senator does not object, I should like to have it incorporated in the RECORD.

Mr. THOMAS. I have no objection, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the absence of objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

TENTATIVE CENSORSHIP BILL AGREED UPON BY NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS.

Be it enacted, etc., That when a state of war exists the President may prohibit the use of the mails, cables, telegraphs, or other means of communication for the transmission to any foreign country of information that may be of value to the enemies of the United States, and that he may issue such regulations as may be necessary to render such prohibition effective.

SEC. 2. That when a state of war exists the President may prohibit the publication or dissemination within the United States, continental and insular, of any and all information, facts, rumors, or speculations referring to the armed forces of the Government, materials or implements of war, or the military means and measures that may be contemplated for the defense of the country, except when such publication or dissemination shall have been duly authorized, and he may issue such regulations as may be necessary to render such prohibition effective.

SEC. 3. That as to daily newspapers, the regulations prescribed by the President shall be administered by a central board of censors to be appointed by the President, composed of a representative of the War Department, a representative of the Navy Department, and a representative of the newspaper press with such subordinate boards of like composition in localities deemed necessary by the President. That such central board, and subject to its directions such subordinate boards, shall have power to enforce the regulations prescribed by the President; and to prevent unnecessary delay in the distribution of authorized information to the public; and to appoint and employ such clerical assistants as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section at such compensation as may be designated by the President. But the War and Navy Department members of central board and of such subordinate boards shall act without extra compensation; the compensation, if any, of the press members of these boards shall be paid by the newspapers.

SEC. 4. That after the President shall have issued such regulations as authorized by sections 1 and 2 of this act, it shall be unlawful for

any person or corporation or any officer, director, or agent of a corporation in his capacity as such within the jurisdiction of the United States to publish, or disseminate, or cause, or procure, or through willful negligence permit to be published or disseminated, any information, facts, rumors, or speculations prohibited by the terms of this act, and any person who offends may be punished by a fine of not more than $——— or by a term of imprisonment of not more than —— years, or both. Any corporation which so offends shall be punished by a fine of not more than $———. Any officer, director, or agent of any corporation who shall consent to, connive at, or through willful negligence permit any violation of the provisions of this act by such corporation or by any of its agents or agencies shall be punished by a fine of not more than $——— or by a term of imprisonment of not more than —— years, or both.

SEC. 5. That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives or the publication of the same, provided no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

SEC. 6. That the regulations and the pains and penalties authorized by this act shall continue only during the existence of a state of war and shall cease to be operative with the cessation of military operation, except for pains and penalties for violations thereof committed prior to the cessation of military operations.

Mr. THOMAS. The draft from which the Senator has just read is, I think, from the information I gather by merely hearing it once, preferable to the proposed law; but, in my judgment, Mr. President, the power to prohibit under severe penalties the publication of any and everything except that which the Chief Magistrate at the time may deem to be safe and proper is of itself the delegation of an authority which might easily be exercised—not by the present President, not by his successor, perhaps, but which might be easily exercised—in such a way as to virtually prohibit that freedom of the press which is the foundation of all free government.

However, I think it is a fair inference from the text of this proposed measure that its violation is as complete when information regarding some supposed plan is sought to be elicited as when information regarding some actual plan is sought to be elicited, and that enters into the field, and very widely into the field, of inquiry; so widely that if the representative of a daily newspaper, or a Member of the United States Senate, or any citizen engaged in any other capacity should at any time innocently or otherwise have the temerity to elicit information regarding the truth or falsity of something about which he has heard, if it is a supposed plan of conduct of any military or naval operation, he at once becomes subject to the terms and conditions of this penal statute and liable to be punished accordingly.

Mr. President, that is not justice; that is not law; that is not liberty; that is the suppression of every field of legitimate inquiry in time of war. It might be construed with the best of intentions as involving a violation of a criminal statute designed for the preservation of the country in a time of great emergency. Surely an expression of that kind should not go into a statute, and especially now, when we are acting upon a subject of far-reaching importance, without due deliberation.

Why, Mr. President, I do not think it is too much to say that this is one of the most important measures that the Senate of the United States at any time was ever called upon to consider; and yet hearing the discussion there are not a score of Senators, and I have noticed that since the bill became the unfinished business but few Senators have been present either to take part in the discussion or to listen to it, yet it embraces and affects fundamental principles which have been the subject of contention by the Anglo-Saxon race for centuries, and established through the struggles and the sacrifice of generations.

It strikes directly at the freedom of the press, at the constitutional exemption from unreasonable search and seizure, not to mention other provisions so sacred to the Anglo-Saxon race that they should not be modified or imperiled, however great the exigency, except upon the most serious, far-reaching, and extended consideration. Yet we are going ahead with this as a war measure, although when enacted it will be permanent in its operation; and I very much fear that with the best of intention we may place upon the statute books something that will rise to plague us in the immediate future.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have been somewhat disturbed in glancing over this bill, and am much interested in what the Senator from Colorado is saying. Will the Senator yield that I may ask for a quorum? I think more Senators ought to be here.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator desires to ask for a quorum on his own account, yes.

Mr. GALLINGER. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. But the Senator knows as well as I do what the result of calling for a quorum is. The Senators will simply come in and answer to their names and go out again.

Mr. GALLINGER. We might keep a few in addition to those who are now here. I suggest the absence of a quorum, Mr. President.

Mr. THOMAS. I yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TRAMMELL in the chair). The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brandegee	Hitchcock	Myers	Smoot
Calder	Hughes	Nelson	Sterling
Colt	James	New	Sutherland
Culberson	Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Swanson
Cummins	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Thomas
Curtis	Jones, N. Mex.	Owen	Thompson
Fall	Jones, Wash.	Page	Townsend
Fernald	Kellogg	Penrose	Trammell
Fletcher	Kendrick	Pittman	Wadsworth
France	King	Poindexter	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	Kirby	Pomerene	Watson
Gallinger	Knox	Ransdell	Weeks
Gronna	La Follette	Shafroth	Wolcott
Hale	Lodge	Sheppard	
Harding	McKellar	Smith, Ga.	
Hardwick	McLean	Smith, S. C.	

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to state that my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], is absent on account of illness.

Mr. SWANSON. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MARTIN] is detained from the Senate on account of illness in his family. I desire this announcement to stand for the day.

Mr. THOMAS. The junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] is absent from the Chamber on official business.

Mr. THOMPSON. I have been requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] on account of official business, the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] on account of official business, and the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN], the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE], and the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] on account of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present. The Senator from Colorado will proceed.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, continuing the line of discussion at the time the quorum was called, I want to emphasize the number of probable offenses which can be committed under this bill if it becomes a law: The collection of information upon plans, real or supposed; the record of information upon plans, real or supposed; their publication, their communication; attempts to elicit this information with respect to movement, numbers, to description, to condition, to disposition of armed forces, of ships, of aircraft, of war materials of the United States.

Now, those are specific, and so far you can put your finger upon the evils aimed at; but the subsection is also applicable with respect to supplies, plans, or conduct of any naval or any military operation or with respect to any works or measures undertaken by or connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information—no limitation whatever being placed upon its operation—relating to the public defense, calculated to be, or which might be useful to the enemy, whether the enemy ever receives it or not, and these are as grave and shall be punished precisely as the other enumerated offenses.

Mr. President, is it possible that we are to impose upon the citizens of the United States—upon all of them—a list of offenses punishable by large fines and long terms of imprisonment, including that of eliciting information concerning supposed plans or any possible information which might be useful to the enemy? If so, who is to determine the fact of contingent or possible usefulness—the court, the jury, or the President in his regulation to be made hereunder? By what process of judicial procedure is a man to be convicted of the offense of eliciting information upon something which as a matter of speculation might be valuable to an enemy? Are we not proceeding, Mr. President, not only beyond all reason, but beyond all possible authority that a legislative body in a country like this ought to possess?

I always have the greatest respect for the legal opinions of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. He never expressed one that was not the result of careful examination. He tells us that the Supreme Court of the United States has, in a recent decision, sustained the proposition that Congress may delegate to the executive arm of the Government the power to make regulations having all the force and effect of criminal statutes.

But, Mr. President, there must be a limitation to this, and if it does not exist in such broad, general, comprehensive and ambiguous prohibitions as those to which I am calling attention, then it is impossible to conceive any limitation upon the power

of Congress to delegate authority to the President, and the power of the President under that delegation to make even the thoughts of men criminal and to transform acts which are perfectly innocent and perfectly legitimate into crimes and offenses, resulting in wresting his property and his liberty from the citizen.

Now, if that is so, and I can reach no other conclusion in the consideration of this matter, I want to know which is best, the despotism of Germany, which we are to-day, in common with the other nations of the earth, engaged in destroying, or the greater despotism in a free republic which a law of this kind, enacted in a period of stress and excitement, will impose upon the American people.

I protest, Mr. President, against the enactment of any criminal law that is not specific, that is not definite and does not enable the citizen to place his finger upon and by understanding regulate his course of action accordingly. I protest against any statute so broad and far-reaching in its character as to give to the courts and the Executive of the country absolute power over the liberty of the citizen. I can conceive of no information of any sort or description in a time of excitement which a man may elicit or seek to elicit which can not by his personal enemy be tortured into evidence of and given some sinister direction whereby the common enemy might be supposed to benefit if the information had reached him, and this constitutes a crime under this bill.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Does the Senator think that under this phraseology if a reporter visited the War Department and asked the Secretary of War certain questions relating to the proposed order of troops or movement of troops——

Mr. THOMAS. Proposed or supposed?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Even if the Secretary of War refused to give him the information, would that reporter be committing a crime?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; he would be attempting to elicit information. He would have committed a crime by making inquiries. What I mean is that the President's order and regulation which he is authorized here to make may easily be extended to cover just that thing. Further, the Senator is a member of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate. It can be extended so as to make it an offense upon his part as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs to seek to elicit information about something the authorities might determine to be valuable to a public enemy.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. The question addressed to the Senator from Colorado by the Senator from Nebraska is a very striking one and an important one. Of course, it is too bad to subject a reporter proceeding upon such a mission as that to punishment, or the Secretary of War, but I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado now what he would do in a case of that character? We assume, now, a reporter, a very enterprising young man who is desirous of making a "scoop," gets into the War Department in some way or other for the purpose of obtaining some advance information about an important military movement. He seeks to elicit that information for the purpose of publishing it in his newspaper before anybody else can get hold of it. It is of immense importance to the enemy. I ask what would you do in a case of that character?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Senator has narrowed my phraseology. I agree entirely with what the Senator from Colorado says, that this language is so broad that a man upon a perfectly innocent errand, asking a perfectly legitimate question of the Secretary of War concerning the disposition of troops already made, would, if the Secretary of War said, "I decline to give you any information," nevertheless have committed an offense in merely seeking to elicit the information.

Mr. WALSH. Quite right, Mr. President. Let me say it is a fact that this provision is so broad that it will undoubtedly subject to some inconvenience and some discomfort a great many citizens of the United States who are doing a very proper thing. But why condemn the entire statute? Why do not the gentlemen who criticize this language suggest the appropriate limitation to reach the reprehensible case and to exclude the others? The committee have done the best they could do.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the committee have endeavored to meet this situation by recommending what in their judgment is an appropriate scheme of legislation. I know they have worked long and carefully and thoughtfully and anxiously upon the many problems which are involved in this bill. I am not criticizing their motives or their purposes; I am merely calling attention to the existence of what seem to be the many dangers in the bill they have reported, with a view of correcting it if possible.

Mr. COLT. I want to ask the Senator if he does not think we have to rely in a measure, in a statute of this kind where it is impossible to go into particulars, upon the wisdom and discretion of the President? This section of the bill expressly provides that the President shall prescribe the regulations which shall constitute violations of this statute, and hence the whole power of regulation resides in the President. In other words, I would ask the Senator if we can not trust the President in this matter?

Mr. THOMAS. Most assuredly, Mr. President.

Mr. COLT. And especially in a war measure of this kind?

Mr. THOMAS. Most assuredly.

Mr. COLT. We have in a large measure to rely on the President. And right here let me say that there are certain restraints upon the Chief Executive. One restraint is his character; another restraint is public opinion. And might I further say to the Senator that these great restraints which I have mentioned are the only restraints underlying legislation by the British Parliament and the only restraints underlying legislation in many constitutional governments.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, my remarks are entirely impersonal. I have the most unbounded confidence in the judgment of the President of the United States, and I am not even indirectly criticizing him; but we must remember this is a statute which is supposed to be a permanent enactment, and while it is enough——

Mr. COLT. Only for the war.

Mr. THOMAS. No; I say permanent. I find nothing in the bill limiting it to the war.

Mr. KING. Look at subdivision (c), "whenever, in time of war."

Mr. THOMAS. It is not confined to this war; it does not expire with the declaration of peace between the United States and Germany.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is only in time of war.

Mr. THOMAS. It is only in time of war that these great constitutional limitations upon despotism are put to the test. It is precisely then that they are useful. They have no particular moment in times of quiet when the minds of men are diverted to the pursuits of peace, when prosperity and happiness smile over the land. It is only on occasions like this when they become effective and their value is priceless. Consequently, it is at such times that we must see to it that they are preserved, lest when peace does return we shall realize that some of the most important safeguards of liberty have been swept away in the torrent of the conflict.

Mr. President, it is true, as asked by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT], that we must impose a vast amount of authority upon the Chief Executive. I am in favor of it. But here we give him a series of subjects upon which he can exercise authority practically without limit, and while the President promulgates the regulations he does not enforce or execute them. They are executed in his name, if you please, but they are executed nevertheless by that vast body of employees which constitute the machinery of government both in times of peace and war; and we know how easy it is for a man from sinister motives, from a desire of revenge, and some other dark element of human nature which men are prone in times like these to indulge to take advantage of such statutes to use them as their opportunity to obtain satisfaction from their fellows. In other words, we may be forging weapons whereby the baser elements of mankind may, under the guise of patriotism, utilize them for the injury and the undoing of their fellow citizens.

Now, it is true, as the Senator asserts, that the two fundamental forces in this and in other free governments are character and public opinion. That sense of responsibility which men invested with large powers necessarily feel and which, of course, modifies, or should modify, their conduct upon all matters, rests largely upon the regulative force of public sentiment; but if I read this section correctly, that public opinion which is fundamentally based upon public discussions, which in these days find their expression through the machinery of the public press, is virtually suppressed by it. The papers can not criticize, can not express their opinions or call the attention of the public to matters of the gravest concern without subjecting themselves to all the pains and penalties provided for in this subdivision. If that is the case, and if in its practical operation it should so result, then one of the checks upon the exercise of absolute power will be largely minimized.

Now, let us see what this is:

Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same.

Let us suppose that this bill becomes a law, and that under its provisions the President makes certain regulations, as he would be authorized to do by the recitals of subdivision (c) in order to make it operative. The press comments upon, discusses, and criticizes these regulations. It calls attention to many things concerning them which perhaps had not been called to the attention of the President. It may, because ours is the most intelligent and enterprising press in the world, be able to reveal many defects in the regulations which should be changed. But it is provided that no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section. Such criticism might be useful to the enemy, and the very moment it is determined by the authorities that that is so indictment follows. What then becomes of the first proviso, which is designed to give to the press liberty of a certain character and up to a certain point to criticize acts and policies? Mr. President, I can not conceive how a newspaper can criticize acts and policies without running directly counter to the second proviso and conveying information prohibited under the terms of subdivision (c). If that is true, then it must follow that criticism of anything else connected with the affairs of the Government must also be contained within the purview of this proposed section.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. HUGHES. My understanding is that the committee are willing to accept the amendment proposed to strike out the second proviso. If that is correct——

Mr. OVERMAN. We are willing that the second proviso shall be stricken out.

Mr. LODGE. I moved to strike it out.

Mr. THOMAS. If the second proviso is stricken out—I was not aware that the committee had so stated—then I must, of course, modify the criticism which I have just made.

Mr. HUGHES. I wish to call the Senator's attention to something else. With the second proviso stricken out, the language of the proviso as it is left brings in practically the language suggested by the so-called tentative bill put forward by the newspapers. So they do not seem to be in fear of any drastic features of the law as set out in that proviso. They seem to think that they can operate under the language of that proviso if the second proviso is stricken out.

Mr. THOMAS. It may be that that is the consensus of opinion on the part of the press, but I nevertheless am of the opinion that they are consenting to much more than they would consent to if they gave a little more careful consideration to the entire purview of the bill and particularly to that part of the bill which deals with the United States mail.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. CUMMINS. It ought to be remembered in connection with the suggestion just made by the Senator from New Jersey that in the proposal of the newspapers, in so far as prohibitions are concerned, they are not similar at all to the prohibitions contained in this chapter.

Mr. HUGHES. Are they not fully as broad, I will ask the Senator?

Mr. CUMMINS. I think not.

Mr. HUGHES. I was impressed——

Mr. CUMMINS. I heard the proposal read before the committee. I had not before me a copy of the paper, but, as I recall it, it is not comparable with the bill that has been reported, so far as inhibitions or prohibitions are concerned.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the Senator will find that the general consensus of opinion is that they were more drastic even than these.

Mr. CUMMINS. I heard that said by one of the members of the committee, but I did not concur in that estimate of the paper. The entire question, however, could be relieved of any doubt if the Senator from North Carolina or the Senator from Montana would produce the paper and put it before the Senate.

Mr. HUGHES. I will say to the Senator that the paper was sent up by the Senator from Montana to be printed. It is now in the hands of the official reporters and has been sent for.

Mr. CUMMINS. Very well. We will have it to-morrow then, I understand, before the consideration of this chapter is concluded; but I ask the Senator from Colorado whether he, as one of the guardians of the institutions of the United States, will be willing to allow the newspapers to write the law of the country for them?

Mr. THOMAS. No; Mr. President, I have great admiration for the press. I am a thorough believer in the freedom of the press. I know that freedom has been abused. It must be abused in countries like this. I think I have suffered personally as much from the unrestrained operation of a free press as any Member of this body during my comparatively short career in public life. It has accused me of everything except corpulency. My lack of it has also been frequently exaggerated. But, Mr. President, press outrages on individuals, although grievous and exasperating, are of no consequence beside the inestimable value of an untrammeled and an enlightened press.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I will yield in just a moment. I would put no restriction whatever upon the American press which is not absolutely necessary for the security and salvation of the Republic. Once the press is invaded there may be an end to that healthy public opinion which is the basis of democratic institutions. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to call the Senator's attention to the fact that the proviso with reference to the publication relieves the paragraph from the criticism which the Senator has been making, because the paragraph reads those who "collect" or who "record," or who even "attempt to elicit." If I should find out from the Senator from Iowa something that he happened to know, and if it were a matter communicated to the enemy and might be of service——

Mr. THOMAS. You do not have to communicate it to the enemy in order to commit the offense.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; I do not have to communicate it. I say if that matter is communicated to the enemy in some other way, entirely disconnected from my inquiry of the Senator from Iowa, when neither of us dreamed of communicating it and neither of us ever repeated it, if it were repeated in any way to the enemy and could be of any service to them, then my private inquiry of the Senator from Iowa would subject me to going to the penitentiary for 10 years.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator has anticipated what I was about to say, and he has said it so much better than I can, that I am relieved from the necessity of repeating it.

I want to add, however, that if this first proviso with the elimination of the second becomes the law and does give to the press any degree of freedom to discuss public matters, then the members of the press are exempted from the operation of a statute which embraces everybody else, and the man who represents a newspaper may discuss things publicly which if I inquire about privately might send me to the penitentiary. That would be neither law nor justice.

The section creates a conglomeration of offenses having due regard to and including everybody within the range of them. If it then shall exempt this very influential body of our citizens from its general operation, that of itself, even if the proviso were more specific and limited than it is, would be subject, in my judgment, to the very serious criticism that it operated unequally.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. CUMMINS. I feel toward the newspapers just as was expressed a moment ago by the Senator from Colorado. They seem to me nowadays to be careless of the truth and indifferent about it. Nevertheless I desire to protect them.

For instance, I took occasion yesterday to express my opinion of the $3,000,000,000 provided for in the bond bill that instead of being loaned to the allies it should be given to the allies, and I was exploited this morning as an enemy to the sentiment or desire on the part of the people of this country to prosecute the war with diligence and with energy. I instance that simply to indicate how far from the truth they occasionally travel. But notwithstanding that I am hoping for some reform on the part of the newspapers some of these days.

Mr. THOMAS. They will eulogize you when you pass into the great beyond.

Mr. CUMMINS. However, if the next generation can see papers that are disposed to tell the truth now and then, I shall be entirely satisfied.

But the effect of this proviso in behalf of the newspapers is not so broad as has been suggested. It does not relieve the newspapers and leave the entire burden upon the individual. I call the attention of the Senator from Colorado to this view of it. They are permitted to discuss, to comment upon, and to criticize the acts or policies of the Government, but the paragraph itself proposes that, under the direction of the President, there may be prohibited any publication which relates to the description of troops, the condition of troops, and many other things of that kind, which could not by any stretch of the imagination be called either an act of the Government or a policy of the Government.

This would cover the discussion with regard to our preparedness upon the Mexican border if it happened that we had

declared the truth and said that we were at war with Mexico. It would not have permitted the newspapers to describe the condition of the National Guard, which they did so graphically and, I believe, with good results, now and then. It would not permit them to describe anything that pertained to the national defense. These things can not be called either acts of the Government or policies of the Government.

I desired that the Senator from Colorado, in commenting upon this particular part of the bill, should have my idea of its real construction.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am obliged to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] for his suggestions. The Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] made the suggestion, in passing just now, that is also very apropos, that the newspapers would under this section commit a crime if they discovered and published the fact that rotten meat was being fed to our soldiers, or that they were short in their munition supply, or that some serious cause of dissatisfaction existed which might ripen into mutiny.

I tell you, Mr. President, that a free press at a time like this is more beneficial than injurious to a people like ours. It is not the press so much as other agencies which betray the secrets of this Government. Let me call your attention to a telegram which was published in the New York World on the 23d day of February last:

BETRAY UNITED STATES NAVAL SECRETS TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—ADMIRAL GRIFFIN TELLS SECRETARY DANIELS PROSPECTIVE CONTRACTORS FOR AMERICAN WARSHIPS DIVULGE DETAILS OF PLANS FURNISHED THEM AS BASIS FOR BIDS.

[Special to the World.]

WASHINGTON, *February 22.*

As a result of the controversy which the Navy Department had had with Charles Curtis concerning the wisdom of using the electric drive in the new battle cruisers, Rear Admiral Griffin, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, has charged that it is impossible for the Navy to keep secrets, because American shipbuilding companies divulge the contents of the plans given to them for estimating purposes. Here is the statement which Admiral Griffin has made to Secretary Daniels and the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs:

"Any hope of the United States being able to steal a march on foreign navies, as matters now stand, seems futile. We have long since been forced to believe that it is a practical impossibility to keep secret any of our undertakings.

"Experience with the design of the battle cruisers has proved beyond question of doubt that some of the American engineers and shipbuilders to whom these plans were sent in confidence are not worthy of the trust that was imposed in them.

"Despite their frequent protestations of patriotism, I am convinced that some of these men may be depended upon to keep foreign governments fully informed regarding naval secrets that come into their possession."

Admiral Griffin added that within a week after the plans for the battle cruisers were sent out to prospective bidders last fall a man came to see him in Washington who was not a shipbuilder, engineer, or subcontractor for any of the companies to whom the plans had been sent, nor in any sense one who was entitled to know anything concerning the detailed designs and drawings for the ships.

"I was perfectly aghast," continued the admiral, "to find that this man, who wanted to suggest some change in design, appeared to be in possession of intimate knowledge concerning the plans. When I requested to be informed as to how he came to know about these matters he simply said that he had been told about them."

Admiral Griffin said he was surprised to see an article in a London engineering magazine discussing with considerable familiarity various novel features of construction called for in the plans of the battle cruisers.

I very much fear, Mr. President, that if this subdivision is enacted into law, and a newspaper should publish information such as I have just read, it will subject itself to fine and imprisonment for violating the espionage laws of the United States.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. Just a moment. It is, of course, desirable to reach and to punish men who, as here outlined, have no scruples whatever about securing and betraying the secrets of the Government; but do not pass a statute under which a nation may be indicted upon the theory that men may otherwise possibly acquire or collect or elicit information tending to benefit the enemies of this Government. Now I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. I am very sure the Senator from Colorado desires that the discussion of this subject should be considered seriously. I should like to ask him under which provision of this bill one would be made punishable who gave information to the effect that soldiers of the Army were being furnished with rotten meat?

Mr. THOMAS. If that were the fact, it would be welcome news and beneficial news to the enemy, would it not?

Mr. WALSH. I do not see how.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not think it would?

Mr. WALSH. No.

Mr. THOMAS. That we were having our soldiers fight upon provisions that would necessarily breed disease, emasculate their vigor and energy, and diminish their numbers? I think that would be the most vital information imaginable.

Mr. WALSH. I think that would be quite too small.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator may be right; but, Mr. President, I seriously contend that under the recitals of this subdivision such and similar matters if inquired about or if information were collected regarding them—and they might be useful to the enemy, as I think they would be—would subject those so offending to the penalties of this provision.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. OVERMAN. Perhaps I misunderstand the Senator's position, and if I do I should like to be corrected; but, as I understand, his position is that we need no legislation on this subject.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not say so.

Mr. OVERMAN. Well, does the Senator think we need any?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. OVERMAN. Then, will the Senator sit down to-night and try to write something?

Mr. THOMAS. I will do my best.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think several others have tried it, and every time they have tried it they have come back to this provision.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I know that it is easier to criticize than it is to construct; I am thoroughly aware of the effort which the Senator from North Carolina and his colleagues have made, earnestly and faithfully and patriotically, to frame and bring a bill here which would be acceptable. I hope neither the Senator nor any of his colleagues on the committee will imagine for a moment that I am doing otherwise than attempting to portray the probable consequences of an enactment which they have brought here. I would rather see no law at all—I will say that frankly—I would rather take my chances under existing conditions, than to see a statute like this enacted by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] has done the very best he could, and I really think he has produced a wonderful code. Most of it is so obviously right that no one either criticizes it or suggests an amendment to it. As an instance of that I will say to the Senator from Colorado that there is another clause in this bill which covers precisely the case which the newspaper article mentions. I refer to paragraph (d) in the same chapter. It is in section 1, page 6, and is as follows:

Whoever, lawfully or unlawfully having possession of, access to, control over, or being intrusted with any document, writing, code book, signal book, sketch, photograph, photographic negative, blue print, plan, model, instrument, appliance, or note relating to the national defense, willfully communicates or transmits or attempts to communicate or transmit the same to any person not lawfully entitled to receive it—

He is punishable.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, Mr. President, I have no doubt that the bill, taken as a whole, is a most excellent bill.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am not criticizing what the Senator from Colorado said——

Mr. THOMAS. I understand.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am simply saying that these cases that we all want punished or dealt with are dealt with in other parts of this bill.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. Well, Mr. President, I am obliged to the Senator from Iowa for the suggestions which he has made. They are all very pertinent and illuminating. I will cheerfully comply with the suggestion of the Senator from North Carolina and endeavor—although I may find my task quite as impossible as I think he has found it—to suggest something in the morning which may be considered not, perhaps, as a substitute for but in connection with the part of the bill to which my remarks are directed. Now, Mr. President, let me refer to history for a moment. Something over a hundred years ago the Nation was confronted with a crisis very similar to the one which has here resulted in a declaration of war.

Our relations with Great Britain and with France were strained to the breaking point. The rights of neutrals then, as now, were being constantly violated, with the neutrals as the principal sufferers. Congress during the administration of the first Adams proceeded to meet the emergency by a series of enactments, known to history as the alien and sedition laws. They were confronted as much with a condition, instead of a theory, as we now are. Upon the 18th of June, 1798, Congress amended the law regarding naturalization; they amended it again on the 25th of June, and still later upon the 6th of July. They provided, among other things, for the deportation of any alien whose presence, in the opinion of the President of the United States, was dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. At that time the country was filled with refugees from France who were bitterly hostile to the Government of

Great Britain, and who doubtless were engaged in many conspiracies within our borders for the undoing of that country. We then also had a press to deal with. On the 14th day of July, 1798, the celebrated sedition law was enacted, which provided, among other things:

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered, or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing, any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the Government of the United States, or either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said Government, or either House of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the Constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage, or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people, or Government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $2,000 and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

That statute had the advantage of the bill which I am discussing, in that it was much more specific, much more definite, and, therefore, much more easily understandable. Its penalties, moreover, were much milder than those now in issue. Mr. President, I have no doubt that the Congress in enacting that statute felt, just as this Congress does as to the pending measure, that it was absolutely essential for the protection and preservation of the Union; but the people thought differently. When the people were confronted with that statute and with the possible perversion of it to political and personal ends, they rose en masse, and they not only defeated, but they crucified the party which was responsible for its enactment. From that day to this "alien and sedition laws" have been a term of reproach in American history. Yet those laws were mild; those laws were democratic when compared and contrasted with the recitals of subdivision (c) of this section of the pending bill; and I believe that any Congress which will enact such a measure at this or any other crisis will have to answer for it at the same bar of public opinion, and that it will receive, although I do not for a moment assert that it would merit, a similar fate.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. I merely desire to ask how long the sedition law, as it was known, remained on the statute books?

Mr. THOMAS. It was enacted in 1798, and, I think, by its terms it was to expire in 1801; but before it had expired, Thomas Jefferson was elected President of the United States, largely upon the issue made by the enactment of that legislation by the Federalist Party.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. Had peace in any manner come in the meantime?

Mr. THOMAS. No; peace had not in any manner come in the meantime; on the contrary, the Napoleonic wars, as the Senator will recollect, continued down to 1815, and all through Mr. Jefferson's administration there was constant friction, which threatened to engulf us at any time in war with France or with England or with both.

Mr. President, I have spoken longer than I intended. I know that this proviso will go over until to-morrow, at the request of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], but I deemed this an opportune time to give my views upon this specific part of the bill, inasmuch as it had come up for discussion and had been advocated so ably and so intelligently by the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. This subdivision we can not afford to enact. It will create a crisis much more serious than that which it is designed to meet, and, in my judgment, it will very seriously interfere with, if it does not directly conflict with, those fundamental amendments to our Constitution regarding the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizen.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I have agreed with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] that this section may go over. I will therefore ask that the Secretary proceed with the reading of the remaining sections of the chapter. I do not think there is any objection to them. When we finish the reading of the chapter I will ask that the whole chapter go over until to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GERRY in the chair). The Secretary will resume the reading.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on the Judiciary was, in Chapter II, section 3, page 9, line 23, after the words "United States," to insert "to the injury of the service or of the United States"; in line 24, after the word "not," to strike out "less" and insert "more"; and in line 25, after the word "years," to strike out "or for life," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 3. Whoever in time of war shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of their enemies, and whoever in time of war shall willfully cause or attempt to cause disaffection in the military or naval forces of the United States to the injury of the service or of the United States shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than 20 years.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on the Judiciary was, in section 6, Chapter II, page 11, line 3, after the word "departments," to strike out "or of other Government offices," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 6. The President of the United States shall have power in time of war or in case of national emergency to designate any place other than those set forth in paragraph (a) of section 1 hereof in which anything for the use of the Army or Navy is being prepared or constructed or stored as a prohibited place for the purposes of this chapter on the ground that information with respect thereto would be prejudicial to the national defense; he shall further have the power, on the aforesaid ground, in time of war or in case of national emergency to designate any matter, thing, or information belonging to the Government, or contained in the records or files of any of the executive departments, as information relating to the national defense, to which no person unless duly authorized shall be lawfully entitled within the meaning of this chapter.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the Committee on the Judiciary was, in section 8, Chapter II, page 11, line 13, before the word "forfeitures," to insert "all," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 8. All offenses committed and all forfeitures or liabilities incurred prior to the taking effect hereof under any law embraced in or changed, modified, or repealed by this chapter may be prosecuted and punished in the same manner and with the same effect as if this act had not been passed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Secretary concluded the reading of Chapter II.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask that Chapter II be passed over temporarily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on the Judiciary was, in section 1, Chapter III, page 12, line 16, after the word "nations," to insert "or to any vessel of the United States as defined in section 310 of the act of March 4, 1909, entitled 'An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States,'" so as to make the section read:

SECTION 1. Whoever shall set fire to any vessel of foreign registry, or any vessel of American registry entitled to engage in commerce with foreign nations, or to any vessel of the United States as defined in section 310 of the act of March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," or to the cargo of the same, or shall tamper with the motive power or instrumentalities of navigation of such vessel, or shall place bombs or explosives in or upon such vessel, or shall do any other act to or upon such vessel while within the jurisdiction of the United States, or, if such vessel is of American registry, while she is on the high seas, with intent to injure or endanger the safety of the vessel or of her cargo, or of persons on board, whether the injury or danger is so intended to take place within the jurisdiction of the United States, or after the vessel shall have departed therefrom; or whoever shall attempt or conspire to do any such acts with such intent, shall be fined not more than $10,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I should like to inquire of the Senator having charge of the bill whether it would not be well to insert another section subjecting all persons who commit any of the acts mentioned in section 1, which result in the loss of human life, to indictment and punishment for murder?

Mr. OVERMAN. Does the Senator desire to punish by death those guilty under the section?

Mr. THOMAS. It occurred to me that if lives are lost as the result of any of the acts mentioned in section 1 the perpetrators of those acts should be indicted and punished for murder.

Mr. OVERMAN. I rather think so myself, but the committee thought this was sufficient punishment.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I suggest to the Senator from Colorado that the general statute, as I understand, would cover the crime of homicide under such circumstances?

Mr. THOMAS. It is possible that some provision of the Criminal Code would cover just such a case; but if that is so, it is remarkable that it does not also punish the attempt to commit it.

Mr. KING. I think that the Criminal Code covers the case to which the Senator from Colorado refers, and this section is supplemental legislation and directed to another matter which did not heretofore, perhaps, constitute a substantive offense.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any amendments to be offered to Chapter III?

Mr. OVERMAN. I think we might adopt it unless the Senator from Colorado desires to offer an amendment. I will inquire if the Senator wishes to have the chapter passed over temporarily?

Mr. THOMAS. I have no objection to it, Mr. President. I can recur to it later if necessary.

Mr. OVERMAN. Then, I ask that the chapter be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, Chapter III, as amended, is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed.

The next amendment of the Committee on the Judiciary was, in Chapter IV, line 11, before the word "whoever," to insert the words "Section 1," so as to read:

CHAPTER IV.

INTERFERENCE WITH FOREIGN COMMERCE BY VIOLENT MEANS.

SECTION 1. Whoever shall willfully prevent, interfere with, or obstruct or attempt to prevent, interfere with, or obstruct the exportation to foreign countries of articles from the United States by injuring or destroying, by fire or explosives, such articles or the places where they are produced or stored, shall be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any further amendments to Chapter IV?

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, my attention has been called by my secretary to the fact that, in line 14, after the word "destroying," there is an amendment proposing to insert a comma, and after the word "explosives," in line 15, there is a similar amendment. Those are matters of punctuation, but I ask that the amendment be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that commas appear after the words indicated by the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. OVERMAN. The original bill as introduced did not have commas, and therefore the commas have been put in as an amendment to the original bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to, and, without objection, Chapter IV, as amended, is agreed to.

The reading of the bill was resumed and continued to section 10, Chapter V.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I ask the attention of the Senator from North Carolina. I want to inquire of him whether the forfeiture of the cargo, as provided for by section 7, ought to be incurred? The Senator will remember that the same question presented itself to us in connection with another provision of the bill. He will observe that section 6 provides that whenever it appears that a vessel is not entitled to a clearance, and a clearance is refused, and notwithstanding that the vessel starts from the port, it is made punishable by the next section——

Mr. OVERMAN. I remember very well the amendment we made to this section.

Mr. WALSH. And the master ought to be punished, of course, and the vessel ought to be forfeited; but here is a cargo aboard that belongs to some one who is in no manner chargeable with the unlawful act of the master of the ship. I think it could not have been intended that the cargo should be forfeited in a case of that character. I ask the attention of the Senator from Minnesota to that feature of the bill, if he can give it.

Mr. OVERMAN. I remember that we struck it out in the other case; and having been stricken out in that case it seems to me that it ought to be stricken out in this, so far as I can see at present.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from Montana whether it was not understood that this should be amended by inserting the word "contraband"?

Mr. WALSH. That was done in another section. That met the case of munitions that were about to be exported in a vessel contrary to the law. We made a provision that the vessel should be forfeited with all her tackle and apparel and furniture; and the bill as originally drawn provided that her cargo should likewise be forfeited. We provided that only her forbidden cargo should be forfeited, and I think a similar provision should be made in this section.

I suggest to the Senator from North Carolina that we regard section 7 as having been passed over.

Mr. OVERMAN. Let this be passed over for the present, Mr. President.

The reading of Chapter V was resumed and concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN. Sections 7 and 8 of this chapter are to be passed over at the request of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. I ask that the whole chapter be passed over temporarily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, Chapter V will be passed over.

The Secretary proceeded to read Chapter VI.

The next amendment was, in section 1, on page 21, line 9, after the word "war," to insert "or other articles the export of which is made unlawful by or under any statute"; in line 13, after the word "war," to insert "or other articles the export of which is made unlawful"; and in line 23, after the word "war," to insert "or other forbidden property," so as to make the section read:

SECTION 1. Whenever, under any authority vested in him by law, the President of the United States, by proclamation or otherwise, shall forbid the shipment or exportation of arms or munitions of war, or other articles the export of which is made unlawful by or under any statute, from the United States to any other country, or whenever there shall be good cause to believe that any arms or munitions of war, or other articles the export of which is made unlawful, are being or are intended to be employed or exported in connection with a military expedition or enterprise forbidden by section 13 of the act approved March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," as herein amended, the several collectors, naval officers, surveyors and inspectors of customs, the marshals and deputy marshals of the United States, and every other person duly authorized for the purpose by the President may seize and detain any arms or munitions of war or other forbidden property about to be so exported or employed, and the vessels or vehicles containing the same, and retain possession thereof until released or disposed of as hereinafter directed. If upon due inquiry, as hereinafter provided, the property seized shall appear to have been about to be so unlawfully exported, used, or employed, the same shall be forfeited to the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 6, on page 24, line 22, after the word "war," to insert "or other articles," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 6. Except in those cases in which the exportation of arms and munitions of war or other articles is forbidden by proclamation or otherwise by the President, as provided in section 1 of this chapter, nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to, or interfere with, any trade in such commodities, conducted with any foreign port or place wheresoever, or with any other trade which might have been lawfully carried on before the passage of this chapter, under the law of nations, or under the treaties or conventions entered into by the United States, or under the laws thereof.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 7, on page 25, line 7, after the word "possession," to strike out "of" and insert "or," so as to make the section read:

SEC. 7. Upon payment of the costs and legal expenses incurred in any such summary trial for possession or libel proceedings, the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to order the release and restoration to the owner or claimant, as the case may be, of any property seized or condemned under the provisions of this chapter.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I move to amend the title of this chapter by adding to it the following:

And other articles intended for export.

Mr. OVERMAN. I accept the amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Is this Chapter VI or Chapter VII?

Mr. OVERMAN. Chapter VI.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 21, line 5, in the title of the chapter, after the words "Seizures of arms" and before the period, it is proposed to insert "and other articles intended for export."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. OVERMAN. I understand that the next chapter will probably cause some debate. Therefore I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 19, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *April 18, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Infinite Spirit, God over all, we come to Thee in prayer that spirit may meet spirit, be exalted, strengthened, purified, ennobled by the contact. "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with Me." Blessed is the man who openeth the door of his heart to the King of Glory; that he may partake with Him of the Bread of Life. Help us to open our hearts to the Heavenly Guest, that we may be prepared for the duties of the new day. In the name of Him who taught us to pray. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, April 16, 1917, was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF MEMBER.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has the certificate of election to Congress from the ninth congressional district of New York of Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH, which seems to be properly signed.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the oath of office be administered to Mr. SMITH.

Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. FERRIS. I want to ask unanimous consent for the change of reference of House bill 156 from the Committee on the Public Lands to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (H. R. 156) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant leases or licenses for the use of surplus water at the United States Government dam at Lake Winnibigoshish and at Lake Pokegama, in the State of Minnesota.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a telegram from certain citizens of Rome, N. Y.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing the telegram indicated by him. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Oklahoma rise?

Mr. FERRIS. I wanted to make a second request. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD relative to the declaration of policy in the administration of Indian affairs.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a telegram just received from the Des Moines Advertising Club, containing resolutions relative to advertising——

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have the gentleman finish his explanation. I did not get the purport of the resolutions which he wishes to have printed.

Mr. DOWELL. The resolutions are from the Des Moines Advertising Club.

I will ask, for the information of the House, that the Clerk read the resolutions.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I object. You can not put that over.

Mr. DOWELL. It is relating to advertising subjects relative to floating the Government war bonds.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House is getting telegrams on this war situation, and——

Mr. BARNHART. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana objects, and that is the end of it.

Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing some resolutions adopted at a patriotic mass meeting at Woodward, Okla.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, about what?

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for indefinite leave of absence for my colleague from Wisconsin, Mr. NELSON, on account of sickness.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a change of reference of the bill H. R. 309, from the Committee on Claims to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The SPEAKER. Is it a private bill or a public bill?

Mr. AUSTIN. It is in reference to the enforcement of a treaty between the Government of the United States and the Government of Panama. It is to comply with the treaty obligations between this country and that Government.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R 309) to enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of November 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to have the bill rereferred from the Committee on Claims to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FOSTER. I think that belongs to the Committee on Claims. It has been there before.

Mr. AUSTIN. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I introduced this bill at the last session of Congress, and it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FOSTER. If I remember right, it was before the Committee on Claims. It ought to be there anyway.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. FOSTER] objects.

Mr. LANGLEY. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. There was so much confusion in the Hall I could not understand——

The SPEAKER. Objection was made.

Mr. LANGLEY (continuing). What the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] said. I want to know if the gentleman is going to object hereafter to printing these matters in the RECORD, resolutions, telegrams, and so forth. I have a lot of them I want to insert if it is to be the rule. Among these is a resolution by the Hazard Commercial Club.

The SPEAKER. That is not a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. LANGLEY. I am trying to find out what the situation is, and to save time, if the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] has given notice he is going to object hereafter.

The SPEAKER. Ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART] privately.

Mr. LANGLEY. All right; I will go and see him.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD relative to the maintenance of weight standards.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arizona asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. I object.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague, Mr. SHACKLEFORD, be granted an indefinite leave of absence on account of sickness.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that his colleague [Mr. SHACKLEFORD] be granted indefinite leave of absence on account of sickness. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had insisted upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, had requested a conference with the House of Representatives on the bill and amendments, and had appointed Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. STONE, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. PENROSE, and Mr. LODGE as the conferees on the part of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed bills of the following titles:

On April 11, 1917:

H. R. 122. An act making appropriations for certain expenses incident to the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, and for other purposes.

On April 17, 1917:

H. R. 12. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on April 17, 1917, they had presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill:

H. R. 12. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.

RESIGNATIONS FROM COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 16, 1917.*

Hon. CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby resign my membership on the Committee on Accounts and ask that my resignation may be accepted.

Yours, very respectfully,

R. D. HEATON.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 16, 1917.*

Hon. CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby resign my membership on the Committee on Accounts and ask that my resignation may be accepted.

Yours, very respectfully,

FREDERICK C. HICKS.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.

There was no objection.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I move the election of membership on the committees according to the list which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois presents nominations for the election of minority membership on the committees. The Clerk will report them.

The Clerk read the nominations, as follows:

ELECTIONS NO. 1.

Merrill Moores, of Indiana.
Frederick W. Dallinger, of Massachusetts.
John M. Rose, of Pennsylvania.

ELECTIONS NO. 2.

John Jacob Rogers, of Massachusetts.
Frederick R. Lehlbach, of New Jersey.
Victor Heintz, of Ohio.

ELECTIONS NO. 3.

Cassius C. Dowell, of Iowa.
Fiorello H. LaGuardia, of New York.
Everett Sanders, of Indiana.

APPROPRIATIONS.

Willis C. Hawley, of Oregon.

JUDICIARY.

Charles F. Reavis, of Nebraska.
Walter W. Magee, of New York.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Everis A. Hayes, of California.
Frank P. Woods, of Iowa.
Edmund Platt, of New York.
Louis T. McFadden, of Pennsylvania.
Porter H. Dale, of Vermont.
Roscoe C. McCulloch, of Ohio.
Edward J. King, of Illinois.
George P. Darrow, of Pennsylvania.
John H. Capstick, of New Jersey.

COINAGE, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

E. E. Roberts, of Nevada.
James W. Husted, of New York.
Edward Cooper, of West Virginia.
Albert H. Vestal, of Indiana.
John M. Rose, of Pennsylvania.
Mark R. Bacon, of Michigan.
John F. Miller, of Washington.
Louis B. Goodall, of Maine.

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE.

John J. Esch, of Wisconsin.
Edward L. Hamilton, of Michigan.
Richard Wayne Parker, of New Jersey.
Samuel E. Winslow, of Massachusetts.
James S. Parker, of New York.
Charles H. Dillon, of South Dakota.
Burton E. Sweet, of Iowa.
Walter R. Stiness, of Rhode Island.
John G. Cooper, of Ohio.

RIVERS AND HARBORS.

Charles A. Kennedy, of Iowa.
Robert M. Switzer, of Ohio.
Allen T. Treadway, of Massachusetts.
James A. Frear, of Wisconsin.
Dow H. Drukker, of New Jersey.
Peter E. Costello, of Pennsylvania.
S. Wallace Dempsey, of New York.
Henry I. Emerson, of Ohio.
Henry Z. Osborne, of California.

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES.

Frank D. Scott, of Michigan.
Richard P. Freeman, of Connecticut.
Wallace H. White, jr., of Maine.

AGRICULTURE.

Gilbert N. Haugen, of Iowa.
James C. McLaughlin, of Michigan.
Sydney Anderson, of Minnesota.
William W. Wilson, of Illinois.
Charles B. Ward, of New York.
William B McKinley, of Illinois.
George M. Young, of North Dakota.
Edward H. Wason, of New Hampshire.
Elijah C. Hutchinson, of New Jersey.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

James H. Davidson, of Wisconsin.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

John A. Peters, of Maine.
Frederick C. Hicks, of New York.
Clifton N. McArthur, of Oregon.

POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS.

Halvor Steenerson, of Minnesota.
Martin B. Madden, of Illinois.
William W. Griest, of Pennsylvania.
Ira C. Copley, of Illinois.
Charles M. Hamilton, of New York.
Calvin De Witt Paige, of Massachusetts.
Harry C. Woodyard, of West Virginia.
C. William Ramseyer, of Iowa.
Robert D. Heaton, of Pennsylvania.

PUBLIC LANDS.

Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin.
William L. La Follette, of Washington.
Nicholas J. Sinnott, of Oregon.
Addison T. Smith, of Idaho.
Louis C. Cramton, of Michigan.
Charles B. Timberlake, of Colorado.
George C. Scott, of Iowa.
John A. Elston, of California.
Jeannette Rankin, of Montana.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas.
Patrick D. Norton, of North Dakota.
Homer P. Snyder, of New York.
Royal C. Johnson, of South Dakota.
Franklin F. Ellsworth, of Minnesota.
Burton L. French, of Idaho.
David G. Classon, of Wisconsin.
Thomas A. Chandler, of Oklahoma.
Archie D. Sanders, of New York.

TERRITORIES.

Albert Johnson, of Washington.
Charles F. Curry, of California.
Cassius C. Dowell, of Iowa.
Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota.
Edward Voigt, of Wisconsin.
Daniel W. Comstock, of Indiana.

INSULAR AFFAIRS.

Horace M. Towner, of Iowa.
Clarence B. Miller, of Minnesota.
Charles E. Fuller, of Illinois.
Richard W. Austin, of Tennessee.
John R. K. Scott, of Pennsylvania.
Oscar Wm. Swift, of New York.
James P. Glynn, of Connecticut.
Henry W. Watson, of Pennsylvania.
William F. Waldow, of New York.

RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

William L. La Follette, of Washington.
Loren E. Wheeler, of Illinois.
Edward W. Gray, of New Jersey.
Henry A. Clark, of Pennsylvania.
Milton Kraus, of Indiana.

MINES AND MINING.

Mahlon M. Garland, of Pennsylvania.
Edward E. Denison, of Illinois.
Edward Cooper, of West Virginia.
W. Frank James, of Michigan.
Everett Sanders, of Indiana.
Nathan L. Strong, of Pennsylvania.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.

Richard W. Austin, of Tennessee.
John W. Langley, of Kentucky.
John M. C. Smith, of Michigan.
Thomas B. Dunn, of New York.
Aaron S. Kreider, of Pennsylvania.
David A. Hollingsworth, of Ohio.
Isaac Bacharach, of New Jersey.
William H. Carter, of Massachusetts.

EDUCATION.

Caleb Powers, of Kentucky.
Horace M. Towner, of Iowa.
Edmund Platt, of New York.
Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio.
Frederick W. Dallinger, of Massachusetts.
Harry H. Pratt, of New York.
Albert H. Vestal, of Indiana.

LABOR.

John M. C. Smith, of Michigan.
Edward E Browne, of Wisconsin.
John I. Nolan, of California.
Ira G. Hersey, of Maine.
Frederick N. Zihlman, of Maryland.

PATENTS.

John I. Nolan, of California.
Henry W. Watson, of Pennsylvania.
Edward E. Denison, of Illinois.
Fred S. Purnell, of Indiana.
George B. Francis, of New York.
Mark R. Bacon, of Michigan.

INVALID PENSIONS.

John W. Langley, of Kentucky.
Moses P. Kinkaid, of Nebraska.
Charles E. Fuller, of Illinois.
David A. Hollingsworth, of Ohio.
Reuben L. Haskell, of New York.
Edward Voigt, of Wisconsin.
Oscar E. Bland, of Indiana.

PENSIONS.

Sam R. Sells, of Tennessee.
Edgar R. Kiess, of Pennsylvania.
Isaac Bacharach, of New Jersey.
W. Frank James, of Michigan.
Charles C. Kearns, of Ohio.
Harold Knutson, of Minnesota.
Fred S. Purnell, of Indiana.

CLAIMS.

George W. Edmonds, of Pennsylvania.
Edward C. Little, of Kansas.
Daniel W. Comstock, of Indiana.
Henry A. Clark, of Pennsylvania.
George B. Francis, of New York.
Clifford Ireland, of Illinois.
Alvan T. Fuller, of Massachusetts.

WAR CLAIMS.

Benjamin K. Focht, of Pennsylvania.
Bertrand H. Snell, of New York.
Edward Cooper, of West Virginia.
Frederick N Zihlman, of Maryland.
Everett Sanders, of Indiana.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

William J. Cary, of Wisconsin.
Carl E. Mapes, of Michigan.
Benjamin K. Focht, of Pennsylvania.
Loren E. Wheeler, of Illinois.
Norman J. Gould, of New York.
George Holden Tinkham, of Massachusetts.
William E. Mason, of Illinois.
Benjamin L. Fairchild, of New York.
Stuart F. Reed, of West Virginia.

REVISION OF THE LAWS.

Merrill Moores, of Indiana.
George C. Scott, of Iowa.
Edward E. Denison, of Illinois.
Edward C. Little, of Kansas.

REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Frederick R. Lehlbach, of New Jersey.
Louis W. Fairfield, of Indiana.
Fiorello H. LaGuardia, of New York.
Niels Juul, of Illinois.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, ETC.

Carl E. Mapes, of Michigan.
Rollin B Sanford, of New York.
Medill McCormick, of Illinois.
Victor Heintz, of Ohio.
Joseph McLaughlin, of Pennsylvania.

ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Addison T. Smith, of Idaho.
Patrick D. Norton, of North Dakota.
Frederick R. Lehlbach, of New Jersey.

IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS.

Moses P. Kinkaid, of Nebraska.
E. E. Roberts, of Nevada.
Nicholas J. Sinnott, of Oregon.
Merrill Moores, of Indiana.
Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota.
Edward C. Little, of Kansas.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

Everis A. Hayes, of California.
Albert Johnson, of Washington.
Caleb Powers, of Kentucky.
Jacob E. Meeker, of Missouri.
Isaac Siegel, of New York.
Harold Knutson, of Minnesota.

EXPENDITURES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

George Holden Tinkham, of Massachusetts.
Charles A. Nichols, of Michigan.
Medill McCormick, of Illinois.

EXPENDITURES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Henry W. Temple, of Pennsylvania.
Mahlon M. Garland, of Pennsylvania.
George M. Bowers, of West Virginia.

EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

Luther W. Mott, of New York.
William J. Graham, of Illinois.
Daniel W. Comstock, of Indiana.

EXPENDITURES IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

George Edmund Foss, of Illinois.
Reuben L. Haskell, of New York.
Joseph McLaughlin, of Pennsylvania.

EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Harry H. Pratt, of New York.
Victor Heintz, of Ohio.
George B. Francis, of New York.

EXPENDITURES IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

Aaron S. Kreider, of Pennsylvania.
Fred S. Purnell, of Indiana.
Alvan T. Fuller, of Massachusetts.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Stephen G. Porter, of Pennsylvania.
Louis C. Cramton, of Michigan.
Wallace H. White, jr., of Maine.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Cassius C. Dowell, of Iowa.
Albert H. Vestal, of Indiana.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

Thomas S. Williams, of Illinois.
Norman J. Gould, of New York.
Nathan L. Strong, of Pennsylvania.

EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Niels Juul, of Illinois.
Fiorello H. La Guardia, of New York.
Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota.

EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Edward E. Robbins, of Pennsylvania.
Oscar E. Bland, of Indiana.
Gilbert A. Currie, of Michigan.

RULES.

William R. Wood, of Indiana.
Bertrand H. Snell, of New York.

ACCOUNTS.

Louis B. Goodall, of Maine.
Clifford Ireland, of Illinois.
Thomas W. Templeton, of Pennsylvania.

MILEAGE.

William H. Carter, of Massachusetts.

THE CENSUS.

Charles A. Nichols, of Michigan.
John R. K. Scott, of Pennsylvania.
Isaac Siegel, of New York.
John F. Miller, of Washington.
Niels Juul, of Illinois.
Louis W. Fairfield, of Indiana.
Ira G. Hersey, of Maine.

THE LIBRARY.

Edward W. Gray, of New Jersey.
Norman J. Gould, of New York.

ENROLLED BILLS.

William R. Wood, of Indiana.
John R. Ramsey, of New Jersey.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND EXPOSITIONS.

Frank P. Woods, of Iowa.
Harry H. Pratt, of New York.
Charles A. Nichols, of Michigan.
Oscar E. Bland, of Indiana.
Thomas W. Templeton, of Pennsylvania.

ROADS.

Thomas B. Dunn, of New York.
Edward E. Browne, of Wisconsin.
Sam R. Sells, of Tennessee.
Thomas S. Williams, of Illinois.
Charles H. Rowland, of Pennsylvania.
Edward E. Robbins, of Pennsylvania.
Milton Kraus, of Indiana.
Gilbert A. Currie, of Michigan.
John R. Ramsey, of New Jersey.

FLOOD CONTROL.

William A. Rodenberg, of Illinois.
Charles F. Curry, of California.
Charles C. Kearns, of Ohio.
James W. Husted, of New York.
Jacob E. Meeker, of Missouri.
William J. Graham, of Illinois.

The SPEAKER. Are there any other nominations? If not, the Chair will put the question. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] for the election of the list of nominees just read.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I move the election of the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. KALANIANAOLE] to the Committees on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, Agriculture, Military Affairs, and Territories.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 61.

Resolved, That the Hon. CARL C. VAN DYKE, of Minnesota, and the Hon. HERBERT J. DRANE, of Florida, be, and are hereby, elected members of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that the Democratic membership of such committee be constituted as follows:

BEN JOHNSON (chairman), of Kentucky.
ROBERT CROSSER, of Ohio.
JAMES A. HAMILL, of New Jersey.
J. WILLIAM RAGSDALE, of South Carolina.
BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD, of Colorado.
CARL C. VAN DYKE, of Minnesota.
ANDREW R. BRODBECK, of Pennsylvania.
CHRISTOPHER D. SULLIVAN, of New York.

MILTON A. ROMJUE, of Missouri.
ALBERT F. POLK, of Delaware.
J. J. MANSFIELD, of Texas.
HERBERT J. DRANE, of Florida.

2. That the Hon. THOMAS F. SMITH, of New York, be, and is hereby, elected a member of the Committees on Banking and Currency and Foreign Affairs.

3. That the Hon. CHARLES A. SULZER, Delegate from Alaska, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the Committees on Mines and Mining, the Public Lands, the Territories, and the Post Office and Post Roads.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN].

The motion was agreed to.

REQUESTS FOR EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a statement prepared by the Department of Agriculture on the sweet potato and its uses.

Mr. DOWELL. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa objects.

Mr. PARK. Will not the gentleman from Iowa reserve his objection?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman objects.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD in regard to the revenue.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in regard to the revenue. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa objects.

RENT OF BUILDINGS, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The SPEAKER. The last Agricultural appropriation bill contains this proviso about the rent of buildings for the Department of Agriculture:

Provided That a joint committee to be composed of three Members of the Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate, and three Members of the House, appointed by the Speaker of the House, is hereby constituted, who shall investigate the amount of floor space required by the Department of Agriculture for its various activities in the city of Washington, the annual rental now paid by the department, the land available for the erection of Government-owned buildings to meet the needs of the department, together with the cost of erecting the same, and report to Congress not later than the first Monday in December, 1917.

The Chair appoints the following committee: Mr. LEVER, Mr. LEE of Georgia, and Mr. HAUGEN.

EMERGENCY BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House bill 2762, with Senate amendments, and move that the House disagree to the amendments of the Senate and agree to a conference. It is the bond bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves to take from the Speaker's table House bill 2762, the bond bill, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as conferees on the part of the House Mr. KITCHIN, Mr. RAINEY, Mr. DIXON, Mr. FORDNEY, and Mr. GARDNER.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. FOSTER, by unanimous consent, was granted leave to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, the papers in the case of George W. Irvin, no adverse report having been made thereon.

Mr. BUTLER, by unanimous consent, was granted leave to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, the papers in the case of Harry M. Batty, pension bill No. 9719, Sixty-fourth Congress, no adverse report having been made thereon.

ADDITIONAL CAPITOL POLICE.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 30, for the employment of 50 additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.

Mr. SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of Senate joint resolution 30, which the Clerk will report.

Mr. SANFORD. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York objects.

Mr. PARK. I move, Mr. Speaker, to suspend the rules and pass the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Not to-day. That can only be done on the first and third Mondays.

CALL OF COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the committees.

The Clerk proceeded with the call of committees.

ENLISTMENT OF CERTAIN FOREIGN SUBJECTS.

Mr. WEBB (when the Committee on the Judiciary was called). Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up the bill H. R. 2893, reported from the Committee on the Judiciary.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 10 of chapter 2 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 10. Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people as a soldier or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years: *Provided,* That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war."

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, most Members will remember that this is the same bill we had up Saturday under a request for unanimous consent. The bill simply gives the right to that group of countries known as the entente allies to send their recruiting officers to this country to enlist by voluntary action citizens or subjects of the allied countries. That is all the bill does, gentlemen.

At the end of the proviso I am going to ask the House to adopt an amendment, which was suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], to make it perfectly plain that these recruiting officers shall not recruit any American citizens.

Mr. MANN. If the gentleman will yield, I have prepared an amendment in place of the one which I suggested to the gentleman before, and, while it has more words in it than I would like and more repetition of words, it clearly provides that only citizens of foreign countries engaged in war with countries with which we are engaged in war may enlist or solicit the enlistment of citizens or subjects of foreign countries engaged in war with countries with which we are at war. Unless the gentleman from North Carolina objects to the length of it I would like to have the new language of the bill read this way:

Provided, That this section shall not apply to any citizen or subject of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war who enlists or enters himself in the service of any foreign country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war, or who hires or engages another person who is a citizen or subject of a foreign country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war, to enlist or enter himself to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of a foreign country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war.

Mr. WEBB. I like the amendment which I am going to propose better than I do that one, because the amendment I propose is much shorter and clearer, and I think the House can understand it better.

Mr. MANN. The objection was raised the other day that the bill did not confine enlistments to the foreign nationals of those countries engaged in war with Germany. That was practically it. This removes the two limitations that now exist in the law. One is forbidding a person to enlist for military service under a foreign country, and the other is to forbid a foreigner soliciting enlistment for any purpose in this country. The language I have suggested would permit any citizen or subject of any of the countries now at war with Germany to enlist. That is the first proposition. The second is that it would permit a citizen or subject of any of those countries to solicit here or hire here any person who is a citizen of one of those countries to enter the service of one of those countries. The amendment I have now suggested would not permit an Italian, for instance, to solicit a Mexican to go to war. That is a mere illustration.

Mr. WEBB. The amendment which I will present would prevent that also. There is nothing in this bill that permits a Mexican to recruit a Jap, or vice versa, because the solicitation must be among the citizens or subjects of one of the allied countries, and only those.

Mr. MANN. I think not.

Mr. WEBB. I think it is perfectly clear that that is the meaning of the bill.

Mr. MANN. I think the gentleman's amendment would permit a recruiting officer to come here and solicit the enlistment of anybody who was not a citizen of the United States.

Mr. WEBB. I do not think so.

Mr. MANN. I know it does. I drew that amendment——

Mr. WEBB. I think the bill confines recruiting to citizens or subjects of the allied countries absolutely.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I want to ask the chairman of the committee what he thinks would become of the foreign-born seamen who have been registered under our new seaman's law if we pass an act like this—seamen whom we have obtained with great difficulty?

Mr. WEBB. I imagine they will remain seamen just like they are now, unless they *want* to go and fight for their own countries.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I imagine they will be enlisted with their own countrymen.

Mr. WEBB. I have no objection to that, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. What will we do for seamen to man the ships we are building?

Mr. WEBB. There ought to be no objection to their going and fighting for their own countries.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Would the gentleman have them enlisted in a language we do not understand, under methods of which we do not approve in this country?

Mr. WEBB. We do approve of them.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Well, we do not.

Mr. LITTLE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. LITTLE. Your bill excepts from its provisions citizens of England and France?

Mr. WEBB. Of all allied countries.

Mr. LITTLE. They would not be punished for evading this law?

Mr. WEBB. There is no evasion. We authorize them to enlist their own citizens.

Mr. LITTLE. If Carranza or any Mexican leader should employ a Frenchman to enlist Englishmen to fight in Mexico, and he should start for El Paso with them, there is nothing under your bill to prevent it. Carranza or any Mexican leader can employ a Russian, an Englishman, or a Frenchman to raise as many men as he wants—citizens of other countries—to go down there and filibuster, and if it was Villa, for instance, he might raid this country with them. I am inclined to vote for the gentleman's bill. I think it is a meritorious bill, but there is a flaw there that I think the gentleman ought to correct. We ought to make a provision that none of the men excepted from this bill could recruit men for any war except the war that their country is engaged in. Why can not the gentleman do that?

Mr. WEBB. I think that would be covered by the present filibustering law. And, further than that, I think it improbable that an Englishman would come here to enlist Frenchmen to go down to fight in Mexico, or a Frenchman would enlist Englishmen to go down and fight in Mexico.

Mr. LITTLE. The filibustering law will not cover it, because you have expressly excepted from punishment those who engage in just that sort of thing.

Mr. WEBB. I do not think it would happen.

Mr. LITTLE. Of course it could happen.

Mr. WEBB. I think it would be hard to recruit a Frenchman to go and fight in Mexico when his own country is at war. Most Frenchmen have already gone to fight in France.

Mr. LITTLE. The world is full of soldiers of fortune, who will fight for anybody for money, and there is plenty of money in Mexico to employ them.

The gentleman says it could not happen.

Mr. WEBB. If that is so, they could go there to-day; there is nothing to keep them from going to Mexico.

Mr. LITTLE. But you have a law against recruiting here.

Mr. WEBB. Recruiting them; yes; but not to keep them from going if they want to.

Mr. LITTLE. There are not only thousands of soldiers in this country, but plenty of men that would be glad to have a job recruiting troops. The gentleman says it could not happen; and what is the use of having a law for that which may not happen? Murder may not happen, but still you have a law against it.

Mr. WEBB. The man who undertakes that sort of a game in this country will not get very far with it.

Mr. LITTLE. He will get as far as Mexico.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. I would like to ask the gentleman if he or his committee have heretofore considered the objections made by the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. LITTLE. I ask it because when the matter was submitted on Saturday I thought those objections were not valid, but on a more thorough consideration I think the bill ought to be amended in accordance with those suggestions.

Mr. WEBB. The suggestions are so extremely improbable and practically impossible that it is not worth while to put such provisions in the bill.

Mr. McCORMICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. McCORMICK. Has the gentleman considered the question of a provision in the bill that such enlistments shall be under conditions prescribed by the War Department?

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. McCORMICK. Would it not be worth considering to take care of many of these objections?

Mr. WEBB. For the present we think the allied officials ought to use their own enlistment methods among their own citizens. It might become good policy later on for us to do as other countries have done and arrest, if necessary, all of the allies' subjects in this country subject to military age and turn them over to their respective countries. That is what was done in Europe, but we are not asking that now.

Mr. McCORMICK. It is evident that the House wishes to permit the allied Governments to solicit the enlistment of these nationals. There are many Members of the House who wish to protect foreign nationals in this country from misrepresentation or undue pressure and protect this country from the enlistment of such nationals for service in Mexico, as has been suggested. We can come to an agreement, perhaps without a division, which will safeguard the enlistment of European nationals in this country without any let or hindrance.

Mr. WEBB. I will say this to my friend: That any foreigner of the allied countries living in the United States who does not think enough of his own country to go back and fight for it ought at least to allow the officers of his country to come and appeal to him. It may be necessary later to send him back to his country.

Mr. McCORMICK. I do not say that the appeal ought not to be made, but there are settlements of foreigners in this country where an appeal might amount to duress; and unless we are willing to say explicitly that we are willing to permit the conscription of nationals of a foreign power we ought to provide for their protection from misrepresentation or duress.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. I would like to ask the gentleman a question which seems to me affects a great many of us. There are tens of thousands of Americans serving with the Canadian Army in France. There are hundreds of Americans serving under France or Great Britain as aviators. Under this statute every one of them seems to be subject to imprisonment for having enlisted in a foreign country. If we are going to amend the statute at all, we ought to take care of these men. Does not the gentleman propose to make some amendment which would except them from the statute?

Mr. WEBB. There is nothing to prohibit a man from going into Canada and enlisting as far as I know. He has a right to go voluntarily. There is nothing in section 10 which makes it a crime for a native of this country to go up there and enlist.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. The gentleman means that he can go of his own motion if no one asks him.

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADDEN. The President sent a communication to the American people a few days ago calling attention to the importance of everybody doing everything that they can in the producing line, and especially called attention to the fact that we should not neglect to promote the food supply. It seems to me that we ought to take into account the importance of keeping these men in this country to help raise the food that we need to eat during the war we are engaged in and ought not to permit any foreign Government to come here and take people out of this country when we need them here to do the work in civil life. It is more important that we should raise the food the American people need during this war and that they should aid in the manufactures we need by the men who are in this country regardless of whether they are American citizens or not. We should not allow foreign nations now at war to come here and enlist their nationals, and for one I am opposed to anything that will embarrass the situation that is confronting us, which demands the employment of every man now here to do the things that are necessary to be done to feed the American people during the war.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield to me to ask a question of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. WEBB. I yield.

Mr. DYER. I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois if he does not think it is better to allow the foreign governments to come here and enlist their men to go and help fight than to have our fellows go there and fight?

Mr. MADDEN. I am assuming that our men will go and fight anyway. What I am opposed to is taking the men away from the civil activities of the United States where we need them to work.

Mr. DYER. Do not we have to take our men and send them?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; we do; and we will take our men and others, too; but we ought not to destroy the factories and the farms.

Mr. DYER. It is better to take the aliens than our own men.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the gentleman from Illinois, I want to say that I think very few of these foreigners who will probably enlist are working on the farms. If they are not working on the farms, the United States Government would have no power to conscript them and make them work on the farms, because they would not be subject to our conscription laws, being foreigners. In the next place, the farming foreigner will not be the one caught by this bill, and in that connection I desire to read what the New York Evening World said on the 13th of this month about this very thing:

> The Broadway brigade of British slackers is in imminent danger of being asked to fight for their own country. A bill was introduced in Congress to-day by Chairman WEBB permitting European allies to recruit their own subjects in this country. They can not be conscripted, the State Department says. Broadway theaters and clubs, uptown riding academies, and suburban golf links will be a fruitful field for these recruiting officers.

I do not think many of these fellows are working on the farms, and I do not think these enlistments will cover many farmers. It is better to let the allies come here and enlist their citizens and leave our American boys on the farms as long as possible, because we can not make them work under conscription laws.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Perhaps there are thousands of foreigners here now who have made application for citizenship—filed their first papers. Does the gentleman not think that they should be exempted from being solicited to enter the European war, because of the fact that later on they may become citizens here, and if we pass a conscription act we may draft them into our own Army?

Mr. WEBB. No. The present laws or the rules of the Army permit foreign citizens who have taken out their first papers to enlist in our Army. If such a man is of military age, he can take his choice. He can enlist in our Army and become a fighter under the flag of this country or he can join his own forces in a foreign land.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. CRAMTON. I understand the gentleman to say that there is nothing in this bill that would permit a foreign Government to use duress in forcing their nationals to enlist. That is true, is it not?

Mr. WEBB. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CRAMTON. And, if it is true, what is there in the bill that will make it possible or will accomplish the enlistment of the English slackers to which the editorial the gentleman just read referred, who are now in the riding clubs and the theaters?

Mr. WEBB. I will say this: I do not think this enlisting law will get those slackers, but a little later we may pass a law that will put them in the army of their country, where they ought to be.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. JAMES. We have broken off diplomatic relations with Austria-Hungary, but we have not declared war upon that country. How will this affect the natives of Austria-Hungary?

Mr. WEBB. Living in this country?

Mr. JAMES. Yes.

Mr. WEBB. They would stay where they are. If they are not interned, they will stay where they are.

Mr. JAMES. Could they be enlisted under this?

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. JAMES. You merely speak of the countries who are at war?

Mr. WEBB. An Austro-Hungarian could not be enlisted under this, or a Bohemian.

Mr. JAMES. But he used only the word "war." This confines it to the allied countries and their nationals.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. I desire to call the gentleman's attention to this fact: It is important not only upon the farm, but upon the railway and in the mine that we should keep the labor that is willing to work in the mine and on the railroad and on the farm. Great quantities of laborers from the South, colored people, are coming North to work in the mines and on the railways because immigration from abroad has been cut off. The farmer boy will not tamp the ties, nor will the city boy. They will not work in the mines to get the coal that is to be mined. We are short on this labor.

It seems to me that we better let this matter alone and not pass this bill, for the reason that the English slacker of whom the Evening World speaks is not in the mines, nor is he tamping the ties. We have taken a great contract, and have appropriated $7,000,000,000 already, and we are to feed our allies. It seems to me that as to this labor which is absolutely necessary for the railway and the mines it would be better to keep them here than to send them somewhere else.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, in answer to the gentleman from Illinois I desire to say that he has made his entire argument upon the idea that we are authorizing these foreign countries to come here and conscript their citizens. There is nothing in this bill that permits the conscripting of a man working upon the railroad or anywhere else. So far it is confined absolutely to the man's voluntary act. If these foreigners can come here and persuade their citizens and subjects that their country needs them, and that it is their patriotic duty to go and fight for their country and enlist them under these circumstances, then I still maintain that they not only ought to be permitted to do so, but, so far as I am concerned, these men ought to be made to go before the boys of this country are required to go. [Applause.]

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, let me see if I understand. If this bill becomes a law, it will do no more than this: It will enable the foreign countries, our allies at this time, to come into this country and persuade their subjects to go to Europe and fight.

Why did not the gentleman authorize them to come here and take them? Does the gentleman believe persuasion will do any good now?

Mr. WEBB. It will not hurt anything.

Mr. BUTLER. We are not after that which does not hurt, but after that which is effective. Why does not the gentleman authorize these people to come and take the slow people? We will probably have to take the slow people.

Mr. WEBB. I will tell the gentleman the reason why. This bill was requested by the President and the Attorney General, who said it was a very important matter, and even last night——

Mr. BUTLER. Oh, I am persuaded to vote for it.

Mr. WEBB. Secretary Lansing sent me word that he hoped the House would pass it with the greatest dispatch and give the system an opportunity to be tried and——

Mr. BUTLER. I do not think it goes far enough.

Mr. WEBB. We will probably go further later.

Mr. TEMPLE, Mr. FAIRFIELD, and Mr. MILLER of Minnesota rose.

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. TEMPLE].

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to inquire whether the gentleman can give information to the House on the point I am about to mention. In providing that foreign countries which are at war with a country with which we are at war may come here and enlist their nationals, I should like to know whether those countries have a voluntary-enlistment law or a compulsory-service law? Does Italy raise armies by voluntary enlistment, does Russia, does France, or do they have compulsory service? Now, is it our purpose to allow the agents of these Governments to come into our country and operate under the laws of their own countries? I do not know, but it is my impression that at least some of these countries have no volunteer system. Is it our purpose to have them come in here and operate under the laws that are in force now in their own countries? If so, there is probable trouble ahead of us.

To illustrate: In western Pennsylvania there are a great many thousands of foreigners. In the district I represent there were, according to the census of 1910, about 90,000 men over 21. Of those men over 21, 38,000 were foreign born. A great many of them are not citizens of the United States; some have taken out their first papers. Our mines and our steel mills are partly dependent upon those men. A great many of them have been

called within the past two years by the consuls of the government of which they are subjects, and ordered as reservists to go and serve in the army of their country. Thousands responded, but many refused to go. Now, if under any system that we may adopt at the present time these governments were allowed to send recruiting agents here, what guaranty have we that there will be no representation that these reservists are required by the authorities of the United States to respond to the call? Also, in the case of men who once refused to respond to the call that came through the consulates and are now induced to go, what guaranty have they that they will not be punished for not responding to the previous call?

Mr. WEBB. One answer to the gentleman is, they want men too badly to be shooting them. They want to put them at the front, and if anybody shoots them let the enemy shoot them in warfare.

Mr. TEMPLE. There is also the somewhat troublesome question of double citizenship. Some countries have no naturalization treaties with the United States and when their subjects are naturalized in this country, under our laws they are American citizens, but under the law of their own country they are still citizens or subjects of that country. Now, when we authorize an agent to come over here and enlist those subjects, why not at least put language into the bill forbidding them to accept any that are our citizens under our law. I think the principle underlying the bill is a valuable one. It is certainly wise for us to make its intent as plain as we can.

Mr. WEBB. How can they be both citizens of the United States and subjects of a foreign country?

Mr. TEMPLE. Certainly.

Mr. WEBB. A man can not be.

Mr. TEMPLE. The State Department published more than a year ago a very plain discussion of that subject of dual citizenship, taking the ground that dual citizenship does exist. I ask the gentleman if he is not acquainted with that publication?

Mr. WEBB. There is nothing in this bill permitting a foreign agent to come over here and persuade and enlist a citizen who has become naturalized in the United States, and there would be no dual citizenship which would interfere with the workings of this bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. What about those who have taken out their first papers?

Mr. WEBB. They can voluntarily go——

Mr. STAFFORD. No; the foreign governments will have the right of conscription under this bill.

Mr. WEBB. Excuse me. There is nothing of conscription in this bill. That is where the gentlemen are all wrong. There is no authority, not a syllable under it, which permits conscription.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman's bill authorizes a foreign government to come into the territory of the United States and exercise their jurisdiction here in order to secure enlistments, and they can make misrepresentations of all sorts in order to induce them to go abroad. Before the gentleman concludes I hope that he will give me some time in opposition to this bill.

Mr. WEBB. I will say in a word——

Mr. FAIRFIELD and Mr. SABATH rose.

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. To no one at present.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I must decline to yield to anybody at present. Mr. Speaker, how much time has been used of my time?

The SPEAKER. Thirty minutes.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; I will yield to my friend.

Mr. DOWELL. Is it not true that some of the nations who are at war with Germany claim that the subjects of that country who have been naturalized here and are citizens of the United States are still subjects of that country?

Mr. WEBB. I think they claim it, but that does not make it so.

Mr. DOWELL. If that is claimed by these nations, does not this provision say to them that if he is a subject of that nation he may be taken under this law?

Mr. WEBB. If he is a citizen of this country, that sets aside any claim they might make. We apply the law of the United States.

Mr. DOWELL. Would the gentleman agree to an amendment that would protect citizens of the United States who have been naturalized?

Mr. WEBB. I can not understand why my friends here are so anxious to protect these foreigners who are in this country from going abroad to fight, but are willing to send American boys from the colleges and from the farms in the United States across the ocean to fight? [Applause.] We have a big job. I want to get all the foreigners we can get to go and fight. They may take the place of our own boys.

Mr. DOWELL. I will say to my friend that I favor permitting those countries to secure their own subjects, but I am not in favor of the other nations coming and getting citizens of the United States.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman yield to the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. I think perhaps all of us are scarcely conscious of the trouble that might ensue unless the bill is very much safeguarded. I do not——

Mr. WEBB. I hope my friend will ask the question. He can have time to make a speech a little later.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman intend to have any discussion on this bill?

Mr. FAIRFIELD. The gentleman agreed a little while ago that it was not significant so far as the farmers are concerned, and yet the beet industry in this country depends almost wholly on foreign labor. And as has been suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] the railroads and the factories, it seems to me——

Mr. WEBB. I regret that I can not yield to my friend for a speech.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman declines to yield for a speech.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield for an inquiry? The gentleman has an hour.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Do you think it is fair——

Mr. WEBB. I will have to decline to yield to the gentleman for a speech.

Mr. FAIRFIELD. I want to ask a question.

Mr. WEBB. I yield to my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE].

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I wanted to ask the gentleman from North Carolina if he intends to move the previous question at the expiration of an hour?

Mr. WEBB. No. This comes up on Calendar Wednesday, and each side has an hour of general debate, and then we will take it up for amendment under the five-minute rule.

Mr. MANN. There can be no five-minute rule except by unanimous consent.

Mr. WEBB. I intend to ask unanimous consent.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. This bill ought to be discussed, and I would like to have some time. It is not the purpose of the gentleman to move the previous question at the end of the hour?

Mr. FAIRFIELD. It is not my purpose to obstruct——

Mr. WEBB. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT].

Mr. LENROOT. I want to ask the gentleman whether there is any possible reason why he should not accept an amendment such as proposed by the gentleman from Illinois, providing this enlistment should be made under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War, reserving from enlistment those he may deem necessary for production in this country, and giving him full and complete authority over the subject?

Mr. WEBB. I am perfectly willing to leave it to the Secretary of War to make rules, but I am not willing to leave it to him to make exempted classes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is it the understanding of the gentleman from North Carolina that the Governments of the allied nations have not been recruiting in the past two years?

Mr. WEBB. I think every Frenchman of military age in the United States has gone to France to fight.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is it the understanding that 220,000 have returned since 1914?

Mr. WEBB. I understand that there are 220,000 who have not returned to their native country, Italy.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is it the gentleman's intention to get these aliens who have not yet responded? Is it the purpose of the gentlemen of the committee to introduce a bill compelling them to respond?

Mr. WEBB. I said that I was in favor of allowing it rather than sending our own boys. [Applause.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is there anything to prevent these alien subjects from being conscripted in the American Army?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What?

Mr. WEBB. They have not taken out their papers. They are not American citizens.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Because the gentleman is not aware of the fact that these men, if they return now, after completing their military service, are liable to punishment, although they have already lost their property.

Mr. WEBB. They are not liable to any punishment under this bill. If such a man wants to go and fight for Italy, he can do it. If he does not want to volunteer under this bill, he can stay where he is, unless we later turn him over to his Government.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I want to say that the Italian subjects are willing to fight without conscription so that when this war is over they may return here. On the other hand, if they return to Italy now and serve in the Italian Army they are liable to punishment for having formerly avoided military service.

Mr. WEBB. We may turn them over to Italy if they do not return voluntarily, but that has nothing to do with this bill.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Has the gentleman pointed out how it is possible to enlist a man under those circumstances?

Mr. WEBB. No; I am leaving that to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. An English conscripting officer can come here with a handful of shillings and——

Mr. WEBB. Yes; with all the money he pleases.

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from North Carolina yield to the gentleman from Oregon?

Mr. WEBB. Certainly.

Mr. SINNOTT. Does the gentleman understand from the bill that it permits only voluntary enlistments?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; that is the case.

Mr. SINNOTT. I want to call attention to this fact, that the verb "enlist" in this bill is both a transitive and an intransitive verb. Under the transitive interpretation of this word, this bill would permit the forcible taking of a subject of a foreign country.

Mr. WEBB. No; it would not.

Mr. SINNOTT. A man may enlist himself or he may enlist another person.

Mr. WEBB. But he must do that by peaceful and voluntary means.

Mr. SINNOTT. No; he can forcibly enlist another man.

Mr. WEBB. The gentleman will find by reference to the dictionary that the word "enlist" can only be voluntary in the sense in which it is used in this bill. I can enlist somebody, but such an enlistment must be voluntary on the part of the other person.

Mr. MANN. I think the gentleman from Oregon is correct about the verb; but the language of the law, in the intransitive sense, is "or hires or retains another person to enlist." So that it does not permit a forcible enlistment.

Mr. SINNOTT. Would it not permit an officer to enlist? For instance, if I was to enlist you I would enroll you.

Mr. MANN. This is to enlist when he enters himself.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MANN. I do not think this bill was very carefully drawn.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I desire to be recognized.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am for the present; yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. If any gentleman who is squarely against it wants to speak, the Chair will recognize him.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

The SPEAKER. How much?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. An hour, if I have time.

Mr. MANN. Let the gentleman simply yield to me for recognition.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Very well.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, the existing penal code forbids anyone within the United States to enlist for foreign military service. It also forbids anyone in the United States from soliciting, the language being "to hire or retain any other person to enlist for foreign military service." That is the law as it stands. I do not know to what extent the law has been violated. I think there have been some prosecutions.

Now, it is proposed by the amendment drafted by the Department of Justice to provide that this section of the penal code shall not apply either to individuals enlisting or as to recruiting officers soliciting other people to enlist when such persons are citizens or subjects of any of the other countries at war with Germany. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], in charge of the bill, has announced that he would offer an amendment adding to the limitation of authority in the bill that it should not authorize the enlistment of citizens of the United States.

Under that amendment and the provision of the bill, first, an Englishman here would be permitted to enlist without being subject to the penalty of the law; and, second, the English Government might have here an English recruiting officer who would have the right under the amended law to solicit the enlistment of anyone except an American citizen.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague yield for a question?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. I understood my colleague to say that the gentleman from North Carolina had prepared and was going to submit an amendment providing that American citizens could not be enlisted under this bill?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Ought it not also to include a provision as to persons who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States? It seems to me that when a person has declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, he has then declared in favor of the American flag and ought to be recognized.

Mr. MANN. Well, I doubt whether I fully agree with my colleague in reference to that. But this enlistment in either case is voluntary.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, may I ask my friend a question?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. I want to make a little statement first. I am not going to take much time. I promised to yield time. The enlistment is thoroughly voluntary. So far as the law is concerned, it is voluntary. No one is obliged to enlist under this law. Of course, a man who enlists and goes to Italy, and Italy claims that he is a citizen of Italy, while we claim that he is a citizen of the United States, he would be beyond the jurisdiction of the United States after he went abroad and might be punished there. Well, he does not need to enlist. If he does not enlist, and we pass the law that the President is asking for, he will be subject to conscription in the United States to go into the American Army.

Now, I have suggested an amendment. The gentleman from North Carolina very graciously stated that the amendment which he proposes to offer was drafted by me. That was for the purpose of preventing the foreign recruiting officers endeavoring to enlist citizens of the United States, because as the bill originally came to us the foreign recruiting officer would not be subject to any penalty for enlisting a citizen of the United States, though the citizen of the United States would be subject to the penalty, which would not be worth much if he got beyond the confines of the United States.

I drafted an amendment—hurriedly, and I have no pride in it—proposing to provide specifically that the foreign recruiting agent who comes here, say from England, shall have authority to recruit only Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians, Italians, or citizens or subjects of other countries engaged in war with Germany; that he shall not have permission to recruit anybody except the nationals of those countries engaged in war with Germany. While the language is a little verbose, because it requires the repetition of the same words in three different places, it covers the Mexican situation suggested by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. LITTLE]; and I have added to this amendment the provision suggested by my colleague from Chicago [Mr. MCCORMICK,] so as to provide for these enlistments under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. BURNETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BURNETT. If I understand it, the citizenship that is referred to is that of a foreigner who has acquired his final papers. Those having taken out only first papers could be enlisted, as suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

Mr. MANN. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BURNETT. Is it not true that in many States—Indiana, Texas, and others—a man who has taken out his first papers is, in the most essential qualifications, such as that of being a qualified elector, a citizen of the State? And would such a man be subject to enlistment under this bill?

Mr. MANN. Remember, it is voluntary.

Mr. BURNETT. Of course.

Mr. MANN. When this bill was first shown to me I gagged at it. But, after all, as a matter of broad policy we are engaged in war. We are going to do a good many things that we would not do in time of peace. We are going to raise an army of American citizens. That is inevitable. How that army will be

raised is yet a question. What will be done with it is yet a question; but I would prefer to provide by law permission for foreigners who came from countries now at war with Germany to go back to Europe and fight there the battles in which their former countries are specially interested, in preference to sending first our own boys over there. [Applause.] This merely gives an opportunity for such men to enlist without being subject to the penalty of the law. If they enlist now, or if one of them is now solicited to go abroad to fight in the Italian Army or the Russian Army, the man so enlisting is subject to a severe penalty, and the man soliciting his services is also subject to a severe penalty. That law may have been violated. Probably it has. I think we may justly remove the penalty and permit these men, if they want to do so, to go abroad and fight.

Mr. HULBERT. Will the gentleman yield for a brief question?

Mr. MANN. I will yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HULBERT. I understand the gentleman to say that citizens of other countries living here who do not volunteer could be conscripted into the American Army under the President's plan.

Mr. MANN. I understand so.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Before the gentleman yields back his time will he answer this question: An alien comes to this country and does not take out naturalization papers. After he comes to this country a son is born to him, who reaches the age of 21 years. If this act gave authority to conscript, would not that 21-year-old son, born in this country, be liable to conscription and be forced to go back to a country which he had never seen?

Mr. MANN. We do not authorize any conscription in this bill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I know; but assuming that it did authorize conscription, what would be the status of that American-born child?

Mr. MANN. A man born in the United States is a citizen of the United States, no matter what may be the nationality of his parents.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the Italian Government recognize that, and does it not insist that that 21-year-old son, born in the United States, is still subject to its jurisdiction and its sovereignty, and would it not insist that that 21-year-old American-born boy should go back to Italy?

Mr. MANN. I do not think so, but I do not know.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think that is the Italian law. I have asked the gentleman this question because the matter has been brought to my attention.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Can anything be done for those American-born boys who go to Europe and are there shot to pieces and are then sent back to the United States, and who are now detained at Ellis Island without any clothes or other comforts?

Mr. MANN. I do not know.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. There are cases of that kind.

Mr. MANN. I am not on the Immigration Committee, and I will leave that to gentlemen who are.

Mr. SIEGEL and Mr. FESS rose.

Mr. MANN. I do not want to answer too many questions. I will yield time to gentlemen if they desire it.

Mr. SABATH. Who has control of the time?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] has it on one side and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] on the other.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] all of my hour except 10 minutes, so that the gentleman from Illinois may control 50 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania yields to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] the remainder of his hour except 10 minutes, which he reserves for himself.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker this bill is a dangerous bill, and it ought to have the very careful consideration of the Representatives of the people. I have sworn in under the President, and I want to go along with the President on all his war measures, but I want to draw the line somewhere between civilization and barbarity, and I would like still to have left some reasoning power as a Member of this House. I do not wish to be carried off my feet because the galleries applaud, nor do I care to be swept from my position as an American Representative because it happens that many of the representatives of our allies are here urging certain things.

For generations we have encouraged foreign-born people to come to the United States, giving them the assurance that this was a haven from political and religious persecution. Men and women have come in good faith to avoid the persecution they suffered at the hands of foreign potentates, some of whom are our allies at the present time. Now, the proposition is that we shall open up our country to the military officers of foreign Governments, who shall station themselves here in our midst to recruit from among those who have come here to avoid persecution—Jews, Italians, Roumanians, Russians, British, including the Irish, and all others, except at the present time the Germans, who prior to this war were regarded as a very high class of immigrants.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Will the gentleman yield for an inquiry?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Will the gentleman state how the passage of this amendment would change the political or legal status of any citizen or subject of a foreign country now in this country?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes; I think the passage of this bill would have a very serious effect upon a large body of Jews who have come here to avoid Russian persecution and who, if shoulder straps appeared in their midst to persuade them to go back to Russia, would play havoc with a very large portion of our citizenship. If the gentleman wants to see the military officers of Russia enter the Jewish quarters of the United States and persuade these men and women, who are familiar with Russian outrages and who came here to avoid persecution, to go back he will understand the meaning of my statement that it does seriously affect the citizenship of the United States.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman realizes and understands that the conditions in Russia are different to-day than they have been heretofore, and that there are thousands of people who are willing to support Russian democracy. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I know that the morning papers announce that the present ambassador from Russia will decline to serve the present Government, because he believes in an autocratic government. I know that it is reported from the other side that overtures are being made by Germany to certain authorities in Russia to go back to the autocratic system. I do not know how permanent the revolution in Russia may be.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Briefly.

Mr. COX. Why have not these people taken out letters of naturalization?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman wants me to be frank——

Mr. COX. I do.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will say to the gentleman that I believe the alien who is most lax in taking out naturalization papers in the United States is not the Irishman, is not the German, is not the Italian, but the Britisher.

Mr. COX. That is the very reason we ought to send them back to their own country.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That may be; but I do not care to have the British shoulder straps marching in parade about the United States, inducing men to go over and fight with the British Army. I want to save these people for the Army of the United States and for the business that we have to do.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. DYER. Does not the gentleman think it is better for these men to be sent over there than it is for our boys to go?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I do; but our boys are not going over there until they are in a condition to go, and when they go they are going as an American Army to fight as Americans. I hold that this is an American war. [Applause.] The trouble with the gentleman and some others is that he wants to be influenced by the powers abroad more than he wants to maintain the independence or sovereignty of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. I was interested in the gentleman's anxiety that some Russian who is now in the United States might be persecuted by the Russian Government. I want to inquire if there is anything in this amendment which would permit any Russian officer or officer of a foreign government to compel anybody in the United States to join a foreign army?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is as generous in his question as I might be if I said that I heard a gentleman on his side the other day say that he would pledge 100,000 negroes from his own State to be in the first line of battle when the shooting began. It is a beautiful thing to send your wife's

relatives to the front. A great many people are now parading about with American flags and boasting of their patriotism who are ready and willing to "let George do the fighting."

Mr. BARKLEY. But the gentleman has not answered my question. I asked the gentleman to point out specifically anything that compelled anybody to fight with a foreign army. The gentleman's reference to 100,000 negroes does not answer my question.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. If we pass a law permitting pickets to picket a mill, would anybody go to work while the pickets are guarding it? Does the gentleman think that sending officers of the Imperial Army of Italy into the midst of Italian colonies in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago is going to induce people to come to them as flies would go to a molasses barrel? The gentleman does not care to answer a question of that kind.

Mr. BARKLEY. I have been as liberal in answering the gentleman's question as he was in answering mine.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. Is the gentleman opposed to letting these nationalities enlist in this country to go fight in their own country?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Not at all, if they want to go.

Mr. HARDY. Is not that all that this bill does?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The foreign consuls in the United States have solicited, so far as they had the power to do, all aliens to go back and fight for their countries, and many have gone back, as they ought to have done. I am perfectly willing that those who want to go back shall go, but I question whether we ought to set up a military establishment for foreign governments in this country to enlist aliens now working in our mines and otherwise serving a useful and necessary purpose here. I question whether we should permit the Russian Government, for instance, to maintain military officers here to induce Roumanians or Russian Jews who came here through fear of Russian oppression to go back. We can use these people here.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question right there?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I may be ready for conscription sooner than the gentleman from Kentucky is.

Mr. BARKLEY. Oh, no; the gentleman is not.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I am ready to take these aliens into the service of the United States. For the present we need them here.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi). The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope the House will not vote upon this bill until after full discussion and after full consideration. The bill needs amendment. It is imperfect. There is, I think, more behind it than we can see, or than is told to us. In my opinion, the fact that an effort was made to pass this bill late Saturday afternoon, after the passage of the great war bond issue, when so many of the Members were leaving, thinking that the day's work was done, and the fact that the printed report upon this bill was not available until yesterday, and the further fact that the report itself, not put in until after Saturday's action, is enough to make thinking Members know there is something concealed behind this measure.

I have heard that behind this is a scheme to gather up a lot of the very poorest Italians, Finnish people, Poles, and others and start them across the water with a great hullabaloo that America is sending troops into the trenches of France. Is that what is in it? Is not that a sort of mock patriotism and an evasion of America's real duty? Does anyone think that an imitation army of that kind will serve the purpose? A poor deluded gathering of "wops" and "bohunks."

Intelligent aliens will not be caught by this measure but will enlist with our armies. This bill, I think, should not have been pressed until after we have passed our own Army bill—volunteer or selective, whichever you please. Then, after these aliens have had a full free chance with us, if they fail, some scheme like this drafting or soliciting by foreign officers might be tried.

In the last six or seven years over 6,000,000 people have come to these United States. To become fully naturalized requires five years. Many have not had that full chance. In my part of the country are many Finnish people and Poles and Slavonians, and I believe that inasmuch as they came to the United States expecting to enjoy the very liberties that we are now going into battle for, that if they are going to fight, they should be permited to fight with us, as they have done and will do. Read the list of the men killed at Vera Cruz. All of them, with two or three exceptions, had foreign names. They were "first-paper" citizens, fighting with us. In 1812, when we had our difficulty with Great Britain, we made citizens immediately of British subjects who would fight with us. There is no need for such haste with this bill. The more you look at it the worse it seems, in my opinion. Let it be amended.

And, Mr. Speaker, I would like to see another bill pressed. I have received a letter from a German citizen who was within two months of his final papers, and owing to a delay in completing those papers, because he had been admitted as a seaman to follow his vocation instead of as an immigrant, he is now known as an alien enemy of the United States.

I think that, instead of passing a bill of the kind under consideration, which will breed trouble and discord in the United States, I assure you, it would be far better to introduce and pass a bill to let these patriotic Germans who will do so renew their oath of allegiance so that they may be known, not as alien enemies but as citizens of the United States, and let them fight with us, alongside of us, together with the very aliens this present measure endeavors to be impressed for our allies.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA]. Before he begins, I desire to know how much time I have remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Twenty-seven minutes, taking out the time of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my time may be extended for 30 minutes.

Mr. WEBB. How much time has the gentleman used already? Does the gentleman think that he will need an hour more?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois has 32 minutes remaining now, and the gentleman from North Carolina 20 minutes.

Mr. WEBB. That would make almost an hour. I will supplement that request by asking that the advocates of the bill be permitted to have 30 minutes additional, if they think it necessary at the end of that time.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I do not understand that the gentleman from Illinois is controlling the time of those who are opposed to the bill. For instance, he is going to give me some time, and I am heartily in favor of the bill.

Mr. MANN. I am controlling the time on this side of the House.

Mr. WEBB. I have no objection to the additional time; but we have some other bills here, and I hope the gentleman will help me to facilitate their passage.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from North Carolina and the time controlled by myself be extended each 30 minutes over the hour.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time be extended for 1 hour, 30 minutes of that time to be controlled by himself and 30 minutes by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB]. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, if this law, section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code, has been upon our statute books for the past two years, then I desire to say that it has been violated every day since 1914 by the representatives of foreign governments. We are now seeking to legalize these violations. When this bill came up on Saturday I was about to leave. I was surprised that an attempt should be made to force through the House in that manner such an important measure. Immediately after adjournment I took a train and went to New York to ascertain whether it was true, as the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] stated, that there were hundreds and thousands of alien subjects liable to military duty still here and that practically none had returned to their native countries to fight. I found that since 1914, 75,000 Italians have returned to Italy, and out of the 75,000 I venture the statement that at least 60 per cent returned under a misapprehension of the law.

The Italian consulates throughout the country advertised the summons and call to arms in the various Italian papers published in this country. We permitted them to do that. They went back. Well and good. The Italian law specifically provides that any subject who does not present himself at the time of the call shall lose whatever property he owns in the Kingdom, and provides further a heavy penalty of imprisonment if he returns after the completion of his military service at any time later than the day he is ordered to report.

Every Frenchman subject to call, I understand and have been reliably informed, has already returned and reported for duty. I can not understand the purpose of this bill. It is cer-

tainly not to apply to the subjects of the Italian Government or French Government, who have already returned. There is something else in it. We have been for the past two years advocating and encouraging allegiance to the American flag. We have said repeatedly that the residents of this country, regardless of citizenship, who have received the hospitality of a free country, who have had an opportunity to earn a livelihood here, owe undivided allegiance to the American flag, and yet here we are now encouraging a dual allegiance. We have heard on the floor of this House to-day talk about the duty they owed to their mother country. How inconsistent an attitude we now assume toward these aliens. They came here with the understanding they would be protected and here we are enacting a law which will be the handmaid of shanghaing these men back. I do not know how the gentleman from North Carolina could prevent the recruiting officers in a mining district or out in the farming districts from inducing these men through false pretenses to go aboard ship and shanghai them home. That is what is going to be done. I do not know whether the gentleman from North Carolina has considered the fact that we need these men here. We need them in the factories, we need them in the fields; they are working, and they are not on the golf links or in the riding clubs, as suggested by him, but they are working and producing all that which we need.

Before the Sixty-fifth Congress is over there will be a cry in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific to repeal that very obnoxious, unwise immigration law which was passed the last session. There will be a cry for men to work in the mines and elsewhere, and we will be compelled to lower the head tax on immigrants in order to get much-needed labor. Now, you are attempting to deplete these factories. You are taking these men away and forcing them back home. You call it a volunteer system. How can it be a volunteer system when these men are compelled to serve? Can you say to a man convicted of a crime that he can volunteer to serve his time? It is just as logical. I can vouch for the Italian residents of this country. They are eager, willing, and anxious to fight for this country, but they want to fight under the American flag. [Applause.] Do you know that the first soldier in the service of the American Government in this war who gave his life for his adopted country was an Italian. I refer to John E. Epolucci, a sailor of the arm squad on the steamer *Aztec*, who lost his life on April 2. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. I will.

Mr. WEBB. If these Italians are so anxious to fight under the American flag and have been here for years and years, why do they not become naturalized citizens when they could fight under the flag, and then they would not be liable to be solicited to go abroad?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. They do; and the answer to the question is on account of their limitations; because we have put such a severe test upon citizenship that those men who have been working in the mines and in the factories and elsewhere have been working day and half the night and have not had the opportunity to learn English and to fit themselves for citizenship.

Mr. WEBB. Under this bill they do not have to go back unless they want to.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Then, why the bill?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. President—Mr. Speaker, I hope I addressed the Chair not entirely without inspiration—if a young man who had a journey to make after nightfall should let his mind be continuously and completely filled with ghosts and hobgoblins and graveyards and murders, he probably would not get very far. Gentlemen who are opposed to this amendment, it seems to me, are paralyzing their capacity to act correctly by giving their thoughts entirely to ghosts and to hobgoblins. It seems to me that they are raising a bunch of ghosts that they may be scared of the law. It does not seem to me, Mr. Speaker, that this proposed amendment can possibly contain any of the bad things they speak of if this becomes a law. If I can understand the English language aright, it means that representatives of a foreign government can come to the United States and receive the enlistment, perhaps solicit the enlistment, of citizens of the country from which those representatives come. It only goes that far. It does not change the legal or the political status of a single alien in the United States.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Yes; for a brief question.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Why can not you then allow these men to volunteer if they want to go back to those countries? Why do you want to bring recruiting officers over here after them?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. They can volunteer, and this but permits things to be done in an orderly manner. I simply say that this bill goes no further than permitting those representatives to come and in a legitimate way arrange for receiving the enlistment of volunteers who are their own nationals. Whether they will come or not I do not know, but I am not scared of their coming.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Why should they want to come here?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If there are men in this country of military age, citizens of a foreign country, and their country, our ally, wants them to fight for their native land, why, let us give those nations a chance to appeal to their citizens and let us give those citizens a chance to enlist. Gentlemen are inclined to talk about the aliens that are in their districts and who are necessary for the conduct of the industries there. I do not believe any of them are more seriously situated than I am myself. The district from which I come mines 62 per cent of all the iron ore mined in the United States every year. That region is filled with representatives from those countries affected. I am not afraid of the application of this law at all. There has been from that region a migration to Europe ever since August, 1914, of men who have gone back to fight for their own country. There has been a continuous stream of them; in fact, about all have gone who will go and who want to go. Those who remained, in general, do not want to go and will not go. You can change this law a thousand times and you would not alter their determination, as far as the bulk of them are concerned.

They want to remain here, and if they do any fighting they will do it under the flag of this country. I am not afraid of the operation of the iron mines of Minnesota. I am not afraid of the operation of the munition factories of the United States. That is a ghost at which we do not need to be scared at all, nor need we be afraid of some representative of a foreign country coming to the United States and using duress to induce their fellow citizens to go back and fight. They can not practice duress under and amidst the free institutions of this Government.

Mr. LANGLEY. If it is true that all have gone that can go what will this amendment accomplish?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. It is not absolutely correct, perhaps, to say that all have gone who will go, but the great majority of those in my region have gone who will go, and I believe that is very generally true elsewhere; but there is no reason on earth why we should not let those go from now on who will want to go. Nor is there any reason why we should prohibit any representative of a foreign country telling their nationals that their place is at home. The appeal properly made will doubtless stir patriotism and induce some to go home to fight.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What is to prevent the aliens from returning now?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Nothing whatever.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Then why this amendment?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. This does not change their political or legal status a bit, as I have tried to emphasize a dozen times, but permits them to enlist here instead of going home to enlist and permits representatives of foreign countries to come here and in an orderly way accept the enlistments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. May I have one minute more, or is the time all gone?

Mr. MANN. It is all gone, but I will yield one minute to the gentleman.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. My friend from New York [Mr. LAGUARDIA] has grown very earnest about the Italians who have not returned, citizens of Italy, and whose property has been forfeited. This will not change their condition in life at all. Their property has been forfeited, not because this law exists or will exist, not because we are going to enact this law, but because they themselves did not go back to their country in accordance with the laws of that country. And Italy has no additional power under this to coerce or injure them or confiscate their property or take any action respecting them whatsoever. If they never want to be subjected to punishment by the Italian Government, let them stay here in this country, where they properly may, as they are here of their own free choice, and they need have no fear while here. Let them become citizens of the United States. One good thing this bill will do, and that is to induce many aliens residing here to perfect their citizenship in this country.

Mr. FOCHT. I would like to ask the gentleman a question on his own admission. You admitted that we need all of these men here for industrial purposes?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I did not admit that and I do not admit it.

Mr. FOCHT. You did not say we need them here. You did admit that they could be recruited and put into the American Army.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I will say this, that at a time like this, when the United States may be up against the most serious hour of her life, when she may have to strain every element of her strength to live, I would that every man in the United States was a citizen of the country. [Applause.] I would that every man in every factory owed allegiance to nobody but the Stars and Stripes. I would that every man in the mines were a citizen of the United States. There are people enough in the United States now who are idle and unemployed who can take the places of all these men who are apt to go, and I say for God's sake let them go if they prefer to remain citizens of their mother country rather than become citizens of our own.

Mr. FOCHT. You admit that they can go now unhampered and unhindered?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Absolutely.

Mr. FOCHT. We are right at the point now, and why is it necessary that we have this law now in order to have them go?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. This does not change that a bit—their ability to enlist in the mother country's service.

Mr. FOCHT. Why do you have to have that if they can already go?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. This does permit representatives from foreign countries to come and solicit them to go, and enables them to enlist here in America for service in Europe.

Mr. FOCHT. Why do you have to have the country overrun by foreign representatives? Why do they need this when they can go and have gone? Too many trees and too many woods, it seems to me, to answer that question.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If I have time I shall be pleased to answer the question as often as the gentleman asks it.

Mr. FOCHT. That is the question, and you have not answered it.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL].

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, let us remain cool and unexcited and carefully consider what we are discussing here to-day.

House bill 2893 is intended to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code. The amendment consists in the addition of the proviso "that this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war."

The existing statute has been in force for many years, and has been interpreted as applying to foreign consuls seeking to raise troops here for the military service of Great Britain. (7 Opinions of Attorney Generals, 367; 4 id., 336.) It has also been decided that it does not apply to those who go abroad for foreign enlistment or to those who transport such persons (United States *v.* Kazinski, 2 Sprague, 7), I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOCHT].

The evident intention of the existing law is to prohibit enlistment within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States for the purpose of going beyond its limits and jurisdiction for the purpose of entering into the service of a foreign government. The proviso declares that the section shall not apply to the citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war. In view of the fact that the present law refers not only to the enlistment of a person within the jurisdiction of the United States, but also to the hiring or retaining of another person to enlist himself, it would appear that, with this proviso, it would be proper for a citizen or subject of a country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war—as, for instance, Great Britain, or France, or Italy—to come into the United States and there to enlist citizens of the United States for service abroad.

What the framers of this proviso apparently had in mind was that the section should not apply to the enlistment of citizens or subjects of any country engaged in a war with a country with which the United States is at war. In other words, that the citizens or subjects of Russia, Italy, France, or Great Britain who should happen to be in the United States might enlist within our territory in the armies of those respective countries for the purpose of carrying on war with the central powers. That is an entirely distinct proposition from that of enlisting citizens of the United States in the armies of another country.

Under the general practice one who thus enlists in a foreign army must necessarily take an oath of allegiance to the government of whose army he becomes a part, and that would mean an abjuration of American citizenship.

Citizens born here, boys of Italian parentage, born here in the United States who have gone to Italy for study or travel, have been forcibly seized and put into the Italian Army, the contention of the Italian Government being that, once a citizen of Italy, whether by parentage or otherwise, a man and his children and their children remain citizens of Italy.

Now, that is a settled proposition. Any Member of this House calling up the Citizenship Bureau of the State Department will be so informed. I have handled a number of cases with the State Department, and it was at my request that special dispatches were sent to Ambassador Page at Rome, Italy, for the purpose of obtaining the release of some boys who were sent there to study and who were forcibly seized in that manner.

The trouble with this bill is that you are going to permit Italian officers and Russian officers and Roumanian recruiting officers to come to New York City and other large cities of this country and go amongst their countrymen and those who have taken out their first papers——

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. I wanted to ask the gentleman if we had not denied that contention as to citizens of a foreign country living in this country?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes. Several Secretaries of State have said so. Secretary Blaine said so, and the present able Secretary has said so. He has sent special dispatches to our ambassador to that effect. But here is the situation: You do not say in this bill whether this is to be in accordance with our laws and in accordance with the regulations of our Army and Navy. You simply use the word "enlistment."

Mr. BORLAND. We determine that.

Mr. SIEGEL. Not under the terms of this bill. Let me say that all the Americans that went abroad and enlisted over there are no longer American citizens. That proposition was fully considered and determined by Judge Ray in the case In re Griffin, Two hundred and thirty-seventh Federal Reporter, page 445, where it was held that a citizen of the United States who enlists in the army of a foreign country for over-sea service, making the necessary declarations, expatriates himself, and when he subsequently comes to this country he subjects himself to all of the provisions with respect to deportation contained in the immigration laws of the United States.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I want to ask the gentleman whether the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCCORMICK] and agreed to by his colleague from Illinois [Mr. MANN], giving the Secretary of War permission to prescribe certain rules under which this enlistment shall take place, will not obviate those difficulties?

Mr. SIEGEL. That would obviate them to a certain extent, provided that men who have taken out their first papers should not be considered as subjects or citizens of those countries abroad.

Mr. MCCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. SIEGEL. Yes.

Mr. MCCORMICK. The amendment reads in this way:

Provided further, That any enlistment or solicitation of enlistment under this section shall be under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. SIEGEL. That would answer, provided you use the words "voluntary enlistment of citizens of subjects of any country." You want to put in the word "voluntary" there. You want enlistments according to our statutes, and not in accordance with the statutes of the countries abroad. Some one in the Cabinet should have some supervision over these matters.

Now, the views of Judge Ray, in the case of In re Griffin, has been sustained in the Supreme Court in the case of MacKenzie against Hare, in Two hundred and thirty-ninth United States, page 299. Judge Ray held that such an oath of allegiance to a foreign government is effective, even if the consent of the United States is given.

At this time, when our country is at war, it would be most extraordinary if we should permit American citizens to abjure their allegiance, even though it be for the purpose of entering into the army of a nation which is also at war with the central powers. Would it not interfere with our own public policy, whether our Army is to be recruited from volunteers or by

universal conscription? Potentially every American citizen may be called upon, should the emergency arise, to serve our country in its own armies, rather than a foreign country. It is therefore important that, for the purpose of preventing serious harm to our country, there should be added after the word "to" in line 1 of page 2, the words "the enlistment of." That would prevent the enlistment within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States of American citizens or subjects for service in a foreign army.

But even if the bill were thus amended, it would still be subject to an objection which may be a serious one. It would permit the officers of a foreign government to come to the United States and there enlist aliens residing here, upon whose industry our country may largely depend. Thus, for instance, it might permit the enlistment of men engaged in the construction of important public works—the New York subway, for example; or men engaged in agricultural pursuits, who, under existing conditions, would perform a service to our country fully as important as that of enlistment in our own Army, to say nothing of foreign armies. At this time there is a dearth of labor; immigration has been cut off. If these industrial factors can thus be taken from us, might we not sustain a grievous injury?

It is further to be noted that even if the proviso were amended as above suggested, it would still apply to aliens who have taken out their first papers and who intend to become citizens of the United States. By abjuring allegiance to the country from which they came they have indicated their purpose to become American citizens. Is it proper that they should under the circumstances be permitted to enlist in a foreign army? [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. SIEGEL. I ask leave, Mr. Speaker, to extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the gentleman's request?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that there ought to be just one test applied to all these war measures, and that test is, What policy will best aid the United States in winning this war in the shortest possible time? [Applause.]

I think upon all these questions we should endeavor to measure these bills by that test, and so measuring this bill I believe that there are many citizens and subjects of foreign governments who can best help the United States in this war for our country, and their own country as well, by going abroad to fight, and that as to those citizens every encouragement should be offered, such as is proposed in this bill. But, applying that test, there ought to be limitations as to any power that is granted in this bill. I think we will all agree that there are foreigners in the United States to-day who can best serve the United States in winning this war by remaining here; and there ought to be power lodged somewhere to prevent the operation of this bill as to that class of citizens. For instance, we need every man in the United States who knows anything about shipbuilding to stay here in the building of ships. We need every seaman that is to-day serving upon an American ship to remain upon that American ship; every skilled worker in every munition factory ought to stay where he is. And so I might go on at some length, but in these three cases that I have mentioned it is of no benefit to the United States to permit those classes of foreigners to be taken out and be sent abroad to fight, requiring a year of training in Italy or in France or elsewhere, as the case may be, when, if they remained here, engaged in this very necessary and important work and production, they might not only shorten this war but they might do that which so many of us hope may be the case in consequence of this production—so shorten the war that it will not be necessary for a single American boy to go to a single European battle field. [Applause.]

Now, it has been suggested that that power be lodged in the Secretary of War to prohibit these foreigners from being solicited where he determines that the public welfare requires that they stay here. Why should not that be done? Whatever the military bill may provide, whether it be a conscription bill or a voluntary enlistment bill, I take it for granted that there will be certain exempted classes, determined either by Congress or by the President, where we will not take those exempted classes, if it is a conscription, or that will not permit voluntary enlistment, wherever it is determined that the exempted classes can best serve the United States by remaining where they are; and if we are to apply that principle to our own citizens, why should we not apply it to those foreigners who are now within our borders?

If they can best serve the United States in winning this war by staying here, we ought not to permit anybody to solicit them to go abroad and fight.

Mr. REAVIS. If we apply that principle, and are to conscript for trench warfare in Europe the youth of America who can be spared from productive business, why not conscript these foreigners in the same way?

Mr. LENROOT. That may be; but if they are willing within within the next 30 or 60 days, through this recruiting, to get ready to fight and help us win this war over there, why not permit them to do it under this bill? Why wait for conscription?

Mr. HARDY. Does the gentleman believe we have the right to conscript foreigners in our country?

Mr. LENROOT. I could not discuss that at this time.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER].

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, the men who are covered in this bill owe an allegiance to some government. Either they owe a duty to the government of which they are citizens, or they owe a duty to the Government of the United States. Under this bill we will give them an opportunity to say whether or not they prefer the government of which they are citizens to the Government of the United States. If they prefer to fight under the colors of their own country they will be given the opportunity to enlist. Officers from their armies in Europe will be here to explain how they can enlist, and to arrange for their transportation to the trenches of Europe. If they do not want to do that, then they can say, "We do not want to go. We prefer to stay in the United States." Then there may be a law passed here which will authorize the President to conscript those very men into the Army of the United States, and when that is done they can not say that they do not want to fight under the colors of the United States because they are citizens of Italy, or of Great Britain, or of some other country which is at war with Germany. They must do their duty somewhere. We are in this war. We are fighting with these allied countries. We may say we are not, but we are fighting the Imperial German Government to bring it to terms, and the people are all interested in this matter; and if they are here in this country enjoying its privileges and opportunities, and have not sought or obtained citizenship, they must owe a duty to their own country, and if they do not take advantage of the opportunity to go and fight for their country, then they must not be given the opportunity to deny that they will fight for the United States. That is the question that is before us.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DYER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. REED. I am in favor of most of the provisions of this bill, but I would like to ask the gentleman a question. I would also like the attention of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB].

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman ask his question?

Mr. REED. Where is the inspiration for this legislation? Does it come from our State Department or our War Department, or has England, Germany, or France, or some other country, through its diplomatic agents, asked for the enactment of this law?

Mr. DYER. I will answer the gentleman's question. I am a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, and so far as I know this bill is reported favorably without opposition. Am I right about that?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. DYER. The committee has made a unanimous report. I will say to the House that our committee has been urged by the President of the United States to pass this bill.

Mr. REED. Has the President been asked by the representatives of foreign governments to obtain its passage? I merely wish to know if those governments have found their methods operating through their consuls inefficient and want our cooperation?

Mr. DYER. I do not know upon what information the request was made to the Judiciary Committee by the President of the United States. He made the request, and that was supplemented further by the request of the Secretary of State, and also by the request of the Attorney General of the United States, and upon the requests of those three men, and upon the justice of this measure I am ready here to take my stand and support it with my voice and my vote, believing it to be my duty to my own country, the country that we ought to be willing and anxious to serve in this hour, and my duty to the American flag. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] five minutes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, those who seek to amend this bill to protect the rights of citizens and subjects of foreign countries can not be put in a false attitude by being charged as unfaithful to the trust imposed upon them to conserve the interests of our country. For the first time in the history of the Government this bill seeks to allow the representatives of foreign governments to exercise the sovereignty of those foreign governments on the territory of the United States without any control whatsoever by any department of the Government.

Mr. SHERLEY. What control or sovereignty is there where you can not compel a man to enlist and where he does so voluntarily?

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, well, if there is any purpose in this bill we well know that the foreign recruiting officers will by representations try to induce men to enlist when by voluntary action they would not. Otherwise the chairman of the committee reporting this bill would be willing to accept the most reasonable amendment proposed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCCORMICK] to supervise the enlistment under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe. I ask the gentleman what objection can there be to having the work of these foreign enlisting officers supervised by your own Secretary of War, or are you going to allow them carte blanche to come into this country, establish recruiting stations here, and placard our streets as they placard the streets of their own countries with posters, "Stand by the King"; "Stand by the Czar"; "The King needs you"?

Ah, gentlemen, there is something more to be considered than merely providing authority that these foreigners may be given permission to go and fight for their respective countries.

There is the question of the feelings of our own people. We know, and we can not disguise it, that there has been in this country descendants of citizens of foreign countries who have sympathized with the Government now our enemy, but those descendants have put aside their sympathies since our country has declared war and have declared that they are now first, last, and all the time for this country. Are you willing, in view of their past sympathy, to allow the flags of foreign governments to be flaunted in their faces and have posted throughout our cities placards with "Stand by your king; stand by your foreign land"? I say that we should place in this bill such a reasonable amendment so that if the foreign officers usurp their privileges the Secretary of War, or some officer of the Government, will be able to keep them within proper limits of recruiting, and not allow them to exercise a power so drastic that would compel ignorant foreigners to enlist without knowing the full consequences.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STAFFORD. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does not the gentleman think that all voluntary enlistments could be had through the foreign consuls?

Mr. STAFFORD. There is no serious contest here against permitting the citizens of foreign countries to enlist if they are willing. The opposition that has developed here to-day generally has been to the exercise or the abuse of those privileges that are sought to be vested in foreign recruiting officers by this bill. We have no right to assume, when the chairman of the committee declines any amendment such as was suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCCORMICK], that they want to grant to these officials of foreign Governments carte blanche to do that which they have no right to do. We are amending a law that has been on the statute books for more than a hundred years, one of the laws of neutrality that writers on international law have commended. There is no serious objection to allowing foreigners domiciled here to voluntarily enlist, but we should not surrender to foreign officers without proper safeguards the right to enlist their own nationals for foreign military service.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN].

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I am inclined to think that there is a good deal of unwisdom about this proposed legislation. I am inclined to believe that we ought to follow the recommendation of the President of the United States when he said to the American people a day or two ago that every person within the confines of America should keep themselves busy in such activity as will bring the best results to the Nation.

Now, I apprehend that among the things we need the most in a crisis like this is to keep the industries of the country going, to raise sufficient crops to feed the American people. We need the men in the coal mines, we need them in the copper mines, we need them on the railroads, we need them on the farm; and you can all say what you please about the importance of allowing men who have not become citizens of the United States to depart; I contend that it is only because of the fact that we have this class of men in the United States that our industries have been able to keep pace with the progress of the Nation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Is the gentleman aware of the fact that there are now proceeding across the Dominion of Canada 50,000 coolies from China, to be followed by another 50,000, to do the scullion work in France? That is how they are proposing to do their work; but Chinese are not permitted to come here.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; it has been suggested to me in numerous letters from Americans who are descendants of ancestors that first settled on American soil that the conditions of the country are such that it might be wise even now to allow Japanese and Chinese to come in and be distributed throughout the States of the Union in order to do the work that we ourselves find necessary to have done. I do not agree with them, but that is the sentiment which is growing continually from day to day.

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. HILL. I have not studied the bill, but I presume the gentleman has. The President of the United States advocates conscription, and I think we have got to come to it if the war lasts any length of time. Is there anything in the bill of a reciprocal nature so that in case we come to conscription we can go to the territory of a foreign Government and bring back our citizens in that territory?

Mr. MADDEN. There is nothing in the bill that gives the American Government any right to do that; it simply enlarges the rights of foreign countries.

Mr. HILL. In the Civil War a great many of our citizens went to Canada. If they go there now, there is nothing reciprocal in this bill which would allow us to bring them back.

Mr. MADDEN. No; you can not bring them back unless they pass laws in that country authorizing us to do what we are authorizing them to do now. I believe it is the right of these men to remain on American soil, and if the hour comes when conscription is needed we can conscript them whether they are nationals of some other country or American citizens. I believe we ought to preserve the right of every man who shows himself to be loyal to America to remain in America during this crisis so that we may be able to run our munition factories at full speed, so that we may run our railroads without interruption, and so that we may be able to maintain the tracks and roadbeds of the railroads over which our trains are run.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Is it true that this Government has the right to conscript the nationals of other nations that may be here?

Mr. MADDEN. I think so, though I am not a lawyer.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I wanted to know what the gentleman's authority was.

Mr. MADDEN. I stated that we have, and the information upon which I base that statement comes from men whom I believe to be the best constitutional lawyers in America.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Would it not be better to have this bill behind an Army draft bill?

Mr. MADDEN. It seems to me it would be.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. So as to give them a chance to get into the American Army first?

Mr. MADDEN. Surely.

Mr. LANGLEY. Is not the spirit of this bill in conflict with the President's appeal to the country the other day on the matter of increased production, because it will tend to decrease the power of the country to do what the President asks?

Mr. MADDEN. I think so. It is doing exactly the opposite of what the President of the United States has asked the American people to do.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. FAIRFIELD].

Mr. FAIRFIELD. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I do not believe that any Member of this body is opposed to any alien going out of the country to fight for his own country. This bill was presented on Saturday afternoon, very late. No man, or few, had any knowledge of its provisions save those of the committee that had drafted it. Few copies were available. The discussion that occurred then I think was for the purpose of clarifying the minds of the Members present. So

unusual a bill brought in at such a time, under such circumstances, seemed to require a little bit of discussion. I am not opposed to aliens going beyond seas who still in heart hold their allegiance to a foreign government, but there is a large body of Americans who, in heart at least, are loyal to this country to whom a great injury might be done. I do not rise to oppose the bill, but I do feel deeply the need of carefully safeguarding its provisions, so that men who have been here for 12 or 15 years, who have been negligent about taking out their first papers and have done so recently, who are yet loyal in heart to this country, many of them having participated in municipal and State and national affairs, many of them having voted again and again, may not have pressure brought upon them which would make it very difficult for them or cause dissension in many communities.

If the principle of selective conscription is correct in the Army bill which is about to be introduced, I suggest that perhaps selective recruiting might be worthy of our attention. While much has been said with regard to the mine and the factory, it is yet true that in all the agricultural districts where the raising of beets for sugar production is carried on it is done almost wholly by foreign labor, much of which has not yet been naturalized. I confess that when I first read the bill there arose before me the picture of a recruiting officer in full dress, with the flag of his country floating over the recruiting office, and I wondered if, after all, it might not produce in some parts of the country a difficulty of which we little dream at present. There are places where the feeling runs high; and, then, I remember, too, that if there are no restrictions upon this bill it might be that a recruiting officer, going to the ignorant, speaking his language, would be able to bring such pressure to bear as that the man would not freely and voluntarily go but would mentally at least feel as though he was compelled to go.

This bill does not claim to be a conscription bill. It's advocates insist that the enlistment under it will be purely voluntary. Personally I am willing that every reservist in this country who belongs to any country with whom we are associated in this war should be called to the colors of that country. This is our war, and whatever is best to be done that we may speedily bring it to a close meets my hearty approval. Indeed, it would be very strange if the men who are thinking seriously of favoring conscription for our own citizens should offer any objection against foreign Governments conscripting their own subjects. My hope is that we shall not be in such haste that many people, at heart Americans, may not freely offer themselves in the service of this country in the full confidence that their every right will be protected.

With two of the countries now leagued with us in this war we have no treaty of naturalization. The question of dual citizenship has arisen. There are many men in this country who hold themselves to be citizens of the United States either by virtue of having been born in this country or having taken out their first papers. How the courts will hold in this matter is not known to me. The bill should be so explicit that these people, who are American at heart and who are perfectly willing to fight under our flag, should be amply protected. I am most heartily in sympathy with every effort of the administration to bring this war to a successful close, and shall only stipulate that the law shall be properly safeguarded.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, may I ask how much time has been used upon the other side?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has 20 minutes remaining, and there are 50 minutes remaining on the side of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARD].

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman desire to go on now?

Mr. GARD. I was wondering if the gentleman from Pennsylvania cared to use all of his time now?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. No.

Mr. GARD. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND].

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, this is a perfectly proper measure, with the amendment which the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] will add, to provide against the enlistment of American citizens, and with that amendment it ought to pass. As gentlemen recognize, it is an amendment to our foreign enlistment act. You may recall that the foreign enlistment act was passed in 1818, nearly a hundred years ago. The present section of the Criminal Code is the language of section 2 of that act of April 20, 1818, literally, down to the proviso, which appears in section 2. At the time of the original passage of the act it contained a proviso which is rather involved in language, but the purport of which is that nations at peace with the United States may always enlist their own citizens or subjects in the United States. In the Revised Statutes of 1878 that proviso disappeared.

The purpose of the present proviso is more limited than the original act, in that it only permits a nation to enlist its own citizens and subjects when two conditions concur: First, that we are at war with a country; and, second, that the country which proposes to enlist its own citizens in the United States shall also be at war with the same country. Under these circumstances, of course, this power is only coextensive with the existence of the war, and it does seem to me that it is highly proper and necessary that the citizens of countries who are at war with the same enemy we are should be permitted to enlist their own subjects, even though they be temporarily within the United States. We have always been in the very forefront of the nations in regard to neutrality laws, and I have been somewhat shocked and surprised at the attitude of certain critics of the administration and certain critics of the press that we were violating acknowledged principles of neutrality. We have maintained more neutrality laws and enforced them more strictly than any other country that the world has ever seen, and this section is one of the strict neutrality laws of the United States. It was passed in the year 1818 at a time when four-fifths of the great Western Hemisphere was nominally subject to the King of Spain, and all of it was in the fire of revolt. Thus the law was passed to prevent filibustering expeditions against Spain of American citizens and by American citizens upon American soil taking part in a Spanish-American revolution. That was its main purpose, and, I am frank to say, its only purpose. Certainly, it has been practically its only force during all of the 100 years it has been in existence, to prevent filibustering expeditions. Never should we undertake to prevent legitimate, authorized officers of a friendly government from enlisting their own citizens in a war in which they are engaged.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield to a question?

Mr. BORLAND. I will.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Was not this law used to stop Canadian officials coming to the Army posts of the United States to solicit men who would have joined our Army less than two years ago?

Mr. BORLAND. It was used for that purpose, no doubt, and, as it is constructed and carried out, it is strictly applicable; but, in my judgment, it goes beyond any such law of any country on earth. Gentlemen now say we might conscript these foreigners. I have not examined that question with very much care, but I will undertake to say we could not conscript a foreigner, a citizen, the subject of a friendly Government without having that Government consent——

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BORLAND. In a moment. Let us look at the other side. Suppose an American temporarily was residing abroad. Would we permit him to be conscripted or imprisoned or detained on account of any laws of that country proceeding against a foreign foe? We would not think of permitting it for a moment. We would not submit to the conscription of an American citizen abroad or to his punishment for failure to be conscripted in a foreign army. That being true, I take it that a friendly Government would take the same position in regard to us. If we were to undertake to conscript the subjects of Great Britain or France in this country we would have to do it by the express or implied permission of those Governments.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MADDEN. We did conscript during the Civil War, and no Government except Great Britain protested against it, and they withdrew the protest.

Mr. BORLAND. I take it it would be a matter of diplomatic protest.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield some of his time?

Mr. GARD. A member of the committee [Mr. VOLSTEAD] indicated that the gentleman's side would yield him five minutes and I will yield him the same amount. I will be very glad to yield the gentleman an additional five minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I yield the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] five minutes.

Mr. GARD. I yield the gentleman five minutes additional.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I do not expect to occupy the 10 minutes allotted me. It has been insinuated, if not directly charged, that there is something suspicious in the method by which the committee has urged the passage of this bill. There certainly is nothing to justify suspicion. It was brought to us through the regular channels. We were urged by the administration to pass it. It seemed to the Judiciary Com-

mittee from the evidence submitted that legislation of this kind was desirable and that it was in proper form. Perhaps the committee did not take as much care in considering the exact language of the proviso, which is the new feature of this legislation, as it ought to have done, but from a consideration of it now I am unable to see that there is anything seriously wrong about it. However, I shall offer an amendment, if I have the opportunity, for the purpose of making a little clearer some features of it. The bill is offered here in good faith and should receive careful consideration. Under the present law no one can solicit any foreigner to enter the army or the navy of the nations engaged with us in the present war, nor can any foreigner while in this country enlist for such foreign service. He may, of course, go to his own country if he wishes, and there enlist, but he pays his own expenses in going from this country to the country where he can legally enlist. Why should not we give these people an opportunity to enlist here? Why not allow the foreign government to pay that expense? Oh, they say, we need these people here. Yes; but we need them at the front just as much as we need them here, and many of these men would be good soldiers if they could go to their own country and there enlist, or enlist here under the provisions of the bill which is pending. They may be better soldiers in the foreign army than they would in our Army.

Many of them are unable to speak the English language. They would be there among their own people, speaking the language of their country, fighting for their own friends and relatives. It seems to me we ought in every way to facilitate the opportunity for these men to enlist, so they may become a force to fight our battles. It seems to me we ought not to hesitate for a moment in passing this measure. I do not care though a foreign diplomat may have suggested this bill. We have no reason to believe that it was so suggested; but why should not a foreign diplomat be permitted to suggest to this Government that there is a large force of his countrymen here who probably could be enlisted to go and support their native country and who at the same time would be upholding the hands of our Government. It seems to me we ought to be glad of such a suggestion, and not on that account hesitate to pass this bill. [Applause.] We can not afford to haggle about these things If we are going to allow petty prejudices to interfere with the legislation that is needed in this emergency, we will never pass any laws and we shall never be prepared to face the enemy. It seems to me that it is for us to stand together and in a case like this let the judgment of the administration, which has considered this matter, have large weight with us, if not a controlling weight.

I want to offer an amendment, but I do not happen to have it handy.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I suggest to the gentleman that that should be done later.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I desired to have it read.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I did not yield to the gentleman to offer an amendment, as that would not be in order now.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I did not intend to have it offered at this time, but I wanted to call attention to it. The amendment I have drawn carefully guards against anyone being enlisted through compulsion. It provides that the enlistment must be voluntary and the solicitation must be for voluntary enlistment in the army or navy of a foreign country in war with a country with which we are at war.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SMALL). The Chair suggests that the gentleman read the amendment.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I will send it to the desk and have it read. It also provides that the enlistment shall be subject to the control of the Secretary of War.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 2, after the word "years" strike out the proviso and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"*Provided*, That a citizen of any foreign country which is at war with any country with which the United States is at war may voluntarily enlist or be solicited so to enlist in the army or navy of the country of which he is a citizen, but such enlistment and solicitation shall be subject to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is on the Committee on the Judiciary, by which this bill was reported. Was there any information before the committee as to what should be done with the families or the dependent wives and children of such of the aliens as might be taken away?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. There was not; but why should there have been? Whenever we take our own boys we may have to pay a pension; and may make other provision. If these men voluntarily enlist it seems to me they would only do so in case they have some way of providing for their families.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is not the situation entirely different? What claim has the alien family upon the United States, except possibly upon the municipal authorities?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. The alien family has practically the same claim as the citizen's family. When a man becomes domiciled in this country, I have no doubt he can be conscripted just the same as a citizen. He is subject to the laws of the country and reaps practically all the benefits of our institutions the same as a citizen. I have no doubt, if a lot of those men go to the front and leave families here, we will take care of them the same as we take care of our own, and they have the same claim for support from their own Government as our soldiers have upon our Government.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. What provision, if any, has been made to protect an alien who has not voluntarily enlisted, but who has been forced through a misstatement of facts or physical force to enlist?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. This bill only authorizes voluntary enlistment. If a citizen of this country is induced by misrepresentation or fraud to enlist, as some of them have been in the past, he can find no particular statute for his protection. He must look for relief to the law applicable to citizens generally. I assume that those foreigners are not any more ignorant or more likely to be imposed upon than thousands of our own citizens. Why should they not be willing to submit to the same conditions as our own citizens must? We are doing the best we can to guard them. We may have to send our soldiers beyond the ocean; their children may lose their fathers; mothers may become widows as a result, and many other things may occur that we all will regret exceedingly; but can we stop to count the cost in any such fashion as the gentleman suggests? This is the time for action; this is not a time to quibble. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER].

Mr. BUTLER. I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I am for the measure. He has yielded me time.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman is wholly within his rights in declaring himself for the measure.

Mr. BUTLER. I understood the gentleman was opposed to it, and therefore I thought I should say that to him.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The purpose of this opposition was to permit discussion. The House ought to discuss matters of such grave importance.

Mr. BUTLER. I am obliged to the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, while this discussion is taking place I am thinking somewhat about our own children. I am told that in Europe there is a slaughter pen 600 miles in length, and in it is plenty of room for more. I am perfectly willing that men who are trained and are willing to make these battles shall take the place that your sons, my sons, and the sons of Americans must take if they do not take and our American sons must supply if they fail.

Among these men in this country who are not its citizens, I am told, are many soldiers, men who have been trained by the nations to which they now owe allegiance, men well trained for battles of the description now being fought, men who are able and well qualified at this time to take the field more to the front. Why should they not do it? We have worked in this country, Mr. Speaker, for 20 years, to my own knowledge, in persuading our own people to join the military forces of the United States. This gives to our allies the only opportunity that we have had heretofore. It gives them that which they are now, perhaps, denied.

We must remember that in voting on this bill we are voting not only for them but for ourselves. We must recall this, that these people, these nations, are our allies, and we have joined with them in making common battle, which we did not provoke. This war was made by other nations than by ourselves. These men are subjects of nations which made this war. We were dragged into it unwillingly.

I have voted willingly to sustain the President of the United States in acceptance of this war forced upon us—I mean the resolution recognizing war conditions. So far as it concerns me, every attempt, however feeble it may be, that lies within my power will be made by me to help him until this war is over. [Applause.]

I do not know whether this bill is wise or not. The President says it is. He ought to know. I do not know whether it is properly drawn. The President's law officer, the Attorney General, says that it is. He ought to know. But, Mr. Speaker, I

do know this, that if every Member of this House proposes that his opinion shall prevail here we shall accomplish nothing. What we need is unity in the presence of our enemy. We ought to show to the world that we have confidence in the administration that is to prepare for these battles. What it needs it ought to have without grudging.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania yield to the gentleman from Washington?

Mr. BUTLER. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does not the gentleman think that this bill, with a report 14 lines long, attempted to be shot through the House on short notice and then brought up in this fashion to-day shows the absolute necessity of a committee on the conduct of the war, as has been suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN]?

Mr. BUTLER. I want to be entirely polite to my friend. I do not think anything about it. I have become absolutely submissive. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will ask the gentleman another question, if he will yield.

Mr. BUTLER. I can not yield. I have yielded to the gentleman because I wished to be civil toward him, thinking highly of him. I propose to be absolutely submissive. What this country needs in a time like this is concert of action and cooperation of the allies in a manner calculated to bring this war to a hasty and successful conclusion, and I shall stand for the measure because the responsibility for its appearance is not upon me. I have no doubt that it is necessary, in the judgment of the President; furthermore, that it is wise, in his judgment, that the officers or the authorities of these foreign countries, our allies, shall have the chance to persuade their people to return—their soldiers to return—to fight these battles.

I repeat what I said. We have never employed any other method since the days of the Civil War except persuasion. If we are allowed to persuade our own people to become soldiers, why should not the foreigners, our allies, be permitted to persuade their men to return? [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, we are all hoping that we will not have to take our places in the slaughter pens abroad. The doors are open and vacancies are being created to-day; but if this war goes another year, our sons, the young men of America, will have to enter. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. SLAYDEN rose.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did the gentleman obtain his time from the other side?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I did not obtain time. I did not understand the situation. I would like to know what the situation is.

Mr. WEBB. We will have only two or three more speeches on this side.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did the gentleman yield time to the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I did not understand the situation and I merely asked for information.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I agreed to recognize the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] first.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARDY] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, very candidly it seems to me that the opposition to this measure is conjured out of the hysteria of fear of some unknown, something not understood by the opponents of the measure, and, of course, therefore not fairly explicable. When they try to explain their opposition they are soon all at sea or all in the air. The thing that we need as a Congress and as a Government to-day and for all the time that the war shall last is the quintessence of common sense and the absence, as far as may be, of hysteria and groundless, formless fears.

The simple fact about this bill is this: We have on our statute books to-day a law forbidding our people from enlisting or people of foreign nationals from enlisting in this country in the armies of such foreign nations, and every man who knows the existence of that law knows that it ought not to be there to-day. We forbid by law the nationals of England, France, Italy, and Russia, who are allies of ours, from soliciting the support of their own people who are in our country.

This bill in simple effect proposes to repeal the existing provision, so that the Frenchman may appeal to the Frenchmen in this country to enlist in the French Army under the French flag; and the Englishman and the Italian and the Russian may do likewise; and I submit to our common sense that the Italian, the Russian, the Frenchman, the Englishman in this country is really more directly concerned in the conduct and fortunes of that war than we are, and that is common sense.

We, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER] a moment ago said, were reluctantly drawn into this war, and God knows I am willing to admit that it was with reluctance that my country went into it, so far as I was concerned, and nothing but the stern belief that the rights and dignity and self-respect of our country and the good opinion of the world as well as our own are involved causes me to be willing to go into it. No; when it comes to the nations whose slaughter pen is over yonder it seems to me that the son of Italy, the son of France, would feel that this country ought to lift the prohibition against his enlisting in this country and ought to be willing that his nation should bear his expenses to take him to the battle field; that his nation should invite him to go; that his nation should raise its flag above his head when he does go; and that his nation should take care of his family also if he does go.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion this is a simple action that ought to have been taken as soon as we left the ranks of the neutrals. As to the allegation that it has been hurried, only he who seeks a mare's nest can find any in the fact that only 14 lines are submitted as the report in support of this measure. It needs no 14 lines. It is a simple action permitting nationals of the nations at war as our allies to enlist their sons, though they be in America; and for that reason it seems to me it is plain and simple and ought to be adopted without a dissenting vote. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of other countries resident in this country in time of peace do not recognize this Government to protect them in any of their rights that they enjoy here when they can have a superior right from their own government. This is exemplified in the various cases of riots in which the nations having their people here have demanded redress from our Government. On February 15 of this year, at the request of the Governments of Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Turkey, on account of injuries inflicted upon their own citizens, I reported favorably to the Committee on Foreign Affairs a report carrying $41,030 on account of injuries to their citizens while resident in this country.

If the long arm of government of a foreign power reaches to our shores to protect these men in times of peace, why not, if this obligation rests upon the foreign government to defend them in time of peace, is there not some obligation on the part of these citizens to their own governments in time of war? They owe allegiance somewhere. If they do not admit that they owe it to this Government then they must admit that they owe it to some other government. Their allegiance as individuals to some government can not cease at any period of time. They must owe it to some country at all times, and the citizens of this country have not the same rights and powers of protection from those foreign governments that the residents here of foreign countries have. If therefore they are allowed to invoke the power of the foreign government to protect them and to get them money consideration in time of peace, if they are willing to ask that the strong arm of their government come in and take them out of our courts and give them certain money consideration when there is no war, then when war does come and that same power needs them at home will our country stand in the way and say, "We will give to you as individuals what your government demands in time of peace, but we will protect you from your government when an obligation arises on your part as one of its citizens?" This bill merely gives the right to that government to exact that allegiance which is due from that citizen, as the citizen who resides here exacts protection from that government as one of its people residing abroad. There can be no duty on the part of a government to an individual unless there be some duty on the part of the individual to the government.

The time has come now when all countries are demanding this duty of good citizens, and good citizens here will not invoke this Government to protect them from their duty to other countries abroad, and this Government should not protect here bad citizens of other countries who are not willing to perform the duty they owe. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania use some of his time now?

Mr. GARD. How much time have we on this side?

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I understand I have 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has 10 minutes.

Mr. WEBB. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS].

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, 10 days ago the President signed a joint resolution declaring that the United States was in a state of war with Germany. To-day the conference committees are in session, trying to reach a conclusion as to the bond issue, and when the conclusion is reached, as it will be doubtless in a short time, we will have provided a loan to the allies of $3,000,000,000. That is the first contribution on the part of the United States to bring the war to a speedy close. I think by to-morrow we probably will be called upon to see what we will do in the way of raising an army. Our Navy is under orders, our Army is certainly under orders. War is in existence. We are the sixteenth nation to enter this world war, and we have voted that we will give the strength of men and of money to bring it to an end; and here is a proposition to allow our allies to enlist their own nationals who are here; and while we shall be called upon, either by volunteering or by conscription to get our own boys, I can not understand the consistency of withholding for an instant, with that fact facing us, the right that we ought to grant to these belligerent countries, our allies, to enlist by volunteer service the nationals whom we ourselves can not control in case we do not give it to them. [Applause.]

If we are going to vote the last ounce of influence in men and money, as we will, to bring this trouble to an end, why should we not permit the Governments that are fighting the same battle to come to America and enlist under their flag the men who belong to them, and to allow them to fight along by the side of the boys that we probably will have to send from our own country? If I vote to send an American boy to the battle trenches of Europe, I certainly will vote also to allow the European Governments to send their nationals who are now here to the battle fields of Europe to fight our common enemy at war. [Applause.] We certainly should be as fair to our own sons as to alien residents. It is as fair for one as it is for the other. This bill is not a conscription bill. It is an enlistment bill. It carries the idea of voluntary service. If it were for conscription, then we might hesitate for a time to see what effect it might have. It then might raise delicate problems which are not involved in the present bill as drafted.

I voted 10 days ago that we were in a state of war. I supported 5 days ago this loan and this bond issue. I will vote when the time comes to raise an American army. I will vote now to allow the alien residents in this country to be enlisted to fight for the principles for which we are fighting. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARD] a member of the committee.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, I regret very much that the suggestion of hurry or lack of consideration has crept into this debate. When the bill was brought up last Saturday it was sought to be brought up by unanimous consent, and to-day it is up for the consideration of the House in its regular place on the calendar call. It has come in its proper and appointed way, an orderly and not a hurried way.

I believe that there are two things to be accomplished for good by this bill. In the first place I want to say that I am in favor of retaining in America all persons of foreign birth admissible under our laws who come here with good intent and with the purpose to make of themselves law-abiding American citizens. I realize, as everyone must, that our industries, our railroads, our public works demand men who can perform manual labor, and I would have every proper person who comes with good intent to be an American citizen; but I think one of the menaces that confront our American institutions is the keeping in small groups of people of foreign nationality who retain un-American ideas, who do not seek to take up with American ways of living. Therefore it would seem to me that the first thing we want to impose upon those who are foreign born who come to America is that they shall learn of our institutions, that they shall acquaint themselves with our form of government, and that they shall become Americans in fact and not remain alien residents of America. I think this because not alone in our industrial interests but in the great development of our civilization we want it understood that America welcomes all who come with good intent. If they do not care to come within the Government of America, if they care to remain outside, if they do not avail themselves of our great advantages, if they do not want to become American citizens, if they stay here in the United States of America and yet remain subjects of a foreign monarchy then I say that the first duty of American citizens is to see that these men are made responsive to the government to which they adhere. And so when we come to the great question of preserving our national defense and asserting American rights I would say that I welcome the foreign-born man fighting for the defense of the United States. But if a foreign-born man does not care to do that, if he prefers to maintain allegiance to a foreign king or crown, then I say to him, "Go back and fight for the country to which you do proffer your allegiance!" [Applause.]

There is only one possible objection I can see to the administration of this bill, and that is an objection which I regard as fanciful, and yet I would remedy even that. The objection has been made that the recruiting sergeants of other governments will appear in this country, and that they will demand service of those who are ignorant of the English language and of American ways. It seems to me, in all deference to those who make this assertion, that the Italian, the Roumanian, the Pole, the Slav, the people of different nationalities who come here speedily inform themselves; that they speedily seek to get within the purview of American institutions. They understand the freedom for which they come to America, and they are competent to make choice of allegiance. So the only suggestion I would make is that the interest of these people be safeguarded in the best possible way by seeing that the recruiting, the solicitation for enlistment, be under the control of the Secretary of War of the United States. I believe it to be the best policy that the Government of the United States through its responsible officers, as the Secretary of War, should have at least a supervisory interest in the method and in the enlistment and solicitation in order to provide the last word for the protection of aliens in our country. If such an amendment is offered, I shall support it. With that amendment I believe the bill is perfectly safeguarded and is a measure that should be passed by the House of Representatives immediately. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Cox].

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, it is hard for me to analyze the arguments made by some of the opponents of this bill. As I read its provision, and compare it with the present law, it is identically the same law, with the exception of the proviso attached to the proposed bill.

I do not know how many aliens there are in this country, and I do not suppose anyone else has an accurate knowledge of it, but if these people have come to this country for the purpose of enjoying liberty, as has been argued here to-day, if is a peculiar thing to me, if they love our country so much, that they have not taken out first citizenship papers. [Applause.] If they really desire to fight under the American flag instead of under their own flag, why have they not done something toward taking out citizenship papers in order to give them a chance to fight under the Stars and Stripes?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does the gentleman from Indiana think that this bill protects those that have taken out their first papers?

Mr. COX. I suppose it does; I think so beyond all question. It is attempted here on the part of some men to keep these men who have come to this country from enlisting in this war either under the American flag or under their own flag. Are men willing to vote that American-born boys shall be sent to the trenches in foreign lands, and foreigners who come here for the sole purpose of enjoying American life and liberty, who have refused to take out citizenship papers, shall remain here? [Applause.] That is a peculiar American doctrine to me, a doctrine that I never heard of in all the history of my life. It is not the true American spirit under any circumstances whatever. [Applause.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the law, limited as it is to voluntary enlistment, delay for one moment——

Mr. COX. If it does not do it—the gentleman wants to protect a few Italians from going back to their own country. What did they come here for? Why do not they go back and stay there?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman answer my question?

Mr. COX. I have answered it.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The gentleman would not listen to the question.

Mr. COX. I would go further, and if these men would not volunteer in this country—how are we going to get them to volunteer under their own flag? If an Italian or a Jew or a Gentile comes here from abroad and is not willing to shed his life blood on foreign soil in the trenches in France, it comes with a

poor grace for any Member of Congress to stand on the floor of the House and say he is willing to vote for conscription to send American-born boys over there. [Applause.] I do not believe in that spirit of Americanism at all; it does not appeal to me.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McCORMICK].

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. Speaker, it has become so evident that there will be amendments to this bill to protect those who might suffer from misrepresentation, and so much has been said in support of the bill that I shall not take the five minutes allotted to me. It is evident that the amended bill ought to pass and pass promptly in order that, under proper regulation, the agents of the allied governments may canvass among their nationals in this country to the end that there may be increments to the armies in France, in Flanders, in Italy, with the minimum of delay—such increments as now can be made only by permitting the service of the nationals of European countries—men already trained to arms who will be ready to go to the fighting lines before any force trained in this country can be ready. Amended as the bill will be I shall vote for it. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. How much time, Mr. Speaker, remains on this side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia). Three minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will yield that time to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GALLAGHER].

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I perhaps represent as many of these aliens that come under the provisions of this bill as there is in any one district in the United States. I do not believe that it is unpatriotic or that it is unbusinesslike for us to reason out such a proposition as is presented here, a new proposition, that many of us do not know how it will work out.

Now, I know something of the padrone system; I know something of the ways of life of many of these foreign people, and I do not believe it would be fair to turn recruiting officers from foreign countries into the section of the city of Chicago that I represent without Congress making some regulatory provision regarding their acts. Many of these aliens do not know the laws of this country, nor will the recruiting officers in many cases who will come here from Europe to recruit these people know our laws. It seems only wise, and it may be good judgment, for Congress to delegate to some power the regulatory features proposed in the amendments offered and which I believe ought to be retained by the Secretary of War or the Congress of the United States.

There is a great deal of loud talk here made on the presumption that these people will not join the United States Army. I believe we will get more of them to join the United States Army than will go abroad to fight under the flag of the country they left—more by a great many hundreds. These people came here to better their condition, they came here for liberty, and it is not fair to presume that they will not go into the Army of the United States and fight to maintain the flag of the United States. I do not feel that I ought to oppose this measure, but from my experience with aliens I want to impress Congress with the fact that we have thousands and thousands of these people in my district, and that we ought to have some power to whom I can go and claim redress if I find that these recruiting officers are not living up to the laws of the country. We would lose nothing by the adoption of such an amendment; it is simply a precaution.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this Congress will have some confidence in my statement when I say that these people ought to be given some protection to keep them out of the hands of sharpers and a cruel system that has long been maintained in this country among them. If you do not know what the padrone system is, if you do not know how these foreigners are gulled and imposed upon, if you do not know that there are a lot of their own countrymen who are living off these people as a result of the unfortunate conditions that the foreigner finds himself in here, men who will take every advantage of such conditions, then you have a lot to learn, and it is because such things do exist that I believe it is essential that Congress should rely upon my statement as a matter of protection, and I am satisfied if you adopt the amendment providing that the Secretary of War be given power of regulation in this act it will prove of benefit.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If the United States is known as the melting pot of the world, filled with aliens of every kind, is it not probable that this war will be the fire that burns under the pot and unites the aliens, and is it not more than likely that nine out of ten of those who are here will enlist in the United States Army the minute the call comes?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I have always believed that they would do that, and believe so now, and I have never given any credence to many of the speeches that have been made here during our consideration of the immigration bill that they only come here to help themselves. I believe that it is as essential to the progress of this country that these people stay here as it is that they be put on the firing line abroad if you want to conserve our food supply. Nearly all of the roadbeds or trackage of the railroads in this country is maintained by these foreigners. Thousands of them are employed in the mills and in the factories and in the mines and on the farms, but if it is the sense of Congress that they ought to be allowed to go back home for military service I shall not object to it, but I do believe that we ought to have some regulatory amendment added to this law. It will make it a better law. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN].

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have read through this bill two or three times, and I can see nothing wrong with it. So far as I understand it from reading, and as I remember the explanation of it by the chairman of the committee that reported it, it merely proposes to permit the representatives of Governments that are our allies at this moment in a serious war to come here and invite the enrollment in their armies of aliens who were formerly residents in England, France, Italy, and Russia. That is the substance of the bill. These people do not have to go back if they do not wish to. They can remain in their railway employment or in the mines referred to by Mr. CANNON, if they prefer to; but it gives them the opportunity to enlist with their own people, with their own families, with people of their own language, and in the country from which they came. It is merely an opportunity for our allies to accept service that they may voluntarily be given. I quite agree with the suggestion made by my friend from Illinois, Mr. GALLAGHER, that that enlistment, that enrollment, and the solicitation of recruits by officers of other countries should be done under very wise regulations put forward for its control by our Government.

But, Mr. Speaker, what I took the floor for particularly was to enter a mild protest against an observation of my most excellent and highly esteemed friend the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. BUTLER. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty, and liberty is never so imperiled as when the country gives itself over to hysteria. It is then, in periods of excitement, when men's natures are stirred by strong, patriotic emotions, that they relinquish privileges, that they relinquish rights that were gotten only at the cost of centuries of struggle and bloodshed by our ancestors. [Applause.]

I for one think that in days like these, when we are engaged in great and strange enterprises, when we are spending the money contributed by the taxpayers of the country in sums so stupendous that they stagger the imagination, we should keep our heads clear. We should reason calmly then if ever. The gentleman says that he does not think any more; that he is merely submissive. Mr. Speaker, I quite agree with his conclusion that we should present a united front to the enemy, but the very fact that measures are referred to Congress contemplates their consideration by Congress [applause] and a decision of those questions after deliberation and with knowledge of our traditions and of the law. I would not degrade this coequal and coordinate branch of the Government, the Congress of the United States, and this branch of it, coming directly from the people and specifically charged with the protection of their liberties, by saying that we will yield the right to consider questions of vast importance that are submitted to us for consideration. If we yield any of our constitutional privileges, we are poor Americans and seriously jeopardize our liberties. Once the matter has been determined, once the majority of the Congress of the United States has written its will into law, no man will yield readier obedience than I; but until then I assert my right to deliberate, I assert my right to weigh every argument advanced, and I assert my right to exercise my judgment according to my conscience in determining what shall be the law and what shall govern our conduct in all these matters. [Applause.]

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, several gentlemen have indicated their purpose to offer amendments to the bill, and I assume that they will have the right to do so when the bill is read for that purpose.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman that my object and hope is that at the conclusion of this general debate, which has been, as he knows, very liberal, each Member

who desires to do so may offer an amendment and debate the amendment for five minutes on a side and vote upon it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is the gentleman's purpose?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. So that we will still have debate upon the amendments as they are presented?

Mr. WEBB. Five minutes on each side.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It is not the intent of the gentleman to press us so that these amendments may not be offered?

Mr. WEBB. Oh, no; I do not desire to press anything; but I want my friends to cooperate with me in getting the bill voted on as quickly as possible.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the expiration of the time allotted to the gentleman from North Carolina the bill may be read for amendment under the five-minute rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that at the expiration of the time heretofore agreed upon this bill may be read under the five-minute rule. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MANN. I would like to add to that, excluding pro forma amendments.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman adds to his request for unanimous consent that pro forma amendments shall be excluded. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I yield four minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN]——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Has the gentleman any time to yield?

Mr. WEBB. I have.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 10 minutes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a minute of my time remains, and in it I would like to ask the gentleman whether the committee would be apt to give consideration to an amendment proposing that there should be no compulsion, having it specifically stated in the bill?

Mr. WEBB. I would be opposed to that, because it is just rewriting what is already in the bill. "Enlistment" precludes "compulsion."

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman object to an amendment that would prevent the use of uniforms by these foreign officers engaged in this enlisting and recruiting service?

Mr. WEBB. If we are going to let them come over here to recruit for volunteers we ought not to prescribe what uniforms they should wear. The Secretary of State might make some arrangement as to that; I do not know.

Mr. GARD. Would not the gentleman think the regulation under the control of the Secretary of War would be sufficient?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That might be, if the gentleman will offer such an amendment——

Mr. WEBB. I propose to offer such an amendment.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That the Secretary of War shall have general supervision of this recruiting?

Mr. WEBB. I am going to offer an amendment reading like this: "Enlistments under this proviso shall be under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War." I think that allays any objection.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. That is a concession, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. WEBB. It is not a concession, for I stated in the beginning of my argument I had no objection——

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The appearance of these officers in uniform in many districts, without any authority from the Department of War, would create consternation and possibly result in riots, because it would be so thoroughly misunderstood by the foreign-speaking population. The Government ought to exercise some control over possible imposters.

Mr. WEBB. I have no fears of that sort, because these recruiting officers will come over here as a matter of comity and as a matter of good feeling on the part of our Government, and they will make arrangement with our Secretary of State and Secretary of War as to how to demean themselves in our various communities.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman will bear in mind there is nothing in the bill in regard to police powers. Suppose men impersonating officers of a foreign government should begin this recruiting or seek money or offer money. Who would know? Ordinary officers of the law apparently would not know who was an imposter or who was not.

Mr. WEBB. They could be punished under the law for false pretenses.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I think there should be some direct authority from the Secretary of War.

Mr. WEBB. We can punish them as a matter of false pretenses, but we can not provide against everything——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Well, in the gentleman's time I desire to ask this. I understand the gentleman proposes to accept an amendment transferring authority to the Secretary of War.

Mr. WEBB. No; I propose to offer an amendment saying that enlistments under this provision shall be under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. McCORMICK. Will the gentleman read the amendment again?

Mr. WEBB. "Enlistments under this proviso shall be under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War."

Mr. McCORMICK. Would the gentleman be willing to say "enlistments or solicitations."

Mr. WEBB. No; because "enlistments" covers both.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Is the gentleman going to report an amendment that under no circumstances there can be conscription of these foreigners when he knows there is going to be conscription of our own boys?

Mr. WEBB. The bill we have before us does not give the power to conscript or draft; it is voluntary enlistment. We may be compelled later to do what the allied countries have done with the friendly aliens in their territory, gather up these men of foreign birth from allied countries who are subject to military duty and turn them back to their respective Governments according to nationality.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I do.

Mr. BUTLER. I understand the gentleman proposes to offer an amendment which will prohibit them from enlisting any of our citizens.

Mr. WEBB. Any American citizen, of course.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Does the gentleman believe under his amendment in case I find these recruiting officers offering money or paying out money that I could make complaint to the Secretary of War?

Mr. WEBB. Yes; complain to the Secretary of War.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Could I go to the Secretary of War?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the gentleman one question to get it fixed in my mind thoroughly.

This Government, as I understand it, now has not the power to conscript an alien?

Mr. WEBB. It has the power, but it would be violating international obligations and treaties if we did it. We would have a complaint from every ally government if we undertook to conscript their citizens.

Mr. COX. Of course we have perfect power under the Constitution of the United States to conscript American-born citizens. That is true beyond any question. Now, in order to compel these aliens who have been here for many years enjoying their rights and liberties under the American flag, what would the gentleman think of the proposition of Congress passing a law that would give to any of our allied governments the power to come here on American soil and conscript their men and take them over?

Mr. WEBB. I would oppose that.

Mr. COX. I would not. I would heartily support it.

Mr. WEBB. I am opposed to any foreign government performing any such act of sovereignty on our soil. I might be in favor of gathering all ally subjects or citizens and turning them over to the allied nations and let them conscript them.

Mr. COX. I object to conscripting American citizens and not giving these governments power to conscript theirs.

Mr. FARR. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield?

Mr. WEBB. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FARR. Will aliens be permitted to enlist under our colors?

Mr. WEBB. No; an alien can not be a soldier of the United States. They do take now in the Army aliens who have taken out their first papers.

Mr. FARR. But not unless they have their first papers?

Mr. WEBB. No.

Mr. LOBECK. During the Civil War we took the foreigners into American service?

Mr. WEBB. We have the power to do it now.

Mr. LOBECK. That have not taken out their first papers?

Mr. WEBB. We were then in war among ourselves and not with other nations.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield to a question?

Mr. WEBB. To just a question.

Mr. FESS. Many times it has been expressed that a man who has taken his first papers would be excluded under this bill. Can the chairman of the committee give us a statement of the facts?

Mr. WEBB. I think a man who has taken out his first papers can volunteer under this bill and go to a foreign ally country and fight.

Mr. FESS. But the bill does not include the privilege of an allied power enlisting that man.

Mr. WEBB. I think it would. He is not yet a citizen of the United States. He has only declared his intention.

Mr. FESS. My friend called attention to the Martin Kotsza affair in 1852. Would not that cover that question exactly?

Our War Department announced at that time that a man who had been here a year and eleven months and had taken out his first papers and gone back to Europe, and was seized, had obtained nationality here.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Has the gentleman made any investigation of the law, so that he can say now to the House whether he believes a conscription law would apply to aliens resident in the United States or not?

Mr. WEBB. I do not think it would. It would be a breach of international comity and relations to conscript any subject of a foreign country in the United States.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. In case this bill did not become a law there will be no way to reach aliens in the United States?

Mr. WEBB. None whatever at present.

Now, I yield two minutes to my friend from Oklahoma [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. MORGAN. I can not get through in two minutes.

Mr. WEBB. Then I yield to the gentleman three minutes. That is all I have. I wanted to talk myself.

Mr. MORGAN. All right.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary I voted for a favorable report on this bill. I have now heard it discussed for some hours, and I have heard no objection presented which to my mind should prevent its passage by unanimous vote in this House. After all, this is a question of patriotism, a question of contributing by our legislation in every way possible to carry the war in which we are now engaged to a successful conclusion. I send to the Clerk's desk resolutions adopted at a great patriotic meeting at my home town of Woodward.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of the people of Woodward County, Okla.

Whereas our Nation has been forced into war by acts of the German Empire; and

Whereas our national rights have been ruthlessly violated on land and sea; and

Whereas American lives have been taken and plots formulated to destroy our national existence by two powers which were responsible for the holy alliance 95 years ago, said alliance having been formed for the purpose of destroying all republican forms of government: Therefore we, the citizens of Woodward County, Okla., in mass meeting assembled this 11th day of April, 1917, in the city of Woodward

Resolve—

First. That we approve the action of our President and Congress in their declaration of war on the 4th day of April, 1917, against the German Empire.

Second. That we, as loyal Americans following in the footsteps of our forefathers, hold the enemies of our country to be our enemies, and the flag of our country, the Stars and Stripes, to be the flag for which we will fight.

Third. That we pledge the entire resources of our country, even to the last drop of our blood, the last penny of our wealth, in support of our Government in its efforts to vindicate our national honor and preserve for us and all the world the sacred right of self-government.

Fourth. That we ask our Senators and Representatives to give to the President their hearty support in organizing our Army and Navy to be of the highest efficiency, that our national honor may be vindicated and our future peace and prosperity guaranteed for all time to come.

Fifth. That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee to present these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives, with the request that they be properly presented to the President of the United States and to both Houses of our National Congress as embodying the unanimous sentiment of the people of Woodward County, regardless of the countries of our birth and irrespective of our political affiliations.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print the resolution passed by one other city in my district, in connection with this article.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing one other resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry to object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa objects.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I presume all time has expired.

The SPEAKER. All the time has expired.

Mr. WEBB. I desire to offer the following amendment to the bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill and then report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 10 of chapter 2 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909, be amended so as to read as follows: "SEC. 10. Whoever, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another person to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, State, colony, district, or people as a soldier or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer shall be fined not more than $1,000 and imprisoned not more than three years: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war."

Mr. WEBB. Now, Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. WEBB: At the end of the bill strike out the period and add the following: "unless such citizen or subject of such foreign country shall hire or solicit a citizen of the United States to enlist or go beyond the jurisdiction of the United States with intent to enlist or enter the service of a foreign country. Enlistment under this proviso shall be under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, that amendment does that one thing, and that thing only, and it makes it perfectly clear that the foreign agents of the allies shall not in any case enlist nor procure or hire any American citizen. We leave that for our own Government to do. The second sentence in the amendment provides that this enlistment shall be under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War.

With those two amendments in the bill, I think we have a bill that everybody can and ought to vote for. I can not understand why a Member of Congress who is in this war to win—and we all are in it for that purpose, and every man is willing to do what he can to make our cause and arms triumphant—I can not understand why a Member should object to the allied countries coming here and by persuasion secure citizens of the allied countries to go back home and fight for the same cause for which a little later we are going to ask our own American boys to fight.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from North Carolina yield to the gentleman from Washington?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does not the gentleman think, as a matter of fact, that if this amendment is going to be adopted we ought to provide that the regulations should be issued by the Secretary of Labor, in whose department is the Bureau of Immigration, under which these people naturally come?

Mr. WEBB. I will say to the gentleman that I have yielded largely to the sentiment in this House that unless the Secretary of War had supervisory power over the enlistments some wrong would be done. Now, I have offered to put that in the bill. We can trust the Secretary of War just as well as we can trust the Secretary of Labor, and it is in the province of the Secretary of War to supervise enlistments for war purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Is it not in the province of the Secretary of Labor, who has agents at those places, and who has jurisdiction over those immigrants, and who is conducting night schools for their benefit? Would it not be far better to put this under his supervision?

Mr. WEBB. No. We are not going to allow the Secretary of Labor to say who is to be exempt, and we are not going to allow any Secretary to exempt American boys. If any are to be exempted, they ought to be exempted by this body, the Congress.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will ask the gentleman this further question: Ought not those foreigners who have taken out their first papers to be protected?

Mr. WEBB. They are protected absolutely unless they want to go back and fight. They may volunteer.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I suppose that the first-paper men will embrace the first opportunity to get into this army that we are about to raise.

Mr. WEBB. Let them go then.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If we pass this bill we are only inviting trouble, in my judgment.

Mr. WEBB. Well, we have 400,000 available citizens of foreign countries in this country at the present time, who ought to go back and fight for their country and be naturalized here so we can use them.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. You have very few foreign born south of Mason and Dixon's line. You have only three-tenths of 1 per cent in the gentleman's own State of North Carolina, and five-tenths of 1 per cent in the State of Mississippi, and six-tenths of 1 per cent in the State of Georgia, and four-tenths of 1 per cent in the State of South Carolina, and a similar proportion elsewhere in the South.

Mr. WEBB. Oh, when the time comes to carry the banner of this country anywhere in the world, according to orders of this Congress, there will be just as many men, in proportion to population from south of Mason and Dixon's line to fight under that banner as from any other part of this country. [Loud applause.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I do not dispute that for a moment, and I do not like to raise this issue, and I do not raise it; but has not the gentleman considered the coal-mining industry, and the steel-mill industry, and the fishing industry in the preparation of this bill?

Mr. WEBB. I have only five minutes, and I can not go further into that.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota. Or does the gentleman desire to speak against this amendment that has been offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB]?

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Speaker, I have an amendment to the amendment.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I offered this as a substitute for the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the LENROOT amendment first and then the substitute offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. LENROOT: Add to the amendment of Mr. WEBB the following: "And said Secretary may prohibit such enlistment or solicitation of such citizens or subjects who he may determine it is necessary for the public welfare should remain in the United States in productive capacities."

The SPEAKER. Now, the Clerk will report the Volstead substitute, and then we will have all before the House at once.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. VOLSTEAD: Page 2, line 2, after the word "years," strike out the proviso and insert in lieu thereof the following: "*Provided*, That a citizen of any foreign country which is at war with any country with which the United States is at war may voluntarily enlist or be solicited so to enlist in the army or the navy of the country of which he is a citizen, but such enlistment and solicitation shall be subject to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe."

The SPEAKER. Now, if any gentleman desires to make a speech against the Webb amendment, the Chair will recognize him for five minutes, and if nobody wants to do that the Chair will recognize the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] for five minutes to argue his own amendment. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Speaker, the amendment proposed by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], authorizing the Secretary of War to prescribe rules and regulations for enlistment, will not authorize the Secretary of War in those rules to provide that any class of foreign citizens shall be exempt from this enlistment. And for the reasons that I stated in general debate, it seems to me so clear that this power ought to be reposed somewhere that I can not understand why the gentleman from North Carolina should object to it. For instance, when a foreign recruiting officer comes here, the most natural thing in the world will be for him to make as good a showing as possible, to get as many recruits as possible. He is not going to hesitate to go into the shipyards and get skilled labor there if he can. He is not going to hesitate to attempt to recruit sailors if he can. He is not going to hesitate to go into munition factories and get skilled labor there if he can; and unless the amendment I have proposed shall be adopted, there will be no power in this country to say to that recruiting officer that that labor which is absolutely necessary here now in the conduct of the war shall not be recruited by him.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] said a moment ago that he was opposed to granting power to anybody to make class exemptions, and he said Congress ought to do that itself. I want to say to the gentleman that inside of a week he himself will be voting, in the military bill, to give exactly that kind of power to the President of the United States, to a very large degree, and properly so, because Congress can not determine the full details of that classification, and there ought to be power somewhere to say "the country needs that man where he is, rather than to go somewhere else." And so through this power no possible harm can be done. The power is delegated to your own Secretary of War. I am willing to trust him. Are not you? If there is no occasion for the exercise of this power of restricting these enlistments, of making limitations upon them, he will not exercise it; but if it does become necessary in the interest of public safety, in the interest of this war, the Secretary of War ought to have the power to do that thing. So I hope the amendment will be adopted. I sincerely wish it might be accepted by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB].

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I had prepared an amendment to take the place of the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], but I shall not offer it. I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina, so far as I now can foresee, exactly as it is offered by him. I hardly think the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin is necessary. I fear that there will not be an exodus of foreign-born residents of the United States to foreign armies. I do not wish to lay any straw in the way of one of these foreign residents who will promptly go to the front over there to fight the battles that his country is closely interested in, and who may prevent an American citizen going over later. I am willing to take our chances on the industries. I do not believe it desirable to put a provision into the law which will encourage railroad companies, steel companies, packing-house companies, or the other large employers of foreign labor to appeal to the Secretary of War, "Do not let our men go. Send somebody else." [Applause.] I am afraid there will not be enough of them go anyhow. God knows, if they want to go, if they feel that patriotism to their own country from which they came requires that they should offer their lives as a sacrifice, I say God speed them, and let them go. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] desire to be heard?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Just for a few moments. The amendment I offered as a substitute covers exactly the same ground as that offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB], with this additional provision: It makes plain that the enlistment must be voluntary. The statute as it will stand, provided the gentleman's amendment is adopted, will simply wipe out the present law as it applies to citizens of the countries engaged with us in this war. It makes no provision whether the enlistment shall be voluntary or involuntary. If I understand it correctly, it simply provides that the present law shall not apply to citizens or subjects of any country engaged in war with any country with which the United States is at war. It simply repeals the act so far as those foreign subjects are concerned. It seems to me that they may be imposed upon. Foreign enlistments are all compulsory, and naturally the same methods will be used here, as far as possible. Why should not we say by our legislation that this enlistment must be voluntary, and that the solicitations must be for voluntary enlistment? That is the one thing that I am trying to secure in this bill by this amendment, and it seems to me we ought to make sure that these foreign recruiting officers shall have no power in any way to compel enlistment. I realize, of course, that they can not absolutely compel them, Because this enlistment must take place in our jurisdiction, where, I assume, no foreign government will be permitted to use force.

Mr. DOWELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. DOWELL. Can this Government conscript these foreigners into the United States Army?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I think so. That is, provided they are domiciled in this country and have no home anywhere else. I think they can be made subject to our laws and can be conscripted. I have not given that question any special consideration, but that is my offhand opinion.

Mr. DOWELL. Has the gentleman investigated to ascertain whether or not we have the right to conscript these aliens.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I think we exercised that power during the Civil War. I am not sure, but that is my impression. Without going into this matter any further or in any greater detail, I want to impress upon the House that if you vote for the proposition of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] you will vote for the same thing that is contained in my substitute, except that my substitute provides that the solicitation must

be for voluntary enlistment, and that the enlistment must be voluntary. That is what I am seeking to write into this bill in addition to what the gentleman from North Carolina provides by his amendment.

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment, and I ask the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] to accept it, as I think he possibly will.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman that there is already the Webb amendment pending, and there is the Lenroot amendment to that amendment, and the Volstead substitute for the whole thing.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman is offering this as an amendment to the substitute.

The SPEAKER. An amendment to the substitute is in order. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. JUUL: After the word "war" in line 5, page 2, insert the following:

"And provided further, That before any enlistments shall be made under this act the foreign enlistment official shall record his name, address, rank, and country with the county clerk of the county where it is proposed to secure enlistments."

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Speaker, I hope gentlemen will bear with me if I am unfamiliar with the mode of procedure. I do not mean to embarrass anybody and I do not like to be embarrassed myself. [Laughter.] After I get as well acquainted with you as I was where I came from I will be able to stand the strain a little better. [Laughter.]

Now, this is what is intended by my amendment. You are going to turn loose in this country a number of enlistment officials and you are going to turn loose in this country a number of imitation or spurious enlistment officials. Now, I think all of you gentlemen would want, when our people are annoyed or harassed or hampered by officials of a foreign government, that they at least be genuine officials and that there be a method whereby if friends of yours or mine be annoyed to find out whether the man who pretends to represent a foreign Government is a special representative in fact. I think the least you can ask of foreign officials coming into a city or a village representing themselves to be enlistment officers is to go to the proper official of that county and show their credentials and register, show that they possess the commission from the foreign Government authorizing them to do the act which they claim the right to do.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUUL. Certainly.

Mr. LOBECK. If he got the permission or certificate from the Secretary of War, that would be sufficient, would it not?

Mr. JUUL. That would be sufficient, but let him go to the local official and show his credentials authorizing him to invade a community and show that he is a representative of the foreign Government. You have a way of finding out in your county whether a man is officially credited by your State or county. You are going to be in a position if you do not adopt this amendment where you can not put a check on the foreign official that you are putting on your own citizens.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUUL. Yes.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I suppose the fear that the gentleman has is that the spurious recruiting officer would be levying tribute.

Mr. JUUL. That is what they will do—levy blackmail.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Offering to let men off if they will put up something.

Mr. JUUL. Yes; that is it.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. There is great danger of that.

Mr. JUUL. I do not think it is unreasonable to ask any foreign official to show his credentials and properly report to the local authority. You can not in any better way protect the public than by compelling the recruiting officer to record his commission from his Government with the county clerk. I hope the gentleman who is guiding this bill over the shoals will accept the amendment, and I think in the days to come he will thank me for offering it. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will not adopt the Lenroot amendment. If we do it will embarrass the Secretary of War, because the big employers of this foreign labor will be in the office of the Secretary of War morning, noon, and night to show how important it is for the national defense that all of their foreign laborers remain in their workshops.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] is covered by my amendment, except the use of the word "voluntary." Now, there is nothing in the bill that makes it anything but a voluntary enlistment. There is nothing said about conscription or draft, and so it is not necessary to put in that part of the Volstead amendment. You might as well label a side of meat "bacon."

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will.

Mr. MADDEN. I want to ask the gentleman whether he thinks the enactment of this law would not make French soil or Russian soil or Italian soil of that part of our country used by the enlistment officer representing the countries I have indicated?

Mr. WEBB. No; I do not think so; they are simply the agents of the countries and not diplomatic or consular officers.

Mr. MADDEN. Is it not a fact that they would be here under the laws of the country to which they were accredited?

Mr. WEBB. No; they are here under the law that we are passing to-day. We have had a great many agents of foreign countries in this country buying horses and everything else, and there has been no question about foreign soil where they stay. I want to say to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JUUL] that I agree somewhat with the sentiments he expresses, and there will probably be regulation by the Secretary of War which will cover the very point the gentleman speaks of. He will probably require the foreign agent to enroll in his office, and probably he will be given a certificate that he is a duly accredited recruiting officer, and any man can require the recruiting officer to show his authority or credentials, and I think that will protect my friend's constituents and population.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. The gentleman has spoken of enlistments. Will the gentleman allow me to give Webster's definition for enlistment?

Mr. WEBB. Certainly.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. "To enter voluntarily the military service, or the navy, or the like, by formal enrollment."

Mr. WEBB. I thank my friend. That is what I have been contending for all day.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. As it is intended to aid in enlistment of the allies, would it not be well for the chairman to state that he has no objection to a provision in the bill which will be offered to exclude from that portion of the immigration act all those that will voluntarily enlist and go back to Europe and fight the battles of their country? I think it would be no more than right that it should be understood that such an exception should be agreed to.

Mr. WEBB. I would not want to put that in this bill, because it is not an immigration bill.

Mr. SABATH. I think it would aid, assist, and encourage a great many to go and fight if they only knew that they could come back again and will be permitted to enter.

Mr. WEBB. If the gentleman will introduce a bill and have it referred to the Immigration Committee I think he will have no trouble about it.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly willing to accept the bill as it came from the committee and would vote for it as it is. I do not believe any of these changes are going to materially improve the bill, but inasmuch as the gentleman who has charge of the bill has suggested an amendment himself, apparently there is going to be an amendment to it, and that puts us in a position where we ought to accept the best amendment that has been offered. I have studied these various amendments with that interest which all have in so important a measure, and I have been strongly impressed that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD] is the one that ought to be adopted, and the only one, because I think it meets all of the objections that have been raised in the way most satisfactory.

Several gentlemen have come in since this amendment was read, and I would like, with the indulgence of the committee, to read it again that we may have it for our information:

Provided, That a citizen of any foreign country which is at war with any country with which the United States is at war may voluntarily enlist or be solicited to so enlist in the army or navy of the country of which he is a citizen, but such enlistment or solicitation shall be subject to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

Mr. WEBB. The gentleman heard the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KELLEY] just read the definition of the word "enlistment"?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. That is true, and, while it is undoubtedly correct that the word "enlistment" implies the voluntary action, nevertheless it does not hurt the situation to put in the word "voluntary" where it will stand before the eyes of any foreign representative who may come here and

who may not be so familiar with our language as he is with his own. The amendment completely makes unnecessary the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JUUL]. That which he proposes is in the nature of a minute regulation, which certainly should not be in the province of Congress to put in the bill. That should be left to the Secretary of War, who shall have charge of the matter, as long as we are going to give him something to do with it. Let me repeat. I think personally we would be best off if we did not try to handicap or surround with limitations the activities that are going to be exerted to secure enlistments of this character, but if we are going to do something let us do it right, and I believe this amendment by Mr. VOLSTEAD answers all of the criticisms that have been raised and is free from many of the things that make some of the others doubtful.

For instance, the amendment which has been proposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], if adopted, certainly would be like putting handcuffs and shackles upon a public servant when you are trying to accomplish a good in another way. There is no reason on earth why we should specify just which kind of individuals now will be subject to this enlistment, or who may enlist if they see fit. A year from now—six months from now—conditions may so have changed that the list which now seems to be one we should prescribe ought then to be entirely changed, and we should not write into fundamental law such as this will be such minute details as that. If we are going to regulate it at all, I repeat, let us leave that to the Secretary of War, who can in the exercise of his discretion, given him by the Volstead amendment, make such regulations as will accomplish all that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JUUL] has suggested and all that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] has suggested.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. In addition, let me say that it comprehends all that is in the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB].

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Certainly, if I have any time.

Mr. LENROOT. The gentleman could not have understood my amendment. It makes no restriction whatever. It gives the Secretary of War the very power the gentleman contends for.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I listened to the gentleman's speech very carefully, and I assumed that his amendment was drawn in harmony with his remarks.

Mr. LENROOT. It was simply to give the Secretary of War power to do that thing.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. And I understood from the gentleman from North Carolina——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired. All time has expired. The question is on agreeing to the Lenroot amendment.

The question was taken, and the Lenroot amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the Juul amendment to the Volstead substitute.

The question was taken, and the Juul amendment was rejected.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment to the Webb amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 3, add to the amendment of Mr. WEBB the following: "But nothing herein shall be construed to permit military or naval recruiting officers of foreign countries to engage in recruiting or enlisting men on territory of the United States or any of its possessions."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the LaGuardia amendment to the Webb amendment.

The question was taken, and the LaGuardia amendment was rejected.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment to the Webb amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

After the word "States" insert "or a person who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States."

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say in connection with this amendment that there are a great many States in the Union—I do not know how many, but Indiana, Texas, and Nebraska certainly—where men who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States are voters after they have lived there for six months, and this amendment simply carries out the idea that they shall continue to be considered citizens of the United States after they have declared their intention to become such. It will be in harmony with the laws of the State where they are permitted to vote.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I will.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Will those citizens of foreign countries who have merely declared their intention to become citizens of this country be exempted from enlistment or draft by our Government?

Mr. MADDEN. I would not think so. I think when a man declares his intention of becoming a citizen of this country he would be subject to all the laws of the country, and it seems in a great many of the States he is so considered. For example, in Indiana they are permitted to vote and in Texas they are permitted to vote and in Nebraska they are permitted to vote.

Mr. LANGLEY. I think also in the State of Kentucky.

Mr. MADDEN. And the State of Kentucky, I think, has the same law, so to all intents and purposes those States recognize him as a citizen of the United States.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. Regarding the right of conscription, let me make this suggestion. Whenever there is a conscription law passed of course the conscription is governed by the terms of the law.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. And it applies usually to citizens of the United States. If those men are not citizens of the United States, they would not be subject to conscription. But let me say this: There is no question whatever that this country in time of war can conscript any person within the jurisdiction of the United States, whether he is a subject of any other country or a citizen of any other country or not. Whether or not that country would consider that as an unfriendly act it is for them to do, but there is to be no question whatever as to our power.

Mr. MADDEN. And there could be no disposition on the part of the allies to consider it an unfriendly act if we conscript men of their nationality who are not citizens of the United States, because when they were not able themselves to enlist those men they would be glad for them to be taken in by conscription or otherwise. I hope the gentleman from North Carolina will see his way clear to accept the amendment I have offered, because I believe it adds to the amendment which he has proposed.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I will have to resist the amendment, because we probably would not conscript a citizen who has only taken out his first papers without violating an international obligation. We would probably have to get the consent of the allied country to do it. Consequently, if we do not allow the ally voluntarily to go to his own country and fight he would find here a neutral zone protecting him both from our Government and the foreign Government, and you could not get hold of him, and I think he ought to have the right, at least, to enlist and go back and fight before——

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Did not the gentleman hear the statement of the gentleman from Iowa, who laid down as an established principle that we had the right to conscript aliens?

Mr. WEBB. We probably have not the right, but we have the power.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I understood him to say that we had the right, and I wanted to get the opinion of my friend the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WEBB. I do not think we have the right under international law and our obligations, and I think we would raise a great furor with foreign Governments if we undertook to do so.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I supposed a question like that would have been settled and that there was absolutely no conflict.

Mr. WEBB. In time of war we have the power to conscript anybody if we desire to take that responsibility, but whether we would do it or not is quite another thing.

Mr. BURNETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I do.

Mr. BURNETT. It might be possible that without violating international obligations the National Government could not conscript, but we have the State militia, the National Guard, where men who have taken out their first papers and have qualified as citizens by the States under those first papers vote and exercise what we regard is the highest privilege of a citizen, they would be subject to the domination of the State regulations.

Mr. WEBB. The War Department allows those citizens to volunteer in the United States Army, and they could either volunteer here or volunteer to go abroad. So far as the amendment I have offered, Mr. Speaker, I desire to say it has been

carefully drawn, has been passed upon by the Department of Justice, and the language has been carefully considered.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEBB. I will.

Mr. MADDEN. I wish to suggest to the gentleman from North Carolina that the only way the question of our right to conscript these men would be by raising the question of the violation of a treaty, and I do not believe the question of the violation of a treaty would be raised where men have foresworn their allegiance to the Government with which we have that treaty.

Mr. WEBB. I will say to my friend if you adopt that amendment practically all of these foreigners, most of whom ought to have gone back long ago to fight for their country, would swarm in our courts asking for their first papers, and then you would get them in a twilight zone, that has never been settled, as to whether or not we can take them in our Army by conscription without violating our obligations to those foreign countries and——

Mr. MADDEN. We did during the Civil War, and no question was raised except by England, and she afterwards withdrew her objection. The allies, of course, want help——

Mr. WEBB. Let the allies' subjects go back and fight for their own country. If our own citizens are asked to volunteer to fight for these foreigners' country, let them do the same thing.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] to the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the substitute offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VOLSTEAD].

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a division on the Volstead substitute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD] demands a division on the substitute.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 57, noes 136.

So the substitute was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB].

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill as amended.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. WEBB, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints Mr. TALBOTT and Mr. FRENCH, as a Committee on the Disposition of Useless Papers.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] yield for a moment?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANN. Can not we make some arrangements about what we will do the rest of the week?

Mr. KITCHIN. We will adjourn over until to-morrow and take up the naval and those other bills on the calendar, and I presume we could then adjourn over until Monday, and the military bill, I understand, will be ready to be introduced to-morrow.

Mr. MANN. Very likely we may be engaged pretty closely next week, and a good many Members would like to know if they could be away Friday and Saturday.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think they could. My intention is to ask to-morrow, when we adjourn, to adjourn over until Monday.

Mr. MANN. Could we reach that agreement to-day?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. Speaker, I will ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-morrow it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. Monday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent——

Mr. GARDNER. Reserving the right to object, does the gentleman expect to dispose of the conference report, if there is one, on the bond bill to-morrow?

Mr. KITCHIN. I hope to do so, if there is no objection to it, to-morrow afternoon.

Mr. LANGLEY. Does the gentleman expect the military bill to come up Monday?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-morrow it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. next Monday. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

PUNISHMENT FOR DESTRUCTION OF WAR MATERIAL.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up the bill S. 383.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina calls up the bill S. 383, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 383) to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the words "war material" as used herein shall include arms, armament, ammunition, clothing, food, supplies, stores, and all other articles of whatever description requisite to, or intended to be used in connection with, the conduct of war by the United States, as well as all machinery and other articles and accessories required for or connected with the production or manufacture of such war material.

The words "war premises" as used herein shall include all buildings, grounds, mines, or other places wherein such war material is being or is intended to be produced or stored; and all forts, arsenals, navy yards, camps, prisons, or other military or naval stations of the United States.

The words "war utilities," as used herein, shall include all railroads, electric lines, roads of whatever description, railroad bridges, railroad stations and terminals, wharves, docks, piers, shipbuilding yards, canals, canal locks, steamships, all other ships and vessels, automobiles, trucks, wagons, or any other means of transportation whatsoever whereon or whereby such war material or any troops of the United States are being or intended to be transported either within the limits of the United States or upon the high seas, and all dams, reservoirs, aqueducts water and gas mains, and pipes, structures, and buildings, whereby or in connection with which water or gas is being or intended to be furnished to the United States, and all electric light and power, telephone and telegraph plants, poles, wires, and fixtures, and wireless stations, and the buildings connected with the maintenance and operation thereof used or intended to be used to supply light, power, or facilities of communication to the United States.

The words "United States" shall include all territory and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

SEC. 2. That whoever in the United States, during time of war, shall willfully injure or destroy by fire, or by use of explosives, or by other violent means, or shall attempt so to injure or destroy any war material, war premises, or any war utilities, as herein defined, or any building or other property of the United States, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 30 years, or both.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, the reading of the bill is about the best explanation that can be made of it.

The last section, section 2, provides:

That whoever in the United States, during time of war, shall willfully injure or destroy by fire, or by use of explosives, or by other violent means, or shall attempt to injure or destroy any war material, war premises, or any war utilities, as herein defined, or any building, or other property of the United States, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 30 years, or both.

As the House knows, there has been a great deal of lawlessness in this country during the last two years. This bill is aimed to help to put the forces of the United States in conjunction with the State authorities in preventing damage and injury to facilities which are incidental to and important to our national defense. It only exists during this war. As the report says, most of these offenses described in the bill are already covered by State laws. But acts that are aimed so peculiarly at the success of our armed forces ought to be covered in time of war by Federal law also. And that is practically all there is to this bill. The Senate passed it unanimously.

Mr. MANN. I ask for recognition in opposition to the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for an hour.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I am willing to do almost anything necessary, willing to do anything that is necessary, in the conduct of the war. But this bill now presented to the House is a most remarkable piece of suggested legislation ever in the history of the world presented to a legislative assembly in a free country. What does it propose to do?

In general terms it proposes to confer upon the United States courts jurisdiction over all crimes which may be committed in the United States anywhere, and practically to deprive the State courts of jurisdiction, though they would still retain concurrent jurisdiction over the same crimes.

We have the Federal Government and the State governments. The jurisdiction of the Federal Government over crime is a closely confined jurisdiction. The State courts and the States have jurisdiction over most crimes which are committed. But under the guise of protecting war materials it is proposed by this bill to confer upon the Federal Government jurisdiction over everything.

What does it say? It provides in section 2 for a penalty of $10,000 fine or 30 years' imprisonment upon anyone who shall attempt to injure or destroy by the use of explosives or other

violent means—that covers nearly everything—attempts to injure or destroy any war material, war premises, or any war utilities.

That looks well—war materials, war premises, or war utilities. But the bill contains the definition of these terms. What are war materials? War materials include arms, armament, ammunition, clothing, food, supplies, stores, and all other articles of whatever description requisite to the conduct of war by the United States, as well as war machinery and other articles *and accessories* connected with the production and manufacture of such war materials.

Why, that covers everything that we make, raise, or produce. It includes the farmer, the miner, the manufacturer. I do not know that they use lawyers in connection with the Army, but it includes doctors and all their materials.

Mr. SANFORD. Well, it might.

Mr. MANN. Some gentleman says it might.

Mr. MAYS. Preachers, too.

Mr. MANN. Well, it does. They are all requisite to the conduct of war. That is the intention of the bill. Then it describes war utilities. War utilities include all railroads, electric lines, roads of whatever description, pikes, improved roads, roads that are not improved, railroad bridges, railroad stations, all terminals, wharves, docks, piers, shipbuilding yards, canals, canal locks, steamships, all other ships and vessels, all automobile trucks, wagons, or other means of transportation whatsoever whereby or whereon such war materials are being transported or intended to be transported within the limits of the United States, and all dams, reservoirs, and aqueducts. Well, that is in reference to electric lights and power plants. Those are where they are furnishing power to the United States. That is legitimate. But the other description of war materials makes them include everything that can transport any of the war materials which have been defined, and as including everything that may be used in connection with an army. That includes all means of transportation. There is nothing left where the State would have sole jurisdiction.

Now, I know there may be cases—there are always particular cases—that may be pointed out where it is desirable to have somebody punished, where the person has not been punished. If all criminal codes, all penal statutes, were based upon the idea of inevitably punishing everybody who had committed a crime, no person would ever have a chance to be found not guilty. We pay some attention to the rights of citizens. Now, what is the need of turning over this jurisdiction to the Federal Government? What is the need of having the Department of Justice engaged with thousands of prosecutions, filling every Federal court with criminal cases?

The railroad companies have for years been endeavoring to get Congress to claim jurisdiction over all crimes connected with railroad property, claiming that inasmuch as they are instrumentalities of interstate commerce we have jurisdiction, and to oust the State courts of jurisdiction in this respect. Of course, this bill does not oust the State courts, because a man who commits a crime under this bill can be punished by the Federal Government, sent to the penitentiary for 30 years, and after he comes out can be punished by the State and sentenced for another 30 years if the State statute provides for it. It is the same act, but there are two offenses—one against the United States and one against the State.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. If the defendant has been put in jeopardy and had a trial for one of these offenses, the State could not prosecute again or the Federal Government would not?

Mr. MANN. The gentleman says they would not.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. I was about to ask my learned friend from Chicago.

Mr. MANN. Would they not?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Is not the plea of former jeopardy sufficient?

Mr. MANN. There are two crimes. The act is the same. A man can not be put in jeopardy twice for the same crime, but we can declare a thing a crime which the State had declared a crime, and then there are two crimes.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. There is but one performance, and it is but one crime.

Mr. MANN. Well, that is not a matter open to controversy. It has been decided repeatedly between the Federal and State courts. That is not a matter of controversy. There are two crimes. Now, do we want to say that all of these people shall be subject to prosecution in the Federal courts? Do we want to start in and raise a police force to guard all the automobiles in the country? Under this provision, if a man steals an automobile—the Lord knows I hope they will not steal any of yours—he can be brought into a Federal court. While I do not suppose they would send him to the penitentiary for 30 years or fine him $10,000, they could. Why should we, on the part of the Federal Government, attempt to police all of these different things throughout the United States?

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. KEARNS. Speaking of automobiles, that would not apply to private automobiles?

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. KEARNS. It says an automobile that is going to be used in the transportation of troops or war materials, or intended to be.

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. KEARNS. But a private automobile is not intended to be in it.

Mr. MANN. I do not know whether it would be intended to be in it or not. There will be many of them that will be.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I concur very much in the sentiment the gentleman is expressing; but I call his attention to the fact that he is somewhat inaccurate in saying that one who steals an automobile becomes subject to the penalties of this act. It really is not as broad as that.

Mr. MANN. Possibly not. He would have to injure the automobile. Of course, if he injured it after he stole it, why then he would be subject to the penalty.

Mr. BUTLER. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. BUTLER. Suppose a man should set fire to his own smokehouse and consume some meat. Would he be liable to be dragged off to the Federal court and punished?

Mr. CARLIN. He would be liable to be dragged off to a lunatic asylum. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUTLER. Or suppose he should set fire to his storehouse containing food or provisions.

Mr. MANN. Of course he would be subject to the penalty. That is what this bill is for.

Mr. BUTLER. It seems to me that is going some.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. TOWNER. It is not limited to war material, because in the third line on the third page it says:

> Or any building or other property of the United States.

That is, if anyone shall willfully injure, by violent means, any building of the United States. If a boy should throw a stone through the window of any Government post office, warehouse, or other Government building in the United States, would not that be within the terms of this bill?

Mr. MANN. Oh, undoubtedly.

Mr. TOWNER. And subject him to the penalty of $10,000 fine or 30 years' imprisonment.

Mr. MANN. Well, of course, he is subject to a penalty now if he destroys or injures Government property.

Mr. TOWNER. Hardly to 30 years' imprisonment.

Mr. MANN. Well, I do not think they will ever give 30 years' imprisonment to a boy, not even if he lived that long. But I can not understand the purpose of bringing before this House a proposition like this, which passed the Senate unanimously and was reported from the Committee on the Judiciary unanimously. I suppose the second section probably was carefully considered——

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. In just a moment. I would not have any objection to having a penal provision of the United States imposed against anyone who destroys actual war material or war premises or war utilities of the United States. If our Government has purchased war materials, I think we ought to protect them; but that is not this bill. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. In the gentleman's judgment, what is meant by lines 22 and 23, on page 2:

> The words "United States" shall include all territory and waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

Is it intended by that language to restrict the scope and effect of this bill to Territories and Government reservations, or the District of Columbia, or navigable rivers and waters of the United States, or does it simply mean all the territory in the United States and its island possessions? Is not that a limitation?

Mr. MANN. It means all the territory in the United States and its island possessions, and the waters surrounding them, and the ships of the United States, wherever they may be at sea.

Mr. GRAHAM of Illinois. This could not be construed, then, as a limitation of the jurisdiction of our Federal courts, in the gentleman's opinion?

Mr. MANN. Oh, no; no limitation at all. It is intended as an extension.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. In view of the question asked by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER], I should like to ask the gentleman's opinion of the meaning of the words:

Of whatever description requisite to.

Could those words possibly be interpreted to include such a case as the gentleman has mentioned, namely, if a man had on his own premises a quantity of hay or oats or meat, and destroyed them, would he be amenable to this law?

Mr. MANN. While I will not undertake to say how the courts will construe it, if the act does not mean that it means nothing.

Mr. BUTLER. It says:

Food * * * requisite to, or intended to be used in connection with, the conduct of war.

Mr. MANN. Unless it refers to the description of materials by character as requisite to that purpose it means nothing.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I think that language is very peculiar and open to doubt. I looked in the dictionary this morning, and found that the word "requisite" has a variety of meanings. Of course, we all know what it commonly means, but I notice in the dictionary it repeatedly uses the word "indispensable," as synonymous. Of course, in that event it would not——

Mr. MANN. It would be very easy to draw this bill so that it would only cover injury to property which the United States had acquired. If that were the purpose, that would have been easy. But that is not the purpose. It refers to the character of property which is requisite to or intended to be used in connection with the conduct of war by the United States. Now, if it refers to the character of the property, it includes all food supplies and all other supplies, clothing and everything that goes to make up those supplies. I will ask the gentleman from Ohio if that is what he is trying to cover by this bill?

Mr. GARD. When the gentleman concludes I shall be glad to make a statement in regard to that.

Mr. MANN. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. JUUL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARD].

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, I have a common purpose with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] in seeking to make this bill as perfect as we possibly can, even under the circumstances of exigency under which the bill is reported.

Some of the illustrations which the gentleman has used are pertinent, but I think they are a little bit extended. While it seems to me the bill is very broad, I think it does not go to the extreme limit set by the gentleman from Illinois. In other words, I think the restriction of war material and war premises and war utilities means that the material, premises, and utilities are used in connection with the conduct of the war of the United States.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Also "requisite to."

Mr. GARD. We can not reasonably presume that the words "clothing, food, supplies, stores" include all clothing, food, supplies, or stores in the United States, but only such clothing, food, supplies, and stores as are used in the conduct of the war by the United States. The same explanation I make for the "war premises" described in line 10, and in lines 1, 2, and 3 on page 2. It is apparent that both these definitions mean that the war materials and war premises alike mean materials and premises that are used in the conduct of the war. The other word "utilities" the gentleman has given a very broad meaning to and makes the illustration that one might steal an automobile and be liable under this law. Of course, this law does not deal with larceny. I make the broader explanation that the words "war utilities" in this bill means such facilities for troops of the United States as are being transported either within the limits of the United States or upon the high seas. In other words, it means that the utility used in war and for the purpose of a war as controlled by this bill. The qualifying words are again used with reference to dams, reservoirs, aqueducts, water, and gas mains; that these are used where the water and gas are intended to be furnished to the United States and also with reference to electric light and power.

These are utilities of the United States, all with the denominating and controlling idea, as I read the bill, that the material, premises, and utilities are used in the conduct of the war. I know that we all subscribe our best efforts at all times to the successful and speedy conclusion of this war. It seems to me the object of the bill is to assemble under the Federal control, subject to punishment in a Federal court, a number of things which are here designated as war materials, war premises, and as war utilities. In order that that may be thoroughly understood, it seems to me that this part of the bill in question should have an amendment, and the amendment I would suggest is that, after the word "defined," in line 3, on page 3, the words "under the control of the United States" should be inserted, so that section 2 would read:

SEC. 2. That whoever in the United States, during time of war, shall willfully injure or destroy by fire, or by use of explosives, or by other violent means, or shall attempt so to injure or destroy any war material, war premises, or any war utilities, as herein defined, under the control of the United States—

And so forth.

Mr. LENROOT. With that limitation, what would the definition of war purposes mean with reference to railroads and electric lines?

Mr. GARD. Such as might be under the control of the United States for transportation of troops in time of war.

Mr. LENROOT. But they are not under the control of the United States.

Mr. GARD. They are not now, but may be in time of war. This bill has no application except during the time of war.

Mr. LENROOT. Would not that change the whole purpose of the bill as reported?

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Is it not intended to protect steel mills, munition factories owned by private corporations, their products being intended for war use?

Mr. GARD. While munitions are being manufactured for the United States.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Precisely. The gentleman's amendment, as I understood him, would seek to put this property all within the control of the United States, and they might not be under the control of the United States. They might be private property, but all of great importance to the Government. May I ask the gentleman to discuss the use of the word "requisite," which he has not discussed, which is found in line 5, page 1.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARD. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. I do not think it is possible, and neither do I think it is desirable, to try to finish the bill to-night. Why not let it go over and allow Members of the House who have not examined the bill a chance to do so.

Mr. GARD. I have not the bill in charge, and would therefore ask that you make this request of the gentleman from North Carolina, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MANN. I hope the gentleman from North Carolina will move to adjourn and let this bill go over. I am sure that some Members of the House will want to study it.

Mr. WEBB. I hope if we do that that by the time we meet again the gentleman from Illinois will be inclined to support the bill.

Mr. MANN. I hope so, and if the gentleman from North Carolina studies the bill, I think he will be in favor of my interpretation. It ought to be made clear.

Mr. GARD. I am sure that we both will be glad of any suggestion to make the bill clear.

Mr. WEBB. I want to say that I realize that this is a very broad bill and the committee would not think of reporting it in a time of peace, but we do feel that the success of our Army and Navy and the national defense ought to have every instrumentality that it is possible to provide to insure success.

Mr. MANN. I am willing if it becomes necessary as a matter of national defense to practically appoint a dictator, but we have not reached the point yet, in the effort to establish democracy throughout the world, to absolutely abandon our own form of government. [Applause.] All I ask is to have the matter go over, so that we may have an opportunity to examine more carefully the bill.

Mr. WEBB. I am going to agree to that, but there are a number of crimes committed every day which affect the national defense, and we ought to have the power in the Government to stop them.

Mr. MANN. Let the gentleman come in and tell us what those crimes are.

Mr. WEBB. The gentleman has read about them in the newspapers.

Mr. MANN. Oh, no; I do not read the newspapers much, and much of what I do read I do not believe.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Only when they speak well of the gentleman from Illinois. [Laughter.]

Mr. MANN. They never do.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It is the purpose of the gentleman to consider amendments when we take the bill up again, is it not?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I want to call attention to the fact that in section 2 the bill says "that whoever in the United States during a time of war." I take it that what the committee meant is that when this country is engaged in war, and that, of course, should be made clear. They do not mean that when there is war anywhere else in the world.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, there is another suggestion which I would like to have the chairman of the committee consider, and that is following the words "or any building or other property of the United States." Certainly it seems to me that should be limited by an amendment which would declare that those were used for war purposes. That could be very easily corrected.

Mr. WEBB. I do not know. The blowing up of a post office or a customhouse would be the destruction of property of the United States.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. Is there not provision already for punishment for that crime?

Mr. WEBB. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. That has already been provided for and adequate punishment provided, but we do not want to add to the penalty 30 years of imprisonment.

Mr. WEBB. Oh, that is the maximum. They could punish a man by imprisonment for three months in jail or five minutes in jail. I am very glad, however, to have the gentleman's suggestion.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the gentleman's attention to line 7, on page 1, where it refers to the manufacture of war material. Why not put in the words "or its allies"?

Mr. WEBB. Strictly speaking we have not any allies as yet. Legally speaking that would not be proper.

Mr. PLATT. Well, any other words that would cover it.

Mr. GARNER. No expression so far by any bill in Congress has indicated that we have any allies, and I think it has been the impression of some that no such thing could be used.

Mr. TOWNER. But words which mean what the gentleman says could be used, without using the word "allies."

Mr. GARNER. The gentleman would not suggest that by any act of Congress we declare what the future policy should be?

Mr. TOWNER. Oh, certainly not. I am as much against any alliance as is the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PLATT. I should not like myself to use the word "allies."

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I think this bill should be clearly safeguarded from loose phraseology, or great trouble may follow. Material which potentially may be used for war seems to be synonymous with material actually used for war or intended to be used for war; that is, if material is potentially adapted to war purposes it seems to be subject to the provisions of this bill. It looks to me as if that is going pretty far. The mere adaptability of an article for war uses should not make it offensive property and subject it to the criminal procedure provided by this bill, but property or material should be either used for war or intended to be used for war before becoming amenable to the crimes provided for by this bill.

Mr. WEBB. Oh, yes; it ought to be criminal. It ought to be a crime for a man to blow up a barn of wheat; but the question of whether we should extend the laws of the United States is another thing. It ought to be a most heinous crime to destroy any property of this Government or of an individual by a bomb, by fire, or by explosive material. The question is whether we should extend the jurisdiction of the United States to punish such crimes.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is in my mind—how far we are to extend the criminal jurisdiction of the United States to offenses against material not used in war and not intended to be used in war. Surely the distinction is substantive, or we will confound the penal laws of the States and those of the Nation.

Mr. SLOAN. Is it not presumed that all of the States of this Union will be vigilant in the matter of the prosecution of such crimes as the destruction of property? Every State has laws for the punishment of criminal acts.

Mr. WEBB. But the States at the present time have not got the means, have not got the secret-service men to run down these crimes as the United States Government has. That is one reason why I am willing to support the bill during war. However, I can assure the House that the committee is not wedded to the bill, and will accept any amendment which seems to clarify or perfect it.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the gentleman a question. Gentlemen have been discussing this measure in its various features. As I understand it, our Government is one of limited power, and can exercise no power not delegated to it in the Constitution. I do not believe that a single line of this bill is constitutional, except that part of the bill which provides for the protection of property which belongs to the Government of the United States. I want the gentleman to show to-morrow if he can find a section of the Constitution that delegates to the Federal Government the power to denounce as a crime within the boundary of a State such an action as that he indicated a while ago—the burning up of a barn of wheat, that may have been intended for the use of the Government of the United States, but not owned by it. You can not extend, in my judgment, the question of intention as connected with crimes committed within the boundaries of a State, so as to give the Federal Government jurisdiction in time of war or in time of peace. The Constitution is the same, we ought to recollect, in time of war as in time of peace.

Mr. WEBB. I agree with my friend.

Mr. MOON. You can not pass any law, in my judgment, that will encroach upon the jurisdiction and rights of the States by conferring by this Congress a power on the courts that the Constitution itself does not give. This bill is in no way connected with any section of the Constitution, in my judgment, that makes it valid, except as to property that belongs to or is under the control of the United States. We must not usurp power. Let us amend this bill so as to protect our interests. We can do so as far as the Constitution permits, and that is far enough.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 19 minutes) the House adjourned to meet at 12 o'clock noon to-morrow, Thursday, April 19, 1917.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of the Navy submitting urgent estimates of appropriations required for the Naval Establishment for the fiscal year 1918 and to be immediately available (H. Doc. No. 27); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the superintendent State, War, and Navy Department Buildings submitting additional estimates of appropriations required for the service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 28); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PADGETT: A bill (H. R. 3330) to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 3331) for the protection of the owners of mining claims and of desert-land entrymen who enter the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 3332) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell and convey certain land to the city of Faribault, Minn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3333) for the construction of new lookouts in the post office at Red Wing, Minn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3334) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at South St. Paul, Minn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3335) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at Northfield, Minn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 3336) for the support and education of the Indian pupils at the Fort Bidwell Indian School,

California, for repairs and improvements, erecting barn and silo, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3337) to provide for the naturalization of certain aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3338) to authorize the issue to States and Territories of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky (by request): A bill (H. R. 3339) to regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 3340) to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to certify to the Secretary of the Interior, for restoration to the public domain, lands in the State of Louisiana not needed for naval purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GREGG: A bill (H. R. 3341) providing for addition and repairs to the post-office building at Galveston, Tex.: to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3342) to provide for the purchase of a site for customhouse at Galveston, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3343) to provide for the purchase of ground and the erection of a public building thereon for a marine hospital, to be used also in connection with the Immigration Service, in the city of Galveston, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3344) to establish a marine fish-cultural station in the State of Texas in the vicinity of Galveston; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3345) to amend the Revised Statutes of the United States by adding thereto section 4547a, to provide for a more efficient remedy for the collection of seamen's wages and to provide fees for officers issuing and serving process; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3346) authorizing the erection of a post-office building at Crockett, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GLYNN: A bill (H. R. 3347) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon in the village of Winsted, in the town of Winchester, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3348) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Derby, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 3349) to authorize the President in time of war to give direction to exports from the United States so as to insure their wise, economical, and profitable distribution to other countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3350) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEENERSON: A bill (H. R. 3351) to aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. BATHRICK: A bill (H. R. 3352) to provide an agricultural army under military control to supply the deficiency in farm labor and better secure sufficient food for the people; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 3353) to acquire a site for a public building at Hartford, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3354) for the erection of a public building at South Manchester in the town of Manchester, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3355) for the purchase of a post-office site at Enfield, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3356) for the purchase of a post-office site at Southington, Conn.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BOOHER: A bill (H. R. 3357) to limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 3358) authorizing the compensation of rural mail carriers or their heirs for injuries received while on duty; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3359) to promote the safety of travelers and employees upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to adopt uniform rules for the operation of railroad trains and to use a uniform system of signals for authorizing the movement of railroad trains; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3360) to amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1906, as amended by the act approved August 23, 1912; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3361) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 2291 and section 2297 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to homesteads; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3362) to amend an act to provide for an enlarged homestead, approved June 17, 1910; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3363) to amend section 237 of an act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3364) to provide for the erection of a schoolhouse for the detached Indians living in the Kootenai Valley, Idaho; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3365) authorizing the sale of land within the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation to the University of Idaho; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3366) for the protection of foodstuffs in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3367) to provide for an investigation and report relative to the adoption of a system of old-age insurance or pensions; to the Committee on Labor.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3368) to amend section — of an act defining matter that may be admitted to second-class mail privileges; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3369) to extend the franking privilege to the American National Red Cross; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 3370) to define liability for military training and service in the permanent land forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3371) to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United State and for Members of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3372) granting leave of absence to homestead entrymen; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. ROGERS: A bill (H. R. 3373) to provide for the purpose of a site and the erection of a new public building at Lowell, Mass., and also for the sale of the present post-office building and its site; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3374) punishing conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OLIVER of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 3375) to provide a preliminary survey of the Sipsey River, Ala., with a view of the control of its floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3376) to provide a preliminary survey of the Cahaba River, Ala., with a view of the control of its floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3377) for the purchase of a site for the erection thereon of a public building at Eaton Rapids, Mich.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3378) for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Marshall, Mich.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. AUSTIN: A bill (H. R. 3379) to provide for leave of absence for Government employees called upon to perform service as members of military or naval organization; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

By Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 3380) creating a commission for the development and control of the waterways and water resources of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. VOLSTEAD: A bill (H. R. 3381) to aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. RAGSDALE: Resolution (H. Res. 62) to amend the rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. LAZARO: Resolution (H. Res. 63) to allow a session clerk to the Committee on Enrolled Bills; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. BRAND: Resolution (H. Res. 64) to print as a public document the President's proclamation of April 16, 1917; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. FRENCH: Resolution (H. Res. 65) fixing an annual memorial day for the House of Representatives and providing for the appointment of a committee on memorials; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CARTER of Oklahoma: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 57) to authorize the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives to continue the investigation of the Indian Service; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DAVIS: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 58) directing the Secretary of the Treasury to acquire by purchase the estate known as Monticello, in the State of Virginia, including the former home of Thomas Jefferson and lands surrounding the same, being about 700 acres, said property being located in Albemarle County, Va.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GRAY of New Jersey (by request): Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 59) making the 19th of April an annual national holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRENCH: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 60) to permit suspension of annual assessment work on mining claims entered by persons who subsequently thereto enlist in the service of the Army or the Navy during the pending war; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 61) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREW: Memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Nevada, favoring amendment to interstate commerce law providing for an absolute long-and-short-haul provision and eliminating the back-haul charges which are assessed against the people of Nevada on both east and west bound transcontinental freight traffic; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3382) granting a pension to Sylvester H. Beadle; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3383) granting a pension to Abraham A. Randles; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3384) granting an increase of pension to George W. Boyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3385) granting an increase of pension to Arthur D. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3386) granting an increase of pension to Cicero H. Boden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 3387) granting a pension to Charles F. Rich; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3388), granting a pension to Wheeler Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3389) granting a pension to John W. Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3390) granting an increase of pension to Henry Johns; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3391) granting an increase of pension to George T. Harwood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3392) granting an increase of pension to Hutcheons B. Durham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3393) granting an increase of pension to Solomon F. Hallett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3394) granting an increase of pension to Myron Corwin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3395) for the relief of C. L. Walker; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3396) for the relief of Thomas Curneen, alias Thomas Curtis; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3397) for the relief of John Geiger; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CROSSER: A bill (H. R. 3398) granting a pension to Hattie Kinkade; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3399) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Smolen; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3400) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Fovargue; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DAVIS: A bill (H. R. 3401) granting a pension to Capt. John H. Dorsey, Glencoe, Minn.; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3402) granting a pension to Herman W. Thurnau; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3403) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan H. Robbins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3404) for the relief of Edward J. Klossner; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3405) for the relief of Fred Klossner; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3406) for the relief of J. P. J. Johnston; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3407) for the relief of Anton H. Burg; to the Committee on Claims.

Also a bill (H. R. 3408) for the relief of William E. Jones, Faribault, Minn.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3409) for the relief of Stephen A. Randolph; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DEMPSEY: A bill (H. R. 3410) granting an increase of pension to Tena Allard; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3411) granting an increase of pension to Spencer H. Hodges; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. EAGLE: A bill (H. R. 3412) granting an increase of pension to Theadore Tooley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 3413) granting an increase of pension to Charles Dominick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3414) for the relief of S. S. Markley; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. FREEMAN: A bill (H. R. 3415) granting a pension to Mary L. Christy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3416) granting a pension to Abby K. Murray; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3417) granting a pension to Anton E. Sauter; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3418) granting a pension to Mary E. Breen, of New London, Conn.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3419) granting a pension to James F. Lynch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3420) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Ann Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3421) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. White, New London, Conn.; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3422) granting an increase of pension to Timothy Quinn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3423) granting an increase of pension to William H. Shippee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3424) granting an increase of pension to Robert Shannon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3425) granting an increase of pension to Albert Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3426) granting an increase of pension to John O'Brien; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3427) granting an increase of pension to Etta J. Knowlton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3428) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth E. Frink; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3429) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Crumley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3430) granting an increase of pension to Augusta Anderson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3431) for the relief of Edward W. Whitaker; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 3432) granting a pension to Taylor Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3433) granting a pension to Joseph L. Heugl; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3434) granting a pension to Leo Tucker; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3435) granting a pension to Horace G. Pope; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3436) granting a pension to Joseph N. Foster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3437) granting a pension to John Miller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3438) granting a pension to Sue M. Burch; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3439) granting a pension to Susan C. Davidson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3440) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Pearl D. Briggs; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3441) granting an increase of pension to Richard Harris; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3442) granting an increase of pension to Theodore Link; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3443) granting an increase of pension to Floyd L. Campbell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3444) granting a pension to Mrs. Mary F. Sheerer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3445) granting an increase of pension to Nelson Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3446) granting an increase of pension to Henry Cummings; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3447) for the relief of Oliver P. Pring; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3448) for the relief of Thomas P. Darr; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3449) for the relief of O. W. Lindsley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3450) for the relief of Hattie Moody; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3451) for the relief of Clarence Hazelbaker; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3452) for the relief of Oliver P. Pring; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GLYNN: A bill (H. R. 3453) for the relief of William F. Fogarty; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GOODALL: A bill (H. R. 3454) granting an increase of pension to Noah W. Gerrish; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GREGG: A bill (H. R. 3455) granting a pension to Frank Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3456) granting an increase of pension to Martha Ann Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3457) for the relief of Charles Funk; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3458) for the relief of certain employees of the Bureau of Lighthouses; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HENSLEY: A bill (H. R. 3459) granting an increase of pension to A. G. Gipson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3460) granting an increase of pension to Israel L. Hahn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3461) granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Herter; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3462) granting an increase of pension to Eliza E. Sutherland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3463) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Gorman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3464) granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Hearing; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HICKS: A bill (H. R. 3465) for the relief of the estate of Henry A. V. Post; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KETTNER: A bill (H. R. 3466) granting an increase of pension to James P. Cadman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LEA of California: A bill (H. R. 3467) for the relief of Carrie A. Notley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LITTLE: A bill (H. R. 3468) reinstating Roy F. Waring to his former rank and grade in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LITTLEPAGE: A bill (H. R. 3469) granting a pension to J. E. Hawes; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3470) granting a pension to Bernia B. Lucas; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3471) granting a pension to William E. Crookshanks; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3472) granting a pension to James Henry; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3473) granting a pension to Walter A. Stanley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3474) granting a pension to John L. Legg; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3475) granting a pension to Benjamin L. Rutherford; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3476) granting an increase of pension to James R. Whittington; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3477) granting a pension to John J. Lacy; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3478) granting a pension to Calvin J. Newman; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3479) granting a pension to William R. Botkin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3480) granting a pension to Chesley Rhoden; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3481) granting a pension to John H. Caldwell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3482) granting an increase of pension to Charles T. Howard; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3483) granting an increase of pension to George W. Arbogast; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3484) granting an increase of pension to Martha L. Lloyd, widow of A. J. Lloyd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3485) granting an increase of pension to Lewis L. Mullins; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3486) granting an increase of pension to Norval Jones; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3487) granting an increase of pension to Creed F. White; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3488) granting an increase of pension to Townsend Roberts; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3489) granting an increase of pension to Gilbert Scarbrough; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3490) granting an increase of pension to John Walton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3491) granting an increase of pension to Emma L. Slack, widow of John W. Slack; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3492) granting an increase of pension to George W. Conley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3493) granting an increase of pension to John A. Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3494) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Withrow; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3495) granting an increase of pension to Rosa Matheny, widow of James A. Matheny; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3496) granting an increase of pension to Martin V. B. Holstine; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3497) granting an increase of pension to Pauline Williams, widow of Wesley Williams; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3498) granting an increase of pension to B. F. Harless; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3499) granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Jopling; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3500) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth A. Quick, widow of Thomas F. Quick; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3501) granting an increase of pension to Meredith Landers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3502) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Comer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3503) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Swinburn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3504) granting an increase of pension to Clara Wildman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3505) granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Holden; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3506) granting an increase of pension to Mary Alice Brightwell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3507) granting an increase of pension to William R. Pierce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3508) granting an increase of pension to Julia Keeney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3509) granting an increase of pension to Emma M. Greenlee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3510) granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Cottrill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3511) granting an increase of pension to John W. Lanham; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3512) granting an increase of pension to Albert Booker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3513) granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Samples; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LOBECK: A bill (H. R. 3514) to place George Johnstone Stoney on the retired list of the Army with the rank of captain; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McANDREWS: A bill (H. R. 3515) for the relief of Mary Ann Gordon; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3516) for the relief of W. L. Clifford, formerly a letter carrier, now a clerk in the service of the Post Office Department of the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McCLINTIC: A bill (H. R. 3517) granting a pension to Joseph Vanderpool; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3518) for the relief of J. W. Dellinger; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MARTIN of Louisiana: A bill (H. R. 3519) granting a pension to Marcelle M. Muller, Anthony N. Muller, jr., and Maud Muller; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3520) for the relief of I. C. Johnson, jr.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3521) for the relief of Capt. Thomas R. Clark; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3522) for the relief of the estate of Loyeau Berhel, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3523) for the relief of the heirs of Joseph Piernas, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MEEKER: A bill (H. R. 3524) granting an increase of pension to William Wells; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3525) for the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 3526) granting an increase of pension to Wiley Lambkin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHERWOOD: A bill (H. R. 3527) granting an increase of pension to Mathew Whitford; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3528) granting an increase of pension to Henry G. Hixon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3529) granting a pension to James Smalley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3530) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STERLING of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 3531) granting an increase of pension to William Newell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3532) for the relief of Peter Michel; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STRONG: A bill (H. R. 3533) granting a medal of honor to John Sampson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SWIFT: A bill (H. R. 3534) granting an increase of pension to George S. Keiper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 3535) for the relief of the widow of Joseph C. Akin; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3536) for the relief of Jose Ramon Cordova; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3537) for the relief of Jacob Holman; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3538) for the relief of Henry C. Hickman; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3539) for the reimbursement of James E. Murphy for the loss of a horse while hired by the United States Reclamation Service; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3540) for the reimbursement of James Caviness for the loss of his residence while occupied as camp headquarters by United States Geological Survey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 3541) granting an increase of pension to William M. Wright; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 3542) for the appointment of John P. Markoe as second lieutenant in the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE of Maine: A bill (H. R. 3543) granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Joy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3544) granting a pension to Ivory W. Emerson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of Sedalia Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), memorial of sundry citizens of the United States, approving action of the President in declaring war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ADAMSON: Memorial of the Savannah (Ga.) Cotton Exchange, favoring universal military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Savannah (Ga.) Cotton Exchange relative to war risks on American vessels and cargoes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of the State, County, and Municipal Health Officers' Association, indorsing universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Petition of H. B. Allen, and 40 others, of Warsaw, Ohio, against conscription and universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BACON: Petition of 190 citizens of Ann Arbor, Mich., against compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, resolutions by Lenawee County (Mich.) Board of Supervisors, favoring military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also resolution of Lenawee County (Mich.) Patriotic League, favoring selective conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of 41 citizens of Ann Arbor, Mich., favoring compulsory service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of 45 citizens of Ann Arbor, Mich., favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, telegram from Jackson (Mich.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring universal service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BROWNING: Memorial of New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, urging cessation of manufacture of luxuries; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CAREW: Memorial of Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Westchester County Commission of General Safety, White Plains, N. Y., favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Military Engineering Committee of New York, relative to organizing engineer troops by the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petition of Harry R. Willis, of Brooklyn, N. Y., against duty of 15 cents per pound on tea; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FOSS: Memorial of citizens of Waukegan, Ill., and city council of Chicago, urging universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the Realty Club of Chicago in favor of compulsory military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of League of the Greek Liberals of Boston and Vicinity, relative to loyalty to the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring compulsory universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GARDNER: Memorial of Greek-Americans of Boston and citizens of Newburyport, Mass., pledging support to the President in present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of citizens of Georgetown, Mass., relating to drafting of men into United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Memorial of committee of 100 citizens of Trenton, N. J., favoring universal military training, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McANDREWS: Memorial of Realty Club of Chicago, Ill., relative to compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAINEY: Memorials of sundry citizens and church organizations of the State of Illinois, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Cigar Makers' Union, No. 114, Jacksonville, Ill., against prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Realty Club of Chicago, Ill., favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWE: Memorial of the Business Men's National Service League in re establishment of a Federal rifle range in northern New Jersey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Board of Directors of "The Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York," pledging loyalty and support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., favoring a national prohibition amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of municipal engineers of the city of New York, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the board of trustees of the College of the City of New York, and the Kumjoinus Club, of the Flatbush Congregational Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y., approving action of the President of the United States in present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of National Guard Association of the United States, favoring reorganization of the National Guard; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Papers to accompany House bill 1514, in pension case of Luther W. Holmes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNELL: Resolutions of the citizens of Tupper Lake, N. Y., approving the action of our Government and pledging the Government all the support they can give, without enmity or hatred of the German people, without any desire for territory or indemnities, but only in the interest of the oppressed, the weak, and the small, and in defense of democracy, humanity, and international law and righteousness; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: Petitions of sundry citizens and church organizations of the State of Colorado, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Pueblo (Colo.) Commerce Club, relative to construction and maintenance of a system of national highways; to the Committee on Roads.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of League of Greek Liberals of Boston and vicinity, pledging loyalty and support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Boston (Mass.) Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, pledging loyalty and support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VARE: Memorials of South Philadelphia High School and Philadelphia Board of Trade, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WARD: Petition of citizens of Plattekill and Gardiner, N. Y., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *April 19, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we open this session of our National Senate in Thy name. We desire no other glory than that which will promote the glory of Thy name. We know no blessing except that which can be freely given to us out of Thy hand as an expression of Thy love and in conformity to the great plans that Thou hast for us as a Nation. Breathe upon us this day. Give to us the God-fearing spirit and the purpose of heart and mind to fulfill Thy perfect will. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

IMPORTATION OF PRISON-MADE GOODS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting reports from the consuls at Cork, Ireland; Tsingtau, Canton, Foochow, Amoy, and Harbin, China; and Vladivostok, Siberia, relative to the extent to which prisoners, paupers, or detained persons are utilized in the production or manufacture of the commerce of various countries, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Printing.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 2893) to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. MYERS. I present several petitions from chambers of commerce and others in Montana in favor of conscript military service. I ask that they be published in the RECORD with the signatures.

Mr. SMOOT. I wish to ask the Senator if they are telegrams sent to him from individuals?

Mr. MYERS. They are in the nature of petitions to the Senate. I will state to the Senator that I have been receiving quite a number of such communications, and I have published very few. I intend to discontinue it. I thought it proper to publish a few and let it be known that I did not intend to keep it up in extenso. I never have done so.

Mr. SMOOT. I shall object to printing in the RECORD any more telegrams sent to Senators from private individuals or expressions of opinion that may come from private sources. I think we have allowed the RECORD to be encumbered with such matter long enough, and I know, unless we take a stand on this question, some Senators will be criticized for not having placed in the RECORD thousands of telegrams they get; but if it is understood that it is the policy of the Senate not to print them, then no one can object.

Mr. MYERS. I realize that. I have presented only a small percentage of those I have received.

Mr. SMOOT. I hope the Senator will have them referred to the appropriate committees.

Mr. MYERS. I understand the Senator does not object to these.

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I object, Mr. President.

Mr. MYERS. I will tell the Senator that I do not intend to pursue the policy any further. Some of these are of such a character that I think they should be published.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, this is about the hundredth time I have heard this same thing in the Senate. It is never carried out. If I have a telegram that I think is important in the nature of a petition, I shall ask to have it go in the RECORD; and if that is not agreed to, I shall endeavor to get it there by reading it. I think it is futile at this late day to undertake to enforce a rule or a practice that has not been enforced up to the present time. I think the Senator from Montana has a right to have the telegrams put in the RECORD, and I hope no objection will be made.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I have no other motive than to call a halt, if possible, to a practice that I do not believe ought to be further followed.

Mr. MYERS. I will say to the Senator that if he will withdraw his objection, I will call a halt on myself after this.

Mr. GALLINGER. John Quincy Adams settled the matter that citizens have a perfect right to petition the Congress of the United States, and that is all that this is.

Mr. SMOOT. I do not understand that these telegrams are petitions to Congress. They are telegrams that are sent to the Senator expressing the views of the sender. I think they ought to go to the proper committee.

Mr. MYERS. I understand there is no objection to the reception of the telegrams and printing them in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. NEW. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT Let us settle this question, because we might as well settle it first as last.

Mr. SMOOT. I think so

Mr. MYERS. I understand the Senator from Utah withdraws his objection. If there is no objection made, there is no question before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There are three of these that beyond question or doubt are petitions to the Congress of the United States for selective conscription. There is no doubt about the right to put those in the RECORD, because they come clearly within the proposition.

Mr. SMOOT. If they are addressed to Congress, I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The fourth one the Chair will submit to the Senate.

Mr. MYERS. If there is any dispute about it, I withdraw the request for the fourth one. I only presented these telegrams because it has been the custom.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The fourth is not a petition. Three are petitions, and they will go in the RECORD. The fourth will be returned to the Senator.

The telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUTTE, MONT., *April 17, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

At a regular meeting of the chamber of commerce last night your published indorsement of the President's war plans was commended unanimously. Resolutions were unanimously adopted favoring universal military service and immediate conscription, if deemed necessary by the President and the War College.

BUTTE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
CHAS. AUSTIN, *Secretary.*

POPLAR, MONT., *April 18, 1917.*

Senator HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

We urge your support of all measures advocated by the President during the present crisis. This community stands solidly behind him. We especially call your attention to the large tracts of coal lands on the

Fort Peck Reservation awaiting cultivation. Hundreds of settlers are waiting for steps to be taken that will open this land to homestead entry. Our organization indorses selective conscription.

POPLAR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

—

MILES CITY, MONT., *April 18, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Montana Stock Growers' Association by unanimous vote indorses the principle of universal military service by conscription, and while we believe the opportunity should be given for those who wish to enlist as volunteers, either as individuals or in volunteer organizations, this association requests our Representatives in Congress to support conscription and universal military service.

D. W. RAYMOND.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I am in receipt of a telegram from the mayor of Charleston, S. C., my home city, in reference to the conscription plan. I will have it censored and see whether it can properly go in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair takes pleasure in doing that. [After examining it.] There is no doubt about its being a petition.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHARLESTON, S. C., *April 18, 1917.*

Hon. E. D. SMITH,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting to-night of the permanent committee formed by Mayor Hyde to advise with him on all matters concerning this city's relations to the war situation, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this committee that the policy of selective compulsory military service, advocated by the President of the United States, should be enacted into law by Congress without delay."

Tristram T. Hyde, mayor, general chairman; James Simmons, first vice chairman; P. H. Gadsden, second vice chairman; George W. Williams, Robert Lathan, John F. Ohlandt, J. P. K. Bryan, J. S. Pinkussohn, W. H. Mixson, Thomas W. Carroll, O. J. Bond, Dr. Robert Wilson, jr., Sam Berlin, Julius M. Visanska, Louis Melchers, R. Hayne King, Andrew J. Riley, John P. Thomas, Jos. A. Volaski, B. S. McLeod, Hyman Parlstein, M. Rutledge Rivers, Leland Moore, Thomas P. Lesesne, Louis M. Shimel, Frank J. Simmons, Arthur Israel, W. S. Allan, Mourisgott J. Waties Waring, William H. Dunkin, Thomas P. Stoney, H. W. Mitchell, A. V. Snell, committee on patriotic cooperation.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, this whole thing is so absurd that it makes me weary. Any Senator can read those telegrams and they will go in the RECORD. I really am at a loss to know why the Senator from Utah should interpose an objection at this time. It will amount to nothing. It can not amount to anything.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair feels that the order being petitions and memorials, they have a certain definite meaning; and if an objection is raised, it is the duty of the Chair, in the first instance, to determine whether it is a petition or memorial. After the Chair has determined that question, it is then for the Senate to say, first, whether the Chair has properly ruled; and, secondly, if the Chair has properly ruled, whether the Senate will permit the printing or the reading of the document.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say to the Senator from New Hampshire——

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is not that the Chair is determining what shall go in the RECORD, but it comes up under the question as to whether they are petitions or memorials, and when an objection is raised certainly there must be some decision as to whether it is a petition or memorial.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I have not been an offender in this respect. I have had three telegrams placed in the RECORD. They were not technically petitions, and yet they dealt with great public questions. I propose in the future, if I have documents of that kind, to get them in the RECORD in some way, which I can do by reading them.

I think this controversy ought not to have been precipitated. Senators have a right, representing their constituents, to place the views of their constituents before the public, and we have a method by which we can do it notwithstanding all the objections which can be raised by a Senator who wishes to be technical or who wants to control the proceedings of this body.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I wish simply to say this——

Mr. GRONNA. I call for the regular order.

Mr. SMOOT. The RECORD shows——

Mr. GRONNA. I call for the regular order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The presentation of further petitions and memorials is in order.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I have since March 4 received several thousand letters and many scores of telegrams. I have been reflecting for some time as to what I ought to do with respect to the RECORD. I received a letter from a very prominent citizen of my State, who complains that other Senators have incorporated telegrams and letters in the RECORD and he had failed to see his own letter in the RECORD. I fear if I should attempt to put into the RECORD all the arguments pro and con that I receive on the important questions of to-day I would submerge and engulf debate in the Senate.

I want my constituents now to know that while I have incorporated no telegrams in the RECORD for a year they have been received and considered. It seems to me that the appropriate way to put telegrams and letters in the RECORD would be to deliver an address on the subject and then as an appendix to the speech the Senator delivers to put into the RECORD such telegrams and letters as the Senator may see fit.

When I first came to the Senate I was a very grave offender against the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because I thought it my duty to put in the RECORD nearly everything that came to me. I have changed my mind on that subject.

However, I wish to ask the Senate this morning to grant me unanimous consent to have read an article from a newspaper on one of the important questions of the day. It is from the Chicago Tribune. I ask this because I have not offended in this particular for more than a year.

Mr. BORAH. What is the subject?

Mr. ASHURST. It relates to censorship. I should like to have it read.

Mr. BORAH. I think this entire discussion is illuminating on the pending bill.

Mr. ASHURST. If there be objection, I will not offer it at this time.

Mr. BORAH. I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Could it not be offered when the bill is before the Senate?

Mr. ASHURST. Does the Senator from New York object?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I think that would be the appropriate time.

Mr. ASHURST. I will withdraw it, Mr. President.

Mr. KENYON. I wish to ask the Senator from Arizona if he procured the copy of the Chicago Tribune in the cloakroom, or where did he get it? I have been unable to get the Chicago Tribune on our side.

Mr. ASHURST. I secured it in the Congressional Library. It is dated April 5 of this year.

Mr. NEW presented petitions of Typographical Union No. 35, of Evansville; of Cherokee Tribe, No. 96, Improved Order of Red Men, of Noblesville; of James R. Slack Post, No. 137, Grand Army of the Republic, of Huntington; and of sundry citizens of Elkhart, all in the State of Indiana, praying for compulsory military training, pledging support to the President and for national unity, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a petition of the Lion's Club of Texas, Texarkana, Ark., pledging support to the President, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Presbytery of Washington, D. C., praying for the interning of all saloons and other places where intoxicating liquors are sold, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. NELSON presented a telegram, in the nature of a petition, from the chairman of a mass meeting of citizens of Akeley, Minn., indorsing the action of Senator NELSON in voting for war with Germany, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. McLEAN presented a petition of the economics faculty of Yale University, of New Haven, Conn., praying for a tax on special war profits, lowering of the present income tax exemptions, increases in the rates of the income tax, and for a high consumption tax on luxuries, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of Nonowantuc Tribe, No. 42, Improved Order of Red Men, of New London, and of the Farmers' Club of East Wallop, in the State of Connecticut, praying for compulsory military training and for the exemption of sober, reliable, and skillful farm laborers from the first call for military service, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. JONES of Washington presented a petition of the congregation of the University Baptist Church, of Seattle, Wash., praying for the enactment of certain legislation for the conduct of the war, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Washington State Association of Drugless Physicians, pledging support to the President, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from sundry citizens of Seattle, Wash., praying that all newly

organized engineer units of the Army be under the control of the War Department, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. LODGE presented resolutions adopted by the Ashmont Social and Athletic Club, of Dorchester, Mass., and resolutions adopted by American citizens of Greek descent at a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented telegrams from 49 citizens and business firms of Detroit and Jackson, in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against voluntary enlistment, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FLETCHER. There was referred to the Committee on Commerce a memorial of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, praying for the enactment of legislation extending the Federal law in regard to war-risk insurance. The committee handling that class of matter has been the Finance Committee, and I ask to have the Committee on Commerce discharged from the further consideration of this memorial and that it be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 291) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Murfreesboro, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or field pieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls (Rept. No. 24);

A bill (S. 1420) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the State of Tennessee two brass cannon, with carriages (Rept. No. 25); and

A bill (S. 1767) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tenn., three brass cannon, with carriages (Rept. No. 26).

REGULATION OF EXPORTS.

Mr. FERNALD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably the bill (S. 1867) to authorize the President in time of war to give direction to exports from the United States, so as to insure their wise, economical, and profitable distribution to other countries, and I submit a report (No. 23) thereon. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. GALLINGER. Let the bill go over.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I rose to make objection. I should like to have the privilege of saying now that I do not think it is quite fair to the Senate that bills of such enormous consequence and involving so many intricate questions, many of them, like the bill that is before the Senate now, very lengthy, with different sections correlated to each other, many of them raising serious constitutional questions—I do not think that they should be reported from the committee and the Senate be asked to consider them without their being placed on the desks of Senators a reasonable time, so that we may fairly digest them.

I have just seen this measure, and there are tremendous questions involved in the bill, some legal, some affecting the policy of that character of legislation, and, as I am seeking to try to do my duty to my State and my country in this grave crisis, I shall insist upon having a reasonable opportunity to know what legislation is intended to accomplish.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I may be allowed to say to the Senator that the Judiciary Committee has already reported a bill which I think was included in the so-called espionage bill as one of the sections in relation to this same subject. Therefore I hope the Senator from Maine will not press this bill until we see how it compares with what the Judiciary Committee has already reported.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I will say that the bill referred to by the Senator from Maine, and reported by him from the Commerce Committee, has the cordial indorsement of the Department of Commerce and the heads of the other departments, I believe, because it is regarded as a very important measure. It is limited to war time. It is not precisely what is contained in Chapter VII of the pending bill, but it is in that direction. It does not go quite as far, I think, and it has other provisions in it that make it quite a different proposition in many respects from what is contained in Chapter VII of the pending bill.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If it goes in the direction of Chapter VII, we certainly desire it to come up in its regular order, and to stop it when it comes up by substantial consideration.

Mr. FERNALD. Mr. President, this is a measure of very great importance. I do not propose to press it, of course, but it is an emergency measure without a question. We appropriated $7,000,000,000 to be used by this Government, and yet we can not plant or eat those bonds. This measure has to do with the conservation of the food of the country, and something ought to be done and done immediately in that direction. More than 20,000,000 cans of canned products to-day are being withheld on account of lack of cans, and unless something is done immediately we shall have to pay much higher prices for food than we have to-day. I hoped that we might have immediate consideration of the bill; I would not take over 20 minutes in explaining it; but if there is objection, of course it will have to go over.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill goes to the calendar.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I should like to say just one more word in justification of the attitude that I have taken. I have taken just a mere glance at this bill, and I observe that the President is to be empowered to lay an embargo not only upon particular things or things going to a particular place, like to a neutral country, but there is an attempt here to give the President of the United States the power to say that as against one place in this country goods may be shipped whereas as to another they might not be shipped. In other words, he could authorize the shipment of cotton from Boston and deny the right to ship cotton from Savannah. The Constitution of the United States says that there shall be no discrimination between ports and places of the United States; and if the Constitution prevents such discrimination, how can we empower the President of the United States to make such discrimination?

I only cite that, which, as I say, caught my eye when I glanced at the bill here within a minute after it was laid upon my desk, to show Senators the character of the questions that are involved and the necessity for some time for their consideration.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from Pennsylvania to the fact that section 1 in Chapter VII of the so-called espionage bill proposes to do that very thing. That is the reason I want an opportunity to compare the provisions of the bill reported by the Senator from Maine with the bill that is now the regular order of business before the Senate.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. From the Committee on Military Affairs I report back favorably with amendments the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, and I submit a report (No. 22) thereon.

Mr. REED. It is understood that there will be a minority report on the bill filed within a reasonable time. I simply desire to make that statement now in order that the record may be complete.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have no objection to that, Mr. President, but I hope the Senator will not delay the consideration of the bill by postponing the presentation of the report.

Mr. REED. We shall not ask any delay on that account.

Mr. McKELLAR. That will be done at once.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. McCUMBER. I offer the following amendment, and as it is very brief I ask that it be read.

The amendment was read and ordered to lie on the table and be printed, as follows:

Amendment to the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States; insert in the proper place the following:

"Each State shall be required to furnish its proportionate number of men for the Army and Navy. The unit in each State shall be the ward in the cities and the voting precinct in the rural districts. There shall be prepared an eligible list in each of such wards and precincts, and notice shall be given of the number which such ward or precinct shall furnish for each call for service in either Army or Navy. A certain number of days, to be fixed by the President of the United States, shall be allowed in which volunteers may be accepted from such ward or precinct. In no case shall there be accepted for service a greater number than the number apportioned to such ward or precinct. In the event that such ward or precinct shall fail to furnish its quota of volunteers, there shall be selected therefrom, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed, the number necessary to fill the quota required."

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. GRONNA:

A bill (S. 1889) revoking authority to lease Sibley Island, in the Missouri River, to the city of Bismarck, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 1890) to correct the military record of John M. Rock;

A bill (S. 1891) for the relief of Louis Blanchette, alias Lewis Blanchard, alias Louis White; and

A bill (S. 1892) for the relief of Wiley W. Houston; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1893) for the relief of Rodger Caplette; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1894) for the relief of Bonnar Borzie and his minor children, Helen, Joseph, Rosalie, and Mary; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1895) granting a pension to Emil Moellendorf; and

A bill (S. 1896) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Harrison; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 1897) for the relief of William Wooster, to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JONES of New Mexico:

A bill (S. 1898) for the relief of J. L. Campbell and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 1899) granting a pension to Walter E. Ellis (with accompanying papers), to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STERLING:

A bill (S. 1900) for the relief of George H. Grace; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 1901) to extend the franking privilege to the American National Red Cross; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 1902) for the relief of sundry railroad companies; and

A bill (S. 1903) for the relief of the estate of Jacob C. Campbell, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OVERMAN:

A bill (S. 1904) providing for the adjudication of certain claims by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HALE:

A bill (S. 1905) granting an increase of pension to Rufus Reynolds;

A bill (S. 1906) granting a pension to Fred Lajoie; and

A bill (S. 1907) granting an increase of pension to William A. Kilton (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 1908) for the relief of Samuel Charles Hampton; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 1909) for the relief of Samuel J. Morgan; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 1910) for the relief of the widow of Joseph C. Akin;

A bill (S. 1911) for the relief of John P. Blackwell;

A bill (S. 1912) to pay Edward Booth $200 back bounty;

A bill (S. 1913) for the relief of Lewis B. Brasher;

A bill (S. 1914) for the relief of Sarah T. Chamberlain;

A bill (S. 1915) for the relief of Ella S. Denison, executrix of the estate of Charles Denison, deceased;

A bill (S. 1916) to authorize the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claims against the United States of the heirs of Andrew D. Huff, deceased;

A bill (S. 1917) to carry into effect the findings of the military board of officers in the case of George Ivers, administrator;

A bill (S. 1918) for the relief of the heirs of Mary A. Ragsdale, deceased;

A bill (S. 1919) for the relief of Richard A. Schwab;

A bill (S. 1920) for the relief of Dennis Sexton;

A bill (S. 1921) for the relief of Ellen Sexton; and

A bill (S. 1922) for the relief of Warren H. Twining; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 1923) for the relief of John Doyle, alias John Geary;

A bill (S. 1924) to correct the military record of Orcelas Evans;

A bill (S. 1925) for the relief of Anna Falls;

A bill (S. 1926) for the relief of Sylvester Howe;

A bill (S. 1927) to place Maj. Deane Monahan on the retired list of the Army with the rank of brigadier general;

A bill (S. 1928) to place Julius Schmidt on the retired list with the rank of captain;

A bill (S. 1929) for the relief of William Slater;

A bill (S. 1930) for the relief of Elizabeth T. Wells; and

A bill (S. 1931) to authorize the President to appoint A. C. G. Williams-Foote, late first lieutenant in the Philippine Scouts, to the grade of first lieutenant in the United States Army, and place him on the retired list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 1932) granting an increase of pension to Frederick D. Bailey.

A bill (S. 1933) granting a pension to Emma Baird and two minor children;

A bill (S. 1934) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth M. Baker;

A bill (S. 1935) granting an increase of pension to William C. Banks;

A bill (S. 1936) granting a pension to Catherine M. Belisle;

A bill (S. 1937) granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Bense;

A bill (S. 1938) granting a pension to Henry Blake;

A bill (S. 1939) granting a pension to Mary J. Boen;

A bill (S. 1940) granting a pension to Frank Boren;

A bill (S. 1941) granting an increase of pension to Margaret A. Brelsford;

A bill (S. 1942) granting an increase of pension to Henry Brown;

A bill (S. 1943) granting an increase of pension to Dovey E. Campbell;

A bill (S. 1944) granting a pension to Mary C. Christensen;

A bill (S. 1945) granting a pension to Caroline M. Clancy;

A bill (S. 1946) granting a pension to Mary Coakley;

A bill (S. 1947) granting an increase of pension to Juliaette Defield;

A bill (S. 1948) granting an increase of pension to Michael Devine;

A bill (S. 1949) granting an increase of pension to John Doughty;

A bill (S. 1950) granting an increase of pension to George Engleman;

A bill (S. 1951) granting a pension to Mary A. Frank;

A bill (S. 1952) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Freel;

A bill (S. 1953) granting a pension to Almira Graham;

A bill (S. 1954) granting a pension to Alexander Haffner;

A bill (S. 1955) granting an increase of pension to Albert M. Harrington;

A bill (S. 1956) granting a pension to Lydia A. Henley;

A bill (S. 1957) granting an increase of pension to James Inman;

A bill (S. 1958) granting a pension to Palmyra Johnson;

A bill (S. 1959) granting an increase of pension to Anderson C. Jones;

A bill (S. 1960) granting a pension to Nellie Kavanagh;

A bill (S. 1961) granting an increase of pension to John Kemmer;

A bill (S. 1962) granting a pension to Emma C. Lake;

A bill (S. 1963) granting an increase of pension to Saidee S. Larkin;

A bill (S. 1964) granting a pension to Lucy J. Lindsey;

A bill (S. 1965) granting a pension to Grace L. Messler;

A bill (S. 1966) granting an increase of pension to Lucy J. Muchmore;

A bill (S. 1967) granting an increase of pension to Clara E. Munroe;

A bill (S. 1968) granting a pension to Ella Nickerson;

A bill (S. 1969) granting a pension to Mary Nolan;

A bill (S. 1970) granting an increase of pension to Inez E. Perrine;

A bill (S. 1971) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Nye Phelps;

A bill (S. 1972) granting an increase of pension to Leonard L. Redfield;

A bill (S. 1973) granting a pension to Ferdinand Reinhardt;

A bill (S. 1974) granting a pension to Serilda J. Shire;

A bill (S. 1975) granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Shute;

A bill (S. 1976) granting an increase of pension to George E. Smith;

A bill (S. 1977) granting a pension to Alice B. Stowe;

A bill (S. 1978) granting a pension to Carrie Sweet;

A bill (S. 1979) granting a pension to Mary A. Tracht;

A bill (S. 1980) granting a pension to Martha J. Tumbleson;

A bill (S. 1981) granting a pension to Maggie Turner;

A bill (S. 1982) granting a pension to Sarah A. Van Note;

A bill (S. 1983) granting an increase of pension to Harrison S. Vaughn;

A bill (S. 1984) granting an increase of pension to John Wade;

A bill (S. 1985) granting a pension to Joseph Walser;

A bill (S. 1986) granting a pension to George Washington; and

A bill (S. 1987) granting an increase of pension to Asa D. Whitmore; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 1988) for the relief of the estate of David B. Landis, deceased, and the estate of Jacob F. Sheaffer, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 1989) granting an increase of pension to Thomas S. Millikin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 1990) granting an increase of pension to Inez A. Hatchett;

A bill (S. 1991) granting an increase of pension to Charles Auge; and

A bill (S. 1992) granting an increase of pension to Thomas V. Malone; to the Committee on Pensions.

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Morning business is closed.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 2, resuming its consideration at Chapter VII.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. OVERMAN. I call the attention of the Senator from Maine to the fact that the next chapter of the bill has almost the same provisions as those of his bill, which has been reported from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

Mr. OVERMAN. Does the Senator from Idaho desire to address the Senate?

Mr. BORAH. I should like to submit some remarks on a section of Chapter II of the bill.

Mr. OVERMAN. Does the Senator desire to go back to that chapter?

Mr. BORAH. I suppose we can clean up that matter now. I do not see any reason for delay. Still, I do not want to interfere with whatever program the Senator from North Carolina has in mind.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is usual to go through with a bill and then go back to any controverted matter which may be passed over; but I will accommodate the Senator from Idaho if he desires to speak now.

Mr. BORAH. I should like, if it is not inconvenient to the Senator from North Carolina, to submit my remarks now if we may, in the consideration of the bill, go back to that chapter of the bill to which I wish to speak.

Mr. OVERMAN. Then I ask that we go back to the chapter which we passed over, to which the Senator refers—Chapter II, subsection (c).

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the part of the bill to which I desire to address some remarks reads as follows:

(c) Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans, or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct—

Or supposed conduct, I presume it means—

of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same.

Here I call particular attention to the suggestion made by the able Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] yesterday, that this first proviso does not cover the subject matter which it is presumed to cover. It is not as broad as the precedent part, to which it refers:

Provided, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

Mr. President, this is the second time, so far as I have been able to discover, in which any such legislation has ever been proposed in this country. The other instanee I may have occasion to refer to later—the "sedition law." A casual reading of this provision of the bill will show that it is omnipotently comprehensive, drastic, though nebulous in its terms, uncertain in its import; and no man can foresee what it might be in its consequences:

(c) Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President—

For that is the offense—the violation of regulations—

which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, * * * calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy.

That would close investigation, reflection, consideration, and communication upon this entire comprehensive field, because no man could foresee what was calculated to be or what in human possibility might be beneficial to the enemy. Now, this bill includes the private citizen the liberty of speech as well as the press, and my argument, while dealing largely for the sake of clearness with the liberty of the press, should be understood as including the liberty of speech.

Mr. President, the first amendment of the Constitution reads as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

What was the purpose of this amendment to the Constitution? Was it designed to regulate and control a power already presumed to be in the National Government, or was it merely declaratory concerning a power which it was believed the National Government did not have, and which it was never intended to give it? For instance, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Can Congress legislate upon that subject at all? Has it any power to pass a law concerning the establishment of religion? Is it a subject matter within the legislative discretion or power of Congress at all? Would anybody contend that a bill here introduced for the purpose of establishing a form of religion, or a bill respecting the establishment of religion, would be a subject matter which would be within the power of Congress to deal? And yet that is found in the same sentence with and was introduced into the Constitution for the same purpose and with the same intent as the clause with which we are dealing at this time, to wit:

Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

When the Constitution was submitted for ratification two schools of thought took part in the controversy in reference to the question of amendments. One school of thought—and I may say that it was led by Mr. Hamilton—believed that the Constitution did not encompass, and did not include within it, the power, for instance, to abridge the freedom of the press or to legislate concerning the press at all; and it was not the desire nor the design of Mr. Hamilton and his school of advocates that the Congress should have any power concerning the press. He announced in the controversy that it was not the intent of those who framed the Constitution that that subject matter should be within the compass or control of the National Government.

The other school of thought, led by Mr. Jefferson, was to the same effect, that the Constitution did not include the subject matter, and that it should not include the subject matter; but, for fear that there might be a construction put upon the Constitution which would include this as one of the powers of the National Government, Mr. Jefferson and his friends insisted that there should be an amendment declaratory of the proposition that it should not be included among the powers of the National Government. Each school agreed that under the Constitution Congress could not legislate concerning the press; each school agreed that this should and ought to be true, but the school of Jefferson, anxious that no construction should ever be made which might lead to the exercise of this power, insisted on the first amendment as a positive declaratory amendment to that effect. And so when the Constitution went to the States for ratification, as you recall, a number of the States insisted that there should be no doubt left in regard to this matter, and ratified it upon condition that the 10 amendments—and I shall confine myself, of course, only to the subject matter under discussion to-day—should be adopted along with the Constitution, or rather they ratified it upon condition that it should be understood that these amendments should follow. Mr. Hamilton, in discussing this proposition in the Federalist, referring to the first amendment and the amendments following, said:

They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted, and on this very account would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done

which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision—

To wit, an amendment—

would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretense for claiming that power. They might urge with a semblance of reason that the Constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that the provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a power to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the National Government.

Therefore—

Said Mr. Hamilton—

as the power does not exist in the National Government to legislate concerning the press, to adopt an amendment with reference to the subject matter would be an implication that the power does exist, and it does not.

Very well, said Mr. Jefferson, I agree with you that the power is not legitimately here, and that it was not intended to be here, and that it is a subject matter which belongs to the States, the same as the common police power of the States. But there is in the Constitution a provision that Congress shall have power to pass all laws necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the powers here granted, and it might be held and might be construed to include regulation and legislation concerning the press. Therefore, accepting your view that it is not among the powers of the General Government, and that it should not be among such powers, we ask for a declaratory amendment to the Constitution which shall put it beyond peradventure that it is not one of the powers granted to the National Government.

Thus for this reason, and this reason only, the first amendment to the Constitution providing that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of the press was put into the Constitution, not to regulate a power already vested in the National Government, not to restrain or curtail that power or provide the means by which it shall be exercised, but a declaratory proposition that the power does not exist in Congress to pass any law concerning or respecting this subject matter.

Mr. Madison, often very properly referred to as the father of the Constitution, certainly a man who gave a vast amount of consideration to this particular subject, submitted a report to the Virginia Legislature, in which is found a discussion of this matter. I beg the privilege of the Senate to read a few paragraphs of it. I read from a volume entitled "The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799," published by Jonathan Elliot in 1832, page 36:

When the Constitution was under the discussions which preceded its ratification it is well known that great apprehensions were expressed by many lest the omission of some positive exception from the powers delegated of certain rights, and of the freedom of the press particularly, might expose them to danger of being drawn by construction within some of the powers vested in Congress, more especially of the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying their other powers into execution. In reply to this objection it was invariably urged to be a fundamental and characteristic principle of the Constitution that all powers not given by it were reserved; that no powers were given beyond those enumerated in the Constitution, and such as were fairly incident to them; that the power over the rights in question, and particularly over the press, was neither among the enumerated powers nor incident to any of them, and consequently that an exercise of any such power would be manifest usurpation. It is painful to remark how much the arguments now employed in behalf of the sedition act are at variance with the reasoning which then justified the Constitution and invited its ratification.

* * * * * * *

Without tracing further the evidence on this subject, it would seem scarcely possible to doubt that no power whatever over the press was supposed to be delegated by the Constitution as it originally stood and that the amendment was intended as a positive and absolute reservation of it.

But the evidence is still stronger. The proposition of amendments made by Congress is introduced in the following terms:

"The conventions of a number of the States having at the time of their adopting the Constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstructions or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best insure the beneficent ends of its institutions."

Here is the most satisfactory and authentic proof that the several amendments proposed were to be considered as either declaratory or restrictive, and, whether the one or the other, as corresponding with the desire expressed by a number of the States and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government.

Under any other construction of the amendment relating to the press than that it declared the press to be wholly exempt from the power of Congress the amendment could neither be said to correspond with the desire expressed by a number of the States nor be calculated to extend the ground of public confidence in the Government.

Nay, more; the construction employed to justify the "sedition act" would exhibit a phenomenon without parallel in the political world. It would exhibit a number of respectable States as denying, first, that any power over the press was delegated by the Constitution; as proposing next that an amendment to it should explicitly declare that no such power was delegated, and, finally, as concurring in an amendment actually recognizing or delegating such a power.

That is to say, a number of States insisted that the power did not exist, and a number of other States insisted that there should be an amendment so that it would be placed beyond peradventure that it did not exist; but the result was that they adopted an amendment which conveyed the power to the National Congress, if the reasoning that it now exists in the National Government is to stand.

Is, then, the Federal Government, it will be asked, destitute of every authority for restraining the licentiousness of the press and for shielding itself against the libelous attacks which may be made on those who administer it?

The Constitution alone can answer this question. If no such power be expressly delegated, and if it be not both necessary and proper to carry into execution an express power; above all, if it be expressly forbidden by a declaratory amendment to the Constitution, the answer must be that the Federal Government is destitute of all such authority.

And might it not be asked in turn whether it is not more probable, under all the circumstances which have been reviewed, that the authority should be withheld by the Constitution than that it should be left to a vague and violent construction, whilst so much pains were bestowed in enumerating other powers, and so many less important powers are included in the enumeration?

Might it not be likewise asked whether the anxious circumspection which dictated so many peculiar limitations on the general authority would be unlikely to exempt the press altogether from that authority? The peculiar magnitude of some of the powers necessarily committed to the Federal Government, the peculiar duration required for the functions of some of its department, the peculiar distance of the seat of its proceedings from the great body of its constituents, and the peculiar difficulty of circulating an adequate knowledge of them through any other channel—will not these considerations, some or other of which produced other exceptions from the powers of ordinary governments, altogether account for the policy of binding the hand of the Federal Government from touching the channel which alone can give efficacy to its responsibility to its constituents, and of leaving those who administer it to a remedy for their injured reputations under the same laws and in the same tribunals which protect their lives, their liberties, and their properties?

But the question does not turn either on the wisdom of the Constitution or on the policy which gave rise to its particular organization. It turns on the actual meaning of the instrument, by which it has appeared that a power over the press is clearly excluded from the number of powers delegated to the Federal Government.

Mr. President, I do not want to take too much of the time in recurring to these historic incidents; but I think it is well to know what was the actual view of those who wrote the Constitution, in order that we may more properly construe its terms. Without insisting that this historic interpretation is to be accepted as the true and final construction, it is exceedingly important in arriving at the true construction.

I have before me Jefferson's Works, volume 18; and in the forefront of that work is an article by the Hon. Josephus Daniels, present Secretary of the Navy, on the subject of "Jefferson's Contribution to a Free Press." It is a very interesting and illuminating article and has a direct bearing on the present question. He quotes at length from Jefferson's view. There can be no doubt as to what Jefferson understood to be the import and purpose of the first amendment, and with him Hamilton entirely agreed, and so did Madison.

Says Jefferson:

The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep them to the true principles of their institution.

In the days of the Civil War, when Mr. Lincoln was being criticized and assailed as no other man in public office ever was by some of the great journals of the country, which are still among our great journals, his reply was that the administrators and administration had better suffer some of the evils and some of the sorrows which accompany such work than that the people should lose control of or forfeit the great benefits flowing from the absolute freedom of the press.

Jefferson and Lincoln both always adhered to the principle that the evils of attempting to restrain the press or speech must be incalculably greater than the evils flowing from their freedom.

Again quoting Mr. Jefferson:

To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty.

* * * * * * *

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that can not be limited without being lost.

* * * * * * *

The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties.

Says Mr. Daniels himself, in regard to the first amendment:

For this amendment and the healthy agitation that secured it, all men who believe in a free press will ever hold Jefferson in grateful esteem. It was contended that this amendment was wholly unnecessary—"useless surplusage," as one Federalist declared—but the prophetic eye of the liberty-loving sage of Monticello looked from Paris across the Atlantic and saw that the influences that distrusted the people would muzzle the press unless the Constitution forged chains that would deny power "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Later I may have occasion to refer to this in reference to the sedition laws.

Mr. President, it is my judgment that whatever may be the construction placed upon this provision of the Constitution now, there can be no doubt that those who wrote this instrument thoroughly understood that they were excluding from the National Government all power with reference to the press; that it was a subject matter entirely withdrawn from the National Government. There was no difference of opinion upon that subject among those who were in the best position to know. The only reason for the first amendment was to prevent a possible construction which might include control of the press as one of the powers which the National Government could exercise. The only difference of opinion was as to whether it was necessary to put into the Constitution an inhibitory power which would prevent a misconstruction of the Constitution.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. BORAH. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me suggest to the Senator that the prevision of Mr. Jefferson, his fear or apprehension that the clause giving general power to the Congress to carry into execution the enumerated powers might be made the basis of that attack upon the press which he wished to safeguard against, is vindicated by the existing situation, since the bill now before the Senate must find its basis in the Constitution, if at all, upon that identical clause.

Mr. BORAH. Precisely. In other words, the object and purpose of putting in the first amendment is clearly justified by the fact that without it the claim would undoubtedly be made that the power existed by reason of this general right to legislate to carry into effect all other powers of the Constitution.

But, Mr. President, it is not necessary, so far as this bill is concerned, to rely upon the general proposition which I have just now presented, and therefore I am not going to pursue it further. I do not insist that we can carry out the evident intent of the framers literally. We have put another construction on the Constitution, but in construing its terms it is wholesome to keep their purpose in mind. It is not necessary, so far as this bill is concerned, to take the position that the Congress has no power over the press. While I believe, as I say, that that was the clear intent of the framers of the Constitution, it is not necessary to rely upon it. There have been, as suggested by the able Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] yesterday, three decisions by the inferior or subordinate courts of the Federal jurisdiction taking a different view from that which I have been advocating. Two of those opinions, in my judgment, do not stand very high in the jurisprudence of the country, for reasons which it is not necessary here to discuss. The other is apparently a well-considered opinion.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. BORAH. I do.

Mr. McCUMBER. That I may understand what construction the Senator would place upon that inhibition in the Constitution, let me call his attention to the fact that at least a large number of the States also have the same inhibition in their constitutions; and, if we were to give to those phrases that strict construction, to what extent could the States themselves pass any laws upon the question of the liberty of the press?

Mr. BORAH. There is a wide distinction between the construction of the National Constitution, which is one of delegated powers, and the construction of a State constitution. The National Government has no power at all except that which is delegated to it, while the State has all the powers which it is not inhibited from exercising.

Mr. McCUMBER. I call the attention of the Senator to the fact that the States recognize all power as coming from the people, and the people put the inhibition in the constitutions upon the legislatures of the States, and they copy the very words of the Federal Constitution.

Mr. BORAH. Exactly; but that does not change the rule of construction with reference to the two frameworks of government. The Senator will concede with me that the National Government, of course, has no power except that which is delegated.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FALL. I should like to ask the Senator if he does not think that the two constructions are similar when a power vested only in the United States by the Constitution is under consideration—in other words, the war power?

Mr. BORAH. Of course, where a power is clearly delegated, then everything necessary to the exercise of that particular power goes with it.

Mr. FALL. Exactly. I simply wanted to call the attention of the Senator to that proposition, and that an answer might be made to some of the points which he is making now upon the ground that this is a war measure.

Mr. BORAH. That the particular bill here under consideration is a war measure?

Mr. FALL. Yes.

Mr. BORAH. Well, I do not go so far as to hold that a war measure suspends the other provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. FALL. No; but if the Senator will permit me another suggestion, the Senator, of course, understands that treason against the United States means the levying of war, and also means adhering to the enemies of the country, and also means the giving of aid and comfort to the enemies of the country. Now, suppose that in this country in time of war a great newspaper proceeds to give aid and comfort to the enemy by publishing the plans of the United States to the public, as a result of which the enemies of the country may avail themselves of that knowledge. Does the Senator hold that that would not be contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, and that no power would rest in the Government or in any branch of the Government to defend itself or protect itself in any way against that?

Mr. BORAH. No; I make no such contention, and, with all due respect to the Senator, I think that comes under another principle entirely. Undoubtedly because a man owns a newspaper he is not exempt from treason against the Government, and if he commits an act of treason and uses a newspaper to do it he can be punished for it. But that is by reason of another provision of the Constitution.

Mr. FALL. Certainly; it comes under the general law.

Mr. BORAH. That would not be a limitation upon the freedom of the press in the sense in which we use that term. It would not be necessary to touch the subject of the press in order to punish the man for treason. To make myself plain, you could not set up a censor who would say in advance that this or that is treason. The man may publish and take his chance, as in libel.

Mr. FALL. It is treason because of the publication in the press.

Mr. BORAH. Undoubtedly. But it is a subsequent act which is punished. You can not make a law like this creating a censor to pass upon the question in advance of publication.

Mr. FALL. Then the Congress of the United States can prohibit such publications.

Mr. BORAH. No; the Congress of the United States can provide for the punishment of treason, and whoever does anything under that provision, whether by the press or otherwise, would be subject to it; but it can not provide in advance of the act of publishing it that some one shall look over it and decide it should not be published, as this bill does.

Mr. FALL. Suppose a newspaper undertakes to make public a plan of the Navy of the United States, how it is to cooperate with the allies in this war?

Mr. BORAH. If you mean by "undertakes" that a censor may decide before he publishes that which he may not publish, I say no.

Mr. HITCHCOCK and Mr. OVERMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Does the Senator from Idaho yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BORAH. I yield first to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. OVERMAN. I just want to understand the Senator's position. Do I understand the Senator to contend that under the Constitution the press is given unbridled license? Do I understand him to say that they have a license to do as they please and say what they please?

Mr. BORAH. My contention is that under the Constitution the fathers intended it should not be a subject matter upon which Congress could legislate at all. I have said I am not contending that that construction has been sustained. But I do contend that no restraint previous to publication can be put upon the press.

Mr. OVERMAN. Then the Senator thinks that subdivision (d) is unconstitutional?

Mr. BORAH. I would not undertake to say offhand what particular portion of the bill is constitutional or unconstitutional.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think I heard the Senator object to that. There is no difference between subdivision (d) and subdivision (c), except as to the intent to give comfort to the enemy.

Mr. BORAH. The Senator is perfectly aware of the fact that I said in the committee that no part of Chapter II was agreeable to me.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. Before the Senator passes that point I trust he will, in response to the question addressed to him by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL], give us his view about how any existing law may be appealed to to punish a man who does in a publication happen to suggest just exactly what are the purposes of the Navy Department at the present time. I understood the Senator to say that the present law would take care of that case.

Mr. BORAH. I had in mind this provision:

Whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason.

If it is not sufficient, it could be made sufficient.

Mr. WALSH. But I dare say the Senator will recognize the intent there. I suppose the Senator will recognize that intent is necessary in the case of treason.

Mr. BORAH. Yes; I recognize that fact, either actual or constructive.

Mr. WALSH. But I understood the Senator to say that if a man did not intend that the matter should get to the enemy, but he published it simply to advise his readers, he would be punishable under an existing law. I wanted to know what the law is.

Mr. BORAH. No; the Senator did not understand me to say that, or at least I should not have been so understood.

Mr. WALSH. I so understood the Senator. Then, as I understand the Senator, he would answer the Senator from New Mexico that Congress could not pass a law to punish a man who having learned the exact purposes and plans of the Navy to-day in relation to the work it is to carry out should publish those plans; that it is beyond the power——

Mr. BORAH. No; I did not take any such position as that. I said that all that could be done under other provisions of the Constitution and had no relation whatever to the question with which we are dealing now.

Mr. WALSH. I understood the Senator to say——

Mr. BORAH. I do not contend for a moment that a man may be guilty of treason and that there is no power in the Government to punish treason; neither do I claim that if he uses the press that fact exempts him from punishment by reason of this provision of the Constitution. You may deal with the results of publication, but you can not impose restraint previous to publication.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. As I understand the Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH], his question is, If a man publishes in a paper plans of our military authorities which do become of use to the enemy, although the publisher did not intend that they should, is it within the power of Congress to pass any law to punish him for publishing such things, although he did not intend to furnish aid or comfort to the enemy?

Mr. BORAH. The Senator says with the absence of intent?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Yes; with the absence of intent on his part; and yet the plans published are of such a nature that a wise man would have seen that it would furnish aid and comfort to the enemy, but he did not see the effect of what he was doing.

Mr. BORAH. I apprehend the rule would be invoked there that every man intends the natural consequences of his own act, and in that respect there would be not an actual intent but a constructive intent.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I think so myself. Do I understand the Senator correctly—I ask simply for information—that Congress is utterly powerless to pass any regulation at all regulating the press?

Mr. BORAH. I have contended that was the understanding of its framers. I am now about to discuss the construction which has been put upon it later, and which for the purposes of this bill I accept.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. During time of war? Of course, we all agree that Congress under the Constitution has no power to pass a law abridging the freedom of the press, if we can find out what the freedom of the press means under the Constitution, but I assume the Senator means that the authors of the Constitution, from whose views he has read so interestingly this morning, contended that Congress should be inhibited from passing any law regulating in any manner the press of the country.

Mr. BORAH. That, in my judgment, is what they intended to do—that it should not be a subject matter about which Congress could legislate.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That is what I understand from the Senator. Now, does the Senator think that since the days of the fathers, whose utterances he has read, there has come over the country, either by judicial decision or otherwise, any different power in Congress to regulate the press than there was when the fathers framed the Constitution?

Mr. BORAH. There has been no change, of course, in the terms of the Constitution, but a judicial construction has been placed upon it which seems to me to be at variance with what I may call the historic construction.

Mr. KNOX and Mr. WALSH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. KNOX. Before the Senator from Idaho proceeds with that statement, I should like to make this inquiry: Is it a regulation of the press to pass a general statute applicable to everybody, which, of course, would be applicable to the press in the sense that the press might be a violator of the law? Do you call that a regulation of the press?

Mr. BORAH. I would not.

Mr. KNOX. Is not that what this bill does?

Mr. BORAH. No; I am coming to that in a moment.

Mr. KNOX. That is what I would like to hear the Senator upon.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. HARDING. In this very able discussion I wondered if it would not be important to distinguish whether the writers of the Constitution made a difference between the publication of news and the expression of an opinion?

Mr. BORAH. Whether the fathers made any difference?

Mr. HARDING. Whether they contemplated a difference between the conveyance of news and the expression of an editorial opinion?

Mr. BORAH. I could not say. I see nothing in the provision of the Constitution under discussion to warrant an opinion in regard to it.

Mr. President, as I said a moment ago, it is not necessary to rely upon this historic construction of the Constitution in order to establish the vulnerability of this proposed statute. I have only discussed that for the purpose of showing what was evidently intended, in order that we may place a more accurate construction upon the powers which are now assumed to be exercised by Congress and have been in some instances sustained by the courts.

Observe that this says:

Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations—

There is the offense. It must be in violation of regulations established by the censor, whoever he is, in this instance the President, but it might be anybody else. Before they can publish concerning any of these matters, before they can communicate or interchange views they must consult either directly the censor or consult him through his regulations—

and (c) whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans, or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy.

In answer to the question submitted by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], it seems to me the construction of this statute would necessitate going, in the first instance, before publication takes place at all, to consult some one who passes upon the question as to whether or not the publication or communication shall take place. It does not deal alone with a publication as a completed and finished fact. It does not deal alone with the subsequent consequences of a publication. It does not deal alone with the proposition whether it is libelous having been published, whether it is seditious having been published, but it requires a previous consultation with some one before he can publish it, and that is the censor or his regulations.

Mr. President, I understand there is no difference of opinion among the authorities that that kind of regulation of the press which requires previous consultation with some one as to what shall be published is inhibited by the Constitution.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

Mr. BORAH. I will yield in a moment. We may assume for the sake of this argument that Congress can pass a law which would make it criminal to publish a false or malicious statement or a statement which had the effect in its final

consequences of aiding the enemy, but that is not what this proposed statute does. It puts a previous restraint upon the publication; that is, a restraint prior to publication; a consultation. It is a license, it is a privilege, it is a censorship; and that, in my judgment, is inhibited by the Constitution according to all the decisions and of all who have discussed this subject.

I now yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. The question which I should like to ask the Senator is this: Does he believe that the court would construe this act as one regulating the press? Is not the proposed act so framed that it shows the intent of Congress not to regulate the press, but to prevent information from being given to the enemy? Would the first amendment of the Constitution apply to the legislation proposed here?

Mr. BORAH. In answer to the able Senator I will say that undoubtedly the court would not construe that it was the design to regulate the press alone, because as the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] called attention yesterday, it not only covers the press, but it covers all acts of individuals and private citizens. It encompasses the whole field and would come under the inhibition of liberty of speech just as much as the inhibition of freedom of the press.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. The Senator, I believe, will agree that the purpose of the act is a laudable one; that the enemy should not get the information which is inhibited by the proposed law. Does not the first proviso indicate that it was not the intention of Congress to regulate the press, but to confine its activities to the prevention of the dissemination of information which would be detrimental to the Government?

Mr. BORAH. Of course, I agree with the Senator that we would all inhibit the enemy from getting anything in the way of information from this country, but I do not agree with the proposition that this is the method by which that can be inhibited or should be inhibited. Of course, we must take into consideration that there has never been an attack made upon the press in the history of the press in which the attack has not been based upon public welfare. The king, in the first place, believed it was detrimental to the public welfare for anyone to publish anything without his consent. The dictator said, "It is not in the interest of the public that the news shall be spread abroad among my subjects, and therefore you shall not publish without my consent, and I will determine what it is best for the public to have." That was the very basis of the restraint upon the freedom of the press which the Constitution intended to inhibit, that the press should be unrestrained, and that the only consequences would be the punishment of any result from the use of that unrestrained power.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield further to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Then does the Senator contend that Congress has the right to prevent an individual from doing these things but has no right to pass a law which would prevent the press from doing the same thing?

Mr. BORAH. Oh, no; I do not contend that. I contend that liberty of speech has the same standing in the Constitution as the liberty of the press. You can not censor either. You can only punish for acts done.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota and Mr. POMERENE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BORAH. I think the Senator from South Dakota rose a moment ago.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Does not the Senator think it just as necessary to enact a law which will restrain men not having the intent, which in certain cases would be just as apt to give information that would result in injury to our Government as the man who had an intent to do such a thing?

Mr. BORAH. If I understand the Senator's question correctly, he thinks the man who would have no intent could do as much evil as the man who had an intent?

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. He might.

Mr. BORAH. That would be true in some instances, but ordinarily we have always assumed that there would be an intent either actual or constructive to effectuate the evil.

Mr. CURTIS. Would not the intent be a question of fact for the jury on the trial of the party indicted?

Mr. BORAH. That, I think, is true; but of course this relates rather to a policy of law than the subject which I was discussing.

If I may go back a minute, I want the attention of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], in view of his question particularly, to the exact language of this statute:

> Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President.

He prescribes regulations in reference to what? With reference to publications concerning all these matters, and if his regulations inhibit the publication concerning certain of them it can not be made; in other words, there must be a consultation of some power, something aside from the unrestrained desire of the publisher to publish and take the consequences of his act. It may be a matter about which there would be no evil in the mind of the publisher. He might desire to publish it with the very best intent, without any criminal intent and without the intent of aiding the enemy in any way whatever, and yet under this regulation, if the President or the censor, whoever he might be, would come to a different conclusion that it could or might benefit the enemy, undoubtedly the party could not publish it. In other words, instead of the publisher determining for himself what he shall publish or the private citizen determining for himself what he shall speak, and each taking the chances as to punishment, some one else decides what he shall publish or what he shall say.

So I say, Mr. President, that this statute, as I read it and as I construe it—the fair interpretation of this statute necessitates the conclusion that there must be a consultation with a censor, a licensor, with the grantor of the privilege before a publication takes place at all under this proposed statute. If that be true, Mr. President, it is the very essence of censorship; it is the very essence of license and of privilege which it was the purpose and intent of those who had to do with the making of this matter to inhibit, and which the courts of our country have said is inhibited by the Constitution. This is the construction upon which all are agreed that there can be no previous restraint.

Here I call attention to a portion of a letter written by Thomas Paine. It has always been my hope that Paine's views upon religion did not in the other world militate too much against the reward to which he was entitled for his political views:

> Prior to what is in England called the revolution, which was in 1688, no work could be published in that country without first obtaining the permission of an officer appointed by the Government for inspecting works intended for publication. The same was the case in France, except that in France there were 40 who were called censors, and in England there was but one, called imprimateur.
>
> At the revolution the office of imprimateur was abolished, and as the works could then be published without first obtaining the permission of the Government officer the press was in consequence of that abolition said to be free, and it was from this circumstance that the term liberty of the press arose. The press, which is a tongue to the eye, was then put exactly in the case of the human tongue. A man does not ask liberty beforehand to say something he has a mind to say, but he becomes answerable afterwards for the atrocities he may utter.
>
> Some lawyers in defending their clients (for the generality of lawyers, like Swiss soldiers, will fight on either side) have often given their opinion of what they defined the liberty of the press to be. One said it was this, another said it was that, and so on, according to the case they were pleading. Now, these men ought to have known that the term liberty of the press arose from a fact, the abolition of the office of imprimateur, and that opinion has nothing to do in the case. The term refers to the fact of printing, free from prior restraint, and not at all to the matter printed, whether good or bad. The public at large—or, in case of prosecution, a jury of the country—will be judges of the matter.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] yesterday referred to the Patterson case. The Patterson case is not very conclusive authority, for the reason that it is clearly and unmistakably dicta, seemingly so considered by the judge writing it and stated to be so by the dissenting opinion, but it is persuasive as to the view of the court nevertheless:

> But even if we were to assume that freedom of speech and freedom of the press were protected from abridgment on the part not only of the United States but also of the States, still we should be far from the conclusion that the plaintiff in error would have us reach. In the first place, the main purpose of such constitutional provisions is "to prevent all such previous restraints upon publications as have been practiced by other Governments," and they do not prevent the subsequent punishment of such as may be deemed contrary to the public welfare.

What was the previous restraint at the common law? It was that restraint which was placed upon publications by necessitating a consultation with some one before publication took place as to whether it came within certain prohibitions, as to whether or not it was in harmony with the public welfare, as to whether or not it would serve the interest of the common good of the public. That was regarded as a restraint previous to publication. The court says that that is the restraint which was inhibited by the Constitution; and about that I understand there is no difference of opinion.

Does not this provision prohibit a publication until you have consulted either directly with a censor or one who establishes his regulations, one who determines for himself, and does not

permit the publisher to determine whether it is contrary to law and whether or not it is in contravention of the public welfare? You must before the publication consult some one else, and that some one else, whatever you may call him, is censor, is the licensor and the grantor of privileges to publish upon certain occasions and upon certain subjects.

I read from the dissenting opinion on this matter from Justice Harlan. I think the dissenting opinion is quite as illuminating as is the majority opinion, and about as authoritative, since the majority opinion seems to be dicta:

But the court announces that it leaves undecided the specific question whether there is to be found in the fourteenth amendment a prohibition as to the rights of free speech and a free press similar to that in the first. It yet proceeds to say that the main purpose of such constitutional provisions was to prevent all such "previous restraints" upon publications as had been practiced by other Governments, but not to to the public welfare. I can not assent to that view, if it be meant prevent the subsequent punishment of such as may be deemed contrary that the legislature may impair or abridge the rights of a free press and of free speech whenever it thinks that the public welfare requires that to be done. The public welfare can not override constitutional privileges, and if the rights of free speech and of a free press are, in their essence, attributes of national citizenship, as I think they are, then neither Congress nor any State since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment can, by legislative enactments or by judicial action, impair or abridge them.

Mr. KELLOGG. Will the Senator please state the volume from which he is reading?

Mr. BORAH. I am reading from Two hundred and fifth United States, at page 462.

Mr. KNOX and Mr. POMERENE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I am anxious to understand the course of the Senator's argument, and I am not questioning him for the purpose of combating it, but merely to develop it, in order that I may thoroughly grasp his meaning.

Now, does not the Senator think that the first sentence of subdivision (c), which the Senator has read several times, "Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations," is not susceptible of a construction that would make it constitutional? It seems to me that the Senator's argument proceeds upon the theory that one of those regulations must necessarily be a censorship. I think it is susceptible of a construction wholly free from that. It might be in the form of a censorship, and if in the form of a censorship, that regulation would become perhaps unconstitutional; but is it not susceptible of a construction that would make it constitutional?

Mr. BORAH. It is possible that the court might find that there was some subject matter about which a regulation could be made which would be constitutional under this provision, assuming now that the general principle which I discussed is to be laid aside, which I am perfectly willing it shall be for the purpose of this argument; but let us see, Mr. President, in the practical workings of this matter how it would operate. Bear in mind that liberty of speech is quite as well protected by the Constitution as the press. If you undertake to establish regulations which avoids liberty of the press and liberty of speech, there will not be much left upon which the regulations may operate. Let us read again—

and (c) whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans, or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct, of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be, or which might be, useful to the enemy * * *: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same.

When you construe the first statement, "whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations," in connection with the proviso which uses terms which relate to publications particularly and to public discussions, such as would come in the newspapers naturally, it would be very difficult for the court, particularly giving a fair construction to it, not to say that the legislature intended to cover the whole subject matter, and that the statute is not so separated in its terms and separated in its elements that one part of it could fall and the other stand.

Mr. KNOX. Will the Senator permit me further to interrupt him?

Mr. BORAH. Yes.

Mr. KNOX. It seems to me, if you eliminate the subproviso, which I think destroys the proviso altogether, that in reading this proviso the idea was that it was not probable that the regulation would take the form of a censorship, because the proviso says that it shall not be construed "to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for"—referring to the regulations which the President is empowered to make under the provisions of this bill—"limit or restrict any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government."

It seems to me that is wholly inconsistent with the mischiefs that the Senator seems to think that he sees following the power to make these regulations.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. BORAH. Just a moment, before the Senator from Connecticut interrupts. Let us see about this. The proviso reads:

Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government—

But all other subject matters, whether or not they are those which the proviso covers, are clearly, according to a fair construction, within the power of the President to cover by regulations.

Mr. HITCHCOCK and Mr. BRANDEGEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, it seems to me to be very obvious that this proviso protects nothing except editorial discussion.

Mr. FLETCHER. Or criticism—"discussion, comment, or criticism."

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It, of course, has no relation to the publication of news. It protects merely the editorial field.

Mr. BORAH. That is the least important matter in a newspaper, in so far as these questions are concerned.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I agree entirely with what the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] has said. The proviso simply allows discussion and criticism of Government policies.

Mr. FLETCHER. Oh, no; the Senator is wrong about that.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Let us see if I am.

Mr. FLETCHER. It covers "discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I supposed the Senator from Idaho had yielded to me.

Mr. BORAH. I yield to the Senator, but I should like to avoid having other Senators in my time debating details.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do not want to take up details.

Mr. BORAH. I will be glad to have the Senator make his statement, because I am in harmony with his views.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I want to ask the Senator from Idaho, in relation to the question asked him by the Senator from Pennsylvania, as to whether or not this would result in the establishment of a censorship? If I understood the Senator from Pennsylvania correctly, he thought it was susceptible of the construction that it might not; but, as it seems to me, the third line of subdivision (c), under which anybody who shall publish any of these things in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President of the United States is subject to the penalties, is an attempt to establish a censorship.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, of course it is intended to establish a censorship. It would not be here if it were not for that purpose. No one has concealed the fact that it is intended to establish a censorship.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator if he does not think he could present the argument more potently and clearly if there were not so many interruptions? The Senator is making a very fine argument upon a very important question, and I think perhaps he could state his views with greater precision, and more coherently, if interruptions were postponed until its completion.

Mr. BORAH. I thank the Senator, but I always desire to accommodate my colleagues even at the expense of my argument. At the risk of being somewhat disconnected, I desire to call attention to some views from Cooley's Constitutional Limitations. On page 603 the author says:

Besides, it is well understood and received as a commentary on this provision for the liberty of the press, that it was intended to prevent all such *previous restraints* upon publications as had been practiced by other governments, and in early times here, to stifle the efforts of patriots toward enlightening their fellow subjects upon their rights and the duties of rulers. The liberty of the press was to be unrestrained, but he who used it was to be responsible in case of its abuse; like the right to keep firearms, which does not protect him who uses them for annoyance or destruction.

As I understand the word "unrestrained" there, it means that the Constitution inhibits setting up anyone to whom it is my duty as a publisher or speaker to go and consult as to what shall be published or said; the setting up of anyone who can establish regulations as to what shall be published or as to the liberty of speech or as to what shall be communicated. "Unrestrained" means that one can publish what he sees fit and consult no one else previous to publication. If, indeed, he does publish something which is libelous, he takes the result in the way of punishment; but he consults himself and his own wishes, his own will, and decides whether it is libelous and takes the chances. He decides whether it will give the enemy aid, and takes his chances. The law can only deal with the subsequent fact after publication, and can not, under the guise of protecting the public interest, create a censorship that shall determine for one whether or not he is taking chances in publishing an article. The court might decide that it was not contrary to the public interest; the court might decide that it was not calculated to benefit the public enemy; but the censor decides otherwise, and then under this provision the publisher violates the regulation.

So much, Mr. President, for the legal phase of this matter. I want to say a few words in regard to the policy of it. I suppose it will be conceded that here we are all Americans and thoroughly in accord with the idea that we should leave nothing undone which we can do properly or wisely to prevent information reaching those with whom we are at war. I assume that no one could for a moment in this Chamber harbor the idea that we should loosely permit information to go to the enemy which might be of benefit to him. I would want to go as far as one would need to go in order to protect that situation; but evil of that kind is not commensurate in its import with the evil which might flow from an abridgement of the freedom of the press.

Edwin Burke once said:

> It is right that there should be a clamor whenever there is an abuse. The fire bell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the country, but it preserves all the property of the Province.

We may suppose ourselves capable of seeing the evils of a free press or free speech, but it is almost impossible to even outline in the way of suggestions the benefits of a free press and free speech. Hence the wisdom of the ages is that we should permit unrestrained use of the printed page and speech and punish alone for abuse.

Sir James McIntosh in the Peltier case observed as follows:

> To inform the public on the conduct of those who administer public affairs requires courage and conscious security. It is always an invidious and obnoxious office, but it is often the most necessary of all public duties. If it is not done boldly, it can not be done effectually, and it is not from writers trembling under the uplifted scourge that we are to hope for it.

How exceedingly wise! What is the press or speech worth if fear, indefinite power to punish ever accompany the use?

Lord Northcliffe by publications in England stirred the nation from center to circumference, exposed the ineptitude—the almost criminal ineptitude—of some who had charge of the nation's affairs. Could he not have been punished under this bill? Will anyone contend that the London Times, in the days when Lord Northcliffe was revolutionizing the situation with reference to the fighting forces of England, could have been published under this proposed statute? Does anyone doubt that if Lord Northcliffe had not made those publications in all probability the English Army would have broken down or suffered incalculably? Has there been a greater and more distinct service rendered to the cause of English arms than has been rendered by the English press? All this would undoubtedly have been inhibited under this provision of this proposed statute.

Go back to another service performed by the London Times in the Crimean War. The publications made by that paper at that time not only changed for the better the situation with reference to the contest and mercilessly exposed those who were incapable of carrying the arms to success, but so exposed the aristocracy of England in its criminal incapacity that it was the initiatory step in the great democratic movement in England which led to the enfranchisement of the people 10 years afterwards.

I could come closer home for illustrations, but it would perhaps be a breach of taste to do so.

Mr. President, in this struggle of democracy, in this crusade for free institutions, let us hold fast among ourselves to those great underlying principles of freedom and liberty without which we may be a Republic in name, but could never be one in fact. Without an unfettered press, without liberty of speech, all the outward forms and structures of free institutions are a sham, a pretense—the sheerest mockery. If the press is not free; if speech is not independent and untrammeled; if the mind is shackled or made impotent through fear, it makes no difference under what form of government you live you are a subject and not a citizen. Republics are not in and of themselves better than other forms of government except in so far as they carry with them and guarantee to the citizen that liberty of thought and action for which they were established.

Of all times in time of war the press should be free. That of all occasions in human affairs calls for a press vigilant and bold, independent and uncensored. Better to lose a battle than to lose the vast advantage of a free press. A free and independent press, as historic incidents show, may be of greater service than any other single feature of a great conflict.

In times of war corruption and venality, sordidness and greed are always active, always prevalent. I know of very few exceptions. It was so in the Civil War when the Union seemed to be going to pieces. It was true—notoriously and brazenly true—during the Spanish-American War. Men were fed on diseased food that greed might riot in its profits. Everywhere, in high places and low places, men were spying about for a chance to take advantage of the patriotic people engaged in defending the honor of their country. I know of nothing more important to a free people in time of war, in time of great stress, than a free press.

I think one of the greatest services we can render the cause of democracy just now is to demonstrate to the world that a Republic can carry on war, defend itself effectively and triumphantly without recurring to the practices and procedures of absolute governments. The most interesting and at the same time the saddest features of this war to me, aside from the suffering and sacrifices of those engaged, has been the haste with which the freer, more liberal governments have adopted the arbitrary and dictatorial policies and practices of the most absolute of governments. There are no democracies at this hour in this conflict, whatever may be the outward form or whatever the fact was before the war, and whatever the fact may be after the war. It is certainly not for me to suggest that things could have been otherwise and that these arbitrary and absolute measures were unnecessary, for I have no reason to challenge the good faith of those who have risked all in this struggle. But I am sure if the time is to come when we shall have to follow in that course that time has not yet arrived. I do not believe that time will ever come. I think if danger should become more imminent and the situation more perilous that the patriotism, the active and self-imposed censorship of the press will meet in full the demands of the hour. I think the individual citizen will measure up to the occasion. I at least want to try out this situation to the end and see if a Republic may not be a Republic in war as well as a Republic in peace. I shall not have much faith in our institutions if they are fitted only to sail in serene seas and wholly unable to withstand the storm.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I agree with a great deal of what has been said by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. I do think we ought not to allow our patriotism and our earnest desire to sustain the President and our country in the war which we have recognized exists to make us forgetful of the rights of the citizens of the United States and willing to abandon them.

This paragraph, under the usual practice, will not be acted upon at this time. It was passed over and will be taken up after the completion of the bill; but I wish to suggest some amendments, that they may go into the RECORD, without really having made up my own mind as to whether I will vote for the paragraph after it is so amended.

In the first place, I object to everything in it, except as it applies to the press. The provision that I would be guilty of a penal offense if I should attempt to elicit from anybody, even in a casual conversation, information with regard to anything connected with the war which might be useful to the enemy if the enemy knew it to me is rather shocking. I could not vote for such a provision. I could not vote for a bill with such a provision in it. It goes, I think, beyond all reason or justification.

I think we ought to strike out "collect" and "record," in line 23, before the word "publish." I think we ought to strike out "or communicate," after the word "publish." I think we ought to strike out, in line 24, "or attempt to elicit." I think we ought to leave it simply applying to publications.

What was really in the minds, I think, of those who framed this provision was to prevent the publication in the newspapers of such matter as was likely to reach the enemy through the publications, and calculated to do harm; but it goes much beyond that. I would certainly strike out, in line 6 on page 9, "or which might be." As it reads, it makes criminal the attempt to elicit any information relating to the public defense which might be useful to the enemy if known by the enemy. I cer-

tainly think we are going far enough when we put the inhibition upon something that is calculated, if found out by the enemy, to do harm. If the bare proposition that it might possibly be of use, if found out by the enemy, is to be embodied in this provision, you would almost be placed in such a position, according to its terms, that you would hesitate to ask of anybody any kind of question that pertained to the war or to matters connected with the war.

If we should limit it to publications and strike out "or which might be," what would we do? We would make it illegal to publish matter which was calculated to be of use to the enemy, except under regulations prescribed by the President, and we would then go one step further and provide—

That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same.

That would leave it in a reasonable shape. That would reach the evil, I think, which we have in view.

I doubt whether that could be considered an abridgment of the freedom of the press. I think that would limit it to acts which would be in their nature treason. For a newspaper to publish to any considerable extent information calculated to help the enemy could certainly be carried to a point where such publication would be treason; and I submit for the consideration of the Senate, not desiring to continue the discussion of this paragraph further, whether we could not confine the limitation to publications calculated to be of service to the enemy, under such rules and regulations as the President might prescribe.

I suppose we will return to this paragraph after we have finished the bill, and at that time there may be a motion to strike it out.

I have not made up my mind whether I will vote for the motion to strike it out completely or not. If it is left as it is, I know I will; but if it can be modified along the lines I have suggested, unless there is some objection to it still with such modifications, I think if we can we should provide a means by which there can be some restriction upon the publication of news items calculated to help the enemy.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Georgia a question before he takes his seat.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Certainly.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I wish to ask the Senator if he thinks it is possible for the President or anybody else to sit down now and formulate rules and regulations which will give to all the writers for the press for the next year information which will guide them as to what will be of use to the enemy if they should write it?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Not at all, and I think probably no rule or regulation at all ought to be issued now. It might be found, however, that certain classes of shipments going from this country and going through the war zone were subject to greater danger if publicity was given to the facts connected with them. Thereupon, under this bill, a regulation as to the nature of those publications, just one simple regulation, might be made by the President, placing some limitation upon them.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Yes; but I mean as to all the thousands of pieces of news and rumors that are going to originate in this country for the next year. How in the world can a newspaper man know, by any form of words that the President may issue in the shape of a regulation, whether the story that he wants to print comes within the prohibition of this act or not?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It would be utterly impossible; and nothing is illegal until the regulation is made under this act.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I know; but I am saying, suppose the President makes a regulation in general terms, and then all these men who want to print stories in relation to the war, or in relation to our military activities, are unable to tell whether the particular story that they want to print is covered by the regulation or not. They are all left to print at their peril. Now, it seems to me that if we have constitutional authority to enact this sort of a statute at all, there ought to be somebody who would have authority to whom the newspaper men could submit their proposed articles and get authority to print them; at least, it seems to me so. I can not conceive of hundreds of thousands of newspaper men, some deciding that they can print without violating the President's regulations and others deciding that they can not, some willing to take the risk and others not, some newspapers having the advantage of publication of these things and others, more prudent, declining to print them. It seems to me it would give rise to chaos.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Answering the Senator, Mr. President, I repeat that I do not commit myself to vote for this paragraph, even with the amendments I suggest. What I had in mind was that the President would not issue any great set of rules and regulations, but he might issue a particular rule with reference to some particular class of publications, specifying the exact matter the publication of which in the particular situation was injurious and dangerous.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. He might, but nobody knows what he would do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Well, if that is the situation, then perhaps we had better not do it at all.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. If I thought he would issue a great general set of rules at once undertaking to cover the subject, then I would not vote for the section with any kind of an amendment.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. McCUMBER. Why should we not, then, I will ask the Senator, simply provide what we want to prohibit, in terms sufficiently general at least to cover the cases that we wish to prohibit, and then make it a criminal offense to violate that law, and cut out entirely every provision relating to the rules to be prescribed by the President?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, if some one can prepare with reasonable accuracy a provision of that kind I would vastly prefer it to section "(c)" amended in any possible way.

Mr. McCUMBER. I am certain that the Senator himself could prepare it by reading over this bill, seeing what its intent and purposes are, and then covering the subject matter by sufficiently clear legislation to make it a law and then punish the violation of it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Before we get back to the section again I hope some one will undertake to do it. I only desired at this time to throw out some criticisms upon the section and to suggest the only way that I saw to trim it down and yet leave it possibly satisfactory.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it is not my purpose to enter into a very extended discussion of this matter, but briefly to call the attention of the Senate to what I conceive to be our power and authority in the premises. Before I proceed, however, I want to suggest to the Senators who have had this colloquy how simple this matter of regulation seems to me.

President Roosevelt, during his administration, had the habit of calling in the newspaper men every day and giving them whatever information he could. Now, the President and the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War can make arrangements to call in the newspaper men every day and give them such information in respect to the operations of our Army and Navy, and all that pertains to our military operations, as may be deemed safe and proper.

I put a question yesterday to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], who was for years the Secretary of State. I said, "Has not the President the right, in respect to the diplomatic correspondence and other matters in the hands of the State Department, to prohibit the information being made public?" Certainly he has. When our country is engaged in war the President of the United States as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy has exactly the same power in respect to the military and naval secrets of the Government that the President has in respect to diplomatic affairs.

Mr. President, I am sorry there are not more Senators here whose memory goes back to the days of the Civil War. Mine does. I remember well how the movements of our Army were constantly hampered because of the daily publicity that was given to all our movements and all our preparations by the press of the country. They had reporters from most of the leading papers of the country with every army in the field and they would report every movement. It would be published in their papers the next morning and the following morning those papers would be at Richmond, Va. The same thing happened with the Confederates. The Senator from North Carolina called my attention the other day to the manner in which the Confederate Army was handicapped by it in one instance, namely, the first movement of Lee into Maryland, leading to the Antietam campaign. To my mind one of the greatest injuries that happened to us during the war was the constant advertising of the public press, and of course there went to the enemy all the movements and transactions of our troops.

Now, it is not the purpose of this bill to deprive the newspapers of any just criticism—nothing of the kind. It is the purpose of the bill to prevent information of the organization of our Army and Navy, of their movements on sea and land, and to keep the enemy in the dark as far as possible. Congress under the Constitution has the power to declare war, and a part of

that power is to equip and supply the country with all the necessary means and appliances necessary to carry on that war successfully. It is the duty of Congress, after they have declared war, to see to it that all military and naval appliances necessary to make the war a success are provided for, and one of the most necessary essentials, to my mind, is to prevent information in respect to the movements of our Army and Navy to be passed up to the enemy. That is a part of the authority of Congress under the war-making power.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Minnesota yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. NELSON. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. KING. I wish to ask the Senator from Minnesota, in view of the grant to the Federal Government to carry on war, if in the prosecution of that grant there is a conflict between the power given to the Federal Government and some power reserved by the State would not the exercise of the power to the Federal Government be paramount, and would it not have the right to submerge the right of the State in the exercise of that grant of power?

Mr. NELSON. Certainly; and I shall point out briefly that these constitutional rights of the liberty of the press and of free speech and of personal liberty are all subrogated to this higher authority.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. OVERMAN. There is one clause of the Constitution which says that we shall "provide for the common defense," and that is all this bill is doing, in time of war.

Mr. NELSON. Yes. As I said a moment ago, Mr. President, it is our duty, having declared war, to equip and fit out all our military and naval forces in the most efficient manner to carry on the war, and one of the essentials we have to provide for besides powder, shot, shell, aeroplanes, submarines, and torpedo destroyers is to protect our soldiers and sailors from any fire in the rear by having information carried to the enemy of the movements and operations of our fleet. So I say, Mr. President, under this power of declaring war and carrying on war we have ample power to legislate in such a manner as to protect the country from having this information in any shape or manner, either privately or through the public press, conveyed to the enemy.

It is important, Mr. President, to keep the enemy in the dark as to our movements, for then if the enemy strike us they will be striking in the dark, in the mist, in the fog, as it were, and they will be unable to cause the havoc and destruction they would if they should attack us with their eyes open as to all our movements. And so with us, Mr. President, if we are the attacking force, it is of the utmost importance that we should be in such a position that our attack would be a surprise to the enemy rather than have them forewarned in advance.

Mr. President, the highest power possessed by the Government is called by the courts the police power. The name seems rather belittling, but it is the highest and the supreme power, the power that goes to sustain the vitality and force and life of the Government in all great emergencies.

I desire to quote in this connection a few brief authorities. I quote from the case of Patterson *v.* Kentucky (97 U. S., 504). Here is what the court said:

> By the settled doctrines of this court the police power extends, at least, to the protection of the lives, the health, and the property of the community against the injurious exercise by any citizen of his own rights.

I quote the following from Chief Justice Redfield, of Vermont, one of the ablest lawyers of his day in the country. In the case of Thorpe *v.* Rutland & Burlington Railroad Co. (27 Vermont, 149, 150) he said that the police power extends—

> to the protection of the lives, limbs, health, comfort, and quiet of all persons, and the protection of all property * * * and persons and property are subjected to all kinds of restraints and burdens in order to secure the general comfort, health, and prosperity * * *. Of the perfect right of the legislature to do this no question ever was or, upon acknowledged general principles, ever can be made.

Mr. President, the Federal Government exercises the police power in aid of and under the war power. Our Government is at this moment exercising war power in legislation, and in the exercise of that power we resort to the police power. You had an illustration of that a short time ago in the decision of the Supreme Court on the Adamson law. Under the power to regulate commerce the police power of the Federal Government, the Supreme Court held that our Government has not only the right to regulate the transportation rates, but it has the right to regulate the wages and hours of labor of the trainmen, and in that way it established the doctrine which has been disputed and contended against—the doctrine of compulsory arbitration in disputes of that character.

In cases of great emergency, when we have to resort to the police power, all the other rights that are referred to are subrogated to this ultimate power, which involves the life and safety of the country.

I want to quote in this connection from the opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan on this subject. It is very apt and appropriate. It is found in the case of Jacobson *v.* Massachusetts (197 U. S., 29). Justice Harlan says in the opinion of the court:

> But it is equally true that in every well-ordered society charged with the duty of conserving the safety of its members the rights of the individual in respect of his liberty may at times, under the pressure of great dangers, be subjected to such restraint, to be enforced by reasonable regulations, as the safety of the general public may demand. An American citizen, arriving at an American port on a vessel in which during the voyage there had been cases of yellow fever or Asiatic cholera, although apparently free from disease himself, may yet, in some circumstances, be held in quarantine against his will on board of such vessel or in a quarantine station until it be ascertained by inspection, conducted with due diligence, that the danger of the spread of the disease among the community at large has disappeared.
>
> The liberty—

Now, listen to this—

> The liberty secured by the fourteenth amendment, this court has said, consists, in part, in the right of a person "to live and work where he will," and yet he may be compelled, by force, if need be, against his will and without regard to his personal wishes or his pecuniary interests, or even his religious or political convictions, to take his place in the ranks of the army of his country and risk the chance of being shot down in its defense. It is not, therefore, true that the power of the public to guard itself against imminent danger depends in every case involving the control of one's body upon his willingness to submit to reasonable regulations established by the constituted authorities, under the sanction of the State, for the purpose of protecting the public collectively against such danger.

In other words, the effect of this decision is that these personal rights, the right of personal liberty as conferred by the Constitution of the United States in the fifth amendment, are all subrogated to this supreme power in the State, this power of self-preservation exercised for the time being under the war power of the Government. The right of free speech, the right of the press, the right of personal liberty are all subrogated to this supreme and paramount power.

Mr. President, the Constitution nowhere in express terms makes an American citizen liable to military service. I have not found any express language in the Constitution making me or any other citizen liable to military service; but yet, under the war power, under the power to organize armies and call out the militia, and to provide rules and regulations for governing them, Congress has the power to enforce military service, to enforce compulsory service, to enact a law compelling every citizen to perform his duty as a soldier. Yet, nowhere in the Constitution do you find any express declaration that every citizen is liable to military service.

Now, what would you think, Mr. President, if a man who is drawn as a soldier under a law that we are about to pass should come up to the recruiting officer and quote the fifth amendment? I will read so much of it as applies here: "Nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Would that article of the Constitution be very effective in that instance if the recruit called for walked up to the recruiting officer and said, "My dear sir, here is the fifth amendment; you have no right to deprive me of my liberty without due process of law; I am immune from military service"?

Mr. President, talk about free speech. Suppose an orator of the I. W. W., the Industrial Workers of the World, is standing on a street corner on top of a dry-goods box or a barrel leaning against a lamp-post and is harranguing the crowd and getting a mob there, inducing them to raise a riot leading to bloodshed and the destruction of property. He gets them all excited and worked up by his speech. Is there no power in the Government to deprive that fellow of free speech? Must we lie back supinely and let that brother talk until his throat is hoarse and until the mob have wrought destruction in the street and upon the town or the city? It is the most preposterous thing in the world. So you may apply the same to the press. Suppose a newspaper operates on the lines of that orator of the Industrial Workers of the World. Suppose he proceeds on the same theory. Suppose he goes as far as my good friend the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] suggested, on the verge of treason, is the country helpless? Can you do nothing more than prosecute him after the offense? Must we lie supinely by and let him carry on his free will in the future? Can we not stop that publication? If he is traveling in the field of treason can we not stop it just as much as we can stop the street orator to whom I referred? Mr. President, to contend for any other doctrine than that

would be to make our country as helpless and impotent as it was in its original state before the European settlers settled in this country.

So, Mr. President, to summarize briefly what I have contended for, Congress has a right to declare war. To declare war entails upon us the duty of providing all means, equipment, and facilities necessary to carry on the war. As a part of those necessary means, we must provide our Army in the field and our sailors on the sea; we must protect our Army and our sailors from any backfire, from people at home, that might result from giving information to the enemy of the movements of our troops or our vessels. It is as essential, Mr. President, as it is to equip our soldiers with powder and bullets, with guns and artillery, and all that pertains to modern warfare.

Mr. President, my heart goes out to the soldiers and sailors of this country. I think our first duty is to protect them instead of protecting a few newsmongers, publishers, men who are prowling around for curiosity to get information that may be exploited in the public press or otherwise.

I think our supreme duty on this occasion, Mr. President, is to look after the welfare of our soldiers and sailors and fortify them against all such fire in the rear as is embraced in the contention of some of the orators in this Chamber.

This war, Mr. President, has led to one curious thing. It has compelled the soldiers of the allies to protect themselves with masks against poisonous gases. Mr. President, I think we owe it as a duty to protect our own men, our soldiers and sailors, in like manner against the gases of these newsmongers, these publishers here. We had better pass legislation that will operate like the gas masks in Europe to protect our soldiers and sailors against the insidious attacks of these men.

Oh, Mr. President, a spirit of old times comes over me. I can not help it. During the Civil War, when we were sitting around the camp fires singing our songs, I remember a part of one Army song that was near and dear to us:

Tell the traitors all around you
That their cruel words, we know,
In every battle kill our soldiers
By the aid they give the foe.

So, Mr. President, I would say here, giving this information through these newsmongers, through these publicity bureaus, giving them a free hand, will simply play into the hands of the enemy, and it would lead to what our soldiers felt during the Civil War in many instances—

Brave boys are they,
Gone at their country's call—

They will be going—

And yet we can not forget
That many brave boys must fall.

Mr. President, as an old soldier I feel that I owe a duty to the young men who are now about to enter our Army and Navy and to carry on our country to victory. It seems to me to belittle the subject to take the ground which has been taken by some Senators in this Chamber.

Now, what is there in this paragraph? Have we a czar? I am not afraid to trust President Wilson. We have trusted the Secretary of the Treasury with the issue of $5,000,000,000 of bonds. We are going to intrust him with appropriations amounting to perhaps a billion and a half more. We have got to leave discretion somewhere in time of war. I have confidence and faith that these public officials in this emergency will perform their duties honestly and fairly, and that if we enact this legislation the President will exercise his power with discretion and moderation. I am not afraid that he will not do so.

I heard Senators admit in a kind of a mild milk-and-water way that some rule ought to be adopted. I ask those Senators to sit down and frame a set of rules that seems to be commensurate. The truth of it is, Mr. President, it can not be done. You have got to leave the discretion to the President or somebody else; and I imagine that the discretion will be exercised exactly in the way I indicated at the outset of my remarks. The President and the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War—none of them connected with the public press of the country—will day by day hold a short seance with the newspaper men, call them up, give them all the information they feel is safe, and when it is given to them in that way the newspapers are perfectly safe in publishing it. If the newspapers want any more the Government says to them, "No; I do not think it is safe; I do not think it is prudent to give any more information." Is not that a correct way, and is not that the way that it likely this provision of the law will be carried out? I can not conceive how it is possible to lay down any specific or general rule in advance. You can not prescribe just what items of news shall be published from day to day. You can not lay down any general rule about it. The discretion in the matter must be left to the heads of the War and Navy Departments and to the President of the United States.

Now, my friends, I am not here to criticize the newspapers. Most of the public press of the country have acted, especially lately, with a calmness and a discretion and a prudence that have done them great credit. We know little to-day; the papers convey no information to us in respect to the movement of our fleet. None of us can point out where our battleships are located, or where our submarines are, or where our submarine base is. The newspapers are practicing great restraint, and I know they will practice the same in the future.

But unfortunately among them, as among other classes in life, there are a few on the outer verge, a set of men whom you may call newspaper guerillas, who for the sake of getting notoriety, for the sake of exploiting their circulation, will resort to any method and any means to secure surreptitiously any information that it is possible for them to get and publish it and show how they beat the regular papers. It is those men we must reach. It is like the law against larceny. We pass a law prohibiting larceny and punishing it. We do not suppose everybody is going to steal, but there may be a few who will. So in this case we pass this law, not because we think all the newspapers are going to violate it—nothing of the kind; the best of them never will; the best of them will never criticize this legislation—but we aim to reach a class of newspapers which, I am thankful to say, are not numerous in this country, and they are becoming less and less every day, and we aim to hold the check upon them, as is necessary in time of war.

In this connection—and I intended to call attention to it when I was discussing the liberty of the press—I ask leave to insert in my remarks a very brief quotation which I will read from the case of Gompers against The Buck Stove & Range Co., Two hundred and twenty-first United States, 434. The court is discussing the question of boycotting, and it says:

And that the constitutional right of free speech and free press does not extend to securing immunity to the boycotter in such cases is so well settled and declared by the courts as to render citations unnecessary.

So in this case, if for the safety and well-being of our Naval and Army forces it be necessary to keep information from the enemy, he who is guilty of conveying information to the enemy is guilty of a crime, and he gets no immunity, as the court held in those cases under the paragraph of the Constitution relating to freedom of speech or freedom of the press. All these great constitutional rights, as I have said, Mr. President, in an emergency are subrogated to the ultimate and supreme police power of preserving the life, the integrity, and the existence of our Nation.

Mr. JOHNSON of California obtained the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. Will the Senator from California yield to me long enough to enable me to offer an amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I desire to suggest, for the consideration of the committee, a proposed amendment to the pending section. On page 8, line 13, I propose to strike out the words "or supposed plans"; in line 18, on the same page, I propose to strike out the words "or which might be"; and beginning with subdivision (c), in line 20, I propose to strike out everything down to and including the word "imprisonment," in line 9, on page 9. I will discuss my amendment hereafter. I thank the Senator from California for his courtesy.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I simply desire to register a very cordial and enthusiastic approval of what was said yesterday by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] and what has been said to-day by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] concerning the policy of the particular enactment under discussion. So far as I am concerned, I would prefer to eliminate from this measure everything after the parenthetical "c," in line 20, on page 8, down to and including the end of that particular section.

I favor doing this not from any particular tenderness for the press of the Nation; I am not greatly concerned with the press in this discussion. A decent and a self-respecting press will in time of war censor itself, and will not give aid or comfort to the enemy; and a decent and a self-respecting press, true to its traditions and true to the spirit of America, will not be deterred by any law from honest and legitimate discussion and criticism.

I am concerned chiefly with the right of free speech, with the very preservation of democracy itself. This is neither a

partisan war nor a war of a part of our people. This is an American war of all our people, and America is the light to all the world in demoocracy.

War is the natural enemy of freedom and democracy. We have already conferred practically autocratic powers financially; we doubtless shall in the future, where imperative necessity demands it, accord extraordinary and unheard-of powers to our President; but we must stop short of successful assault upon democracy's basic principles. No free people should be subjected to undefined and indefinable laws. To subject a people to unwritten penal statutes, resting from day to day in the bosom of any one man, however exalted, in nebulous and elastic language, even where no evil intent exists by construction of any one official, however high and highly respected, to make felons of our people, is an excursion into autocracy in America that can not be justified or excused by our desire to destroy autocracy in Europe.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I wish briefly to express the manner in which the question under discussion appeals to me. At the outset I send to the desk to have read by the Secretary an amendment which in due time I hope to propose to subdivision (c), the subdivision under consideration. Down to the beginning of the committee amendment on page 9, in this proposed substitute, I propose to strike out some of the series of acts which are made offenses under the subdivision. I propose to strike out certain phraseology alluded to by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] a while ago, and by the striking out of which he proposed to amend the subdivision. Before proceeding I should like to have the amendment read by the Secretary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota sends to the desk an amendment to be proposed by him at a later time, which the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The President of the United States is hereby authorized in time of war to make and promulgate such reasonable regulations as he shall deem necessary to prevent the publication or communication of any knowledge, fact, or information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of the naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, which might be of use to the enemy, or any other information relating to the public defense which might be of such use. Any person who violates any regulation so made and promulgated shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than 10 years, or by both fine and imprisonment.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, it will thus be seen that I propose to strike out the words "collect and record" and the words "or attempt to elicit any information," these being under this subdivision distinct offenses. I think the gist of the section is the publication or communication of any fact, knowledge, or information that may be useful to the enemy. So I have left the words "publication or communication of such facts or information" as the offense or offenses to be covered by the subdivision. I have also proposed to strike out the words "or supposed plans or conduct" as being unnecessary. I had thought to make clearer the intent or purport of the bill by inserting in line 5, after the word "place," the words "which might be of use to the enemy," there having been some question about that in the discussions of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. President, it seems to me the questions with which we should concern ourselves in considering this subdivision (c) are largely these, namely: Might the publication of knowledge or information in regard to the movement of our troops be useful to the enemy? Might it be useful to them in enabling them to concentrate their own forces in order to meet, and possibly to overcome, our own forces? The paragraph refers to the description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces. This, then, is the question: Might the publication of knowledge or information in regard to the disposition of the armed forces of the United States be useful to the enemy and enable the enemy to meet those forces as they are so disposed according to the information given? Might the information in regard to any of the plans of the naval or military forces of the United States be useful to the enemy if published, if made known to the enemy? That is the question. Might any of the works or measures relating to our fortifications or to any part of our national defense be useful to the enemy if published? If so, Mr. President, we ought to have the power to prevent that publication or to prevent the knowledge or information on the part of the enemy that such was the condition with reference to the movements, numbers, or disposition of our forces, land or naval.

Who will say, Mr. President, that such publication might not be useful to the enemy and as a consequence most injurious to our forces on land or on sea? If such be the conditions, then there must be the power inherent somewhere to prevent a publication that will be of use to the enemy in time of war. The territorial integrity, the sovereignty even, of the Nation may ultimately be dependent upon a prohibition against the enemy's obtaining this information.

Mr. President, whatever may be said in regard to the guaranties of the Constitution, in regard to the Bill of Rights as it protects the freedom of speech or of the press, they must be subordinate, after all, to the national integrity, to the national sovereignty, and to the principle of self-preservation. Hence, as a necessary war measure, and for the protection of that integrity and national sovereignty, indeed, it may be for our own self-preservation, the possession of the power of preventing information concerning our military resources and plans is necessary. I have no doubt as to the existence of the power, and this subdivision is to confer upon the President the right to exercise it. That is the simple purpose of subdivision (c). We would make a great mistake, I think, Mr. President, if we were to strike out the main features of subdivision (c), which are designed to prevent the publication or communication of any information in regard to our troops or our Navy which might be useful to the enemy.

Mr. President, much has been said here in regard to the guaranties of the Constitution. I want to call attention to a little something in our own history, and to the observations of a great foreign writer, no less a one than the former British ambassador to the United States, Mr. Bryce, in regard to the powers that have been exercised in the past in our country, and especially by the great Lincoln during the Civil War. The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], who has so vividly recalled to our minds the days and the perils of the Civil War will be reminded of some of what seemed to be stretches of power upon the part of the Executive during those perilous times. Mr. Bryce says, among other things:

The domestic authority of the President is in time of peace small, because by far the larger part of law and administration belongs to the State governments, and because Federal administration is regulated by statutes which leave little discretion to the Executive. In war time, however, and especially in a civil war, it expands with portentous speed. Both as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and as charged with the "faithful execution of the laws" the President is likely to be led to assume all the powers which the emergency requires. How much he can legally do without the aid of statutes is disputed, for the acts of President Lincoln during the earlier part of the War of Secession, including his proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus, were subsequently legalized by Congress; but it is at least clear that Congress can make him, as it did make Lincoln, almost a dictator.

Strange as it might seem, inappropriate as it might be, in time of peace to confer such tremendous powers upon the Executive, yet when the national life is in peril, or in any great war in which we are engaged, it is then the time that under—I will not say "under"—but aside from the Constitution, these sovereign powers may be invoked and exercised.

A further word from Mr. Bryce:

Now, the President has, during 99 years, carried on the internal administrative business of the Nation with due efficiency. Once or twice, as when Jefferson purchased Louisiana, and Lincoln emancipated the slaves in the revolted States, he has courageously ventured on stretches of authority, held at the time to be doubtfully constitutional, yet necessary, and approved by the judgment of posterity. He has kept the machinery working quietly, steadily when Congress has been distracted by party strife, or paralyzed by dissensions of the two Houses, or enfeebled by the want of first-rate leaders. The Executive has been able, at moments of peril, to rise almost to a dictatorship, as during the War of Secession—

And now, here are the words of assurance, which I think show there is no cause for the alarm expressed by some of the Senators who have spoken in opposition to this measure—

and when peace returned, to sink back into its proper constitutional position. It has shown no tendency so to dwarf the other authorities of the State as to pave the way for a monarchy.

I quote further from Mr. Bryce:

If the case is not urgent, if there is no strong popular impulse behind Congress or the President, no paramount need for the usage which had sprung up and is now disapproved, the decision of the courts will be acquiesced in, and whatever tendency toward change exists will seek some other channel where no constitutional obstacle bars its course. But if the needs of the time be pressing, courts and Constitution may have to give way. Salus respublicae lex suprema—

The safety of the State, of the Republic, is the supreme law; and although it may seem to override the Constitution, it is a law inherent in every sovereignty. Mr. Bryce goes on to say:

Above that supreme written law stands the safety of the Commonwealth, which will be secured, if possible, in conformity with the Constitution; but if that be not possible, then by evading, or even by overriding the Constitution. This is what happened in the Civil War, when men said they would break the Constitution in order to preserve it.

I will quote one sentence from that remarkable letter written by Mr. Lincoln in 1864 to Mr. Hodges, in which he says:

I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the Nation.

Mr. President, the prohibiting of that publication or communication which would give information to the enemy of the movements, the numbers, the disposition of the armed forces of the United States, land or naval, and thus prove useful to the enemy, may be essential to the welfare—nay, the very existence—of the Nation, and I here, in favor of the main proposition involved in subdivision (c), invoke the principle of sovereignty and of self-preservation, confident in the belief that this is nothing more than a just and reasonable war measure.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, I shall not take any time in discussing the policy of this proposed law. I can readily understand that Senators may differ as to its policy. I can readily understand, having been a lawyer myself, that it is particularly difficult for a lawyer to lay aside for a moment the ordinary rules of construction in discussing constitutional or legislative provisions. However, if we approach the subject now under discussion with the realization that all laws are intended for the government of society and individuals, in the regulation of their mutual association in times of peace, and that when it becomes necessary for the safety or self-defense of a people or of a government that such laws can be suspended as is provided directly in the Constitution, we can possibly apply the constitutional provisions to an emergency of this kind as we would not be able to see them or apply them otherwise.

We had a little experience, Mr. President, with a Government which was unable to protect itself from 1776 down to 1787. It became apparent to the people of the various States forming the Confederation that it was necessary to place the power of common defense and common welfare somewhere else than in the States themselves. For that reason the Constitution was framed and a preamble adopted setting forth the objects sought to be attained. We forget them, apparently, at times. The preamble provides:

> We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In framing the Constitution, the Convention, composed, I think, of the brightest minds in this country, and certainly of men who were the peers of any who ever sat in any convention or legislative body, proceeded to define the rights of the Union and the rights of the States within the Union and to insure the rights and privileges of the people of the Union. I asked the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] a question as to whether it was not true, in his judgment, that in matters relating to war the same rule of constitutional construction must be adopted with reference to the powers of the Congress of the United States that should be adopted with reference to a State constitution and the powers of the legislature thereunder. To my mind the same rule of construction applies, because the States have absolutely delegated to the National Congress the right to declare war, and, by their constitutional provisions, further agreed that neither of them should have any such right.

When war is declared, war exists in so far as this country and its inhabitants are concerned. Every American citizen to-day is, under the rules of war and the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of its courts, an enemy of every German citizen in Germany and of every Austrian, or of every citizen of the countries with which this country is at war, and some American citizens do not seem to realize that this is the status of a citizen. The men who framed the Constitution were the wisest men whom this country has ever known. It has been astounding to the commentators, to the law writers of the world, that they should have framed an instrument such as was issued by them and under which we have since lived. They did not restrict the Congress of the United States as to the legislation which it should adopt in carrying out its constitutional power and duty to provide for the defense of this country. They simply provided in broad terms that Congress should declare war, that Congress should provide for the defense of the country, that Congress should raise an army, that Congress should authorize the muster into the service of the militia of the States. Then they provided, following these war declarations, that the Congress should have the power to pass all laws necessary to enable these duties to be performed and these powers to become operative.

The Senators here are familiar with the different provisions of the Constitution. It is scarcely necessary, it seems to me, to call attention to the first portion of section 8:

> The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

Well might it be suggested by a Senator upon the other side who agreed with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] in his construction, and well might it be agreed to by the Senator from Idaho, that under this clause Congress might claim this authority; but under this further provision they distinctly have the authority, in my judgment:

> The Congress shall have power—
>
> Among other things—
>
> to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water; to raise and support armies; * * * to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia * * *; to provide for arganizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States—
>
> And, as I have read in the first part of this section—
>
> to provide for the common defense.

And no authority in this country but Congress and the Executive of the United States, under their present constitutional powers, can exercise these powers.

The President of the United States can make war in self-defense. The Congress of the United States can declare war. Then it becomes the duty of the Congress of the United States to provide every measure necessary for the proper carrying on of that war, not only abroad but at home, just as they propose to do now in the military bills which have been offered in each of these bodies. Those bills are within the constitutional powers of Congress. No one doubts it. It is their duty to provide them. It is their duty to give to the President of the United States the weapons with which he shall resent the injuries which have been heaped upon us and with which he shall defend this country, that it may live; and it is their duty, sir, as has been so well said by this old soldier [Mr. NELSON], to provide by legislation that they who are baring their breasts to the common foe shall not be attacked by an insidious enemy from behind. To assume for a moment that the Constitution of the United States would prohibit the passage of such an act as this is to assume that those who formed this Government knew not what they were doing, that their acts were futile, and that the Government itself is not capable of sustaining itself in time of peril.

The question as to whether or not this is necessary legislation is a question of policy. We may well, as I have said, differ upon that. I can understand readily how Senators may differ on it, and to the policy I am not addressing myself. To deny, however, the power of this Government to do anything necessary for its preservation is to deny the Government itself; it is to deny the work of our forefathers, and it is to deny the work of the men who saved the Union under Abraham Lincoln.

The emancipation proclamation was unconstitutional. It was made constitutional by the sword. I say to you now, sir, that when you invoke a constitutional provision against the power of the great American people to preserve their Government, to contend with a common foe, the arbitrament of the sword will decide the question.

All rules of law are set aside in the face of national necessity, of self-preservation. Treaties are the supreme law of the land, made so by the Constitution. A declaration of war wipes out a treaty of amity and commerce between the contending nations. A declaration of war creates a status. It is not the status of peace. The decisions against libel apply in time of peace. They do not apply in time of war. No other constitutional restriction or legislative action can be invoked in the effort to hamper the people of this great country in defending themselves, in perpetuating the Union, and in deputizing the necessary power to the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of the Army.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President, I merely wish at this time to offer some general considerations on the pending measure.

In a bill of this kind, which is distinctly a war measure, I think we ought to bear in mind the attitude in which we should approach its consideration.

Speaking in general terms, war and law are antagonistic. The rule of force and the rule of law do not harmonize together. In the history of Roman and English jurisprudence we find that during war law, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, is in a very large degree suspended. That is human nature. We would not lay it down as a broad rule, of course, that the Constitution of the United States is suspended during war, but as a matter of fact it is suspended to this extent, that acts which are committed in violation of the Constitution in time of national peril are acquiesced in by the people and ratified as legal.

We are dealing here, in this war measure, with the primal instincts of humanity and with what war means, and we must not lose sight of these facts. The Romans were great lawmakers, perhaps the greatest in the history of the world. The present codes of law of Europe are founded upon the Roman law. When war was declared in Rome, the first thing that was done was to appoint a dictator and suspend the municipal law

for six months; and we find that principle running through the law down to the present time wherever a state of war exists.

Let me refer to one or two of the maxims familiar to all, but nevertheless pertinent to the spirit in which we should approach this legislation; for, after all, good legislation depends largely upon the spirit with which it is approached, and the decisions of the Supreme Court depend in large degree upon the spirit with which they interpret the Constitution, and thereby reflect the sound public opinion of society in its upward march to a higher civilization.

"In time of war the laws are silent." This applies as between the State and its external enemies, and also in case of civil disturbance. "The safety of the people is the supreme law." "Necessity makes lawful that which otherwise is unlawful." "Necessity controls the law." "Necessity is not restrained by law, since what otherwise is not lawful necessity makes lawful."

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if it will not disturb the Senator——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. COLT. Certainly.

Mr. REED. Because I entertain a very high opinion of the Senator's legal ability and learning, I venture to ask him if he really means to say that because the country is at war the ordinary constitutional guaranties are not in full force, validity, and effect and will not so remain up to the point when, as may happen, that martial law shall be declared? I fear that the Senator's language was so broad as to indicate that the Government can now, if it so desires, override or disregard the Constitution.

Mr. COLT. I have always found in life that if I tried to state anything clearly I usually went a little beyond what I may have intended to convey to others. I said that we ought to approach this measure, remembering that it was a war measure, and while I did not advance the doctrine that the Constitution and all municipal laws were suspended when war was declared, I did say that if it becomes necessary to suspend any of those laws, constitutional or otherwise, in order to save the Nation, it would be justified and would be ratified by the people.

Mr. REED. But would not the condition which the Senator has last adverted to arise only when there was actually such a condition of war in the country as to bring us within the doctrine of Ex parte Milligan, a case with which I know the Senator is familiar——

Mr. COLT. Yes.

Mr. REED (continuing). Which, as I understand it, lays down the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States retains full force and vigor until such time as the civil authorities shall be unable to cope with a situation, and that then, of course, martial law may be declared, and all that martial law means may be visited upon the country? But I ventured to interrupt the distinguished Senator to suggest that an erroneous doctrine is being preached in this country, and I was afraid the Senator's views might be quoted erroneously, perhaps, in support of it. That doctrine seems to be this: That because the United States is at war the Government can do anything that it pleases. I undertake to say that is unsound.

I am interrupting the Senator. Perhaps I ought not to. If it is entirely agreeable, I will conclude the sentence.

Mr. COLT. I am very glad to have the Senator interrupt me if I made a statement which he regards as too broad.

Mr. REED. I undertake to say that, although we have substantially declared war against Germany—we have declared that a condition of war exists—the Constitution of the United States, the constitutions of the various States of the Union, the laws of the United States, all stand unimpaired; that while Congress can change any statute of the United States, it can not add to or take from the Constitution, or impair or impinge upon any principle laid down in the Constitution, until and unless a condition of war has been created which has broken down or overcome the power of the civil authorities to maintain their usual functions, and that up to that time when martial law is declared the civil law and the Constitution remain; that Congress can not destroy the Constitution.

Now, to complete the statement, I do believe that the power of the Government, when we are in war, to carry on that war is a thing perhaps not subject in all respects to all those constitutional limitations which obtain in time of peace. That is to say, the power of the Government in time of war is in some respects broader than in time of peace. In still other words, the right to declare and carry on war carries with it certain very broad powers. Just how far we can go I am not at present prepared to say. I, however, express the hope the doctrine will not be given out here that it is necessary to destroy the Constitution of the United States, or to impair it in any way, or to destroy American liberty, or impair it in any way, in order to carry on this war. We are fighting a war for our national rights, for human rights, for democracy. In seeking to overthrow the citadel of autocracy let us not destroy the temple of democracy. It is not necessary to impair our Constitution in order to defend liberty.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President, I appreciate very much what the Senator from Missouri has said. I was simply stating the aspect in which I approached this bill by drawing attention to the distinction between law and war, and how they were somewhat irreconcilable. I did not lay down the proposition, and do not intend to advocate the proposition, that upon the declaration of war our constitutional and municipal laws are suspended. I did refer to certain legal maxims simply with this view, to show that in approaching this subject we are justified in giving enlarged powers to the General Government; and I did also lay down the proposition that even in the case of our organic law, where the preservation of the country was required, the people justified a violation of its provisions.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. COLT. The case of President Lincoln was referred to by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING]. In a letter to Mr. Hodges, cited in Bryce's American Commonwealth, dated April 4, 1864, President Lincoln said:

> My oath to preserve the Constitution imposed on me the duty of preserving by every indispensable means that Government, that Nation, of which the Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the Nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life, but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the Nation. Right or wrong I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that to the best of my ability I had even tried to preserve the Constitution if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of Government, country, and Constitution all together.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Rhode Island yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. COLT. I yield, although I have only a few more words to say.

Mr. McCUMBER. May I ask the Senator whether he believes that at this time we have reached a stage in this war in which we should properly suspend the operation of the Constitution, or that it will be necessary or is necessary at the present time for us to grant to anyone any power that is not clearly within the constitutional rights?

Mr. COLT. I believe it is necessary to clothe the Government of the United States with the powers mentioned in Chapter II, section 3, of the bill which is before the Senate for consideration.

Mr. McCUMBER. Can not that be done under the Constitution without suspending it?

Mr. COLT. I believe it can be done under the Constitution.

Referring to the Constitution, I take the position taken by the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] that in those provisions conferring power upon Congress to declare war and other provisions relating to military affairs, and then the provision that Congress has power to enact any legislation necessary to carry these laws into effect—that these provisions, and especially the provision relating to war, which should be broadly construed, carry by necessary implication the power to enact this proposed legislation.

I want to say just one word more. From the point of view of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], we are dealing with the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, rights which should be preserved in all their broad outlines; but in the construction of these constitutional rights we should not adopt the narrow construction that prevails in the case of statutes.

We are here dealing with the framework of a great Government. Those provisions in the Constitution are expressed as they should be, in very general terms. In form, however, they are rigid formulæ. They must be made elastic. They were enacted 128 years ago. They must be made to apply to a moving body, to society, to this great Republic, which has increased from 13 to 48 States and from 5,000,000 to 100,000,000 of population, with changed social conditions, changed views as to many great problems, such as the problem whether society is to be regarded as made up of separate individual units or whether you are to consider society as a whole and look at the good of the whole and not merely the individual right of property and contract.

Those fundamental provisions in the Bill of Rights must be molded and interpreted as society advances. "It is a Constitution we are expounding," exclaimed Marshall, and he brushed

aside all narrow rules of interpretation and clothed that instrument with flesh and blood in order that it might be made equal to the great purposes for which it was designed.

When you say freedom of the press, what does freedom mean? It means orderly freedom, does it not? Again, freedom of speech does not mean unlicensed speech. But however strict the construction might have been when those provisions were enacted, we must now, if necessary, enlarge their meaning in order to meet the great emergencies arising out of the present war in order to meet the spy system and the easy communication of information by means of modern inventions which annihilate space and time.

Mr. President, when the Supreme Court in a case before it undertakes to determine whether an act of Congress is unconstitutional, what takes place? The court looks at the precedents. Ah, yes; but there are two other factors which enter into the decision. The court looks at society. It looks at the general will, or what the best public opinion of the country demands. Thirdly, there is the question of the individual conscience of the judges, and this enters into the decision. A decision of the Supreme Court calling for the construction of a constitutional provision is made up of three elements—precedent, public opinion, and conscience. In this way the Supreme Court, in fact, legislates through its decisions. By being influenced by what the common or general will of this Nation demands the court keeps the Constitution in line with the advance of society in its upward march to a higher civilization.

Mr. President, as sure as you are sitting in that chair those rigid rules will break unless you bridge the chasm between the advance of society and those rigid formulæ.

I think, therefore, with regard to this legislation that we should bear in mind these general considerations, that this pending bill is war legislation and that we shall not forget the relation of war to law in the history of nations and of jurisprudence; again, that under the Constitution the power is granted to Congress to declare war; and, further, that this legislation is justifiable under a proper construction of the first 10 amendments to the Constitution; and, finally, in the situation of the world to-day and the part which this country must play in this war for democracy against military autocracy, this legislation is necessary if we are to conduct this war to a successful conclusion.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I feel constrained to submit a few observations before the debate comes to a conclusion. None of the distinguished Senators who have discussed the matter before us relating to the power of Congress to enact legislation of this character have undertaken at all to discuss it from the standpoint of war or from the standpoint of the power of Congress to enact legislation under the war power. This legislation is to be effective only during the war.

The distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], I think, overlooked an obvious distinction apparent from a most casual reading of the first amendment of the Constitution between the provision in relation to an establishment of religion and the abridgment of freedom of speech or of the press. The language is that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; that it shall make no law respecting religion at all—that is, "respecting an establishment of religion"—but the language then follows, "or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." There is no inhibition upon Congress, so far as that section is concerned, to pass acts in relation to the press, but those laws, whatever they are, must not abridge the freedom of the press.

Then it becomes an important inquiry as to whether a particular act does abridge the freedom of the press, and that presents the question as to what does the freedom of the press include? Everybody concedes that the freedom of the press does not include the right to print matter that is libelous or scandalous. Everybody concedes that the freedom of the press does not include the right to print blasphemous matter. Everybody concedes that it does not include the right to print matter that is obscene. Likewise, Mr. President, I undertake to say that it does not include the right to print matter that is destructive to the integrity of the State or that is helpful to the enemies of the State.

Neither Mr. Madison nor Mr. Hamilton in discussing the general question of the liberty of speech or of the freedom of the press as it is used in the first amendment of the Constitution had in mind at all nor were they discussing at all the question as to whether in order to accomplish a successful war it was within the power of Congress to limit the publication of matters that might be helpful to the public enemy.

This distinction between the language of this provision of the Constitution as it affects the establishment of religion and the freedom of the press was noticed by Justice James Iredell, one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, in his charge to the jury in the case of the trial of the Northampton insurgents. He said:

> Here is a remarkable difference in expressions as to the different objects in the same clause. They are to make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. When, as to one object, they entirely prohibit any act whatever, and, as to another object, only limit the exercise of the power, they must, in reason, be supposed to mean different things. I presume, therefore, that Congress may make a law respecting the press, provided the law be such as not to abridge its freedom.

Mr. President, it is not necessary for us to enter into a consideration of the question as to whether if there were no such provisions as this found in the first amendment of the Constitution Congress would have any power to legislate with reference to the subject of the press at all, but I do not believe that anyone who allows his mind to address itself to a consideration of war and the powers of Congress to take steps necessary to bring to a successful conclusion a war can doubt for a single moment that the Congress may take all necessary steps in order to prevent information that would be of value to the enemy from reaching them.

You will have observed that that question has not been the subject of discussion by any of the writers whose views upon this subject have been commented upon. I wish to call your attention to some comments on this general subject that are found in a very carefully thought out article appearing in the fiftieth volume of the American Law Register. I read from page 15:

> It seems worth while to remember in this connection that the phrase "liberty of the press," which has been so frequently and so eloquently descanted on by American orators, is by no means a native product of American soil. Blackstone, whose commentaries were written more than a quarter of a century before the adoption of this first amendment, uses the phrase, and uses it in a manner which indicates that even then it had become a familiar one. Every student of the law remembers his forcible and eloquent exposition of the meaning of the phrase, and the passage in which it was discussed has been referred to by almost every case involving the principles there discussed. It must have been familiar to those who framed this amendment, and when they use the same phrase used by Blackstone and in no way qualify it, except by adding to it the "liberty of speech," it seems a natural inference that they use it in the same sense in which it was used by him. Judge Cooley, notwithstanding what he says above concerning the scope of the amendment, admits that "in this country it (i. e., Mr. Justice Blackstone's view) has been accepted as expressing the views of those who framed and adopted this amendment." And he cites in support of this Rawle on Constitutions, Chapter X, 2 Kent, 17; Story on Constitutions, section 1889; Commonwealth *v.* Blondings.

The author continues:

> Now, Blackstone enumerates seditious libels among offenses which are punishable under the law without a violation of that liberty of the press, to which he gives his full and forcible indorsement. It would follow, then, that the punishment of seditious libel was not intended by those who framed and adopted this amendment to be considered an infringement of the liberty of the press, and that such publications were still subject to governmental animadversion.

I have here the comment of Mr. Justice Blackstone upon the matter, which it might be helpful to advert to at this time. From the fourth volume I read, on page 151, as follows:

> In this and the other instances which we have lately considered, where blasphemous, immoral, treasonable, schismatical, seditious, or scandalous libels are punished by the English law, some with a greater, others with a less, degree of severity, the liberty of the press, properly understood, is by no means infringed or violated. The liberty of the press is, indeed, essential to the nature of a free State; but this consists in laying no previous restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequence of his own temerity. To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser, as was formerly done, both before and since the Revolution, is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government. But to punish (as the law does at present) any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall on a fair and impartial trial be adjudged of a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, of government and religion, the only solid foundations of civil liberty. Thus the will of individuals is still left free; the abuse only of that free will is the object of legal punishment.

I continue reading from the author who contributed to the American Law Register his conclusions, on page 23, as follows:

> The English constitution boasts, with that of America, a "liberty of the press," and yet it does not hesitate to admit that publications may materially and seriously affect the Government and its officers, and that these are proper subjects for punishment. In doing so it in no sense admits that it is abridging the liberty of the press, but always contends that it is bridling its licentiousness. This distinction, so clearly drawn by Mr. Justice Blackstone, has been adopted without question by American courts in other classes of illegal publications. Why should they hesitate to apply it in distinguishing from a constitutional point of view what does and what does not infringe that liberty?
>
> The form of government of the United States contains in itself the means of changing either its policy or its structure by constitutional measures. The advocate of such changes who urges the exercise of constitutional rights for dislodging the party in power or for amending the Constitution can, with perfect propriety, we think, claim that he is within the protection of the constitutional amendment. It is when he

passes this line and urges illegal and unconstitutional measures to replace the governing party or to overthrow the form of government that there arises an abuse of that liberty of speech and of the press which is intended to be secured to the people. This, it seems to us, furnishes a distinction in a sense fundamental. It will always remain to consider whether the publication in question has so far passed the line referred to as to endanger the security or efficiency of the Federal Government.

He concludes, on page 25, as follows:

To sum up in brief the conclusions at which we have been able to arrive in this second part of the discussion, we find ground to believe that the language of the first amendment securing the liberty of the press was used in the sense in which it was understood under the English system of government, and was not intended to prohibit action on the part of Congress against the licentiousness of the press, when such licentiousness affected in a material and serious way the security of the government or the effectiveness of its action. The sedition act of 1798 forms the closest precedent in our history in deciding the questions which arise in determining the scope of the liberty of the press; but inasmuch as the constitutionality of that act was never passed on by the Supreme Court of the United States we have no authoritative declaration of its validity. If it passed beyond the bounds of what was authorized by the Constitution, it would seem to have done so, not so much because a measure of this nature is not within the implied powers of Congress as because the act included in its denunciation publications which would not now be regarded as affecting the safety or efficiency of Government, and, therefore, not seditious. To draw the line between what does impair the vigor of governmental action and threaten its existence and what does not, and hence to decide what is without and what within the liberty of the press is the really difficult problem; but not more so, apparently, than the solution of similar questions in allied cases of libel.

I think, Mr. President, that is the distinction here. The liberty of the press does not include the right to publish what is obviously dangerous to the perpetuity of the Government and likely to overthrow the effort of the administrative arm of the Government to carry to a successful conclusion a war; for, Mr. President, to what end would Congress be empowered by the Constitution to declare and to wage war by every possible means if at the same time there were no power to prevent the press of the country from bringing to naught every undertaking and every enterprise that the Government might undertake in order to effect that end?

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, I desire to say only a word relative to the pending measure. I may say that it is my desire and wish to support the Government and the President in every way I consistently can in carrying on the war that has been declared. The title of the pending bill reads: "To punish acts of interference with foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes." That is the purpose and intent of the bill we are about to enact into a law.

I am just as much in favor of the freedom of the press as any Member of this body, but at the same time I believe we are facing a crisis and there exists at this time an emergency which demands that unusual power be given to our Executive. For that reason, and for the reason that I believe it will be beneficial in carrying the war to a successful conclusion, I am in favor of this measure, and I shall favor all of the measure down to line 20, on page 8, known as subsection (c). I believe we could agree on some small and reasonable changes that should be made in this measure, or this subsection, rather, that would, I hope, enable every Senator to support it.

In the preparation of this bill, as all other bills that come before this body, I realize the difficulties the persons preparing them have to encounter. We have this measure prepared by the General Staff, consisting of 56 officers of the Army, collaborating with the members of the Cabinet and the Secretary of War. There is no Senator in this Chamber who does not realize that those men are honest, patriotic citizens, and are endeavoring to furnish us with material that will enable us to enact a law that will help us to protect ourselves against a foreign foe.

I shall move at the proper time to strike out, commencing in line 23, page 8, after the word "shall," the words "collect, record"; in the same line, after the word "publish," to strike out the words "or communicate, or attempt to elicit"; and, on page 9, line 6, to strike out the words "or which might be." I will read subsection (c) as it will read with these amendments:

And (c) whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall publish any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct, of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same: *Provided*, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

It seems to me that the section in that form is fair and equitable and will only enable the President and his associates to protect your interests and mine. There is nothing in this section as it will then read which will prevent the press from publishing anything or discussing anything relative to the war, making any comment or criticism of any act or policy of the Government or its representatives. They are permitted to do that under this section.

That is as far as the papers of this Nation are asking to go to-day. I may say in passing that the decent papers, the papers that have the interest of the country at heart, are asking for just such legislation as this, and their associations have prepared an amendment similar to this. They have themselves placed a censorship over their own news, and they have asked the Government to help them do so. They have a right to be protected from the irresponsible paper that is going to publish something that should not be published and will give aid and comfort to the enemy. High-class papers, papers that furnish the news and have the interest of the country at heart, will be blamed for what some irresponsible paper or its editor has caused to be published. I believe that they want and should receive this very protection. No Senator believes in time of war, when we are facing an enemy, that anybody should furnish any information with respect to the movement or numbers or description or condition or disposition of any of the armed forces of our Nation or of our ships or aircraft or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any officer. It seems to me that the restrictions which are contained in the bill are restrictions which we should desire to enact into law.

There has been a great deal said about giving so much power to our President. In times of peace no man is more jealous of the power of this body and of the other House of Congress than I; but in times of war, after war has been declared, when party lines have been obliterated and all loyal citizens are cooperating for one great purpose of protecting American rights and world democracy, we should not so far forget ourselves as to let the thought of our democracy at home cause us to commit an act or to pass a law which will prevent a democracy of the world.

We are face to face with the greatest fighting machine on earth. It is well known that this country is not prepared for a personal conflict of soldier against soldier with any first-class nation of the world; but we have by our act assisted the allies in a material and financial way, which I think it was entirely proper we should do.

Here to-day we find men in this country who, as you know and as I know, are securing information for the benefit of the enemy. Just a moment ago there was laid on my desk an evening paper—the Washington Times—with the following headline:

Capitol burglar seeks naval secrets. Spy "jimmies" Senate office. Splinters doors of Naval Affairs Committee meeting place.

That is the news that is published to-day, and it is the duty of the press to publish such news. It is true that kind of conduct is to be found all over the United States to-day; and we must be brought to a realization of the fact that we are now at war, and that we have to adopt, and must necessarily adopt, war measures if we are going to win; and win we must.

I believe this section is as important as any section in the bill. Therefore I hope the Senator in charge of the bill will accept my amendment.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I do not intend to discuss this section or to discuss the bill at this time. But I conceive it to be my duty to say a word or two with reference to the doctrine that has been announced here by at least one Senator. Not so much in the exact words uttered as in the implication which seems to be conveyed by them is the doctrine put forth that it is necessary now for us to disregard the Constitution. We are told that the Supreme Court, when construing the Constitution, first takes into consideration the precedents of the past and then takes into consideration public opinion, and that the Constitution is to be expanded or contracted in accordance with public opinion.

I have as much respect for public opinion as I think anyone ought to have, and I believe that public opinion, when it has been crystallized into statutory and into constitutional provisions, is and that it should always be supreme in this land; but I am astounded to hear uttered upon the floor of the Senate by a Senator of distinguished learning and record the doctrine that the Supreme Court of the United States, when it comes to write a decision announcing the law of the country, pauses and in-

quires "what is the state of public opinion to-day." The only kind of public opinion that can be recognized in the construction of a statute and in the construction of a constitution is that kind of public opinion which by constitutional and statutory methods has inscribed itself as a part of the law of the land. Any other doctrine will be subversive of all law and of all constitutions, because it leaves to the judge the right, not to determine what the people have said and what the law is, but to determine for himself what the state of the public mind is at that particular time.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. Does not the Senator from Missouri think that, if the Senator from Rhode Island is correct, the oath of office administered to the judges of the Supreme Court should be changed, requiring them to support the Constitution of the United States and public opinion?

Mr. REED. I am not going to indulge in any severe criticism. I do not mean to do that. I simply want to put on record this much of a protest, because I feel assured——

Mr. COLT. Mr. President, I do not want the Senator from Missouri to misunderstand me. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. Let me finish the sentence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. REED. I do; certainly.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President, I do not want the Senator from Missouri to have the impression that I said the decisions of the Supreme Court were founded upon public opinion. That was not what I intended to say. I said that public opinion entered into the decision as one of its elements. The Senator from Missouri is a good lawyer, and he knows that when a case comes up before the Supreme Court there are facts probably in the case which had not arisen in any other case. The question, then, is, What is a proper decision?

We will take the attitude of the Supreme Court toward patents. In relation to patents and the patent law the tendency is to modify or to restrict the monopoly granted by a patent. Here, for example, is a case with its complicated state of facts, some of which are new. In determining that case the court will be guided by three things—precedent, public opinion or the general will or tendency of society, and individual conscience of the judges. The way in which the law is made to conform to social growth and progress arises from the fact, in part, that public opinion or the general will of society and the progress of society enter into a decision where the facts are different. That is what I meant to state, that public opinion is one of the elements of the decision, but not the controlling one.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I say again I have so much regard for the Senator from Rhode Island——

Mr. COLT. I know the Senator from Missouri would not misrepresent me.

Mr. REED. I would not misinterpret the Senator's remarks.

Mr. COLT. I know the Senator would not.

Mr. REED. And it was only because I believed the Senator's remarks were bound to suggest something that I can not think he had in his mind that I took the floor.

Mr. President, this is what I think is in the mind of the Senator, and I do not believe he expressed it. I am aware that it requires considerable temerity to undertake to define what is in another man's mind and to express it better than he has done. Nevertheless I venture to say that I believe the Senator had in mind this thought: That when some decision of a court, some precedent in being tried out in the actual experience of life, develops the fact that it is in conflict with some principle of human right, then that old precedent will give way to the principle of human right, which is greater than the mere expression of some court in the past; and to that extent there always will be a modification of opinions and decisions; for in the changing conditions of life it frequently occurs that the application of a principle may be just and equitable under certain conditions of society, and under other and changing conditions the same application might work a hardship; but I do not believe that the principles of law change, and I do not believe that the courts have any right to ask themselves, first, what is the law, and then what is public opinion, then what is in their conscience and then add them together or stir them all together or jumble them all together and say that the conglomerate of law and public opinion and judicial conscience constitute the law. On the contrary, it is their business to determine what the law is. When that has been done their business is done. The less they mix the law with other things the purer will be the law. The law is the voice of the people expressed by legal and proper methods. I have only slight exception to the Senator's remarks in connection with his last statement.

I did not rise merely for the purpose of offering observations with reference to what the Senator had said, but I wanted to say that I hope in the Senate of the United States nothing will be said to lead the people of the United States to understand that at the inception of the war, which up to this time is a mere paper war—I hope, sir, nothing will be said in this Chamber that will give the American people to understand that it is necessary in the slightest degree to impinge upon their constitutional liberties in order to carry on this war, or that anyone will think of tolerating for a moment so monstrous a thing as the destruction or the impairment of the Constitution of the United States. On the contrary, this war can be carried on, the resources in money, in brains, in blood, and in soul of this Nation can be mobilized and utilized without in any way destroying our constitutional liberties.

I intend to vote for this bill, perhaps with some changes and amendments. I know that it proposes to do many things in time of war that I do not think we ought to undertake in time of peace; but I am not voting for such propositions because I believe they are whittling down the Constitution or impairing the Constitution. I intend to vote for them because I believe they are within the Constitution. There may be matter contained in this bill that before the debate is concluded I shall think is not within the Constitution; and whenever any such proposition is presented to my mind I shall unhesitatingly vote against its retention in the bill. But let us not in this Chamber start preaching the doctrine that the Constitution is to be treated lightly, that our liberties are to be suspended, or the rights of the people are to be impaired either temporarily or permanently. That is not necessary, and it will not be necessary during the pending conflict.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I do not wish to take up the time of the Senate in discussing this subject. I shall have nothing to say, except that I ask unanimous consent to have read at the desk by the Secretary an editorial appearing in the Chicago Daily Tribune of April 5, 1917.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WAR CENSORSHIP.

Congress is to be asked again to pass an espionage bill for purposes of war emergency. The bill has certain superficial qualities of merit and other qualities of downright malevolence to the essentials of democratic government.

It would be theoretically possible under this bill for a government to suspend temporarily the publication of any newspaper which presumed to publish criticism of gross defects in the handling of the troops.

The courts probably would not indulge or tolerate such an invasion of the right of the freedom of the press, but an attempt could be made to punish critics of the administration, no matter how valuable and important the criticism was.

It is known that the attacks of the Northcliffe press in England made upon the British bureaucracy were dictated by Northcliffe after despairing talks with Gen. French. Northcliffe was tried under a sedition act and French was supplanted by Haig, but the work the two men did can be registered in the advances the British Army is making.

An intelligent press attacked a stupid bureaucracy and the general who inspired the attack and the editor who conducted it were pilloried, but what they did may have saved the British Empire.

When a stupid bureaucracy tries to conceal itself from criticism by penalizing the critic, it attacks democracy by refusing to allow the formation of an intelligent opinion.

Any newspaper which would divulge military secrets of importance to the enemy ought to be suspended and its editors ought to be punished. But a newspaper which is kept from telling the people how their troops are mishandled is helping the enemy and not betraying the Republic.

So far as the Tribune is concerned it welcomes a sensible censorship, but law or no law, if the embalmed beef scandal is repeated in this war in which we are about to engage; if typhoid camps are erected again, and if men willing to sacrifice themselves for cause are sacrificed without cause, the facts will be told and the responsible editors will accept the penalty.

Congress may do what it wants to do to cover up incompetence, but self-respecting journalism will ignore the penalties, accept punishment, tell the truth, do what good may be done by telling the truth and accept the verdict of the people.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, I was struck with the comment made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] that the Supreme Court should not be bound by public opinion. I do not like to have that pass without expressing at least my own opinion to the contrary. I think the mature public opinion of the United States ought to be respected by the Supreme Court. I think that the acts of Congress passed in pursuance of that opinion ought to be binding on that court; that the construction of the Constitution by the Congress of the United States is binding on that court, and that they ought not to be permitted to disregard it.

The Supreme Court of the United States has no jurisdiction worth mentioning, except appellate jurisdiction. That appellate jurisdiction under Article III, section 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the United States is subject to the control of Congress, and is granted "with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." Therefore Congress can take from that court, under the Constitution of the United States, as construed by the court in eight particular cases—a note of which I ask permission to put in the RECORD—such part of that jurisdiction as it may see fit. Congress has that power, and having that power the time has come, in my judgment, for the Congress of the United States to exercise it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the decisions referred to by the Senator from Oklahoma will be printed in the RECORD.

The decisions referred to are as follows:

Wiscart *v.* Dauchey, 3 Dall., 321 (1796); Duroussean *v.* U. S., 6 Cranch, 307 (1810); U. S. *v.* Gordon, 7 Cranch, 287 (1813); Daniels *v.* C., R. I. & P. R. R., 3 Wall., 250 (1865); In re McCardle, 7 Wall., 510 (1868); Nat. Ex. Bk. *v.* Peters, 144 U. S., 570 (1891); Col. C. C. M. Co. *v.* Turck, 150 U. S., 138 (1893).

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I do not think there will be a yea-and-nay vote asked for on the amendment proposed by the committee, as every Senator who has expressed himself is in favor of the amendment. I am not going to ask for a vote on subsection (c), but I ask that that amendment offered by the committee be put to the Senate now. There is no objection to it, because it really protects the press.

Mr. SMOOT. Is not the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] now before the Senate, or has that been accepted by the committee? What is the motion before the Senate, Mr. President?

Mr. OVERMAN. The committee amendment is before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts has moved to strike out——

Mr. OVERMAN. Unanimous consent was given that no other amendment should be considered until the committee amendments had been disposed of.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts is to a part of a committee amendment.

Mr. OVERMAN. We agreed to strike out the second proviso. That has already been stricken out.

The VICE PRESIDENT. No; that has not been stricken out. The Senator from Massachusetts has moved to strike out the second proviso.

Mr. OVERMAN. I have agreed on behalf of the committee to strike that out.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts has moved to strike out the proviso reading:

Provided, That no discussion, comment, or criticism shall convey information prohibited under the provisions of this section.

Mr. OVERMAN. The second proviso the committee have agreed to strike out. Therefore, Mr. President, I now ask that the first proviso be voted upon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let us see where we are, so far as the parliamentary status is concerned. The Chair is of the opinion that the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts must be put.

Mr. OVERMAN. The committee agrees to withdraw the second proviso, with the unanimous consent of the Senate. That was the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the second proviso, by unanimous consent, is stricken out.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask that the Senate vote on the committee amendment. I would not ask for action if there were objection on the part of any Senator, but I understand there is no objection, and therefore I ask for a vote.

Mr. SMOOT. Even if there were objection, the action could be reconsidered.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; it could be reconsidered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. All in favor say "aye"——

Mr. REED. Mr. President, we can not understand what is going on. There has been nothing stated to the Senate.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask the Secretary to read the first proviso.

Mr. REED. I do not ask that anything be read, but I do ask to be informed as to what we are voting on.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the proviso on page 9.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the Secretary had better read it, so that every Senator will understand it.

The SECRETARY. In Chapter II, section 2, page 9, line 9, after the word "imprisonment," it is proposed to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or restrict, nor shall any regulation herein provided for limit or restrict, any discussion, comment, or criticism of the acts or policies of the Government or its representatives, or the publication of the same.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I presented an amendment this morning, which I presume is now in order, as I understand all the committee amendments to this chapter have been agreed to. The amendment which I offer goes to the same section of which the amendment just adopted is a part, but affects another part of it. If I am right in my assumption that the amendment which I have presented is now in order, I will take it up and endeavor to outline what I seek to accomplish by it.

It will be noticed that the phraseology of subsection (b) and that of subsection (c) is practically identical after the first two lines of subsection (b) down to its penalty clause. The two principal differences therefore—and they are fundamental—between subsection (b) and subsection (c) is that the first creates a class of offenses which must be committed with intent that the subject matter of the offenses shall be communicated to the enemy. The other is the clause of subsection (e) which invests the President in time of war with the power to make regulations upon the same subject, which regulations are violated regardless of the intent of the person committing the offense, and which becomes an offense immediately the act is performed or attempted, whether any intent to communicate with the enemy exists or not.

Mr. President, I outlined some objections yesterday to a part of the phraseology of subsection (c), considered as a whole. The same objections apply to similar expressions in subsection (b). Hence my amendment proposes first to strike out, in line 13, the words "or supposed plans or conduct," and in line 18 the words "or which might be," so that if the amendment is adopted it will be provided that—

Whoever, in time of war, with intent that the same shall be communicated to the enemy, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense or calculated to be, directly or indirectly, useful to the enemy, shall be punished—

And so forth.

Supposed plans or conduct of a naval or military operation seem to me to be entirely imaginary, impalpable, and immaterial, and communications made or contemplated regarding supposed plans, or information sought concerning supposed plans, should constitute no legitimate basis or foundation upon which to predicate an indictment for the commission of an offense punishable with death; and the same criticism can be properly directed to the words "or which might be, directly or indirectly, useful to the enemy."

The fact that some information is gathered which, whatever the intent, might be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy opens up a wide field of liability, and certainly a very wide one for investgation and indictment. What might be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy perhaps in every instance would be a controverted proposition. It certainly would be one susceptible of dispute. The Senator from Mississippi might regard some information relating to the public defense as of great value to the enemy, directly. I might regard it as of no possible value to him, even indirectly. It is impossible to legislate for the creation of criminal offenses, either in times of war or in times of peace, with any safety to the citizen, if the offense is predicated upon such general and nebulous lines of conduct, and I do not think any lawyer in this body would challenge this criticism.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. WALSH. I agree with much of what the Senator says, so far as subdivision (c) is concerned; but why should we let anybody in this country collect information of any kind with intent to convey it to the enemy?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if a man is to be prevented—and perhaps he should be—from collecting information of any kind with intent to communicate it to the enemy, let us say so plainly and intelligently.

Mr. WALSH. Would not the Senator agree that that would be a wise thing?

Mr. THOMAS. I should not care to commit myself offhand upon so important a proposition. There might be occasions when its collection even with such intent would be useful to us. I should want to think it over before expressing a definite opinion. There might be reasons why the collection of information would be entirely devoid of any possible evil or injury to the Government of the United States, whatever the intent.

I do not know; but I will say, as a case of first impression, that the Senator is right about it. But, however that may be, the objectionable phraseology to which I have just directed my attention is, in my opinion, indefensible. It makes the subsection susceptible of constructions which, while creating an offense to-day, might not create an offense to-morrow, which enables one court to determine a certain line of conduct to constitute an offense in violation of the statute which would not appeal to another court at all. The one element essential in statutory legislation of a criminal character is certainty, positiveness, to the end that the citizen may understand what the law is and govern his conduct accordingly, leaving nothing, or as little as possible, to speculation or to inference.

Now, let me state another proposition to which there can be no dissent. The element of intent is an essential ingredient to the commission of a criminal offense. Some acts are so reckless, so utterly indefensible and unjustifiable, that the law infers the intent from the act. For example, if I drive an automobile recklessly down Pennsylvania Avenue without regard to the rights or the safety of others, and somebody is injured or killed, the law presumes, and ought to presume, an intention to accomplish that result, because of my reckless disregard of the laws of my country and of the rights of others. In other instances the intent may not be predicated directly upon the act, but depends upon independent proof for its establishment. In other words, if the intent is not obvious from the act, it must be established by a proper line of testimony or there can be no conviction. It is a fundamental element of the criminal laws of this country that offenses against them must be committed with criminal or unlawful intent; and in that particular the recitals of subsection (b) are in entire harmony with this legal requirement. When we come to subsection (c), however, no element of intent is there involved.

The President may make a regulation, and instantly the doing of any of the things mentioned in subsection (c) innocently, ignorantly, or in good faith constitutes a crime as completely as the doing of the same thing by the worst traitor in the United States, with full intent to obtain information and communicate it to the enemy; and what is, I think, equally important, it is the regulation of the Executive which imposes such a tremendous responsibility, which creates such tremendous consequences to the citizen, and not a statute of the United States. This can not be under our Constitution if it be any more than a scrap of paper.

I believe that subsection (b) covers the entire subject, and with the amendments I have proposed, covers it completely—so completely, indeed, as to make the retention of subdivision (c) of this section entirely unnecessary.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senator from Colorado to the suggested amendment in line 13, where, as I understood the Senator, he would have the words "or supposed plans or conduct" eliminated from the bill. I ask the Senator if that amendment would not be a very unfortunate one? Suppose, for illustration, that the department had tentatively agreed upon plans of a very important character relative to military or naval movements in the interest of the country——

Mr. THOMAS. That would not be a supposed plan; that would be an incomplete plan.

Mr. KING. Just one moment—and suppose later it was believed that those plans were not for the best interests of the war, and they were wholly abandoned, and some other plans were agreed upon. Suppose, further, that a knowledge of those abandoned plans should be obtained and communicated to the enemy. Would not that information perhaps prove very advantageous to the enemy? To know a negative might be sometimes just as beneficial to the enemy as to know the affirmative.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator would prefer to see the words "or incomplete or abandoned plans" substituted, I do not know that I would object to it; but the term "supposed plans" includes not only the things suggested by the Senator from Utah, but plans which do not have and never have possessed material existence anywhere. That is the basis of my criticism.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Does not the Senator think that where a man is engaged in hunting into our plans, even if they are only supposed plans, with the idea of betraying them, without any hesitation we can well afford to catch him and punish him? Is he not interfering with our business, and ought we not to catch everybody of that kind that we can?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, Mr. President, his moral obliquity may be quite as great as if he were attempting to get actual information.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Has he not become a traitor already?

Mr. THOMAS. If I forge the Senator's name to a note, I am at once amenable to the criminal laws of my country, and punished accordingly; but if I forge the name of a fictitious individual to a note, my moral offense may be quite as great as my actual one, but the law in that case would not punish me, unless the forged note was successfully used for the perpetration of a still further fraud; and I think that aptly illustrates the idea which I have in mind. At least I have given it in the hope that it does.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. PITTMAN. Does the Senator consider that a spy is any less reprehensible, because the information that he gives is not accurate or true, than if it were accurate or true?

Mr. THOMAS. I think a spy should be punished because he is a spy, if you know that he is a spy and in this country for that purpose, regardless of information obtained. And we should so legislate.

Mr. PITTMAN. Would the Senator consider a man a spy who was attempting to obtain information?

Mr. THOMAS. I certainly would, and punish him accordingly.

Mr. PITTMAN. Whether the information he actually obtained was true or not true?

Mr. THOMAS. I would punish such an individual for the essential reason that he is an enemy of the country and engaged in treason or attempted treason; but this statute goes much further than that.

Mr. PITTMAN. Then does it make any difference whether the plan is an actual plan of the Government or a supposed plan?

Mr. THOMAS. It does not, so far as the individual the Senator mentions is concerned; but here you have a sweeping statute, a statute broad enough to embrace men who are not spies as well as men who are spies.

Mr. PITTMAN. Does not the word "intent" cover every phrase in that subdivision?

Mr. THOMAS. There is no such word in subsection (c). Perhaps that might be its effect in the other subsection. Certainly it is presumable that an individual who is engaged in attempting to secure information with the intent that it shall be communicated to the public enemy is himself a public enemy, but you must recall that this section provides punishment by death, and I think you should hesitate long before you condemn to death a man whose work consists in the ascertainment of imaginary information. It is certainly carrying the criminal laws of the country beyond the extreme when such a penalty is sweepingly provided for such an offense.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. CUMMINS. The phase of this part of the bill which has bothered me is this: The word "supposed" relates entirely to the person who communicates, not to the department. That is, it is a plan which the person who publishes or communicates with the enemy supposed will be followed by the department or those in charge of the war. Now, imagine a person communicating a supposed or imaginary plan to the enemy for the purpose of deceiving the enemy and benefiting the United States. That person would still be liable to punishment by death or not less than 30 years' imprisonment. I do not say he would be prosecuted, but I instance that to show how loosely it is drawn.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I think the inference suggested is well within the phraseology of this subdivision and would subject a friend as well as an enemy to its penalties. I shall not detain the Senate any longer with a discussion of the amendment. If the remainder of it can be adopted, upon the condition that there is no change in the phraseology of subsection (b), I shall not complain very seriously, although I think these words should go out. But I think, Mr. President, that in view of the fact, as will be seen from a careful reading of subsection (b), that it covers everything which will constitute an offense which is embraced within the purview of subsection (c), then, since subsection (c) depends upon and provides for a regulation of

the President and makes the intent a matter of no concern, it should be eliminated entirely; and I hope, therefore, that the amendment will be adopted.

I wish to ask the Senator having charge of the bill, however, to postpone a vote upon it until to-morrow morning, because one or two Senators who are now absent desire to be here when the vote is taken.

Mr. OVERMAN. After the Senator from South Dakota offers an amendment, which he is going to submit and ask to have printed, I shall move an executive session.

Mr. STERLING. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment which I offered, and which was read at the desk this afternoon, be printed and lie on the table until to-morrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That action will be taken.

Mr. CUMMINS. I propose to offer, at the proper time, a substitute for paragraph (c), which has been under discussion. I ask to have it printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Permission is granted.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire to ask the Senator in charge of the bill to allow me to offer an amendment to section "(c)," and ask to have it printed and go over until to-morrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That will be done.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The present presiding officer was not in the chair when I offered it earlier in the afternoon, but I will do so again. I have elaborated it somewhat.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair understood it was not yet ready for printing.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, yes; it is now.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be printed, then.

Mr. POMERENE. I submit an amendment to the pending bill, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD and lie on the table.

The amendment was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

When the United States is engaged in war or is threatened with war, insurrection, or invasion, upon an affidavit being made before any United States commissioner or United States district judge stating that affiant has probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed or is about to be committed against the laws, proclamations of the President, or Constitution of the United States, the said judge or commissioner shall issue subpœnas in the usual manner for such person or persons as the district attorney may approve for an inquiry as to the matter set out in the said affidavit; the right and authority is hereby given the several commissioners and judges to administer oaths to affiants and to witnesses under this section.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, April 20, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 19, 1917.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Robert W. Jennings, of Juneau, Alaska, to be United States district judge, division No. 1, district of Alaska. A reappointment, his term expiring May 6, 1917.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

J. L. Camp, of San Antonio, Tex., to be United States attorney, western district of Texas. A reappointment, his term expiring April 24, 1917.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

William J. McDonald, of Dallas, Tex., to be United States marshal, northern district of Texas. A reappointment, his term expiring April 24, 1917.

John H. Rogers, of Austin, Tex., to be United States marshal, western district of Texas. A reappointment, his term expiring April 24, 1917.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

SIGNAL CORPS.

Lieut. Col. Edgar Russel, Signal Corps, to be colonel from April 12, 1917, vice Col. William A. Glassford, retired from active service April 11, 1917.

Maj. Carl F. Hartmann, Signal Corps, to be lieutenant colonel from April 12, 1917, vice Lieut. Col. Edgar Russel, promoted.

Capt. Alfred T. Clifton, Signal Corps, to be major from April 12, 1917, vice Maj. Carl F. Hartmann, promoted.

INFANTRY ARM.

First Lieut. Edward G. Taylor, Fourth Infantry, to be captain from February 10, 1917, vice Dalton, Second Infantry, retired from active service.

First Lieut. Alfred H. Erck, Fifth Infantry, to be captain from February 11, 1917, subject to examination required by law, vice Whitfield, Twenty-second Infantry, assigned to the detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Fred P. Jacobs, Tenth Infantry, to be captain from February 11, 1917, vice Mudgett, Twenty-third Infantry, assigned to the detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Walter S. Greacen, First Infantry, to be captain from February 11, 1917, vice Ganoe, unassigned, assigned to the detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Cary I. Crockett, Twenty-eighth Infantry, to be captain from March 1, 1917, vice James, Third Infantry, deceased.

First Lieut. Homer H. Slaughter, Thirteenth Infantry, to be captain from March 2, 1917, vice Humphrey, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. Henry C. K. Muhlenberg, Second Infantry, to be captain from March 11, 1917, vice Brown, unassigned, appointed judge advocate.

First Lieut. John F. Curry, detailed as captain in the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps, to be captain from March 22, 1917, vice Enochs, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

First Lieut. James E. Chaney, Twenty-fifth Infantry, to be captain from March 22, 1917, vice Curry, retained in Signal Corps.

First Lieut. William J. Fitzmaurice, Infantry, detached officers' list, to be captain from April 5, 1917, vice Churchill, Tenth Infantry, detailed in the Quartermaster Corps.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be first lieutenants from November 26, 1916.

Second Lieut. Harley C. Dagley, First Cavalry, vice Boyd, Third Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles L. Clifford, Ninth Cavalry, vice Winfree, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gaston L. Holmes, Fifteenth Cavalry, vice Graham, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. George W. Wersebe, First Cavalry, vice Nelson, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Milton R. Fisher, Fifteenth Cavalry, vice Sherburne, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John S. Jadwin, Second Cavalry, vice Engel, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Arthur P. Thayer, Third Cavalry, vice Addis, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward R. Scheitlin, Third Cavalry, vice King, Twelfth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin A. Martin, Fourth Cavalry, vice Hixson, Fourteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frank G. Ringland, Fourth Cavalry, vice Cooper, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John B. Harper, Ninth Cavalry, vice Scott, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut Winchell I. Rasor, Fifth Cavalry, vice Campbell, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Oliver I. Holman, Sixth Cavalry, vice Strong, Fifth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John J. Bohn, Sixth Cavalry, vice Hunter, Thirteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harry B. Flounders, Seventh Cavalry, vice Koch, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John C. Garrett, Eighth Cavalry, vice Reynolds, Third Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Grover R. Carl, Eighth Cavalry, vice Carter, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Hugh D. Blanchard, Eleventh Cavalry, vice Pratt, First Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James G. Monihan, Eleventh Cavalry, vice Amory, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Anthony J. Kirst, Fifteenth Cavalry, vice Hoyt, Eleventh Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William G. Simmons, Twelfth Cavalry, vice O'Hara, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Rexford E. Willoughby, Thirteenth Cavalry, vice Holderness, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John D. Austin, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice Greene, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John P. Kaye, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice Brant, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Cleo D. Mayhugh, Sixteenth Cavalry, vice Swift, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James W. Barnett, Sixteenth Cavalry, vice Wilson, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John C. Mullenix, Tenth Cavalry, vice Nicholson, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Ross McCoy, Seventeenth Cavalry, vice Dillman, Sixth Cavalry, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 27, 1916.

Second Lieut. Howard C. Tobin, Eighth Cavalry, vice Kiehl, Fourth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John A. Weeks, Second Cavalry, vice Scott, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 28, 1916.

Second Lieut. Walter E. Buchly, First Cavalry, vice Dickey, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harold C. Mandell, Second Cavalry, vice Talbot Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lester A. Sprinkle, Eighth Cavalry, vice Hensley, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert W. Grow, Eleventh Cavalry, vice Merchant, Thirteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Terrill A. Price, Twelfth Cavalry, vice Broadhurst, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William H. Kasten, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice Holderness, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin Rollmann, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice O'Donnell, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leon A. Ryder, Sixteenth Cavalry, vice West, Fourth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard L. Creed, Seventeenth Cavalry, vice Migdalski, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William M. Husson, Seventeenth Cavalry, vice Smalley, Fourteenth Cavalry, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 29, 1916.

Second Lieut. Harry L. Putnam, Seventeenth Cavalry, vice Blaine, Tenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Roderick R. Allen, Sixteenth Cavalry, vice Wainwright, First Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Adolphus W. Roffe, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice Milling, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Horace K. Havlicek, Sixth Cavalry, vice Chapman, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

To be first lieutenants from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Robert C. Candee, First Cavalry, vice Jones, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Joseph L. Philips, Third Cavalry, vice Harms, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Kenneth McCatty, Second Cavalry, vice Brown, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Joseph W. Geer, Sixth Cavalry, vice Brooks, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Edwin D. Morgan, jr., Fifth Cavalry, vice Canady, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Leslie B. C. Jones, Seventh Cavalry, vice Cathro, Ninth Cavalry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Kramer Thomas, Eighth Cavalry, vice Tyler, Fourth Cavalry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. James R. Finley, Seventh Cavalry, vice Dickman, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Willard S. Wadelton, Tenth Cavalry, vice Chaffee, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Hale S. Cook, Eleventh Cavalry, vice De Armond, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John M. Jenkins, jr., Eleventh Cavalry, vice Quekemeyer, Thirteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Beverly H. Coiner, Twelfth Cavalry, vice Andrews, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Albert D. Chipman, Thirteenth Cavalry, vice King, Second Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Arthur H. Truxes, Sixth Cavalry, vice Converse, Fourth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gordon J. T. Heron, Seventh Cavalry, vice Robinson, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Hugh M. Gregory, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice Burch, Fifteenth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Oron A. Palmer, Sixteenth Cavalry, vice Butts, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Stanley Bacon, Seventeenth Cavalry, vice Brett, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Jay D. B. Lattin, Second Cavalry, vice Heffernan, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Samuel V. Constant, First Cavalry, vice Reinburg, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. William C. Chase, Third Cavalry, vice McDonnell, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Norman E. Fiske, Eighth Cavalry, vice Woodberry, unassigned, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Donald O. Miller, Seventh Cavalry, vice Whiting, Fourth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard D. Gile, Tenth Cavalry, vice Elliott, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Wilson T. Bals, Twelfth Cavalry, vice Wyman, Eighth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Cyrus J. Wilder, Thirteenth Cavalry, vice Bell, Seventh Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harold C. Fellows, Fourteenth Cavalry, vice Baird, Ninth Cavalry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John T. Pierce, jr., Sixth Cavalry, vice Hall, Third Cavalry, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Henry H. Anderson, Eighth Cavalry, vice Franklin, Thirteenth Cavalry, detailed in Signal Corps.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be first lieutenants from November 26, 1916.

Second Lieut. Sherman L. Kiser, Second Field Artillery, vice Simpson, unassigned, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Emer Yeager, Second Field Artillery, vice Oberly, unassigned, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Marvin C. Heyser, First Field Artillery, vice Kirkwood, Third Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Idus R. McLendon, Eighth Field Artillery, vice Marr, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Michael J. Fibich, Third Field Artillery, vice Rumbough, Fourth Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Sidney G. Brady, Third Field Artillery, vice McCleave, First Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. George A. Pollin, Fourth Field Artillery, vice McBride, Second Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. David E. Finkbiner, Fourth Field Artillery, vice Brabson, Third Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Chauncey F. Ruoff, Fifth Field Artillery, vice Sparks, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Erwin C. W. Davis, Sixth Field Artillery, vice Crane, Fifth Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Emile G. De Coen, Seventh Field Artillery, vice Prince, Fifth Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Arthur N. White, First Field Artillery, vice Magruder, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Patrick L. Lynch, Ninth Field Artillery, vice Martin, Sixth Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Ivan N. Bradley, Ninth Field Artillery, vice Rogers, Seventh Field Artillery, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 27, 1916.

Second Lieut. John J. McCollister, Second Field Artillery, vice Dougherty, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frank A. Roberts, Seventh Field Artillery, vice Hopkins, Second Field Artillery, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 28, 1916.

Second Lieut. William D. Alexander, Third Field Artillery, vice Hollingsworth, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Herbert L. Lee, Seventh Field Artillery, vice Daly, First Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard J. Marshall, Eighth Field Artillery, vice Beatty, unassigned, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Ralph T. Heard, Eighth Field Artillery, vice Browne, unassigned, detailed in Ordnance Department.

To be first lieutenants from November 29, 1916.

Second Lieut. Harcourt Hervey, Third Field Artillery, vice Bane, Eighth Field Artillery, promoted.

Second Lieut. Francis W. Sheppard, Eighth Field Artillery, vice Odell, Seventh Field Artillery, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Robert W. Daniels, Seventh Field Artillery, vice Hatch, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

To be first lieutenants from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. John S. Winslow, Sixth Field Artillery, vice Finch, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. George N. Ruhberg, Fifth Field Artillery, vice Vanderveer, Ninth Field Artillery, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Armand Durant, Sixth Field Artillery, vice Anderson, Eighth Field Artillery, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Thomas T. Handy, Seventh Field Artillery, vice Crane, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Frank B. Tipton, jr., Eighth Field Artillery, vice McMahon, unassigned, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Stanley F. Bryan, Fifth Field Artillery, vice Palmer, unassigned, promoted.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be first lieutenants from November 26, 1916.

Second Lieut. Frederick W. Smith, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Barlow, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert S. Barr, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Ashbridge, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles J. Herzer, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Muller, promoted.

Second Lieut. William M. Cravens, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Bennett, promoted.

Second Lieut. John B. Martin, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Richardson, promoted.

Second Lieut. Oliver C. Stevens, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Oldfield, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin C. Mead, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Hatcher, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. William T. Roberts, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Pinger, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Carl J. Smith, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Zornig, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Dugald MacA. Barr, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Barnes, detailed in Ordnance Department.

To be first lieutenants from November 28, 1916.

Second Lieut. James D. MacMullen, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Ragsdale, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Charles W. Bundy, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Schimelfenig, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Charles D. Ostrom, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Baxter, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Donald M. Cole, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Stanton, detailed in Ordnance Department.

To be first lieutenants from November 29, 1916.

Second Lieut. James C. Huston, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Dargue, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Lenox R. Lohr, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Netherwood, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Francis A. Hause, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Davis, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Edward E. MacMorland, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Kimball, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Henry B. Holmes, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, vice FitzGerald, detailed in Signal Corps.

To be first lieutenants from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Arvid M. Pendleton, Coast Artillery Corps, vice MacDill, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Leslie V. Jefferis, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Wright, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Stuart A. Hamilton, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Nickerson, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Howard F. Gill, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Faymonville, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Gerald R. Butz, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Barrett, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Joseph W. Barker, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Waldmann, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Shuey E. Wolfe, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Gallup, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Frank J. Atwood, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Marks, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Carl C. Terry, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Goodier, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Fred G. French, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Clark, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Edward A. Murphy, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Beardslee, promoted.

Second Lieut. Jep C. Hardigg, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Spalding, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Dale D. Hinman, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Young, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. George D. Davidson, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Rockwood, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Robert E. Turley, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, vice Whitaker, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard B. Webb, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Brice, promoted.

Second Lieut. Moses Goodman, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Dunsworth, promoted.

Second Lieut. Kenneth Purdy, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Crissy, promoted.

Second Lieut. Jules E. Piccard, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Delano, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert E. Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Malven, promoted.

Second Lieut. William R. Stewart, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Hughes, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edgar Nash, jr., Coast Artillery Corps, vice Meyer, promoted.

Second Lieut. Vincent B. Dixon, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Mountford, promoted.

Second Lieut. Wilmer S. Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Perego, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edgar H. Underwood, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Gage, promoted.

Second Lieut. Howard S. Thomas, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Hickok, promoted.

Second Lieut. Paul H. French, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Prentiss, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Horace L. Whittaker, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Frank, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Gordon de L. Carrington, Coast Artillery Corps, vice MacGregor, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. James Q. Rood, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Stanton, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. James L. Hatcher, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Wood, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Ira B. Hill, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Gatchell, detailed in Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Berthold Vogel, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Wimberly, promoted.

Second Lieut. Odes T. Pogue, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Sutton, resigned.

Second Lieut. William Chason, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Smith, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Evan C. Seamon, Coast Artillery Corps, vice De Carré, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Clarence E. Cotter, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Evans, detailed in Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Gordon B. Welch, Coast Artillery Corps, vice Stephenson, promoted.

INFANTRY ARM.

To be first lieutenants from November 26, 1916.

Second Lieut. Frank L. Hoerner, Eighth Infantry, vice Palmer, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph P. Vachon, Eighth Infantry, vice McCammon, Third Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harry O. Davis, Thirteenth Infantry, vice Remington, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Floyd Hatfield, Thirteenth Infantry, vice Rich, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Earl Landreth, Fifteenth Infantry, vice Potter, Thirtieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard T. McDonnell, Fifteenth Infantry, vice Rich, Third Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harold P. Kayser, Thirteenth Infantry, vice Wood, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Basil D. Spalding, Third Infantry, vice Strong, Seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Henry J. C. Humphrey, Fifth Infantry, vice Steever, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gordon W. Ellis, Twenty-seventh Infantry, vice Evans, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. George L. Febiger, Fourth Infantry, vice Goodwin, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Theodore W. Sidman, Fourth Infantry, vice Peyton, Fourteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Fred Stall, Sixth Infantry, vice Truesdell, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Claud E. Stadtman, Sixth Infantry, vice Terrell, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Mitchell Hilt, Seventh Infantry, vice Dravo, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John B. Warfield, Seventh Infantry, vice McIlroy, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clarence R. Huebner, Ninth Infantry, vice Benedict, Fourteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harold G. Lewis, Ninth Infantry, vice Stilwell, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frederick McCabe, Eleventh Infantry, vice Herman, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Morton L. Landreth, Eleventh Infantry, vice Hooper, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Irving H. Engleman, Twelfth Infantry, vice Phillipson, Twenty-eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clarence W. Emerson, Twenty-first Infantry, vice Richardson, Twenty-third Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frederick J. von Rohan, Fourteenth Infantry, vice Gregory, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frederick Schoenfeld, Sixteenth Infantry, vice Catts, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Earl J. Dodge, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Diller, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Paul J. McDonnell, Fifth Infantry, vice Butcher, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Eustis L. Poland, Tenth Infantry, vice Venable, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Fred I. Massey, Tenth Infantry, vice Davis, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Curtis T. Huff, Twenty-ninth Infantry, vice Dew, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Paul Hathaway, Twenty-first Infantry, vice Wise, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clarence F. Jobson, Eighteenth Infantry, vice White, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Alfred R. Hamel, Nineteenth Infantry, vice Drysdale, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Hardin C. Sweeney, Twentieth Infantry, vice Meals, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Eugene M. Landrum, Twentieth Infantry, vice Thomlinson, Sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Arthur J. O'Keefe, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Atkins, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James A. Anderson, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Thompson, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Adelbert B. Stewart, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Van Wormer, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William F. Lee, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Crystal, Second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Donavin Miller, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Budd, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. George W. Teachout, Twenty-ninth Infantry, vice Glass, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clarence R. Oliver, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Wilson, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frederick W. Huntington, Twenty-fourth Infantry, vice Spalding, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Howard J. Houghland, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Burnett, First Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Thomas J. Griffin, Twenty-second Infantry, vice McAndrew, Second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Chester A. Davis, Twenty-eighth Infantry, vice Hewitt, Fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Conrad L. Dennis, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Simpson, Sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Roland R. Long, Thirty-third Infantry, vice Pickering, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Arthur Van Dine, Twenty-seventh Infantry, vice McClure, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Cordray W. Cutchin, First Infantry, vice Wright, Seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles B. Oldfield, Thirty-third Infantry, vice Scott, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles J. Allen, Thirty-first Infantry, vice Riley, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John L. Dunn, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Brunzell, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Raymond Wortley, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Lawrason, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William B. Wynn, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Harbold, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Louis A. Welch, First Infantry, vice Woolnough, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Schiller Scroggs, Thirty-first Infantry, vice Fulton, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles A. McGarrigle, Second Infantry, vice Whipple, Third Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Alexander P. Withers, Thirty-fifth Infantry, vice Hawley, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Orville E. Lewis, Thirty-fifth Infantry, vice Gimperling, Sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lonnie H. Nixon, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Walthall, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William F. Freehoff, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Richardson, Second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Shelby Ledford, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Cron, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Austin A. Adamson, Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Edgerly, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Paul C. Turner, Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Hoop, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles M. Crooks, Twenty-fifth Infantry, vice Pearson, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William G. Livesay, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Ulio, First Infantry, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 27, 1916.

Second Lieut. Robert L. Christian, Eighth Infantry, vice Moorman, Eighteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William H. Crom, Thirteenth Infantry, vice Bissell, Nineteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leo E. Johnson, Thirty-first Infantry, vice Elliott, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. George R. F. Cornish, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Corbly, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Delphin E. Thebaud, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Minnigerode, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. George S. Clarke, Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Topham, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Adolph C. Weidenbach, Thirty-fifth Infantry, vice Sampson, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 28, 1916.

Second Lieut. Fred McI. Logan, Third Infantry, vice True, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Freeman Smith, Fourth Infantry, vice Campbell, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph W. G. Stephens, Nineteenth Infantry, vice French, Seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Adolph Unger, Ninth Infantry, vice McCroskey, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard K. Sutherland, Eleventh Infantry, vice Van Horn, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Shelby M. Tuttle, Twelfth Infantry, vice Dowell, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert G. Moss, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Malloy, Twenty-sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Emil W. Leard, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Kaempfer, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Walter F. Adams, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Overholser, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph N. Greene, Seventh Infantry, vice Mason, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Sereno E. Brett, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Williams, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harry L. Reeder, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Grieves, Thirtieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Jay E. Gilfillan, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Moreno, Twenty-eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lester T. Gayle, jr., Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice La Garde, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Turner M. Chambliss, Thirtieth Infantry, vice McClure, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James N. C. Richards, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Emery, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 29, 1916.

Second Lieut. John F. Ehlert, Seventh Infantry, vice Waddill, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Theron G. Methven, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Case, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Francis M. Van Natter, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Ramsey, Sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Paul L. Ransom, Thirty-fifth Infantry, vice Grubbs, Sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Rice M. Youell, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Hammond, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James H. Holmes, jr., Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Titus, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Manton S. Eddy, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Miller, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles E. Moore, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Manley, Fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Gabriel T. Mackenzie, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Lane, unassigned, promoted.

To be first lieutenants from November 30, 1916.

Second Lieut. Erskine S. Dollarhide, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Lentz, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Barnwell R. Legge, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Test, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Alexander W. Dillard, Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Albright, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward M. Almond, Fourth Infantry, vice Baird, Nineteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles P. Stivers, Sixth Infantry, vice Early, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert C. Van Vliet, jr., Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Waugh, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles L. Chaffee, Ninth Infantry, vice Rutherford, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Bohun B. Kinloch, Eleventh Infantry, vice Weeks, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard K. Smith, Fourteenth Infantry, vice Cummings, Thirtieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Percy W. Clarkson, Nineteenth Infantry, vice Caffery, Fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lee S. Gerow, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Gullion, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Stuart G. Wilder, Sixteenth Infantry, vice Kunzig, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harry I. T. Creswell, Twenty-fourth Infantry, vice Bubb, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles E. Purviance, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Barzynski, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lloyd H. Cook, Twentieth Infantry, vice Feild, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John T. Bossi, Twenty-first Infantry, vice Ward, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles T. Senay, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Clark, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Egmont F. Koenig, Twenty-first Infantry, vice Lowe, First Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Arthur H. Goddard, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Maghee, Twenty-first Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Peter K. Kelly, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Maddox, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward M. Peters, Third Infantry, vice Pridgen, First Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James H. Edgarton, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Reisinger, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Lawrence J. I. Barrett, Twenty-ninth Infantry, vice Dunford, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Wendell H. Woolworth, Twenty-eighth Infantry, vice Bankhead, First Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John R. Brooke, jr., Twenty-first Infantry, vice Adams, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frank L. Culin, jr., Thirtieth Infantry, vice Longanecker, Twenty-second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Daniel S. Appleton, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Whitener, Nineteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Ralph E. McLain, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Ostermann, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Ralph C. Smith, Thirty-fifth Infantry, vice Connolly, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Thomas S. Arms, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Barlow, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Raymond D. Bell, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Hohl, Sixteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Archelaus L. Hamblen, Thirty-Seventh Infantry, vice Boswell, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William H. Humphreys, Fourth Infantry, vice Lewis, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Paul W. Mapes, Sixth Infantry, vice Manchester, Second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert C. Macon, Nineteenth Infantry, vice Sneed, First Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Frederic C. Dose, Seventh Infantry, vice Westover, Fourteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Stephen P. Jocelyn, jr., Third Infantry, vice Shute, Twenty-sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John D. Townsend, Sixth Infantry, vice Cook, Nineteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Henry H. Worthington, Ninth Infantry, vice Bartlett, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. George L. Kraft, Nineteenth Infantry, vice Clagett, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John S. Switzer, jr., Fourth Infantry, vice Abraham, second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. James C. Cook, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Jacob, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Allen F. Kingman, Sixteenth Infantry, vice Jones, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Abraham Tabachnik, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Schultz, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William A. Rawls, jr., Thirtieth Infantry, vice Elser, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Hamilton K. Foster, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Byrd, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Constant L. Irwin, Thirty-fifth Infantry, vice MacMillan, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Willis E. Comfort, Third Infantry, vice Fickel, Thirteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leven C. Allen, Nineteenth Infantry, vice Boyd, Eleventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Joseph Quesenberry, Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Beuret, Seventeenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Robert O. Jones, Seventh Infantry, vice Lincoln, unassigned, promoted.

Second Lieut. Oliver A. Hess, Ninth Infantry, vice Hartigan, Fourteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edward A. Allen, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Magruder, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Carroll M. De Witt, Eleventh Infantry, vice Huddleson, Twenty-sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Clarence B. Carver, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Keleher, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Jedediah H. Hills, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Pritchett, Thirtieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Edwin E. Schwien, Ninth Infantry, vice Field, Twenty-sixth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Dan D. Howe, Nineteenth Infantry, vice Davis, Nineteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John E. Copeland, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Buck, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. John H. Humbert, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Doniat, promoted and retained in the Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Joseph L. Lancaster, Thirty-sixth Infantry, vice Morrow, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. David R. Kerr, Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Bowen, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Everett G. Smith, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Carberry, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Lyman S. Frazier, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Atkinson, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Howard E. Hawkinson, Twenty-eighth Infantry, vice Kutz, promoted and retained in the Ordnance Department.

Second Lieut. Julius A. Mood, jr., Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Rader, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Sidney S. Eberle, Twenty-first Infantry, vice Gantz, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Joseph N. Dalton, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Gorrell, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Charles N. Stevens, Twelfth Infantry, vice Kilner, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. James S. Bailey, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Christie, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Henry C. Long, jr., Seventeenth Infantry, vice Martin, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. William E. Lucas, jr., Twenty-fourth Infantry, vice Spatz, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Victor Parks, Third Infantry, vice Royce, promoted and retained in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Walter A. Pashkoski, Third Infantry, vice Dickinson, Third Infantry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Roscius H. Back, Fourth Infantry, vice James, Third Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Oscar F. Carlson, Sixth Infantry, vice Fredendall, Second Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Richard G. Tindall, Seventh Infantry, vice Lemly, Thirteenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Roy L. Taylor, Eleventh Infantry, vice Brown, Eighth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Leander R. Hathaway, Sixth Infantry, vice Lockett, Twenty-third Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. German W. Lester, Twelfth Infantry, vice Stutesman, Twenty-third Infantry, detailed in the Signal Corps.

Second Lieut. Seely B. Fahey, Sixteenth Infantry, vice Cleary, unassigned, dismissed.

Second Lieut. Karl Engeldinger, Twentieth Infantry, vice Robinson, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Francis A. Byrne, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Eastman, Twentieth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Harry J. Selby, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Drain, Ninth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Farragut F. Hall, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Chilton, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Orville M. Moore, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Morrison, Seventh Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. William H. McCutcheon, jr., Twenty-fourth Infantry, vice Dawson, Twenty-fifth Infantry, retired from active service.

Second Lieut. Walter R. McClure, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice MacLachlan, Tenth Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Charles E. Speer, Twenty-eighth Infantry, vice Rice, First Infantry, promoted.

Second Lieut. Baldwin Williams-Foote, Fourth Infantry, vice Palmer, Thirtieth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Edmund Wilhelm, Twenty-second Infantry, vice Faris, Twelfth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. George H. Butler, Thirtieth Infantry, vice McCaughey, Thirteenth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Frank C. Foley, Ninth Infantry, vice Householder, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Leonard R. Boyd, Sixteenth Infantry, vice Bartholf, unassigned, detailed in the Signal Corps.
Second Lieut. Withers A. Burress, Twenty-third Infantry, vice Taylor, Twenty-seventh Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Arthur J. Hoffman, Twenty-fourth Infantry, vice Santschi, unassigned, promoted.
Second Lieut. Harry L. Bennett, jr., Thirty-seventh Infantry, vice Ganoe, Twenty-fifth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Joseph J. McConville, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Rice (Elmer F.), First Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. John C. Platt, jr., Fourteenth Infantry, vice McNeil, Fourteenth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Thomas H. Ward, Twenty-sixth Infantry, vice Castle, Tenth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Edward H. Nichols, Twenty-eighth Infantry, vice Wyman, unassigned, promoted.
Second Lieut. Alfred D. Hayden, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Lang, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Melville W. F. Wallace, Seventeenth Infantry, vice Andrews, unassigned, detailed in the Signal Corps.
Second Lieut. Paul M. Ellis, Twenty-seventh Infantry, vice Everett, Twenty-fourth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Kirk A. Metzerott, Sixth Infantry, vice Wheeler, Twenty-sixth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Thomas E. Mount, Twentieth Infantry, vice Van Sant, unassigned, retired from active service.
Second Lieut. John P. Pryor, Eighteenth Infantry, vice Dailey, Thirteenth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Jewett C. Baker, Fourteenth Infantry, vice Yount, Fifteenth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Robert B. Moore, Thirtieth Infantry, vice Crafton, Twenty-eighth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Charles W. Jones, Seventh Infantry, vice Selbie, Fourth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Edward H. Cotcher, Eleventh Infantry, vice Jenkins, Twenty-ninth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Robert S. Miller, Twelfth Infantry, vice White, Thirteenth Infantry, promoted.
Second Lieut. Paul N. Starlings, Thirty-fourth Infantry, vice Coles, Twenty-eighth Infantry, detailed in the Signal Corps.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 19, 1917.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL.

William C. Fitts to be Assistant Attorney General.

CONSUL.

CLASS 9.

Alfred R. Thomson to be a consul of class 9.
Horace J. Dickinson to be a consul of class 9.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Rear Admiral James H. Oliver to be governor of the Virgin Islands, ceded to the United States by Denmark.
The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:
William H. Reynolds.
Clark H. Woodward.
Lieut. (Junior Grade) Ralph R. Stewart to be a lieutenant.
The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:
Arthur B. Cook.
Herbert E. Kays.
Gunner Gottlieb Sherer to be a chief gunner.
The following-named machinists to be chief machinists:
Walter M. Shipley.
John C. Parker.
Robert B. Sanford, jr.
Charles D. Welker.
The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:
Butler Y. Rhodes.
Arthur H. Rice.
Stanton L. H. Hazard.
John J. McCracken.
The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants:
Emory F. Clement.
William T. Mallison.
Richard F. Bernard.
George E. Brandt.
James L. Kauffman.
Archibald H. Douglas.
James D. Moore.
The following-named ensigns to be lieutenants (junior grade):
John R. Palmer.
Neil H. Geisenhoff.
William G. B. Hatch.
Rawson J. Valentine.
The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:
Thomas C. Hart.
Leonard R. Sargent.
Willis McDowell.
Charles T. Owens.
George T. Pettengill.
Herbert G. Sparrow.
Adolphus E. Watson.
The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:
Bruce L. Canaga.
Walter B. Woodson.
William R. Furlong.
Charles H. Shaw.
Edmund S. Root.
Earl R. Shipp.
The following-named lieutenants (junior grade) to be lieutenants in the Navy from the 29th day of August, 1916:
Clarence McC. McGill.
Thaddeus A. Thomson, jr.
William F. Amsden.
Joseph Baer.
Carl C. Krakow.
Harry A. McClure.
Harold W. Boynton.
Archer M. R. Allen.
Allan G. Olson.
Lieut. (Junior Grade) Cullen H. Want to be an assistant naval constructor.
The following-named machinists to be chief machinists:
Walter Lau.
John E. Burger.
The following-named midshipmen to be ensigns:
Frederick E. Haeberle.
John E. Ostrander, jr.
Edmund E. Brady, jr.
Houston L. Maples.
George W. McIver, jr.
Andrew I. McKee.
Henry R. Oster.
Randall E. Dees.
Colin Campbell.
Paul W. F. Huschke.
Theodore L. Schumacher.
Clarence W. Johnson.
Douglas W. Coe.
Frank G. Fahrion.
Albert Noble.
Norborne L. Rawlings.
Ingolf N. Kiland.
Frank H. Dean.
Edward A. Mitchell.
Harold S. Klein.
Alexander D. Douglas.
Homer N. Wallin.
Donald B. Duncan.
Sydney J. Wynne.
Earle E. Muschlitz.
Robert B. Dashiell.
Julian L. Woodruff.
John O'D. Richmond.
David C. Fox.
Andrew G. Shepard.
Simon P. Fullinwider.
Lisle F. Small.
William P. O. Clarke.
Edmund B. Caldwell.
Jay K. Allen.
Nicholas Vytlacil.

Stanton H. Wooster.
Edward B. Rogers.
George T. Howard.
Charles L. Hayden.
Robert L. Randolph, jr.
Robert G. Tobin.
Theodore M. Waldschmidt.
Herbert B. Knowles.
Adolph P. Schneider.
Anson A. Bigelow.
Robert R. Ogg.
John C. Tyler.
Harold B. Sallada.
Benjamin Buchalter.
George R. Fairlamb, jr.
Joseph W. Gregory.
John R. Cruse.
John T. Metcalf.
Ross F. Collins.
Paul F. Shortridge.
Francis C. Denebrink.
John J. Twomey.
Felix B. Stump.
Robert B. Matthews.
Hugh St. C. Sease.
Walter C. Calhoun.
Carl F. Holden.
Lester J. Hudson.
Kingsland Dunwoody.
Samuel B. Brewer.
Vincent J. Moore.
Frank W. Lively.
James H. Conyne.
Davenport Browne.
Frederic W. Neilson.
Franklin S. Irby.
Allen I. Price.
Colin De V. Headlee,
Byron K. Presnell.
Merrill Comstock.
Robert W. McReynolds, jr.
Richard W. Gruelick.
Harrison Avery.
Paul U. Tevis.
Leonard Doughty, jr.
Wilbur V. Shown.
Hanson E. Ely, jr.
George K. Weber.
Ralph U. Hyde.
Ralph Wyman.
Andrew G. Reaves.
George C. Cummings.
Richard H. Harper.
George M. Keller.
John B. Heffernan.
Edward J. Moran.
Harry C. Blodgett.
John H. Keefe.
Elliott M. Senn.
Francis W. Benson.
Thomas R. Cooley, jr.
Vernon F. Grant.
George L. Harriss.
Francis T. Spellman.
Homer W. Clark.
Carl L. Hansen.
Edward Sparrow.
Ben H. Wyatt.
Rober L. Porter, jr.
Ward P. Davis.
Guido F. Forster.
Volney O. Clark.
Edward H. Jones.
Earl W. Morris.
Robert W. Fleming.
Thomas B. Hendley.
William J. Morcock.
Kenneth L. Coontz.
Karl Keller.
Howard F. Councill.
Robert E. Keating.
Philip W. Warren.
John N. Walton.
Allan R. McCann.
Evan G. Hanson.
Herbert W. Anderson.
William G. Ludlow, jr.
Carl W. Brewington.
Leonard B. Austin.
Charles McK. Holton.
John H. Jenkins.
Leonard P. Wessell.
Emile Topp.
Frank L. Worden.
Donald R. Evans.
Frederick L. Weis.
Frank J. Hanafee.
Andrew R. Mack.
John G. M. Stone.
Ralph F. Skylstead.
Clarence O. Ward.
Guy W. Clark.
Thomas D. Ross.
James P. Conover, jr.
Francis A. Smith.
Peyton H. Park.
Conrad L. Jacobsen.
Kenneth Floyd-Jones.
William H. Ball.
Laurence P. Sargent.
Seabury Cook.
Constantine N. Perkins.
Rollin Van A. Fâiling.
Benjamin O. Wells.
Laurence O. Kelly.
Herbert W. Jackson.
Douglas A. Spencer.
Charles W. Weitzel.
Harold F. Ely.
Isidore Lehrfeld.
Stephen E. Dillon.
John H. Forshew, jr.
William S. B. Claude.
William S. Heath.
Guy B. Hoover.
Kenneth M. Hoeffel.
John J. Bartholdi.

The following-named midshipmen to be assistant paymasters:

Edgar F. Marbourg.
Leland S. Steeves.
Albert R. Schofield.

The following-named midshipmen to be second lieutenants in Marine Corps:

William P. Richards.
Benjamin F. Staud.
Edward G. Hagen.
Thomas B. Gale.
Thomas F. Harris.
Charles M. Jones.
Willett Elmore.

The following-named officers of the Medical Reserve Corps and the Naval Reserve Force to be assistant surgeons:

Louis H. Clerf (Medical Reserve Corps).
Benjamin V. McClanahan (Naval Reserve Force).
Ezra E. Koebbe (Medical Reserve Corps).
Thomas C. Anderson (Naval Reserve Force).
Leon W. McGrath (Naval Reserve Force).
William H. Whitmore (Naval Reserve Force).
Kenneth E. Lowman (Medical Reserve Corps).
James M. Howard (Naval Reserve Force).
Sterling P. Taylor, jr. (Medical Reserve Corps).
Harold W. Wellington (Naval Reserve Force).
Alexander B. Hepler (Naval Reserve Force).
William E. Glanville (Naval Reserve Force).
Earl C. Carr (Medical Reserve Corps).
Melville J. Aston (Naval Reserve Force).
Emil J. Stein (Medical Reserve Corps).
Philip J. Murphy (Naval Reserve Force).
Leo C. Thyson (Naval Reserve Force).
William O. Bailey (Naval Reserve Force).
Alma C. Smith (Medical Reserve Corps).
John T. Bennett (Naval Reserve Force).
Arthur H. Drane (Naval Reserve Force).
Paul W. Wilson (Naval Reserve Force).
Erik G. Hakansson (Naval Reserve Force).
Rolland R. Gasser (Naval Reserve Force).
Ellis A. Stephens (Naval Reserve Force).
Howard E. Gardner (Naval Reserve Force).
William J. C. Agnew (Medical Reserve Corps).

Rudolph D. Joldersma (Medical Reserve Corps).
Jesse W. Allen (Naval Reserve Force).
Alanson L. Bryan (Medical Reserve Corps).
Charles D. Shannon (Medical Reserve Corps).
Leonard Hayes (Naval Reserve Force).
William R. Levis (Naval Reserve Force).
Ashton E. Neely (Naval Reserve Force).
Ross T. McIntire (Naval Reserve Force).
William G. Bodie (Naval Reserve Force).
William H. Fickel (Naval Reserve Force).
Edward A. Brown (Medical Reserve Corps).
Aaron Robinson (Medical Reserve Corps).
John R. White (Naval Reserve Force).
Mortimer T. Clement (Medical Reserve Corps).
Joseph H. Durrett (Medical Reserve Corps).
Ralph H. Jenkins (Naval Reserve Force).
Park M. Barrett (Naval Reserve Force).
Horace E. Spruance (Naval Reserve Force).

MARINE CORPS.

Lieut. Col. Thomas C. Treadwell to be a colonel.
Lieut. Col. Albert S. McLemore to be an assistant adjutant and inspector with the rank of colonel.
Maj. James T. Bootes to be a lieutenant colonel.
The following-named captains to be majors:
Douglas C. McDougal.
Ellis B. Miller.
Charles F. Williams.
Capt. Elias R. Beadle to be a major.
The following-named first lieutenants to be captains:
Harold B. Pratt.
Henry M. Butler.
John Marston, 3d.
Samuel M. Harrington.
Chester L. Gawne.
Nedom A. Eastman.
Leon W. Hoyt.
Thomas S. Clarke.
George H. Osterhout, jr.
John Q. Adams.
Charles G. Sinclair.
Adolph B. Miller.
Allen E. Simon.
Sidney N. Raynor.
Alexander A. Vandegrift.
Lester S. Wass.
James T. Reid.
Robert P. Peirce.
Oliver Floyd.
George C. De Neale.
Albert R. Sutherland.
Rolland E. Brumbaugh.
Earl C. Long.
William M. McIlvain.
Roy D. Lowell.
Tracey G. Hunter, jr.
Bernard F. Hickey.
Richmond Bryant.
Paul C. Marmion.
Lowry B. Stephenson.
John L. Mayer.
Benjamin A. Moeller.
Clyde H. Metcalf.
Harold C. Pierce.
Douglas B. Roben.
Second Lieut. Pedro A. del Valle to be a first lieutenant.
Midshipman Lewis L. Gover to be a second lieutenant.

POSTMASTERS.

ARKANSAS.

Robert W. Glover, Sheridan.
James C. Perkins, Yellville.

GEORGIA.

James C. Knight, Jesup.

LOUISIANA.

C. N. Le Blanc, Gueydan.
Alonzo J. McKee, Lake Providence.
A. G. Winfree, Leesville.

MICHIGAN.

Orla C. Gingles, Schoolcraft.
Frank A. Miller, Gladstone.

MISSISSIPPI.

Argyle L. Brown, Rolling Fork.
B. F. Hyde, Meridian.

OKLAHOMA.

George A. Clark, Hennessey.
Effie Gibbins, Fort Sill.
Opal C. Hawn, Binger.
Henry C. Hubbard, Cordell.
John W. Mills, Forgan.
Lucretia Owens, Fort Cobb.
Jerome G. Queenan, Elk City.
Clarence H. Smith, Foss.

OREGON.

George H. Foster, Baker.

PENNSYLVANIA.

John A. Bradley, Birdsboro.
John H. Cope, Hershey.
J. A. McEvoy, Parkesburg.

WASHINGTON.

J. B. Morford, Poulsbo.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *April 19, 1917.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal and ever-living God, we thank Thee for the message which came through Jesus Christ to the world, which changes doubt and uncertainty in the hearts of men to faith, hope, and love; and we most fervently pray that these qualities of soul may increase in strength and fervor, that the message may find its way to every heart; that Thy kingdom may come and Thy will be done in all the world, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. POU. I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD some resolutions adopted by a mass meeting in the city of Smithfield, N. C.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry, but I will object. I will object to all——

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. I object.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution and bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. J. Res. 13. Joint resolution extending the time within which the "Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River" shall remain in effect;

S. 1007. An act authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place; and

S. 1802. An act to amend section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909.

SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate bills and a joint resolution of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

S. 1007. An act authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1802. An act to amend section 10 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. J. Res. 13. Joint resolution extending the time within which the "Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River," shall remain in effect; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

CALL OF COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the committees.

The Clerk proceeded with the call of the committees.

AGE LIMIT OF OFFICERS IN NAVAL RESERVE.

Mr. PADGETT (when the Committee on Naval Affairs was called). Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 2340.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee calls up the bill H. R. 2340, which the Clerk will report:

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2340) to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.

Be it enacted, etc., That the maximum limit of age for officers of the Naval Reserve on first appointment as such therein be, and it is hereby, increased from 35 to 50 years.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Amend, in line 4, after the word "Reserve," by inserting the words "of the Naval Reserve Force."

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, in the subdivision Naval Reserve Force, composed of men who have had sea service in the merchant marine, the maximum age limit was fixed at 35 years. Many valuable men up to 50 years who have served in that capacity would be available, and the whole effect of this is to increase the age limit to not exceeding 50 years.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

ADDITIONAL OFFICERS, HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill H. R. 2338.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee calls up the bill H. R. 2338, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2338) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized to detail such naval officers as may be necessary to the Hydrographic Office.

Also the following committee amendment was read:

Amend, in line 5, after the word "Office," by inserting "during the continuance of the present war."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, how many officers is it intended under this to detach from real service in the Navy for clerical work in the Hydrographic Office?

Mr. PADGETT. I did not catch the gentleman's question.

Mr. MANN. How many officers is it intended under this bill to detach from real service in the Navy for clerical work in the Hydrographic Office?

Mr. PADGETT. This is not clerical work.

Mr. MANN. Pretty nearly.

Mr. PADGETT. It is doing expert work, and it requires naval men to do it. They want to bring the charts and sailing directions up to date and revise them and review them, and the Secretary said that they would need several other men. There was a limitation in the appropriation bill to not exceeding four, and this merely extends it during the continuance of the war.

Mr. MANN. Well, the gentleman says it is expert work; the naval officers are not experts in this work unless they have been in the Hydrographic Office and had experience. It is easy to get experts from civil life to do this work. Now, the proposition is to transfer men from the boats, where they are needed, where you really need experienced experts, to do work that you can get men from civil life to do better than the naval men can do it.

Mr. PADGETT. The committee has had that matter before it several times, and we have had a number of officers before it, and they tell us it requires naval men who are experienced in Navy work, and in the actual handling of the ships to do this work. The committee has had hearings upon that question several times in the several years past. It has been the universal testimony——

Mr. MANN. This matter has been before the House for the 20 years that I have been here, the Navy always desiring, very properly, some places on the land in order to relieve men who stay two or three years on board ship and give them a chance to serve a time on the land and have sought to increase the naval officers in the Hydrographic Office. Well, we have not always done it.

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir. They have had a limitation of four, but during the continuance of war it will necessitate the bringing up to date the sailing charts and directions, and to make us independent of foreign countries they need additional help. At the beginning of the war England cut off the opportunity which she had given the Government to purchase. I assume that under conditions now we can get them from England, but we do not want to be dependent for our sailing charts and sailing directions upon any foreign country.

Mr. MANN. We will be dependent upon England for a great many things just now, and if we are warring on the same side, I do not see any objection to it. But that is not the question. It does not require the service of a naval officer to work out a hydrographic chart or sailing directions. Any master of a vessel can do it as well as a naval officer, and if he has had experience he can do it better than a naval officer without experience.

Mr. PADGETT. As I stated to the gentleman a moment ago, we have inquired into that a number of times; have taken the testimony of various naval officers, and they all positively disagree with that statement.

Mr. MANN. Yes; I understand. The gentleman brought propositions before the House several times on the subject heretofore, and in time of peace it has always been defeated.

Mr. PADGETT. I have never brought it in but once.

Mr. MANN. Oh, it has been before the House for 20 years.

Mr. PADGETT. That may be; but I did not bring it from the committee for 20 years.

Mr. MANN. Well, the Committee on Naval Affairs has had it before the House several times. I will not say the gentleman from Tennessee brought it out. We put a limitation in because the House was of opinion that naval officers in time of peace might better be doing naval work. Now, in time of war we are short of naval officers. The ships are short of naval officers now.

Here is a proposition to take these naval officers off the ships, where they are needed, and put them at civil work that anybody can do with a little knowledge and that masters or men experienced in the shipping business may do better than the naval officers without experience. We need the naval officers on the ships. We do not need them so much on the land.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote on the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. PADGETT. I ask for a division, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MANN. We have no objection to the amendment.

The SPEAKER. A division is demanded.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 121, noes 0.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, this is very important, and I hope the bill will be passed.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a division.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 96, noes 73.

The SPEAKER. On this vote the ayes are 96 and the noes are 73.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois makes the point that there is no quorum present. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and ninety-nine gentlemen are present—not a quorum. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll. Those in favor of passing the bill will answer "yea" when their names are called; those opposed will answer "nay."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 263, nays 96, not voting 72, as follows:

YEAS—263.

Adamson	Aswell	Barkley	Blackmon
Alexander	Austin	Barnhart	Bland
Almon	Ayres	Bathrick	Blanton
Anderson	Bacharach	Bell	Booher
Ashbrook	Bankhead	Black	Borland

Bowers	Francis	Lehlbach	Rouse
Brand	Freeman	Lenroot	Rubey
Britten	Fuller, Ill.	Lesher	Rucker
Browning	Gallagher	Lever	Russell
Bruckner	Gard	Littlepage	Sabath
Buchanan	Gardner	Lobeck	Sanders, Ind.
Butler	Garner	London	Sanders, La.
Byrnes, S. C.	Garrett, Tenn.	Longworth	Sanford
Byrns, Tenn.	Garrett, Tex.	Lunn	Scott, Mich.
Caldwell	Glass	McAndrews	Sears
Campbell, Kans.	Godwin, N. C.	McArthur	Sells
Candler, Miss.	Goodwin, Ark.	McClintic	Sherley
Cantrill	Gordon	McCulloch	Shouse
Caraway	Graham, Pa.	McKeown	Sims
Carew	Gray, Ala.	McLaughlin, Mich.	Sisson
Carlin	Gray, N. J.	McLemore	Slemp
Carter, Okla.	Gregg	Magee	Small
Chandler, N. Y.	Griest	Maher	Smith, Mich.
Church	Griffin	Mansfield	Smith, T. F.
Clark, Fla.	Hamlin	Mapes	Snook
Claypool	Hardy	Martin, La.	Stedman
Coady	Harrison, Miss.	Mays	Steenerson
Collier	Harrison, Va.	Miller, Minn.	Stephens, Nebr.
Comstock	Hastings	Montague	Sterling, Ill.
Connally, Tex.	Hawley	Moon	Stevenson
Connelly, Kans.	Hayden	Moores, Ind.	Stiness
Cooper, Wis.	Heflin	Morgan	Strong
Copley	Heintz	Morin	Sumners
Crisp	Helm	Mott	Talbott
Crosser	Helvering	Mudd	Taylor, Ark.
Dale, N. Y.	Hensley	Neely	Taylor, Colo.
Dallinger	Hersey	Nicholls, S. C.	Temple
Decker	Hicks	Nichols, Mich.	Thompson
Dent	Holland	Oliver, Ala.	Tillman
Denton	Hollingsworth	Oliver, N. Y.	Van Dyke
Dickinson	Hood	Olney	Vare
Dies	Houston	O'Shaunessy	Venable
Dill	Huddleston	Overmyer	Vinson
Dillon	Hulbert	Overstreet	Waldow
Dixon	Hull, Tenn.	Padgett	Walker
Dominick	Humphreys	Park	Walsh
Doolittle	Husted	Parker, N. J.	Walton
Doremus	Igoe	Peters	Watkins
Doughton	James	Phelan	Weaver
Dowell	Jones, Tex.	Polk	Webb
Drane	Jones, Va.	Porter	Welling
Dupré	Keating	Pou	Whaley
Ellsworth	Kehoe	Pratt	Wheeler
Emerson	Kelley, Mich.	Price	White, Me.
Estopinal	Kelly, Pa.	Quin	White, Ohio
Evans	Kettner	Ragsdale	Wilson, Ill.
Fairchild, B. L.	Key, Ohio	Rainey	Wilson, La.
Farr	Kincheloe	Raker	Wilson, Tex.
Ferris	King	Ramsey	Wingo
Fields	Kinkaid	Rankin	Winslow
Fisher	Kitchin	Rayburn	Wise
Fitzgerald	Knutson	Reed	Woodyard
Flood	Larsen	Robinson	Young, N. Dak.
Fordney	Lazaro	Rodenberg	Young, Tex.
Foss	Lea, Cal.	Rogers	Zihlman
Foster	Lee, Ga.	Romjue	

NAYS—96.

Anthony	Frear	Kennedy, Iowa	Robbins
Bacon	French	Kraus	Roberts
Browne	Gillett	La Follette	Rose
Burnett	Glynn	Langley	Rowe
Cannon	Good	Little	Scott, Iowa
Cary	Goodall	Lundeen	Shallenberger
Chandler, Okla.	Graham, Ill.	McCormick	Sinnott
Clark, Pa.	Green, Iowa	McFadden	Slayden
Classon	Greene, Mass.	McKenzie	Sloan
Cooper, Ohio	Greene, Vt.	McKinley	Snell
Cox	Hadley	McLaughlin, Pa.	Stephens, Miss.
Crago	Hamilton, Mich.	Madden	Sweet
Curry, Cal.	Haugen	Mann	Thomas
Dale, Vt.	Heaton	Mason	Tilson
Darrow	Hill	Miller, Wash.	Timberlake
Davidson	Hilliard	Mondell	Towner
Denison	Howard	Moore, Pa.	Treadway
Dyer	Hull, Iowa	Osborne	Vestal
Edmonds	Ireland	Parker, N. Y.	Voigt
Elston	Johnson, Ky.	Powers	Volstead
Esch	Johnson, Wash.	Purnell	Wason
Fairfield	Juul	Ramseyer	Welty
Fess	Kahn	Randall	Wood, Ind.
Focht	Kearns	Reavis	Woods, Iowa

NOT VOTING—72.

Brodbeck	Flynn	Lonergan	Siegel
Brumbaugh	Fuller, Mass.	Martin, Ill.	Smith, Idaho
Campbell, Pa.	Gallivan	Meeker	Smith, C. B.
Capstick	Gandy	Nelson	Snyder
Carter, Mass.	Garland	Nolan	Stafford
Cooper, W. Va.	Gould	Norton	Steagall
Costello	Hamill	Oldfield	Steele
Cramton	Hamilton, N. Y.	Paige	Sterling, Pa.
Currie, Mich.	Haskell	Platt	Sullivan
Davis	Hayes	Riordan	Swift
Dempsey	Hutchinson	Rowland	Switzer
Dewalt	Jacoway	Sanders, N. Y.	Tague
Dooling	Johnson, S. Dak.	Saunders, Va.	Templeton
Drukker	Kennedy, R. I.	Schall	Tinkham
Dunn	Kiess, Pa.	Scott, Pa.	Ward
Eagan	Kreider	Scully	Watson, Pa.
Eagle	LaGuardia	Shackleford	Watson, Va.
Fairchild, G. W.	Linthicum	Sherwood	Williams

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. TAGUE (for) with Mr. DAVIS (against).

Until Monday:

Mr. MARTIN of Illinois with Mr. HAYES.

Until further notice:

Mr. STERLING of Pennsylvania with Mr. NOLAN.

Mr. SULLIVAN with Mr. NORTON.

Mr. WATSON of Virginia with Mr. PAIGE.

Mr. GANDY with Mr. WILLIAMS.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania with Mr. ROWLAND.

Mr. BRODBECK with Mr. SNYDER.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH with Mr. SWITZER.

Mr. SHERWOOD with Mr. STAFFORD.

Mr. DOOLING with Mr. TINKHAM.

Mr. EAGLE with Mr. WARD.

Mr. STEAGALL with Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. JACOWAY with Mr. CAPSTICK.

Mr. DEWALT with Mr. COOPER of West Virginia.

Mr. EAGAN with Mr. COSTELLO.

Mr. FLYNN with Mr. CRAMTON.

Mr. STEELE with Mr. MEEKER.

Mr. SCULLY with Mr. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. GALLIVAN with Mr. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. LONERGAN with Mr. HAMILTON of New York.

Mr. HAMILL with Mr. DEMPSEY.

Mr. LINTHICUM with Mr. DRUKKER.

Mr. RIORDAN with Mr. DUNN.

Mr. OLDFIELD with Mr. GARLAND.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD with Mr. GOULD.

Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia with Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. A quorum is present. The Doorkeeper will unlock the doors.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

MINORITY ENLISTMENTS IN THE NAVAL SERVICE.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H. R. 2008) to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter any enlistment for minority in the Navy or Marine Corps may be extended as is provided by law for extending an enlistment for a term of four years, under similar conditions and with like rights, privileges, benefits, and obligations.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, under the existing law a minor not less than 18 years of age, with the consent of his parents or guardian, may enlist in the Navy during the period of minority. The regular term of enlistment in the Navy under existing law is four years, but minors enlist during minority. If a boy is under 18 years of age it requires special permission of the department before he can enlist.

Under a law passed, I believe about two years ago, the privilege was granted that after the first enlistment a person might extend his enlistment for one year, or for two years, or for three years, or for four years. If he extended it for four years in the aggregate, he got the same benefit as if he had reenlisted for four years; but if he extended it for one year or two years or less than four years he did not get the benefit of the reenlistment for four years. That privilege is not extended to minors arriving at majority. This bill simply gives to minors enlisting during minority the privilege of reenlisting upon attaining their majority with the same privilege that is granted to an original four-year enlistment by persons of full age.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BORLAND. What is the minimum age at which a minor can enlist with the consent of his parents?

Mr. PADGETT. Eighteen years is the age, unless it is specially waived by the department.

Mr. BORLAND. And even if it is specially waived, he must also have the consent of parents or guardians?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; as provided by law.

Mr. BORLAND. Having the waiver of the department and the consent of the parents or guardians, what is the lowest age at which a minor can enlist?

Mr. PADGETT. That depends upon the department and the physical development or maturity of the boy.

Mr. BORLAND. Is there no minimum at all?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir; not by law, as I remember.

Mr. BORLAND. It seems to me there ought to be.

Mr. BRITTEN. My impression is that the minimum age has been placed at 16 years.

Mr. PADGETT. That is by regulation, but not by law, as I remember.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. What would the gentleman think of a law or regulation permitting these young men to enlist during the continuance of the war and not binding them for a long time?

Mr. PADGETT. I will say that yesterday I introduced a bill authorizing enlistments for four years, or for such shorter period of time as the President may authorize, or during the continuance of the war.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Very likely the gentleman has heard, as many of us have, that the young men of the country seem perfectly willing to enlist for service during the war, but they hesitate to enlist, feeling that they may be held for a long time, even after the war is over.

Mr. PADGETT. I introduced a bill yesterday to meet that, and hope to have it before the House next week.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Will the bill which the gentleman has introduced, if it becomes a law, relate to this matter which we have up this morning and cover this, too?

Mr. PADGETT. No; this bill does not relate to enlistments. This is to extend certain privileges of reenlistment to minors under existing law.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. But suppose some of these young men might wish to reenlist for the term of the war but should not want to enlist for the full four years?

Mr. PADGETT. They can do it if the bill that I introduced yesterday passes.

Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Michigan. Under this bill could they?

Mr. PADGETT. No; under the bill I introduced yesterday.

Mr. SABATH. But they would not be entitled to the benefit that you are trying to grant them under this bill?

Mr. PADGETT. No; they would not. They would have to enlist for four years in order to get the increased pay and the four months' gratuity pay. A man has four months in which to renew his enlistment, and if he reenlists it dates back, so far as pay is concerned.

Mr. SABATH. So if any of these young men desire to enlist only for the time of the war they will not be entitled to the benefits of this act?

Mr. PADGETT. No; not unless they serve four years. This is only to give the privilege of extending their service so as to make up the four years. The Secretary states as follows:

The enlistment of any enlisted man in the Navy may be voluntarily extended for a period of either one, two, three, or four years. It further provides that those men who extend their enlistments for an aggregate of four years shall receive the increase of $1.36 per month in their pay for continuous service, as well as the four months' gratuity pay provided for those men who reenlist within four months after the date of expiration of a term of enlistment.

This bill extends the same privileges to minors reenlisting.

Mr. KAHN. If the Revised Statutes have not been amended within the last year regarding enlistments in the Navy, there is a provision that minors between 16 and 18 years of age may enlist with the consent of their parents or guardians.

Mr. PADGETT. I was under the impression that that was by regulation.

Mr. KAHN. No; that is a provision of the Revised Statutes.

Mr. PADGETT. I thank the gentleman for his statement. I was under the impression that 16 years was fixed by regulation.

Mr. KAHN. No; a boy can enlist at 18 without the consent of parent or guardian.

Mr. PADGETT. Not under the statute. The naval bill carried a provision currently for several years, and I think made it permanent law last year, by which the consent of the parents or guardians is required for minors.

Mr. KAHN. I happened to look up the provisions of the Revised Statutes when we were considering the national-defense act, and the statute at that time provided that minors could enlist at the age of 16, and if they had the consent of the parent or guardian they could be held; but if the minor enlisted at 18, he did not require the consent of the parent or guardian, and we put a similar provision in the national-defense bill regarding Army enlistments.

Mr. PADGETT. If the gentleman will look up the naval bill of the past year or two, he will see that that carries a provision as follows:

Provided, That hereafter no part of any appropriation for the naval service shall be expended in recruiting seamen, ordinary seamen, or apprentice seamen unless, in case of minors, a certificate of birth or a verified written statement by the parents, or either of them, or in case of their death a verified written statement by the legal guardian, be first furnished to the recruiting officer, showing applicant to be of age required by naval regulations, which shall be presented with the application for enlistment; except in cases where such certificate is unobtainable, enlistment may be made when the recruiting officer is convinced that oath of applicant as to age is credible; but when it is afterwards found, upon evidence satisfactory to the Navy Deyartment, that recruit has sworn falsely as to age, and is under 18 years of age at the time of enlistment, he shall, upon request of either parent, or, in case of their death, by the legal guardian, be released from service in the Navy, upon payment of full cost of first outfit, unless, in any given case, the Secretary, in his discretion, shall relieve said recruit of such payment.

Mr. CARY. I had a similar case two weeks ago before the Secretary of the Navy, and he refused to allow a boy to be discharged because he joined when he was 18.

Mr. PADGETT. He had the consent of his parents?

Mr. CARY. No; the parents wanted him out, but the department refused to let him out.

Mr. PADGETT. I think you will find that he had their consent originally.

Mr. CARY. No; he ran away.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I have such a case, in which the mother, a widow, did not consent to the enlistment. During the last week the discharge of this boy, 18 years of age, was refused, although he did not have the consent of his mother, she being a widow.

Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

Mr. RUSSELL. I had an experience along that line recently. A boy in my home town went to a recruiting office in the Navy and they told him that he could not enlist because he was not 17, although the mother went before a notary public and consented. I had to get permission from the naval officer in Washington to permit him to enlist when he was over 16.

Mr. PADGETT. I understood you had to get a special permit from the department for boys between 16 and 18. A recruiting officer enlists them over 18 during the period of minority upon procuring the consent of the parent or guardian.

Mr. RUSSELL. I was advised by the boy's parents that he could enlist if he was 17—he could go in with the consent of the parents—but if he is under 17 he had to get the consent of the Navy Department.

Mr. FLOOD. May I interrupt the gentleman a moment?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. FLOOD. I would like to know what would be the result where a boy under 16 enlists in the Navy without consent of the parents, or without any special permission from the Navy Department. What is his status?

Mr. PADGETT. He would be discharged upon request.

Mr. FLOOD. Upon his request or the request of his parents?

Mr. PADGETT. Upon the request of the parents.

Mr. FLOOD. I have a great many cases where boys enlist between 16 and 18; enlist without the consent of the parents. As a rule they make a false affidavit that they are over 18 years of age. When the parents are acquainted with the fact that they have enlisted without their consent, they make application for a release, and invariably the department will answer: "Well, we may not have the power to hold him, but we will prosecute him for perjury if the parents insist on his release."

Mr. PADGETT. That was the practice several years ago, but I understand it has not been the practice lately. We put a provision in the naval bill several years ago directing that in cases of that kind they would be discharged upon refunding to the Government the cost of their first outfit.

Mr. SABATH. I am advising all such people to leave the boys in the service and let them do something for their country, and that they will feel better about it further on. I have not made application for the release of any boy within the last six weeks.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, many Members of the House were engaged in private conversation while the gentleman from Tennessee was carrying on what was almost a private conversation with various gentlemen on that side of the House, and I could not hear what was said. I want to know if I understand the situation about this bill. Under existing law a man who is not a minor and enlists in the Navy has authority during his first term of enlistment to extend his term of enlistment one, two, three, or four years, and if he does so, does he get an increase in pay as well as the four months' gratuity?

Mr. PADGETT. He gets an increase in pay during the extended four years, but does not get it until the expiration of the four-year enlistment.

Mr. MANN. He gets the four months' service pay when?

Mr. PADGETT. When he enlists for the second four years.

Mr. MANN. Even though he extended the time during the first period?

Mr. PADGETT. He gets it when he serves out the second four years. If his reenlistment is for full four years, he gets gratuity pay at the beginning. If it is an extended enlistment by years, he must serve four years.

Mr. MANN. This bill proposes to give a minor who has enlisted for two or three years, or whatever his term is—he could not now enlist beyond the age of 21?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

Mr. MANN. During the first enlistment to extend his enlistment as though he was over age?

Mr. PADGETT. Under the terms of this bill, when he arrives at majority he can extend his enlistment from year to year if he sees fit, and when he serves four years he will get the benefit of the gratuity under the law, the same as a man of age would get.

Mr. MANN. When his first enlistment expires he can reenlist under existing law?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; but his minority enlistment is not counted the same as the four-year enlistment. He does not get the benefits.

Mr. MANN. There is nothing in the bill that says that he will get any different benefit.

Mr. PADGETT. It gives him the same benefit that a man of majority would get.

Mr. MANN. If the minor now in the service enlists comes to the age of 21 and the first enlistment expires and he reenlists, does he not get any gratuity?

Mr. PADGETT. He does, if he reenlists for a period of four years.

Mr. MANN. I see that the Committee on Naval Affairs do not agree, for the gentleman from Michigan shakes his head.

Mr. KELLEY of Michigan. I did not suppose he did until his four years expire.

Mr. PADGETT. If he enlists for the full four years, but he would not if he extended his enlistment and took it out year by year.

Mr. MANN. When he reenlists, does he not get an increase in pay?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; $1.36 a month.

Mr. MANN. I would like to know out of curiosity in what possible way this bill helps a minor.

Mr. PADGETT. It gives the minor the benefit of extending his enlistment the same as if he was of majority age. He can reenlist for a year.

Mr. MANN. He has that opportunity now.

Mr. PADGETT. No; he must enlist for four years or not at all. This puts him on the same basis. When a minor serves out his minority enlistment and wants to reenlist, he must reenlist under existing law for four years. He has no privilege of extending his enlistment for one or two years.

Mr. MANN. The only purpose of this bill, then, as I understand the gentleman, is to permit the minor to extend his enlistment for a less period than four years.

Mr. PADGETT. Upon the same terms given to a major.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. No; I want to say something else.

Mr. BRITTEN. I was going to ask the gentleman a question and give him a little information.

Mr. MANN. I would be very glad to have the information. Recently during the recess between the last Congress and this session of Congress I started on a trip to the island of Haiti to visit our experiment down there with the Republic of Haiti and the Republic of Santo Domingo.

The Navy Department very courteously gave me passage on the transport *Prairie*, which carried down 700 young enlisted sailormen from Norfolk to Guantanamo Bay, to be distributed among the fleet. I believe a majority of the 700 were from the Great Lakes Training Station, situated near Chicago, and a portion of them from the station at Norfolk. I watched those boys with great interest for seven or eight or nine days. I do not now recall just how long the trip was, owing to the fact that when we got to Guantanamo, on account of measles and scarlet fever, we were detained on board for a few days before the distribution was made. They were a bright lot of fellows, and really it did me good as I watched them day after day to see how intelligent and bright they were, and I felt prouder of the country, prouder of the Navy, prouder of the boys in the Navy as a result of the privilege of watching them and seeing them on board that ship. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BYRNS of Tennessee). The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

FLEET NAVAL RESERVE.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the bill (H. R. 1771) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

Mr. MANN. I suppose the gentleman means to ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill, and I also ask unanimous consent that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the clause in the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," which reads as follows: "The Secretary of the Navy is authorized to assign any member of the Fleet Naval Reserve to active duty for training on board ship, upon the application of such member," etc., be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking therefrom the words "on board ship."

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, the only purpose of the bill is this: In the law creating the Naval Reserve Force, in the division known as the Fleet Naval Reserve, as to ex-enlisted men of the naval service they are required to serve some time each year in time of peace, and the Secretary is authorized to assign them for a month or so during the year for training. In the law as written he was required to assign them for training "on board ship." It appears now that that limits it to "on board ship," and that they can not be trained in the stations on shore. This simply strikes out the words "on board ship" and leaves it so that they can be trained either on board ship or in the naval training station on shore or in other shore stations, such as hospital work or radio electricians.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

INCREASE IN MIDSHIPMEN AT NAVAL ACADEMY.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 2339) to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 2339. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, in addition to the number of midshipmen now authorized by law, there shall be allowed for the period from the date of passage of this act until September 1, 1918, one additional midshipman for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress. Nominations shall be made for these vacancies by the Senators, Representatives, and Delegates concerned for any regular or special examination that may be ordered before that date.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, this bill allows the appointment by each Member and Senator until September 1, 1918, of one additional midshipman to the Naval Academy. Under existing law each Member of the House and each Senator has three appointments at the Naval Academy. One of the classes was graduated on the 29th of March, and the other class is to be graduated not later than September. I believe it was designated that they would be graduated in the coming September. There is talk that they may be graduated some time sooner. That would take two classes out of the Naval Academy in one year instead of one, and this bill would allow one additional appointment, which would give each Member and each Senator four appointments next year.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Will we have the right to make these appointments any time between the passage of this bill and September of next year?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. There is no particular time when we must do it sooner?

Mr. PADGETT. No; you can appoint them, and the Secretary states in his letter, if the gentleman has noticed it in the report, that the appointments could be made to take the examinations that would be ordered at different times between now and that date. If a man is not ready to make his nomination now, there will be examinations held later. The first examination will be held June 27. If the member is not ready to make the nomination by that time, the examinations will be held later and the nomination could be made next year.

The idea is that perhaps 50 per cent would pass and go in the coming year and the others would go into the class beginning in 1918.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, now, if we appoint a man between this and September, 1918, under this act, suppose he should fail after September, 1918, would we then have the right to fill that vacancy?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would simply lose out on the place?

Mr. PADGETT. The whole thing would end there.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. I will.

Mr. BORLAND. What is the full capacity of the Naval Academy now?

Mr. PADGETT. At the present time approximately 1,200. That is a little bit over, but in round numbers 1,200.

Mr. BORLAND. How near is it full of midshipmen?

Mr. PADGETT. They had about 1,200; they had the full capacity.

Mr. BORLAND. How is it proposed to dispose of these additional appointees?

Mr. PADGETT. I will tell the gentleman. In the last naval approprition bill we authorized the use of the marine barracks there on the grounds near Bancroft Hall, where the 1,200 are accommodated. That will accommodate about 400 in round numbers. We also authorized the enlargement of Bancroft Hall to accommodate 600 additional, but that will not be completed and ready for occupation perhaps for 18 months. Pending that these marine barracks are to be used to meet the incoming class. If there should be any surplus the Secretary would put a ship with accommodations alongside the dock to take care of them until accommodations were provided.

Mr. BORLAND. How does the number of men who were graduated, or can be graduated, from the academy meet the needs of the present naval program?

Mr. PADGETT. Well——

Mr. BORLAND. How many men could they get out each year in order to man the ships authorized?

Mr. PADGETT. As ships are completed we take on additional officers, but of those ships that have been authorized it will be several years before the larger ones are completed. We graduated in March 180, and there were 2 young men who were sick and they will be graduated as soon as they have recovered from their sickness, which would make 182, and I understand there are about 200 who will be graduated between now and September. That would make 382.

Mr. BORLAND. Will that fill all the ranks as far as we need them?

Mr, PADGETT. No; we need more officers than that.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the number graduated, 382, fill up the present complement of officers?

Mr. PADGETT. Not all that are needed for the ships we have authorized and that are in course of construction.

Mr. BORLAND. What I am getting at is this: Has the committee in mind any permanent enlargement of the academy made necessary by the enlarged naval program we adopted at the last session?

Mr. PADGETT. Under existing law possible appointments to the academy will be about 2,050, and if that number are qualified by passing the examinations it would be possible for us to have in several years 2,050 in the academy, but we never have the full quota in the academy because a number fail to pass the examination. Others fail to stay in after they get in. Some die and some resign.

Mr. BORLAND. What I am trying to get at is this: Is the present capacity of the academy sufficient, if it is employed to a reasonable extent, to keep pace with the growth of the Navy according to the program we have outlined?

Mr. PADGETT. It will be full when we get this enlargement that I stated was authorized in the bill we passed March 4.

Mr. BORLAND. Then why is not this law made a permanent one?

Mr. PADGETT. Simply because we do not need it. We already have a law that authorizes as much as 2,050 appointments. This is just simply put in for this year because we are graduating two classes this year instead of one. We would only have two classes left of the four who were in there at the beginning of the year. This is just to fill up.

Mr. BORLAND. It takes the place——

Mr. PADGETT. Of those.

Mr. ADAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. As I understand the gentleman's bill, if it becomes a law, it will simply create one vacancy from now until September, 1918?

Mr. PADGETT. It gives the right of appointment up to that time.

Mr. ADAMSON. It will be a vacancy until we fill it. Suppose you make the appointment and the appointee fails. Is that a strike-out, or can you appoint another?

Mr. PADGETT. If he were appointed now and he took the examination on the 27th of June, the first examination to be held, and he failed, you could name one for the next examination that would be held perhaps later.

Mr. ADAMSON. And keep on naming——

Mr. PADGETT. Up until September, 1918.

Mr. ADAMSON. I am much obliged to the gentleman.

Mr. PADGETT. The gentleman is entirely welcome.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. I will.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. A boy who has been examined and failed just now, would he be eligible to be examined a little later on this year?

Mr. PADGETT. There is no limitation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. And if examined and having failed within the last two months, would he still be eligible to be appointed in the additional class this year?

Mr. PADGETT. There is a general law on the statute books that when a certain man is nominated and fails to pass the examination he can not take the examination for that year unless he is recommended by the academic board.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I understand that very well; but here comes an additional class in the same year.

Mr. PADGETT. I know; but the general law provides as to holding examinations. If he has in that examination indicated that there is a probability of passing a second examination, the academic board has authority to recommend him for examination.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The academic board does not always do that, because I have a boy whom I had to appoint three separate years in order to get him in, and the second year he passed very high in every branch except grammar. It seems to me if there ever was a case where a boy should be sent in by that board and permitted to make it up, it should have been that boy.

Mr. PADGETT. Did you make application?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. PADGETT. The law provides he may——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I was unable to have it done. I then appointed the boy for the third year, and he is now in.

Mr. HOUSTON. Do I understand that this additional appointee must be appointed to take the examination that must occur before September, 1918?

Mr. PADGETT. You can appoint to the different examinations.

Mr. HOUSTON. That brings me to what I wanted to know. Suppose you appoint this boy in August, 1918, can he be examined in February the following year?

Mr. PADGETT. No.

Mr. HOUSTON. Then the examination must come before that?

Mr. PADGETT. I should imagine so. If you named him before September for an examination which the Secretary has called for that year after that time, he could take it.

Mr. HOUSTON. That is for an examination that has already been called; not the regular examination in February and March.

Mr. PADGETT. That examination that is held in March or April, 1919, would be for the 1919 class; not for the 1918 class.

Mr. RUSSELL. This act provides that nomination must be made so that an examination can be held before that date, before September, 1918. It says:

Nominations shall be made for these vacancies by the Senators, Representatives, and Delegates concerned for any regular or special examination that may be ordered before that date.

Mr. PADGETT. That is what I stated. If he had ordered that examination before that date, although it might be held after that date, if he was appointed for that date; but he could

not appoint him for the regular examination that was to be held in 1919.

Mr. KEARNS. Suppose this bill would become a law to-morrow, and within a week or a month an appointment would be made, when would he get examined?

Mr. PADGETT. The first examination would be held the 27th of June.

Mr. KEARNS. And when is the next one?

Mr. PADGETT. That has not been called yet.

Mr. KEARNS. He could enter on the 27th of June?

Mr. PADGETT. If he passes an examination.

Mr. LANGLEY. You are referring now to the special examination. Of course, there are the regular ones.

Mr. PADGETT. There is a special one to be held on the 27th of June, and I imagine they would hold one in July or August if there were a sufficient number of nominations to justify and they had not passed in the June examination.

Mr. REED. I have been notified by the department of a vacancy, and I have now a blank for the principal and first alternate for this June examination. Can I have the first alternate examined at the same time in order to be sure of getting one if the first one fails?

Mr. PADGETT. You could have three alternates examined if you wanted to.

Mr. REED. At the same time?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. LANGLEY. This makes no change in the existing law?

Mr. PADGETT. No. If this law passes you could name eight young men to take the examination, four for each appointment.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. When a man is admitted by examination does he have to put up money for any purpose?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir; to purchase his own clothing and outfit.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. About how much?

Mr. PADGETT. Approximately $300.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. Does he ever get that back?

Mr. PADGETT. No, sir.

Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas. Suppose he fails after his first examination?

Mr. PADGETT. That is his misfortune. It is like a boy who goes to college and incurs expense and fails. It is for his own clothing.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. It is for uniform and not equipment?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes, sir; for uniform and outfit of clothing.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Is not that a discrimination? Does not the gentleman think that is a discrimination against poor boys?

Mr. PADGETT. All of them stand on the same basis. There is no discrimination against anybody.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. A boy who has not $300 has no chance of getting into the game?

Mr. PADGETT. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. How would he get in?

Mr. PADGETT. There is no proposition to change the law in that respect.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. How would he get in if he has not $300?

Mr. PADGETT. I have never known a case where a boy that has received an appointment and passed an examination that some of his friends did not put it up.

Mr. BRITTEN. Does the boy require $300 if he has been in the service one year and then takes the examination for Annapolis?

Mr. PADGETT. He has to buy his outfit the same as anybody else.

Mr. BRITTEN. Can not that be taken out of his salary in the academy?

Mr. PADGETT. I do not know of any provision for taking it out of his salary. But he gets his salary of $700 a year. He puts up the money in advance for his own clothing, and then if he does not spend his salary he has got that much accumulation at the end of his time. He is charged up with so much for books, board, and so forth, and they have a good big surplus if they save it. A good many spend it themselves, but under the regulation they do keep out of each month a small amortization that at the end of his graduation will pay for his uniform upon graduation and going out as a commissioned officer.

Mr. KEARNS. Is this taken out of the $701?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; in small amounts.

Mr. SNOOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. SNOOK. If the candidate successfully passes this special examination to be held on the 27th of June, when will his term of service begin?

Mr. PADGETT. He will be sworn in in the course of three or four days.

The gentleman asks, if a candidate successfully passes the examination held on the 27th of June, when his term of service will begin. I say he will be sworn in in the course of three or four days if he passes the physical examination.

Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania. If you have already a regular candidate at the academy for the year and this other candidate passes the examination, each Member will have another cadet in addition?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania. Suppose the Member has a cadet there now?

Mr. PADGETT. He has an additional appointment, and that appointment carries with it the right to name a principal and first, second, and third alternates, if the Representative wants to put them that way; or he may name four young men without designating any of them as principals or alternates and may stipulate that they are all on an equality and that the understanding is that the one who makes the best examination will be appointed.

Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me five minutes?

Mr. PADGETT. In a moment. I promised first to yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON].

Mr. KEARNS. Just one moment, Mr. Speaker. Let me ask the gentleman this question: In the blank that you fill out you name the principal and first alternate and second alternate?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes; but you can scratch that blank out and put the other stipulation upon it instead. That is the way I do it.

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Has that always been the regulation that you could have a competitive examination? Have you to request that specially?

Mr. PADGETT. If you certify that you appoint A as principal, and B as first alternate, and C as second alternate, and D as third alternate, they will examine them in that way, and act accordingly. But if you scratch out the alternates and state there that you appoint them all on an equality, they will examine them all and grade them, and the one who makes the best examination will be the one appointed.

Now, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON].

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, something like a year ago here, on this floor, I charged the Army and Navy with being the two most undemocratic institutions in America. I rise to reiterate that charge, and I want to cite, as an additional proof of what I then said, the fact just stated by the chairman of the Naval Committee that a boy can not be admitted to the Naval Academy unless his father or somebody else puts up $300 for him. It is not a mere temporary deposit. He has got to pay that much out of his pocket, and he will never get one cent of it back.

I want to call the attention of the people of the country to this situation. It was disclosed by the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee, the chairman of the committee, made in reply to a question that was propounded to him a few moments ago, that a boy, when he has taken the entrance examination to the Naval Academy, after having received a nomination from a Congressman or Senator, can not enter the academy until he has deposited $300 with the authorities to take care of his equipment, clothing, and other things that may be necessary. He never gets that $300 back. It never comes back to him at all. If he loses out on a subsequent examination, his equipment and clothing are worthless to him and his $300 is gone.

Now, what does that mean? It means that the common people are being discriminated against. It means that the sons of the working class can not be admitted to the Naval Academy because they have not got the money. The real purpose of such a rule is to keep the common people out of the academy. They might contaminate it. It would not be sufficiently exclusive in a social way if poor boys were allowed to enter.

In the first place, the Naval Academy is an exclusive social institution; a school of manners and languages, a place where young men are taught to be gentlemen of the world and accomplished ornaments of society. The entrance examinations to this institution are made so rigid that the average common boy

has not got the slightest chance to get in. It takes a thorough high-school education to enable him to stand the entrance examination, and very few workingmen can afford to graduate their sons at high schools.

In the first place, a boy has got to have a father or friends who have enough political influence and pull with a Congressman or a Senator before he can be designated to take an examination for admission to the Naval Academy, then he has got to have a first-class high-school education in order to stand the entrance examination, and on top of that he has got to go down in his pocket and put up $300 in order to get into the academy. The end of it all is that few or none of the sons of the masses of the people are found in the Naval and Military Academies or are able to become Army officers.

No wonder those institutions are undemocratic. No wonder the academies are shot through and through with false notions of aristocracy. No wonder self-respecting men do not want to go into the Army and the Navy as enlisted men. No wonder there is an immeasurable gulf between the officers and the privates. No wonder it is difficult, if not impossible, for an enlisted man to win a commission in the Navy. The hard-handed common man would be out of place with his exclusive fellow officers of high social standing.

Oh, you call us pacifists, we who fear this great shadow of militarism that overhangs the land. I say to you that when you have created your vast armies and navies, when you have made officers by the hundred thousand, all selected from the upper classes, the classes of wealth, social prestige, and best educational advantages, you will saturate the country with undemocratic and illiberal influences, with the overbearing spirit of West Point and Annapolis that will be utterly damning to American democracy and ideals.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BORLAND. I want to say to the gentleman——

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Oh, I do not want the gentleman to say anything. I want him to ask his question. [Laughter.]

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman says that the laboring man's son can not go in. Now——

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I did not yield for a statement from the gentleman. I yielded for a question.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. HOWARD. You say a young man gets $700 for shoes and clothing and things of that kind. Can they not economize as much as they see fit on that $700?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I know this, that everybody who gets into the Academy has got to go down into his pocket and put up $300 upon his entrance to pay for his equipment and so forth and many poor young men can not produce that money. The average man's boy has not the necessary education to get in, in the first place, and in the second place, he can not produce the necessary $300.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Yes.

Mr. AYRES. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the appointee has got to put up $300 at the time of his nomination?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. He has to deposit that when he goes in, and he never gets it back.

Mr. PADGETT. He has to put up a deposit after he has passed the examination to pay for his uniform and so forth.

Mr. KEARNS. He does not have to pay a nickle until he is admitted, does he?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. He is barred at the doors of the Academy unless he produces the money as a deposit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. PADGETT. I yield to the gentleman——

Mr. MANN. The gentleman has no time to yield. We are in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Foss] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill, but I do not think it goes far enough. There is a limitation in this bill providing that in addition to the number of midshipmen now authorized by law there shall be allowed from the date of the passage of this act until September 1, 1918, for each Member, Senator, and Delegate one additional midshipman. Now, the fact of the matter is we need additional appointments at the Naval Academy as a permanent thing, because we need more officers in the Navy, even under peace conditions. I find in looking over the hearings of the Naval Committee held last December that the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Admiral Palmer, the man who is in charge of the personnel of the Navy and who fixes the complement of crews and officers for the ships, asked of the Naval Committee of the House the passage of a bill providing for the appointment of additional midshipmen without any limitation whatever as to time.

Mr. PADGETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSS. Yes.

Mr. PADGETT. And the Naval Committee reported a provision in the naval appropriation bill, that became a law, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to appoint from the enlisted force 100 each year, so that that would in the course of four years increase the number 400, and there would be 400 additional young men in the academy, which runs the total available appointments to the academy up to approximately 2,050, as I stated a moment ago, and that will be abundant material to go through the academy, and will yield the officers needed as fast and as many as we need them.

Mr. FOSS. I understand from the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department that we need more officers. I further understand that they would like to have this permanent legislation, without any limitation as to time. In the hearing of Admiral Palmer last December, before we were at war, he stated that for mobilization on that day—December 5, 1916—there were needed 3,049 officers. He stated that the number in service on that date was 2,111 officers, and the number of shortage for mobilization 938 officers. If you ask the Bureau of Navigation to-day how short they are in the matter of officers, they will tell you 938 on a peace basis.

In addition to this what did we do? We provided for a three-year building program, which is to be completed about July, 1921, and Admiral Palmer, the man charged with the responsibility of fixing the number of officers on the different ships of the Navy, stated that upon mobilization then we would need 4,487 officers. He says that the Naval Academy and promotion of warrant officers by that time will add 986; new officers from civil life, 60. Then to that he adds the number in the service to-day, 2,011, so that we would have an available force of officers of 3,157 to meet the demand and the necessity for 4,487 on the 1st of July, 1921. That, he says, will leave a shortage at that time, on July 1, 1921, of 1,330 officers.

Mr. PADGETT. Now, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSS. Yes.

Mr. PADGETT. Last year, in the session which ended in September, we gave each Member, Senator, and Delegate, and the President additional appointments, that run the number up to something over 535 a year, and then we gave the Secretary 100 a year, which, as I stated, would run it up 400, and that would be running from year to year, and then the additional 537 that we authorize in this bill will overrun by several hundred the deficiency which the gentleman mentions by 1921.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FOSS. I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOSS. I want to ask the gentleman what was the enlisted personnel fixed at that time?

Mr. PADGETT. The enlisted personnel fixed at that time was 51,500, and we increased it to 74,000, with the provision that the President might increase it to 87,000; and in that same session of Congress we authorized an additional appointment for every Member, Senator, and Delegate, and added somewhat to the President's appointments, running the number of appointments to the Naval Academy up to something like 540 in round numbers. Then the additional accumulated appointments from the Secretary of the Navy would give 400 there at a time after four years; and then that runs from year to year up until 1921, and this additional 537, counting in the Delegates, gives abundant provision for appointments to the academy to meet everything needed.

Mr. FOSS. I will state to the gentleman that I have official figures from the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation with reference to the number of men. The number allowed is 96,900. There is a shortage of 26,000 men, and it will be necessary to add to these 96,900 at least 50,000 men, in order to make full complements for all our ships.

Mr. PADGETT. That is the enlisted personnel. The act of August last authorized the increase up to 88,000. The President called for that additional number, and a few days ago I saw that we had enlistments up to 71,600 out of the 88,000. They are enlisting somewhere between 600 and 800 a day now. Yesterday I introduced a bill to authorize a temporary increase of

the Navy to 150,000. That is only temporary, however, above the permanent authorization of 88,000.

Mr. FOSS. Making the total enlisted force 150,000?

Mr. PADGETT. One hundred and fifty thousand. That is, the difference between 88,000 and 150,000 is temporary, and to increase the limit of the Marine Corps from 17,400 to 30,000, the increase of 12,600 is temporary.

Mr. FOSS. Will not this great increase in the enlisted force make necessary an increase in the number of officers?

Mr. PADGETT. We will need some officers in the lower grades. I do not think we will need any in the upper grades, and the bill does not make any provision for that. But increasing the appointments to Annapolis will not help this temporary increase needed because of the temporary increase in the enlisted personnel.

Mr. FOSS. That is very true indeed, because these boys will not graduate for three years.

Mr. PADGETT. Three or four.

Mr. FOSS. If we are going on building up our Navy—and Congress has already authorized completing this great program in three years—I want to say to the gentleman that I do not believe we have yet made ample provision for the required number of officers.

Mr. PADGETT. According to a very careful estimate that I have made, the present authorization of appointments to the academy by the time of the completion of the ships in 1921 will yield all the graduates that we need by that time. We will then catch up with the needs of the service, because when this war is over we will reduce the personnel and come back to 80,000 or 90,000, and we will have more officers than we need.

Mr. ROSE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. ROSE. Has the gentleman or his committee considered the propriety of having the law amended so as to meet with the objections so strenuously urged by the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. PADGETT. There is only one way about that, and that is for Congress to appropriate sufficient money to pay about $300 for the clothing for each of the twelve or eighteen hundred midshipmen appointed to the academy from time to time. They have got to pay it themselves, or the Government has got to appropriate for it.

Mr. ROSE. Does not the gentleman think it would be a good thing to put it in this bill?

Mr. PADGETT. I do not. I do not think there is any necessity for it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois have one minute more, that I may ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the gentleman's time be extended five minutes, in order that I may ask him a question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Foss] be extended five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOSS. I would like to ask the gentleman if there is any objection to striking out the words "from the period of the passage of this act until September 1, 1918"?

Mr. PADGETT. I do not think there is any necessity for doing that.

Mr. FOSS. Then, when we have reached the point where we have a sufficient number of officers, of course Congress could act on the proposition.

Mr. PADGETT. I do not think it is wise to increase the appointments to the Naval Academy to 2,600 when the capacity of the academy is somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,800 or 2,000. We have the authority to appoint now over 2,000 and maintain that number a year. There is no use in enlarging the appointment power. The gentleman must remember that only a short time ago Congress increased the appointments permanently by giving each Senator and Representative an additional appointment, and that has not got fully at work yet. That ran the appointments up from 800 to 1,200 the past session, and the next season they are looking for 1,600 under the act that we passed at the last session of Congress. If we pass this there will be in the neighborhood of 2,600 appointments. So there is no necessity for making this permanent. I brought it in for the purpose of supplying the deficiency in the academy brought about by the graduation of two classes this present year.

Mr. FOSS. I want to say that the information I got from the Navy Department and the Bureau of Navigation is to the effect that the present law, even with the passage of the additional one last August, requires a larger number of officers for our ships, those that need the officers to-day and those that will need them when the great naval program is completed. It is very important that we should have officers to officer our ships, and not only that, but men, too, and it is only in the interest of an efficient Navy that I call the attention of this matter to the chairman of the committee. And I make this prediction, that he will be here on the floor asking for permanent legislation for an additional appointment of midshipmen to the Naval Academy.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FOSS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. I want to ask the gentleman whether we have resources for officers outside of the Naval Academy?

Mr. FOSS. The Naval Academy and some that come up from the ranks?

Mr. FESS. How many?

Mr. FOSS. The number has been increased.

Mr. PADGETT. About 100 a year.

Mr. FOSS. Is that for every year?

Mr. PADGETT. That is for every year.

Mr. BRITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to suggest to my colleague from Illinois that officers are being enrolled in the service very much more rapidly than he has any idea of. I was down at the Navy Department this morning to inquire about the enrollment of a young man who graduated from the Naval Academy with high honors. He served as an ensign in the Navy and left the service 10 or 12 years ago. He has since kept abreast of the times and is a first-class engineer in the city of Chicago. He is a married man, but is willing to make a sacrifice and go into the service at once with the fleet.

The enrollment of this character of reserves should be promoted in every way possible, and nothing should be left undone by the department to bring about active service.

On the contrary, I am very much opposed to the system under which commandants of the various naval districts of the country have enrolled ensigns, lieutenants, and lieutenant commanders into the service, merely because the individual so enrolled has been the owner or the controlling power of some little gasoline launch, yacht, or other pleasure craft.

In many instances owners of these little boats have been enrolled in the service as lieutenant commanders, where they will draw pay, wear the same uniform, and have the same rank as men who have spent the best parts of their young lives in the service, while the newcomer is hardly likely to know the difference between a torpedo and a sewing machine.

Should the would-be officer own a boat of quite small dimensions, he is not enrolled as a lieutenant commander, but goes into the service as a lieutenant or an ensign, and immediately draws pay and has the same rank that lieutenants in the service have.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Are the wealthy yacht owners required to take an examination to develop their capacity as engineers or navigators?

Mr. BRITTEN. Oh, the examination is conducted by the commandant of that particular naval district. No physical examination is required, no specific mental or service qualifications are necessary. The gentleman owns or acquires or borrows a yacht in the neighborhood and he tenders his services as commodore of that yacht, and is immediately enrolled as a lieutenant commander or as a lieutenant, with the same rank alongside of the men who have graduated from the Naval Academy and who have given the best of their lives to the service.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Do I understand that these men are being enrolled in the Naval Establishment or in the reserves?

Mr. BRITTEN. They are being enrolled in the Navy under one of the several reserves. There are four or five reserves. And, by the way, this particular reserve was recommended by the Secretary of the Navy and Admiral Blue, who was Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. It was purely experimental. Many members of the committee did not agree with it, but in the hope of acquiring a reasonable reserve—we had no appreciable reserve in the service—they said, "Let us acquire a few men by this classification, some others by another classification, and some one else down South or up North by another classification." I am told by men in the service that this particular classification of reserves, giving the commandant of the various naval districts all over the United States, inland as well as on the coast, permission to enlist or enroll men in the service has been a rank failure, and will be abolished probably at the coming session of Congress or amended in some way.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make an inquiry about the bill, if I may.

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. MANN. The bill was drafted by the Navy Department and transmitted to the committee?

Mr. PADGETT. Yes.

Mr. MANN. And I suppose that they will construe it the way they intended it to be construed. The bill provides that, in addition to the number of midshipmen now authorized by law, "there shall be allowed for the period from the date of passage of this act until September 1, 1918, one additional midshipman for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress." That does not provide that there shall be appointed during that period an additional midshipman, but only that there shall be "allowed" during that period. According to the language of the bill, at the end of September 1, 1918, there could be no more midshipmen at Annapolis than there are now. Is that the purpose of the bill, or is it the purpose of the bill to provide for additional appointments without interfering with the regular appointments?

Mr. PADGETT. Then, in line 6, after the word "eighteen," if the words "the appointment of" were inserted, would that meet the objection of the gentleman?

Mr. MANN. I have two tentative amendments that occur to me. I do not say that either one would be desirable. The first was to strike out the words "allowed for," in line 4, and to insert the words "appointed during"; and the second was—and it was an alternative proposition—to make it read "allowed to be appointed for the period."

Mr. PADGETT. I think the gentleman's first suggestion the better one, and I have no objection to it.

Mr. MANN. I did not know. I asked really for information, because the gentleman stated a while ago that possibly the class of next year would be graduated this year. I did not know whether the Navy Department wanted to have an additional midshipman there during the balance of the term for which he was appointed, or whether it was intended simply to name them a year earlier.

Mr. PADGETT. The purpose is to allow additional appointments during this time for every Senator and Member and Delegate.

Mr. MANN. Then, let us say "appointed during the period."

Mr. PADGETT. That is all right. If the gentleman will offer that amendment, I will be glad to accept it.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker. I move to amend in line 4 by striking out the words "allowed for" and inserting the words "appointed during."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend, on page 1, line 4, by striking out the words "allowed for" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "appointed during."

Mr. MANN. So that it will read, "there shall be appointed during the period from the date of passage of this act," and so forth.

Mr. PADGETT. That is correct.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 1, line 10, after the word "date," insert the words "and may include names of those who have been examined for entrance after January 1, 1917, and before the passage of this act."

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, having offered the amendment, I desire to say a word in behalf of it. The amendment proposes to permit Members to give boys a second chance within the year. Under the law a boy who has failed at the first of this spring's examinations can not again be examined for admission to the class which he missed. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] has said that he can not under the law be examined for a year. But we are to-day passing a law to create an entirely new class for this year. In case Members find some of their nominees who have been examined either in February or April of this year have failed, this amendment arranges that it will not be one full year before they can be renamed. Here comes a new class, and there are available for it many young men who might be renamed next year, but can not be named this year.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I do not think it will be well to put that amendment on there. It would just allow a reexamination of men who are incompetent, who have failed, and it would subject Members to considerable pressure to rename a man who has by his examination shown that he was wholly incapable of passing an examination.

Mr. MANN. You can rename him now.

Mr. PADGETT. He can rename him now by the approval of the academic board.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the chairman [Mr. PADGETT], in answer to a question of mine, thought that a man who might fail in one examination this spring could not be named as an applicant under this act.

Mr. MANN. There is no examination now until June.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes; and under the bill there is one, and there was one in February, and there was one on April 17—last Tuesday.

Mr. MANN. I understand, but a man who was named for February and failed can be renamed.

Mr. LANGLEY. I have already renamed one of exactly that kind, because he failed in February.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. One can not be renamed for a second examination for the same class. At least, I was so informed by the Bureau of Navigation.

Mr. BRITTEN. For the examination in June; but a special examination does not come under that law.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Let me get that clear. Suppose you have a boy, a bright alternate, and he comes within two notches of passing, you can not rename him for this June——

Mr. BRITTEN. You can rename him for the examination in June. There is nothing to prevent that, providing he does not become 20 years of age.

Mr. PADGETT. I said for the same year.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does the gentleman mean the same class or the same year?

Mr. PADGETT. The same class.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. If that is the case, I shall be glad to withdraw my amendment.

Mr. MANN. It requires permission to get a second examination, but if a man has any sort of standing at all there is no trouble about getting the permission authorizing the examination.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I have not found it so. Let me tell again of my experience in appointing one boy. He came from so far back in the woods that it was easier to say that he came from section 19, township so-and-so, than to try to locate his post office. That boy at his first appointment as alternate made a rather poor showing. The next year I gave him another chance and he passed above 3½ on a total of 4 in all branches except grammar, and that was about 2½. I called on the Secretary of the Navy and tried to have that boy sent into the class and to let him be permitted to make up in grammar. I was told it could be done by the permission of a certain examining board——

Mr. BUTLER. The academic board.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. The academic board. That board refused to give that boy a chance, and therefore I nominated him—a poor, backwoods boy, with no pull whatsoever—this year and he has passed at the top of the heap, and he will go in the academy; but it took me a long time to do it.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman take a suggestion?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will be glad to do so.

Mr. MANN. Put him in the Revenue-Cutter Service or the Marine Corps and he will get on quicker and have a great deal better service——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I come from a marine district, which has put a good many men in those corps.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I hope the amendment will not be agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman desires to withdraw the amendment. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote on the passage of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. PADGETT, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, Mr. STEAGALL was granted leave of absence indefinitely, on account of physical injuries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by having printed in the RECORD a patriotic

resolution adopted by unanimous vote at a mass meeting at Mason City, in my district.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly I must object, and I do object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa objects.

FILING OF REPORTS ON H. R. 3545 (H. REPT. NO. 17).

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the *majority* and minority reports to accompanying the bill H. R. 3545 from the Committee on Military Affairs, introduced to-day, be permitted to be filed with the Clerk on Saturday, and that it shall be in order on Monday to consider that bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the majority and minority reports from the Committee on Military Affairs may be permitted to be filed with the Clerk of the House on Saturday on the bill H. R. 3545, and that the bill be taken up for consideration on next Monday. Is there objection?

Mr. BORLAND. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina when these reports will be printed? Not until Monday?

Mr. KITCHIN. They will be printed at once.

Mr. BORLAND. Is there not some way in which the reports could be put in print, even if they could not be filed by the Clerk, so that they would be available to the Members?

Mr. KITCHIN. You can get them from the Clerk. They will be printed at once.

Mr. BORLAND. Would it be possible to file them to-morrow night?

Mr. KITCHIN. I can not tell about that. I should think not, from what I understand. They can not be filed by Saturday.

Mr. BORLAND. It seems to me very desirable for the Members to have them before we begin the consideration of the bill on Monday.

Mr. KITCHIN. The bill will be printed. In fact, the bill is printed now.

Mr. MANN. The bill is likely to be under general debate for two or three days.

Mr. KITCHIN. I should say, at least, for two days. The bill is printed now.

Mr. GILLETT. When you say it is in order, you do not mean by that to waive any points of order?

Mr. KITCHIN. Not a bit. It is understood that no points of order or other jurisdiction is waived at all.

Mr. MANN. Will not the gentleman include in his request also that it will be in order to consider the bill on next Wednesday?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman includes in his request that it be in order to consider the bill next Wednesday if we do not get through next Tuesday. Is there objection to any part of this request?

The Clerk will have these reports printed immediately when they get into his hands.

Mr. CARLIN. Reserving the right to object, would not that displace the bill that went over from last Calendar Wednesday?

Mr. MANN. It would.

Mr. CARLIN. If it can be done without prejudice, there would be no objection.

Mr. MANN. There would be no prejudice about that. It would go over for a week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an article concerning a former Member of this House, Mr. Ricketts.

The SPEAKER. On what subject?

Mr. EMERSON. It has nothing to do with the war.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. What is the request?

Mr. EMERSON. It is an article concerning a former Member of this House, Mr. Ricketts, of Ohio.

Mr. DOWELL. I object.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the location of the Government armor-plate plant at Charleston, W. Va.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the location of the armor-plate plant? Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. I object.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, to address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to address the House for 10 minutes. Is there objection to that?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, after that does the gentleman from North Carolina expect to move to adjourn?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; but I hope the gentleman from West Virginia will not make the request now. We will have to caucus this afternoon, and then we have a conference on the bond bill. The gentleman can get in some time next week.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. All right. I do not want to be intrusive. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. Has any other gentleman a motion to make?

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask unanimous consent that in printing the documents prepared by Dr. FESS, which are now to be put on the press, and will be printed much cheaper than they would be if we wait until after this first edition is out, they saying that they might be printed for the amount of $500 in addition to what is——

Mr. MANN. Has the gentleman had an estimate made?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

Mr. MANN. How many?

Mr. FOSTER. Between 3,300 and 3,400 copies. They could not give me the exact number. I will ask the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], who looked that matter up, to give the information.

Mr. MANN. How many can they print for $500 now?

Mr. FESS. Mr. Smith, the RECORD clerk, says between 3,300 and 3,400.

Mr. MANN. Let us say 3,300, then, and let them go to the folding room.

Mr. FOSTER. Then say 3,300 copies be printed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FOSTER] asks unanimous consent that 3,300 additional copies of this compilation that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] is making shall be printed and go to the folding room. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Monday, April 23, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Walter R. Parker *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 29); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Eliza A. McIntire, widow of Horatio McIntire, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 30); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in a certified list of cases dismissed by the court on January 29, 1917, for want of sufficient evidence *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 31); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Edwin Goodrich *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 32); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Austin P. Wilson, brother of William C. Wilson, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 33); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

6. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Louis H. Waters *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 34); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

7. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Alice Scott Warner, daughter of Robert Scott, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 35); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

8. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of John T.

McKnight *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 36); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

9. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Maria M. Gray, widow of Henry H. Gray, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 37); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

10. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Jane T. Hawkins, sister of Michael T. Hall, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 38); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

11. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Lucinda Shanks, widow of Quintus C. Shanks, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 39); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

12. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Philo J. Beveridge, son of John L. Beveridge, deceased, *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 40); to the Committee on War Claims and ordered to be printed.

13. A letter from the chief clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of the findings of the court in the case of Hannah G. Wainwright *v.* The United States (H. Doc. No. 41); to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

14. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting recommendations relative to clerical force of the War Department (H. Doc. No. 42); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

15. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting tentative draft of provision for incorporation in sundry civil appropriation bill (H. Doc. No. 43); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

16. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting tentative draft of a provision to be included in one of the Army bills (H. Doc. No. 44); to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

17. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting tentative draft of legislation relating to annual leave of employees of navy yards, gun factories, and naval stations (H. Doc. No. 45); to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

18. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a proposed draft of a bill to establish the new rates of chief special mechanic and special mechanic, first class, in the artificer branch of the United States Navy (H. Doc. No. 46); to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DENT: A bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. AYRES: A bill (H. R. 3546) to prohibit the dealing in futures on foodstuffs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RUSSELL: A bill (H. R. 3547) to extend the provisions of the pension act of May 11, 1912, to the officers and enlisted men of all State Militia and other State organizations that rendered service to the Union cause during the Civil War for a period of 90 days or more, and providing pensions for their widows, minor children, and dependent parents, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3548) providing for the modification of the designs of the current quarter dollar; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. SISSON: A bill (H. R. 3549) creating a division of rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 3550) to provide for the registration of, with collectors of internal revenue, and to impose a special tax upon, all persons who produce, import, manufacture, compound, deal in, dispense, sell, distribute, or give away any dynamite, giant powder, nitroglycerin, gun cotton, or any compound thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 3551) for the improvement of the harbor at Ogdensburg, N. Y.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 3552) to prohibit the manufacture, sale, importation, or exportation of all alcoholic, spirituous, malt, and vinous liquors for the duration of the war with Germany or any other country that may become involved; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POU: A bill (H. R. 3553) providing for the adjudication of certain claims by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: A bill (H. R. 3554) to provide for the examination and survey of Providence Harbor, Providence, R. I.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. RAKER: A bill (H. R. 3555) for the support and education of the Indian pupils at the Greenville Indian School, California; for repairs and improvements; for new school building, erecting building and furnishing the same; for purchase of land to connect Government property with public highway; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3556) for the erection of a public building at the city of Susanville, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3557) for the erection of a public building at the city of Alturas, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3558) for the erection of a public building at the city of Quincy, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3559) for the erection of a public building in the city of Auburn, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3560) for the erection of a public building at the city of Redding, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3561) for the erection of a public building at the city of Yreka, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3562) for the erection of a public building at the city of Placerville, State of California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: A bill (H. R. 3563) to increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Rhode Island; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3564) authorizing the sale of more than one copy of any public document to the same person; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 3565) to suspend the manufacture of and all traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes during the time the United States may be engaged in war, and fixing a penalty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAYBURN: A bill (H. R. 3566) to provide a Division of Tuberculosis in, and an advisory council for, the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 3567) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in the Osage civilization fund claim of the Osage Nation of Indians against the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3568) to pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3569) authorizing the Osage Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma to employ a tribal attorney for said tribe and appropriating therefor Osage tribal funds; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 3570) authorizing bonding companies to execute Government bonds, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMAS F. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 3571) to prohibit the sale or gift of intoxicating liquors to any soldier, sailor, or marine of the United States Army or Navy while on duty or in uniform; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 3633) to regulate the manufacture, distribution, storage, sale, use, and possession of explosives in time of war or during national emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. POU: Resolution (H. Res. 66) to allow an assistant clerk to the Committee on Rules; to the Committee on Accounts.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3572) granting an increase of pension to Robert S. Doan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3573) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3574) granting an increase of pension to Josephus Gatten; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3575) granting a pension to Louis D. Beaumont; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 3576) granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Keech; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 3577) granting a pension to David Pack; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FESS: A bill (H. R. 3578) granting a pension to George Rice; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3579) granting a pension to Earl W. Maitland; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3580) granting a pension to David H. Earl; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3581) granting a pension to Nellie M. Hupp; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3582) granting a pension to Ella Spence; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3583) granting a pension to Frank F. Randolph; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3584) granting an increase of pension to John Burns; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3585) granting an increase of pension to Eliza Jane Jones; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3586) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Hale; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3587) granting an increase of pension to Ella Castle; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3588) granting an increase of pension to William H. Byrd; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3589) granting an increase of pension to Henry P. Bradbury; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3590) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Zimmermann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3591) granting an increase of pension to Mathew Stamets; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3592) granting an increase of pension to Philip H. Lind; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3593) granting a pension to Mary J. Langdon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3594) granting an increase of pension to William Locust; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3595) granting an increase of pension to Wilson Gaskill; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3596) granting an increase of pension to George Fawn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3597) granting an increase of pension to Levi Ellis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3598) granting an increase of pension to William H. Epley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3599) granting an increase of pension to Catharine Elliott; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3600) granting an increase of pension to John G. Dalie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3601) granting an increase of pension to Edwin T. Doan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3602) granting an increase of pension to John S. Clark; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3603) to correct the military record of Frederick Colburn; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3604) to correct the military record of Oscar J. Paul; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3605) for the relief of John W. Kellough; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3606) for the relief of Samuel B. Dump; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3607) for the relief of Henry Harris; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3608) to pay Charles L. Gallaher the sum of $215; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3609) to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to try and determine the validity of any claims George C. Jenkins, late second lieutenant, First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Cavalry, may have against the Government for services rendered in the military service of the United States during the War of the Rebellion; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 3610) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Ridout; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HAMILTON of New York: A bill (H. R. 3611) granting a pension to Harriet Fellows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3612) granting a pension to Cornelius Whitby; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JUUL: A bill (H. R. 3613) granting a pension to Catherine A. Burke; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKENZIE: A bill (H. R. 3614) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth H. Brayton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3615) granting an increase of pension to Jennie Duer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3616) granting a pension to Emma J. De Yoe Bassett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McKEOWN: A bill (H. R. 3617) granting a pension to John Murphy; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3618) granting a pension to Rachel F. Burdg; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3619) granting an increase of pension to Bennett W. Langley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3620) granting an increase of pension to Isaac C. Pierce; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORES of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 3621) granting an increase of pension to Arthur Chappell; to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: A bill (H. R. 3622) for the relief of Spencer Roberts, a member of the Metropolitan police force of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. RUSSELL: A bill (H. R. 3623) granting a pension to Georgia Acuff; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3624) granting an increase of pension to John W. Barnes; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON: A bill (H. R. 3625) granting a pension to Joseph Sullivan; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3626) granting a pension to Peter L. Butler; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TOWNER: A bill (H. R. 3627) granting a pension to Fred O. Hamilton; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 3628) granting a pension to Thomas V. McDermott; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALTON: A bill (H. R. 3629) for the relief of Arthur H. Loomis; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WOOD of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 3630) granting a pension to Eva Griggs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3631) granting an increase of pension to Ida B. Fuller; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3632) to correct the military record of William B. Young; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Resolutions of Joe Hooker Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Mount Vernon, Ohio, indorsing the declaration of war with Germany and pledging unreserved support to President Wilson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BACHARACH: Memorial of 100 citizens of the city of Trenton, N. J., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorials of New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, asking that the manufacturing of all luxuries be discontinued during the present crisis; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BROWNING: Memorial of the Camden (N. J.) City Lodge, No. 114, I. O. B. S., pledging loyal support to the United States of America; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, relative to selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, favoring Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and Queens, relative to war tax on incomes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Automobile Club of America and Lawyers Club of Washington, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DYER: Petition of Monthly Congregational Conference, relative to the health and morals of those in the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorials of the Chamber of Commerce and the Womans' City Club of Kansas City, Mo., favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Memorial of the Lawyers' Club of Washington, favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: Memorial of the Brooklyn Engineers' Club, of Brooklyn, N. Y., pledging their loyalty and service to the United States Government and favoring universal military and naval training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, favoring the selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Lawyers' Club of Washington, D. C., favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of the West Chester County Commission of General Safety, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Ashmont Social and Athletic Club, of Dorchester, Mass., pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: Memorial of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, for Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn and Queens, and the New York State League of Saving and Loan Associations, in re war revenue measures; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Mens' Society of the Fourth Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, of Brooklyn; the Brooklyn Engineers' Club, of Brooklyn; Henry E. Oppenheimer, of New York; the Merchants' Association of New York; 300 citizens of New York; the Automobile Club of America; and J. H. Davidson, pledging support to the President in the method of conducting the war preparations; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Wilmer Atkinson, of Philadelphia, in re best method of raising men for service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HILL: Memorial of Ridgefield (Conn.) Grange, No. 165, Patrons of Husbandry, opposing the use of grains for making alcoholic liquor at least for the period of the war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Nonowantuck Tribe, No. 42, Improved Order of Red Men, of New London, Conn., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH: Memorial of Lisbon (Ohio) Community Chamber of Commerce, favoring the conscript instead of the volunteer system of military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Mayor Daniel Cunningham, Dr. S. B. McGavin, and 67 other citizens of Harrison County, Ohio, favoring conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of sundry citizens of United States, relative to a tax on incomes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of the Baltimore preachers' meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Memorial of Military Engineering Committee, asking that all new units of Engineer troops be organized by the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petitions of Lawyers' Club of Washington and Wigwam of Nonowantuc Tribe, No. 42, Improved Order of Red Men, New Haven, Conn., favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McFADDEN: Petition of citizens of Montrose, Pa., urging the passage of such legislation to finance the forthcoming war as will protect the poorer classes from exorbitant taxation, opposing a gigantic bond issue being placed on the people, and in favor of a direct tax on incomes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAHER: Petitions of the Merchants' Association of New York and Brooklyn Engineers' Club, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: Memorial of Westchester County Commission of General Safety, favoring daylight saving; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorials of Brooklyn Engineers' Club, Automobile Club of America, Rochester (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Association of New York City, Philadelphia Board of Trade, and Lawyers' Club of Washington, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, favoring passage of the Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAMSEYER: Petition of the Mennonite Church, against compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNOOK: Petition of citizens of Oakwood, Ohio, favoring the prohibition of the manufacture of intoxicating liquor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Grace Mennonite Congregation at Pandora, Ohio, opposing compulsory training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of the Military Engineering Committee of New York, in favor of all units of Engineer troops being organized and maintained by the War Department and not by the individual States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *April 20, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in this age on ages telling we seek Thy guidance and direction that we may fulfill the mission of our lives and measure up to the thought and purpose of God in us. We face a responsibility that staggers the imagination—burdens too heavy for us to bear. We seek the strength and wisdom and guidance that God alone can give. We pray that all our acts may be inspired by the presence and the power of Thy holy Spirit. To that end do Thou bless us and guide us this day. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. HITCHCOCK and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 2893. An act to amend section 10 of chapter 2 of the Criminal Code was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRODUCTION OF FOOD SUPPLIES (S. DOC. NO 11).

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 6th instant, certain information relative to the increased production of food supplies, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 1771. An act to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

H. R. 2008. An act to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service;

H. R. 2338. An act to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office;

H. R. 2339. An act to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918; and

H. R. 2340. An act to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is receiving a constantly increasing number of documents that are neither petitions nor memorials. The Chair has no means of knowing whether the Senate desires them included in the RECORD or not. The Chair refers them to the Committee on Printing for determination as to whether they ought to go in the RECORD or not.

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a petition of Arbuckle Bros., of New York City, praying for the levying of an excise tax of 2 cents a pound on sugar, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Chicago (Ill.) Club, pledging support to the President, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Maritime Exchange, praying for the passage of a river and harbor

bill at this session of Congress, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented petitions of the Merchants' Association of New York City and of the faculty of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., praying for compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in session at New Orleans, La., praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota presented petitions of Prof. H. C. Solberg and other engineers of the South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, of Brookings, S. Dak., praying for the organization of the engineers of the country for national defense under the central authority of the United States Government and not the individual States, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FLETCHER. I have received a number of petitions from the growers of tomatoes in various tomato-growing sections in Florida with reference to the standard size of tomato baskets. I ask to have the one I send to the desk printed in the RECORD, without the names, because it is similar to numerous other petitions which I have received, and I think it is an important matter.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Senators and Members of Congress from the State of Florida:

We, the undersigned growers of tomatoes and residents of the tomato-growing section of the State of Florida, do hereby strenuously protest against the proposed fixing of the standard size for tomato baskets to be used in standard carrier crates at a size suggested by the National Basket & Fruit Package Manufacturers' Association.

The size basket now commonly used in Florida for packing tomatoes is 9½ inches long in the bottom, 5 inches wide across the bottom, and 4½ inches deep. All inside measurements with the length of the inside of the top hoop 32⅜ inches.

The proposed new basket is 9¾ inches by 5⅜ inches by 4⅞ inches by 32⅜ inches. And the basket now used holds four full quarts.

The objection to the proposed new standard basket is that the extra length and width at the bottom will require more tomatoes to fill the basket.

All quotations on tomatoes now are based on the classification of fancy and choice. The fancy sizes are now 108s, 120s, and 144s. The 144 size is the most desirable size now which will be affected more by this change than any other. Fifty per cent of the crop now runs 144s; these will then become 180s, making choice tomatoes out of them and reducing the price 50 cents. The choice size is now 180, and if the proposed change is made will be packed 216s, which is practically worthless product. The only reason they are packed at all is because they have to be picked anyway; 144s are about half of the present crop.

The present crop amounts to about 7,000 cars, which is about 1,750,000 crates. Fifty cents less which the 144s would bring if packed as 180s, would be a difference of $875,000 per year on the 144 size alone. The 180s would be rendered practically worthless, which brings this loss well above $1,000,000 a year, and that would be felt by the tomato growers in Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade Counties, not mentioning the other tomato-growing districts of Florida.

There is no objection on the part of the tomato growers of this section of the State to 4-quart baskets; in fact they want a 4-quart basket, and want a standard basket, but the trade requires all tomatoes packed to be well above the basket, to be packed to overflow, so that actually there are about five quarts of tomatoes in every 4-quart basket.

Under the new proposed standard basket it would be necessary to pack much larger tomatoes in the bottom of the basket in order to bring the tomatoes well above the outside edges of the basket.

The present standard tomato crate is 10 inches by 11 inches by 24 inches. If the proposed standard basket is adopted there will be so much room in the crate that the baskets must necessarily be packed more than full in order to fill the crate. The crate must be full and therefore every basket will contain much more than 4 quarts of tomatoes.

The proposed new basket will almost entirely prevent free circulation of air between baskets, hence prevent ventilation, leading to a larger percentage of decay than at present.

For all these reasons we earnestly protest against the adoption of the proposed standard size basket and request our Senators and Representatives in Congress to use every effort they can to prevent the adoption of this new proposed standard basket.

J. H. Meyers, R. A Glisser, Hallandale, Fla.: C. B. Green, Jno. L. Wise, P. H. Roper, W. R. Johnston, S. F. Pollard, J. Harvey Gillespie, Chas. O. Simonson, W. E. Spruill, A. H. Swenson, Dania, Fla.

Mr. JAMES. I present resolutions adopted by the Board of Trade of Louisville, Ky., and resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Seminole Club, of Paducah, Ky., tendering their hearty support and cooperation to the Government, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOUISVILLE BOARD OF TRADE,
Louisville, Ky., April 17, 1917.

Hon. OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have the honor to transmit herewith resolution unanimously adopted by the directors and approved by the entire membership of the Louisville Board of Trade at a meeting held in Louisville Monday, April 16, 1917:

"*Resolved*, That the Louisville Board of Trade, a body created and maintained for the commercial, industrial, and economic development of Louisville, and including in its membership the leading citizens, firms, and corporations of the commercial and professional activities of the city, desires to express its sense of patriotic duty in this time of war with a foreign Government and to offer as a public body every facility which the board of trade may have to the Government of the United States in any of its branches, and to put at its disposal the services of the board and its whole membership in any line of work which the Government may delegate to the board."

Assuring you of the pleasure that it gives us to convey these sentiments of the loyalty and devotion of this community, we are,

Respectfully,

FRED M. SACKETT, *President.*
W. E. MORROW, *Secretary.*

SEMINOLE CLUB (INC.),
Paducah, Ky., April 13, 1917.

Senator OLLIE M. JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Seminole Club of Paducah, Ky., held Tuesday, April 10, 1917, resolutions were passed indorsing the stand of President Wilson and the Congress in their action of declaring war against the central powers and indorsing the principle of universal liability for military training as embodied in the Chamberlain bill now before Congress.

In accordance with instructions, I inclose herewith a copy of these resolutions.

Yours, very truly,

SEMINOLE CLUB,
H. D. WILLIAMSON, *Secretary.*

Whereas the President of the United States and the Congress assembled have, in the cause of humanity and justice, declared our Nation to be in a state of war with the Imperial German Government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, citizens of the United States and members of the Seminole Club of Paducah, Ky., tender our hearty support and cooperation to the Government and indorse its action; and be it further

Resolved, That we indorse the principle of universal liability for military training as embodied in the Chamberlain bill now before Congress and give it our sincere recommendation, and that copies of this resolution be sent to Senators OLLIE M. JAMES, J. C. W. BECKHAM, and Congressman BARKLEY.

JOSEPH JACOBS,
C. M. HAND,
W. R. WRIGHT,
Committee.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented telegrams in the nature of memorials from 27 citizens and business firms of Detroit and Jackson, in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against voluntary enlistment for the proposed army, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WEEKS presented petitions of the Business Men's Association of Hyde Park; the Ashmont Social and Athletic Club, of Dorchester; the Board of Trade of North Attleboro; the Committee of Public Safety of Newburyport; and the Bar Association of Norfolk County, all in the State of Massachusetts, pledging support to the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Suffolk North Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers, of Beachmont, Mass., praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the National Guard Association of the United States, pledging the support of the National Guard, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HALE presented resolutions adopted by Cumberland County Pomona Grange, No. 15, Patrons of Husbandry, of Westbrook, Me., pledging support to the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. THOMPSON presented a petition of sundry citizens of Garden City, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the consumption of food products in the manufacture of intoxicating liquor, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PROTECTION OF MIGRATORY BIRDS.

Mr. SMITH of Arizona, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the bill (S. 1553) to give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds concluded at Washington, August 16, 1916, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 27) thereon.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 1993) authorizing the Osage Tribe of Indians, in Oklahoma, to employ a tribal attorney for said tribe, and appropriating therefor Osage funds; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1994) authorizing the licensing and control of corporations engaged in the storing of food products for interstate shipment; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 1995) for the relief of dependent families of employees of the Government killed or injured in the service; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 1996) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. OWEN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 38) authorizing cooperation with the Ozark Trails Association in the inspection and selection of the route from St. Louis to New Mexico; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. GORE:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 39) to appropriate $3,000,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to prosecute the work of eradicating the southern cattle tick; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 40) to appropriate $500,000 for the encouragement of the production of foodstuffs; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

RAILROAD FREIGHT RATES.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, which I ask to have read and that it lie over until to-morrow under the rule.

The resolution (S. Res. 44) was read, as follows:

Whereas the railroad companies of the United States have applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a flat increase of 15 per cent on all freight charges, amounting to $400,000,000 annually, in spite of the fact that within the past three years the railroads in the central division have been given an increase on freight rates of 5 per cent, and the railroads in the western division an increase amounting to between 5 and 10 per cent, and the railroads in the southeastern division an increase amounting to between 15 and 20 per cent, and the gross freight revenues of the railroads for the six months ending January 1, 1917, amounted to $1,356,039,797, and the net revenues for said six months of the railroads earning over a million dollars annually amounted to practically $700,000,000, the same being 3½ per cent for six months on the book value of these railroads; and

Whereas the applications for increase of rates, if granted, would place a great additional charge upon the cost of living, and are based largely upon the alleged increase of expenses caused by the Adamson Act, which has been variously estimated at between thirty and forty million dollars: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Interstate Commerce Committee be requested to investigate fully the facts and report the same, with their recommendations, to the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution goes over under the rule.

FOOD PRODUCTION.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution (S. Res. 43) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and hereby is, requested to inform the Senate as to what steps are being taken by the Department of Agriculture to induce larger production of foodstuffs throughout the United States and what assistance, if any, is being furnished by the department to the food producers of the United States to stimulate food production.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution. Is there objection?

Mr. FLETCHER. I think the usual form in such resolutions is to use the word "directed" instead of "requested."

Mr. KENYON. Of course I would have no objection to that, but I thought "requested" a politer term.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think according to precedent and practice the word "requested" should be changed to "directed."

Mr. KENYON. I myself prefer the word "requested," unless the Senator desires that the word "directed" shall be used. I think we can simply request the information. The Secretary of Agriculture may not be able to furnish all the information.

Mr. FLETCHER. Of course he can say so if he is not able to furnish it all. I am simply inclined to conform to the uniform practice.

Mr. KENYON. I will amend the resolution by using the word "directed" instead of "requested."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be so modified. Is there objection to agreeing to the resolution as modified? The Chair hears none and the resolution is adopted.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS.

Mr. SHIELDS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 45), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-fifth Congress to send for books and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate.

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill No. 2, the unfinished business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I should like to interrupt the Senator from North Carolina, with his permission, for a few moments.

Mr. OVERMAN. Very well.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I wish to ask the Senator if there is any probability of the bill now pending, which is the unfinished business, taking all of the day, or will it take only a part of to-day? I make the request because it is very essential that the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States be taken up and disposed of as speedily as possible. The Senator and the Senate will readily understand that the whole increase of the Army is dependent upon the disposition of the bill, and all the proceedings in the War Department are stayed until it can be finally determined what course Congress intends to take in reference to it. I should like to have that bill taken up, if the Senator can yield.

Mr. OVERMAN. I realize the importance of having that bill acted upon at as early a day as possible. I think it will take two or three days more to dispose of the pending bill, but the chapter we were on all day yesterday—Chapter II—I think we can finish, probably, in an hour or two, because I do not believe there will be much more debate on it. If the Senator is satisfied with that course, I should like to have Chapter II adopted, and then, on my own motion, I will have the Senate temporarily lay aside the bill, that the Senator may call up the Army bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will be very glad to have the Senator do that. I think probably it is best to dispose of the chapter now under consideration before laying the unfinished business aside.

Mr. PENROSE. While this order of business is suggested, I should like to ask the Senator from Oregon whether it would be his purpose to hold a session of the Senate to-morrow or to adjourn over until Monday.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think in view of the emergency and the necessity which exists for its passage, or the disposition of the act in some way, the Senate ought to continue in session to-morrow if the bill is then before the Senate.

Mr. OVERMAN. The bill now before the Senate is of the utmost importance, but we shall have all the time we will want on our hands. The most important measure of all is the Army bill. Therefore I will be inclined, as I said, to lay this bill aside; but I do not want to lay it aside now, because all the argument on Chapter II has been had, and if the bill goes over for a week we will reopen it and the whole argument will take place again. I want to settle the question now as to the press. It has been debated, and the whole chapter has been debated, with the exception of subsection (c). I hope there will be little further debate on it, and that we can soon vote on subsection (c). I hope to get through with it in an hour.

Mr. LODGE. Will the Senator permit me to offer an amendment, not to subsection (c) but a little amendment to which, I think, he will have no objection, to cover what I consider an important point. Beginning on line 21, page 9, the bill reads:

And whoever in time of war shall willfully cause or attempt to cause disaffection in the military or naval forces of the United States—

Then comes the amendment which has been agreed to—

to the injury of the service or of the United States.

I propose to insert after the word "States," in line 23, the words "or shall interfere with or obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States."

Mr. OVERMAN. I have no objection to that amendment. As far as I am concerned, I will accept it.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 9, line 23, after the words "United States," where they first appear, insert:

or shall interfere with or obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Recurring to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], it is to strike out, in line 13, the words "or supposed plans or conduct," and in line 18 the words "or which might be."

Mr. OVERMAN. I hope the amendment will be voted down. As I told the Senator, certain amendments which he has offered to subsection (c), striking out certain words, I am willing to accept.

Mr. THOMAS. I understood the Senator's statement to refer to the proposed amendment to subsection (b).

Mr. OVERMAN. Subsection (c).

Mr. THOMAS. I am stating what I understood the Senator to say.

Mr. OVERMAN. In subsection (b) the word "intent" is used—

and (b) whoever, in time of war, with intent that the same shall be communicated to the enemy, shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct, or supposed plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense or calculated to be, or which might be, directly or indirectly, useful to the enemy, shall be punished by death—

A traitor, of course—

or by imprisonment for not less than 30 years.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will accept that part of my amendment relating to the next subsection, I will withdraw the part of it relating to subsection (b).

Mr. OVERMAN. Let us understand where we are. Suppose we take up subsection (c) and see what we can, and then we can go back to subsection (b).

Mr. THOMAS. I am perfectly willing to adopt that course. I was going to ask for a separate vote on the part of the amendment which refers to subsection (b). That suggestion is perfectly satisfactory.

Mr. OVERMAN. I could not agree to strike out those words in subsection (b); I see no reason for doing it; but I want to call the attention of the Senator from Colorado to the amendment presented by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING].

Mr. THOMAS. I have seen that amendment, but naturally I prefer my own. If I can not get a whole loaf, I will be satisfied with half a loaf, but in this connection let me say I would rather prefer the phraseology of the amendment I offered to that of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will say that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] has also moved to strike out certain words, which I have agreed to accept, and all that is included in the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes. If the Senator will yield to me, I believe that the suggested amendment I presented at an early period in the debate before these other amendments were suggested, if accepted, will obviate the objection to paragraph (c).

Mr. OVERMAN. I think so, and I am willing to accept that amendment. The Senator from South Dakota has offered a substitute for it which includes the amendment the Senator has offered.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I have not seen the substitute.

Mr. OVERMAN. It is at the desk. If we can get a compromise on this matter, it may save a long debate.

Mr. STERLING. If in order, I should like to offer my amendment now.

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not think it will be in order, because we want to settle the matter pending first.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending amendment is that offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. THOMAS. Perhaps the Senator from South Dakota did not hear the suggestion of the Senator having charge of the bill, which was that my amendment, which mainly refers to subsection (c), be postponed to a consideration of the other proposed amendment, because out of all of these amendments we may be able to reach a working agreement, which I think very desirable.

Mr. OVERMAN. Was subsection (c) the one the Senator from Colorado desired to postpone?

Mr. THOMAS. Both of them.

Mr. OVERMAN. I understand, then, the Senator wants to postpone all of his amendments, and I therefore do not know what amendment is next in order, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to postponing the vote on the amendments of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] until the disposition of subsequent amendments? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. STERLING. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Dakota offered an amendment, which will be stated.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I object to the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. OVERMAN. Let us have the amendment stated.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I thought it had been stated. Let it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment proposed by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING].

The SECRETARY. On page 8, line 20, strike out all after the "(c)" down to and including the word "imprisonment," in line 9, on page 9, and substitute the following in lieu thereof:

The President of the United States is hereby authorized, in time of war, to make and promulgate such reasonable regulations as he shall deem necessary to prevent the publication or communication of any knowledge, facts, or information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place which might be of use to the enemy or any other information relating to the public defense which might be of such use.

Any person who violates any regulation so made and promulgated shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than 10 years, or by both fine and imprisonment.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, that is really a substitute for subsection (c) of Chapter II.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield to the Senator from Montana for a moment.

Mr. WALSH. I rise to inquire if the amendment offered by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING] shall be adopted, will the first proviso which appears on page 9 remain as a part of the bill?

Mr. FLETCHER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. My understanding is that that proviso has not yet been adopted.

Mr. OVERMAN. It has been adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It has been adopted, and would remain as a part of the bill, for there is nothing in the amendment proposing to strike it out.

Mr. WALSH. I thought possibly that the presence of that language might obviate the objection of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; it does not.

Mr. OVERMAN. I am glad the Senator from Montana has called attention to that fact, for though that was my understanding there seems to be some doubt about it. I am glad the Chair has ruled on the question, so that there will now be no doubt.

Mr. STERLING. I wish to say that there is no intention whatever on my part in offering the amendment to interfere with the proviso, being the committee amendment immediately following that amendment. I heartily concur with the provisions of the first proviso.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, then this amendment is really a motion to strike out subdivision (c) and to substitute therefor the provision offered by the Senator from South Dakota?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is a motion to strike out and insert.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is a motion to strike out and insert, so that the matter proposed to be stricken out may be amended before the motion to strike out and insert is put.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the rule.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not like the substitute, because it uses language which is found in the original provision, which I consider objectionable. It uses the language, "which might be of use to the enemy." I think that is too broad; I think the language should be "calculated to be useful to the enemy." If you will take the original provision of section 2, Chapter II, and strike out, in line 23, the two words "collect, record," then, after the word "publish," strike out the words "or communicate," and in line 24, strike out the words "or attempt to elicit"; then, in line 2, on page 9, strike out the words "or supposed plans or conduct"; then, in line 6, strike out the words "or which might be," so that it would read as follows:

Whoever, in time of peace, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall publish any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be useful to the enemy shall be punished—

And so forth. I like the words "calculated to be useful" very much better than I do the words "or which might be useful." I think that the publication on its face ought to be calculated to be useful to justify its suppression. The term "calculated to be useful" signifies from its nature it is likely to be useful.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. NELSON. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. As I understand it, the Senator's amendment is to substitute the word "calculated" for the word "might," in line 1, page 2, of the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING]?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; it is not. My suggestion is that we take what we have in the bill coming from the committee and strike out the objectionable words, leaving the balance. We have the matter before us; we have been studying it; and we can do what I suggest with perfect ease.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, do I understand the Senator from Georgia to propose to cut out the words "publish or communicate," in line 23, page 8? Ought not those words to be in the bill?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I propose to strike out the word "communicate," and have it apply simply to publication. I would not object to the words "publish or communicate"; but it is really the publication that the President is after. What we are after is to prevent the publication of matter calculated to carry information to the enemy which will be damaging to our country. If we can give authority to do that, we shall reach the subject and stop that abuse.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield to me?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Yes; I yield to the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. OVERMAN. Is not the word "publish" broad enough to cover the word "communicate"?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I think so.

Mr. OVERMAN. If I communicate to the Senator the plans of fortifications down at Fort Caswell, in my State, am I not publishing them? Though I do not publicly make the statement, I am publishing them to the Senator. Does not the word "publish" include the word "communicate"?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am not sure; but I really think the word "publish" is strong enough.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think so, too.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, a suggestion just made to me by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], I think, is a good one. Suppose we leave out the words "might be" and the words "calculated to be" and just say "information useful."

Mr. OVERMAN. I have agreed, if the Senator please, to accept this amendment, and I want to see if we can not compose our differences.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, we on this side are interested in the debate and should like to hear what is going on.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I have yielded to the Senator from Mississippi at present.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The word "calculated" involves a premeditation; it involves an intent; it involves deliberation. If we were merely to strike out the words "might be," which are somewhat indefinite, and were not to substitute "calculated to be" or any other words, but just leave it so as to read "information useful to the enemy," then that would leave the question to be determined by the very fact of it, and not by the intent of it.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I hesitate to differ with the Senator from Mississippi about the meaning of a word, because few men in or out of the Senate have the accurate knowledge of the meaning of words that the Senator from Mississippi possesses. Undoubtedly the word "calculated" can carry the meaning under some circumstances which he attributes to it here; but I believe, if he will carefully consider its use at this place, he will see that that is not the meaning that should be given to it here. As used here, I think it has a broader meaning. Used in connection with the phrase "any information relating to the public defense calculated to be," I think it means "likely to be." I do not think it implies any intention that it should be of use, but simply that it is likely to be of use.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But it does involve that there shall be a calculator, and the man who is publishing the thing is the man who did the calculating, and that involves his intent.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; it does not mean that the publisher must have calculated it; it simply means that the information is liable to be or likely to be useful to the enemy. My preference would be to strike out also the words "or communicate," and just leave the word "publish"; but if that will harmonize the matter, I would be willing to leave in the words "or communicate."

Mr. OVERMAN. Now, how would it read as the Senator proposes to amend it?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It would read as follows:

(c) Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall publish any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I want to say to the Senator from South Dakota that his amendment is practically the same as that proposed by the Senator from Georgia; and, as there is objection to accepting his amendment, if the Senator from Georgia will offer his amendment, I am willing to accept it if the Senator from South Dakota will consent to withdraw his amendment. I repeat, the two amendments are practically the same, and in that manner we can compose our differences. I am authorized by the committee to accept the amendment of the Senator from Georgia. I would have accepted the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota, but objection has arisen to it; and therefore, as his amendment and that of the Senator from Georgia are practically the same, if the Senator from South Dakota will withdraw his amendment, I will accept on the part of the committee the amendment suggested by the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, inasmuch as the Senator from Georgia is so insistent upon his amendment, although admitting that it is practically the same as mine, I will withdraw my amendment.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator from Iowa has offered an important substitute for this section, and if we can get the text perfected the amendment of the Senator from Iowa will then be in order.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I only rose to suggest that, as I understand, the amendment which has been proposed by the Senator from Georgia has not been submitted to the committee; and so I can hardly see how the Senator from North Carolina can accept it on behalf of the committee.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will accept it, so far as I only am concerned, of course.

Mr. CUMMINS. I do not object to that; but I would not want to be embarrassed by having it assumed that I believe the paragraph would be better when so amended than it would be if amended according to the suggestion that I intend to make.

Mr. OVERMAN. I understand that. I only accept it as the Senator in charge of the bill, so far as I am concerned. I do not think there will be any objection on the part of any Senator to accepting this amendment, and since the Senator from South Dakota has kindly withdrawn his amendment and since the amendment of the Senator from Georgia is practically the same as the amendment of the Senator from North Dakota, therefore, if there is no objection on the part of any Senator or on the part of the committee, I will accept the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I want to be fully understood. I think the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia will improve paragraph 3; but I think that there are still objections to it which ought to be removed, and which I will attempt to remove by the amendment which I intend to offer.

Mr. OVERMAN. I am not taking any advantage of the Senator, because he knows the parliamentary situation as well as I do, and he is aware of the fact that when the text is perfected, he can then introduce his amendment as a substitute for the perfected text.

Mr. CUMMINS. I understand that, but I do not want to be personally put in a false position.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I desire to inquire if we can not have the question put on the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia to determine whether it shall be adopted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair is about to do that. The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Georgia, which the Secretary will state.

The SECRETARY. On page 8, line 23, after the word "shall," it is proposed to strike out the words "collect, record," and the comma after the word "record"; after the word "publish," on line 23, to strike out the comma and the words "or communicate" and the comma following the word "communicate"; in line 24, to strike out the words "or attempt to elicit"; on page 9, line 2, after the word "conduct," to strike out the comma and the words "or supposed plans or conduct"; and on line 6, page 9, after the words "calculated to be," to strike out the

comma and the words "or which might be" and the comma after the word "be"; so that, if amended, subdivision (c) will read:

(c) Whoever, in time of war, in violation of regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall publish any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years or by both such fine and imprisonment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I want to ask the Senator from Georgia a question. It is, of course, impossible, not having the text of the section as it would be amended by this amendment before me, to indicate exactly where the words should be inserted in the amendment as read; but why not let the word "collect" remain in the bill? Why should anybody be permitted to collect information contrary to the regulations made by the President and which might be calculated to be useful to the enemy? The very fact that one is permitted to collect information without infringing this statute, although he infringes it if he publishes the information, might put a mass of information in the possession of some one which could be stolen from him or by some other means than publication diffused; and the information, which is the thing that we want to prevent getting to the enemy, might get to the enemy after its collection had been made through other channels. In other respects I think well of the amendment; but I think it is a mistake to strike out the word "collect."

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. To leave simply the word "collect" in the text would give to it the meaning not simply of gathering some information but of going after and absorbing large quantities of information, I think. It would not apply to casual information. I am just thinking aloud at present, and I do not see any objection to preventing efforts to collect matter that ought not to be made public. I am disposed to withdraw my suggestion as to the word "collect" and leave the word "collect" in. If any Senator disagrees with me, I should be glad to have him state his views on the subject.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I will raise this question: This was intended in part to refer to newspapers, and it is expected that the newspapers necessarily will be alert at all times to gather information for publication. This act will prohibit them from publishing what is improper, and undoubtedly newspapers in the natural course of business will collect a good deal of information improper to publish. It would not be expected that they should be penalized for collecting it. They should be penalized for publishing it. Necessarily in various ways newspapers will come into the possession of information which ought not to be published; and I think it would be a mistake to penalize them for collecting it when all we intend to do is to prevent its publication. At the present time undoubtedly newspapers are in possession of a good deal of information which they are withholding from the people because its information would be detrimental.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. STONE. The provision of the Constitution which forbids the Congress to pass a law abridging the liberty of the press is the same provision or clause of the Constitution which prohibits the Congress passing a law abridging the liberty of speech. What applies to one applies to the other. Some people seem to think that there is something about a newspaper man that makes him immune from the operation of a law which applies to other people—that he is a sort of sacred personage. I do not share in that belief. Indeed, I have rather a contrary opinion of the newspaper bunch in general. I wish, however, here to apologize to the Senator from Nebraska by reminding him that there are always very enlightening exceptions to every rule. But, Mr. President, I can not understand why a citizen engaged in the newspaper business should be permitted to go about prowling as he pleases to gather information, and to make that lawful because of his business and unlawful only if he prints it and gives it to the public, while at the same time you make it criminal for a citizen who is not a newspaper man to go about in the same way or in a less obtrusive way, frequently in a less subterranean way, to gather and pick up information, it may be designedly or it may be by accident—to make the mere collection of information by the nonnewspaper man a crime; a crime to collect it whether he gives it to the public or not. I can not understand that sort of thing.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, undoubtedly this section applies not only to newspaper men but to individuals. It applies to the general public as well as to the newspapers. I only mentioned newspapers because it is the business of the newspapers to gather legitimate news and publish it. Now, in gathering this legitimate news the reporters inevitably will learn some news the publication of which would be undesirable, or at least the premature publication of which is undesirable. The grocer, the lawyer, the business man generally, the professional man generally, has no occasion to go to the War Department to ask for information. If he does so without any good excuse, he might be under some suspicion of seeking information to which he has no right. It is, however, the business of the newspapers to publish news; and their reporters, in going to the proper sources to ascertain news, may incidentally collect some news the publication of which is objectionable. Now, if they are told that the publication of that news is objectionable, and they refrain from publishing it, certainly they should not be penalized for collecting it; and it was only for that reason that I specified newspapers.

Mr. OVERMAN. Or some magazine man might want to write a history of the United States.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. This provision in the bill authorizes the President to make and promulgate certain regulations. Now, I can conceive how certain regulations might be adopted which would be subject to the objection which the Senator has in mind. We are conferring here upon the President simply an authority to adopt these regulations. Whether or not they shall be objectionable in character will depend upon the phraseology of those regulations rather than of the pending measure. Do not the Senator's objections—and there is great force in them—apply rather to the regulations which the President may hereafter adopt than to the pending bill?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, I am not particularly objecting to this section, Mr. President. I only rose, in response to the invitation of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], to state what I think is a reason why the mere collection of this matter should not be made a crime. Its collection is incidental; it is natural; it is inevitable. In every leading newspaper office at the present time it is probably known where Balfour is; it is probably known where the French envoys are; but it is not published. It should not be made by any regulation a crime for those newspapers to collect that information.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do.

Mr. KNOX. Is the Senator bearing in mind in his statement that it is not the collection of this information that we seek to prohibit by this provision of the bill? It is the collection contrary to regulations prescribed by the President. We are conferring upon the President of the United States, now that this Government is at war, the power to make certain regulations for the public safety, the power to make certain regulations that will prevent information from being conveyed to the enemy. The reporters may collect all of the information that they see fit, unless they collect it in violation of a regulation covering the particular subject to which it applies.

If the Senator will permit me to add just one sentence, I do not by any means think that the newspapers are the only source through which mischievous information can be communicated to the public. There is the lecture platform and there are a thousand ways by which the most damaging information which had been permitted to be collected contrary to the regulations prescribed by the President might do just as much harm as if circulated through the columns of the most popular newspaper.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, I have not any idea that the President, by any regulation, could establish a method of collecting this information that could apply to the case. I do not think it is of any vast importance one way or the other; but I can see a reason why it should not be made a crime for perfectly innocent people engaged in a perfectly legitimate purpose to collect information. It is the publication of it that is illegitimate. It is the publication of it that is objectionable. It is the publication of it which should be made criminal; and I think it is going rather too far for Congress to say that it shall be a crime to collect information which is not used afterwards in any detrimental way.

Of course it is possible that the President may be able to draft these rules and regulations which are specified. I have very serious doubts whether that can be done, however. It seems to me we are going into this matter somewhat blindly.

The President will not make these rules and regulations. The making of these rules and regulations will be turned over to some subordinate. We do not know who it will be. He may make rules and regulations as large as a book, and go into details which will establish a new code of criminal law. I think it is rather a dangerous procedure; and certainly I do not believe in incorporating in those rules and regulations, as an offense, something which is an inevitable result of the business of gathering news.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, it seems to me there is one answer to the suggestion of the Senator from Pennsylvania. Subdivision (b) was intended to prohibit the collection of any information with intent that it be communicated to the enemy; so, wherever information is collected in violation of the law to be communicated to the enemy, it is punished by subdivision (b). Subdivision (c), however, makes the collection of information in violation of the President's regulations, whether with any wrongful intent or not, a crime under this act, and the collection of that information might be entirely innocent.

I am as anxious as anyone to give the Government the power, in time of war, to prevent the publication of any plans which will disclose the location of the Navy, or the plans of the Army, or the plans of fortifications, that will be of use or aid to the enemy; but we should not go so far as to make the mere innocent collection of information a crime under this law where there is no intent to use it to the detriment of the country. It seemed to me that the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING], which is substantially that of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], covered the dangerous features of this question, and prohibited the use or the collection of such information or the publication of such information which might give aid to the enemy.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] put his finger on the important fact which we ought to consider. We are here conferring on the President the power to make and promulgate rules and regulations, a very broad power. I think we all know, if we will consider the matter, that the making of these rules will very likely be turned over to somebody else—possibly to the censor of whom we have recently heard. I do not say that in criticism of the President. The President can not perform all of the duties that are being daily heaped upon him. He must turn the great bulk of all matters over to subordinates. I should dislike very much indeed to have the censor that we have been told already has been named clothed with this great power or, what is the same thing, permitted to exercise it in the name of the President. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], who looked up and smiled genially when I mentioned the censor, probably has about the same vigorous opinion I entertain, because each of us have lived in the same town where that gentleman has in the past resided.

I want to put to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG], who is a distinguished laywer, and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], and to every other lawyer in this body, the question what is meant by the term "shall collect information." If I walk along the street and observe what is transpiring, and my brain records it, I have collected that much information——

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. NELSON. I will give a concrete case very near to us. Suppose the naval plans of the Government had been up here in the room of the Committee on Naval Affairs, as they were not, when that man with the jimmy broke open the door and broke in there, and he had taken those plans—he was collecting them, was he not?

Mr. REED. No, sir; he was not "collecting information" within the meaning of this law at all. He was attempting to burglarize a public office.

Mr. NELSON. He was collecting information to pass up to somebody, evidently not to our Government, but to some adverse interest. If the Senator will allow me further while I am on the floor, a man may go to work not only with a jimmy, as in that case, but he may prowl around here, around this Capitol, around the departments, and seek all kinds of information, not, if he is a spy, for the purpose of publishing it in the newspapers—not at all. His purpose is to collect it as secretly as possible and transmit it to the enemy. Now, that ought to be prevented.

Mr. REED. That is covered by the section of the statute to which nobody objects, and is punishable by death. It is already covered.

Mr. NELSON. But sometimes a man may collect information through mere curiosity. Now, it seems to me there is no danger to the newspapers from collecting anything. They need not fear anything. If they collect something and do not publish it, they are not liable.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, that is the very point.

Mr. NELSON. The collection is a part of the publication. They must collect and publish.

Mr. REED. Oh, no; the Senator is in error. Under the language of the bill the collecting of information is a complete offense. The language is "collect, receive, publish, or communicate." Observe under that language the collection is a crime, the recording is a crime, the publication is a crime, each is a crime. I am not here speaking for the newspapers. I do not think a newspaper has any more business to collect than anybody else. I agree absolutely with my colleague [Mr. STONE] on that proposition.

I think I can briefly reply to the statement of the Senator from Minnesota about the attempted breaking into of the room of the Naval Committee. That man was guilty of burglary; that man was not collecting within the meaning of this section; that man was stealing; that man was a thief, he was not "a collector." If he collected State military secrets for the purpose of transmitting them to the enemy, he would be punishable by death. That is not the question we are now considering. We are putting into this statute this loose language, "whoever shall collect, record, publish, or communicate." The Senator from Minnesota will observe it is in the alternative. It is not stated that "whoever shall collect and publish," but it is "collect or publish." Now, what is meant by "collect"? I come back to that expression.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. KING. I am very much in sympathy with the criticism made upon this section by the Senator from Missouri, but in view of his interrogation I suggest to him that the words "shall collect," as used in the sentence, do not imply an act of volition, of purpose, or willful design. I do not mean by the words "willful design" a malicious or evil intent, but a volitional act, to do something in contradistinction to the obtaining of information that may come in a negative way rather than in an affirmative and positive way by some positive and affirmative act of the person obtaining the information.

Mr. REED. It is the Senator's view that if a man were to find out something accidentally he could not be sent to the penitentiary because of the accident?

Mr. KING. But if he sought it.

Mr. REED. But if he sought the information he could be punished. I am not sure of that.

Mr. President, there has not yet arisen any such emergency as to afford any reason for Congress or the country ceasing to employ cool and deliberate judgment. We do not have to revolutionize all our methods of life.

Recurring again to the word "collect," of course, there might be a collection of information entirely innocent, made for the most patriotic motives and purposes, yet such collection might be punished under this act. Now, when does the collection become inimical, if at all? It must be when the information is published to the world at large or published so as to be conveyed to the enemy. If it is conveyed to the enemy the act will be punished under previous provisions of this section. If it is published it will be punished under this section wth the word "collect" left out. If you take the word "collect" out you can still punish any man for publishing anything that will be inimical to the country or violative of the rules prescribed by the President. If you leave the word "collect" in you can punish a citizen for the mere gathering of information. Now, that is a very startling proposition.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

Mr. FLETCHER. In violation of the regulations.

Mr. REED. In violation of the regulations. I am not very much afraid of this if somebody will guarantee me that the President will sit down and with his own hand write out the regulations. Of course, he can not do that.

Mr. CUMMINS. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. REED. I am ready to yield the floor.

Mr. CUMMINS. I want to ask the Senator from Missouri a question.

Mr. REED. Very well.

Mr. CUMMINS. The whole question seems to be argued upon the hypothesis that we are dealing with the Army and Navy alone. I wanted to get the view of the Senator from Missouri upon this point: Is the section confined to the Army and Navy as it is now? If the word "collect" were inserted it might still be an offense to collect any information relating to the national defense. Now, what are things relating to the national defense under the present view of the country?

Mr. REED. Is that the question?

Mr. CUMMINS. I ask the Senator whether it would not be within the power of the President or anyone whom he may designate to make these rules to say you should not collect any information with regard to the food supply? I can imagine nothing that would be more calculated to aid the enemy than the publication of our condition with regard to our capacity or competency to feed our own people or to feed the rest of the world.

Mr. REED. That question, of course, relates to another phase of this section than the one I was discussing. I was discussing the phrase "collect information" regardless of the use to which it may be put.

Mr. CUMMINS. No; that is in this section also.

Mr. REED. I think I understand what the Senator has in mind.

Mr. CUMMINS. You can not collect any information which relates to the national defense and which might be calculated to help the enemy——

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I do not know how far the phrase "or any other information relating to the public defense" might be construed to go. I do not know who is warranted in telling us. I understand that a proposition is to be brought before Congress proposing to regulate food prices from the farm to the ultimate consumer. If that proposition is advanced, it, of course, will be brought in as a matter connected with the national defense. It would involve in its intelligent discussion, among many other things, a knowledge of the production and consumption of the country, of the amount of food on hand, and the question as to whether it should continue, if it were once adopted or if it should be modified, would involve the same proposition. Therefore it might be quite possible that a man collecting information upon that subject might become liable as a violator of a regulation if some regulation were adopted of an extreme character. I can not answer. It seems to me that we do not need to take the bit in our teeth and run away. This will not be the last day Congress will be in session; this will not be the last session of Congress. We can meet a great many things as they develop. It is not necessary to go further at this time, in my judgment, than to prohibit the publication of information that might be of use to the enemy.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I believe we ought to leave the word "collect" out of the subsection. I hope the Senator from Pennsylvania will not object to leaving it out now. If we for the present give this authority with regard to publications, we will be going very far. As suggested by the Senator from Missouri, I do not think there is anything better we can do than to stay here right along from now until December, and if any more legislation is required attend to it. We may take an adjournment of 30 or 60 days; but there is a responsibility upon Congress about this work, and for one I am willing to stay here.

I hope we will leave out the word "collect," as it is objected to by a number of Senators, and for the present give the authority to stop publications.

Mr. KNOX. I had not offered that as an amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I know that.

Mr. KNOX. It was suggested. I should like to have the Senate understand my position in regard to the collection by anyone of information that would be useful to the enemy. If it is done in violation of orders made by the President during the existence of war, I want the Senate to understand that personally, at least, I regard that as a very dangerous privilege, and I think it is an entirely separate and distinct matter from the crime described in the section which immediately precedes, which was referred to by the Senator from Minnesota. That section, it seems to me, is designed to provide and does provide for punishment with death of anyone who with intent to convey to the enemy, might collect, or publish certain information, making the collection or the publication of it for that purpose punishable by death.

But this is a minor offense. This is an offense against the regulations prescribed by the President, which power we are giving him not merely for the pleasure of endowing him with power but for the purpose of enabling him to protect our country.

Mr. TOWNSEND obtained the floor.

Mr. KELLOGG. May I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. TOWNSEND. I yield to the Senator if he wishes to ask a question.

Mr. KELLOGG. Does the Senator from Pennsylvania think if the President makes a regulation against collecting any information in relation to our forces, our munition, or war materials by anybody the mere innocent inquiry of a citizen should be punished.

Mr. KNOX. No; I do not. I think any court would construe the words "to collect" as all criminal statutes are construed; that it would construe it strictly; that the court would construe it with a view to the mischief that it was intended to prevent. A mere casual inquiry by an individual as to matters affecting our Military Establishment would not rise to the dignity of the mischief at which this statute is aimed.

I believe there is another answer to the question of the Senator from Minnesota. I can not imagine that the President of the United States would make a regulation in such terms as would catch the private citizen or catch the legitimate reporter or the innocent person legitimately picking up news for a newspaper.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I shall support the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia, because it modifies materially subsection (c). I shall be very glad, if opportunity presents itself then, to vote to strike out subdivision (c). I do not believe at this time we are warranted in going further than to deal with those people or institutions whose intent it is to injure the United States. For myself, sir, I can conceive of very much greater good that may come to our Army and to our country through the collection and dissemination of information through the statements of facts by individuals and through the press than can possibly come through their suppression.

It has been true in all the past, and it must continue to be true, it seems to me, that autocratic power to make criminal those undefined acts which are innocent under the statute has resulted in injury to republics, and this committee proposition may be a fatal step away from democracy, and it is one which Congress can not, in my judgment, constitutionally take.

But if we are to disregard the Constitution and say that the present emergency, influenced by excitement and lack of consideration, urges us to go so far as to limit for all time, possibly, those very safeguards for democracy which are brought out through discussion and proper publication, I submit we are in more danger than could possibly come to us through an exercise on the part of our people of the privilege to speak their judgment not only as to the conduct of the war but also as to the movements and dispositions of their loved ones in war. Make your punishments as severe as you like for the criminal acts of traitors, but do not quench the fires of patriotism upon which our final victory must depend. Free speech and a free press are more beneficial to the success of democracy than autocracy, however efficient for the moment.

Therefore, while I am going to vote for this amendment, because it modifies the bill and relieves some of the conditions that seem to me to be dangerous, I shall then feel perfectly free to vote to eliminate the section itself, because subdivision (b) covers all those cases where there is an intent to do wrong and injury to the country, and that is as far as we ought to go at this time. There will be time enough to take another step when its necessity is demonstrated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I move to strike out from section 2, beginning with the word "and," in line 20, page 8, down to and including the word "imprisonment," in line 9, page 9, and to substitute the following.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. On page 8, beginning with the word "and," in line 20, after the semicolon, strike out all down to and including the word "imprisonment," on page 9, line 9, and insert:

> In time of war the President is hereby authorized to prescribe and promulgate reasonable rules and regulations, not abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, for the purpose of preventing the disclosure to the public, and thereby to the enemy, of information with respect to the movement and disposition of any of the armed forces of the United States or the plans of naval or military operations; and whoever in time of war shall willfully violate any such rule or regulation shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided, however*, That no such rule or regulation shall apply to the proceedings of the Congress of the United States nor to the debates therein.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I think this is an apt time to express my view with regard to the subject covered by the paragraph which has been under discussion for the last day or two. I fully appreciate all the difficulties with which the Committee on the Judiciary was compelled to deal. The committee was confronted with an insoluble problem. It never can be solved to the complete satisfaction of either the Members of Congress or the country. The conflict in government between secrecy and publicity is never ending. I do not know of any

way in which all the good or advantage of secrecy, and all the good or advantage of publicity, can at the same time be secured.

The committee gave the subject the most careful consideration, and I have nothing but praise for the faithful work which it did. Nevertheless, I think it assumed a false or erroneous point of view upon the subject now under consideration. I think it failed to recognize the difference between secrecy for the Army and the Navy and for military operations and secrecy with regard to public affairs which may be related to the public defense.

In trying to secure the advantage of secrecy, I think we are in danger of abandoning some of the well-established advantages of publicity. My objection to this paragraph is not to the words "collect" or "publish" or "communicate." While these may be important things to consider, the vital thing is in the breadth and comprehension of the paragraph and in the extent of authority given to the President in establishing the rules and regulations.

While I am not in sympathy with a great deal of the propaganda for the complete suppression of all news with regard to the Army and the Navy and their position, yet I do not feel competent to express a final opinion with regard to that specialized and technical matter.

If Congress desired to give to the President of the United States the right to prohibit anybody from securing any information with regard to the movements of the Army and the Navy, I would not feel disposed to object; but this paragraph—and it is characteristic of the entire chapter, so far as that is concerned—extends the operation of secrecy to every energy of the American people. There is nothing in which the American people can now engage which is not related to the national defense. It is now the supreme duty of the Republic to prepare for the national defense. It is the one thing which consumes and absorbs the thought and the purpose of the American people.

I asked a few moments ago of the Senator from Missouri whether the measures which have been taken or will be taken to provide for a sufficient supply of food, not only for our armies and our navies but for our civilian population, and for our allies in other countries, were not related to the national defense or the public defense. He did not directly answer the question, but I answer it. There is no doubt about it whatsoever. Will any man be heard to say that what Great Britain has done with respect to her food supply or what France has done with regard to the conservation and distribution of her food are not measures relating to national defense or public defense?

I do not, however, need to go so far afield in order to secure illustrations, because this bill itself contains more than one chapter which we are passing in order to strengthen the public defense, and which has no relation whatever either to the Army or the Navy. When we are asked—and I am not now objecting to it at all—to give the President of the United States the right to lay an embargo upon exports from this country to other countries, are we not passing a measure for the public defense? Would it be dreamed by any sane man that a measure of that kind could receive or would receive the slightest consideration in time of peace? No. It is purely a matter relating to the national defense. My objection, or my chief objection, to this section is that it puts within the power or authority of the President all public discussions, all controversy, all information relating to all things that tend to either weaken or to strengthen the national life. There may come a time when I would be willing to give such power to the President, but the time has not come.

I do not believe that we ought to give to any officer of the Government the authority to say what the citizens of the United States shall do or what they shall say with respect to our national affairs, except in so far as the movements of our military forces are concerned—their disposition throughout the country or throughout the world. I do not believe that it is either patriotic or safe to give to any officer the right to say that we shall not receive information and discuss information with respect to the condition of our troops. I do not believe it is safe or patriotic to suppress information with regard to the organization of our troops, whether they be military or naval. I do think, however, that we have reached the time when we can safely say to the President that he may make rules and regulations which will make it an offense to disclose to the public and to the enemy information with regard to the movement of our armed forces and the plans of military operations.

There is no subject in which the enemy is not interested. Germany is at this moment as much interested in knowing what the wheat fields of North and South Dakota and of Kansas will produce this year as she is in knowing where the regiments of our Cavalry or Infantry are; she is as much interested in knowing what copper Utah and Idaho and Montana will produce and what will be done with it as she is in knowing how many ships we intend to build. All these things are brought within the purview of this paragraph when it is extended to embrace all information that relates to the public defense and that is calculated to aid the enemy.

I agree with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] in regard to the interpretation of the word "calculated." I do not think it is a happy word, although it is used very often in this proposed statute; but I have no doubt that it will be interpreted to mean information which in the natural course of things may become useful to the enemy. I do not think it will be interpreted to mean a calculation in the mind of the person who either collects or disseminates the information.

Mr. President, there is a great calm common sense in the people of the United States, and I think that I have not seen that common sense—patriotic sense it is, too—expressed more clearly or impressively than in an editorial recently published in the Des Moines Register, a paper of my own city. I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary may read at this point the editorial I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

AN EARLY "DON'T."

Sydney Brooks, who writes with as much authority about English and American relations as anybody, offers in the Independent a series of "Don'ts" for American consideration, drawn from England's first two years of the war.

Among these "Don'ts" is one the authorities at Washington will do well to heed, for if it is not heeded we shall have a lot of trouble muddling through. Mr. Brooks gives it second place in importance:

"Don't establish a censorship of the press for any other purpose than to conceal the naval and military intelligence that would be useful to the enemy. A censorship that is used to cloak official shortcomings, to suppress criticism, and to veil the realities of war from the people is something that no democracy should tolerate."

The hot haste with which all Europe decided to suppress news was, as we can see plainly now, merely an exhibition of panic. Nothing worth while has resulted from the censorship, and probably much damage has been suffered by everybody because of it.

It is easy to understand why important military movements should not be heralded to the world, although it may be questioned whether many things have come unexpectedly in this war on either side. There are too many other ways of knowing what the enemy is doing. But beyond keeping actual war strategy secret why should Americans be deprived of the full knowledge of what is transpiring that they enjoy in times of peace?

It will be easy to do a lot of mischief with an espionage law in this country. The American people are not used to espionage, and it will be hard to convince them from European experience that it is either necessary or desirable that they become accustomed to it now.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I submit, in connection with the extract that has just been read, my analysis of this section. As amended by the proposal of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], the President can make it a crime to publish such information. I assume that he is of my opinion in this respect, that the word "publish" is not confined to the publication by a newspaper. I suppose that if I stand upon the street and make a statement I publish the statement in the sense of the law. If this were confined to the newspapers, it would still be objectionable, but not so objectionable as it is in its present form.

Then, passing over, I read the words:

or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be useful to the enemy.

I hope the Senator from Georgia, upon reflection, will reach the conclusion that the language I have just read is too broad. We ought not at this time to establish a censorship upon all the energy and all the information of America; and all of it is related to the national defense, and would be held to be related to the national defense. I am willing to give the President the authority to deal with the Army and the Navy in the completest possible way, although I think that even with respect to those subjects he may go easily too far.

My amendment provides that—

In time of war the President is hereby authorized to prescribe and promulgate reasonable rules and regulations, not abridging the freedom of speech or of the press—

I do not say that the inclusion of those words changes the effect of the amendment in any manner; but I should like the people of this country to know that we still remember that there is a Constitution, which controls not only our actions but the actions of the President as well.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. KING. Does the Senator believe that an act of Congress would be constitutional that infringed either of the 10 amendments or any part of the Constitution itself?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do not.

Mr. KING. Then is it not a work of supererogation to add the words to which the Senator has just referred?

Mr. CUMMINS. Undoubtedly; but I am fond sometimes of supererogation. I think it would be a precedent that has never yet been established in the Senate of the United States to express the fact desired to be expressed in the fewest possible words. I believe at this time it is wise, in giving power to the President, to say that he is not to use it so as to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press, although I quite agree with the Senator from Utah that any regulation that he might make under the amendment would be void if it abridged either the freedom of speech or of the press.

Now, mark you, I give the President the power to make rules and regulations—

For the purpose of preventing the disclosure to the public—

He is not limited in the methods that he may adopt; he can employ any rightful method for the purpose of preventing the disclosure to the public—

and thereby to the enemy, of information—

Information with respect to what? Information—

with respect to the movement and disposition of any of the armed forces of the United States or the plans of naval or military operations.

This is the power which I think the President ought to have at this time, and I am not willing to go further.

Not because it is material here, but because it will become material later on, I desire to refer just for a moment to the constitutional aspects of the paragraph. I think no reflecting man will assert that Congress may constitutionally pass a law abridging the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press. I have heard it suggested here that it could be done; but I think, upon further thought, it must be conceded that any law which abridges the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press is forbidden by the Constitution. I am not in sympathy with the idea that the powers that are given in the Constitution for the carrying on of war supersede and override all other powers of that instrument. It was substantially asserted that when the Nation is at war Congress could pass any law that seemed to it essential and necessary for the conduct of the war, without respect to any other provision or prohibition in the Constitution. I do not accept that view of the law.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do.

Mr. OVERMAN. Suppose, in time of peace, Congress should prohibit the publication of obscene matter in the newspapers—can it do that?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do not believe the Senator from North Carolina quite caught my statement. I said that Congress has no power to pass a law abridging the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press, but what does abridge the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press is yet to be considered.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is the question.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Would that be the business of Congress, anyhow? Is not that the province of State legislatures rather than of Congress?

Mr. CUMMINS. I believe that any law which is essential and necessary and proper in carrying out the powers of the Constitution, as granted by it, is constitutional. It may be a law which relates to the press, it may be a law which punishes the publisher of a newspaper, and it is still constitutional; but if it abridges the freedom of the press, then it is unconstitutional, as it seems to me. But what does abridge the freedom of the press is a judicial question. I have no doubt at all that if we pass this paragraph as it is, the courts will declare it unconstitutional; but that is not because we may not punish a newspaper or an individual for saying or publishing certain things.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. CUMMINS. I do.

Mr. KING. The Senator has just stated that it is a judicial question whether an act abridges the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press. Does the Senator mean by that that the judge may determine whether a statute abridges the freedom of speech and thus deny to the jury the right of passing upon that question?

Mr. CUMMINS. While it may be unfortunate, I have no doubt that ultimately the Supreme Court of the United States will declare, if the occasion arises, whether this statute does or does not collide with the Constitution; and the only way in which it can determine that question is to ask itself, "Is this legislation an abridgment of the freedom of speech or of the press?"

The Supreme Court of the United States must always determine, as between a statute and the Constitution, which shall prevail. The Constitution itself says it shall be the supreme law of the land. It is, of course, familiar doctrine that the Supreme Court long ago assumed the jurisdiction—and I think it has it properly—to say whether a given law of Congress infringes the Constitution. That is the sense in which I said it was a judicial question.

For instance, if Mr. A is arrested under this section for violation of a regulation of the President of the United States, and he sues out a writ of habeas corpus, the question then is, Is Mr. A lawfully detained? He is lawfully detained, we will assume, if this statute is constitutional, if Congress had the authority to pass it. How is the Supreme Court to determine whether Congress had the power to pass it? It would be claimed in the proceeding that it was an abridgment of the freedom of speech or of the press, and the court would be compelled to answer that claim. It would be compelled to consider and determine whether in passing this law Congress had abridged the freedom of the press. I see no escape whatever from that conclusion.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. OVERMAN. I agree with the Senator. The question is, What is an abridgment of the freedom of the press?

Mr. CUMMINS. Precisely.

Mr. OVERMAN. It comes to that. Now, we have passed at this session a law which some would say is an abridgment of the freedom of the press. We have provided that the mails shall be denied to papers which publish liquor advertisements.

Mr. CUMMINS. Precisely.

Mr. OVERMAN. Is not that an abridgment of the freedom of the press?

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from North Carolina can not expect me to answer all these legal questions, because they are not material. I do not know that my opinion would be of any great value with respect to that particular statute. I am going to point out in a moment or two why I think this statute is an abridgment of the freedom of the press.

I assume that no one would contend that Congress could pass a law at this moment declaring it to be a crime to publish any newspaper in the United States pending the war. Is there anyone here who claims that that could be done? If Congress thought the public safety would be promoted by absolute silence, both on the part of newspapers and on the part of individuals, on all subjects, does the Senator from North Carolina believe that Congress could pass a law making it a crime for any citizen to speak on any subject or for any newspaper to be published at all?

Mr. OVERMAN. If it was absolutely necessary for the protection of the Government and the Constitution itself? Does the Senator carry it that far—that it was necessary to have silence in the press in order to save the Constitution under which we live and preserve the Government we have? If it was absolutely necessary—I could not assume that it ever would be necessary—but if it was absolutely necessary to save the Constitution, to save our liberties, to save our country, yes!

Mr. CUMMINS. Well, we would not save our Constitution, certainly. We might save our country.

Mr. OVERMAN. Yes; we would save our Constitution and our liberty, because the Constitution provides that we shall——

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to suggest to the Senator——

Mr. CUMMINS. I want to hold the Senator from North Carolina to that statement—and I have no doubt it is sincerely made, because one who believes that this paragraph is constitutional is bound to believe that Congress could, if it thought the public safety required it, suppress every newspaper in the land, and put every citizen into jail, in order to preserve silence.

Mr. OVERMAN. I want to qualify the statement by saying that it must be absolutely necessary, in order to preserve our country, to command silence. Without a country it is of no use to have a constitution, and in order to save the Constitution we must save our country. We can not save our Constitution unless we save our country.

Mr. CUMMINS. I know the time may come when we must override the Constitution.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. CUMMINS. The time may come—I hope it never will come—when it will be absolutely necessary for the people of this country to disregard all the learning of former times, and begin anew the conflict with wrong; but no one ought to contend that if that time comes, and if we do begin anew this struggle of life, we will be doing it under the Constitution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. The latter part of the Senator's statement has thrown quite a different light upon the statement that I understood him to make.

Mr. CUMMINS. I mean that would simply be the organization of a new government.

Mr. REED. I agree with the Senator on that perfectly, of course; but I do not agree with the argument that is being made by the Senator from North Carolina and others, that in order to save the Constitution we must rape the Constitution.

Mr. OVERMAN. No, Mr. President; the Senator was not here when the Senator from Iowa put his question to me. The Senator said, if it was absolutely necessary——

Mr. CUMMINS. No; I did not say that.

Mr. OVERMAN. If it was absolutely necessary to save the country.

Mr. CUMMINS. I did not. The Senator from North Carolina did.

Mr. REED. I did not so much hear the Senator from North Carolina, but I heard the argument made on yesterday. Some Senator read a letter from Abraham Lincoln without any context, without telling us what the letter related to; and while I do not know, I venture to say that the letter was written at a time when the country was in an absolute life-and-death struggle, and when probably it had relation to the emancipation of the slaves. I do not know; I was just an infant at that time. I deny absolutely that we can set aside a single precept of the Constitution at this time in this country. I assert that there is no necessity to violate the Constitution in order to save it. I assert that the only time the ordinary civil rights of the citizen can be set aside, even in time of war, is when that condition has arisen which warrants the declaration of martial law, which supersedes the civil law, when martial law can be properly declared; and that, under the authorities as far as they have been written up to this time, can be done only when there is an actual condition of war in the country which has proceeded to such an extent as to paralyze the arm of the civil authority.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I want to say that I agree with what the Senator has said.

Mr. REED. Why, I know the Senator must agree with me.

Mr. OVERMAN. As the Senator referred to me, not having heard what I said in reply to the Senator from Iowa——

Mr. REED. I know the Senator must agree with me. I am protesting—I protested before, and I protest again—against this doctrine which is being taught here in the Chamber of the United States Senate, that we are now to disregard the Constitution.

Mr. CUMMINS. If I may suggest to the Senator from Missouri, what gave rise to this colloquy between the Senator from North Carolina and myself was this: I asked him whether he thought it would be constitutional, if a majority of the Members of Congress believed it to be necessary, to pass a law making it a crime to publish anything in any newspaper, and making it a crime for a citizen to speak on any subject. The Senator from North Carolina very logically and very quickly responded that if Congress believed it to be necessary, such a law could be passed in conformity with the Constitution. I do not believe that he is correct in his conclusion.

I had adverted before to the suggestion that ultimately it is a judicial question. Whatever law we pass relating to the public press will ultimately come to the test of a court, and the court will say, and must say, whether the law constitutes an abridgment of the freedom of the press; and if the court declares that it is an abridgment, the law will fail.

I heard it said here yesterday that every part of the Constitution must be subordinated to the war power. The power is given in the Constitution to carry on war. I rose once to ask the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL], and I now ask those who are here, this question:

Suppose Congress thought it was necessary in order better to carry on the war that Rhode Island, a State of small area, should be represented in the Senate by only one Senator, and that New Mexico, a State of great territory but sparsely populated, should be represented by four Senators. Does the Senator from North Carolina think that we could pass a law for the conduct of the war ignoring the provisions of the Constitution with regard to the composition of the Senate? And, if not, why; if the theory advanced by the Senator from Rhode Island and the Senator from New Mexico is sound; if every clause of the Constitution must yield to the powers that we undoubtedly have to raise armies and navies and to carry on war?

That thought must be dismissed. There may come a time when all the territory of the United States, or any part of the territory of the United States can be subjected to martial law. That time will come, as suggested by the Senator from Missouri, whenever the courts are not accessible, when events have overridden civilization sufficiently so that neither the citizen nor the Government can appeal to the courts. Then, in the very nature of things, necessarily martial law is substituted for civil law. But that time I hope will never come. At least no one will contend that it has yet arrived, and up to this moment we are living under the Constitution; we are living under the safeguards with which it surrounds the citizen; and we are living under the powers which the Constitution grants to Congress.

Does the Senator from North Carolina—do any of the Senators who believe that the Constitution can be suspended at will believe that we could declare that one who is brought to trial under the very act that we are passing can be tried without a jury? And if not, why not? If the war power is overpowering and overwhelming and sweeps everything before it, and we believe that the sympathies of a jury would prevent prompt conviction, why not declare that the accused can be tried before a judge and convicted of a capital offense and punished for it without the intervention of a jury?

Mr. OVERMAN. I do not understand that any Senator has contended on this floor that there is anything in this act which suspends the Constitution, but the argument has been that it is within the Constitution.

Mr. CUMMINS. I think that is true of most of the Senators who have spoken about it, but whenever the subject has been mentioned there has seemed to be an inclination on the part of some Senators to insist that there is no limit to the power of Congress when we are dealing with the question of war. I for one can not accept any such interpretation of the Constitution or any such standard for the duty of a Senator. I believe that the courts, if this statute is passed in the form in which it is now proposed, will declare it to be unconstitutional, because it is an unreasonable and unnecessary abridgment of the freedom of the press.

Mr. KING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. KING. I should like to ask the Senator if he does not differentiate between the act itself as a legitimate exercise of the power of Congress to enact it and the proceedings of the President or the censorship board under the act? That is to say, may not Congress legitimately exercise its power to restrain publications that would be injurious to the military success of the Government and aid the enemy, and yet some person to whom the power might be delegated to formulate and promulgate reasonable rules and regulations under that law might formulate and promulgate unreasonable ones, so that their rule might be held to be unconstitutional, and yet the act itself be constitutional?

Mr. CUMMINS. I can very readily conceive a case such as is put by the Senator from Utah. This paragraph might be very easily amended so as to bring it within the rule which he announces and leave the situation so that if anything fell it would be the regulation of the President and not the law. But, in my opinion, that is not true of this particular phraseology. I think we are committing to the President the power to make a regulation for secrecy upon a breadth of subjects which, in and of itself, is unconstitutional, if the President exercises the power, and if he does not the question could never arise.

Now, I do not agree with some of the analysis or interpretation of the bill submitted yesterday, that it contemplates a board of censors and an effort to prevent publication before the fact; at least, I do not understand the paragraph in that way. We have a board of censors now, and it has been organized for the purpose I assume of preventing the disclosure of information through the newspapers or determining what information shall be given to the newspapers. I have no objection whatever to it. I think it is entirely reasonable and an entirely proper thing to do. If I understand this paragraph it intends to give to the President the power to prescribe general rules and regulations

which take the place of law, which are in themselves law, which, being violated, subject the offender to the punishment mentioned in the section.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. If it would not interrupt the Senator, I should like to get his view as to the necessity of subsection (c), because the Senator knows that subsection (b) is in almost the exact phraseology and covers practically every offense that could be committed under a regulation based upon subsection (c), the only difference I see being that in one instance an intent is necessary to constitute the crime, and in the other the intent does not exist. I should like to get the Senator's view as to any necessity whatsoever for subsection (c).

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator is right in regard to the construction of paragraph (b). It is in the identical language of the original (c), except that in order to constitute a crime there must be an intent that the information shall be communicated to the enemy, and it does not require the intervention of a regulation prescribed by the President.

In answer to the other inquiry I may be permitted to say this: It is quite likely that there will come a time in the progress of the war when absolute secrecy, without regard to the intent of the person who receives the information or communicates it, shall be preserved. I do not think the time has come. I agree with the sentiment of the editorial which was read at the desk a few moments ago that we ought to advance our espionage, we ought to advance toward the suppression of information in which people are interested, and deeply interested, very slowly. We ought not to provoke animosity on the part of the people, suspicion on their part, by thrusting upon them at this time the rigors of paragraph (c) of this chapter. I think we will do vastly more harm than good. I think we will do our own people more injury in their attitude toward the administration and toward the conduct of affairs than we will do our armies and our navies good by silencing individuals and muzzling the press.

As I think everyone here knows, I favor the amendment of the Senator from Colorado to strike out paragraph (c), first, because I believe it to be unconstitutional, and, second, because I believe it to be unnecessary and a real harm in the progress of the war. I think that the President, through the board which is already constituted, will be able to preserve the vital information concerning the Army and the Navy which ought not to reach the enemy, and I think it will be infinitely better to proceed for a time, anyhow, under that arrangement than to pass this paragraph. But I am assuming that that is not in accord with the majority sentiment of the Senate, and I am endeavoring to point out my reason for offering the amendment which has just been read and which is now before the Senate.

If we pass any law just now, I should like it to be a constitutional law. If we pass any law just now upon this subject, I hope it will be one which will not offend the free-born American citizen upon whose patriotism and through whose enthusiasm the war must be brought to a successful conclusion. I think it will be a great mistake to try at this time to draw the veil of secrecy over everything that may pertain to our public defense. I think we will chill many a glowing heart, and we will instill suspicion into many a generous mind when we attempt to give to the President the power which this paragraph gives him.

My amendment differs mainly from the committee's proposal in this, that it limits the subjects upon which the President can make the regulations of secrecy to the movement of our Army and our Navy—that is, our armed force—and to our plans for military and naval operations. I think the court will hold, if the question is ever submitted to it, that that does not constitute an abridgment of the freedom of the press or an abridgment of the freedom of speech. I think, upon the doctrine that Alexander Hamilton himself laid down so eloquently and conclusively in the somewhat famous libel case which involved Thomas Jefferson, a statute of that kind can be sustained.

But when we advance beyond that and take in or embrace all the things in the country which may relate to the public defense, and when we attempt to close the columns of the newspapers to all information relating to everything which may be interesting to the enemy but which touches the national defense; when we attempt to lay the obligation upon every citizen that he shall not publish or communicate, for there is no difference between the two words in substance; when we attempt to prohibit every citizen from saying anything with regard to the vast multitude of subjects which relate to the public defense, I think we offend the Constitution; I think it is an abridgment of the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, and I think any court in America to which that question is submitted will declare that such a law followed by such a regulation is unconstitutional, because it is an abridgment of speech and an abridgment of the freedom of the press.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me suggest that if we discover upon an examination of the statutes of the Empire of Germany a provision identical with paragraph (c), would it not be one of the plainest evidences of the autocratic power of that Government because entirely obnoxious to the very spirit of democracy?

Mr. CUMMINS. I think that is true. I heard the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] say yesterday, and I have heard it repeated often, that we ought not in the effort to overthrow inherited power and autocracy in Europe establish tyranny at home, and there is no tyranny so obnoxious as the tyranny of a law administered as this must be administered.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. GORE. In this connection I would like to ask the Senator from Iowa if the doctrine of necessity laid down by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] with respect to the Constitution does not savor of the doctrine laid down by the German Imperial Government, that necessity justifies her breach of international law? That has been her defense.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am glad the Senator from Oklahoma has interposed that suggestion. While the Senator from North Carolina is one of the most patriotic Senators in this body and one of the most esteemed citizens of the Republic, the doctrine which he has announced is the doctrine of despotic, autocratic power, unrestricted, untrammeled power, sustained only by the thin veneer of necessity. That is the very thing that it is our mission to overthrow in this wicked world, and I am sorry to begin the first great war to enforce these righteous and everlasting doctrines of human right by overthrowing in our own country the most priceless heritage bequeathed to us from the valor, the courage, and the patriotism of former years.

Mr. THOMAS. Necessity is always the plea of tyrants.

Mr. CUMMINS. Senators, it is not necessary that we do a thing of this sort at this time. If the time ever comes that was gloomily anticipated by the Senator from North Carolina, and if we can not prosecute the war under the Constitution, if we have to abandon all these safeguards, throw aside all the work of our forefathers, and call the people of this country together to organize another government of a different character, let us deal with the problems of that situation when it arises.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. WALSH. I understood the Senator to say, and I am very glad to hear him assert, that the Congress has, in his judgment, the power to legislate upon this subject; that is, to prevent information from getting to the enemy concerning the movements of troops, and so on, and that without abridging the freedom of the press.

Mr. CUMMINS. I think there is a field in which it can legislate.

Mr. WALSH. Will the Senator enunciate for us the principle which would enable us to differentiate between that information and——

Mr. CUMMINS. There is no principle.

Mr. WALSH. Is it not the principle of necessity?

Mr. CUMMINS. No.

Mr. WALSH. Is it not within the power of Congress to legislate so far as is necessary in order to do that?

Mr. CUMMINS. Precisely.

Mr. WALSH. And is not that the test?

Mr. CUMMINS. I think so. But it can not determine what is necessary.

Mr. WALSH. Who can?

Mr. CUMMINS. The Supreme Court of the United States will ultimately determine that question.

Mr. WALSH. Of course, it must determine it upon some rule. I want the Senator to give us the rule.

Mr. CUMMINS. I have given the rule, when the Senator was not here; that is, I discussed that phase of it.

Otherwise, the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States means nothing. If Congress can determine for itself whether a given law is an abridgment of the freedom of the press, then there is no merit or protection in the first amendment; then we have arrived at a construction for which the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN] has been so long contend-

ing, namely, that it was an impertinence for the courts to attempt to determine whether a given law of Congress was within or without the constitutional powers.

Mr. WALSH. I have certainly not heard any of the advocates of this measure insist that Congress is the final arbiter. Certainly I have not asserted anything of the kind. I have endeavored to lay down some rule which would differentiate that which falls within the power of Congress from that which falls without the power of Congress. I have not heard it asserted by anyone upon this floor that Congress may pass any law that it sees fit to pass upon this matter and that it is the final arbiter.

Mr. CUMMINS. Certainly not. I asserted what I did in order that the Senator from Montana might understand the course of my argument. I assume that the first amendment means something; that it means that Congress shall not pass a law abridging the freedom of the press. Now, some one must ultimately determine whether a given law passed by Congress does abridge the freedom of the press, and I know of no other authority save the courts of the United States which can determine that question.

Mr. WALSH. Neither does "the Senator from Montana" know of any other method, but Congress is obliged to form its own judgment about the matter.

Mr. CUMMINS. Precisely; it must exercise its own judgment in the passage of the law, and I suppose that the provision of the Constitution as well as any law that we may pass upon any subject must be finally tested in the crucible of reasonableness. I know the word I have just used is indefinite, but there is no other test whatever. It can not be said that any law which may affect the character of the information which a newspaper publisher may give in his columns is an abridgment of the freedom of the press. I can not accept that as the proper interpretation of the amendment. Nor can I go to the length others have gone here to-day, that any statute which we might pass in our desire to defend the country or in the exercise of our war power is not an abridgment of the freedom of the press. I asked the Senator from North Carolina before the Senator from Montana came in, and I would like to put the question to him, whether he thinks that a law passed at this moment prohibiting the issuance or publication of any newspaper during the period of the war and commanding absolute silence on the part of every citizen during the same period on every subject would be constitutional?

Mr. WALSH. That is very simple. I should say not.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from Montana thinks it would not be constitutional?

Mr. WALSH. I think it would not.

Mr. CUMMINS. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I do not see how there could be any doubt about that.

Mr. CUMMINS. If not, it must be because, among other things, it would abridge the freedom of speech and abridge the freedom of the press. There might be other reasons also for striking down a law of that kind. I quite agree with that.

Mr. WALSH. I should like to know of the Senator from Iowa, because I should like to vote advisedly upon his amendment, what the significance is in his amendment of the language "not abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." He proposes that the President shall be authorized to make regulations, not abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Mr. CUMMINS. I answered that also in response to an inquiry put by the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING], but I am very glad to answer it again. The only significance which those words have is to remind the people of the United States that we still remember that there is a Constitution, under which we make our laws.

Mr. WALSH. It is educative in character.

Mr. CUMMINS. Educative and psychological.

Mr. GORE. And reminiscent.

Mr. CUMMINS. We are in danger of forgetting that there is a Constitution. There was much said here yesterday that would furnish proof for the charge that we were indifferent about the Constitution or cared not whether we had one or not, and believed that we could supersede it and suspend it whenever we thought the public necessity required. I inserted those words to preserve in the minds of the people the thought that we were still enacting legislation under the Constitution.

Mr. WALSH. I trust the Senator did not draw any inference from anything said by "the Senator from Montana" on that subject.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. CUMMINS. I yield.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I am interested, Mr. President, in the scope of the substitute proposed by the Senator from Iowa. It authorizes the President to prescribe and promulgate reasonable rules and regulations for the purpose of preventing a disclosure to the public, and thereby to the enemy, of information with respect to the movement and disposition of any of the armed forces of the United States or of the plans of naval or military operations. I ask the Senator what is the necessity of conferring upon the President that power. Does he not already have that power as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy?

Mr. CUMMINS. Undoubtedly.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Why the necessity, then, of the amendment?

Mr. CUMMINS. If the purpose is not obvious, I am afraid I can not make it clear. I assume that the President can, in so far as his supervision goes, prevent the disclosure by the several departments of information relating to the Army and the Navy; but suppose it is disclosed to individuals or to the newspapers, then the President's power ceases and the individual who communicates or the individual who publishes can not be punished. The purpose of this paragraph is to inflict punishment upon the person who in violation of the rules of the President discloses to the public the information. I think that is the only object.

Mr. President, I have occupied the time of the Senate much longer than I intended. My only apology, so far as the latter part of my observations is concerned, is that the constitutional inquiries which have been raised respecting this part of the bill will be raised again, not in the exact form in which we have been considering them but in other forms as we approach later chapters of the measure; and I wanted to put on record my dissent from what seems to be the view of many who favor this legislation—that there could be no unconstitutional enactments under the war power.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, there seems to me to be very little difference between subsection (c) in the pending bill as it is proposed to be amended and the substitute offered by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], with the exception of the words "not abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." The question seems to have been very fully discussed during this debate as to whether or not subsection (c) should be adopted. It seems to me as a layman, and not as a lawyer, that we are standing on technicalities and that we should not at this time give so much attention to a merely technical question as to the constitutionality of a bill or an amendment as we should to the real need of such legislation for the benefit of the country.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], for whom I have the greatest respect, had read into the RECORD during his remarks an editorial from one of the Iowa newspapers, expressing what he said was his view very completely or in a concrete manner on this subject. I read in the Washington Post this morning an editorial entitled "The Government's war power." That editorial expresses my views on this question so thoroughly and completely that I will ask that the Secretary read it into the RECORD at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested. The Chair hears no objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE GOVERNMENT'S WAR POWER.

Much valuable time is wasted in discussing the question whether Congress has the constitutional power to regulate the press for the purpose of preventing publication of information which might be of value to the enemy.

If legislators and others considering the subject would merely bear in mind that a state of war exists, their doubts would be cleared.

The people in forming this Government intended it to endure forever, and therefore they gave it the power to defend itself. The Government may do anything necessary to prevent its own destruction. It may regulate or hold in abeyance many rights which can not constitutionally be violated by Congress in time of peace.

The laws of war are not made by Congress. Yet the United States can enforce those laws. When a state of war is declared the President and Congress are endowed with extraordinary powers, superseding in many points the powers they possess in a state of peace. Their war powers are just as constitutional as their peace powers; otherwise the Constitution would contain within itself incompatible provisions.

The framers of the Constitution discussed the question of war powers, and wisely decided to leave the Constitution silent as to details. They did not wish to tie the hands of the Government in any struggle it might have to maintain its own existence. If necessary, Congress and the President can suppress free speech, regulate the press, deprive men of life without trial by jury, take property without due process of law, and do many other acts which are prohibited by the Constitution. Abraham Lincoln clapped men in jail, suppressed newspapers, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, and finally swept away $400,000,000 worth of property without due process of law, all in strict obedience to his constitutional power and duty. He could not have done this in time of peace.

John Quincy Adams, discussing the war power, said in Congress:

"Sir, in the authority given to Congress by the Constitution to declare war, all the powers incidental to war are, by necessary implication, conferred upon the Government of the United States. Now, the powers incidental to war are derived not from their internal municipal source but from the laws and usages of nations. There are in the authority of Congress and of the Executive two classes of powers, altogether different in their nature, and often incompatible with each other—the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations and restricted by provisions prescribed within the Constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usages of nations. This power is tremendous; it is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property, and of life."

Another great authority said:

"The sovereign and almost dictatorial powers—existing only in actual war; ending when war ends—to be used in self-defense, are, while they last, as lawful, as constitutional, as sacred, as the administration of justice by judicial courts in times of peace. They may be dangerous; war itself is dangerous; but danger does not make them unconstitutional. If the Commander in Chief orders the Army to seize the arms and ammunition of the enemy; * * * to stop the press from aiding and comforting the enemy by betraying our military plans; * * * the pretension that in so doing he is violating the Constitution is not only erroneous, but it is a plea in behalf of treason. To set up the rules of civil administration as overriding and controlling the laws of war, is to aid and abet the enemy."

Another statement of the matter is as follows:

"It has been said that 'amidst arms the laws are silent.' It would be more just to say, that while war rages, the rights which in peace are sacred, must and do give way to the higher right—the right of public safety—the right which the country, the whole country, claims to be protected from its enemies, domestic and foreign."

Thus it can not be doubted that the power to regulate the press is a constitutional war power of Congress. The extent of regulation necessary and the method of enforcing it are the questions that should engage the attention of Congress.

Mr. REED. I desire to ask from what the article just read is taken?

Mr. BRADY. I stated it was published in this morning's Washington Post.

Mr. President, this discussion has necessarily been carried on largely by the lawyers in the Chamber. For that reason I have requested to have this editorial read as expressing my views. The conclusion of the editorial is:

Thus it can not be doubted that the power to regulate the press is a constitutional war power of Congress. The extent of regulation necessary and the method of enforcing it are the questions that should engage the attention of Congress.

Mr. President, after listening to this discussion, it seems to me that it has been conceded that under the Constitution Congress has the right, as a war power, to regulate the press. That being the case, all that we can do at this time is to decide for ourselves, so far as we can, how far we can go along the lines of regulating the press. It seems to me that the question to be decided is whether or not there is a necessity for this legislation at this time, and, if it is necessary, we should speedily enact it into law, so that we may go on with other necessary and useful legislation.

I believe that we should give the press the largest possible scope in the way of publicity. I believe that the editors of this country are just as loyal a class of men as can be found within the confines of our Nation. While we are regulating every other class, even under the substitute offered by the Senator from Iowa, I see no reason why we should not put a reasonable regulation upon the press, which they are ready and willing to have placed upon them. The only time when these prohibited acts will be punished will be when they are committed in a manner which is in violation of the rules and regulations laid down by the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy. I believe that we have a right to confer upon the President the power to make these regulations. That right is conceded in the amendment of the Senator from Iowa, for his amendment, in line 1, reads:

In time of war the President is hereby authorized to prescribe and promulgate reasonable rules and regulations.

If the President has that right—and every amendment which has been offered proposes to confer that right upon him—let us not handicap him by placing in this proposed law anything that will be injurious in any way to the plans that we must necessarily carry out if we are going to win this war.

We are to-day facing the greatest crisis that this Nation has ever faced, and the emergency demands that each and every citizen do his utmost for his country and for his country's cause. For that reason I am willing to give and take. In our committee work, on which we have been very busy for the last three or four weeks, I have said time and time again, and I repeat it, what I want to do is to forget partisanship and to work hand in hand with every man who is willing to do anything which is necessary to be done to strengthen our country in this war.

It seems to me that we can do nothing better than to enact subsection (c) as modified by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH]. Then we shall be in a shape to go on and pass the bill and take up another measure, which I believe is of even greater importance. When that measure shall have been passed, we can then commence the preparation which we must commence for a long and hard struggle and contest.

Let us not presume for one single minute that this war is going to be won easily; let us not presume for a moment that any preparations that we may make are going to stop the advance of the German Army whenever it can make an advance. They do not understand or appreciate the strength of this country. Their people are not allowed to understand or to know the conditions in this country nor what the entrance of this country into the war at this time means; nor do I believe that all of our citizens have awakened to a realization of the fact that we are actually at war with the most powerful military nation on earth; nor do I believe that all of our American citizens realize what this war means. In my opinion it means either the triumph or downfall of democracy; it means that our people must make great sacrifices and endure great hardships; must raise large sums of money; must fight real battles; it means that every man will be called upon to do his full part.

The young men whom we are going to call to arms, the boys from 19 to 25, who will fight the battles of the country, as the boys of past generations have fought the battles of the Republic, are not going to stop and ask whether any particular act is constitutional; they are not going to lie down and rest while somebody decides or asks the Supreme Court to decide whether it is right for them to go ahead or stay where they are; they are going to shoulder their guns and do their duty as they see it.

What we need in this country to-day is fighting men. We have voted $7,000,000,000 for war purposes; we are going to lend the allies $3,000,000,000 of this money, which is right and proper, and which I strongly favor; but, at the same time, let us not make a display of vulgar wealth and stand back and ask others to go to the trenches. Mr. President, it seems to me that to-day, in this hour of trial in our country, what we need is fewer constitutional lawyers and more fighting men; and I do hope that we may agree on and enact into law a measure that will enable us to go on and make the preparations that we must necessarily make for the great struggle with which the Nation is face to face to-day. Let us stop quibbling over technicalities. Let us speed up the legislation necessary to meet this emergency, and place power and authority where it can be used effectively for protection, efficiency, and beneficial results—more power and authority than we would give in times of peace, but these are not times of peace. Therefore we should place our country on a war footing and do it at once.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I merely want to occupy the time of the Senate for a few moments; I am going to discuss a constitutional question notwithstanding what my good friend, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BRADY], has said.

The very distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] has challenged the constitutionality of paragraph (c). I can not agree with him, and briefly I want to state my reasons why. I think everyone who has read what has been contained in the press of the United States for the last year or two will agree that many things have been printed in some few papers which, if they were not treasonable in character, were very near the border line, and if some of the articles had been printed in some of the countries of the Old World the publications in which they appeared would have been suppressed and the editors would have been lined up against a stone wall and shot. The papers of that character are very few in number, but they have spread poison in many localities.

I am not unmindful of the great blessings that freedom of speech and of press afford to this country, and as between a restricted press and an unbridled press, I prefer the unbridled press; but this provision in the bill has been discussed largely with reference to its effect as an abridgment of free speech and of a free press. It applies no more to one than it does to the other, and I want to call attention to one or two sections of the Constitution which I think justify the passing of this bill.

Before I do that, however, I think we can all agree upon one or two principles of construction: First, that in order to pass a law we must either find the power in the express language of the Constitution or it must be incidental to the exercise of the expressed power; second, I think we will all agree upon the principle of construction that where two subjects matter are treated of in the Constitution the provision in respect to them must be so construed as to give full force and effect to both. The one must not be so construed as to destroy or paralyze the other.

Now, our friends who have taken the position that paragraph (c) is a violation of the first amendment of the Constitution because it is an abridgment of the freedom of the press and of free speech have overlooked, it seems to me, the third section of Article III of the Constitution on the subject of treason; and I desire to call attention expressly to its language. It defines treason as follows:

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

That is very comprehensive language. That is the one crime which is defined by the Constitution itself, but Congress has not been left without some power with respect to treason. I do not think that Congress can either add to or subtract from the constitutional definition; but we have power with respect to treason, because in the next paragraph Congress is expressly given power to declare the punishment of treason. Under that provision we can make that punishment death or imprisonment or fine.

During the Civil War the Congress enacted section 5332 of the Revised Statutes, defining treason and providing that one who was found guilty of this crime could be punished by death or could be fined and imprisoned. Clearly they had in mind then, as the constitutional fathers had, that there were different varieties of treason to be dealt with in different ways, according to the enormity of the offense. So the committee in charge of this bill has provided different penalties for different classes of acts; and in this particular section they say that the President shall have the power to adopt certain regulations, and that a violation of those regulations shall be punishable by fine or imprisonment. In other words, we have the right to say that certain treasonable acts shall be punishable by death, certain others by imprisonment, certain others by fine; and this provision of this bill, in my judgment, is nothing more than a determination of the classes of treason that shall be punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both. I do not think that when we pass this bill we are going beyond the power that is conferred upon the Congress by this section of the Constitution I have referred to.

A good many Senators who have been discussing this bill have debated it as if it applied only to the privileges of the press. They have forgotten that some of the printed matter or other information which might be circulated would of itself constitute a treasonable act. I do not think that anyone would claim that freedom of the press or free speech should be regarded as a shield behind which acts of treason could be committed against the Government of the United States.

Information at one time may be perfectly innocent; at another time it might be fraught with the gravest consequences if put in circulation.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. POMERENE. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, assuming that the Senator's position is the correct one, does he think that we have the power by an express statute or by providing for Executive regulation to create a system of offenses out of acts therein designated without regard to the intent with which those acts were committed?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator has asked a very comprehensive question. I do not know that I can have in mind all of the acts which he may have, but——

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I have——

Mr. POMERENE. If the Senator will allow me just a moment, I was going to discuss the limits which might hedge this legislation.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will permit me, what I had in mind was paragraph (c). The very acts against which the penalties are provided bring them into activity and make them effective, no matter how innocent or ignorant the perpetrator of the offense may have been.

Mr. POMERENE. I can not accept the construction which the Senator makes.

Mr. THOMAS. I think, if the Senator will read it, he will find that, regardless of intent, regardless of knowledge, regardless of everything, the commission of the offense at once invokes the statute and makes the person committing it subject to its penalties.

Mr. POMERENE. With all due respect to the Senator, when he makes that statement he forgets the further provision, first, that this must be information which might be of use to the enemy; secondly, that the power here conferred upon the Presi- of free speech have overlooked, it seems to me, th third sction

Mr. THOMAS. I merely wish to say that I do not forget any of those things. On the contrary, I have them in mind.

Mr. POMERENE. I do not think the Senator has given to them the force and effect to which they are entitled when we are considering the pending bill.

Now, allow me to say I concede—as every Senator must concede—that regulations might be prescribed which would be unconstitutional; but it is not to be presumed that any such regulations will be made. I am not claiming that the President has, or that he ought to have, arbitrary power, or that he could arbitrarily exercise this power here. Whatever he does by virtue of this provision of the bill, if it becomes a law, must be within the scope of the Constitution itself. And now, as I have taken the position that the constitutionality of this bill could be defended under the treason section, I want to suggest further that we have a broad and comprehensive definition of treason. It may consist in levying war, or it may consist in adhering to our enemies, giving them aid or comfort.

What would aid and comfort be? The constitutional fathers did not attempt to define those words; Congress has not attempted to define them, except perhaps as it is contained in this bill; and we are here seeking only to give a congressional construction to the definition of treason as contained in the Constitution itself.

If I am right in my position that the authority for this bill is contained in Article III, section 3, of the Constitution, no regulation could be adopted by the President or by the Congress which would not be embraced within the definition of treason. There is no power under the Constitution here which would give us the right to declare a thing treasonable which is not within this definition.

So it seems to me that while we all want to be very careful about trespassing upon the rights of a free press, or upon our people in the exercise of the freedom of speech, we must at the same time be careful lest men, while pretending to exercise the freedom of the press or the freedom of speech, may, in fact, be committing acts which are treasonable in character.

I believe, also, but I will not take the time to discuss it, that we have the power to confer upon the President this authority under the war power. As I say, however, I do not care to discuss that now.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, twice I have taken the floor to protest against the doctrine which has been announced directly or indirectly by several Senators, that because we are at war the Constitution of the United States is suspended. In connection with those statements, we have had read by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING] a letter from Mr. Lincoln to the effect that he had felt justified, on one occasion, in disregarding the Constitution.

Some Members of the Senate apparently believe that the Constitution ceases to be of any force when we engage in a war, or at least that the war power of the Government immediately supersedes or dominates the Constitution.

Mr. President, if that doctrine had not been announced here so often, I would not take the time of the Senate to discuss it. I do not intend now really to discuss it. I do, however, intend to put once more in the RECORD a decision of the Supreme Court that never ought to be forgotten. I refer to Ex Parte Milligan, reported in Fourth Wallace. After I have called attention to certain parts of the opinion I hope we will not hear any further talk in this Chamber about disregarding the Constitution.

Milligan, a citizen of Indiana, was on the 21st day of October, 1864, arrested and brought before a military commission convened at Indianapolis by order of Gen. Hovey, commanding the military district of Indiana. He was afterwards tried before a court-martial, summoned by Gen. Hovey, and found guilty of conspiracy against the Government of the United States—affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, and so forth. Milligan was sentenced to death, and the sentence approved by the President. He thereupon sued out a writ of habeas corpus before the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Indiana. That court dividing in its opinion, the cause was brought direct in the Supreme Court of the United States. The opinion is by Mr. Justice Davis.

It is interesting to know that at this time a writ of habeas corpus had been suspended by the act of March 3, 1863, but that act also made provision for the trial of persons charged with crime against the United States. Milligan claimed the right to a trial before the civil tribunals, seeking shelter under the provision that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on presentment by a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces

or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger, and so forth. The court declared:

No graver question was ever considered by this court, nor one which more nearly concerns the rights of the whole people, for it is the birthright of every American citizen when charged with crime to be tried and punished according to law.

Referring to the clause just quoted, and to the clauses providing for trial by jury and to be informed of the nature of the charge, and so forth, the court declared:

Time has proven the discernment of our ancestors; for even these provisions, expressed in such plain words that it would seem the ingenuity of man could not evade them, are now after the lapse of more than 70 years sought to be avoided.

Continuing, Mr. Justice Davis said:

Those great and good men foresaw that troublous times would arise, when rulers and people would become restive under restraint, and seek by sharp and decisive measures to accomplish ends deemed just and proper; and that the principles of constitutional liberty would be in peril, unless established by irrepealable law. The history of the world had taught them that what was done in the past might be attempted in the future. *The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine, involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism,* but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false; for the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it, which are necessary to preserve its existence; as has been happily proved by the result of the great effort to throw off its just authority.

Then, discussing the question of what constitutes a trial within the meaning of the Constitution, and declaring that a military tribunal is not a judicial tribunal within the meaning of the Constitution, the court proceeded to say——

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will the Senator kindly tell the Senate who wrote that decision?

Mr. REED. Mr. Justice Davis.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, if it will not interrupt the Senator, I will ask if he will not put the entire syllabus in the case in the RECORD as a part of his remarks?

Mr. REED. I shall be very glad to do so.

The syllabus is as follows:

EX PARTE MILLIGAN.

1. Circuit courts, as well as the judges thereof, are authorized, by the fourteenth section of the judiciary act, to issue the writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of inquiring into the cause of commitment, and they have jurisdiction, except in cases where the privilege of the writ is suspended, to hear and determine the question whether the party is entitled to be discharged.

2. The usual course of proceeding is for the court, on the application of the prisoner for a writ of habeas corpus, to issue the writ, and on its return to hear and dispose of the case; but where the cause of imprisonment is fully shown by the petition the court may, without issuing the writ, consider and determine whether, upon the facts presented in the petition, the prisoner, if brought before the court, would be discharged.

3. When the circuit court renders a final judgment refusing to discharge the prisoner, he may bring the case here by writ of error; and if the judges of the circuit court, being opposed in opinion, can render no judgment, he may have the point upon which the disagreement happens certified to this tribunal.

4. A petition for a writ of habeas corpus, duly presented, is the institution of a cause on behalf of the petitioner; and the allowance or refusal of the process, as well as the subsequent disposition of the prisoner, is matter of law and not of discretion.

5. A person arrested after the passage of the act of March 3, 1863, "relating to habeas corpus and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases," and under the authority of said act, was entitled to his discharge if not indicted or presented by the grand jury convened at the first subsequent term of the circuit or district court of the United States for the district.

6. The omission to furnish a list of the persons arrested to the judges of the circuit or district court as provided in the said act did not impair the right of such person, if not indicted or presented, to his discharge.

7. Military commissions organized during the late Civil War, in a State not invaded and not engaged in rebellion, in which the Federal courts were open, and in the proper and unobstructed exercise of their judicial functions, had no jurisdiction to try, convict, or sentence for any criminal offense a citizen who was neither a resident of a rebellious State nor a prisoner of war, nor a person in the military or naval service. And Congress could not invest them with any such power.

8. The guaranty of trial by jury contained in the Constitution was intended for a state of war as well as a state of peace, and is equally binding upon rulers and people at all times and under all circumstances.

9. The Federal authority having been unopposed in the State of Indiana, and the Federal courts open for the trial of offenses and the redress of grievances, the usages of war could not, under the Constitution, afford any sanction for the trial there of a citizen in civil life, not connected with the military or naval service, by a military tribunal, for any offense whatever.

10. Cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the militia in time of war or public danger are excepted from the necessity of presentment or indictment by a grand jury, and the right of trial by jury in such cases is subject to the same exceptions.

11. Neither the President nor Congress nor the judiciary can disturb any one of the safeguards of civil liberty incorporated into the Constitution, except so far as the right is given to suspend in certain cases the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

12. A citizen not connected with the military service and resident in a State where the courts are open and in the proper exercise of their jurisdiction can not, even when the privilege of writ of habeas corpus is suspended, be tried, convicted, or sentenced otherwise than by the ordinary courts of law.

13. Suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus does not suspend the writ itself. The writ issues as a matter of course, and on its return the court decides whether the applicant is denied the right of proceeding any further.

14. A person who is a resident of a loyal State, where he was arrested, who was never resident in any State engaged in rebellion, nor connected with the military or naval service, can not be regarded as a prisoner of war.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. I will state that the petitioner in that case was represented in the Supreme Court by two of the greatest lawyers of their generation—Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, and James A. Garfield, of Ohio, subsequently President of the United States.

Mr. REED. Since the question was asked about who wrote the decision, I will state that the result was concurred in by Mr. Justice Wayne, Mr. Justice Swayne, and Mr. Justice Miller, although they did not agree to all of the language of Mr. Justice Davis. The case has never been challenged as law. It will not be challenged now by any man who has any reverence for the Constitution.

The court continues discussing this military tribunal, and states:

They can not justify on the mandate of the President, because he is controlled by law and has his appropriate sphere of duty, which is to execute, not to make the laws; and there is "no unwritten criminal code to which resort can be had as a source of jurisdiction."

Now I come to a point which I think will interest the Senate, because it is very pertinent just now:

But it is said that the jurisdiction is complete under the "laws and usages of war."

It can serve no useful purpose to inquire what those laws and usages are, whence they originated, where found, and on whom they operate; they can never be applied to citizens in States which have upheld the authority of the Government, and where the courts are open and their process unobstructed. This court has judicial knowledge that in Indiana the Federal authority was always unopposed, and its courts always open to hear criminal accusations and redress grievances; and no usage of war could sanction a military trial there for any offense whatever of a citizen in civil life in no wise connected with the military service. Congress could grant no such power; and to the honor of our national legislature be it said it has never been provoked by the state of the country even to attempt its exercise. One of the plainest constitutional provisions was therefore infringed when Milligan was tried by a court not ordained and established by Congress—

And so forth.

Milligan was charged with conspiring against the Government in time of war. The court had this to say as to the doctrine of necessity:

If it was dangerous, in the distracted condition of affairs, to leave Milligan unrestrained of his liberty, because he "conspired against the Government, afforded aid and comfort to rebels, and incited the people to insurrection," the law said arrest him, confine him closely, render him powerless to do further mischief; and then present his case to the grand jury of the district, with proofs of his guilt.

The court further proceeds:

Another guaranty of freedom was broken when Milligan was denied a trial by jury. The great minds of the country have differed on the correct interpretation to be given to various provisions of the Federal Constitution; and judicial decision has been often invoked to settle their true meaning; but until recently no one ever doubted that the right of trial by jury was fortified in the organic law against the power of attack. It is now assailed; but if ideas can be expressed in words, and language has any meaning, this right—one of the most valuable in a free country—is preserved to everyone accused of crime who is not attached to the Army, or Navy, or militia in actual service.

Later the court used this language, which I commend to the attention of those who treat the Constitution lightly, particularly the Senator from Idaho, who thinks that "what we need now is fighters and not constitutional lawyers":

This privilege is a vital principle, underlying the whole administration of criminal justice; it is not held by sufferance and can not be frittered away on any plea of State or political necessity. When peace prevails and the authority of the Government is undisputed there is no difficulty of preserving the safeguards of liberty, for the ordinary modes of trial are never neglected and no one wishes it otherwise; but if society is disturbed by civil commotion—if the passions of men are aroused and the restraints of law weakened, if not disregarded—*these safeguards need, and should receive, the watchful care of those entrusted with the guardianship of the Constitution and laws.*

I commend that to every Senator who advanced to yonder desk and took the oath to sustain and defend and protect the Constitution of the United States. I look with astonishment—I am using the mildest word possible to employ—upon any Senator who thinks there is not sufficient time to pause in this Chamber and discuss the constitutionality of any act.

I continue reading:

In no other way can we transmit to posterity unimpaired the blessings of liberty consecrated by the sacrifices of the Revolution.

I commend the advocates and believers in martial law to this statement of the court:

It is claimed that martial law covers with its broad mantle the proceedings of this military commission. The proposition is this: That in a time of war the commander of an armed force (if in his opinion the exigencies of the country demand it, and of which he is to judge), has the power, within the lines of his military district, to suspend all civil rights and their remedies, and subject citizens, as well as soldiers, to the rule of his will.

Some people to-day believe that power is vested in Congress. Some people in 1864 believed it was vested in the military governor of a military district in the State of Indiana. I do not so believe. I believe that all power is primarily vested in the people and that the power which Congress possesses is only such power as the people by the Constitution have conferred upon Congress. Congress being compelled to look to the Constitution for every vestige of its authority, can not possess the power to nullify, suspend, or abrogate any part of the instrument from which its existence is derived. Congress can no more suspend the Constitution than could the military governor of a military district in Indiana.

I continue reading:

And in the exercise of his lawful authority can not be restrained, except by his superior officer or the President of the United States.

If this position is sound to the extent claimed, then when war exists, foreign or domestic—

We have a foreign war now—

and the country is subdivided into military departments—

That has not taken place yet—

for mere convenience, the commander of one of them can, if he chooses, within his limits, on the plea of necessity, with the approval of the Executive, substitute military force for and to the exclusion of the laws, and punish all persons, as he thinks right and proper, without fixed or certain rules.

The statement of this proposition shows its importance; for, if true, republican government is a failure and there is an end of liberty regulated by law. Martial law—

We ought to have this read every morning—

Martial law established on such a basis destroys every guaranty of the Constitution and effectually renders the "military independent of and superior to the civil power"—the attempt to do which by the King of Great Britain was deemed by our fathers such an offense that they assigned it to the world as one of the causes which impelled them to declare their independence. Civil liberty and this kind of martial law can not endure together; the antagonism is irreconcilable; and in the conflict one or the other must perish.

This Nation, as experience has proved, can not always remain at peace, and has no right to expect that it will always have wise and humane rulers sincerely attached to the principles of the Constitution. Wicked men, ambitious of power, with hatred of liberty and contempt of law, may fill the place once occupied by Washington and Lincoln; and if this right is conceded and the calamities of war again befall us, the dangers to human liberty are frightful to contemplate.

A paper war up to date, and already men are found in the Senate Chamber talking about disregarding the Constitution!

Not one of these safeguards can the President or Congress or the judiciary disturb except the one concerning the writ of habeas corpus—

Which, under certain circumstances, of course, can be suspended.

Now, Mr. President, I call attention to just one further sentence:

So sensitive were our Revolutionary fathers on this subject, although Boston was almost in a state of siege, when Gen. Gage issued his proclamation of martial law they spoke of it as "an attempt to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use of martial law." The Virginia Assembly also denounced a similar measure on the part of Gov. Dunmore "as an assumed power which the King himself can not exercise, because it annuls the law of the land and introduces the most execrable of all systems—martial law."

Now, Mr. President, I commend this doctrine to my associates here.

I want in a word to state my own position.

We are engaging in a conflict the end of which we can not see; a conflict which may happily be soon over, but which may unhappily last for many years. It may pass us by without material injury. It may, before it is concluded, drain the veins of our manhood of their red tides. I want to do everything within my power to strengthen the Nation, to render it safe, invincible against attack, and resistless in attack.

But to my mind the best way those things can be accomplished is for every man to keep his judgment cool, to act with deliberation, to proceed within the four corners of the Constitution, remembering constantly that the thing for which we contend is after all the liberty of our own people. For those who see danger in this legislation I have the utmost sympathy, and yet I do not agree with them in all respects. But in whatever we do let us not lose our heads. Let us not resort to extreme measures when extreme measures are unnecessary. This will not be the last day of Congress. Emergencies can be met as they arise; that is, certain emergencies. There are certain others that must be met immediately. There is no great occasion for division of opinion. There is no cause for Members of Congress to undertake to force upon their associates matter that is unsound or that is unnecessary at the present time. We had better try and arrive at harmonious agreements. We should attempt nothing which intelligent men may regard as an invasion of the Constitution. Let us understand in all we do that we are proceeding under the Constitution; that the declaration of war against Germany did not operate to annul the American Constitution; that it is a living thing; that it is the pillar of fire which still blazes and will continue, I trust, to give forth its light through the darkest hours of the struggle which lies ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to inquire for a moment whether the amendment of the Senator from Iowa or the amendment which I previously offered is in order. There are three pending amendments to the section, as I understand the situation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There can be only one pending amendment.

Mr. FLETCHER. The amendment of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] was agreed to.

Mr. THOMAS. I have reference to my own amendment, the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING], and the amendment of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS].

Mr. OVERMAN. I thought as the amendment of the Senator from Colorado was in part covered by the amendment of the Senator from Georgia, when that was adopted he had withdrawn his amendment.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, no.

Mr. TOWNSEND. The Senator from South Dakota withdrew his amendment, and I understood that the Senator from Colorado asked to have his amendment lie over until the other amendment was acted upon.

Mr. THOMAS. I agreed to the suggestion of the Senator having the bill in charge that it might be laid over, but it is now in order and it is before the Senate, as I understand it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa. [Putting the question.] The noes seem to have it.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. REED. I ask that the amendment be read.

Mr. GALLINGER. Pending that I make the point of no quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Harding	Myers	Shields
Borah	Hardwick	Nelson	Smith, Ga.
Brady	Hitchcock	New	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	Hughes	Norris	Smoot
Broussard	James	Overman	Sterling
Calder	Johnson, Cal.	Owen	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Swanson
Cummins	Jones, N. Mex.	Penrose	Thomas
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Phelan	Thompson
Fall	Kendrick	Pittman	Townsend
Fernald	Kenyon	Poindexter	Vardaman
Fletcher	King	Pomerene	Wadsworth
France	Kirby	Ransdell	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	Knox	Reed	Warren
Gallinger	La Follette	Robinson	Watson
Gerry	Lodge	Saulsbury	Weeks
Gore	McCumber	Shafroth	Williams
Gronna	McKellar	Sheppard	Wolcott

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. GOFF] is absent on account of illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. THOMPSON. I wish to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] on official business, and also to announce the absence of the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE] on account of sickness.

Mr. SWANSON. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. MARTIN] is detained from the Senate on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I have been requested to announce that the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH] is unavoidably detained from the Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-two Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. OVERMAN. Through a misunderstanding I called for the yeas and nays. I understood the Chair to announce "The 'ayes' appear to have it" on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa, when he stated "The 'noes' appear to have it." I therefore withdraw the call for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair announced that the noes seemed to have it. The Chair again makes the announcement that the noes seem to have it.

Mr. GALLINGER. I will ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. THOMAS. The motion which I made yesterday to strike out paragraph (c) and certain words in paragraph (b), if I understand the parliamentary situation, is the first thing to be considered, and if so, then I want to demand the yeas and nays on that amendment. I have modified the amendment by confining it entirely to paragraph (c), and I think we should take the vote upon that amendment before voting upon the amendment of the Senator from Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair was not at the time the Senator from Colorado offered his amendment in the chair. The Senate has proceeded to vote upon the amendment of the Senator from Iowa and is now taking the vote upon that amendment. The yeas and nays have been called for and the call sustained. The Secretary will call the roll on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS].

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask that it be read once more.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the amendment.

The SECRETARY. Strike out, beginning with the word "and," in line 20, page 8, down to and including the word "imprisonment," in line 9, page 9, and in lieu of the words to be stricken out insert:

In time of war the President is hereby authorized to prescribe and promulgate reasonable rules and regulations, not abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, for the purpose of preventing the disclosure to the public, and thereby to the enemy, of information with respect to the movement and disposition of any of the armed forces of the United States or the plans of naval or military operations; and whoever in time of war shall willfully violate any such rule or regulation shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000, or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment: *Provided, however*, That no such rule or regulation shall apply to the proceedings of the Congress of the United States nor to the debates therein.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I hope the amendment will be voted down.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I hope it will be voted up.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CURTIS (when Mr. HALE's name was called). I was requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. He is paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD].

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (when Mr. LANE's name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. LANE] is detained from the Chamber by illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. THOMPSON (when Mr. LEWIS's name was called). I was requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] and to state that if he were present he would vote "nay" on this question.

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN] to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] and vote "nay."

Mr. REED (when his name was called). Transferring my pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], I vote "yea."

Mr. SAULSBURY (when his name was called). Although I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] on almost all questions, we have agreed that it shall not apply to any war measure and each of us is at liberty to vote in the absence of the other. I will therefore vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina (when the name of Mr. SMITH of Arizona was called). I wish to announce that the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH] is unavoidably detained from the Chamber.

Mr. TOWNSEND (when the name of Mr. SMITH of Michigan was called). I announce for the day that my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Michigan] is absent and is paired with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED].

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE]. That Senator is absent. I transfer my pair to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] and vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce that my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], is absent on account of illness and that he is paired with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN].

Mr. THOMPSON. I wish to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] and to state that if present he would vote "nay."

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I inquire whether the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] has voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. He has not.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I withhold my vote, being paired with that Senator, and he is absent from the Chamber.

Mr. HARDING. I transfer my pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] and vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 34, nays 40, as follows:

YEAS—34.

Borah	Gore	La Follette	Sutherland
Brandegee	Gronna	Lodge	Thomas
Calder	Harding	New	Townsend
Cummins	Hardwick	Norris	Vardaman
Curtis	Johnson, Cal.	Page	Warren
Fernald	Jones, Wash.	Reed	Watson
France	Kenyon	Sherman	Weeks
Frelinghuysen	King	Shields	
Gallinger	Knox	Smoot	

NAYS—40.

Beckham	Johnson, S. Dak.	Owen	Simmons
Brady	Jones, N. Mex.	Phelan	Smith, Ga.
Broussard	Kellogg	Pittman	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Poindexter	Sterling
Fall	Kirby	Pomerene	Swanson
Fletcher	McCumber	Ransdell	Thompson
Gerry	McKellar	Robinson	Wadsworth
Hitchcock	Myers	Saulsbury	Walsh
Hughes	Nelson	Shafroth	Williams
James	Overman	Sheppard	Wolcott

NOT VOTING—22.

Ashurst	Hale	Martin	Stone
Bankhead	Hollis	Newlands	Tillman
Colt	Husting	Penrose	Trammell
Culberson	Lane	Smith, Ariz.	Underwood
Dillingham	Lewis	Smith, Md.	
Goff	McLean	Smith, Mich.	

So Mr. CUMMINS's amendment was rejected.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Will the Senator yield to me to make an announcement?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I announced a while ago that I would call up the Army bill as soon as the pending chapter was disposed of. The Senator from North Carolina consented to lay the bill temporarily aside after the conclusion of the chapter, but I understand that that will probably take all the afternoon. I will therefore state that to-morrow after the morning hour I will move to take up the bill for the increase of the Army, instead of making the motion this afternoon.

Mr. THOMAS. I now renew my motion by confining it to paragraph (c). It is to strike out all of paragraph (c) beginning with the word "whoever," on page 8, line 20, and ending with the word "imprisonment," on page 9, line 9. I ask for the yeas and nays on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. NELSON. I ask that the paragraph as it has been amended be read before the vote is taken.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Before the Senator from Colorado insists upon a vote on his amendment, will he permit me to perfect the paragraph as it stands by a slight amendment?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I move to insert on page 8, line 21, before the word "regulations," the word "reasonable."

Mr. OVERMAN. I will accept that. That is what it really means.

Mr. FLETCHER. I think that would be a mistake. The question would be whether a regulation has been violated. If it is a plain violation of the regulations the question could be raised whether the regulation was reasonable or not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. THOMAS. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

Mr. NELSON. I ask that the paragraph be read as it is now amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be read.

The SECRETARY. Subsection (c) with the connecting words, which it is now proposed to strike from the bill, as amended reads:

And (c) whoever, in time of war, in violation of reasonable regulations to be prescribed by the President, which he is hereby authorized to make and promulgate, shall publish any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, or with respect to the plans or conduct of any naval or military operations, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for or connected with, or intended for the fortification or defense of any place, or any other information relating to the public defense calculated to be useful to the enemy, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado demands the yeas and nays on agreeing to his amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered, the Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and Mr. ASHURST answered in the affirmative.

Mr. WALSH. We have not the information at all as to the question. The request was that the entire subsection be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will inform the Senator from Montana that the request was——

Mr. GALLINGER. There has been an answer to the roll call.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Secretary did not read the entire subsection.

Mr. WALSH. I want to know what I am going to vote on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that the pending question is to strike out subsection (c); and the Secretary has just read subsection (c).

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Debate is not in order.

Mr. WALSH. I want the information before I can vote.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Regular order!

Mr. WALSH. I rise to a question of information. The Secretary was requested to read the subsection, and he has not read the proviso, which constitutes a part of the subsection.

Mr. THOMAS. It does not cover that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator from Montana that the amendment of the Senator from Colorado does not propose to strike out the proviso, and the Secretary has read the portion proposed to be stricken out, which the Chair understood to be the request. The roll call having been begun, the Secretary will proceed.

The Secretary resumed the calling of the roll.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH], who is absent. Because of that I will withhold my vote. If I were permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. THOMPSON (when Mr. HUSTING's name was called). I again announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. HUSTING] and state that, if present, he would vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I desire to make the same announcement of the transfer of my pair as on the last vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. REED (when his name was called). Making the same transfer of my pair as on the last vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). Repeating the announcement concerning my pair and its transfer which I made upon the last call of the roll, I vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. THOMPSON. I am requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], and to state that if he were present he would vote "nay."

Mr. HARDING. Repeating the same announcement of the transfer of my pair with the junior Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] to the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT], I vote "nay."

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] is paired with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD].

The result was announced—yeas 33, nays 43, as follows:

YEAS—33.

Ashurst	Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Thomas
Borah	Gallinger	Norris	Townsend
Brandegee	Gore	Page	Vardaman
Calder	Gronna	Reed	Warren
Cummins	Johnson, Cal.	Shafroth	Watson
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Sherman	Weeks
Fall	Kenyon	Shields	
Fernald	King	Smoot	
France	La Follette	Sutherland	

NAYS—43.

Beckham	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Smith, Ga.
Brady	Jones, N. Mex.	Owen	Smith, S. C.
Broussard	Kellogg	Phelan	Sterling
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Pittman	Swanson
Fletcher	Kirby	Poindexter	Thompson
Gerry	Knox	Pomerene	Trammell
Harding	McCumber	Ransdell	Wadsworth
Hardwick	McKellar	Robinson	Walsh
Hitchcock	Myers	Saulsbury	Williams
Hughes	Nelson	Sheppard	Wolcott
James	New	Simmons	

NOT VOTING—20.

Bankhead	Hale	McLean	Smith, Md.
Colt	Hollis	Martin	Smith, Mich.
Culberson	Husting	Newlands	Stone
Dillingham	Lane	Penrose	Tillman
Goff	Lewis	Smith, Ariz.	Underwood

So the amendment of Mr. THOMAS was rejected.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, lawyers differ; some of us have our own ideas about legal phraseology, and particularly with reference to legislation. I had no opportunity of explaining why I cast my vote as I did upon the amendment which has just been rejected. I have that opportunity now.

I desire to say that I should have voted for the amendment had it not been amended on the motion of the Senator from Nebraska, which, in my judgment, with due deference to the great legal knowledge of the other Senators, stultifies it and makes it ridiculous. I therefore could not by my vote assist in placing it upon the statute books.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there further amendments to this chapter? If there be no further amendments——

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, has the committee amendment, on page 9, line 16, been adopted?

Mr. FLETCHER. That question has been answered several times.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised by the Secretary that the first proviso on that page has been adopted, but not the second proviso; that the second proviso was withdrawn by the committee.

Mr. McCUMBER. Then, Mr. President, I wish to offer an amendment at the end of the subsection, and I desire simply to call the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill to the fact that, as it now reads, even though the President himself might give out any information with reference to the number of soldiers sent to any portion of the country or as to where they were destined, still it would be a criminal offense to publish such information. Inasmuch as we have placed in the hands of the President the authority to promulgate rules, which rules shall become law, the violation of which will subject the violator to imprisonment or death, it seems to me that we ought to give to the same head of the Army the authority to give out information that will not be injurious. Therefore I offer the following amendment, to come in at the end of the subsection:

Provided further, That the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, may, from time to time, give out for publication such information concerning such operations, measures, and movements of the Army and Navy as may not, in his opinion, be incompatible with the interests of the country, and the publication of such information shall not be a violation of this section.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, let the amendment be read at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will report the amendment.

The SECRETARY. On page 9, line 14, after the word "same," it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided further, That the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, may, from time to time, give out for publication such information concerning such operations, measures, and movements of the Army and Navy as may not, in his opinion, be incompatible with the interests of the country, and the publication of such information shall not be a violation of this section.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I do not understand precisely the meaning of this amendment; but, as I gathered it, it is permission upon the part of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States to give out, in his judgment, any information with reference to the movement of forces. I think that is very vital, indeed.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator who is the author of this amendment if this is an attempt to provide for a legal censorship—if that is the real object—to provide a censorship that will give permission to newspapers to publish certain things?

Mr. BORAH. The beauty of this amendment, to my mind, is that the censorship at this time is in Congress; that Congress is granting the permission to the President to give out information with reference to the forces of the United States, of which he is Commander in Chief.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Does the Senator regard that as necessary?

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, allow me to state just what the amendment means.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. REED. I asked the Senator from North Dakota a question. Certainly I yield to him.

Mr. McCUMBER. Will the Senator repeat his question?

Mr. REED. It is so long I dislike to do it; but I simply wanted to know whether or not it was the purpose of the Senator from North Dakota by this amendment to confer upon the President authority to establish a censorship which would tell the press of the country what they might publish?

Mr. McCUMBER. The bill as now drawn prohibits the publishing of any information, whether permissible or otherwise, and fixes a very severe penalty for publishing any of these facts

or anything that is covered by the regulations of the President. It does seem to me that, having conferred that enormous power upon the President of the United States, we ought to find some relief for those who might publish facts which the President himself might see fit to give out.

Mr. NELSON. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. McCUMBER. Just a moment. As the bill now reads there is no relief from the penalty that will be prescribed for a violation of any of the rules promulgated by the President.

Mr. NELSON. Will the Senator now yield to me for a question?

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] has the floor.

Mr. NELSON. Suppose the President, in the rules which he prescribes, should make an exception as to himself, what then?

Mr. McCUMBER. Well, Mr. President, suppose he does not; what then? One question answers the other. Suppose he says that it will be a crime punishable by death if a paper publishes the fact that 10,000 men have been sent from Minneapolis to the State of Washington; he publishes it himself; but if a paper publishes it, the penalty may be imprisonment. What then? Is there any relief? I have not myself favored the amendment that gives this enormous power to the President.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President——

Mr. McCUMBER. I will yield in a moment, Mr. President. I should have been in favor, as I stated the other day, of so drawing the law as to declare what information the newspapers might publish and what they might not publish.

Mr. KNOX. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. McCUMBER. Just a moment. And then providing conditions and limitations, but we have not seen fit to do that. We are now passing a bill carrying with it the authority on the part of the President to make a law from day to day in the form of regulations and promulgations and providing a punishment for the disobedience of those rules and regulations. We have made him an absolute dictator on that proposition. I do not want to take away all of his powers; but I am in favor, if we are going to give him this enormous power, that at least when the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy sees fit, as has been suggested, he might call in from day to day the representatives of the newspapers and state what information was proper to send out. If he did that, after making and promulgating a declaration that the newspapers could not publish such a thing, at least that would relieve them from the penalty. Now I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I only desire to answer the question that the Senator from North Dakota pressed upon the Senator from Minnesota in reply to the suggestion of the Senator from Minnesota that the President might protect himself by excluding himself from the operation of these regulations. The Senator from North Dakota, as I understand, replied "but suppose he did not," having, I have no doubt, in mind the safety and protection of the President. I think if it had occurred to the Senator from Minnesota he would have replied that perhaps the President would have pardoned himself, as he has the pardoning power.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I think there is an indication that an effort is being made to make fun of this matter; and I, therefore, move to lay the amendment of the Senator from North Dakota on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from North Carolina to lay on the table the amendment offered by the Senator from North Dakota.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the next chapter, if there be no further amendments to Chapter II.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, do I understand that we are going to proceed to the next chapter?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator from Ohio that all amendments which have been offered to Chapter II have been disposed of. The Chair asked some time ago whether there were further amendments.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I was engaged at the time. I have an amendment here which I desire to offer to that chapter. I offer it as a separate section to the chapter just under consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The SECRETARY. At the end of Chapter II it is proposed to add a new section, to be known as section 12, and to read as follows:

SEC. 12. When the United States is engaged in war or is threatened with war, insurrection, or invasion, upon an affidavit being made before any United States commissioner or United States district judge stating that affiant has probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed, or is about to be committed, against the laws, proclamations of the President, or Constitution of the United States, the said judge or commissioner shall issue subpœnas in the usual manner for such person or persons as the district attorney may approve for an inquiry as to the matter set out in the said affidavit. The right and authority is hereby given the several commissioners and judges to administer oaths to affiants and to witnesses under this section.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, just a word in explanation. This matter was called to my attention by the office of the United States district attorney for the southern district of Ohio. Their experience has indicated that there are many occurrences reported which ought to be investigated. I realize that the power proposed to be conferred might at times be invoked when it would cause hardship; but I think that the amendment is sufficiently guarded in that it requires an affidavit to be filed either before a district judge or a United States commissioner, and that it must have the approval of the United States district attorney. The purpose is only for investigation; and I think that it is very necessary that there be some provision of this kind embodied in the law during a time of war.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I will ask that the amendment be again stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will again state the amendment.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, it seems to me that the amendment is entirely unnecessary. If a crime has been committed, the machinery of the law to-day is sufficient for its investigation and prosecution, and it is not necessary to create a dragnet to enable any United States commissioner to issue subpœnas to inquire whether a crime has been committed. I should like to know what kind of an investigation could be made of a case where it was alleged somebody intended to commit a crime? That is going beyond any investigation that I ever heard of, and it seems to me that the amendment is entirely unnecessary.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, of course if there is a grand jury in session witnesses can be called. I have in mind one instance now to which it might be well to refer. In a certain city in the United States arms were accumulated by persons whose loyalty, at least, was suspected. This information got to the authorities. Of course, they could apply for a search warrant if that were deemed advisable and their information was sufficient to justify it; but it seems to me that no harm could come by giving to the proper officer the right to make inquiry and to get information of this character during a period of war. I would not advise this for one moment in time of peace, but I do feel that at this time there ought to be some such authority as this granted to United States district judges or to United States commissioners. The facts may be such as not to warrant arrest but to require most searching investigation.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I desire to make an inquiry of the Senator as to what his judgment would be about the operation of the proposed amendment? The amendment provides that—

When the United States is engaged in war—

That would be easy to determine, of course, but the next proposition is—

or is threatened with war, insurrection, or invasion.

Who would determine that question, and how would it be decided?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I think the question which the Senator asks is very pertinent, and I can realize that there might be some difficulty in determining when war may be threatened. I assume, of course, if the language were left as it is, that that would be determined by the judge or by the commissioner; but I mean simply to reach the present situation. I have, however, no objection to that language being stricken out of the amendment, so as to make it apply only in time of war. I ask that that be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator indicate the language he desires stricken out?

Mr. POMERENE. I ask to have stricken out the words "or is threatened with war, insurrection, or invasion."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator modifies his amendment as indicated by him.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Ohio a question. After the party who is suspected of being about to commit an offense "against the laws, proclamations of the President, or Constitution of the United States,"

has been haled before the judge and some witnesses have been examined, what then?

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator understands it is not proposed to hale the suspected party before a judge or commissioner. If one appears to make complaint he executes his affidavit, and, if it has the approval of the United States district attorney, then witnesses may be subpœnaed simply for the purpose of inquiry.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I see nothing in the amendment as printed about the United States district attorney.

Mr. POMERENE. Oh, yes.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What I read is this:

When the United States is engaged in war or is threatened with war, insurrection, or invasion, upon an affidavit being made before any United States commissioner or United States district judge stating that affiant has probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed, or is about to be committed, against the laws, proclamations of the President, or Constitution of the United States, the said judge or commissioner shall issue subpœnas in the usual manner for such person or persons as the district attorney may approve for an inquiry—

That is, the judge simply summons as witnesses such persons as the district attorney may indicate.

Mr. POMERENE. True.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. But, after the judge has examined the witnesses, what happens then?

Mr. POMERENE. They have simply acquired certain information with which to guide their future action.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. What future action could they take?

Mr. POMERENE. Why, possibly——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I have not finished the question. What future action could they take if the testimony were to disclose that somebody had in the past contemplated the commission of some crime, but had abandoned any such intention? What is to be the outcome of the inquiry?

Mr. POMERENE. If the evidence shows that a crime has been committed, then, of course, a further affidavit would be filed before the judge or commissioner charging the proper party with the offense, and the matter could be investigated.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is it a crime at some time in the past to have considered the commission of a crime?

Mr. POMERENE. Not at all.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I do not understand that this would be of much, if any, benefit, except as a piece of moral suasion or a contemplated star-chamber inquiry, if you please, hanging over everybody. Everyone would be liable, upon the affidavit of one person, to be haled before a United States commissioner or judge and have a lot of witnesses give testimony as to what he might have intended to do at some time in the past.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I do not think that the language of the amendment justifies that criticism. At the present time when a grand jury is in session an investigation of this character may be had. The situation is such that it may be a grand jury would not be in session, and it might be wise to have some investigation made for the purpose of securing the information when the grand jury is not in session.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Is it not within the power of the judge always to summon a special session of the grand jury?

Mr. POMERENE. That is very true.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I only want to say, in regard to the amendment presented by the Senator from Ohio, that it is not an unusual thing, so far as the experiences in our State are concerned, to have this power. As I understand, the power intended to be conferred is to some extent an inquisitorial power in the prosecuting officer to determine whether or not sufficient cause exists to bring the matter before the grand jury when it meets. We have for a long time had such a statute as that in my State, and the power has been exercised by the attorney general when occasion has arisen.

I speak of this more particularly to call the attention of my colleague to the matter. My present colleague has been attorney general of the State, and has doubtless many times exercised the power given by that statute. I will ask him if it is true that such a statute exists in our State, authorizing the prosecuting officer to examine, prior to the meeting of the grand jury, into questions of alleged criminality which come to his knowledge, to determine whether or not they shall be presented to a grand jury?

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, that is true. Such power has existed in the State of Delaware for a period, I should say, of 15 or 20 years, anyhow. There is a statute of that State which authorizes the attorney general or any deputy of his to issue his own subpœna, upon his own motion. It is not even required that an affidavit shall be filed before him charging any one with crime, or even suggesting the possibility that crime has been committed. If the attorney general hears or himself suspects that an offense has been committed the statute of the State authorizes him, as I say, upon his own motion to issue a subpœna, and attach to it a duces tecum clause requiring the production of records, documents, and so forth, that he may want to use. I think it fair to say that there has been no complaint in the State since that statute has been in operation against any attorney general or any deputy attorney general for abuse of the power conferred. We regard it as a very salutary statute, and one that lends strength to the prosecuting arm; and so far as our experience in Delaware is concerned, it is not at all a novel thing.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] is an excellent lawyer, and he doubtless prepared this amendment with a good deal of care. It strikes me, however, that it has some very unusual features, and consequently should not be adopted as an amendment to this bill without full consideration of just what it would accomplish if it became a law.

It provides that—

when the United States is engaged in war or is threatened with war, insurrection, or invasion, upon an affidavit being made before any United States commissioner or United States district judge stating that affiant has probable cause to believe that a crime has been committed—

Now, let me stop there for a moment. Under the law as it is to-day the power exists to file an affidavit before a United States commissioner at all times, whether the grand jury is in session or not, alleging that an offense has been committed; and when the affidavit is filed it is the duty of the commissioner to issue his warrant, which, when served upon the person named, gives him jurisdiction to inquire into the probable cause. There is nothing new about that anywhere. It is a part of the criminal procedure of all the States in the Union, as well as of the United States; and, consequently, we need no additional law to enable the authorities to inquire whether an offense has been committed when the charge is made to proper authority concerning it.

That being a general provision of law, applicable in times of peace as well as in war, the Senator's amendment would be entirely superfluous; but it does not stop there—

or is about to be committed—

If the affiant has probable cause to believe that a crime is about to be committed, then—

the said judge or commissioner shall issue subpœnas in the usual manner for such person or persons as the district attorney may approve for an inquiry as to the matter set out in the said affidavit.

I think the Senator from Ohio will concede that that is a most extraordinary proposition. If I have probable cause to believe that my friend the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE] is about to commit an offense against the proclamations of the President or the laws or Constitution of the United States, I may go before a judge of the United States court or a commissioner and make affidavit to that effect, whereupon the district attorney will approve the issuance of subpœnas in the usual manner for witnesses, from whom he will inquire whether the Senator is about to commit such a crime. He is not required to be there. Perhaps he may not be permitted to attend. We then have the institution, in effect, of a star-chamber investigation, not for the purpose of determining whether a crime has been committed, but whether a crime is about to be committed.

Mr. GORE. And make that the basis of an injunction.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; it might be made the basis of an injunction.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will suggest to Senators that they address the Chair.

Mr. THOMAS. I am discussing this matter seriously. But apart from the unusual—I do not want to comment too severely—apart from the unusual proceeding involved in that process, the pertinent question is asked by the Senator from Connecticut what the outcome will be.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. Suppose that as a result of the case I have imagined—for illustration, the commissioner should decide that the Senator was about to commit a crime—what is he going to do about it? Is he going to issue an injunction against him, as was suggested, or commit him without bail? The amendment does not enlighten us.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That is what I was going to ask the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. Or will he then notify the Senator that he is about to commit a crime and that the fact has been inquired into and determined in his absence? What process will be brought into operation to circumvent the nefarious designs of the Senator or in anywise to make the finding effective? It is true that it may be said that under such circumstances the public would receive knowledge of what the testimony elicited, and that might be a moral restraint upon the Senator, thus

keeping him within the bounds of the law and preventing his contemplated breach of the statutes or of the proclamation.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Supposing that in the opinion of the witnesses whom the district attorney designates to testify I am about to commit a crime, but supposing that I assert most positively that such an idea never entered my head at all, what is the judge to do about it?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I will yield to the Senator from Ohio to answer that question. I can not answer it.

Mr. POMERENE. Of course we can have a little amusement, if we desire, about a serious problem.

Mr. THOMAS. I beg to assure the Senator that I am discussing this amendment in good faith.

Mr. POMERENE. Very well; I shall discuss it in good faith, too. In the first place, I do not need to say that the Senator from Colorado would hardly charge the Senator from Connecticut with committing or intending to commit any offense.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, I used that merely as an illustration.

Mr. POMERENE. Just a moment; I understand that thoroughly.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I accept the apology.

Mr. POMERENE. Then my good friend the Senator from Connecticut asks another question: If some witness should express the opinion that somebody was about to commit an offense, then what? I take it that opinion evidence would not be accepted. These witnesses would be called for the purpose of testifying to facts.

Let me give an illustration. Down in the park there are certain soldiers now guarding bridges. Suppose that a district attorney had information that John Jones had a supply of dynamite in his possession, and he had further positive information that John Jones had said that at a given time he was going to blow up a bridge at a given place. Would not an officer of the law feel justified in making every investigation possible? Suppose he had information only of a character which would put him on inquiry, and he knew that somebody else had this information. Is there anything wrong about investigating it? Must you first file a complaint?

It seems to me that this is a matter as much in defense, as much in protection of the one who may be under suspicion, as it would be of assistance to the officers in making the investigation. It is a pretty serious matter to charge anyone with crime and have him arrested unless you have some evidence to produce; and I believe this plan would be resorted to only when the officers were not certain about the situation and would not want to file a complaint charging an individual with having committed a crime. It is simply for the purpose of inquiry—nothing more and nothing less.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I think I understand the Senator's position perfectly, and I want to reassure him that I have the most unqualified respect both for his opinion and for any amendment or any bill for which he may be sponsor. Consequently, I am impugning neither the motives nor the purposes which the Senator has in view in proposing the amendment; yet I think the instances which he has cited indicate how unnecessary the amendment is, even from his own point of view.

There are in the pending bill provisions which would cover, in my judgment, the illustrations to which he has called attention. There can be no question but that under this bill, if it becomes a law, information such as he suggested would be a proper basis for a search warrant, and then the service of the warrant would disclose the truth or falsity of the report. And of course rumors of threatened crime may always be investigated by the police authorities. But fundamentally, Mr. President, I think we can not, without doing violence to the spirit of our laws, give a judge of the United States court or any other court the power, upon the filing of the affidavit of a citizen that an offense is about to be committed, authority to hold an ex parte inquiry upon that subject; and that is what may be done here. It might not be done in every instance, but it may be done under the provisions of the proposed amendment. It does not require the issuance of a warrant for the accused. It does not require his presence. It is fundamental law in this country, even in civil matters, that every citizen must have his day in court; yet, under the provisions of this amendment, not even that boon is vouchsafed to the suspected party.

I have no question that under a provision of this kind citizens like the Senator would be incapable of abusing it; but has the Senator considered the extent to which this act might become an agency, in the hands of unscrupulous men, perhaps for the undoing, certainly for the vexatious annoyance, of citizens of the United States?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. We know what human nature is, and how prone some elements of it are to take advantage of situations like the present, and of amendments like the one proposed, for the purpose of gratifying long-entertained animosities toward their fellow men.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. I agree with the Senator that there should not be any legislation which would unduly harrass any citizen.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course, I knew the Senator would.

Mr. POMERENE. But the purpose of this was to aid the officials who were charged with the enforcement of the law. Now, if anyone could go promiscuously and file an affidavit without the approval of any official, then, it seems to me, there would be some foundation for the fear that seems to enter the mind of the Senator. But here we have first an affidavit to be filed before the judge or the commissioner, and this must have the approval of the United States district attorney before the subpœna can be issued; and I felt that it was reasonably guarded against just such evils as the Senator has in mind.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator's purpose is commendable, but I do not think he has guarded it in the language which he has used. Upon the filing of the complaint the judge or the commissioner—

shall issue subpœnas in the usual manner for such person or persons as the district attorney may approve.

He is not to approve the filing of the affidavit, but this approbation goes to the witnesses. If an affidavit of that sort is made by John Smith against Richard Roe, and a list of witnesses accompanies it, as it probably would, then the district attorney runs his pencil through or he approves the names of these witnesses, and the subpœna shall issue in the usual manner for such persons as the district attorney may approve. That to some degree might be a protection, but at the same time it does not do away with the necessity of holding this examination, and holding it ex parte; and I think, Mr. President, we can not too often remind ourselves that in the effort to safeguard the country now we should not by measures such as these assail the foundations, or any of them, of our structure of government and so involve the rights of the citizens and the liberty of the people. Of all times, this is the time to be careful, lest we do things which will return to plague us.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. If the objection is that this entire proceeding is not to be subject to the approval of the United States district attorney——

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, that is one objection.

Mr. POMERENE. I shall be quite well satisfied to accept any amendment to this language which will give that protection.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, I am satisfied that the Senator would; but the objection I have is fundamental. Of course, this is a matter which can be cured by a change of phraseology, but I deny that in this country any man can be subjected to proceedings in his absence, whether the proceedings are approved by the district attorney or the district judge, or both, whereby inquiry is to be made regarding his criminal purpose or intention concerning an act that is in futuro. It is utterly irreconcilable with our notions of criminal jurisprudence and must necessarily carry with it many very serious consequences.

Mr. President, we have already provided, by a paragraph of the section last adopted, that the doing of certain things with the most innocent purpose, with no regard to the intent which prompted their doing, constitute or may constitute crimes subjecting the citizen to very serious fine and deprivation of personal liberty. Now, if to that astounding situation we add a proceeding whereby whoever may be suspected of probably being about to commit a crime is to be the subject of ex parte investigations, I am unable to conceive what further step we can take toward the goal of political absolutism.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, the efforts of Senators to preserve the fundamentals of American liberty are, of course, in the very highest degree commendable, but I can not escape the conclusion from the comments upon this measure that many of us are very unduly alarmed.

If I understand this simple little amendment aright, it is simply to put the process of the court in the hands of the dis-

trict attorney, in order to enable him to do his duty. Senators talk about star-chamber proceedings, about crimes that have not been committed and that are going to be committed. Why, Mr. President, every district attorney in the United States is conducting these star-chamber proceedings to-day. He is sitting in his office. He learns that a man is suspected of having committed a crime, or being about to commit a crime, and he immediately proceeds, as his duty requires him to do, as his oath charges him to do, to get all the information he can about that crime having been committed or about that crime that is about to be committed. He can not perform his duty without doing these things. Now, how is he fixed?

He invites people to come into his office. They come voluntarily. They tell him what they know. They tell him about some one else who may know something about the matter, and he says, "Go and get that man and bring him in here." The man, however, says he will not come, and so the district attorney is denied that information. All that this statute means is that when the district attorney is in that situation he can go before the judge of the court and say: "These things are represented to me, and I want a subpœna to bring this man into my office and hear what he has to say and see if I can not get the truth out of him." How are the fundamentals of liberty imperiled by any such proceeding as that?

I was particularly surprised at the query addressed to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDEGEE]: "Suppose some one said that he was guilty of a crime, but he denied it?" Why, Mr. President, the person who is suspected of having committed the crime, the person against whom the accusation of crime is made, is not there at all. The district attorney simply calls into his office the fellows whom he thinks can give him some information about it; and if they are unwilling to come, or if he would rather get them in that way, he can go in to the judge and represent the facts to him and get process.

The amendment is nothing more nor less than a measure to put into the hands of the district attorney the process of the court, in order more fully and completely to get information concerning crimes perpetrated or threatened.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE].

The amendment was rejected on a division.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, I should like to ask for the adoption of the chapter under the unanimous-consent agreement. I do not know whether the present occupant of the chair knows it or not, but there is a unanimous-consent agreement that we shall adopt these chapters as we finish their consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to adopting the chapter as amended?

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection, and it is agreed to.

Mr. CUMMINS. Just one moment.

Mr. REED. I simply wanted to inquire, before the chapter was agreed to, whether that would preclude any further amendments to the chapter in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. OVERMAN. Probably the Senator was not here, but there was a unanimous-consent agreement that the bill should be adopted chapter by chapter. That does not preclude a Senator from offering amendments to any chapter when the bill is in the Senate.

Mr. REED. When it gets into the Senate?

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair decides that when in Committee of the Whole a chapter is agreed to further amendments to it will not be in order.

Mr. REED. Well, Mr. President, I shall not object, because I think I can offer whatever amendments I have when the bill is in the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the chapter is approved.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I do not intend to make any further controversy about this chapter at this time, but I would much prefer that the question of the adoption of the chapter be put to a vote. I would not want to be put in the position of having it adopted without objection.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I think the Chair did put the question and the chapter was adopted.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Oh, no!

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair stated that if no objection was made the chapter would be adopted.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, I ask for a vote. I do not ask for a roll call, but I do not want——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As many as favor agreeing to the chapter will vote "aye."

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, one moment. I wish to ask whether subsection (c) remains in the chapter?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It does, as amended.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Then, Mr. President, I move to strike out that subsection.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. That has already been voted on.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. It has? Very well; I withdraw the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As many as agree to the chapter as amended will vote "aye." [A pause.] Those who are opposed to the chapter as amended will vote "no." [A pause.] The ayes have it, and the chapter is agreed to.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I wish to offer three amendments to section 1 of chapter 7, and I ask that the section as amended by these three amendments be printed for the use of the Senate to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, that will be done. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I offer an amendment to sections 1 and 2 of chapter 7, which I should like to have printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed.

Mr. OVERMAN. I ask that the bill now before the Senate be temporarily laid aside in order that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] may take up his bills, and I desire, after they are disposed of, to move an adjournment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside. Without objection, that will be done.

On motion of Mr. OVERMAN, it was

Ordered, That the bill (S. 2) be reprinted showing in roman the amendments so far adopted and the committee amendments proposed in italics.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate bills from the House of Representatives.

NAVAL BILLS.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles:

H. R. 1771. An act to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

H. R. 2008. An act to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service;

H. R. 2338. An act to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office;

H. R. 2339. An act to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918; and

H. R. 2340. An act to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all five of these bills be considered at this time. The Senate bills have been reported unanimously by the Naval Committee in a form almost precisely similar to these and are now on the Calendar, and I ask unanimous consent that the House bills be considered at this time.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, the House bills have not been even printed. They just came over to-day.

Mr. SWANSON. The bills are precisely similar in every particular. The Senate bills have been printed for some time and are now on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senators will suspend for just a moment, please. The Chair is compelled to hear the proceedings, in order to determine the questions as they arise.

Mr. SWANSON. It is very important that these bills should be passed at once.

Mr. SMOOT. I ask the Senator if the Naval Affairs Committee has reported the Senate bills from that committee?

Mr. LODGE. Yes.

Mr. SWANSON. I will state to the Senator that they have reported unanimously Senate bills exactly similar to these. They were introduced jointly in the House and in the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. The Senate bills have been on the calendar for two or three days.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2338) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office.

Mr. SMOOT. Let it be read at length first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, authorized to detail such naval officers as may be necessary to the Hydrographic Office during the continuance of the present war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask the Senate to consider the bill (H. R. 2339) to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Let us hear the bill read first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, in addition to the number of midshipmen now authorized by law, there shall be appointed during the period from the date of passage of this act until September 1, 1918, one additional midshipman for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate in Congress. Nominations shall be made for these vacancies by the Senators, Representatives, and Delegates concerned for any regular or special examination that may be ordered before that date.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GALLINGER. I will ask the Senator from Virginia what becomes of these young men when the date is reached.

Mr. SWANSON. The appointments are simply made up to that time, and if they are appointed they continue in the Academy until they graduate.

Mr. GALLINGER. They do continue until graduation?

Mr. SWANSON. The appointments cease with 1918.

Mr. LODGE. It is only one more appointment for each Senator, Representative, and Delegate to increase the classes between now and 1918. They go into different classes.

Mr. GALLINGER. That appeals to me, but I did not so understand the bill as it was read.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me ask if there will be sufficient accommodations for this increased number.

Mr. SWANSON. There will be sufficient accommodations. Last year we made an appropriation for this purpose that will take care of the additional number.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2340) to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the maximum limit of age for officers of the Naval Reserve of the Naval Reserve Force on first appointments as such therein be, and it is hereby, increased from 35 to 50 years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1771) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the clause in the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes." which reads as follows: "The Secretary of the Navy is authorized to assign any member of the Fleet Naval Reserve to active duty for training on board ship, upon the application of such member," etc., be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking therefrom the words "on board ship."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2008) to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That hereafter any enlistment for minority in the Navy or Marine Corps may be extended as is provided by law for extending an enlistment for a term of four years, under similar conditions and with like rights, privileges, benefits, and obligations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the five Senate bills on the calendar of like title to those which have passed will be indefinitely postponed. The Chair hears no objection, and the Secretary will state the numbers and titles.

The SECRETARY:

A bill (S. 1534) to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service;

A bill (S. 1536) to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

A bill (S. 1587) to increase the number of midshipmen in the Naval Academy;

A bill (S. 1537) to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve; and

A bill (S. 1538) to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office.

STEAM YACHT "OWERA."

Mr. SWANSON. I ask unanimous consent to take from the calendar the bill (S. 1845) to authorize PETER GOELET GERRY to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use of the steam yacht *Owera*, and to put it on its passage.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs with amendments.

The amendments were, on page 1, line 4, after the words "Rhode Island," to insert the words "having offered to the Government for the period of the war the use of his yacht hereinafter named"; in line 8, after the word "use," to strike out the word "of" and insert the word "by," so as to read: "for the use by the United States"; in line 10, after the word "period," to strike out the words "and consideration," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That PETER GOELET GERRY, a Senator of the United States from the State of Rhode Island, having offered to the Government for the period of the war the use of his yacht hereinafter named, be, and he is hereby, authorized to enter into a contract or agreement with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use by the United States of the steam yacht *Owera*, owned by the said Senator, for such period as may be mutually agreeable to the parties to the contract or agreement herein authorized.

SEC. 2. That the provisions of sections 114 and 115 of the act approved March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," and any other laws or parts of laws inconsistent herewith, be, and they are hereby, declared inapplicable to the said PETER GOELET GERRY and the Secretary of the Navy, or such other officer or officers of the United States as shall, on behalf of the Secretary of the Navy, enter into the aforesaid contract or agreement for the purposes and to the extent set forth in section 1 hereof.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

USE OF RIFLES.

Mr. WEEKS. I ask unanimous consent to call up from the calendar for immediate consideration the bill (S. 995) to authorize the issue to States and Territories of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards. This is a bill which authorizes the Secretary of War to loan to States arms which are not used in the military service for the use of the home guard or other military forces of the State.

Mr. GALLINGER. Let the bill be read for information.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill; and there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 995) to authorize the issue to States and Territories of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, on page 2, line 1, after the word "regulations," to insert "and upon furnishing such bonds or security," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized, in his discretion, to issue from time to time to the several States and Territories for the equipment of such home guards having the character of State police or constabulary as may be organized by the several States and Territories, such rifles and ammunition therefor, cartridge belts, haversacks, canteens, in limited amounts as available supplies will permit, provided that the property so issued shall remain

the property of the United States and shall be receipted for by the governors of the several States and Territories and accounted for by them under such regulations and upon furnishing such bonds or security as the Secretary of War may prescribe, and that any property so issued shall be returned to the United States on demand when no longer needed for the purposes for which issued, or if, in the judgment of the Secretary of War, an exigency requires the use of the property for Federal purposes.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WEEKS. On line 7, page 1, after the word "Territories," I move to insert the words "and District of Columbia," and in line 12, before the words "accounted for," to insert the words "Commissioners of the District of Columbia and."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. WEEKS, the title was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards."

Mr. OVERMAN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, April 21, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *April 21, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in all our enterprises as a Nation we pray that we may undertake nothing that can not be done in Thy name; that we shall undertake nothing that is not a spiritual enterprise; we pray that we may have the virtues which arise out of the contemplation of great spiritual enterprises. Do Thou guide and direct us along the loftiest lines of human endeavor, that patriotism may be a sacred passion to us, and that it may be so closely allied to the final and eternal destinies of men as that it may be holiness to the Lord. We pray Thee to guide us to this end. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a petition of the Chicago (Ill.) Club, praying for compulsory military service, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Board of Trustees of the International Sunday School Association, in session at Atlantic City, N. J., and of the Philadelphia County (Pa.) Medical Society, praying for national prohibition during the period of the war, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Sacramento (Cal.) teachers, praying for the enactment of legislation to permit school districts to secure money from the sale of their bonds to the postal savings bank, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Commission on Temperance of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, of New York City, N. Y., praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I present and ask to have printed in the RECORD resolutions of the Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party passed at their State convention in Delaware a few days ago and which I have been requested to have introduced in the RECORD by the State chairman, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hillis.

There being no objection, the resolutions were orderd to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the question of woman's enfranchisement is fundamental and of paramount importance; and

Whereas in the present national crisis women together with men share the burdens of taxation, responsibility, and horrors of war: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party, in convention assembled, call upon our Senators and Representative in Congress to give their favorable support to the immediate passage of the Federal amendment known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to Senator SAULSBURY and Representative POLK with a request that they be read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the Senate and House and also be sent to the President of the United States.

Mrs. M. P. DERICKSON BRINGHURST.
Miss ELIZABETH P. SPEAKMAN.
Miss PAULINE TOWNSEND.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented 13 telegrams from citizens and business firms in the State of Michigan, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented nine telegrams from citizens and business firms in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against volunteer enlistment, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Dental Society of Genesee County and the Dental Society of Kalamazoo County, in the State of Michigan, praying for the adoption of certain changes in the universal military training bill affecting dentists, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the faculty of Albion (Mich.) College, praying for taxation rather than bond issues for the payment of war expenses, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented petitions of the faculty of the West Texas State Normal College, of Canyon; the Rotary Club, of Houston; the Chamber of Commerce of Austin; the Battle of Flowers Association, of San Antonio; of George C. Greer, of Dallas; of sundry citizens of Rockport; of the Credit Men's Association, of Austin; of the Retail Merchants' Association, of Austin, all in the State of Texas, and of the Chamber of Commerce of Texarkana, Ark.-Tex., praying for compulsory military service and pledging support to the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Claude, Tex., and N. E. Shands of San Marcos, Tex., remonstrating against conscription.

He also presented petitions of the congregation of the Hyde Park Christian Church, of Austin, Tex.; of the Sedalia Presbytery, of Bunceton, Mo.; and of the Presbytery of West Jersey, of Woodbury, N. J., praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COLT presented a petition of 25 citizens of Providence, Natick, Edgewood, and Arctic, all in the State of Rhode Island, praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NELSON presented petitions of Local Lodge No. 64, Sons of Herman, of Crookston, and of sundry citizens of St. James, in the State of Minnesota, pledging support to the President, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Hennepin County Woman Suffrage Association, of Minneapolis, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the further manufacture of liquor from grain, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a telegram from the commander of the Navy recruiting office, Minneapolis, Minn., stating that 15 boys enlisted in the Navy from Alexandria, Minn., showing the spirit of patriotism prevalent in that city, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of the Bar Association of Norfolk County, Mass., pledging support to the President, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 282) making an appropriation of $200,000 for the acquisition of a tract of land known as Great Piece Meadows, New Jersey, for a target range and camp ground, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 29) thereon.

Mr. SWANSON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 1873) to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 30) thereon.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. SHEPPARD. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably with an amendment the bill (S. 1006) authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county, and I submit a report (No. 28) thereon. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendment was, in line 6, after the words "Mississippi River," to insert "at a point suitable to the interests of navigation," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the county of Morrison, in the State of Minnesota, be, and it is hereby, authorized to construct, maintain, and operate a highway bridge and approaches thereto across the Mississippi River at a point suitable to the interests of navigation in section 8, township 127 north, range 29 west of the fifth principal meridian, and section 32, township 39 north, range 32 west of the fourth principal meridian, in the State of Minnesota, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

INCREASE OF FOOD CROP.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. From the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry I report back favorably with an amendment the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 31) to increase food crop in the United States, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

Mr. SMOOT. Let the joint resolution be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be read.

The SECRETARY. The committee proposes an amendment, after the words "directed to," to strike out the remainder of the joint resolution and insert, so that it will read:

That the President is authorized and directed to procure, or aid in procuring, such stocks of nitrate of soda and other fertilizers and fertilizer ingredients as he may determine to be necessary and find available for increasing agricultural production during the calendar year 1917 and to dispose of the same, on credit or otherwise, at cost in such way as he deems best to facilitate the purpose. For carrying out the purposes of this resolution there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, available immediately and until expended, the sum of $10,000,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and the President is authorized to make such regulations and to use such means and agencies of the Government as in his discretion he may deem best. The proceeds arising from the disposition hereunder of fertilizers and fertilizer ingredients shall go into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I understand unanimous consent is asked to consider the joint resolution at this time.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I should like to have it considered at this time. If the Senator will allow me, I should like to call attention now to the necessity for this legislation and give the reasons for the action of the committee.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I was going to suggest, Mr. President, that this proposition is clearly an appropriation bill, and could not originate in the Senate, and it ought not to be considered at this time, when there are so many questions pending affecting the subject of agricultural preparedness. There are very many propositions brought forward to increase agricultural products in the United States, and the subject ought to be considered comprehensively. It should be considered promptly. We are all in favor of doing what can properly be done in this direction, but here it is proposed to inject an appropriation of $10,000,000 for one particular item, when all Senators, I have no doubt, have suggestions which have been made which are absolutely vital—at least, the people think they are vital—to the communities in which they live. It seems to me it is an improper thing to consider such a measure by unanimous consent in the morning hour. However, I do not wish to interfere with the Senator from South Carolina if he wishes to make an explanation.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Let me state to the Senator that the proposition in the joint resolution is that there shall be a sale. This is not an appropriation which means a loss or an expenditure on the part of the Government, because dollar for dollar it will be covered back into the Treasury. The President is authorized to make that disposition and cover it back into the Treasury.

I should like to say to the Senator and to the Senate that the entire Atlantic seaboard is dependent at this time upon a diffusible stimulant for the grain crop. In the last 15 years the crop of the entire Atlantic seaboard has been more than quadrupled by the application of nitrates in the form of nitrate of soda. Within a few miles of my own home the record corn crop of the world was made on one acre of land by the now famous Jerry Moore—232 bushels—by the proper application of concentrated nitrates.

The only sources of supply of these nitrates, or of a sufficient amount to meet the absolute need of the entire Atlantic seaboard, are Argentina and Chile, the blood coming from Argentina and the soda from Chile. On account of the vessels having been taken out from the carrying trade incident to the European war there has been a scarcity of vessels available.

May I have order, Mr. President?

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I wanted to have a chance to object to the present consideration of the joint resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will go to the calendar.

Mr. SMOOT. I merely wish to ask the Senator from South Carolina if there is a report of the committee accompanying the joint resolution? If so, I should like to have it printed.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I have submitted no written report from the committee, the joint resolution being so self-explanatory. At the proper time I shall call it up and the Senate will have an opportunity to discuss it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I should like to ask the Senator from South Carolina whether the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry considered a couple of bills which I introduced looking toward the utilization of the public lands of the United States for the growing of crops without any expense to the Government?

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. We will have a meeting at 10.30 a. m. Monday, at which time, I am informed, the bills the Senator refers to will be discussed.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS.

Mr. THOMPSON. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back Senate resolution 45, and I ask for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read Senate resolution 45, submitted yesterday by Mr. SHIELDS, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Interoceanic Canals, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and hereby is, authorized during the Sixty-fifth Congress to send for books and papers, to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not exceeding $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee, the expenses thereof to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, and that the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to ask the Senator from Kansas if there is any reason why the resolution should be passed now. Has the committee an idea of holding hearings at once?

Mr. THOMPSON. The committee has been holding hearings relative to a bill now before the committee. It has been taking testimony.

Mr. SMOOT. At the present time?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS], the chairman of the committee, submitted the resolution.

Mr. SMOOT. Of course if it is necessary, I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. GRONNA:

A bill (S. 1997) to aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 1998) relating to the disposal of coal and mineral deposits in Indian lands; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 1999) to amend section 10 of the act entitled "An act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," approved June 29, 1906; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 2000) to limit campaign contributions and expenditures and to provide for publicity thereof; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

A bill (S. 2001) to amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as heretofore amended; and

A bill (S. 2002) for the prevention of cruelty to animals transported in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 2003) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Crosby, N. Dak.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 2004) to establish a fish-cultural station in the State of North Dakota; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 2005) to prohibit selling of intoxicating beverages in the Territory of Hawaii; to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico.

A bill (S. 2006) for the promotion of engineering and industrial research; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 2007) providing for the admission to the mails as second-class matter of publications issued by certain public institutions and boards; and

A bill (S. 2008) to increase the compensation of rural mail carriers; to the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 2009) granting to the State of North Dakota 50,000 acres of land to aid in the maintenance of a normal school at Dickinson, N. Dak.;

A bill (S. 2010) to provide for the classification of the public lands of the United States;

A bill (S. 2011) relating to additional entries on lands subject to entry under the enlarged homestead act;

A bill (S. 2012) to authorize the disposal of phosphate, oil, asphaltum, or natural gas;

A bill (S. 2013) to provide for the disposal of coal and coal lands; and

A bill (S. 2014) relating to the use and occupation of lands of the United States for the development of water power, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 2015) granting a pension to Mary B. Graham; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BROUSSARD:

A bill (S. 2016) to amend the act of August 30, 1890; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 2017) to regulate the quantity of coal lands which may be entered or controlled by associations or corporations; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 2018) waiving the age limit for admission to the Medical Corps of the United States Navy in the case of John B. Bostick; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 2019) for the relief of Oscar C. Guessaz; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota:

A bill (S. 2020) for the relief of the estate of J. E. Bruce, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 2021) to add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Cal.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 2022) to conserve the agricultural food products of the United States and to prohibit their manufacture into alcoholic liquors, except in certain cases; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 2023) granting a pension to Lizzie Shade; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STONE:

A bill (S. 2024) for the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co. (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PAGE:

A bill (S. 2025) granting an increase of pension to George W. Flagg; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 2026) granting an increase of pension to James M. King (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRADY:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 41) for the relief of James L. Cardwell; to the Committee on Public Lands.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. McKELLAR submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

Mr. GRONNA submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1796) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914, August 15, 1914, March 3, 1915, and September 7, 1916, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE.

Mr. CUMMINS submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. STERLING submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. BRANDEGEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

INCREASE OF THE NAVY.

Mr. POINDEXTER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1873) to temporarily increase the commissioned and warrant and enlisted strength of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

THE COMMITTEE ON COAST AND INSULAR SURVEY.

Mr. SAULSBURY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 46), which was read and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Coast or Insular Survey, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed by said committee be, and it hereby is, authorized and directed to investigate, ascertain, and report upon the advisability of acquiring and improving the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, in accordance with the provisions of Senate bill 1872, first session, Sixty-fifth Congress, or otherwise; with authority to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page; and to sit during the sessions or recess of the Senate. The expenses of said investigation to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, a few days ago, on the passage by the Senate of a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the street railroad strike in the District of Columbia, the Chair was good enough to honor me with a place on that committee. At a meeting of the committee, which was held this morning, it developed that the membership is not in harmony as to the program to be followed. The chairman of the committee is insistent upon construing the order of the Senate to require an immediate investigation.

I do not find it consistent with my duties at a time like this, when such important matters are pending before the Senate, to give the requisite time to make a thorough investigation of the street railway strike. I have not wished to be a barrier to the investigation. Insomuch as the Senate has made this order, and insomuch as the chairman of the committee is insistent upon the investigation proceeding at once, and taking into account my own inability to serve either with credit to myself or with fairness to the Senate and to the parties to the investigation, I ask the Chair that I may be excused from service on the committee.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator is excused.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. President, I also had the honor of being appointed to the committee to which the Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] has just referred, and should ordinarily have been very glad to serve; but for the reason which has been stated by the Senator from Ohio as the reason for which he can not serve, I am compelled also to ask that I may be relieved from service.

The Army bill is coming on, I suppose, and during the coming week everyone who is interested in the affairs of the Nation will, I think, require all the time of the morning hours for study of the very important measures which will be presented for solution. This, with the ordinary work which every Senator has, makes it utterly impossible for me to now give the time required for this investigation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator is excused. If it be possible for the Chair to find Senators on the Republican side of the Chamber who can find time to serve on this committee, the Chair will fill the vacancies, but they will not be filled until the Chair has had an opportunity to talk with Senators on the subject.

RAILROAD FREIGHT RATES.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to Senate resolution 44.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from the preceding day.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I ask that the resolution may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 44), which had been submitted by Mr. SMITH of Georgia yesterday, as follows:

Whereas the railroad companies of the United States have applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a flat increase of 15 per cent on all freight charges amounting to $400,000,000 annually, in spite of the fact that within the past three years the railroads in the central division have been given an increase on freight rates of 5 per cent, and the railroads in the western division an increase amounting to between 5 and 10 per cent, and the railroads in the southeastern division an increase amounting to between 15 and 20 per cent, and the gross freight revenues of the railroads for the six months ending January 1, 1917, amounted to $1,356,039,797, and the net revenues for said six months of the railroads earning over a million dollars annually amounted to practically $700,000,000, the same being 3½ per cent for six months on the book value of these railroads; and

Whereas the applications for increase of rates if granted would place a great additional charge upon the cost of living and are based largely upon the alleged increase of expenses caused by the Adamson Act which has been variously estimated at between $30,000,000 and $40,000,000: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Interstate Commerce Committee be requested to investigate fully the facts and report the same with their recommendations to the Senate.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I regard the pendency of this application for an increase of 15 per cent flat on the cost of carriage of freight by the railroads of the country as a serious menace to the business of the country, certainly serious if it is not suspended. I wish to call attention merely to a few facts, which I have gathered hurriedly, for the entire accuracy of which I can not vouch, and it is for that reason that I desire that the resolution, at least in part, shall be passed.

There is an application for a flat increase of 15 per cent on all freight rates pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has been presented by the railroads of the country. The revenue of the railroads for the last six months of 1916 was $1,356,039,997. That was an increase over the last six months of 1915 of $159,647,173, which was the largest revenue that they have ever made. For 12 months this would have paid a revenue of $2,712,079,594. Fifteen per cent gross increase would be $406,000,000. So this application is practically a request to put upon the business of the country an additional transportation burden of $406,000,000 annually.

Mr. LODGE. Let me ask the Senator a question merely for information. Are the profits which the Senator has stated exclusively from freight earnings?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The profits are from all business. The figures of revenue are freight earnings, as I understand. I have had but a limited opportunity to pick out the facts, and I may be inaccurate; but I think I am right.

In 1914 an increased rate was given to the central group of railroads; that is, those north of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi, of 5 per cent. Since then an increased rate has been given to the western group, which is west of the Mississippi, of between 5 and 10 per cent.

Last year an increase was given to the southeastern group—east of the Mississippi and south of the Potomac—of between 15 and 20 per cent. The increase was given practically without a hearing to the shippers. The shippers have been allowed to come in and to contest certain of the charges, and their contests are now pending as to that increase.

For the last six months of 1916 the net profits of the railroads earning incomes above a million dollars annually were $698,666,628. At the same rate for 12 months the net earnings would be practically $1,400,000,000.

The book value of their properties as claimed by the railroads—my statements are all made with the qualification that my investigation has been very hurried and has been conducted in a very limited time—the book value of their property as claimed by the railroads is about $20,000,000,000. So that on the basis of income for the last six months, accepting their properties at their book value, which students of the subject universally challenge as excessive, their net income is 7 per cent. Now, with a net income of 7 per cent and with the apparent tendency to increase of business, it is proposed to levy an additional tax upon transportation of $400,000,000 annually.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Is that revenue upon the water and all such elements as that in the stock?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It is upon the book value as given by the railroads. I can not say as to the water in the stocks. It is simply termed "estimated book value."

Now, Mr. President, I believe the Senate of the United States was intended to carry a responsibility in the performance of its public obligations concerning those agencies created by the Congress. The Senate of the United States is constitutionally charged with a responsibility connected with appointments. It is declared that appointments are to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It is supposed that nominees are selected under the advice of the Senate. Perhaps that is a violent supposition; but yet it is in the Constitution. It is undoubtedly true, however, that they must be appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. I think it behooves us to know what is going on. I think it was contemplated by the Constitution that the Senate, a continuous body, was to watch and guard matters of administration and have a voice in them and, where the administrative work becomes unsatisfactory, to see that something is done to guard the rights of the people.

My resolution is not extreme. It only asks that the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate investigate this question, find the facts, and report to us with their recommendations. I bring the subject before the Senate and take your time for a few moments to call attention to what seem to be startling facts. Are we to have $400,000,000 additional charge put upon the transportation of freight in the United States when the carriers are now making 7 per cent on the book value of their property and when they are receiving more than they ever received before? I have referred to pending status before the Interstate Commerce Commission as an application for an increase of $400,000,000 annually. Really, the railroad companies have filed schedules of new rates making increases of fifteen one-hundredths, and these increases will become effective unless suspended by the commission.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator if 7 per cent on the book value of these properties does not comprehend a very much larger percentage upon the actual investment?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Oh, much larger. Nobody questions that the book value is beyond the actual investment.

Mr. President, I understand that one of the reasons assigned for the proposed increase of rates to the railroads is the Adamson law; but nobody has claimed that the Adamson law would impose a charge on the railroads of over $60,000,000, and $30,000,000 is the figure usually recognized, and it only lasts for 12 months.

It has been suggested that coal prices have risen. Why, Mr. President and Senators, every mechanic, every washerwoman, every household must bear as an incident to the war an increased price of coal. Is it to be increased still further to save the common carriers from their part of the burden? I think the proposition is shocking.

My own section, the southeastern section, from the Mississippi to the Potomac, is staggering now under an additional freight charge of between 15 and 20 per cent, put on last year without a hearing from the shippers. Fifteen per cent more would carry it to between 30 and 35 per cent.

I ask that the Interstate Commerce Committee investigate this question, give us the facts, and that we, representing the people, have a voice in what is going on.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator's resolution provides that the matter shall be investigated by the Interstate Commerce Committee.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. By the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate. It is the Senate, representing the people, I want, through its Interstate Commerce Committee, to look into this matter.

Mr. FLETCHER. I understand the Interstate Commerce Commission has not made any order with reference to this matter at all; that it is merely in the status now of a proposal by the carriers, and that the commission do not propose to make any order until they have made a full investigation and accorded a full hearing to the shippers as well. That is the situation now, as I gather, that it is simply a proposal on the part of the carriers, which the commission will go into thoroughly, and give a hearing to all the shippers before there is any action taken on the proposal.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Which they may go into or they may not go into. They refused to suspend an increased burden of from 15 to 20 per cent on the southeastern section last year without hearing the shippers.

Mr. President, I send to the desk and ask to have read a telegram from large shippers in Atlanta, and also a telegram from large shippers in Jacksonville, Fla.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

ATLANTA, GA., *April 18, 1917.*

Senator HOKE SMITH,
Washington, D. C.:

Advised that Interstate Commerce Commission may, on Friday, grant railroads 15 per cent advance in rates without hearing from the shippers. Please communicate with the commission and urge that no action be taken until shippers can be heard, and also arrange for hearing. Shippers and public here strongly oppose advance, which is not justified and would prove disastrous.

J. K. ORR,
SAM D. JONES,
C. H. KELLEY.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. HOKE SMITH,
Washington, D. C.:

Interstate Commerce Commission have tentatively granted 15 per cent general advance in freight rates, effective June 1, without hearing from the shippers. We protest against this summary action and request that you intervene with the commission, asking that shippers be given an opportunity to be heard before any advances are permitted.

GEORGIA-FLORIDA SAW MILL ASSOCIATION (INC).

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, before the Senator from Georgia takes his seat, I should like to ask him a question. This is a subject which I have from time to time investigated with some care and interest, and my views are fairly well known with regard to the matter.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to say that as the Senator from Iowa was not in the Chamber, I had a telephone message sent expressing the hope that he would come, because I wanted to hear his views.

Mr. CUMMINS. What I should like to know is what is in the mind of the Senator with regard to a subsequent proceeding? Under the law the railway companies file their tariffs, and at the end of a prescribed period they go into effect, unless they are suspended by the action of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and then a proceeding arises which is tried out under the law. Suppose the Interstate Commerce Committee investigates under the resolution of the Senator from Georgia and reports that, in its judgment, the proposed increase is not warranted, what action, then, could the Senate take, or what action does the Senator from Georgia propose that it shall take in order to correct any action which the Interstate Commerce Commission may take?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I am not undertaking to suggest a course to the committee; but it occurs to me that perhaps it might be well by law to provide that no increases shall go into effect without a hearing. I do not think it fair to the shippers to let the railroads file their applications for increases, certainly not under such circumstances as now confront us, and allow those increases to go into operation without a hearing by the shippers.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator from Georgia knows that it has been proposed to the Senate, at least twice since I have been a Member of it, that rates should not be increased without hearing and without the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and each time the Senate has voted down the proposition.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. And, Mr. President, I think the startling situation that confronts us now emphasizes the wisdom of the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa, and I think we may now be able to obtain action which heretofore we have not been able to obtain.

I believe the Senate to-day will support legislation which will prevent this $400,000,000 from being effective until the fullest hearing is had by the commission, and until the commission declares the same to be just and reasonable.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, before the Senator from Georgia takes his seat, let me ask him if he has any information as to what the passenger earnings of these carriers are?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. In the limited time that I have had I only have looked up these freight figures.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator's statement that these figures represent 7 per cent profit upon the book value of the property of these companies is, of course, based upon their freight earnings, exclusive of their passenger earnings.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No; that was not my statement. My statement generally was that their entire earnings, as shown by certain reports to which I had access, indicated a total net profit. That applied to both passengers and freight.

Mr. THOMAS. I wanted that particular matter clarified before the Senator was through.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. As I understand it, that 7 per cent grows out of freight and passenger earnings, both.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the Senator has looked into this matter, I have no doubt, with much care. Can the Senator state, for the information of some of us, what proportion of the railroads of the country are now in the hands of receivers?

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not know; but I do not think the fact that a few ill-advised or mismanaged railroads or wrecked railroads are in the hands of receivers would justify us in putting an improper burden upon all transportation; and I know the Senator from New Hampshire would not think so.

Mr. GALLINGER. I would not. I quite agree with the Senator on that point. I asked for information, because I have seen it stated at a percentage that was sufficiently large to rather startle me. I do not recall the percentage of railroads now in the hands of receivers, but I assumed that many of them were not ill-managed or wrecked railroads, and I thought the Senator might be able to give me the information; that is all.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I could give the Senator information about one railroad in my State which in the past few years has been in the hands of receivers. That is the only one of which I have any personal knowledge.

Mr. GALLINGER. Well, Mr. President, I know that such railroads exist. They are not entirely confined to the Senator's section, either.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No. The particular one I mention was improvidently built; it was built into a territory that was not prepared to sustain it in competition with existing through lines, and, much overbonded, it failed as a necessary consequence. I would feel that no justification for the balance of the roads charging excessive rates could grow out of such a failure. I would want them to have fair compensation. It is not a matter of prejudice at all, but I am just shocked at the proposition of putting $400,000,000 more as a burden upon transportation, after what we have done, and with this record of profits.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] rose first.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I wanted to ask the Senator from Georgia a question without raising an issue as to the object to be attained. Noting the sentence conveying the resolution, I wondered if it would not be more seemly to ask this information at the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. No.

Mr. HARDING. Because it is the Interstate Commerce Commission which has the regulation of railroad rates in hand, and all these questions must necessarily be understood by that commission. Would it not be much more seemly to secure the information from that body, and then have the recommendation of the Senate committee?

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I reply to the Senator, no. What I desire is to see the Senate carry its part of the responsibility for official conduct. What I propose is for the Senate committee to make an investigation and give us the exact facts.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I have only made the suggestion because it seems rather a ridiculous thing that the Federal Government should have a commission in charge of railway operations and rates and then that a committee of the Senate should undertake to furnish this body information which ought to be in the possession of that commission.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, does not the Senator from Ohio see that it would be highly improper to ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to send to the Senate a statement of what its decision will be in a proceeding now pending before it?

Mr. HARDING. The Senator from Iowa misconstrues my question. I can see no impropriety in asking the Interstate Commerce Commission for the information in its possession. It would be a very strange thing if the creation of this body were to make it exempt from the right of inquiry on the part of the Senate.

Mr. CUMMINS. How would it send the facts until the case was tried before it?

Mr. HARDING. I do not know what the Senator means by the inquiry which he makes; but it is easily conceivable to me that every particle of information on this subject ought to be in the possession of the Interstate Commerce Commission, else that commission is very much of a failure, and ought to be abolished.

Mr. CUMMINS. I have sometimes quarreled with the commission, but I think the Senator from Ohio does it an injustice. The Interstate Commerce Commission has not the facts upon

which the case will be decided. The law provides that the railroad companies shall file their tariffs with the commission. The railroad companies, as I understand, have filed their tariffs tentatively with the commission. Then the commission, if it desires to do so, suspends the operation of those tariffs until a case can be filed. Thereupon an issue is made. The railroad companies introduce their testimony, and under the law the burden of proof is upon the railroad companies to show that the proposed increases are fair and reasonable. Then those who are opposed to the increases come in and introduce their proof. I venture to say that before the case is submitted there will be a great flood of testimony introduced, just as there has been in times past. I think in the highest degree it would be improper to ask the Interstate Commerce Commission to anticipate the facts which may be laid before it in the proceedings and attempt to send them to the Senate.

Mr. HARDING. If the Senator from Iowa will permit me, I only want to make this observation: Surely the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has interstate traffic under its direction, must of necessity be possessed in detail of all the information which is set forth in the preamble of this resolution. Of course it is not intended, and I have not in mind the thought, that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall submit to us the complaints of the shippers; and yet, if the Senate contemplates going into an investigation of a rate increase, it seems to me the practicability of maintaining an interstate commerce commission is challenged.

I am not raising an objection, understand, to the proposition at which the Senator from Georgia aims, but I want to know of the Senator if this great commission, in charge of interstate commerce, is utterly without the information which this resolution seeks? If at a later date the committee or the Senate wants to take upon itself the investigation of rate increases and pass upon the justice of those rates that is an entirely different matter; but surely the maintenance of an Interstate Commerce Commission becomes ridiculous if we can not turn to that body and get the exact information which this resolution seems to contemplate.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, if the resolution is passed there will be nothing to hinder the committee from sending to the Interstate Commerce Commission or any of its employees in possession of information and asking to have that information laid before the committee in so far as the commission may have it. There will be nothing, either, to deter the committee from gathering information from other sources. I take it that the purpose of the resolution is, in part, to determine by an independent investigation, through one of our own committees, the broad question as to the whole freight situation. The Senator who offers the resolution has offered very substantial reasons for an investigation; but let me call attention to an additional ground which the Senator, of course, had in mind but I think did not express, and that is that it is not only the duty of the Senate to see that executive officers perform their duties, but it is peculiarly the duty of the Congress or of either branch of Congress in this case, because primarily it is the business of Congress to itself regulate rates, to itself make the rules under which the railroad business of the country may be conducted, and Congress has simply seen fit to create an agency to relieve it in part of that duty. The duty, nevertheless, rests upon Congress to see and know that the agency by it created at all times performs its full duty. It will not do to stand in the Senate and say that an agency created by the Senate and the House of Representatives is too holy a thing for the Senate or House of Representatives to ever dare investigate any subject that may have been turned over to such an organization.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. HARDING. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri if anyone has made such an intimation as that?

Mr. REED. Why is the Senator from Ohio agitated by my remark? I addressed nothing to him.

Mr. HARDING. I presume it is not extraordinary for me to become agitated. At least a new Senator has a right to a little agitation at times.

Mr. REED. Why, certainly; new or old, we have that right; but I do not know why the Senator is taking exception to my remark.

Mr. HARDING. I was only seeking, Mr. President, to question what seemed to me the consistency of the Senate seeking information on its own account which ought by all reason to be in the hands of a commission created by this body. I have not at any time questioned the propriety of the Senate making recommendations or changing the interstate-commerce laws in any way.

Mr. REED. I understood the Senator, I think. I still do not understand why the Senator seems to think I was addressing my remarks particularly to him. I am addressing my remarks to the proposition that this body—which, in connection with the House of Representatives and the President, created the Interstate Commerce Commission—is charged at all times with the primary duty of seeing that the railroad rates in the United States shall be fair and just to the people and to the companies alike.

Mr. President, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that I think this investigation is very necessary. I think it will not do any harm to know just what the Interstate Commerce Commission is doing. There is a rumor abroad—whether it is well founded or not, I do not know—that this enormous increase of rates is, in whole or in part, about to be permitted. I do not undertake to vouch for the accuracy of that rumor; but I do know what our duty is, and I think it would have been well if we had in the past kept much more closely in touch with the situation than we have.

I am in favor of the resolution.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I have no objection to authorizing the Interstate Commerce Committee to proceed with this investigation. Of course it means a very great deal of work, and I question somewhat whether the committee has the facilities, the machinery, and the means for making an investigation such as ought to be made in order to be thorough and full and satisfactory. The Interstate Commerce Commission undoubtedly has that machinery and is able to make that investigation. The fact that it will impose a very great work upon a committee of the Senate is no argument against undertaking it, I admit.

I received this morning telegrams similar to those offered by the Senator from Georgia, and I called at the office of the commission. I was assured that no order had been made granting any increases; that no action would be taken upon this tentative order or this proposal to the carriers until the shippers had a full opportunity to be heard; and I was advised so to communicate to those who had sent me the telegrams. That is the information I have upon the subject, to which perhaps, under the circumstances, the Senate is entitled, and therefore I am justified in referring to it.

As to the resolution itself, as I say, I have no objection to the Senate committee undertaking this work if it is desirable to do so.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, in view of the fact that this matter is properly before the Interstate Commerce Commission, it strikes me that the resolution is anomalous and unnecessary; and yet I know it will pass, and I do not propose to delay its consideration.

I rose particularly to say that it is refreshing to me to have an announcement made here that the legislative branch of the Government at this late day is going to assert itself in matters of legislation. I had feared of late that the legislative branch had been swallowed by another branch of the Government, and that we had no disposition to assert our rights as a coordinate branch of the Government of the United States. As I say, it was refreshing to me to have an utterance from the distinguished Senator to the effect that it was time that the Senate asserted its rights, and that this was an opportunity for it to make an assertion of that kind.

As I say, Mr. President, I do not think this matter ought to be taken out of the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission at this early stage of the consideration of the matter; but I have no idea that any opposition that might be made by me or by any other Senator on this floor would prevent the passage of the resolution, because it is fashionable nowadays for us to go into the investigation of every conceivable thing that can be devised. I apprehend that if this investigation is gone into by this committee it can result in very little else than an embarrassment to the great commission that has the matter in charge at the present time; and I feel sure that if this committee reaches a conclusion and reports it to the Senate, that will probably be the end of it, and that no good result will come, unless, as the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH] suggested, we may legislate so as in some way to restrain the Interstate Commerce Commission from exercising the functions that they now exercise under the laws that we have passed.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I realize that if this investigation takes place it is going to be at the expense of a good deal of time, labor, and money, and it is a very important question, but I see no reason why the resolution should not take the usual course. I therefore move that it be referred to the

Committee on Interstate Commerce. I am constrained to make this motion for several reasons—first, because that is the usual parliamentary course; second, there is no intimation even here, so far as I have heard it discussed—that is, no authoritative intimation—that this increase is going to be granted. I should doubt it very seriously. I say that, not knowing anything about the subject of rates. The commission has not yet acted upon this matter.

There is another reason. Last July Congress passed a joint resolution providing for the appointment of a joint committee consisting of five Senators and five Representatives. who were appointed "to investigate the subject of the Government control and regulation of interstate and foreign transportation, the efficiency of the existing system in protecting the rights of shippers and carriers and in promoting the public interest, the incorporation or control of the incorporation of carriers, and all proposed changes in the organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the act to regulate commerce," and so forth.

I am satisfied that this language is broad enough to justify the joint committee in taking up this subject, if it seems necessary to take it up. If the resolution were now to be adopted—and I do not say that it ought not to be adopted upon a proper consideration and a report by the committee—we would have then an investigation authorized by the Interstate Commerce Commission, a second investigation which could be taken up by this joint committee and which until very recently was holding hearings upon this subject matter, and now a third investigating committee.

Without passing judgment upon whether there should or should not be any increase in rates, it does seem to me the Senate ought to have the judgment of the Interstate Commerce Committee as to whether under all the circumstances it is wise to take up a third investigation at this time. For that reason I make the motion.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, a few days ago I had occasion to go down to the Interstate Commerce Commission with some persons representing some large interests in our State who were very much interested in this question of the increase of rates, and we were assured by the chairman of the commission, just as the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] has mentioned, that the commission has reached no decision with reference to the question at all; that it would not reach any decision in regard to the suspension or putting into effect of the rates until after those interested, the shippers and freight payers, would have an opportunity to be heard and present their protest against the putting into effect of the rates without an investigation.

I was informed this morning by one of the parties who went down with me that on yesterday he was given a hearing by the commission, that he was given an opportunity to protest against the putting into effect of the rates before a full investigation had been had. So, apparently the commission is gathering information upon which to determine whether or not it will suspend the going into effect of the rates, or permit them to go into effect.

Mr. President, I have my own opinion that the rates should not be permitted to go into effect until a full investigation has been had.

Mr. REED. I am not sure that I understand the Senator's statement in reference to what the commission had assured him would be done. Are they simply gathering some information by inquiring from individuals here and there, or are they proposing at this time to actually open the case and invite in the shippers so that they can have a formal hearing?

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; I do not understand that they are going into the question of determining whether rates should be increased or not, but they are giving the shippers, those who are opposed to the increase in the freight rates, an opportunity to file their protests with the commission against the taking effect of the proposed rates and their requests for a suspension of the rates until a full hearing can be had. In other words, as I understand it, it is a good deal like presenting reasons generally why action should not be taken until after a formal hearing has been had, and they are going to determine upon the showing made as to whether or not they will suspend the rate until a full hearing is had, or whether they will let the rates go into effect and then hold the hearing. If a reasonable showing is made for a suspension, I have hopes that the commission will suspend them.

Mr. REED. As I understand the Senator, then, the situation is just this: The Interstate Commerce Commission is now, by inquiry from individuals, about to determine without any public or formal hearing whether it will permit an increase of 15 per cent, according to the information we have, to the amount of $400,000,000 a year, to be made without suspending the rate and requiring proof before it goes into effect. Does not the Senator think that before any such enormous increase as that is permitted to go into effect there ought to be a formal hearing of the most solemn character?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think so; and I think the commission are going to take that into account in determining whether or not they will suspend the rates. I agree with the Senator, and I was just proceeding to state that I do not think this increase ought to be permitted without a thorough investigation. As I understand it, under the law, whenever the railroads propose to increase the rates they must file their applications, and then 30 days' notice is given for a showing by the interested parties to the commission as to whether those rates should be put into effect without a hearing or not. That, I take it, the commission in a way have to do under the law we have passed, and I was told by the chairman they have required the railroads to give the statutory 30 days' notice. That gives everybody an opportunity to file a protest with the commission. These protests the commission expect to consider, and consider very carefully, and I have no doubt they will take into account the propositions which have been suggested here.

So it looks to me like we might be in this situation: We order this hearing. The 1st of June is the date, I understand, when the commission expects to act. The railroads will give the statutory notice. The protests will come in. The commission will determine then the question of suspension. If it is determined that the rates shall not go into effect, and they are suspended, the committee, it seems to me, would have nothing to do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Could not the committee do this with great propriety? If the commission are seriously considering allowing $400,000,000 added under these facts to the burden of transportation, do you not think it might occur to the committee to report to the Senate an amendment to the law providing that they should not grant this increase at any time until a hearing has been had and the carriers have shown that the increase was reasonable and proper?

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is what I think we ought to do now. I think the Senator ought to introduce a bill to prohibit in all cases the increase of rates without a hearing and not investigate a particular case in order to determine the general policy, on which I think our minds are made up.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. My hope from this resolution is that the committee may promptly come back with a few concrete facts growing out of this situation and an amendment of the law, so that increases shall not be made until after a hearing.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Of course. if that is the purpose of the Senator, I have no objection. I am heartily in favor of action of that kind.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I thought I had an occasion which would attract the attention of the Senate and the country, and cause the committee to consider that question. So far as the facts that they have to investigate are concerned, they can do that in a couple of days. They can get up the facts I have handled roughly to show that the carriers are now making 7 per cent on their book valuation, and are proposing an increase of $400,000,000, and that as the law stands this increase will go into effect unless it is suspended by the commission. The shippers must then, item by item, try to pick their commodities out from under this 15 per cent increase. I think the rule ought to be that hearings should be had fully, and the burden should be upon the carriers to justify an increase before it takes place——

Mr. JONES of Washington. There is no disagreement between the Senator and myself.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I hope the Senator, then, will help adopt the resolution just as it is.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I do not want it understood that I rose in opposition to the resolution, but I did want to call attention to these facts and to make a suggestion as to the propriety of this action.

It occurs to me, Mr. President, that we are liable to discredit the commission. I think some things have happened in the past which have weakened the confidence of the people in the Interstate Commerce Commission. Congress has acted upon this matter. We have declared by law that the commission shall investigate these matters, and we have given to it the discretion as to whether or not it will suspend proposed increases until after a full hearing or whether it will let them go into effect.

As the Senator from Iowa said awhile ago, the Senate has voted upon this question two or three times and it has expressed its legislative will to the contrary. By legislative action we have given to this commission the power to suspend rates or not. We have acted upon the theory that sometimes the rates should

be suspended and that sometimes they should go into effect without delay, and we have authorized the commission to determine this. My opinion, as I stated a moment ago, is that we should not allow these increases until after full hearing. I think we ought to pass a law prohibiting them from increasing rates until after a hearing has been had and they have reached a conclusion upon all the facts with reference to the question.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. JONES of Washington. In just a moment. What I feared was that if we take legislative action at this time it would have a legislative influence upon a body that we have created and given power, in the exercise of which I do not believe either the Executive or the legislative ought to interfere any more than we would think of interfering with the Supreme Court of the United States in its consideration of a case. It seems to me that acts of this kind are likely to discredit the Interstate Commerce Commission and destroy the confidence of the people in it. That is the only reason why I would have any hesitation about voting for the resolution. This commission sits as a judicial body, and if its decisions are to command the confidence of the people its decisions should be made without Executive or legislative interference.

I am inclined to think the suggestion of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] is rather wise, that the resolution should be referred to the committee for its consideration, and when it comes back here, if the committee recommends its passage, I would be glad to vote for it without any hesitation whatever. If the real purpose of it and if the effect of it would be only what the Senator from Georgia has suggested and would lead to legislation along the lines that I believe in, I would very heartily welcome it.

The only matter which makes me hesitate at all is the influence that it is apt to have upon a body in which the people of this country have heretofore had the utmost confidence and a body that was created for and that has acted in the interest of the people of this country as between them and the transportation lines of the country. I do not want to discredit this commission. I do not want to weaken the confidence of the people in it by legislative action and interference.

I have no doubt but that it will take into account all these suggestions and facts, and that on the 1st day of June it will announce that it will not permit these rates to go into effect until after a full hearing. If the committee should not have acted before that time and the commission should put the rates into effect, then we could not interfere; they would be in effect under the law. So I see many embarrassing circumstances; but I simply wanted to make the suggestion that I really think it is better to have the resolution considered by the committee, who have especially qualified themselves for a wise judgment on matters of this kind.

Mr. OVERMAN. I wish to ask the Senator where this body got the power to issue an edict equal in dignity and power with the Supreme Court of the United States? Is not the commission simply an agency of Congress?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Oh, yes.

Mr. OVERMAN. Created for the purpose of carrying out the will of Congress according to the rules laid down by Congress?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes; Congress has laid down the rules.

Mr. OVERMAN. That is all they are.

Mr. JONES of Washington. If the Senator will propose now to lay down some rule for their conduct there will not be the least objection on my part. That is what I would like to see done. I should like to see a bill passed which declared a rule for the commission.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator is comparing this commission with some great body above Congress.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That is my opinion. The Senator may not agree with me.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator agrees with me that it is nothing but an agency of Congress, like a committee of Congress.

Mr. JONES of Washington. We can take away the powers of many of the courts of the land. They are created by Congress. The Constitution gives to Congress the power to create courts of various kinds.

Mr. OVERMAN. Under what power did we create this commission?

Mr. JONES of Washington. We created it under our constitutional power, of course.

Mr. OVERMAN. We gave it the power to regulate rates, a power which was in Congress. We finally concluded that we could not regulate the rates and that therefore we would create an agency of Congress under certain rules, and we provided that it should regulate rates. That is all the power it has.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I want to say this: That if the course is followed that is suggested by the Senator from North Carolina the confidence of the people in the Interstate Commerce Commission is absolutely gone, and it simply becomes an agency that is controlled and dominated by whatever influence may be brought to bear upon it. I do not have that opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission or of what Congress wanted it to do. Congress has invested it with great and important powers and duties under certain rules. Acting within those rules it is supreme until Congress changes the rules. Of course, we have the right to lay down the rules that shall govern it. That is what we ought to do. But when we do lay down the rules by which it shall be governed we should either allow it to act free from influence from us along the line of those rules or we ought to do away with the commission or change the rules under which it is to act.

That is what I should like to see done in this case, to change the rule that permits proposed increases without a hearing and require in all cases a full hearing before increases go into effect.

Mr. POMERENE and Mr. SMITH of Georgia addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. To whom does the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Senator from Ohio rose awhile ago.

Mr. POMERENE. I wish again to call the attention of the Senator from Washington as well as the Senator from Georgia to the language of the joint resolution authorizing the appointment of a joint committee. If the Senators have in mind simply the investigation as to whether or not there should be changes under this act, then we have already provided a commission to make such a report. This is the language. They are authorized to investigate "all proposed changes in the organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the act to regulate commerce."

Mr. JONES of Washington. So the purpose really suggested by the Senator from Georgia is already met by that provision?

Mr. POMERENE. It is already provided for. This commission is in session; at least it was sitting a few weeks ago.

Mr. REED. When was it created?

Mr. POMERENE. July 20, 1916. Then early in the last session, about the first of the year, we passed a resolution, I believe, continuing its jurisdiction for another year.

Mr. REED. I wish to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. POMERENE. Very well.

Mr. REED. If the commission has been in existence for nearly a year, I want to ask the Senator what assurance he has that it will bring us any report before the rate has been raised?

Mr. POMERENE. If the Senator has this provision in mind he will observe that it has a vast field for investigation. The question suggested by the pending resolution was only presented to the Senate on April 20. Now, this matter can be presented by those who are interested in it to the committee, and have a report upon it. That is one way to get at it.

Mr. REED. Can the Senator tell us when the joint committee held its last meeting?

Mr. POMERENE. I have the same knowledge on the subject which the Senator from Missouri has—I do not know.

Mr. REED. I thought that was about the state of mind the Senator was in; in other words, like myself, he knows nothing about what the committee is doing.

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] is a member of that committee.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I do.

Mr. CUMMINS. I could not hear very clearly the statement of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], but I hope he did not in any way disparage the joint committee.

Mr. REED. In substance I stated, since the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] had said that he had about the same knowledge that I had on the subject, that I suspected that was the fact; and that being the fact, neither he nor I knew anything about what the committee was doing.

Mr. POMERENE. On that one particular subject. I do not claim to have the same knowledge which the Senator from Missouri has on many subjects.

Mr. REED. I understand that fully; and I am not excepting to the qualification which the Senator makes. I accept it in

the very spirit in which it is intended; but on this particular matter we are entirely ignorant; and I ask the Senator from Iowa, with the permission of the Senator who has the floor——

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. REED. I ask the Senator from Iowa if he can tell us how long it has been since this joint committee has had a meeting?

Mr. CUMMINS. The joint committee ceased to hold meetings when this session of Congress began, and I hope it will never hold a meeting during the sitting of Congress. It is simply absurd to expect Members of Congress, constituting a committee, to carry on an investigation of the character prescribed by the resolution while Congress is in session and the presence of Members is absolutely demanded upon the floor. I do not believe that any criticism can justly be made upon the action of the committee in that respect.

I have no authority to speak for the committee; I am only an humble member of it; but I desire to say that the subjects submitted to it for investigation would, in my opinion, require six months of continuous and uninterrupted work. It is required to investigate the entire system of regulating railways, common carriers; to inquire into the operation of the present law; to determine whether or not we ought to have a Federal incorporation law, under which all railways shall be organized. Furthermore, we are required to investigate the subject of Government ownership of railroads, and to determine and to report upon the propriety of the United States acquiring the railroads and the other public utilities of the country. I hope that Members of Congress will not become impatient with regard to that committee, for if it does its work in a way that will entitle it to any confidence whatsoever it will require a long time to do it, and the report will not be before Congress for many months to come.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator from Iowa yield to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to ask the Senator from Iowa if he does not think it would be utterly impracticable to refer this resolution to the joint committee?

Mr. CUMMINS. It would be a farce, so far as this resolution is concerned. With all due deference to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], I do not believe the subject matter is within the scope of the joint resolution known as joint resolution No. 60, unless it is within the intent of the Senator from Georgia to ask a report as to an amendment or a change in the interstate-commerce law. I understood the resolution of the Senator from Georgia to ask the committee to inquire whether the proposed increase in rates was justified and also the facts and circumstances that would justify the increase. If that be the meaning of the resolution, then it is not within the scope of the investigation of the joint committee.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I will have to ask the Senator to wait. I am going to conclude if I get an opportunity. I want to say to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] that that is apparently the scope of the resolution. The Senator from Georgia has suggested that the real object is to get the facts upon which the committee may base a recommendation for legislation, and to direct the commission not to permit these rates to go into effect until after investigation.

Mr. CUMMINS. We do not need any investigation in order to reach a conclusion on that.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I agree with the Senator. I do not speak for other Senators, but I think the Senate has information sufficient upon which to make up its mind as to whether or not it wants to establish a general rule under which the Interstate Commerce Commission can not put increased rates into effect until after investigation. I am myself ready to vote on that proposition. I will agree to unanimous consent being given this morning to pass legislation of that character. That is what I think we really ought to do.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I wish to ask the Senator this question: How does the propriety strike the Senator of adding to the resolution the following?—

Resolved further, That the committee be requested to report a measure preventing the increase of freight rates until after full hearing the increases are found by the Interstate Commerce Commission to be just and reasonable.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That strikes me very favorably.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I propose to add that to the pending resolution and have the resolution referred to the Interstate Commerce Committee for action at once.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I should be very glad, indeed, to have that done. I would vote without hesitation for the resolution with that provision in it. If a bill to that effect were introduced, however, we might get early action.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I should like to have the views of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] on that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, the United States is at war, and there are measures pending before the Senate absolutely essential to place this country in a proper condition of defense. The matters which are now being discussed are all very interesting, and there is not anything probably more interesting to the American people than the question of the amount that they are compelled to pay for transportation, but we shall not have any transportation, Mr. President, if this war becomes general and we have not an army and have not the laws necessary to protect us in that emergency. I do hope, therefore, and suggest as modestly as I may, that this discussion may be disposed of and that either the bill of which the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] has charge or one of the other bills with reference to increasing the Army may be taken up for discussion.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, under the rules, I believe, until 2 o'clock we may proceed with this matter. I propose to add to the resolution:

Resolved further, That the committee be requested to report a measure preventing an increase of freight rates until after a full hearing the increases are found by the Interstate Commerce Commission to be just and reasonable.

I ask for a vote on that.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the motion of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] to refer the resolution to the Interstate Commerce Committee.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I have been impressed, as other Senators have been, with the thought that the Interstate Commerce Commission might permit the raising of freight rates at this time by 15 per cent. I can not believe, however, that that will be done. It seems to me that whatever may be the merits of the request of the railroads, this is a most unusual time to ask for such an increase. Railroads, as well as individuals, in the United States should be willing to bear their proper share of war burdens and the embarrassments which come as a result of war; but up to date, since the war occurred, the railroads have been benefited rather than injured by the war. Congress last August placed a burden upon the carriers, and a tacit agreement was made that this burden should be met by increased rates; but the 15 per cent asked is much in excess of the extra cost incurred by increased wages.

I agree with the Senator from Washington, however, that this will be—he did not use that term, but it occurs to me—that this will be a vain thing, so far as good results are concerned, and it may result in actual injury not only to shippers but to the country as well.

As has been stated, the Interstate Commerce Committee, through a subcommittee of five members, who are perhaps as active as any other five members on that committee, in conjunction with a like membership from the House, are engaged in the investigation of another matter of the greatest importance, and which received the attention of the joint committee until the duties of Congress compelled us to leave them or to postpone them for the time being. Those five members of the joint committee representing the Senate—and the same is true of the House members—are interested not only in the work of that committee but in the work of this Congress. I can not conceive of the possibility at this crucial time of getting a majority of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate together to consider seriously the questions which are involved in this resolution. I speak for myself. I know it to be impossible for me to take on any more work than I already have, and which has been placed upon me by the Congress.

The Interstate Commerce Commission should not be criticized too severely; its burdens are greater than it can successfully carry. Nothing should be done to discredit it. While I think mistakes have been made—and I have felt like saying so, and have said so—yet I believe that it is a great commission and that it is trying to do its work under the law. The law permits the commission to suspend the operation of proposed new rates without hearing, if need be, or with hearing if it so elects. I think I can, without betraying any confidence, say that the proposed increase of 15 per cent in rates is not going to be permitted without a full hearing, and that the commission is going to determine that question only after a full hearing. I can not, therefore, imagine anything which the Congress can do or which

the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate can do at this time which would result in anything else but embarrassment to the situation. An attempt to forestall the action of the commission would seem to me like unwarranted interference.

If the discussion which has occurred on the floor of the Senate shall be taken cognizance of by the Interstate Commerce Commission, as indicating that the Senate, or at least many Members of the Senate, are not willing that this proposed increase shall be permitted without hearings, then this discussion shall not have been without some benefit; but for the Senate to delegate to the Interstate Commerce Committee a duty which they can not perform would be a vain thing. It can not perform it. In this I speak from experience on that committee. It has been difficult for us to get a quorum to do the ordinary business of the committee. A few members have attended, and attended with great regularity, and have tried to perform all the duties which have been assigned them, but many have been conspicuous only by their absence.

The joint committee, consisting of five members of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and five Members of the other body, have already started upon the investigation committed to them; they have been at it for weeks; their program is marked out, and the scope of its inquiry does cover, in my judgment, the very question which the Senator from Georgia has in mind, namely, whether we shall suggest to the Congress a proposition to change the interstate-commerce law.

The Senator from Georgia will remember that one of the things that was debated here when we created the joint committee was whether we should do that—whether we should make changes in the law affecting the operations of the Interstate Commerce Commission or not. That, I say, is one of the things that we are now considering.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, will it interrupt the Senator for me to ask him a question?

Mr. TOWNSEND. No; I will be very glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Has the Senator a view, which he would be willing to express, as to the advisability of providing that the schedules calling for increases of rates filed by the railroads shall not go into effect until after full hearing and until after a determination that they are just and reasonable?

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I have always supported that proposition. I have contended that when it is proposed to make a general increase in rates, or when a proposition is submitted to that effect, that that change should not take effect until after full hearing. It seems to me also——

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Would it embarrass the Senator's position if we should take up that single proposition and act upon it?

Mr. TOWNSEND. I do not think it would; but I want to suggest to the Senator from Georgia, with the situation as I have described it before the Interstate Commerce Committee, would it not be better to accede to the proposition of the Senator from Ohio and allow this resolution to go to the committee, and see if we can take it up—if the committee itself can do the work which the Senator proposes it shall do? Otherwise, I repeat, it would be a vain thing, and I think would embarrass rather than benefit the thing we all desire.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Then, Mr. President, following the suggestion of the member of the committee, I desire to add to the resolution the provision which I read a few moments ago, and which I think the Secretary has.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator can modify his resolution.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I will then consent to send the entire resolution to the committee, and in the meantime I will see if I can not draft a short bill upon that subject. I think we ought to pass such a bill within the next 30 days, or before the 1st of June is reached. If the commission does not protect the public, we should do so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolution will be referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Morning business is now closed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to consider the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. THOMAS. I wish to inquire of the Senator from Oregon whether his motion is in effect a displacement of the unfinished business, which comes up at 2 o'clock?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is not a displacement of the unfinished business. The unfinished business comes up at 2 o'clock.

Mr. THOMAS. Of course I will not object at the present time to the consideration of the matter, but I shall object to the displacement of the regular unfinished business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with amendments.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President. I think there are many Senators who want to listen to the Senator from Oregon when he opens the discussion on this subject, and I therefore suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Beckham	Gallinger	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Borah	Gore	New	Smith, S. C.
Brady	Gronna	Norris	Smoot
Brandegee	Hale	Overman	Sterling
Chamberlain	Husting	Owen	Stone
Colt	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Sutherland
Cummins	Jones, N. Mex.	Poindexter	Swanson
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Pomerene	Thomas
Dillingham	Kellogg	Robinson	Thompson
Fall	Kendrick	Saulsbury	Townsend
Fernald	Kenyon	Shafroth	Vardaman
Fletcher	King	Sheppard	Wadsworth
France	La Follette	Smith, Ariz.	Warren
Frelinghuysen	McKellar	Smith, Ga.	

Mr. THOMPSON. I was requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] on account of official business. This announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. ROBINSON. I have been requested to announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] is detained on official business.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. SMITH of Michigan]. He has a pair with the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. This announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], on account of illness. He is paired with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN].

Mr. NEW. I desire to announce the absence from the city, on public business, of my colleague [Mr. WATSON]. He is paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT].

Mr. SAULSBURY. I desire to say that my colleague [Mr. WOLCOTT] is absent for the day because of important business.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. LANE] on account of illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). Fifty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN addressed the Senate. After having spoken for some time,

PUNISHMENT OF ESPIONAGE—FOOD PRODUCTS.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, since the Senator has been interrupted, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. When the hour of 2 o'clock arrives that will be done.

Mr. OVERMAN. I thought the hour of 2 o'clock had arrived, and since the Senator had been interrupted I did not desire to interrupt him again a minute later. It is 2 o'clock by that clock, anyway.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2) to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. OVERMAN. I think the Army bill is very much more important than that bill right now, and I ask unanimous consent that it be temporarily laid aside in order that we may proceed with the Army bill.

Mr. THOMAS. If this request is made next Monday I shall not object to it, but the pending bill contains a chapter, Chapter VII, which we were just about to reach, covering a subject that is of as much importance as any other subject which can possibly be a war measure. I shall therefore object to laying aside the unfinished business to-day.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that notwithstanding the objection the Army bill be taken up for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1871.

Mr. THOMAS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Beckham	Hardwick	Nelson	Smith, Md.
Borah	Hitchcock	New	Smith, S. C.
Brady	Husting	Norris	Smoot
Brandegee	Johnson, Cal.	Overman	Sterling
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Owen	Stone
Cummins	Jones, N. Mex.	Page	Sutherland
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Swanson
Dillingham	Kellogg	Poindexter	Thomas
Fernald	Kendrick	Pomerene	Thompson
Fletcher	Kenyon	Reed	Townsend
France	King	Robinson	Vardaman
Frelinghuysen	Kirby	Saulsbury	Wadsworth
Gallinger	La Follette	Shafroth	Walsh
Gronna	Lodge	Sheppard	Warren
Hale	McCumber	Shields	Weeks
Harding	McKellar	Smith, Ariz.	Williams

Mr. OVERMAN. My colleague [Mr. SIMMONS] has been called from the city on important business.

Mr. ROBINSON. I have been requested to announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] is detained on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty-four Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am certainly actuated by no desire to unduly postpone the consideration of the Army bill. I think I can say with perfect truth that I am as anxious to have it considered as any one within the hearing of my voice. If the statement which has been in part made by the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs required for its conclusion the displacement of the unfinished business, I should make no objection; but, of course, it is not necessary since his statement can be continued quite as well under the rules of the Senate under one pending bill as another. As I stated when I made the objection to the displacement of the unfinished business, I would not interpose if the request were made for next week, as early next week as the Senator might say.

Mr. President, we have at present under discussion one of the most important bills that can possibly receive our consideration at this extra session of Congress. It is one which in some respects is more exigent than any other bill now or hereafter to be placed upon the calendar.

We are just about to reach and consider what I believe to be the vital chapter of the bill. I refer to Chapter VII, which is designed to control exports in time of war. It is general, but its main purpose is to enable the administration to control the food supply of the country without which both combatants and noncombatants may be helpless at some critical period in the course of this war.

Mr. President, we all are painfully conscious of the tremendous pressure, of the demand upon our food supply. We are made conscious of it every time a grocery bill is contracted, every time a necessity of life is secured. Prices for the actual necessities of life are higher than they ever were in this country and they are still soaring, partly through the operation of natural causes, but largely through the fact that those who can do so are taking advantage of existing conditions to exact from the pockets of the people every possible cent of tribute that the necessities of life will bear.

Indeed, it was only yesterday when it was announced by the Secretary of Agriculture, or at least with his official sanction, that he deemed it necessary to come before the Congress and ask for legislation whereby the food products of the country could be commandeered for the common benefit, whereby prices may be regulated by law and enforced if necessary by the armed powers of the country—a scheme of legislation which we can not consider too soon.

Now, then, what is this chapter—and I shall occupy the attention of the Senate a very short time? It provides that—

> Whenever the United States is at war and the President shall find that the public safety or welfare shall so require, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export any article or articles from the United States, except at such time or times, and from such place or places, and under such regulations and orders, and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe, until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress.

I am informed by the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD], whose attention I request, that in the matter of exports we are to-day losing about 20,000,000 cans, which are containers of food products that are being exported from this country, in consequence of which we are face to face with a shortage of containers.

Here, Mr. President, is an exigency the mere statement of which is sufficient to arrest the attention of the country. Twenty million cans a day means 600,000,000 cans a month. We have no supply of the material for the construction of these containers since the war has placed its limitation upon that, and there is a shortage of tin and of the articles constructed from tin or of which tin forms an essential part.

Now, then, is it possible that the consideration of the Army bill, when we stop to reflect that the statutes now contain a number of laws upon the subject, some of them of recent origin, should set aside this tremendous, this vital, and this all-important subject?

Mr. President, let us at least dispose of Chapter VII and get it in proper shape for enactment before we take up anything else. It is for that reason, Mr. President, and for that reason only, that I am interposing this objection, in the hope that we may dispose of this chapter and at least get it in position so that next week the remainder of the bill may be postponed, if necessary, to the consideration of what the Senate may determine to be a more important subject.

Mr. FERNALD. Mr. President, some days since I introduced a bill covering practically the same lines that are covered in Chapter VII. It is true that, in my judgment, it is the most important measure that will come before the Senate this session. This measure has to do with the food product of the country. While it is necessary to raise money by means of bonds to carry on the war, and it is necessary to raise and mobilize an army to carry on the war, yet the most important part is that we have food to feed the Army and to feed our own people and to feed the allies, whom we must feed in the coming conflict.

The canned goods packing houses of this country from Maine to California are, many of them, closed down for the want of tinplate to make the cans which they use to fill with the products now being grown and taken from the sea and field at this time.

I am opposed to displacing this bill. I want to discuss this particular chapter, and I want to do it now. There has been in almost every daily paper of the country for the past few weeks something bringing this matter to the attention of the people and of Congress, yet for the last four days we have been discussing sections of this bill, splitting hairs on the constitutionality of the proposed law as to whether we should protect or punish the newspapers for anything they might say derogatory to the Government.

Every Senator here knows that any man who has attempted to insult the flag or the American people or the American Nation has been dragged into the police court and sufficiently punished, and I suppose they will continue to be so treated until the war shall have ended. But here is something that has to do with the people of the country. This part of the bill has to do with the feeding of the people. If the plants that are shut down to-day were in position to get tinplate to make containers they would be producing 20,000,000 cans a day, sufficient to furnish one can for every family in the United States in time of peace.

Now, when we come to the war and have 500,000 soldiers it will be necessary to conserve all the food product which we have. Every banker in the country has brought this matter to the attention of his customers. It is familiar to every man who knows anything about the conservation of food products from Mr. Armour down to the smallest packer in the United States. Let me say that I heartily agree with the suggestions that it is a splendid thing to have little gardens in the cities around and it is possible, I suppose to furnish a small supply of foodstuffs for a few weeks in the summer, but nobody would contend that from these gardens we would be able to feed an army or supply the people of the country. The food must come from the sources from which it has been coming and that is from the farms; from those who do farming as a business.

I wish to quote from Mr. Armour, one of the largest packers in the United States, who was in the city last week, and who produces more than $500,000,000 worth of canned foods every year. The following dispatch from Chicago embraces his statement:

CHICAGO, *April 12.*

Unless immediate steps are taken for Government control of food, with one or two meatless days a week, the United States before the year is out, will be as short of provisions as any of the European nations. This is the warning voiced here by J. Ogden Armour, millionaire packer, and one of the biggest dealers in food in the world.

"Unless the United States wishes to walk deliberately into a catastrophe," he declared, "the best brains of the country under Government supervision must immediately devise means of increasing and conserving our food supply."

Armour advocated Government control of all provisions, including a Federal guaranty to the farmers of $1.50 a bushel for wheat, increased crops, meatless days, Government supervision of fertilizer prices to bring greater yields, strict economy in all households, and cultivation of every available acre.

"The food shortage," he said, "is world-wide. The European production is cut in half. Argentina has suffered droughts. The question of food supply is the most pressing and important before us. We have entered the war. Our first duty is to see that both our own people and our allies have food. Government control will bring objections from firms whose profits will be cut, but whose individuals must suffer to benefit the mass."

I think we can all agree that somebody, somewhere, somehow ought to have authority to retain in the Government the supplies needed to care for the food products.

I am going to take a few moments right now, Mr. President, because I have been waiting for a long time to discuss the provisions of this measure. If I may be permitted, I wish to state the real facts as they exist in the country to-day.

Mr. President, we are now in war, and have no time for consideration of theories. And I believe it to be my duty, as well as that of every patriotic citizen of this Republic, to render such service to our country as will enable it to carry on this war with least resistance, with greatest safety to our people, and with most positive assurance of a speedy and successful conclusion.

The time for speculation as to our policy as a Nation has passed. The time for criticism of our Army and Navy, our Congress, or our President has ceased; and now, a patriotic and united people, we should, individually and collectively, regardless of race, color, religious or political preferences, under the banner of freedom, strain every nerve, bend every effort, and with all the zeal and energy we possess help to maintain the honor and dignity of our country and preserve the inalienable rights for which our fathers fought and for which we, their sons, are ready to defend even at the cost of our lives.

In this great struggle each can do his part and must render service along lines for which he is best fitted. My life work has been along business lines—a conserver of foods—and, naturally, my attention is focused in this direction. As ex-president of the National Canners' Association, and up to the time of entering this body a member of the executive committee of that association, also a member of the committee of scientific research, I have been in touch with purveyors of food products in all parts of the country; and as early as January, anticipating a declaration of war, I began to acquaint myself with conditions that speedy and reliable information might be transmitted to Congress, and I believe the time has come when such information should be submitted.

There are three methods of preserving food in a large and general way, and only three. One is by cold storage, one by drying, and the other by the process of canning, or hermetically sealing. Each performs the function for which it was devised with great benefit to the people. The canning process, however, is much the larger, and any failure on the part of the canners to produce a medium-size or normal pack this present season would prove a great hardship and be most disastrous to the country. In fact, the canning industry is so extensive and has developed to such proportions that the best judges, or those who are in position to estimate, claim that 30 per cent in value of food consumed in this country is packed in tin cans; and on inquiry of three large wholsale grocers of New York, Chicago, and Boston the reply was that more than 40 per cent of their business was in canned food products.

From these statements you will gain reliable information as to the magnitude of the canning business. In fact, the output of our canneries in 1914, according to the census report, was 3,626,572,956 cans—figures so large that they startle our imagination and are almost beyond comprehension—and recent figures made up from information collected by the Department of Commerce show that in 1916 this was increased by over one-fourth; and in 1917, according to the estimates of the can makers, it will be increased by over one-half.

There are 12 tin-plate mills in this country whose combined output, according to the census of 1914, is 2,084,536,669 pounds, requiring 20,845,366 boxes of tin plate.

More than one-half of all the tin plate used in this country is used in manufacturing containers for food products. The export of tin plate last year was 5,200,000 boxes; of these 1,300,000 boxes were shipped to Canada. Large shipments of tin plate are made to Asia, used extensively in the oil business, and for many other purposes.

The export of tin plate has been constantly increasing, and in 1916 was nearly three times greater than in 1915, having increased from 179,000,000 pounds in 1915 to 516,000,000 pounds in 1916. The exports of tin, including tin cans and miscellaneous tinware have doubled in the last two years. The export of tin plate during the eight months ending February of this year amount to 319,000,000 pounds, and at this rate promise to equal, by the end of the current fiscal year, the exportations in 1916.

The imports of tin in bars, pigs, etc., for the eight months of the current fiscal year amounted to 83,000,000 pounds, and apparently for the full fiscal year will show a decrease as compared with 1916.

It is readily to be seen that the increase in export of tin plate and the decrease in import of pig tin causes a scarcity of tin containers which is of great seriousness at this time; and it is of vital importance that some relief be given immediately.

Tin plate has advanced from $3.50 to more than $7.50 per box within a few months—but you could not buy a pound of plate at this price at the present time—and cans of all sizes in the same proportion. I know of no can manufacturer who dares to contract for any considerable number of cans at any price this season.

The necessity for containers for food products is of as much importance as the product itself.

The annual convention of canned-food packers of the United States was held at Cleveland, Ohio, early in February. Representative packers from every, or nearly every, State in the Union were present, and although the gravity of the situation had not become so acute as at present there was a pessimistic feeling that shortage might occur, and packers were reluctant about accepting orders for future delivery even at advanced prices.

After the Cleveland convention the attention of the secretary of the association was called to the embargo which had been laid by the railroads on canners' supplies. This included seeds, tin plate, empty cans, and shipping boxes. Several times the office of the National Canners was informed that can factories were not running full capacity because of the inability to get tin plate. The trouble was first thought to be caused by the railroad embargo, and personal representations were made by the association to the American Railway Association. It was also taken up in a personal way with a number of the traffic managers of individual roads.

By the direction of the financial committee of the association the attention of Dr. Alsberg, Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture, was called to this matter, and it was shown him that while the embargoes were serious, the lifting of these would but temporarily relieve the situation, for in the meantime it developed that there was an actual shortage of tin plate. Dr. Alsberg brought this to the attention of Secretary Houston, and he in turn to Secretary Redfield. The matter was taken up vigorously by a special committee consisting of Dr. Alsberg, representing the Department of Agriculture, and Dr. Pratt, representing the Department of Commerce. A letter was addresssed to the American Railway Association, signed by the two Secretaries, asking that the embargoes be lifted. At their request Chairman Willard, of the National Defense Committee, sent personal wires to the traffic managers of all the principal railroads of the United States, urging that canners' supplies be included in the preferential list, and to the credit of the railroads I want to say that their prompt response to this appeal was of great assistance, and as satisfactory as could be expected. A further or extended embargo on seeds at that time would have been so serious that its effect could not be estimated, and would have caused an advance in food products the coming season which would make them unattainable by those of moderate means and an expensive luxury for the wealthy.

The extent of the seed business may be better understood when I tell you that one county in my own State, the most northerly of the country, shipped 4,000 carloads in 1916, and will probably increase the shipments this season. These were sent to nearly every State in the Union. This raising of seed in some particular locality and shipping to other States is a very general practice, and it is of the greatest importance that no barriers should interfere with transportation. I am confident that seed for immediate use has been shipped, and that there will be no further trouble along these lines for the present, and for planting the 1917 crop.

After satisfactory arrangements had been made for transportation of seed the point was made that there was an actual shortage of tin plate. The two Secretaries called a meeting of the

tin-plate manufacturers, which was held in Washington on Friday, March 23. This meeting was well attended, and practically represented the entire tin-plate industry. The tin-plate manufacturers nearly all stated that they were working their mills to full capacity, but that there had been an unusual demand for tin plate. Secretary Redfield, who presided over this meeting, requested Sir Richard Crawford, of the British Embassy, to come before the meeting, and the question of pig tin was discussed with him.

It should be borne in mind that all the pig tin which is used for the manufacture of tin plate comes from Singapore, or nearly all. These mines are controlled by the British Government, and the supply of tin allotted to each country in proportion to its supposed needs. Shipments of pig tin are made from the Straits to English ports and there reassigned to the different countries.

During the interview with a prominent English official now in this country it was stated that if a single shipment of pig tin was destroyed the tin-plate mills would have to shut down, at least for a time. This shows conclusively that there is no surplus of pig tin in this country.

The request was made that future shipments of pig tin be made by way of Pacific coast ports, and this matter is being investigated.

The two secretaries have addressed a letter to all manufacturers of tin plate, which is to be distributed among the employees, urging that in every possible way they speed up the output of the mills. A letter was also addressed to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy asking that when requisition for steel for the manufacture of ammunition and other war supplies was made that a request should accompany the same urging that the supply of steel needed for tin plate should not be interfered with, and there is no doubt but that this request will be observed.

In summing up the situation it seems that the only thing possible in order to conserve the interests of the canning industry is the temporary suspension of the use of tin plate for other purposes than that of making containers for food until a surplus is accumulated in the hands of can manufacturers.

To give a clearer idea of the importance of withholding exports of tin plate, a few figures concerning the tin industry and the use of tin in this country will not be at this time out of place. In the eight months from July, 1916, to February, 1917, inclusive, we imported into this country over 83,000,000 pounds of pig tin, valued at more than $31,000,000, as detailed in the following table:

Imports of tin in bars, pigs, etc., into the United States, by months, during the period from July, 1916, to February, 1917, inclusive.

Months.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1916.		
July	9,468,702	3,806,343
August	14,495,126	5,897,202
September	9,682,786	3,799,779
October	6,902,953	2,606,167
November	5,078,610	1,924,270
December	11,946,146	4,314,544
1917.		
January	14,367,378	5,351,488
February	11,140,182	4,197,835
Total, 8 months	83,081,883	31,897,628

In the same period we exported more than 300,000,000 pounds of tin plate, valued at over $15,000,000, as detailed in the table given below:

Exports of tin plates, etc., from the United States, by months, during the period from July, 1916, to February, 1917, inclusive.

Months.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1916		
July	42,022,202	1,749,853
August	42,016,554	1,933,276
September	42,097,074	1,916,599
October	31,796,754	1,514,430
November	35,428,737	1,662,267
December	40,634,045	1,996,154
1917.		
January	52,434,531	2,692,551
February	32,776,076	1,813,250
Total, 8 months	319,405,973	15,278,385

According to the Government report for 1914 the total pack of canned goods was in excess of 3,000,000,000 cans, given in detail as follows:

Cans packed as per Government report for 1914.
[N. C. A. Bulletin No. 37.]

Articles.	Total cans.	Base boxes per thousand cans.	Total boxes.
No. 1, regular cans	201,530,192	1.801	549,373
No. 1, salmon	267,357,744	2.294	613,319
No. 2, regular	725,350,632	2.645	1,918,553
No. 2½, regular	168,888,528	3.354	566,451
No. 3, regular	561,659,952	3.675	2,064,101
No. 10, regular	9,025,812	7.459	67,325
Tip asparagus	7,651,212	2.341	17,911
No. 2½, asparagus	7,651,212	3.440	25,319
Sardines	117,265,352	1.5115	177,251
No. ¼, flat	35,511,648	1.749	62,113
8-ounce, milk	364,705,272	1.131	412,481
20-ounce, milk	630,273,648	2.034	1,281,977
Meats, miscellaneous	422,488,221	[1]2.000	844,973
Sardines, miscellaneous	4,212,523	[1]4.000	16,850
Total	3,628,572,955	.....	8,619,007

[1]Estimated.

Already the Government and the canners are making an effort to conserve tin plate by reducing to a minimum the packing of all nonperishable foods. Of course, they will continue to pack a certain amount of this because of its convenience, but it shows the earnest manner in which this whole subject is being approached by the Government officials and the canning industry.

"In the multitude of counselors there is safety," so said King Solomon; and its truth is just as apparent to me to-day. I have endeavored to get information and advice from all reliable sources, and to make a somewhat exhaustive research, that I might present to you the exact conditions which exist.

The reports and figures submitted were rendered in times of peace. The great demand in times of war will, of course, immeasurably increase the need for containers; and prompt and imperative action must be taken. Our farms must be made to produce abundant food, not only to supply our own people, but to succor the famished millions of Europe. It were better for us to supply food for those who are fighting battles for democracy abroad than to send an army to multiply the horrors of blood-soaked battle fields. Our industrial establishments must be kept in operation; but it is of far greater importance that our food supply shall be maintained to an extent adequate to the needs of all our population. A shortage of food has proven the greatest danger to the countries of Europe in the present conflict, and unless quick and decisive action be taken the same conditions will prevail in our own country, to say nothing of the great increase in the cost of living.

The British food controller has ordered that, beginning April 15, in hotels, restaurants, boarding houses, and clubs, there shall be one meatless day weekly. They have also ordered that no potatoes shall be allowed except on meatless days and on Friday. The order imposes restrictions on the quantity of meat, sugar, and bread. Germany has long since restricted her citizens to the most meager and stinted allowance, and it is a matter of common knowledge that should there be anything but a full and complete harvest in Germany this season she would be obliged to surrender in despair, without the discharge of a single gun. The blockade of both England and Germany is for the purpose of starving the people into submission.

The lack of food in Belgium has been frightful, but perhaps the most painful and distressing experience that any people were ever subjected to was that of little Poland, where children were compelled to share the meat of mice and moles with the family cat until, overcome by the anguish of famine and starvation, they were relieved only by insanity or death. O cruelty unspeakable! A sunless, agonized country, where no child under 12 years of age has survived, and those of older years, whose lives have been spared, mutilated and crippled, mentally and morally robbed. The history of the world records no crimes so heart-rending and atrocious.

It is not expected that our country will approach such conditions of suffering and disaster; but that food supply may be ample, that our people may not entertain the possibility of distress, we should exert every effort and all the energy we possess to the one cause of success in this great conflict.

With righteous indignation for the insult and injury perpetrated by the German Government upon our people, let us act, and act promptly. Let us pass this bill now under consideration, which will, I am sure, give to the conserver of foods the assurance that he will secure sufficient containers for his prod-

ucts and stop immediately the advancing price of foods, which has been soaring for months, until now even the common necessities have almost passed beyond the reach of the people.

The prompt enactment of this bill will hold the tin-plate in our own country until a sufficient surplus is reserved to supply our needs. It will give renewed courage and assurance to the packer, and with this assurance the tiller of the soil, who can do more than armed forces to win this great battle for the rights of man, will on every hillside and in every valley and from the great plains of the fertile, mighty, and magnificent West garner a harvest so full and abundant that no single American shall suffer from hunger or want. And this Nation, thus provided for through the wisdom of her citizens, shall emerge triumphant from this titanic struggle and shall not perish from the earth.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I wish to ask if Senate bill No. 2 is now the unfinished business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That bill is the unfinished business at present, but the pending motion is a motion of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1871.

Mr. McCUMBER. If the Senator from Oregon will allow me three minutes in which to discuss one matter in relation to the pending bill, I certainly shall not then object to its being displaced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is debatable.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, yesterday I offered an amendment to the bill which is now the unfinished business. That amendment was designed to protect the publishers of newspapers from the dire penalties provided in the proposed law against the publication of information, providing such information was obtained from proper sources. I wish to call attention to two or three remarks which were made at the time concerning the proposed amendment. Mr. President, my hearing is not very acute and I often fail to catch every word that is said in debate. Possibly that may sometimes be advantageous, or at least tend to the orderly decorum of the Senate, for there might be occasions on which, if it had been more acute at the time, I might overstep the proprieties of the Senate Chamber in debate and say things that I would not say after a more mature deliberation. I find the following in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning my amendment. First, by the Senator from Missouri:

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator who is the author of this amendment if this is an attempt to provide for a legal censorship—if that is the real object—to provide a censorship that will give permission to newspapers to publish certain things?

In the light of the amendment which I offered I can hardly comprehend the meaning of that question. It has not the slightest relation in any respect whatever to the amendment which was proposed. Therefore, if I still fail to understand its meaning, I hope that I shall be pardoned.

Again, the Senator from Idaho said:

Mr. BORAH. The beauty of this amendment, to my mind, is that the censorship at this time is in Congress; that Congress is granting the permission to the President to give out information with reference to the forces of the United States, of which he is Commander in Chief.

I then stated:

Mr. President, allow me to state just what the amendment means.

* * * * * * *

We ought to find some relief for those who might publish facts which the President himself might see fit to give out.

Again, in discussing this matter, the Senator from Minnesota asked:

Mr. NELSON. Suppose the President, in the rules which he prescribes, should make an exception as to himself, what then?

And, again, there appears the following statement by the Senator from Pennsylvania:

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I only desire to answer the question that the Senator from North Dakota pressed upon the Senator from Minnesota in reply to the suggestion of the Senator from Minnesota that the President might protect himself by excluding himself from the operation of these regulations. The Senator from North Dakota, as I understand, replied "but suppose he did not," having, I have no doubt, in mind the safety and protection of the President.

Mr. President, it never occurred to me that my attitude upon the many subjects in the Senate had been such as to justify my brother Senators in the assumption that I had traveled so far along the road of age that leads to final senility as to propose an amendment to protect the President from making a regulation against himself, and in failing, in the confusion which prevailed, to fully comprehend what some of these Senators were saying I think I paid them a compliment in assuming on my part that they had not traveled sufficiently far along that road as not to be able to comprehend the clear purposes and intendment of that simple amendment.

Now, Mr. President, I want to show how very apt and how proper was that amendment. In the first place, the amendment was not intended to refer, and did not refer, to any proclamation which the President might make or to any rules he might promulgate. We had adopted at that time a proposition which, if enacted into law, would make it a crime, punishable by death or by imprisonment for not less than 30 years, for any publisher to state the number of the Army at any point or any movement of the Army or the Navy. Now, Mr. President, let me read just what we propose to enact into law. I will eliminate all but the principal propositions. I read from section 3, on page 8:

(b) Whoever, in time of war, * * * shall collect, record, publish, or communicate, * * * any information with respect to the movement, numbers, description, condition, or disposition of any of the armed forces, ships, aircraft, or war materials of the United States, * * * shall be punished by death or by imprisonment for not less than 30 years.

That does not relate to a proclamation which the President may make. When that becomes a law, without reference to what rules the President may promulgate, any editor who inserts in the columns of his paper a statement as to the movements of the Army or the Navy or of our aircraft, or any other arm of our Military Establishment, if convicted, will be punished by death or imprisonment for 30 years.

I supposed that every Senator would understand that when that was enacted as a direct provision of law it was not dependent at all upon any proclamation of the President. It would be a crime to publish such information even though the President himself had given it out, and therefore there ought to be some provision that would relieve a publisher should he publish information which the President himself might give out. Therefore I offered the amendment as one which would be very appropriate and which would follow the line the President would be most likely to take. My amendment read:

Provided further, That the President, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, may from time to time give out for publication—

That means for publication in the press, of course—

such information concerning such operations, measures, and movements of the Army and Navy as may not, in his opinion, be incompatible with the interests of the country, and the publication of such information shall not be a violation of this section.

Mr. President, I confess I fail to understand how any of the idle remarks I have quoted could be applicable to the proposition which was made at that time. I am aware that the provision of the bill uses the words "with the intent that the same shall be communicated to the enemy." But every lawyer understands that every person is presumed to intend the natural consequences of his action, and therefore if in publishing a statement of the movement of our Army or of our Navy the enemy might naturally secure such information the one publishing the information would be guilty of the offense charged. I was therefore surprised, Mr. President, that the remarks which were made so appealed to the jocular nature of my friend from North Carolina [Mr. OVERMAN] that he felt disposed to move to lay the amendment on the table without giving me any opportunity to explain it to those Senators who had not even listened to the reading of the amendment and who based their remarks upon a conclusion derived without any knowledge of the wording of the amendment or what it really was designed to accomplish.

I felt, Mr. President, in justice to myself, that I should give this explanation at this time, which I was cut off from giving by the motion to lay the amendment on the table, the only motion to lay an amendment on the table which has been offered to the bill. The amendment offered by me, I want to assert right now, is one of the most important amendments offered to the bill, and was designed solely for the protection of the press and the liberty of the publisher.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. McCUMBER. I yield, Mr. President.

Mr. OVERMAN. I had no intention of cutting the Senator off in the middle of his speech. I thought he had concluded.

Mr. McCUMBER. Why, Mr. President——

Mr. OVERMAN. I repeat, I thought the Senator was through with his remarks, and, as some Senators were disposed to make light of the matter, therefore, without objection on the part of the Senator—for if he had wanted to discuss the amendment I would have withdrawn my motion—I moved to lay the amendment on the table. I had no idea, I repeat, of cutting him off; but, as the Senator knows, certain Senators were making fun of the matter, and I concluded that it would be well to make the motion I did.

Mr. McCUMBER. I can not imagine how any Senator who listened to the amendment could fail to comprehend its importance and the purpose for which it was offered.

Mr. OVERMAN. I repeat, I had no thought whatever of cutting off the Senator, because I thought he had discussed the amendment at length and had concluded.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, it is an important amendment. It is important to-day. I am not going to press it at this time; but when we by law declare absolutely that the giving out of certain information by the press, without reference to any regulation by the President or the War Department, shall be a crime, there ought to be some provision that when the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy sees fit to give out information the press may publish it, whereas, as the bill now stands, the fact that the Commander in Chief gives out this information will not operate to excuse anyone who publishes it from prosecution under the provisions of this proposed law.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, while the bill is still before the Senate I desire to submit two amendments, which I will offer at the proper time. I ask to have them printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendments will be printed and lie on the table.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I hope my motion will now be put.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1871.

Mr. VARDAMAN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brady	Hale	Myers	Smith, S. C.
Brandegee	Husting	New	Smoot
Chamberlain	Johnson, Cal.	Norris	Sterling
Cummins	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Sutherland
Curtis	Jones, N. Mex.	Page	Swanson
Dillingham	Jones, Wash.	Poindexter	Thomas
Fernald	Kellogg	Pomerene	Thompson
Fletcher	Kenyon	Reed	Townsend
France	Kirby	Robinson	Trammell
Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Shafroth	Vardaman
Gallinger	Lodge	Sheppard	Wadsworth
Gore	McCumber	Shields	Warren
Gronna	McKellar	Smith, Md.	Weeks

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-two Senators having responded to their names, a quorum of the Senate is present. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1871.

Mr. THOMAS. I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending motion.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. NEW (when Mr. WATSON'S name was called). I announce the absence from the city of my colleague [Mr. WATSON]. He is paired with the junior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT]. If my colleague were present and free to vote, he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BECKHAM. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] is unavoidably detained on business.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce the absence on account of illness of my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF]. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (after having voted in the affirmative). I am paired with the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], but I understand that he would vote as I did. I am therefore relieved from the pair.

Mr. FALL. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK]. In his absence I am unable to vote.

Mr. WEEKS. Has the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] voted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky has not.

Mr. WEEKS. I have a general pair with that Senator, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I have been requested to announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] is detained on official business.

Mr. ROBINSON. I desire to announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. JAMES] is detained from the Senate on official business.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER] with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]; and

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays 5, as follows:

YEAS—53.

Ashurst	Gore	Myers	Smith, Md.
Beckham	Hale	New	Smith, S. C.
Borah	Hardwick	Norris	Smoot
Brady	Husting	Overman	Sterling
Brandegee	Jones, N. Mex.	Owen	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	Page	Swanson
Culberson	Kellogg	Poindexter	Thompson
Cummins	Kenyon	Pomerene	Townsend
Curtis	King	Robinson	Trammell
Dillingham	Kirby	Shafroth	Wadsworth
Fletcher	Lodge	Sheppard	Warren
France	McCumber	Sherman	
Frelinghuysen	McKellar	Shields	
Gallinger	McLean	Smith, Ariz.	

NAYS—5.

Fernald	Johnson, Cal.	La Follette	Thomas
Gronna			

NOT VOTING—38.

Bankhead	Hughes	Penrose	Tillman
Broussard	James	Phelan	Underwood
Calder	Johnson, S. Dak.	Pittman	Vardaman
Colt	Kendrick	Ransdell	Walsh
Fall	Knox	Reed	Watson
Gerry	Lane	Saulsbury	Weeks
Goff	Lewis	Simmons	Williams
Harding	Martin	Smith, Ga.	Walcott
Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Mich.	
Hollis	Newlands	Stone	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to offer for printing—I should also like to have it printed in the RECORD and lie on the table—an amendment intended to be proposed as an additional section to the Army bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. JONES of Washington to the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, viz, add a new section, as follows:

SEC. —. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, empowered, and directed during the present war to do everything by him deemed necessary to prevent, within the limits hereinafter specified, prostitution, fornication, or lewdness, and to suppress and prevent the keeping or setting up of houses of ill fame, brothels, or bawdy houses within 10 miles of any military camp, station, fort, post, cantonment, training or mobilization place, and any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating any order, rule, or regulation issued to carry out the object and purpose of this section shall, unless otherwise punishable under the Articles of War, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 12 months, or both.

Mr. SHIELDS. I desire to offer an amendment to the pending bill, which I ask may be printed and lie on the table, and also be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. SHIELDS to the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, viz:

On page 5, line 10, strike out the word "nineteen" and insert "twenty-one" in lieu thereof; and strike out the word "twenty-five," in line 11, page 5, and insert in lieu thereof the word "thirty," so that the sentence contained in lines 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, on page 5, amended, shall read:

"Such draft shall be based upon liability to military service of all male citizens, or male persons not alien enemies who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 21 and 30 years, and shall take place and be maintained under such regulations as the President may prescribe not inconsistent with the terms of this act."

Mr. McKELLAR. I desire to submit the views of the minority on the pending bill, and ask that they be received and printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

[Senate Rept. No. 22, pt. 2, 65th Cong., 1st sess.]

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the following minority report:

The minority of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate disagree with the majority, in that the bill as reported does not provide for the calling out of volunteers under the volunteer-army act, which was passed by the Congress and approved April 25, 1914.

The minority very earnestly believe that there ought to be a provision calling for 500,000 volunteers at this time in connection with the proposed draft. They supported the amendment offered in the committee by Mr. MCKELLAR, providing as follows:

Amend by adding as a separate section, after the second division of the first section, and after line 20, on page 2 of the bill, the following:

"That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to raise 500,000 volunteers under the provisions of 'An act to provide for the raising of the volunteer forces of the United States in times of actual or threatened war,' approved April 25, 1914, in so far as the same is not inconsistent with the terms of this act, and shall immediately call out and train 500,000 volunteers. Should that number not enlist in 90 days all deficiencies shall be secured by draft as herein provided."

The reasons actuating the minority are, among others, as follows:

1. One of the best military assets of the country consists of those men over 25 years of age who have seen service: (a) In the Regular Army; (b) in the Spanish-American War; (c) in the National Guard; (d) in the military colleges of the country; (e) those who have been trained in the various training camps heretofore provided by law. All of these classes of citizens would be excluded from the draft under the terms of this bill. We believe that we should not lose these military assets. We have spent much money in training them and we ought not throw them away.

2. Under the terms of the bill, without this amendment, the major portion of the additional army raised would be composed of boys who have not attained their majority. It is all right, no doubt, to use these boys in connection with maturer men in the Army, but to use these boys to the exclusion of older men and more experienced men, is, to our mind, a very dangerous policy in view of the fact that we have got to send these boys against trained German troops. There will be about a million of these boys subject to conscription who are not even old enough to make a contract under our laws.

3. The traditions and history of our people favor the volunteer system. We have had five wars. All of them were fought under the volunteer system and all of them we won. This Nation has never lost a war. The volunteer spirit is bred into the people. The men of the United States are willing to volunteer now and are anxious to volunteer now, and ought to be given an opportunity to do so rather than be conscripted into the service. The minority believes with the President that the conscription feature should go into this bill, but it does not believe it should exclude the enlistment of volunteers, and does believe the volunteer system first should be well tried out.

4. Secretary Baker testified that in the event of the passage of the bill without the volunteer feature, it would take until August to enumerate and equip the men fit for service under the terms of the bill, and it would be that time before we could begin to organize. We believe that now is the time to organize, and if a call for volunteers were made we would have men drilling and preparing themselves for service within 30 days.

5. We believe that men who volunteer their services are better fighters than those who are conscripted into the Army. England has more than 4,000,000 volunteers in the field to-day. She resorted to conscription only as a last resort to get more men. Had she done otherwise she would have been torn with internal disorder. Canada has never resorted to conscription. She has more than 400,000 volunteers, 300,000 of them being in Europe.

6. The organization of 500,000 volunteers under the terms of the amendment need not in the slightest degree interfere with the organization of the drafted army as proposed in the bill, and will not do so.

7. The proposition that if we call out 500,000 volunteers it would make our Army half volunteer and half conscript, and therefore undesirable, is without force, because we now have about 300,000 troops in the Regular Army and in the National Guard who are volunteers. It is not proposed by the staff bill to change these forces, and so our Army will be part volunteer and part conscript whether we had a provision for volunteers or not.

8. From our understanding of the testimony of Secretary Baker and Gen. Crowder it is evident that under the present law volunteers may be received in the National Guard and in the Regular Army to the extent, probably, of more than a half million men, still it was also evident from their testimony that if the conscript bill passes without amendment it is not intended or expected by the War Department that these volunteers will be actually enlisted. On the contrary, it is expected to fill up the Regular Army and the National Guard with the conscripted troops.

C. S. THOMAS.
KENNETH MCKELLAR.
JAS. A. REED.
W. F. KIRBY.

I concur in the above to the extent of favoring an amendment providing for the simultaneous employment of both the volunteer and conscription methods of raising an emergency army.

In employing the method of conscription, however, I do not believe that 19-year-old boys should be taken. I think no men less than 21 years of age should be included. There are enough adults without taking boys against their will and without the consent of their parents.

G. M. HITCHCOCK.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN resumed and concluded his speech, which entire is as follows:

Mr. President, it is not my purpose to enter into any extensive discussion of the measure under consideration at this time. I hope I may be permitted to discuss the subject generally before the bill is finally disposed of; but there has been a great deal of misunderstanding as to the provisions of this measure, and, I think, a good deal of honest misrepresentation as to what it really contains. I have found a great many persons who have criticized it and have made statements as to the provisions of the bill who candidly admitted to me that they had not even read it, taking as a basis for a statement of fact some remark that has been made by some one who has never given the subject any consideration at all.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do.

Mr. BORAH. Were any of the hearings on this bill taken down and printed?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will state to the Senator that there were practically no hearings on the bill, except that the Secretary of War and the Judge Advocate General came down, and I believe one member of the General Staff. There have been no general hearings on the bill.

Mr. BORAH. The difficulty has been, Mr. President, aside from those who are on the committee, to get information in regard to this bill.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is true, if persons depended for information upon the hearings themselves, rather than upon the bill. I was referring now more particularly to the provisions of the bill and not to the reasons which influenced the committee.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, I should like to suggest to the chairman of the committee that hearings were held during the winter before a subcommittee on the subject involved in this bill, as I understand.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. On the subject of compulsory service, or universal service, extensive hearings were had during the winter by a subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, and they are printed in a volume covering several hundred pages. The principles involved in that and the opposition which was urged against universal military training are practically the objections I have heard to this so-called draft bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. There has been some hearings in the House before a House committee, have there not?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There have been some in the House. I do not know how extensive they have been.

Mr. BORAH. I have seen those hearings, but as to the details of this particular measure I have not been able to get any hearings.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There have been none before the Senate committee. The Senator is correct. There were some brief hearings in the House.

Mr. President, it is my purpose to make only an analysis of the bill under consideration, and I beg that the Senate will not interrupt me while I make that statement, simply because I want to have it a consistent whole, and state, as briefly as may be, the provisions of the bill itself. In order that I may do correctly I have carefully prepared what I have to say on the subject.

In the provisions of the bill under discussion "to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States" to meet the present emergency, advantage is taken of the provisions of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, to continue discretion in the President to raise the additional organizations authorized in that act for the Regular Army and to draft into the military service of the United States, under the provisions of section 111 of that act, to serve during the period of the existing emergency, any and all members of the National Guard and of the National Guard Reserve, and to raise both forces to the maximum enlisted strength authorized by law. If these organizations are completed, namely, all remaining increments added to the Regular Army, and raised to war strength, we will have in the Regular Army 11,942 officers and 287,846 enlisted men, and in the National Guard 10,956 officers and 326,982 enlisted men, a total for both forces of 22,898 officers and 614,738 enlisted men, so that the provisions of this bill make no change as to the power of the President of the United States with reference to filling up the increments of the National Guard and the Regular Army. In case only one increment is added to the Regular Army it will consist of 8,648 officers and 203,401 enlisted men, as 25,900 men are added by each increment. To supplement this force it is proposed to raise by draft and to organize and equip an additional force of 500,000 enlisted men, or such part thereof as the President may at any time deem necessary, and it is proposed further to authorize the President, in his discretion, and at such time as he may determine, to raise and begin the training of an additional force of 500,000 men organized, officered, and equipped as provided for the first 500,000 raised by draft. It is further proposed to raise by draft, organize, officer, and equip in addition to and for each of the above forces such recruit training units as may be deemed necessary for the maintenance of such forces at maximum strength.

I may say, in reference to that, that in the Civil War many such recruiting regiment units were maintained in the several States to fill up the losses in the regiments that were in the field; and I think notably in the State of Wisconsin recruits were continually sent from the State, as the troops were lost in the field, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the loss.

From the above outline it will be seen that if all the forces authorized are raised by the President we will have a total of 1,614,000 enlisted men in organized regiments, brigades, and so forth, and an additional force of approximately 500,000 men undergoing training in the recruit training units, as there would normally be organized for each regiment a recruit training battalion approximating in size one-third of the unit for which it is training recruits. The enlisted men required to raise and maintain the organizations of the Regular Army thus expanded and to complete and maintain organizations consisting of members of the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States at the maximum legal strength are to be raised by volunteer enlistment until the President decides that these forces can not be effectively raised and maintained except by selective draft. The other forces authorized in the act are to be raised and maintained by selective draft exclusively. So it would appear from this that the President has the power to organize the largest volunteer army that was ever raised in this country for any purpose.

This draft is to be based upon liability to military service of all male citizens or male persons who have declared their intention to become citizens between the ages of 19 and 25 years, and is to take place and be maintained under such regulations as the President may prescribe not inconsistent with the terms of the act. The act requires that quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or the subdivisions of these political divisions, shall be determined in proportion to their population and that credit shall be given to any State, Territory, or District, or subdivisions thereof, for the number of men entering the military service of the United States under the provisions of the act from any such State, Territory, District, or subdivision, as members of any Federal force authorized in the act. It prescribes that those selected for service shall, from the date they are required by order of the President to enter upon such service, be subject to the laws and requirements governing the Regular Army, so far as such laws and requirements are applicable, and requires that those accepted shall be required to serve for the period of the existing emergency unless sooner discharged.

Under the plan outlined above, compulsory service is an auxiliary method for enlarging and maintaining the Regular Army and National Guard in the service of the United States at the prescribed maximum strength, to be employed, in the discretion of the President, should volunteering fail to maintain such forces at the prescribed maximum strength. Under the system proposed, it is believed that all who desire to do so between the ages of 19 and 40 should have the opportunity of volunteering, and it is believed possible that the Regular Army and National Guard in the service of the United States will be raised to war strength by this system. To guard against the failure to obtain men under the volunteer system, however, and in order to insure that losses are promptly replaced by trained men, the recruiting battalions of these two forces are placed on the same basis, as the recruiting battalions of the other forces provided in the act; that is, they are filled exclusively by drafted men. From the above outline it will be seen that the proposed act applies to all forces the principle of compulsory service now contained in the national defense act in section 79.

It is manifest, I think, that when we are about to wage war with what is probably the strongest military power the world has yet seen, we can no longer rely in its entirety or mainly on the volunteer system. Now that we are engaged in war with one of the greatest military powers in the world, the adoption of the application of the principle of universal service becomes all the more imperative, as it is self-evident, that this Nation can make no headway unless we adopt a system in waging war which will enable us to utilize to the fullest possible extent our entire resources in men and material, as is the policy and practice of the nation with which we are now at war.

In making liable to draft only those between the ages of 19 and 25 we will make available for selection for service only approximately 6,000,000 out of our 21,000,000 men of military age. It is believed that of the 6,000,000 included between the above ages 3,500,000 will be able to pass the necessary physical examinations, and that we will get a total of approximately that number after all exemptions have been made. Of these 3,500,000 it will be seen that only a total of less than one-half are taken, and for that reason selective draft is used between these age limits. It will be understood that should our armies become seriously engaged the remaining 2,500,000 will have to be trained to supply losses, and, if that is not sufficient, men beyond the age of 25 will have to be called to service.

By taking men between the ages of 19 and 25 we are taking the very best material in the country for soldiers. Relatively few of these young men have contracted family ties, and for that reason there will be little expense to the Government in taking care of families of married soldiers. With only 400,000 soldiers taken the care of dependents has already cost Canada $30,000,000. Congress found it necessary to appropriate $6,000,000 for this purpose in the recent call of the militia for border service. No military efficiency is gained and the $30,000,000 is economic waste.

Young men of the age given have the highest possible recuperative power to recover from wounds and to resist the hardships and diseases incident to a campaign.

Mr. President, I will say right here that the records of the War Department disclose that the Civil War was fought by young men between the ages of 15 and 23. That is, the great majority of the men who were utilized in that service on both sides were between those ages.

The following total exemptions are made from the selective draft prescribed in the bill; and these exemptions, Mr. President, have followed practically the language of every statute that we have had in force on the subject since the foundation of the Government.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the Senator has stated what is a historical fact, that the Civil War was fought almost exclusively by young men between 21 and 23. Will the Senator tell me what age is provided for in the so-called selective draft?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Nineteen to twenty-five.

Mr. President, at the time the motion was made to make this bill the unfinished business I had reached the point in the analysis of the bill showing the total exemptions from the military service as provided for the bill; and I will take up the matter at that point.

The following total exemptions are made from the selected draft prescribed in the act. I stated then, and I will state again now, that these exemptions are practically the same exemptions that have been made in nearly every statute that has been in force since the Revolution:

The Vice President of the United States.

The officers—legislative, judicial, and executive—of the Government of the United States and of the several States and Territories.

All persons in the military and naval service of the United States.

Members of any well-recognized religious sect or organization at present organized and existing whose creed forbids its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed of these religious organizations.

In addition to the total exemptions enumerated above, the President is authorized to exclude or discharge from the selective draft, and in drafting the National Guard into the military service of the United States, or to draft for partial military service only, persons of the following classes:

Customhouse clerks.

Persons employed by the United States in the transmission of the mails.

Artificers and workmen employed in the armories and navy yards of the United States, and such other persons employed in the service of the United States as the President may designate.

Mariners actually employed in the service of any citizen or merchant in the United States.

Persons engaged in industries found to be necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment or to the effective operation of the military forces or the maintenance of national interests during the emergency.

Persons in a status with respect to persons dependent upon them for support, which makes their exclusion or discharge advisable.

Those found to be physically and morally unfit.

It is provided in the act that no exemptions or exclusions shall continue when the cause therefor no longer exists. These exemptions, it is believed, are such as will meet the demands of the existing situation, and are such as can be granted readily, without partiality or favoritism of any kind. It should be noted that the President is given discretion in these cases to require the people enumerated to serve in the armies, or he can excuse them while they are engaged in the classes of work enumerated. There is only one exemption which might be a cause of disagreement—the exempting of those engaged in industries, including agriculture, necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment or the maintenance of national interests during the emergency. This is intended to apply to industries engaged in the supply of munitions and war ma-

terial, including the raw material needed to supply such industries, as it would be manifestly bad policy to take skilled labor away from those industries at a time when we wish them to operate night and day, if possible.

It is proposed to obtain the new officers for these forces as follows: The vacancies in the Regular Army created or caused by the addition of increments, as authorized in the law, which can not be filled by promotion, may be filled by temporary appointment for the period of the emergency or until replaced by provisional appointments made under the provisions of section 23, national-defense act. Provision is also made that hereafter provisional appointments in the Regular Army made under section 23, national-defense act, may be terminated when it is determined, in the manner prescribed by the President, that the officer has not the suitability and fitness requisite for permanent appointment.

For the National Guard the officers will be taken with the organizations of which they now form part.

For the forces to be raised solely by draft the President is given discretion to appoint the necessary officers, line and staff, for such forces and for organizations created by combining organizations of the Regular Army with organizations of the other forces authorized in the act, by ordering members of the Officers' Reserve Corps to temporary duty in accordance with the provisions of section 32 of the national defense act approved June 3, 1916; by appointments from the Regular Army, from the Officers' Reserve Corps, from those duly qualified and registered pursuant to section 23 of the act of Congress approved January 21, 1903, from the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States, from those who have been graduated from educational institutions at which military instruction is compulsory; from those who have had honorable service in the Regular Army, the National Guard, or the volunteer forces; from the country at large; and by assigning retired officers of the Regular Army to active duty with such forces with their rank on the retired list, giving them the full pay and allowances of their grade, or by the appointment of retired officers and enlisted men, active or retired, of the Regular Army as commissioned officers in such forces. Provision is further made that the organization of the drafted forces shall be like that of the corresponding organizations of the Regular Army. Officers with rank not above that of colonel are to be appointed by the President alone, and officers above that grade by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Senate will see, from the class of persons from whom promotions may be made in the service, that it covers almost every branch of our citizens, and is not confined to the Regular Army. I have heard it suggested that promotions are made only from the Regular Army, but this covers nearly every class of citizens.

The foregoing is a general statement of what is proposed in the bill as a source from which we are to obtain officers. I think it is desirable to go more specifically into detail as to what I am advised the War Department is doing and has done to list men available for drilling and training a force of 500,000 men. Five hundred thousand soldiers in division units will require 18,538 officers. There have already been listed in the Officers' Reserve Corps some 8,000 officers, of whom nearly 6,000 are listed as company and battalion officers. The remaining 2,000 are listed for service in the staff corps and departments. In addition to officers now listed in the Officers' Reserve Corps, I am informed that examinations are being continually held in all departments at which additional officers are being qualified. In the Eastern Department a few days ago 400 applicants were undergoing examination, with 700 applicants still to be examined. This is typical of the other departments. There are listed under section 53 of the national-defense act 1,665 officers. The War Department has a first-class source of supply of officers in the enlisted men of the Regular Army. Every first sergeant of a company in the regular service should possess training and ability to be able to step at once into the responsibilities of a company commander. On March 3 the Secretary of War called upon commanding officers of regiments to recommend noncommissioned officers of their commands who were qualified for temporary commissions in the new forces to be created. I am informed that to date 7,376 noncommissioned officers have been reported as qualified. There are on file in the War Department hundreds of tenders of service. Many of these come from men who are too old or lack previous training, and therefore not qualified; but a hundred of these men have been listed to be commissioned now. The total number of prospective officers as outlined above is 17,141—not the number required to train the whole number of troops proposed to be raised. This does not take into consideration that 1,022 officers of the Regular Army on the detached officers' list or reserve officers from the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States, of whom an appreciable per cent can be spared for the training of the new organizations, nor does it take into consideration all the graduates from educational institutions having military instruction or available men from the country at large qualified to be commissioned in the lowest grades. The recent decision of the Secretary of War to take in as second lieutenants in the Officers' Reserve Corps young men who have had no military training, provided the applicants are college graduates or seniors in college, or clearly well-educated men, and provided they have demonstrated their ability to handle men, will certainly bring to the colors thousands of available young men who after a few months' training will be able to take their part as junior officers in training the additional increments which will have to be called.

From this detailed statement it will be seen that we will be ready to start the training of the first increment of 500,000 men just as soon as the proposed registration is completed and these men drafted into the service. The places of noncommissioned officers going from the Regular Army or from the National Guard will be quickly filled by other men. After a few months this first draft should furnish all the additional junior officers necessary for the next increment, and so on with each successive increment. The national-defense act placed us upon certain ground in its provisions to provide the necessary officers for this first increment.

As volunteer recruiting for the Regular Service increases it will be necessary to add the increments provided by the national-defense act. This gradual increase in the Regular Service will provide the best possible school of training for young men who desire appointment as officers and noncommissioned officers.

The fact should not be lost sight of that the officers proposed to be used are of very limited experience, and it will require much training and intense application on their part and practical experience to bring them up to the standard required before they can be trusted to command troops in modern battle.

Already provision is being made in the War Department for an officers' training encampment, as the encampments are held for training enlisted men, so that the young men who have made application to be commissioned as lieutenants in the Reserve Corps will have an opportunity to perfect themselves in their duties if they are qualified to do so.

Section 4 deals with the subject of registration, leaving the rules to be prescribed by the President. It requires the registration of all persons liable to military service under the provisions of the act—i. e., those from 19 to 25 years of age. It prescribes that upon proclamation by the President, or other public notice given by him or by his direction, stating the time and place of such registration, it shall be the duty of every such person liable to military service under the provisions of the act to present himself for and submit to registration under its provisions. It provides that any person who shall fail or neglect to present himself for registration, or to submit thereto as provided in the act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall upon conviction in the proper district court of the United States be punished by imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than one year, and shall thereupon be duly registered. The requirements of this section, it seems to me, are reasonable and its enactment absolutely essential for the purposes of the act. It is proposed in the regulations to be adopted to use the existing agencies of the Government to carry out the provisions of this section regarding registration.

In most cases there are established usages in each of the States which would carry out the provisions of the act; but in some cases they might not be best adapted to that purpose, and that was the reason for leaving some part of it to regulations.

By section 5 of the act the President is authorized to utilize the service of any and all departments and of any and all officers and agents of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia. The are required to perform such duty in the execution of the act as the President shall order or direct, and the officers and agents of the several States are given full authority for all acts done by them in the execution of this act by direction or request of the President. This section further provides that any persons charged with the duty of having authority to carry into effect any of the provisions of the act or the regulations made thereunder, who shall knowingly make or be a party to the making of any false or incorrect registration, physical examination, exemption, enlistment, enrollment, or muster, and any person who shall make or be a party to the making of any false statement or certificate as to fitness or liability of himself or any other person for service under the provision of the act or regulations made

by the President thereunder, or otherwise evades or aids another to evade the requirements of this act or of said regulations, shall, if not subject to military law, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction by the proper district court of the United States be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months nor more than one year, or, if subject to military law, shall be tried by court-martial and suffer such punishment as the court-martial may direct. This section utilizes all existing machinery of the Federal and State Governments needed to execute this act, and provides a minimum penalty that should be visited on any person who evades or violates its provisions.

Section 6 prescribes that the qualifications for voluntary enlistment shall be the same as those prescribed herein for selective draft, and that such enlistments shall be for the period of the emergency unless sooner discharged. It further provides that all enlistments, including those in the Regular Army Reserve, which are in force on the date of the approval of the act and which would terminate during the emergency, shall continue in force during the emergency unless sooner discharged. It further provides that the President may discharge any or all enlisted men whose status with respect to dependents renders such discharge advisable, and authorizes him to employ on any active duty retired enlisted men of the Regular Army, either with their rank on the retired list or in higher enlisted grades. It is obvious that, as prescribed in this section, those who voluntarily enlist or who are drafted shall be held for the period of the emergency unless sooner discharged, and to hold all those already enlisted on the date of the approval of the act, whose terms of enlistment would terminate during the emergency until the emergency has passed. The proviso regarding the placing on active duty of retired enlisted men of the Regular Army is especially important, as there are many duties they can perform adequately and release other trained but younger men for more active duty.

Section 7 authorizes the President to appoint for the period of the existing emergency such general officers of appropriate grades as may be necessary for duty with brigades, divisions, and higher units into which the forces provided for in the act may be organized by the President, and also to appoint general officers of appropriate grade for the several Coast Artillery districts, six in all. It further provides that, in so far as such appointments may be made from any of the forces provided in the act, the appointees may be selected irrespective of the grades held by them in such forces. It provides that all vacancies in the Regular Army resulting from the appointment of its officers to higher grades in the forces other than the Regular Army shall be filled by temporary promotions and appointments in the manner prescribed for filling temporary vacancies by section 114 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, which provides that officers appointed to higher grades in the forces other than the Regular Army under the provisions of this act shall not vacate their permanent commissions or be prejudiced in their relative lineal standing in the Regular Army. This section is necessary to get the officers of general grade for the command of organizations above that of the regiment—that is, brigade, division, army corps, and armies—as they are organized by the President.

Section 8 gives authority to the general officers commanding any division or higher tactical organization or territorial department to appoint from time to time military boards of not less than three nor more than five officers of the forces provided for in the act to examine into and report upon the capacity, qualifications, conduct, and efficiency of any commissioned officer within his command belonging to any of the forces provided for in the act other than the Regular Army. It provides that each member of such a board shall be superior in rank to the officer whose qualifications are to be inquired into, and if the report of the board be adverse to the continuance of any such officer, and it is approved by the President, such officer shall be discharged from the service, at the discretion of the President, with one month's pay and allowances. Such provision is absolutely essential for the elimination of unfit officers and is essential to the efficiency of the forces raised by this act, as they must necessarily be officered, especially in the junior grades, by men about whose character, ability, and professional attainments the President can know little at the time of their appointment.

Section 9 provides that all officers and enlisted men shall be in all respects on the same footing as to pay and allowances and pensions as officers and enlisted men of corresponding grades and length of service in the Regular Army.

The whole act, Mr. President, is temporary in its nature and character, and is only to be effective during the emergency which calls it into existence. The last clause in the act provides that laws in conflict with it shall be suspended only during the time of the emergency.

Now, Mr. President, I think I have stated as succinctly as it is possible to do the purposes of the act.

Mr. THOMPSON. May I ask the Senator a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBINSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Kansas?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Certainly.

Mr. THOMPSON. Is there any provision in the bill by which volunteer companies already organized and ready for service, although having no military training with a regiment which may soon be in the same condition, can be taken into the service as a body in units?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Like the units outside of the National Guard that the State has now organized?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. No, sir.

Mr. THOMPSON. There is no such provision?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is not.

I ask in connection with what I have had to say that the report of the committee on the bill be printed as a part of my statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The report submitted by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN on the 19th instant is as follows:

[Senate report No. 22, 65th Cong., 1st sess.]

UNIVERSAL LIABILITY TO MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the following report, to accompany Senate bill 1871.

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, having carefully considered the same, report thereon favorably with amendments and as so amended recommend that the bill do pass.

This measure, designed to provide large armed forces to meet effectually the present great national emergency, proceeds in recognition of the just principle of universal liability to national military service, and adopts, with modifications to suit our situation, that system which our own experience, as well as the experience of the world now in arms, has proved to be the only adequate and effectual one. While this measure establishes as a means of raising such forces the system of selective draft, it has left room for the operation of so much of the volunteer system as in our judgment is worthy of adoption. While it provides for the raising of additional forces in large number by selective draft exclusively, it also provides, through means of recruiting to war strength the existing establishments of the Regular Army and the National Guard, for absorbing a force of more than 600,000 volunteers. Thus, happily, the bill, while establishing and placing the national dependence upon the almost universally approved system of draft, at the same time accommodates itself to such volunteer spirit as exists and is available in the early days of war. Thus it is that the bill provides for a Volunteer Army larger than any Volunteer Army ever before raised by this Nation at any one time or as a result of any one piece of legislation. The adoption of this system necessarily excludes the volunteer method upon which this country, following tradition rather than reason, experience, counsel, and the lessons of its own history as well as of the other nations of the world, has too long relied.

The volunteer method has never proved adequate and effectual for national needs, and will prove far less so now. War as now conducted is of a hitherto unconceived magnitude. Now millions of men are demanded where formerly a few thousands only were required. We must no longer think in terms of divisions but in large groups of armies, each consisting of hundreds of thousands of men. In former times of national stress, far less perilous than this, the volunteer method has never furnished the men needed for the emergency. History shows that, much to our detriment, we have begun our wars with this inadequate and ineffectual method, and have brought them to a successful conclusion only by resort to a system based on proper principles. The volunteer method failed this Nation in the Revolution and it was only the material aid of France that gave us our independence. It failed us in the war of 1812 and had it not been for drastic draft laws and the diversion created by the Napoleonic War we could not have concluded even such peace as we did. It failed the Confederacy in the Civil War, and that government, to its advantage, was quicker to perceive that fact than our own. It likewise failed the Federal Government, and volunteering having practically ceased by the end of 1862, was succeeded in the following year by the first of the draft acts. It failed us in the Spanish-American War, for the force then called for was never obtained.

The volunteer method has no fundamental legal basis for its existence. The universal liability to render military service is based upon the fundamental concept of the relation of a freeman to the State. From the earliest times every freeman, in legal theory at least, has been under the necessity of rendering military service to the State. The volunteer method grew, not out of any legal principles, but was adopted doubtless as an expedient having no other basis, perhaps, than that the need of the State on ordinary occasion has heretofore required the service of far less than the numbers available. The mere frequency of resort to this method of raising forces, which in its origin had nothing to sustain it but convenience, has resulted in causing us in some degree to forget the fundamental fact that every citizen capable of bearing arms has the bounden duty to render military service to the State. And the same frequency of resort has established the tradition that the volunteer system is the only system of raising military forces compatible with the maintenance of liberty. On the contrary, it is incompatible with that right and duty of equal participation in the affairs and burdens of State which characterizes American political institutions. To render military service to the

Nation is a higher duty than to contribute to its financial support. Fundamentally considered, therefore, military service is the highest duty of the citizen and is in no sense to be regarded as a voluntary offering.

Our experience with the volunteer system has revealed its deficiencies to all who will view it candidly. Shortly after the close of the Revolution and until the beginning of the Civil War the country looked almost exclusively to a system of militia and volunteers. The act of February 24, 1807, was the first, and may be regarded as the typical volunteer act, a principal feature of which was, as it has always been of that method, the provision that organizations tendering their voluntary service to the United States should continue to be commanded by officers holding commissions therein at the time of the tender. This method has, of course, received at all times commendation from the leading spirits who became its officers and were transferred as such into the national service, but never in the history of this country has it been tested in comparison with any other system. It has, of course, always drawn a meed of fulsome praise from those who through its operation have been able to throw upon others the burden of their duty and from those who for political advancement have sought to fawn upon the vanity of those who served under it. Its demerits, however, have always been obvious and recognized as such by every thorough student of political and military affairs.

This method, first fastened upon this country after its military destinies had ceased to be guided by Washington, has failed both first and last. Employed during the War of 1812, it never did result in an effective army and had, as heretofore mentioned, to be supplemented by drastic draft legislation, and for the 470,000 men raised in that war the system was distinguished for supplying twice as many officers as any proper system of military organization could have required.

Of this method thus early established, Gen. Upton well says (p. 91, Military Policy): "It was half a century later that we reaped the bitter fruits of this system at the Battle of Bull Run." That battle, the first of the war, though it should have contributed much, contributed nothing whatever to the decision, and this for the very reason which so unnecessarily prolonged that struggle, namely, the incompetence of those placed in command by the volunteer method. It is generally conceded that victorious and vanquished armies were about equally demoralized. The truth is the volunteer system and the State method of recruiting it, which seems to be a necessary concomitant of it, throughout the war proved such a failure to Union arms that it could but have been disastrous in the face of an enemy better prepared than were the Confederates or with a better system.

Both Governments recognized the inefficiency of their methods, and both applied a more or less efficient measure—the principle of universal liability to military service. The Confederate compulsory-service act of 1862 and the Union draft act of 1863, makeshifts as both were, were made more effectual by subsequent legislation toward the close of the war. Looking back, it can be said indisputably that had either army adopted an adequate and effectual draft system at the beginning of the war it could have crushed its adversary.

England has had a like experience. Like ourselves, in the same way and moved by the same forces, she had permitted that principle of government, which is fundamental with her as well as with us, to drop into practical obscurity so far as it affected her land forces. It is worthy to be remembered that England has never trusted the effectual maintenance of her first great line of defense, her navy, to such haphazard method alone and has never permitted her traditions in this regard to affect the efficiency of that branch of her defense. The influence of this British tradition in this regard has brought her to the verge of national disaster in this pending gigantic struggle, which involves her life, as, indeed, it may involve ours. Under the incubus of that tradition, as compelling there as here, she set about this war first by sacrificing, as under the emergency and the result of her system she must inevitably have done, her regular establishment. Shoved to the brink of calamity and after loss incalculable, she did what we and she have always belatedly done—turned away from the system which must inevitably bring such results in the face of an enemy who does not thus impede himself to a system based on dominant national principle. No effectual army was raised in Great Britain until the volunteer system was abandoned and compulsory service established in its stead. Such a service was first but less effectually established by the force of enlightened and apprehensive public opinion operating in the form of social compulsion evidenced by derision, ostracism, and abuse heaped upon those who were reluctant to respond. Finding this method ineffectual, Parliament, on May 25, 1916, passed the most sweeping compulsory-service act ever expressed in the English tongue, whereby every male British subject resident in Great Britain between the ages of 18 and 41 years was made a member of the regular forces for general military service as if he had been enlisted therein. The whole body of arms-bearing subjects thus constituted a grand reserve thus placed in national military service, out of which the Government selected at its will for active service with the colors such numbers as were deemed necessary to meet the national crisis. The British people are to-day, three years after the outbreak of the war, where they would have been at its outbreak had they been so well advised then as they are now. It would be folly for us at this late day, in the light of their experience, to begin where they began.

The volunteer system does not accord with the principles of our institutions. It is undemocratic. It shifts the burden of national defense from the many, where it rightfully belongs, to the shoulders of the few, whose condition in life or patriotism impels them first to offer themselves to accept the risks and hardships of war. The spirit of real democracy, which must lie at the basis of national defense, could not be better expressed than was done by the mother of two sons, who, in writing to urge that the system established by this bill be adopted, said:

"It is the only just, equitable, and democratic way; otherwise the flower of the country is sacrificed. We mothers with our sons want to defend this country, but we resent thus saving a lot of shirkers. This is the woman's point of view, but from the military standpoint it is also the most efficacious."

In a word, the volunteer system which this measure is designed to supersede is undemocratic, unreliable, extravagant, inefficient, and, above all, unsafe. The system established by this bill will have one other effect greatly to be desired in this Nation, consisting as it does of varied elements of all races and tongues. It would directly and very effectually tend to the unification of our people by common association in a common cause in furtherance of the principle that it is the duty, as it should be the desire, of all citizens of whatever race or origin to undergo all necessary sacrifice for the national good. It strikes down that opportunity, which the volunteer method deliberately induces, for the selfish and unpatriotic to remain at home in time of war and to profit out of the Nation's adversity at the expense of those whose patriotism has impelled them to perform a citizen's duty.

This is no time to tolerate uncertainty in the raising and the maintenance of the large numbers of men which the present emergency is likely to require nor uncertainty in the methods to be adopted for the establishment of an adequate efficient military service. The bill makes certain the raising and maintenance of the required forces with the utmost expedition. It establishes the principle that all arms-bearing citizens owe to the Nation the duty of defending it. It selects only those who by reason of their age and physical capacity are the best fitted to receive the training and withstand the actual hardship of a campaign, and who, happily, can be taken with least disturbance of normal economic and industrial conditions.

In closing this report upon the measure under consideration it seems appropriate to refer to what President Lincoln had to say upon the subject of the draft at a critical stage of the Civil War. No one would have the temerity to doubt either his patriotism, his democracy, or his great ability as a lawyer and as a statesman. While opposition to the enforcement of the draft law was at its height he prepared an address to the American people, which, though never issued, has been published from the original manuscript in his own handwriting by those who were most intimately acquainted with him and who could speak with authority. In that address, which is a fitting conclusion to this report, he said amongst other things:

"It is at all times proper that misunderstandings between the public and the public servant should be avoided; and this is far more important now than in times of peace and tranquillity. I therefore address you without searching for a precedent upon which to do so. Some of you are sincerely devoted to the republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country, and yet are opposed to what is called the draft or conscription.

"At the beginning of the war, and ever since, a variety of motives, pressing, some in one direction and some in the other, would be presented to the mind of each man physically fit for a soldier, upon the combined effect of which motives he would, or would not, voluntarily enter the service. Among these motives would be patriotism, political bias, ambition, personal courage, love of adventure, want of employment, and convenience, or the opposite of some of these. We already have, and have had, in the service, as appears, substantially all that can be obtained upon this voluntary weighing of motives. And yet we must somehow obtain more or relinquish the original object of the contest, together with all the blood and treasure already expended in the effort to secure it. To meet this necessity the law for the draft has been enacted. You who do not wish to be soldiers do not like this law. This is natural, nor does it imply want of patriotism. Nothing can be so just and necessary as to make us like it if it is disagreeable to us. We are prone, too, to find false arguments with which to excuse ourselves for opposing such disagreeable things. In this case, those who desire the rebellion to succeed, and others who seek reward in a different way, are very active in accommodating us with this class of arguments. * * *

"The republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country can not be maintained without the further raising and supporting of armies. There can be no army without men. Men can be had only voluntarily or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription. If you dispute this fact and declare that men can still be had voluntarily in sufficient numbers, prove the assertion by yourselves volunteering in such numbers, and I shall gladly give up the draft. Or if not a sufficient number, but any one of you will volunteer, he for his single self will escape all the horrors of the draft, and will thereby do only what each one of at least a million of his manly brethren have already done. Their toil and blood have been given as much for you as for themselves. Shall it all be lost rather than that you, too, will bear your part?

"I do not say that all who would avoid serving in the war are unpatriotic; but I do think every patriot should willingly take his chance under a law made with great care in order to secure entire fairness. This law was considered, discussed, modified, and amended by Congress at great length and with much labor, and was finally passed by both branches with a near approach to unanimity. At last, it may not be exactly such as any one man out of Congress, or even in Congress, would have made it. It has been said, and I believe truly, that the Constitution itself is not altogether such as any one of its framers would have preferred. It was the joint work of all, and certainly the better that it was so. * * *

"The principle of draft, which simply is involuntary or enforced service, is not new. It has been practiced in all ages of the world. It was well known to the framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies, at the time they placed in that instrument the provision that 'the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies.' It had been used just before in establishing our independence, and it was also used under the Constitution in 1812. Wherein is the peculiar hardship now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government, which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?

"Again, a law may be both constitutional and expedient, and yet may be administered in an unjust and unfair way. This law belongs to a class, which class is composed of those laws whose object is to distribute burdens or benefits on the principle of equality. No one of these laws can ever be practically administered with that exactness which can be conceived of in the mind. A tax law, the principle of which is that each owner shall pay in proportion to the value of his property, will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it can be shown that every other one will pay in precisely the same proportion, according to value; nay, even it will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it is certain that every other one will pay at all—even in unequal proportion. Again, the United States House of Representatives is constituted on the principle that each Member is sent by the same number of people that each other is sent by, and yet in practice no two of the whole number, much less the whole number, are ever sent by precisely the same number of constituents. The districts can not be made precisely equal in population at first, and if they could they would become unequal in a single day, and much more so in the 10 years which the districts, once made, are to continue. They can not be remodeled every day, nor, without too much expense and labor, even every year.

"This sort of difficulty applies in full force to the practical administration of the draft law. In fact, the difficulty is greater in the case of the draft law. First, it starts with all the inequality of the congressional districts; but these are based on entire population, while the draft is based upon those only who are fit for soldiers, and such may not bear the same proportion to the whole in one district that they do

in another. Again, the facts must be ascertained and credit given for the unequal numbers of soldiers which have already gone from the several districts. In all these points errors will occur in spite of the utmost fidelity. The Government is bound to administer the law with such an approach to exactness as is usual in analogous cases, and as entire good faith and fidelity will reach. If so great departures as to be inconsistent with such good faith and fidelity, or great departures occurring in any way be pointed out, they shall be corrected, and any agent shown to have caused such departures intentionally shall be dismissed.

"With these views and on these principles I feel bound to tell you it is my purpose to see the draft law faithfully executed."

Mr. HUSTING. Before the Senator takes his seat may I ask him a question?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. HUSTING. I should like to ask the Senator in charge of the bill how long it will be before the draft can be put in operation? How long after the enactment itself?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is right hard to answer that question. I am inclined to believe, and this is my own judgment, that it will take at least two months and possibly longer to put in motion the machinery which it will be necessary to put in motion to have the men enrolled. Of course, it will depend upon the rapidity with which the State authorities act. I believe that the States will do all in their power to assist in carrying out the purposes of the act so far as enrollment is concerned. It has been estimated by some competent to speak that if a request was made upon the governors of the States to-day, for instance, that on a certain day steps be taken to enroll the men the enrollment in the United States might be perfected in one day just as the population of the country votes in a day.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. Answering the question of the Senator from Wisconsin, my recollection is, and I ask the chairman if it is not correct, that Secretary Baker testified before our committee that it would be about the 1st of August before steps could be taken to organize an army under the pending bill.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. In just a moment. I will say to the Senator that, now that my attention is called to it, I do recall the Secretary making some statement of that kind; I think it was August 1.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I simply want to state there should not be a misunderstanding on that point. I think neither the Secretary of War nor the Judge Advocate General of the Army stated that it would be August 1 before steps could be taken to organize an army. He did state that about August 1 the troops would be produced in the mobilization camps. Prior to that time many steps will be taken.

Mr. REED. I beg the Senator's pardon, but certainly he is in error in that. I heard that statement.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I would be glad to be corrected if I am in error.

Mr. REED. I asked a good many questions myself, and was very much interested in it. I am very confident the Secretary of War stated that the draft could not be made before the 1st of August, and I am very confident he said further that the Government would not be in a position to equip an army of 500,000 before the 1st of August. The Senator will recall that there was considerable inquiry in reference to the number of rifles on hand, the rapidity with which they could be made, and the Secretary stated that in order by the 1st of August to equip an army of 500,000 it would be necessary for us to accept, in lieu of Regular Army rifles, Springfield rifles, something like 300,000 rifles, which could be procured of a different kind and which, with slight modifications, could be made to use exactly the same ammunition, or ammunition interchangeable with the Regular Army Springfield rifle.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I should like to have an opportunity to make a statement when the Senator has finished.

Mr. REED. I wanted to make that statement, because I think the Senator is in error.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Unless the Senator from Mississippi desires to ask me a question pertinent to the comment made by the Senator from Missouri, I prefer not to yield.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I was just going to say that everything needful to be done in the organization of the Army to carry out the Senator's impression of what the Secretary said could be done without a gun. It might be the 1st of August before they could equip the Army with guns, but the Army could be organized and ready for drilling without a gun. In the organization of an army there are many things to do other than teaching the soldier the use of arms.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I wish to make myself perfectly clear and to make the impression which I received in the hearings held before the committee entirely clear. May I say that the impression I gathered upon that occasion has been verified in conversation with high officials in the War Department as late as this morning? My impression is, and I am quite positive I am correct, that immediately upon the passage of this bill, if it shall pass, the initial step will be taken to operate the draft. No suggestion was ever made that it would take two and a half months to inaugurate the steps to operate the draft. The steps will be inaugurated within 10 days, it is hoped, after the signature of the President to the bill.

Mr. HUSTING. May I ask the Senator from New York a question right there?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin for a question.

Mr. HUSTING. The question I propounded to the Senator from Oregon was for the purpose of ascertaining how long it would take to select a man and accept him. Can the Senator give me any information on that?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am unable to give definite information as to the exact time taken for each step in the draft itself.

Mr. HUSTING. The first——

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I finish my sentence? The first step, of course, will be the registration in the smaller geographical units of the country. That has nothing to do with the drafting of the men. That is merely the registration of the men available under this law. That registration must be consolidated into larger geographical units and through the local channels finally reach the War Department and the computation made as to the quota which each locality or geographical unit will be called upon to furnish. When that quota is determined, then the local board, it is understood, which shall operate the draft itself will actually draft the men in their respective localities.

The testimony before us was to the effect that the original registration in the smallest geographical unit, the consolidation of all that registration, which amounts, in effect, to a military census of the country of the men between the ages of 19 and 25, up through the State authorities to the War Department, the fixing of the quota upon the various localities, the actual drafting of the men, including the operation of the exemption clauses of this act, will be accomplished by August 1, and the men actually drafted and put into camp, and there the War Department hopes and feels confident the entire equipment will be ready. So it is not quite accurate to say that the first step can not be taken until August 1. The first step can be commenced within two weeks after the passage of the act.

Mr. HUSTING. I understand the Senator to say, then, that the actual drafting of the men—that is, the collection of the men who are going to serve and the acceptance of men under the selective system where the man will actually be under the draft and count as one of the soldiers—will not be earlier than August 1.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I did not say "not earlier than August 1," because these things are subject to some modification. On or about August 1 is the best information the committee had, and I think the chairman of the committee will bear me out in the statement.

Mr. GALLINGER. I should like to ask the chairman of the committee two or three questions about the bill.

Mr. OVERMAN. Will the Senator from New York yield to me for one moment before he takes his seat?

Mr. GALLINGER. I thought the Senator from New York had concluded.

Mr. OVERMAN. Before the Senator from New York takes his seat——

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from New Hampshire has the floor.

Mr. OVERMAN. I desire, with the permission of the Senator from New Hampshire, to ask the Senator from New York a question relating to what he said. Will the call for troops be by States, or will it be by townships or the smaller units over the State? In calling for troops, will the States be required to furnish so many, or will the townships or counties be called on? What will be the unit, in other words?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. As I stated, the President makes the call.

Mr. OVERMAN. The call is made on the State, and the State calls on the unit?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is based on the population or, rather, on military age.

Mr. OVERMAN. I understood the Senator from New York to state that the unit will be the township.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The unit for registration is a matter of regulation to be fixed by the department. Surely the Senate could not very well attempt to legislate about all the minutiæ and details in the operation of the draft.

Mr. OVERMAN. I see that.

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I call attention, in answer to the question directed to me by the Senator from North Carolina, to the language on page 5, line 13, of the bill:

> Quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof available for military service as shown by the registration provided for herein.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I take it the Senator from New Hampshire wants to ask a question with regard to another phase of the bill than that under discussion.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is my purpose.

Mr. REED. I ask him to indulge me to make a statement in connection with the one just made by the Senator from New York before that subject matter is passed over.

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I shall be very brief.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, it is unfortunate that the statements made before the Senate committee were not recorded and that we are now left to the uncertainties of human recollection. It is, however, very important to know how long it will be before troops drafted can be mobilized in camps and ready for training. That embraces getting the men and getting the equipment, and producing them both at a given point of mobilization.

Of course, it is true that the first steps to be taken in the draft will not be postponed until the 1st day of August. Indeed they need not be postponed more than a few hours beyond the signing of the bill by the President. But what is meant by the first step? Manifestly the President must issue his proclamation. Manifestly there must be allowed a reasonable notice of the day of registration. Manifestly there must be the organization of all the machinery of registration, which must be coextensive with the United States, and it must be sufficient to record something like from two to five million names. Just as plainly there must be a method worked out by which this registration which has taken place in small precincts shall be forwarded and consolidated and again forwarded and consolidated, until finally it reaches the War Department. Now, all of that necessarily must precede the drafting. After that has been done the regulations with reference to the manner of making the draft must be put into effect, and after that has been done there will come the selective process by which men are to be picked out who will be exempt from service and the calling in their stead of others.

I can not conceive of that vast machinery being organized and its purposes carried out unless there is a very considerable consumption of time. I do not believe, to begin with, that this bill will become a law until it has been debated in the two branches of Congress for some days of time.

I believe that we must count on the loss of some days. Then will come the notice. Therefore it seems to me that it will bring us very near the month of August when these men have been drafted and notified and given time to close up their business affairs and say good-bye to their families, and so forth, before they can be mobilized in any camp. I understood the Secretary of War to indicate the same view; I will not be positive; I could not assert it with positiveness, since the recollection of the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] is otherwise, and I know he is perfectly sincere in his statement.

Now, there is another thing that has to be considered——

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. REED. I know I am taking some time, but I want this point cleared up. I will try to be brief, if the Senator will pardon me.

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator if I may take my seat for the time being, without losing the floor.

Mr. REED. I merely ask the Senator to allow me to conclude this statement. I did not mean to make it in his time, and I thank the Senator for his courtesy.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am glad to yield to the Senator.

Mr. REED. Now, as to the question of equipment. The Secretary of War certainly did state to us very plainly that they did not have on hand at this time sufficient equipment so that they could take care of new units of the National Guard—that individuals desired to organize—and the department ruled at one time they would not receive them, but afterwards rescinded the order.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. REED. I do.

Mr. POMERENE. I am very anxious to know just what the Secretary of War said on the subject of the time that will be required to complete the draft. Surely, if he said it would take until August 1, he must have made an allowance for a vast deal of time which would probably be consumed in unlimited debate.

Mr. REED. The Senator from Ohio is undertaking to go into training as a satirist. He has made several efforts of that kind recently. I am trying to state, within the limits of my power of expression, exactly what the Secretary of War said.

Mr. POMERENE. I assure the Senator I did not mean to be satirical at all; but I can not conceive how four months would be used in getting a draft for the number of soldiers required under this bill.

Mr. REED. Very well. I have been trying to state what I understood the Secretary of War to say. There is another consideration now that I desire to call attention to, and I was calling attention to it, that the Secretary of War did state that the reason why enlistments in the National Guard had been held up was because there was not at present sufficient equipment in the department to take care of the enlisted men as they would come in. He stated that some considerable part of that difficulty could be speedily overcome. Asked with reference to the rifles that were on hand, he stated that the only place where the Army rifle is made is in the Government arsenal, and that the total capacity to-day in the arsenal is a certain amount——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, perhaps the——

Mr. REED. Perhaps I ought not to state that.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I was going to say to the Senator there is much that might be said in this discussion that had better be said in executive session. I have a statement that will show the exact condition of all these things, but I do not think it ought to be made public. I make that suggestion to the Senator.

Mr. REED. I thank the chairman of the committee. It occurred to me as I was talking that possibly that might be information which ought not to be made public; but I think I may say to the Senate—and I will make it very general—as I understood the Secretary of War it would require until the 1st of August to procure certain necessary and essential equipment.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt the Senator long enough to remind him that Mr. Roosevelt, in an interview, I think, published on the 16th of April, expressed the opinion that it would take, to use his almost identical language, many months, perhaps a year, to organize and discipline an army to be raised under a bill like this for field service?

I can give the Senator the exact language of the statement to which I have just referred. He said:

> Many months, probably at least a year or more, must elapse before the army thus raised would be available in Europe in the hard, aggressive fighting campaigns which it is honorably incumbent on us to undertake now that we have entered into the war.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the reason why I have sought to make this matter as plain as I can is because the question of time will become very material when we come to consider the conflict between the minority and majority reports that have been made by the committee, because if it will require this length of time to mobilize men in camp under the draft system, then it will be contended at least—and I do not intend to argue the point; I state it merely—that there is an abundance of time to permit a volunteer system to be tried out without delaying in any way the speedy organization of the Army.

I thank the Senator from New Hampshire for his great courtesy.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I shall probably avail myself of the opportunity that will doubtless present itself in the early part of next week to make some observations on certain features of the bill. In the meantime I merely desire to ask the chairman two or three questions for my own information. I made inquiry as to whether or not the hearings had been printed and was told they had not. Had they been printed I presume I would have been able to have satisfied my mind on this point from reading the hearings. So I am compelled to ask the chairman certain questions.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. GALLINGER. With pleasure.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will state to the Senator that the Secretary of War and several officers of the Army also appeared before the House committee, and those hearings were taken down and are printed. The Senator can get a copy of those hearings I am sure.

Mr. GALLINGER. I did not know that.

Mr. President, the report has been given a headline, which I presume was done without consultation with the chairman. It is "Universal liability to military service." That does not appear in the bill, because if this was intended to be universal liability to military service it is a misnomer.

I wish to ask the Senator from Oregon why they have limited the ages of the men who are to be drafted between 19 and 25. Why stop at 25?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I mentioned that in the analysis of the bill I gave. Really that is the age, as stated in the statement, when men are not only most available but when it can be done with the least economic loss to the country, and we get a body of young men who are strong and rugged and healthy.

Mr. GALLINGER. A few days ago I took occasion to make some offhand remarks—in fact, I was trying myself out to see whether I could talk or not after my illness—and in those observations I made a suggestion that I thought we should rely upon the system which has heretofore been in vogue at the beginning of wars especially; that voluntary enlistments rather than the system of drafting men was preferable. My mail has been filled since then with letters from all over the country discussing this question, and I am glad to say that if I could bring those hundreds of letters into the Senate Chamber and submit them to Senators it would be seen that most of my correspondents agreed with the suggestion I made at that time. But there were several of my correspondents who took exception to the remarks I made and insisted that it was much fairer to draft people than to ask them to voluntarily enlist. The argument which was used was that the slackers would escape, whatever that term means, and I presume we all can apply a meaning to it; that under the system of voluntary enlistments the men whom they denominate as slackers would not enlist, while the boys, many of them in families where perhaps a widowed mother had but one, moved by patriotism, would offer their service to the Government.

Mr. President, I think I know what slackers are. If the Senator will walk from the Peace Monument to Seventh Street on Pennsylvania Avenue he will see a great many of them, and if he will go into the East Side of New York or the Bowery of New York or North Street in Boston he will find the slackers there.

But almost all of them are over 25. Almost every one of them whom you meet is over 25. So this system of selective conscription stopping at the age of 25 is going to catch the boys, but it is not going to catch the slackers, and I confess that I do not think it is wise legislation to make 25 the maximum age. However, the committee have considered it, and I presume they are satisfied that the matter is right. For myself, I should like to vote, if we are to have conscription, to place the maximum at least at 35.

If I have read the bill correctly, the voluntary enlistment ages are fixed at from 18 to 40. Now, I will ask the Senator why that distinction? Why do you take men who volunteer to enlist at the age of 40 and refuse to conscript those above the age of 25? What is the philosophy of it?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. We make the National Guard and the Regular Army uniform with reference to enlistments in the Army. That is the age of volunteer enlistments in the Regular Army.

Mr. GALLINGER. I understand; but it could be changed, of course. It could be put at 35 if Congress saw fit to do it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Of course. I will state to the Senator that Congress can change this in any way.

Mr. GALLINGER. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. And probably will change it. That was the best judgment of the majority of the committee.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I thought the Senator had concluded

Mr. GALLINGER. No; I had not quite finished.

Mr. KENYON. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. GALLINGER. Certainly.

Mr. KENYON. I quite agree with the Senator's view; but would it not be a good idea, for instance, to take the single men up to 45?

Mr. GALLINGER. I think so; up to the military age. Another thing, Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator? Perhaps I did not make myself plain. The period of enlistment in the Regular Army is 18 to 35 and in the National Guard 18 to 45. The period from 18 to 40 was established as a mean between both the other branches of the service.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I think the Senator is not quite accurate in regard to the National Guard. In the National Guard it is from 18 to 45, and in the Regular Army up to 35. This bill is merely a compromise between the two ages and fixes the maximum age at 40.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is right.

Mr. GALLINGER. It does, so far as enlisted men are concerned.

Mr. McKELLAR. Only so far as volunteers are concerned.

Mr. GALLINGER. But as far as conscripted men are concerned it is very much less.

Mr. McKELLAR. It is 18 to 25.

Mr. GALLINGER. As I suggested the other day, Canada, with a population of 8,000,000 people, has raised an army of 400,000 men by enlistment. Three hundred and fifty thousand of them are at the front to-day, and 50,000 of them will probably pass over our territory in the near future to take their places in the trenches in Europe. I will ask the Senator from Oregon if he has any knowledge as to the approximate age of those enlisted men in Canada. I have not, but perhaps the Senator has looked it up?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have not the approximate age, I will say. I think most of them are young men under 35, but I have no information as to the ages.

Mr. GALLINGER. I asked that question for the purpose of eliciting information on another point. The Senator from Oregon did not state what I am now going to say, that Canada is paying her soldiers $1.10 a day, while we are paying the munificent compensation of $15 a month to the ordinary soldier. But the Senator did correctly state that Canada had raised a fund of $30,000,000 to take care of the families of those soldiers, their wives, and children, and dependents. The Senator suggested that we probably would not need approximately as large a fund here because most of those men would not be married; but I know of no reason why they may not be, though perhaps there would not be as large a proportion of married men as those in Canada. I chance to know that the Canadian troops are largely young men, but Canada takes very liberal care, not only of the wives and children but the dependents of those who go to the war; and I think we will be constrained to do the same thing here.

Will the Senator from Oregon tell me whether or not the committee took into consideration the propriety of increasing the compensation to our soldiers?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator that we applied to the War Department for information upon that subject. I have it here, but I have not had an opportunity to read it yet.

The Senator will remember that when the national defense act was up for consideration a year ago I insisted, but the Senate was against me, that married men ought not to be permitted to enlist until it became absolutely necessary; in other words, that they might be permitted to get out of the service where they had families or where they had dependents, but the Senate saw fit to amend that bill by putting in it a clause appropriating money for the dependents. I still think it was a mistake. This bill provides for an exemption of all those men. I do not think men with dependent families, or those who have dependents, ought to be called into the service until it becomes necessary.

Mr. FLETCHER. Bearing on the question of the age of enlistment, I have an article published in the Survey, entitled "Recruiting and the man-power inventory," in which there is a statement that may be of interest to the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. I shall be glad to have the Senator put it into the RECORD.

Mr. FLETCHER. The article states that—

> Mr. Bennett was in France in 1915 and made a study of military needs. "The experience at the front all goes to show," he says, "that men from 18 to 30 are the best type to stand up under the strain upon infantry in modern warfare. From 30 to 35 there is a marked increase in wastage by disease and breakdown and corresponding loss in efficiency. From 35 to 40 the increase is 100 per cent. The human system is so constituted that it is best adapted to resist the strain of trench fighting at the younger period. Unless the fighting men are fed and kept in prime condition, we might better never send them across the seas."

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I have served the purpose I had in view in asking the chairman of the committee the questions which I have; but before I take my seat I want to emphasize the view that I hold in reference to the amount of pay that we should give to our soldiers. The little Dominion of

Canada has seen fit to pay her soldiers $1.10 a day; Australia pays $1.25 a day. The result has been that there has been no trouble in getting the very best soldiers that the world has ever seen from Canada and Australia, not by conscription but by voluntary enlistment. While I have an open mind to-day as to the better method, my mind running rather to that of fair effort to secure soldiers by voluntary enlistment, giving them adequate pay and taking care of their families, I want especially to call attention to the fact that Canada and Australia have furnished the flower of the British Army in that great struggle in Europe.

Those soldiers have been at the forefront in every battle; they have distinguished themselves on every field of conflict; and they have been volunteers. When Senators say, and when the newspapers insultingly refer to those of us who do not follow unquestioning certain lines that have been mapped out for us and say that we are not acting in the interests of the Government, I want to put on record the fact that those possessions of Great Britain have probably saved the cause to the allies. The Australian soldiers and the Canadian soldiers have done that. They have been secured, not by conscription but by voluntary enlistment, for the reason that Canada and Australia have seen fit to offer inducements to every soldier that caused the young men to enlist, knowing, as they did, that they would be given sufficient money perhaps to send back to their dependents and that the governments of those colonies would take care of those who were dependent upon them while they were at the front fighting the battles of the country.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. THOMAS. I think the Senator will readily concede the same high grade of service and manhood to the volunteers of South Africa and New Zealand.

Mr. GALLINGER. Precisely; to New Zealand, and, to a certain extent, to those who have entered the service even from India. They have been splendid soldiers.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Hampshire yield to me?

Mr. GALLINGER. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. I call the Senator's attention also to the fact that in England over 4,000,000 have enlisted in this war; that most of them are fighting in this war; and they are the very best soldiers in the world to-day. They were enlisted under the volunteer system of England.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is very true. Again, Mr. President, as I said in the beginning——

Mr. WARREN. Will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes.

Mr. WARREN. I am ready to indorse everything which the Senator says about the efficiency of volunteer troops, especially the Canadians; but there is not quite the difference in pay which might be thought to be the case. The pay of the Canadian soldier, the Senator says, is a dollar a day.

Mr. GALLINGER. It is $1.10.

Mr. WARREN. One dollar a day base pay, and the 10 cents is a separate addition; but the American soldier gets 20 per cent added if he serves outside of the United States, which more than compensates for the 10 cents additional paid to the Canadian soldier. Then there are various grades or rates of pay. As soon as a soldier qualifies as a sharpshooter he receives $3 per month additional, and there are various other additions. The question of pay has been referred to the department with the request that we may be informed of what each grade should get, basing the initial pay upon $20, $25, or $30 a month, in order that we may have the equitable proportion. We desire to get this pay matter in shape so as to consider it.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I am very glad the committee has taken the pains to make that inquiry; but the fact remains that when we raise this great army—if we succeed in raising it—either by conscription or by voluntary enlistment, the bulk of the soldiers will commence their service, unless we legislative otherwise in the meantime, at the paltry sum of $15 a month. Considering all the conditions that surround the world at the present moment in reference to the horrible war that is prevailing in Europe, if we undertake to send our soldiers across the Atlantic Ocean to enter the trenches and to help fight the battles of the allies at $15 a month, I do not know what the American people will say about it; but I am very thoroughly persuaded in my own mind that the American people will resent it in such a way that even the Senate of the United States will understand clearly their attitude on that question.

Mr. President, I have stated that before the bill is concluded I may take a very brief time to discuss certain other features of it; but to-day I simply wanted to get a little information for my own guidance in this matter. Having elicited that information, I will not now detain the Senate further. Unless some other Senator moves to increase the age above 25, I shall probably offer an amendment myself, so as to take the sense of the Senate on that question.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. BRANDEGEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I was going to suggest that probably the orderly way to proceed with this bill would be to have the bill read. It is a short bill, and I will request that it be read.

Mr. WARREN. Let the bill be read in full, Mr. President.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask that the bill be read.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I wanted to ask the Senator from Oregon, the chairman of the committee, or any other Senator, if he has not the information, if it is known what was the average age of the soldiers of the Union Army in the Civil War?

Mr. GALLINGER. It was 23 years.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I had the figures and have had them printed in the RECORD.

Mr. NELSON. I have the figures here, Mr. President.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The Senator from Minnesota says he has the figures as to the ages of those soldiers.

Mr. NELSON. I have the figures here, and with the permission of the Senator from Connecticut I will read them.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I shall be very glad to have that done.

Mr. NELSON. They are in regard to the age at enlistment.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Of volunteers?

Mr. NELSON. Of volunteers during the Civil War. There were 25 who were only 10 years old—they were drummer boys; there were 38 who were 11 years old; there were 225 who were 12 years old; there were 300 who were 13 years old; there were 1,523 who were 14 years old; there were 104,987 who were 15 years old; there were 231,051 who were 16 years old; there were 844,981 who were 17 years old; there were 1,158,438 who were 18 years old. Then, of those of 22 years of age, there were 618,511; of 25 years of age there were 46,626; of 44 years of age there were 16,071.

Over half of the Army which we had during the Civil War consisted of boys of 18 years of age. The feature of the bill to which I object is fixing the age limit at 19 years instead of 18 years. Boys 18 years of age make first-class soldiers. The boys of that age were the backbone of our volunteer army during the Civil War. I see no reason why we should not reduce the age limit in this bill to the level of 18 years instead of 19 years.

If the Senator from Oregon will allow me while I am on my feet, I wish to say that I entirely agree with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], that we ought to extend the limit up to 35 years. I remember very well in the company in which I served during the Civil War most of the boys were under 20 years of age. The oldest man we had in the company was an old Englishman, who was 35 years old—only 35—and yet he was so much older than the rest of us that we called him "Old Dad." But he was as good and as efficient a soldier as were the boys of 18, 19, and 20 years of age. I see no reason why we should not go up to that limit, Mr. President.

More than that, as the Senator from New Hampshire has suggested, there is a good reason why we should do so. The slackers—and they will be found among a certain class of our population whom I do not care now to refer to by name—these slackers will be found among those classes and they will not be amongst the men between 19 and 25 years of age, but they will be in the class of men between 30 and 40 years of age.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. NELSON. The boys between the ages of 19 and 20 have a little of the old American spirit in them, and they are likely to volunteer; but that is not the case with the old fellows. I now yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I merely want to call the attention of the Senator to what I think was the motive of the department in suggesting the ages from 19 to 25. There are 6,000,000 young men available at from 19 to 25, and even one-half of that number will be more than we shall need. So there will be large exemptions anyway; and the limit was raised so as to avoid, so far as possible, calling the younger men unless it became absolutely necessary.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, if the Senator from Connecticut will allow me further——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I should like to hear the Senator, and I hope he will proceed.

Mr. NELSON. There is another singular impression which seems to prevail, which is that we will have no Army until

the draft is made. As I understand, this plan contemplates the filling of our Regular Army by voluntary enlistment up to 240,000 men. I will inquire of the chairman of the committee if I am not correct?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. To nearly 300,000.

Mr. NELSON. Those voluntary enlistments will go on constantly, and the men thus enlisted and incorporated in the ranks of the Regular Army will become efficient soldiers in a very short time as they mingle with the old companies and regiments. In that way, it seems to me, we can readily and in a very short time have a very good and efficient Army of 300,000 regulars if we can succeed in filling the ranks by volunteers.

Now, as to the National Guard, we are handicapped because enlistments must, in the first place, be by the State authorities; but they can proceed to enlist volunteers. We can not draft, as I understand, and the bill does not propose to draft men into the National Guard. The National Guard is primarily a State organization.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. NELSON. Certainly.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The bill specifically provides that if the National Guard is not raised to the maximum war strength by the volunteer system the President shall draft men into it to bring it to war strength.

Mr. NELSON. He can only do that after the organizations have been mustered into the United States service. The skeleton of the State organizations must first exist, because the officers of the National Guard must be appointed by the governors of the States and not by the President. There is room for 300,000 men in the National Guard. Practically, therefore, there is an opening, if I understand the bill correctly, for volunteer enlistments to the number, say, of about 150,000 to fill up the Regular Army and for some 200,000 to 300,000 to fill up the National Guard. So that there is a field, if we can get the volunteers, for upward of 500,000 men by voluntary enlistment. Those enlistments will be going on constantly while we are preparing for the selective draft.

Mr. President, the proposed selective draft has no terrors for me. It is perfectly simple. First, there will be made a census of the men of military age in the different localities and places where it is proposed to institute the draft. In the Northern States we have township governments, while in most parts of the South they have nothing smaller than county governments; but say, for instance, one of our northern rural townships has 50 men of military age prescribed by this bill. Those are the men subject to the draft, and their names are put into a box. The quota of the town, we will say, is 5 men, and the 5 men are drawn by lot out of those 50 men. Where there is no township government, as is the case in most of the Southern States, the selections will be made probably by counties or by election precincts; but, in any case, that is the way to operate.

All this will take time, as the Senator from New York has well said, it first being necessary to take a military census, and then, after that census has been completed, to apportion the quota under that census to the different States, to the counties, and to the precincts, if it is extended down that far. Then, after that census and apportionment have been made, the drawing takes place. It is a drawing by lot. That was practically the method pursued during the Civil War, although I think in some instances it was left to the States to apportion the quota of the counties of the State among the different townships or election precincts. I am not sure as to that, but I have that impression. However, that makes no difference, although it is better, perhaps, that it be done by the Federal Government.

I desire now to call attention to another fact. The volunteers who enlist to fill up the National Guard and the Regular Army will come into the service under tried and educated officers, especially in the Regular Army. One of the vices of the old volunteer system, as it was in vogue during the days of the Civil War, was that the officers—colonels, majors, lieutenant colonels, captains, and lieutenants—were oftentimes appointed because of their political affiliations and their political standing and influence with the governor who had the appointment. The customary method was for some ambitious man to go to the governor and say, "If you will appoint me colonel, I will try to recruit a regiment." Then he would endeavor to associate a man with him to whom he would say, "If you will help me, I will try to get you appointed lieutenant colonel." Then he would go to another man and promise to make him a major if he would help him, and so on down the line.

These several men in that way became, as it were, embryo recruiting officers. They were all anxious to secure commissions, and in order to secure them they had to raise companies or regiments. Another vice of that system was—and we suffered immensely from it during the last years of the war—that we were constantly getting new regiments, new organizations of volunteers, when the ranks of the old and tried regiments were depleted and reduced, whereas if we could have had a different system to fill up by voluntary enlistments the older regiments as they shrank because of loss in battle and from disease in camp, we would have done much better, for two reasons: In the first place, if a "green" soldier is placed among old trained soldiers he becomes more quickly efficient than he would in a "raw" regiment. In the next place, in the older regiments by the time they have become reduced——

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. NELSON. I will yield to the Senator in a moment. By the time the companies and regiments have become reduced the inefficient and incompetent officers have become weeded out, while the experienced officers remain. Now I yield to the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I know that during the Civil War fresh regiments were formed, and, doubtless in many cases, when it was not for the best. I do not know how it may have been in Minnesota, but in New Hampshire we pursued the plan of filling up our regiments. Take the "Fighting Fifth," of New Hampshire—and I have no doubt the Senator has heard of that regiment, for it lost more men in killed and wounded than any other regiment on either side——

Mr. NELSON. I want to say, if the Senator will allow me, that during the Civil War, and for 20 years before that time, my home was in the State of Wisconsin, and I served in a Wisconsin regiment. I know that the regiment in which I served was partially filled up twice by recruits, but that was not true very generally. We had toward the last of the war many volunteers, some of whom did not even have to leave the State.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is very true. I was about to say that the regiment to which I have alluded, the "Fighting Fifth," of New Hampshire, was, to my knowledge, recruited three times to its maximum strength and sent into the field to renew its activities on the fighting line.

Mr. NELSON. The regiment in which I served was in the same brigade with the Eighth New Hampshire when the brigade charged the enemy's works at Port Hudson. The Eighth New Hampshire was an old, good, and tried regiment.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I want to make a further suggestion, if the Senator will permit me, and that is that conscription in our State toward the close of the war did not produce very desirable results. We sent one regiment from New Hampshire of the members of which, I think it is safe to say, 90 per cent deserted before the close of the war, and, while the Government was under obligations to pay us $400,000 for recruiting and equipping that regiment, we have not had the audacity to seek a refund of the money that the State expended, because of the fact that those troops were so utterly worthless.

Mr. NELSON. It was only in the latter days of the war, Mr. President, after the war had progressed for some time that general resort to the draft was made. One vicious feature of the draft was this: After the quota of soldiers had been apportioned to the different towns in my section of the country the towns were allowed to raise their quota of soldiers in any manner they saw fit. In some instances the wealthy men of the town would raise a fund and in other cases they would vote town bonds to buy substitutes, who were paid large bounties, to take their places so that they might avoid the draft, and anything in the shape of a man, as a rule, was accepted. Those substitutes as a class—there were, however, some good ones among them—were a worthless job-lot set.

I hope that nothing of that kind will transpire under this bill. If we are to have a selective draft, let us have it, and let us have nothing of the old system by which those eligible for military duty secured worthless fellows as substitutes, who afterwards acquired the euphonious name, in many instances, of "bounty jumpers." I remember very well an incident when I was in the southern part of my State holding a political meeting some years ago. A man who had joined our company under those conditions and got a big bounty for enlisting came to me and told me a pitiful story. He said he could not get a pension. That fellow had obtained a bounty of $400 from his town. Then he had deserted and enlisted from another town, and he repeated the operation three times. He was cursing the Government because he could not get a pension, and he wanted to know if I could not help him. I told him that he ought to thank God Almighty that he was not strung up by the neck while he was in the Army.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I owe an apology to the Senate for saying as much as I have. I did not intend to do so when I rose. I concur with the Senator from New Hampshire in the view that the minimum age should be reduced to 18 years and the maximum increased to at least 35. I want to catch some of those who in Canada are called "slackers"—and we have had some of them there. Do Senators know that the best recruiting agents in Canada have been the women? The young girls in Canada walk up to the young men who have not enlisted and call them "slackers," will not associate with them, will not go out to parties or entertainments with them. So they have fairly compelled the boys to enlist or to be socially ostracized. I wish to God we could have some such spirit in this country; but the peace propaganda that has been going on here for such a long time, and which finally came to a head about this war, I am afraid, has demoralized our people.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I submit a proposed amendment to the bill, which I ask to have read and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

On page 5, line 10, strike out the word "nineteen," and substitute the word "eighteen"; and in line 11, on the same page, strike out the word "twenty-five," and substitute the word "thirty-five."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President——

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I think I have the floor.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I thought the Senator had concluded, and I was going to ask to have the bill read.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I will not delay the reading of the bill more than a few seconds. I have been very much entertained by the remarks of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON]. I was under the impression that the average age of the troops in the Union Army in the Civil War was very low; in fact, I thought it was a little lower than 23; but the wars of all countries, Mr. President, are fought by the young men. They make by far the best soldiers.

I read to-day in one of the papers a statement by an officer in foreign service that the men above 30 showed a marked increase in their tendency to rheumatic troubles and colds and diseases of the respiratory organs. The young men, in every respect, having more vitality, make by far the best fighters and soldiers, and their enlistment discommodes the rest of the community and the great industrial forces of the Nation much less than would the enlistment of older men.

My impression is that the average age of the men in the Confederate Army was less than that of those in the Northern Army, and I think I would rather favor—unless the War Department or the technical men can give some reason that would change my opinion—the reduction of the minimum to 18 years. I do not care so much about it being raised from 25 to 35, because I think we will get all we want between the ages of 18 and 25. However, that is a detail of the bill that I will not go into now; but I do desire to say, with reference to the amount of time necessary to put the draft into effect, that I am very confident, indeed, that under the draft the men will be in the training camps before the 1st of August if this bill should pass within a week or two.

The governor of my State several months ago caused a military census of the State to be made, and not only a military census but an industrial census, classifying all our manufacturers and every other asset that would be available in war. The military census—that is, the number of men between 18 and 45 that would be available for service—was made, I think, within two weeks; certainly not more than three. I am quite strongly of the impression that it was two weeks, but I will look it up and verify it. The Judge Advocate General of the War Department was very much interested, and I remember telling him about it. It was done systematically by the town clerks of the towns. We have the town system of government in my State, there being 178 towns in the State. Each town clerk, who had in his office all the lists of electors and a very wide acquaintance, took charge of the work in his town, and it was done in a very few days. He appointed assistants, of course, but he was the responsible man through whom it was done.

We have had now for a month a complete military census of the State. It could be done in larger States exactly as quickly. It does not make any difference how large the State is; your system will work just the same if you divide it into small enough units. So I have no fear that the passage of this bill would delay the raising of an army at all.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have been very much interested in what has been said in regard to the success of the volunteer system in Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and other Provinces.

During the past few days we have heard Lord Northcliffe's views commented upon in this Chamber, and a number of Senators have referred to the very great service that he rendered his country by the outspoken way in which he treated matters of a military character; and because of what has been said this afternoon it occurred to me that it might not be inopportune to have Lord Northcliffe's views of the volunteer system in England and the Provinces. I am going to beg the indulgence of the Senate long enough to read just a few paragraphs.

This article was written by Lord Northcliffe and printed in the Baltimore Sun under the title:

Lord Northcliffe tells of pitfalls to avoid. Warns America of volunteer system, which broke down early in Britain's war experience.

I am going to read only a few paragraphs.

Under date of April 13 he said:

The pitfalls which face the United States resemble more closely those of England and allied nations—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—than of France or Germany, which had long maintained large standing armies.

* * * * * * * *

But our army was at the beginning of the war, as your Army now is, really but a nucleus, and alas, we had to disperse our nucleus in France, Belgium, Egypt, Gallipoli, and Mesopotamia. We were then left with the instant need of turning farm hands, mechanics, chauffeurs, clerks, and all of the rest into soldiers at the shortest possible moment.

The then government, afraid to take the political risk of going at once to conscription, sought refuge in what is called the volunteer system. There was the old parrot cry: "One volunteer is worth three pressed men."

This was hammered from every platform by every demagogue. Nobility of the volunteer was eulogized, especially by those who wanted him to go so that they might remain and steal his business. Then the largest campaign in the history of modern advertising was inaugurated by the Government. Thousands of pages of newspaper space were obtained by the Government for advertising, many of which were of a semiblackmailing nature, displaying such phrases as:

"What will you say to your grandson when he asks you what you did in the great war?"

"What will your best girl think of you if you keep out of uniform?"

In the great rush of anger at the German horrors in Belgium and France hundreds of thousands of high-spirited young men went to the colors without thought of their business or private fortunes. When that rush was over recruiting slumped, and the advertising campaign for volunteers began and continued until the Government was able to proudly announce the vague fact that "some five millions of men have volunteered for our various naval and military services."

The exact meaning of the word "volunteered" was never explained and is unknown to this day. Among the volunteers were counted the halt, the maimed, the cripples, and other ineligibles.

It speedily became obvious that the system of volunteering had broken down. Many patriotic men enlisted freely. Others equally well disposed declined, insisting that there must be an equality of sacrifice.

If the Government told them that it was essential for them to go, they would go, provided others of their age and condition were required to go also. A grossly unjust state of affairs had come into existence. Married men with children had enlisted, and single men with no responsibilities remained behind to "enjoy the war," to use the popular phrase. Employees in patriotic stores enlisted en masse, and near-by stores in the same line of business did not hesitate to retain their workers and thrive.

The injustice became at last so pronounced and the cry of "single men first" so continuous that eventually, after much nervous trepidation, our Government summoned its courage and dreadful word "compulsion," firstly as to young men only. With the exception of a few cowards who posed as conscientious objectors to warfare, and also some bona fide objectors, such as members of the Society of Friends, the whole country welcomed the abolition of the grossly unjust system whereby the patriotic mother sent her son to the great fight for liberty and the unpatriotic mother kept her boy at her side.

The United States is in no such desperate hurry to raise soldiers as we were. If she desires to send a contingent overseas she will have plenty of time to send inquirers to France, to this country, or to Canada to find out the latest novelties in the ever-changing demands of war as to both men and material.

We were, unfortunately, in such haste that our men were enrolled in a way to remind one of a badly taken census. It took many months' time and the work of thousands of assistants in England and France and elsewhere to find out who the men in our army were, their trades and occupations, the conditions of their private lives, and other essential details.

In the vibrant days of the summer and autumn of 1914, in the first rush of patriotic volunteers, resulting in the greatest volunteer force ever raised in the world's history, all manner of important matters broke down—most notably, perhaps, that of the medical examination of recruits. The result was that many healthy, willing young men were rejected for trifling defects, and many others physically unfit were sent to the front only to go to the hospitals at once and otherwise cumber the earth.

There is much more of this article, but I shall not take the time to read it. In view of the opinions that have been expressed on the floor of the Senate as if they were not even disputed, I felt that it would be not inopportune that we might hear the views of one of the greatest of the world's critics on the subject of this war.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, in the hearings before the House of Representatives, under date of April 14, Capt. Percy George Reginald Benson, of the English Army, was the first witness, and simply to put in the RECORD the result of the volunteer system and the conscription system in England I want to read just two questions propounded to Capt. Benson:

The CHAIRMAN. How many men did England get under the volunteer system?

Capt. BENSON. They got 5,000,000 men under the volunteer system. They got 11 per cent of the population under the volunteer system.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total number now?

Capt. BENSON. The total force now would be, roughly, 6,500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And 5,000,000 of that force were raised under the volunteer system?

Capt. BENSON. Five million came in by volunteer effort.

So the volunteer system was not such a lamentable failure in Great Britain.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, in that connection I want to ask the Senator if he will not turn to the next page, reading from the same witness, and put into the RECORD at this point the number of men raised in Canada. It is about the middle of the page.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes. The following question was asked the witness by Mr. SHALLENBERGER:

Do you know how many were received under the volunteer system from New Zealand, India, Australia, Canada, and the other colonies?

Capt. BENSON. I think Canada raised under the volunteer system about 400,000 men, and I think Australia and New Zealand raised, roughly, about the same number.

Mr. WISE. Between what ages do you take them under the volunteer system?

Capt. BENSON. Volunteers were taken from 18 to 41 years of age, I think.

Mr. WISE. Between what ages do you conscript them?

Capt. BENSON. The military obligation runs now, I think, to 45 years—between the ages of 18 and 45 years.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. So that practically a million men were raised in the colonies under this system.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I had intended to offer what I am about to read on another occasion hereafter, but I think it is perhaps apropos that it should be read into the RECORD now.

I read from the statement of a somewhat prominent English soldier, who had during his long life a fairly good military judgment and a considerable military experience. I think, therefore, that his opinion upon this subject is entitled to some consideration. I am referring to Lord Kitchener.

On the 5th of January, 1916, he said in the House of Lords:

So far we have been able to provide for the largest increase of the army and its maintenance on a purely voluntary system, and I, personally, had always hoped that we should be able to finish the war successfully without changing that system, which has done so well and which has given us such splendid material in the field. I do not consider that the change proposed should be regarded in the light of any derogation of the principle of voluntary service in this country. It only affects, during the period of the war, one class of men, among whom there are undoubtedly a certain number who have but a poor idea of their duties as citizens.

On May 23 following Lord Kitchener, again addressing the House of Lords, I think upon the conscription bill, said:

The conviction is deeply and universally felt that we have engaged in a just war, and the patriotism of our people gave us, under the voluntary system, a far larger army than we could ever have contemplated. This bill will enable us to maintain its numbers in a manner and degree not hitherto possible.

It is evident from the last quotation which I have read that Lord Kitchener regarded the compulsory-service bill as designed to supplement the magnificent army raised in Great Britain under the voluntary system and to maintain its numbers after it had been raised.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, it seems necessary, in order to explain the last answer of Capt. Benson read by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], to read again the entire questions and answers that he placed in the RECORD. For that reason I repeat the reading of his statement, together with the entire answer that he gave to the last question:

The CHAIRMAN. How many men did England get under the volunteer system?

Capt. BENSON. They got 5,000,000 men under the volunteer system. They got 11 per cent of the population under the volunteer system.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total number now?

Capt. BENSON. The total force now would be, roughly, 6,500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And 5,000,000 of that force were raised under the volunteer system?

Capt. BENSON. Five million came in by volunteer effort. The only point that was found to be objectionable was that these men were told off and a great many of them sent out to the line uneconomically, because afterwards they were wanted at home, and a great many men were lost who ought not to have gone out at all; and also if we had not been obliged to raise the full number of men, as I hope you will not have to do in this country, we would not have had so much of separation allowances and pensions. In other words, it would have saved us an enormous amount of money, because we would not have taken married men, as we did under the volunteer system.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I am very glad that the article written by Lord Northcliffe has been read into the RECORD, expressing his opinion—and certainly his opinion was entitled to great weight—on the comparative merits of the volunteer system and the selective-draft system or the so-called conscriptive system; and I am particularly glad that the remainder of the testimony of the British captain was read into the RECORD, because it is the most significant part of his testimony.

I do not intend to address the Senate at any length this evening on this bill. I hope to have an opportunity of doing so on Monday. There are, however, one or two comments that have been made in the running debate that has taken place here this afternoon which I think perhaps it is permissible for me to comment upon in return.

We talk about Great Britain raising four or five million men by the volunteer system. It is a misnomer. I venture to say that a very large percentage of the four or five million—whichever the number was—were practically compelled to go. It is perfectly true, as the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] said in his description of the efforts to recruit the army in Canada, that the women themselves were the best recruiting officers. Social ostracism—the finger of shame pointed at every man who appeared upon the streets and in the street cars in London and in Liverpool, with complete ignorance on the part of the person, be he man or woman, that was making fun of him for not going as to his home conditions and his state in life—was the thing that drove men into the British Army and has been driving them into the Canadian Army. There is no more volunteer spirit in that than there is in the selective-draft provision of this bill.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield for a question.

Mr. BECKHAM. Is it not also a fact that the Zeppelin raids and other aerial attacks upon England had a great deal to do with the stimulating of volunteering there?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the whole success of recruiting armies by a volunteer system depends upon the psychology of the moment. You get a great mass of recruits one day because some outrage is perpetrated upon your own people. The next day the recruiting drops off. Public sentiment goes up and down, and the Government will always be compelled to gamble with the psychology of public sentiment and will never know from day to day how many recruits they are going to get. But to say that by volunteer recruiting Great Britain has built up this vast army is not an accurate description of the situation, because there was a very evident and an effective degree of compulsion in it. The cities and the countrysides of England were literally plastered with posters depicting in the most invidious manner the man who did not go, and thousands and thousands of men were compelled to go under the so-called volunteer system who never should have been permitted to go.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield for a question.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all that I intend to interrupt the Senator for. Does not the Senator recall that the conditions to which he has just referred in greater or less degree apply to every volunteer campaign in time of war?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It is true, and that is why I am opposed to it. It is unfair. The truth of the matter is, if one will study the question of the creation of the British Army under the so-called volunteer system, that the waste of the very best material in England which went out in the so-called "Kitchener's mob," or "the first hundred thousand"—terms which have been eventuated, I hope, in military literature—was so great that it has been exceedingly difficult for the British Government to find officers for the forces that have been raised subsequently.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. In the case of Canada, I have in mind a most conspicuous instance of how the volunteer system imposes a vast hardship upon a government, a people, or a nation that is endeavoring to wage war effectively. Perhaps some of the Senators have heard of a famous Canadian volunteer regiment known as the "Princess Patricia's Own"—a regiment of cavalry known in Canada as a crack regiment. It was filled up on the volunteer system, and although it was cavalry, when it was sent to France, so great was the need for men that the men were dismounted and sent into the trenches as infantry. I heard upon reliable authority that out of the fifteen or sixteen hundred men of that splendid regiment, two-thirds of whom were officer material, and never would have done anything but officer work after they had been trained had there been a selective draft—out of the fifteen or sixteen hundred men in that

magnificent outfit of volunteers only 40 were left fit to do military duty after six weeks of service.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator does not find fault with that regiment for being patriotic enough and brave enough to fight in the trenches, does he?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Oh, certainly not. If I may use a colloquialism, I take off my hat to that regiment. "It is magnificent," Mr. President, "but it is not war." It is waste. That is the trouble.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I am very much surprised to find that Senators know with so much accuracy precisely what happened in Great Britain under the volunteer system. The fact is that they raised 5,000,000 soldiers under the volunteer system in England. Then, when they were in great need of an additional force, and could not wait for the volunteer system, they enforced conscription, and got a million and a half more. That is the whole story. Beyond a doubt some men volunteered who ought to have stayed at home, and some of them were recalled from the trenches to take their places in industrial establishments; but to say that that volunteer force was not a patriotic and a brave army is to belie history, because they were both patriotic and brave.

Mr. President, it does seem to me that in the discussion of this bill we ought not to belittle what happened in England under the volunteer system, or in Canada, or in Australia. If we had the same patriotism in this country to-day that we had at the beginning of the Civil War there would be no trouble about having a volunteer force without resorting to conscription. They had that patriotism in England. They had that patriotism in Canada. They had it in Australia. It has been a great wonder to me how it happened that those colonies, attached as they are to the mother country, but practically independent nations, should have exhibited that patriotism, and should have given the very best of their young men to the cause of the allies. But they did it; and I do not think that the system which produced those results can be belittled by an argument that "the girls forced them to enlist," or that the finger of scorn was pointed at them in the streets of London.

Mr. President, whichever of these systems is agreed to by the Congress will receive my support after the result has been reached. But, having had some knowledge of the volunteer system in the Civil War, and of the results of conscription which followed when the volunteer forces could not be secured in an emergency, I am unwilling that the volunteer system should be presented to the people of this country as a failure, either in the Civil War, in the War with Spain, or in the war that is going on to-day in the countries of Europe.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, of course, there is not time now to enter upon any serious discussion of this question, which involves the very fundamental propositions which no doubt will be thrashed out quite thoroughly before we are through.

No one could have greater admiration than I have for the magnificent way in which Canada has responded in this war. She was not even invited to come in; she was not urged to come in; it was not intimated to her that she was wanted in the war, according to my understanding. She did volunteer, however, and volunteered nobly. She first called for 25,000 men, and in response to that call over 100,000 came forward, and finally she had to raise her limit to 35,000 at first, and they were supplied, and the men broke down fences and inclosures and gates and other things to enlist. They did nobly; there is no question about that; but that is not a complete answer to the question involved at all. It does not solve this problem; it does not meet the question here; and I am just saying this by way of calling attention to an article written by Mr. Paul U. Kellogg.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, before the Senator reads that article——

Mr. FLETCHER. I am not going to read the whole article.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator yield for just a moment, on that subject?

Mr. FLETCHER. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator speaks of how the men have volunteered in other countries. Does not the Senator think that if the men of America are given a chance to volunteer in this war they will volunteer now?

Mr. FLETCHER. I have not any question but that there will be a large number of volunteers. Whether or not we will have a sufficient number to meet the requirements is another question. There is room under this bill for 600,000 volunteers or more, and there is opportunity to volunteer. The bill does not deny that opportunity; and there will be, of course, a splendid response to that sort of a call.

Just one question still remains: Do we want the future brains of this country, the boys now of 18 to 25 in our colleges and universities, to enlist in this war and go to the trenches and be shot down and destroyed?

Mr. GALLINGER. Those who are going to be conscripted are between 18 and 25, according to the bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. This selective draft business does not oblige them to come in.

Mr. GALLINGER. It does not exclude them.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. As I understand the bill there is no provision exempting college students between the ages of 19 and 25.

Mr. FLETCHER. Certainly not; but only proportionately will they be brought in. The Etons, Oxfords, Cambridges, Winchesters, Trinities, and other institutions of learning will not pour forth of their blood and brain into these trenches.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. FLETCHER. I do.

Mr. REED. I should like to ask the Senator if he thinks a boy who is fortunate enough to have a father who can send him to Cambridge or to Eton, or some other college, is under any less obligation to go than the unfortunate boy who has to stay at home to take care, perhaps, of a father or mother or to earn his livelihood? Is he any better because his people happen to have some money to send him to school?

Mr. FLETCHER. Of course not, Mr. President; nobody means to intimate anything of that sort; but if you have an unrestricted volunteer system in operation, you will take all these boys and all these men in the colleges. They are perfectly able to meet all the proper demands that will be made upon them, and they will furnish their proper proportion, but not all.

Mr. GALLINGER. Under the volunteer system the boys in the colleges are not compelled to enlist.

Mr. FLETCHER. They are not compelled to.

Mr. GALLINGER. No; and they do not all enlist.

Mr. FLETCHER. But an unrestricted volunteer system would bring them in. You could not relieve against that situation. Those are the boys who would volunteer at once.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I merely wish to ask the Senator whether the selective plan as provided in the bill would not apply to the volunteers the same as the conscripted?

Mr. FLETCHER. I should say yes.

I did not mean to get into this discussion and I am not attempting to answer these inquiries fully. They will be answered before the debate closes, but it is late and I know Senators wish to adjourn. I rose on purpose at this time to call attention to this article, written by Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, entitled "A Canadian city in war time. Recruiting and the man-power inventory."

It says:

> The national service board was created in September, 1916, by order in council under the war-measures act. It is composed of a director general and a director in each military district in Canada. The former is Richard Bedford Bennett, M. P., from Calgary—

Now, what does Mr. Bennett say? In the first place, as this article recites, they took a census over there and it resulted in three classes of military prospects: First, men from 18 to 30 without dependents; second, men from 30 to 45 without dependents; and, third, men from 18 to 45 without more than three dependents.

Then the article proceeds with the statement that—

> By March the board had turned into the military department 20,000 cards of military prospects of the first class.

Attached to the article is the form of inquiry they submitted, the questions they asked, and sent out all over Canada. They got this information, and it is quite important material, too. This is what Mr. Bennett said——

Mr. STONE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. FLETCHER. I yield.

Mr. STONE. What is the matter with men from 45 to 70 that they can not get in?

Mr. FLETCHER. The general experience is, I think, that men from 45 to 70 would not compose very efficient men for soldiers in the trenches. There may be other opportunities for gentlemen of that age in other work and in other service, and undoubtedly there will be opportunities offered them. But the point I am coming to is what Mr. Bennett, the director of this national service board in Canada, says:

The board has power to prevent men from enlisting who are needed in occupations where they have skill—for example, send them back to the farm. England had to return four divisions of shipbuilders and coal miners who enlisted in the first wasteful period of recruiting. A nation should not let the wild cry for soldiers from a thousand sources stampede irreplaceable men needed at home to make those soldiers effective. It takes six months to make a soldier; it takes six years to make a tool setter, two years to make a coal cutter, long apprenticeship and training to make an engineer or machinist. Nothing is more ruinous than the cry for wholesale indiscriminate volunteering.

That is a statement of this gentleman after the experience they had in Canada.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By direction of the Vice President the Chair announces the following Senators to serve upon the committee to investigate the street railway strike: The Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] and the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON].

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 23, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 23, 1917.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, Thy servants this day are called upon to face the solemn responsibility of making preparation for the defense of our national honor and peace. We pray that Thou wilt lend them Thy blessing and Thy guidance. We thank Thee for the unity of spirit which pervades our national life. The ideals committed to us by the toil and sacrifice of our fathers, which are so infinitely dear to us to-day, will be defended with our fortune and life. Only let us see clearly that Thou art guiding us in the way. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Vice President being absent, the President pro tempore [WILLARD SAULSBURY, a Senator from the State of Delaware] assumed the chair.

JOHN H. BANKHEAD, a Senator from the State of Alabama, and HENRY F. HOLLIS, a Senator from the State of New Hampshire, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday last, when, on request of Mr. SMOOT and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

CROW INDIAN RESERVATION, MONT. (S. DOC. NO. 12).

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 12th instant, certain information relative to what land within the Crow Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, is susceptible of cultivation to cereal crops without irrigation, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize the issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills, and they were thereupon signed by the President pro tempore:

H. R. 1771. An act to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

H. R. 2008. An act to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service;

H. R. 2338. An act to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office;

H. R. 2339. An act to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918; and

H. R. 2340. An act to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented a joint memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House joint memorial 2. (By Mr. Coombs.)

To the President, to the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, and to the Secretary of the Interior:

We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, duly assembled in its third session, respectfully and earnestly represent that—

Whereas in the Government service in the Territory of Alaska, and particularly in the service of the Alaska Engineering Commission, there are employed in clerical positions numerous aliens and persons who are not naturalized citizens of the United States: Now, therefore,

We, your memorialists, respectfully ask that legislation be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and regulations be adopted by the various departments of the Government, prescribing as a necessary qualification for the holding of clerical positions in the Government service in the Territory of Alaska that the employees be citizens of the United States: Be it

Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be sent to the President, to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, to the Delegate from Alaska, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to the Alaska Engineering Commission.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

Passed by the house March 29, 1917.

LUTHER C. HESS,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

A. H. ZIEGLER,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Passed the senate April 5, 1917.

FRANK A. ALDRICH,
President pro tempore of the Senate.

Attest:

W. M. EDDY,
Secretary of the Senate.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Territory of Alaska, ss:

I, Charles E. Davidson, secretary of Alaska, do hereby certify that the above is a full, true, and correct copy of house joint memorial No. 2, of the Alaska Territorial Legislature, passed at the third session thereof.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Territory of Alaska, affixed at Juneau, the capital, this 12th day of April, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] CHARLES E. DAVIDSON,
Secretary of Alaska.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented a joint memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House joint memorial 4. (By Mr. Snow (by request).)

To the President of the United States, the United States Senate, and the United States House of Representatives:

Your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the Territory of Alaska, most respectfully represent that—

Whereas the Government of the United States is now engaged in the construction of a railroad from Seward to Fairbanks, Alaska, for the purpose of developing the resources of the territory tributary to said railroad;

Whereas several towns have been and will hereafter be established along the line of said railroad;

Whereas the act of March 12, 1914, authorizing the construction of said railroad empowers the President to withdraw and dispose of lands belonging to the United States for town-site purposes, and the said act further provides that all funds received from the sale or other disposition of town-site lands be paid into the Treasury of the United States as other miscellaneous receipts are paid;

Whereas most, if not all, of these new towns are established and located upon undeveloped land, which requires large expenditures of money to make it suitable for habitation; water supply must be furnished, streets and sidewalks constructed, as well as schoolhouses, municipal buildings, and other public improvements of that nature;

Whereas Congress has on many occasions, by law applicable to the disposition of town sites in other portions of the United States, provided that a certain portion of the funds received from the sale of town sites shall be devoted to making improvements within such towns: Now, therefore,

We respectfully urge that suitable legislation be passed requiring that at least 50 per cent of the funds received from the sale of town sites sold under the provisions of the said railroad act be devoted to making improvements within the respective towns; be it further

Resolved, That a copy hereof be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the chairmen of the Committees on Territories and Public Lands of the United States Senate, and the

chairmen of the Committees on the Territories and the Public Lands of the United States House of Representatives, the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, and the Delegate to Congress from Alaska.

Passed the house March 31, 1917.

LUTHER C. HESS,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

A. H. ZIEGLER,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Passed the Senate April 5, 1917.

FRANK A. ALDRICH,
President pro tempore of the Senate.

Attest:

W. M. EDDY,
Secretary of the Senate.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Territory of Alaska, ss:

I, Charles E. Davidson, secretary of Alaska, do hereby certify that the above is a full, true, and correct copy of house joint memorial No. 4 of the Alaska Territorial Legislature, passed at the third session thereof.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Territory of Alaska affixed at Juneau, the capital, this 12th day of April, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] CHARLES E. DAVIDSON,
Secretary of Alaska.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I present resolutions adopted by Sioux Falls Lodge, No. 262, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and a petition of the Commercial Club of Fort Pierre, S. Dak. I think both are very important, and I should like to have them printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the United States of America is now engaged in war with a foreign power, the prosecution of which war demands the undivided and unqualified support of all American citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Sioux Falls Lodge No. 262 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks hereby declares its unswerving support of whatever measures may be taken for the prosecution of said war and for the common defense by the President or by the Government of the United States of America or by the government of the State of South Dakota; be it further

Resolved, That this lodge will cooperate in every way with other organizations or with local or State or Federal officials for the promotion and carrying out of plans for the mobilization of the resources of the United States in men and material for the defense of the Nation and the successful prosecution of the said war; and be it further

Resolved, That the governor of the State of South Dakota be informed of this action by this lodge, and be given assurance of the loyal and energetic cooperation of this lodge, and of every member thereof, in any measures he may take for the discharge of the duties of the State of South Dakota to the Nation.

Introduced by the trustees at the regular meeting of the lodge April 13, 1917.

—

FORT PIERRE COMMERCIAL CLUB,
Fort Pierre, S. Dak., April 18, 1917.

Hon. E. S. JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Inclosed you will find a copy of some resolutions adopted by the Fort Pierre Commercial Club, which I believe will be self-explanatory.

I trust and urge that you do everything in your power to have these resolutions or some of a like nature adopted.

Thanking you in advance, I beg to remain,

Very respectfully,

GUY H. HARVEY, *Secretary.*

We, the undersigned, hereby petition the Congress of the United States, and each of the Senators and Congressmen of the State of South Dakota, that Congress take such action as may be necessary to prohibit as soon as possible the use of all grain and other produce suitable for food where the same is being used in the manufacture of beer and distilled liquors and spirits, and that the sale of all intoxicating liquors be prohibited throughout the United States and all its possessions during the continuance of the present war or while the United States is engaged in war.

We also urge that the dealing in futures and the buying and selling of margins and long and short options in the exchanges and boards of trade be prohibited, but that care be exercised not to interfere with the purchase and sale of commodities in the way of grain and provisions where delivery is made of the article bought or sold at the time of such transaction.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. I present resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Newberry County, in my State, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWBERRY, S. C., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. E. D. SMITH,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have the honor of sending you a copy of the resolutions enthusiastically and unanimously adopted at an immense mass meeting of the citizens of Newberry County, S. C., Tuesday, April 17, 1917.

Respectfully,

JNO. M. KINARD, *Chairman.*
S. J. DERRICK.
JNO. H. WICKER.
MRS. W. H. HUNT.
MRS. F. Z. WILSON.

Whereas by act of the Congress and President of the United States a state of war has been declared to exist between our country and the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas our Government, State and National, has called upon all citizens to assist in preparing our country to meet the manifold needs and to make the numberless sacrifices arising from our duty in this crisis and testing time of our national life; and

Whereas the people of Newberry County have always, in every time of stress and storm in our history, heroically and in unanimity rallied to the support of the Government to which they owed allegiance: Therefore be it

Resolved—

First. That the citizens of Newberry County in mass meeting here assembled do hereby express to the Congress and President of the United States our hearty approval of the stand they have taken to uphold the dignity, the honor, and the rights of our country, and the intelligent zeal they manifest in preparing our Government and people for the arduous tasks now before them.

Second. To our Government, State and National, we pledge our earnest and loyal support in all its efforts to strengthen to whatever extent needed the power of our Army and Navy, to increase our food supply, to curb the extravagance and careless wastefulness of our people, to throttle the greed of the avaracious eager to prey on their country's necessities, and to equip the units of mercy and charity which the patriotic and devoted women of our country are ready now to organize to the end that this horrible world war may be quickly ended and the issues involved righteously settled.

Third. To the accomplishment of these high purposes we announce to-day that Newberry County stands ready in the services of her sons on land or sea; on her farms and in her gardens; through her financial, industrial, and business enterprises; and by the ministration of her women to do her full share whenever and wherever loyalty to country and duty to humanity points the way.

Fourth. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, Senators of this State, and the Representative of this district.

Mr. JAMES. I present resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Bowling Green, Ky., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOWLING GREEN, KY., *April 20, 1917.*

"No militia (volunteers) will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. The firmness requisite for the real business and fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service. I have never been witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion; it is most earnestly to be wished that the liberties of America may be no longer trusted in any material degree to so precarious a dependence." (George Washington.)

In view of the above and the fact that universal military training as set forth in the Chamberlain bill and in that drafted by the War Department involving the principle of universal liability to service, and which is being so powerfully advocated by the President: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Bowling Green, Ky., representing 386 members, mayor of city of Bowling Green, and the undersigned patriotic citizens of this city and the county of Warren, do hereby pledge to the President and to the Congress of the United States our supreme loyalty and consecration to the national cause; and be it further

Resolved, That we do hereby urge upon each of our Senators and Congressmen, and especially our own Representative, the Hon. ROBERT Y. THOMAS, Jr., the imperative necessity of supporting the President and by adopting an immediate system of selective universal military service along those lines for which they are best fitted; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be immediately dispatched to the President, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, to our two Senators, each of Congressmen, and especially to the Hon. ROBERT Y. THOMAS, Jr.

Passed this 20th day of April in assembled session.

Carl D. Herdman, President Chamber of Commerce; A. T. Patterson, Mayor City of Bowling Green; E. C. Smith, Clerk County of Warren; G. D. Milliken; P. J. Potter; T. F. Miller; Lon M. Jackson; Ervin Ray; F. F. Stovalle; S. D. Hines, Police Judge; R. W. Covington; Robert Rodes; John M. Galloway; Perrin S. Turpin; D. C. Garvin; J. E. Stewart; Frances Clarke; S. C. Lawson; J. S. Patterson.

Attest:

E. H. HYMAN,
Secretary-Manager.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have resolutions of a mass meeting called by the mayor and the president of the Kelso Commercial Club, held in the city of Kelso, Wash., in which they urge Congress to take immediate steps to regulate food prices through the proper Government bureau and establish maximum prices that are fair and equitable. I ask that the resolutions may be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At a meeting called by the mayor and the president of the Kelso Commercial Club, held in the city of Kelso, Wash., on Monday, April 16, 1917, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas in the present war period the people of the United States are admonished by the President to forego unusual profits in the handling of all food supplies; and

"Whereas many of the necessities of life, including all food staples, are reaching such high prices as to make it a burden for the great majority of people to subsist: Now, therefore,

"We, the citizens of Kelso, through the city officials and the Kelso Commercial Club, urge President Wilson and our duly elected representatives in Congress to take immediate steps through the proper Government bureau to regulate food prices and establish maximum prices that are fair and equitable."

J. BALLARD,
Mayor of the City of Kelso.
CLAUDE J. SHIPLEY,
President of Kelso Commercial Club.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I present a joint memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, urging an appropriation for the construction and maintenance of a military road in that Territory, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House joint resolution 3. (By A. A. Allan.)

To the Congress of the United States of America:

The Legislature of the Territory of Alaska respectfully represents that—

Whereas the prime essential to the development of the vast resources of Alaska is transportation; and

Whereas railroad and steamship facilities are inadequate to such development unless supplemented by a system of wagon roads and trails, and Congress has recognized this fact by repeated appropriations for such purposes; and

Whereas the annual appropriation for the construction of roads and trails in Alaska was not made the last session of Congress and the failure of Congress to make appropriations at this special session will not only paralyze the efforts of the road commission for future developments, but by preventing necessary repairs and maintenance will result in the great deterioration of the roads already constructed, to the great loss of the Territory and the United States; and

Whereas the construction of an adequate road system in Alaska will not only open for development immense areas of mineral, coal, and lands suitable for farming and cattle grazing, but will afford an invaluable asset to the United States in case of war; and

Whereas the Legislature of Alaska has created Territorial road commissions to supplement the work of the United States Road Commission and will appropriate moneys to this end to the extent of its financial ability; and

Whereas the Territorial road construction to be of any considerable value must be tributary to and an extension of Government construction; and

Whereas the discontinuation of governmental policy of road construction in Alaska would result in a loss to the Territory and to the United States far greater than the sum asked by the Secretary of War for maintenance and construction, and would be, under the circumstances, utter folly: Now, therefore,

We, your memorialists, urgently call your attention to the situation as above presented and respectfully but earnestly represent that the sum of $500,000, requested in Senate amendment, in lines 7 to 11, inclusive, on page 55 of House of Representatives bill No. 20783, for appropriation for the construction and maintenance of roads and trails in Alaska, should be allowed.

We, your memorialists, will ever pray.

Passed the house March 30, 1917.

LUTHER C. HESS,
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

A. H. ZIEGLER,
Chief Clerk of the House.

Passed the senate April 2, 1917.

FRANK A. ALDRICH,
President Pro Tempore of the Senate.

Attest:

W. M. EDDY,
Secretary of the Senate.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
TERRITORY OF ALASKA.

I, Charles E. Davidson, secretary of the Territory of Alasks, do hereby certify that the above and within is a full, true, and correct copy of the original house joint memorial No. 3 on file in my office and of which I am the proper custodian.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the Territory of Alaska at Juneua, Alaska, this 13th day of April, A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.]

CHARLES E. DAVIDSON,
Secretary of Alaska.

Mr. GALLINGER. I have a concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire. It is a very brief one, and I ask to have it printed in the RECORD without reading.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1917.

Resolved, That the Legislature of New Hampshire hereby expresses its hearty approval of the message of the President of the United States to Congress on April 2, and trusts that the high ideals therein expressed may soon be established for the welfare and peace of the entire world, and we urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of the military and naval measures submitted by the President, especially his appeal for the raising of an army upon the basis of universal liability to service, in order that there may be a vigorous prosecution of the war against the German Government.

Mr. GALLINGER presented petitions of Abigail Webster Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Franklin, and of 250 citizens of New London, in the State of New Hampshire, praying for compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the New Hampshire annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Keene, N. H., praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CURTIS. I present a petition signed by the president of the Western District Conference of the Mennonite Church of Newton, Kans., which I desire to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PETITION TO CONGRESS.

The Mennonites of this country are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants from various countries in Europe which they left to avoid compulsory military service. Assurance was given them by high officials of the United States, including President Grant in 1873, that they need fear no compulsory conscription here.

In view of this our attitude regarding military service we petition the Congress of the United States to exempt us and other noncombatant Christians from all compulsory military training and service in the event of the enactment of such a law.

Our people are mostly engaged in agriculture and are in every way loyal citizens. They pray for this exemption because they try to follow the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, stated in Matthew v, 44: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

Our hope that this petition will be granted is based on the fact that in a democracy the conscience of the individual is duly considered, and the further fact that in Canada our brethren have been assured by the Government that the exemption for which we pray is granted them.

J. W. KLIEWER,
President of Western District Conference.

NEWTON, KANS., *April 21, 1917.*

Mr. CURTIS presented petitions of sundry citizens of Leavenworth and Lawrence, in the State of Kansas, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Osage County, Pratt County, Newton, and Parsons, all in the State of Kansas, remonstrating against compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Commercial Club of Atchison, Kans., praying for compulsory military service, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, No. 1, Department of Kansas, praying for the protection of the Army from saloons and immoral characters locating near the camps, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. MYERS. I present two brief telegrams in the nature of petitions to Congress, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD with their signatures.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONRAD, MONT., *April 17, 1917.*

Hon. HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved by the city council of the city of Conrad, That we hereby pledge our support to the President of the United States of America in the great crisis which now confronts our country, and we believe it to be the sentiment of the city and of the entire community that our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States should stand squarely behind the President in each and every measure that he may suggest to the Congress for the prosecution of the war; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress and a copy hereof be spread on the minutes of the city council.

Passed by the city council this 16th day of April, 1917.

Approved by the mayor this 16th day of April, 1917.

J. E. RITCHEY, *Mayor.*

Attest:

K. L. JOHNSON, *City Clerk.*

—

BUTTE, MONT., *April 19, 1917.*

Senator HENRY L. MYERS,
Washington, D. C.:

Without a dissenting vote it was resolved by the Rotary Club, of Butte, that we request our Members of Congress and Senate to adhere to and support the President of the United States in all war measures. We particularly indorse universal military service with immediate conscription, if deemed necessary by the President and the War College.

BUTTE ROTARY CLUB,
CHAS. AUSTIN, *Secretary.*

Mr. PHELAN. I present a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California, a communication from the governor, and another from the president and faculty of Leland Stanford Junior University, of Palo Alto, Cal., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions and communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[California Legislature, at Sacramento, 42d sess.]

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, *April 2, 1917.*

To the Honorable President of the United States, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Senators and Members of Congress from California:

In compliance with the provisions of assembly joint resolution No. 14, adopted by the Legislature of the State of California at the forty-second session, I am sending you a true copy thereof, in title and words as follows:

CHAPTER 37.

Assembly joint resolution No. 14 (by Mr. William J. Martin, of forty-eighth district) relative to the establishment by the Government of the United States of a national park at Pinnacles National Monument.

Whereas there has been established by the Government of the United States a national monument known as the Pinnacles National Monument, which said monument is situated in San Benito County, State of California, in sections 33 and 34 of township 16 south and in lots 3 and 10 of township 17 south, both in range 7 east, Mount Diablo meridian, and which said monument was created January 16, 1908; and

Whereas there is contained within said monument beautiful scenery and rock formation of a peculiar and interesting sort, said rocks being the largest conglomerate bowlders known; and

Whereas each year a very large number of persons visit said monument, said numbers greatly increasing each succeeding year, until said monument has become one of the most instructive and interesting nature exhibits in the State of California, so much so that the public interest requires that said monument be given the standing of a national park; and

Whereas a large amount of land surrounding said monument is now Government land and is of such a wild and rugged nature as to be unfit for agricultural purposes: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly and senate, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California memorializes the Congress of the United States to enlarge said monument by adding thereto all the surrounding nonagricultural Government land, and as thus enlarged to change the same into a national park; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of California be requested to use all honorable means to secure the action desired in this matter for the purpose aforesaid; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of California, including those to assume office on March 4, 1917.

C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.
ARTHUR H. BREED,
President Pro Tempore of the Senate.
MARTIN C. MADSEN,
Private Secretary to the Governor.
FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.

And do hereby certify that the same was duly filed with the secretary of state on March 30, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

—

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *April 20, 1917.*

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Our State council of defense advises me that there is a serious shortage of tin plate, which is restricting the supply of cans for household and for the commercial canning of foods. These facts are apparently known to the Departments of Agriculture and of Commerce. I am further advised that exports of tin plate from this country continue at the alarming rate of 500,000 boxes per month, which, if continued for 12 months, would represent the equivalent of 1,500,000,000 can—a quantity which, if retained for domestic use, would greatly relieve this distressed situation for the conservation of food supplies. I would urge that an immediate embargo be placed upon exports of tin plate, except in so far as such exports may relate to the necessities of war, and that such embargo continue during the canning season or until such time as domestic requirements for the canning of food may be protected.

Kindly give copy this wire to each of our Representatives.

WM. D. STEPHENS, *Governor.*

—

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CAL., *April 21, 1917.*

Senator JAMES D. PHELAN,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas every American citizen shares equal rights under his Government, and therefore stands under equal obligations toward it:

We, the undersigned members of the faculty of Stanford University, heartily indorse the principle of universal service and the measures recommended by the President to Congress for selective conscription. We urge you to vote accordingly, and against any amendment favoring volunteer recruiting to the exclusion of the principle of universal obligation.

Ray Lyman Wilbur, John Maxson Stillman, Wm. D. Briggs, B. Foster, W. A. Manning, W. C. Brown, George J. Pierce, M. S. Williman, J. E. McDowell, C. H. Gilbert, Hosbert R. Stolz, C. A. Huston, E. P. Lesley, C. B. Whittier, Jos. Bingham, D. M. Folsom, M. R. Mirkwood, G. H. Clevenger, H. W. Young, Stanley A. Smith, P. A. Martin, A. B. Clark, Bailey Willis, J. C. Branner, Chester G. Vernier, A. C. Whitaker, Austin F. Rogers, R. L. Abrams, J. R. Slonaker, F. B. Garver, Fernando Sanford, G. C. Price, Edwin C. Starks, H. C. Moreno, J. H. Foss, Oliver H. Jenkins, R. L. Green, John S. Tatlerick, A. M. Cathcart, Howard J. Hall, Everett W. Smith, E. D. Adams, Joseph G. Brown, C. F. Tolman, Wilfred Eldred, E. Kennedy, Albert A. Bennet, Payson J. Treat, Lewis Miterman, L. L. Burlingame, S. D. Townley, Chas. Moser, J. F. Newsom, R. E. Swain, J. Pearce Mitchell, Edward Krehbiel, R. M. Alden.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask to have printed in the RECORD a telegram embodying a resolution adopted by a patriotic meeting at McCook, Nebr.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

McCOOK, NEBR., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.:

At a public meeting this evening 500 patriotic citizens of McCook passed the following resolution unanimously in a rising vote. We the patriotic league of Redwillow County, Nebr., desire to express to our Representatives in Congress, Hon. GEORGE W. NORRIS, Hon. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, and Hon. A. C. SHALLENBERGER—

"Resolved, That we most heartily indorse the program of our administration in its fight against autocracy; that we pledge herewith our loyal support of his program to His Honor President Woodrow Wilson in this grave crisis; and that we request this expression to be conveyed at once to our President."

C. L. FASNESTOCK,
G. A. BAS,
H. C. SEIDEL,
F. M. KIMMELL,
H. C. CLAPP,
Committee on Resolution.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I send to the desk and ask to have read a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the Nebraska Legislature.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That to defray the necessary military and naval expenses of the present crisis we favor legislation that shall call for sacrifice on the part of capital as well as human life, and to that end we favor the raising of extraordinary revenue by Congress, by increasing the income and corporation taxes particularly upon those incomes and corporation revenues arising from the manufacture of war material. Let war, if it comes, not become the source of further increase in enormous fortunes, but let capital be content with the ordinary profits of business and join with labor in the necessary sacrifices to maintain our rights and protect our citizens.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

George W. Fuller, W. J. Taylor, J. H. Reifenrath, S. M. Fries, W. F. Rieschick, J. H. Norton, Nicholas Meysenburg, A. H. Miller, W. L. Bates, B. J. Ainlay, Thomas E. Conley, D. H. Cronin, Crist Anderson.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland. I present petitions of the Salisbury Lodge, Order of Elks; the Frostburg Lodge, Order of Elks; the Municipal Congress of the Eastern Shore of Maryland; and the mayor, city counsellor, and aldermen of Annapolis, all of my State, approving the President's foreign policy, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petitions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROSTBURG, MD., *April 3, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN WALTER SMITH,
Washington, D. C.:

Frostburg Lodge, No. 470, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, unanimously indorses the President's foreign policy.

C. S. JEFFRIES, *Secretary.*

—

Whereas our forefathers fought and died that the inalienable principles of freedom to pursue life, liberty, and happiness without molestation might be firmly established and permanently preserved; and

Whereas the Imperial German Government and its allies, by ruthless destruction of the life and property of neutrals and noncombatants, and by their avowed intention to continue such dastardly conduct, have violated those principles; and

Whereas the President of these United States of America has called upon the Congress and the American people for full authority and means to preserve our sacred rights: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of Salisbury Lodge, No. 817, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—

First. That we do hereby unequivocally indorse the course of action recommended by the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, in his address to the Congress made on April 2, A. D. 1917; and be it further

Resolved—

Second. That we do hereby pledge our support and loyalty to the promulgation of whatever measures the Congress in the exercise of their knowledge and wisdom may adopt for the defense of the principles of American liberty against the vicious and arrogant attacks of Prussian imperialism and greed; and be it further

Resolved—

Third. That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President and both Houses of the Congress of the United States, and also published in the newspapers of Wicomico County, Md.

The above resolutions were adopted by Salisbury Lodge, No. 817, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, at a special meeting thereof held on Wednesday, April 4, 1917, at 8 o'clock p. m.

ARTHUR B. WEST, *Exalted Ruler.*
[SEAL.] CHAS. W. BENNETT, *Secretary.*

—

SALISBURY, MD., *April 5, 1917.*

Senator JOHN WALTER SMITH,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions passed by the Municipal Congress of the Eastern Shore in session at Salisbury, Md., this 5th day of April, 1917:

"Resolved, That the Municipal Congress of the Eastern Shore of Maryland indorses the patriotic action of President Wilson and the Congress of the United States in so nobly upholding the dignity and honor of the country and our national self-respect in this hour of crisis in our international relations."

J. FRANK HARPER,
J. H. C. LEGG,
R. GROOME PARKS,
Committee.

—

Resolutions approving the action of the President and of the Congress of the United States in declaring that a state of war exists between Germany and the United States.

Whereas by repeated and brutal attacks on the high seas by the German Government upon the commerce of the United States whereby the lives of American citizens, men, women, and children alike, have been lost, and millions of the property of our people destroyed, the maritime trade of our country fundamentally injured, and the rights of Americans on the ocean denied, infringed, and ravaged; and

Whereas the Government of the American Republic, under the wise and patriotic leadership of His Excellency, President Woodrow Wilson, has borne with unparalleled patience these wrongs, injuries, and outrages, and insisted and petitioned, to the very last point of submission, the German Government to desist from their unwarranted and cruel campaign upon our shipping, and to return to the humane principles of international law, without relief from these merciless evils or abatement in their heineous excesses; and

Whereas we have accepted the gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty, and have determined, if necessary, to spend the whole force of the American Nation to check and nullify its pretentions and end its power: Now, therefore,

We, the mayor, city counsellor, and aldermen of the city of Annapolis, in Maryland, deem it proper and fitting, representing as we do, the people of a town most illustrious in the patriotic annals of the country, where the first seeds of American liberty were sown; where the stamp officer in battle royal by our citizens was driven from our shore; where the *Good Intent* was sent back to our mother country with its unbroken cargo for violating the interdiction of the Maryland patriots; where the *Peggy Stewart* and her cargo of tea was burned in the open hours of daylight by our undisguised forefathers; where the Maryland line of immortal fame and unmeasured prowess was formed; together with a legion of other patriotic acts performed here in the cause of our national liberty, to hereby declare our heartfelt and unqualified approval of the action of our noble President and of our splendid Congress, and to pledge to them in all the fellowship and fraternity of our common patriotism to our beloved country, our cordial and complete support, unqualified by limitations to bring to a successful issue the cause that they and we sustain, that we may preserve our rights and may aid everywhere the people who are seeking it, a larger share of liberty and their proper and legitimate voice and vote in the government of themselves.

Resolved further, That the clerk of this body have a properly printed or engrossed copy of these resolutions, with the seal of the city on it, signed by the mayor and clerk, sent to the President of the United States and the President of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved April 9, 1917.

[SEAL.]

JAMES F. STRANGE,
Mayor of Annapolis.

Attest:

PHIL. E. PORTER,
City Clerk.

Mr. NELSON presented 17 telegrams from citizens and firms in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against volunteer enlistment, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented 27 telegrams from citizens and firms in the State of Michigan, praying for prohibition in naval and military camps, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Commercial Club of Fergus Falls, Minn., praying for the adoption of an arrangement by the United States, Canadian, French, and English representatives for guaranteeing the prices of farm products, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented memorials of sundry citizens of Minnesota, remonstrating against the imposition of a stamp tax to increase the revenue, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Virginia, Minneapolis, Crookston, Faribault, and Gilbert, all in the State of Minnesota, praying for compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, this morning I received 19 telegrams from Malden, Mo. I will read three of them:

Stand by President in all war measures, especially conscription.

Another:

We are with the President, and we want conscription.

Another:

Now is the time to support the President, and we want conscription.

These 3 are samples of the 19. Malden is a very pretty, prosperous little city of 1,500 to 1,800 population, being located near the northern border of Dunklin County, Mo., which is one of the best counties in the southeastern section of the State. I personally know most of the gentlemen who signed these 19 telegrams. They are highly respectable and esteemed citizens of that town and thoroughly representative.

Mr. President, so far I have not put into the RECORD any telegrams or letters received by me respecting the war, although I have received not hundreds but I think I can safely say thousands of such communications from all over the country, representing every phase of opinion. I have taken the position, assumed generally by Senators of experience and long service, that it would be a useless and expensive encumbrance of the RECORD to put into its pages the vast number of such communications showered upon us. They would make a volume—some being one way and some another. I see no sense in putting these things into the RECORD, making pages and pages at large public expense for nothing.

But I felt a little curious this morning when I received this batch of 19 telegrams from this one town, the only ones I received to-day, to know how it happened that these good people suddenly awakened to the importance of pressing this matter upon my attention en masse. They all came in a bunch. I wondered what influence had operated to excite this movement, and I am still curious to know. They were all delivered at once. I wish I knew how it happened. Of course I do not object to my constituents conveying their views to me; on the contrary I specially desire them to do so. I always treat the individual views of my constituents with high respect, although their views often confuse me by their wide divergence. However, that is not the point that interests me at this moment. I merely wonder how it happened that 19 good men and true in one small town suddenly felt themselves constrained to send to me such telegrams as those I have read. There must have been some influence operating to induce this concentrated action. That is the point at which my curiosity asserts itself. I can understand that sort of thing when there is a great organized movement afoot—a thoroughly well-organized movement—such as the movement which seeks to promote prohibition legislation, woman suffrage, labor movements, or something like that which has taken on the aspect of an established propaganda. I can understand that, for in such cases there are organized agencies which can be utilized to induce the people throughout the country associated with such movements to send telegrams or letters to those representing them at the Capitol. But I am curious to know why 19 gentlemen in this one small town all at once and at the same time sent me this particular bunch of telegrams. I do not know that I will ever find out about this, but I am going to send a copy of to-day's RECORD to every man who sent me one of these telegrams, with the hope that some of them will enlighten me on this mystifying subject. Just such mystifying incidents frequently occur with respect to a variety of subjects, as every Senator knows. Every Senator has similar experiences.

As to this particular matter, I will say that while telegrams of this kind, whether from the one side or the other, have weight with me, yet if I felt a deep conviction that I ought, as a matter of public duty, to oppose the conscription bill, or oppose or support any other particular bill before the Senate, I would oppose or support it as I thought duty required of me. That would not be out of any disrespect to those who communicated their personal views to me. But if I felt constrained, as a matter of public and official duty, to oppose or support a bill I would act accordingly to my best judgment. I might and probably would act regretfully because of the fact that some of my constituents, whose views I highly esteem, advised me to the contrary, but I could not shrink from the performance of a grave public duty as I saw it.

In this instance it so happens that the telegrams from Malden, to which I am referring, were unnecessary. I had already declared my purpose to support the conscription bill. On the very day the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, reported the bill I told him I intended to vote for it. Many more than 19 of my constituents have telegraphed me to oppose the conscription bill. I wish I could oblige all of them on both sides, but I can not. I must therefore act on my own judgment as to what I think is best promotive of the public welfare and according to what I think duty demands of me under my oath as a Senator. Later I will give my reasons for supporting this particular bill, and I hope these 19 esteemed constituents of mine will do me the honor of reading what I shall have to say in this behalf.

Mr. TOWNSEND. We have in Michigan, organized by the Legislature under the leadership of the governor of that State, what is known as the Michigan War Preparedness Boards and also a Food Preparedness Board. The latter board has sent to me a short resolution, which I ask to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MICHIGAN WAR PREPAREDNESS BOARDS,
Lansing, April 18, 1917.

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. TOWNSEND: Acting upon the authority and instruction of the Food Preparedness Board of Michigan, I am sending you the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted by such board at a meeting held in Lansing April 17, 1917:

"By Mr. Simpson:

"That the secretary be instructed to write the Michigan delegation in the National Congress to use every honorable influence to speed up the vote on the agricultural appropriation bill of $25,000,000, as proposed by Secretary Houston of the Department of Agriculture."

Very respectfully,

FOOD PREPAREDNESS BOARD,
By M. H. DEFOE, *Secretary.*

Mr. TOWNSEND. I present a petition signed by some 30 or more of the leading business firms of Jackson, Mich., setting forth their reasons for supporting national prohibition at this time, which I ask to have inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JACKSON, MICH., *April 2f, 1917.*

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We inclose herewith a petition signed by manufacturers and business men of this city.

The sentiment for national prohibition as a war measure, and especially in view of food conservation, seems to be practically unanimous, and, had time permitted, we believe almost every voter, except those directly interested in the manufacture and sale of liquors (which constitute a small minority), would have signed this request.

We have kept the original for our files.

Yours, truly,

E. R. YOUNG,
W. R. SMITH,
L. E. LATTO,
W. R. FOX,
Committee.

JACKSON, MICH., *April 21, 1917.*

To the Hon. WOODROW WILSON, *President;* Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND, Hon. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH, *Senators;* Hon. MARK BACON, *Representative:*

In view of the probability of food shortage and in the interest of conservation of grains and in the interest of factory efficiency, farm production, and military efficiency, we hereby petition for national prohibition as a war measure.

Jackson Cushion Spring Co., W. R. Smith, secretary; Wilson Packing Co., W. H. Knox, vice president; Modern Machine Tool Co., H. Holton, president; Jackson Glass Works, F. C. Ransom, secretary; Walcott Lathe Co., Dean G. Kimball, vice president; Townley Shingle Co., Neal R. Townley; Colvin Dairy Co., F. E. Colvin, secretary-treasurer; O. F. Schmid Chemical Co., O. F. Schmid; Alloy Steel Spring & Axle Co., R. W. Smith, president; Lockwood Ash Motor Co. (Inc.), W. L. Ash, president; Field Brundage Engine Works, C. F. Field; Jackson Farm Produce Co., G. H. Randolph; Auto Oil Co., D. S. Fleming; Jackson Machine Tool Co., D. G. Kimball, secretary-treasurer; The Mutual Motors Co., W. T. Miller, treasurer; Fox Machine Co., W. R. Fox, president; Briscoe Motor Corporation, L. E. Latta, secretary; Jackson Automobile Co., H. A. Matthews, treasurer; The Sparks-Withington Co., Wm. Sparks; Jackson Motor Shaft Co., L. C. Bloomfield, president; Forst Gear & Forge Co., Edw. J. Frost, president; Hayes Wheel Co., C. B. Hayes, president; Pearlman Rim Corporation, O. W. Mott, president; Jackson Welding Co., O. W. Mott; Walk-Over Boot Shop, T. A. Rogers; J. O. Gilbert; F. D. Bennett; Wm. J. Stiles, city commissioner; Geo. H. Curtis, attorney; F. T. Lockwood, city commissioner; W. W. McLain, commissioner of schools; Yocum & Taylor, retail leather goods; Reid & Carlton, retail seeds, hardware, and implements; Peoples National Bank, F. H. Helmer, cashier, A. C. Bloomfield, cashier; Cook & Feldher Co.

Mr. TOWNSEND. We have pending before the Senate the war bill, upon which I expect to submit some remarks at an early opportunity. In connection with that bill I ask to have read a letter comprising but one page, which I have received from a former member of the Michigan State Senate and a participant in the late Spanish-American War, which to me furnishes an argument for the proposition of raising the age limit for enlistment in the Army to 45 years.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The Secretary read the letter, as follows:

APRIL 19, 1917.

Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I like your stand upon the matter of conscription. Make the age limit 45 instead of 40. I am 42 and as fit as when 40.

Without conscription and a maximum age limit of 42 at least, men like myself could not take an active part in the war.

Should the age limit be raised above 40 thousands like myself might hesitate (unless conditions become more serious), because those nearest and dearest to us claim there is no justification for us attempting to enlist and thus sacrifice their interests.

Most men at 45 are physically fit for hard and energetic service. We have had five years more of the benefits of government than men of 40, hence owe more to our country.

My case is a sample. I realize, possibly more than most men of 40 years, the duty I owe to my country. I'm fairly, profitably, and satisfactorily employed but, being in debt, must keep at my work, else through the nonpayment of interest all I have will be lost not only to me but to my family. A private's pay would not pay my interest charges, let alone the taxes, therefore I can not enter a training camp for six months' preparation without causing my family serious want in the future. Yet I owe a duty to my country and in my present employment am not aiding her directly in this her hour of need. To do so would appear cruel to those who are dependent upon me, and to others I would look foolish.

Now with conscription and a maximum age limit set by the Government at 42, service in the Army, at whatever cost, would be the natural thing for one in my position.

In order that we may be justified in asking a seat at the table when the final decisions are made, we must strike hard and quickly. We can do so only by adopting conscription and more effectively by placing the age limit at 42 at least.

With best personal regards, I beg to be,

Faithfully yours, J. E. BAYLISS.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Some days ago I presented a telegram from the governor of Michigan, which was printed in the RECORD, and which seems to have been misinterpreted. I did not misunderstand it; I knew that he was expressing his individual opinion as to industrial and agricultural preparation, and that the references to conscription and the sending of American troops abroad were simply a report of the information which had come to him. I ask to have inserted in the RECORD a telegram which I have received from him on that subject.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LANSING, MICH., *April 18, 1917.*

Senator CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
Washington, D. C.:

I fear my letter to you has been somewhat garbled by the press and has given a wrong impression to what I meant to convey. I wanted to emphasize the fact that we needed all the labor, at least for the present, upon the farms to produce foodstuffs, as that is one of the principal things in war, and the present condition of our food products throughout the country is alarming. Never in the history of the State have the cellars and barns of the farmers been as bare as they are to-day. I merely conveyed to you those ideas as were given to me, not my individual ideas, and did not suppose they would be made public. We are with the President and Government and his military and naval authorities in whatever way they may deem for the best.

ALBERT E. SLEEPER, *Governor.*

Mr. FREYLINGHUYSEN presented petitions of the Madonna Council, Knights of Columbus, of Englewood, N. J.; of the Daughters of the American Revolution of New Jersey; the Lawyers' Club, of Essex County, N. J.; of the Engineers' Club, of Trenton, N. J.; of the American Society of Civil Engineers, of New York City; and of the National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies, of Washington, D. C., praying for compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Presbytery of New Jersey, praying for national prohibition as a war measure, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the borough council of Rutherford, N. J., praying for an appropriation for the improvement of the Hackensack River, N. J., which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented petitions of Local Lodge No. 114, Independent Order of Brith Sholom, of Camden; of Saranac Tribe, No. 128, Improved Order of Red Men, of Camden; and of the Civic Association of Haddonfield, all in the State of New Jersey, pledging support to the President, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of Local Lodge No. 340, International Association of Machinists, of Newark; of the New Jersey State Sunday School Association; and of the Civic Association of Haddonfield, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation to provide for the conservation of food supplies, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I have here a memorial for national prohibition, signed by a thousand of the leading scientific, business, and professional men of the United States. It is one of the most notable memorials ever presented to Congress. The signatures were secured by a committee of 60, headed by former Gov. Foss, of Massachusetts, and Dr. Irving Fisher, of Yale University.

The memorial is of such importance that I ask that the thousand signatures, without prefix or suffix, be printed in the RECORD. It will take about a page or a page and a half of the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The memorial and signatures ordered to be printed in the RECORD are as follows:

A MEMORIAL FOR NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

In view of the scientifically proved unfavorable effects of the use of alcoholic beverages even in small quantities.

And in view, therefore, of the colossal, physical, mental, moral, economic, social, and racial evils which the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor entail.

And in view of the inadequateness of all methods hitherto employed to check or regulate these evils.

And in view of the great and rapid growth of public knowledge and sentiment on this subject as shown by antialcoholic agitation and legislation through most of our national area.

The undersigned believe the time has come for the Federal Government to take steps looking to the prohibition in the United States of the manufacture, sale, import, export, and transport of alcoholic liquors:

MINISTERS.

Bishops: Charles H. Brent, Frederick Courtney, Walter T. Sumner, and Ethelbert Talbot.

Miscellaneous: Heber J. Grant, William Harmon Van Allen, Shailer Mathews, Percy S. Grant, and Newell Dwight Hillis.

INSURANCE.

Presidents of companies: Kimball C. Atwood, D. M. Ferry, Arthur Jordon, Wilmer L. Moore, Frank W. Sargent, Edson S. Lott, F. R. Bigelow, Frederick Frelinghuysen, Darwin P. Kingsley, H. V. Olney, Edward L. Watson, and Asa S. Wing.

Miscellaneous: H. R. Albee and John T. Stone.

TRANSPORTATION.

Presidents of railroad companies: Howard Elliott, P. W. Brooks, Henry W. Walbridge, J. H. P. Hughart, W. J. Harahan, W. G. Bierd, George W. Stevens, Matthew C. Brush, and T. S. Williams.

Presidents of steamship companies: Robert Dollar, Joshua Green, H. Coulby, and Calvin Austin.

Miscellaneous: Jonathan P. Reeves, Frank H. Alfred, J. M. Schoonmaker, Daniel W. McWilliams, Alexander Millar, C. A. Vinnedge, Albert J. Stone, and J. M. Gruber.

EDITORS.

Dailies: E. A. Van Valkenberg, William Allen White, Richard Lloyd Jones, Frank L. Dingley, E. J. Stackpole, Fred N. Dow, James Schermerhorn, George F. Milton, Clark Howell, S. S. McClure, Henry Rising, and Arthur Capper.

Magazines: Alice Stone Blackwell, Mark Sullivan, Lawrence F. Abbott, Paul U. Kellogg, Hamilton Holt, and David Beecroft.

Miscellaneous: G. Carl Huber, A. C. Caruthers, Charles K. Gilbert, G. Lord, E. C. De Wolf, Fred D. Porter, George G. Hunter, Richard H. S. H. Smith, Samuel S. Dale, Arthur D. Rogers, J. Malcom Muir, Henry Edmonds, D. W. Payne, Harold S. Buttenheim, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Henry Colwell, Stanley R. Edwards, A. J. Findley, Fred E. Rogers, George N. Wardlaw, Arthur L. Rice, John M. Coulter, and Bernard L. Johnson.

BANKERS.

Presidents national banks: F. A. Vanderlip, L. A. Hodge, Eugene Levering, W. J. Montgomery, W. W. Miller, B. H. Scott, W. B. Bonnifield, O. K. Taylor, A. J. Crookshanks, Charles S. Hichborn, H. S. Bovard, Arthur H. Hale, H. J. Branson, George A. Litchfield, H. B. Powell, F. H. Packard, Webb Vincent, J. G. Rounds, Frank F. Bierly, F. A. Funkhouser, C. S. Campbell, James Mitchell, Edward Alley, Edward Bailey, F. E. Swift, Abraham S. Schropp, William Lawson Peel, W. P. Manley, David R. Forgan, Joseph W. Marsh, B. F. Harris, John H. Scudder, Charles Delaney, Eugene T. Norton, J. T. Hackworth, Gordon Jones, Amasa B. Bryant, Foster Copeland, Marvin Campbell, Jordon Philip, Benjamin F. Howell, T. M. Righter, Robert Wardrop, J. D. Baker, Samuel M. Bushman, B. R. Hieronymus, William W. Mills, Mason Evans, B. F. Davis, Clay H. Hollister, George W. Mead, George C. Gill, C. H. McNider, S. G. Bayne, and William Grote.

Presidents savings and other banks: Charles P. Smith, Benton Hanchett, P. W. Morgan, Simon Cassidy, J. W. Fieldhouse, George E. Brock, James Fraunfelter, D. V. Jackson, Newton Doremus, Charles W. Garfield, C. C. Bloomfield, T. B. Preston, L. J. Thomas, H. A. Tapps, A. W. Harris, and James Phinney Baxter.

Presidents trust companies: F. E. Carringer, Fred N. Dow, T. S. Lippy, C. C. Jenks, Frank N. Briggs, Clarence H. Kelsey, Charles A. Boody, Fred L. Childs, Bird W. Spencer, L. E. Kirkpatrick, and William R. Nicholson.

Miscellaneous: George U. Crocker, Samuel McRoberts, John F. Moors, Thomas W. Andrews, Edwin H. Bonsall, J. D. McDowell, Robert H. Gardiner, J. E. Fernald, B. H. Fancher, William M. Ladd, J. W. Hardinbergh, William S. Witham, Arthur S. Johnson, Arthur Perry, and T. G. Turner.

OFFICIALS.

Governors: Lynn J. Frazier, Carl E. Milliken, Thomas E. Campbell, George A. Carlson, M. Alexander, Woodbridge N. Ferris, Simon Bamberger, M. E. Brumbaugh, Arthur Capper, T. C. Rye, Theodore G. Bilbo, Sidney J. Catts, and George W. Hays.

United States Senators: J. H. Gallinger, Miles Poindexter, A. J. Gronna, Morris Sheppard, J. C. W. Beckham, Albert B. Cummins, Bert M. Fernald, James H. Brady, Luke Lea, W. L. Jones, and George E. Chamberlain.

Congressmen: Alben W. Barkley, Scott Ferris, Louis C. Cramton, S. D. Fess, Charles H. Randall, T. W. Sims, and George Edmund Foss.

Assistant Secretary of Labor: Louis F. Post.

Former Secretary of State: William J. Bryan.

Former governors: L. B. Hanna, E. N. Foss, Oswald West, Chase S. Osborne, Ben W. Hooper, R. B. Glenn, Chester H. Aldrich, Frank M. Byrne, George H. Hodges, John Franklin Fort, B. B. Comer, J. Frank Hanley, Rolland H. Spaulding, Hugh M. Dorsey, Charles W. Gates, and S. R. Van Sant.

Former Congressmen: Richmond Pearson Hobson and Frederick Landis.

JUDGES.

Supreme or superior State court: Nelson Y. Dungan, W. H. Sawyer, Joseph A. McCullough, W. H. Thomas, Rollin H. Person, and W. H. Taylor.

United States district court: William B. Sheppard, John M. Killets, Frank A. Youmans, Edward R. Meek, Francis E. Baker, Alston G. Dayton, E. S. Farrington, Walter I. Smith, James D. Elliott, Thomas Ives Chatfield, Thomas C. Munger, Benjamin F. Bledsoe, Harland B. Howe, Page Morris, C. C. Kohlsaat, and Arthur L. Sanborn.

State supreme court (retired): Claudius B. Grant, Manoah B. Reese, J. B. Hannah, Samuel D. Weakley, and Lucilius A. Emery.

Miscellaneous: Arthur J. Dunton, Ben B. Lindsey, Edwin C. Reynolds, A. L. Sutton, J. W. Curtis, and William A. Gemmill.

ENGINEERS.

Civil, mechanical, electrical, and miscellaneous: Fay Woodmansee, Harry McCormack, Walter Renton Ingalls, Harold B. Smith, Horace C. Gardner, Herbert S. Kimball, Bion J. Arnold, Knight C. Richmond, Arthur F. Gray, Benjamin F. Bailey, R. M. Catlin, W. H. S. Stevens, George F. Hardy, Henry H. Humphrey, George M. Brill, J. Weil, Simon Lake, and J. C. Clark.

ATTORNEYS.

G. T. Fitzhugh, John N. Dryden, William T. Thompson, Mornay Williams, Frank M. Thompson, Robert McMurdy, George Wharton Pepper, Edward Elliott, and Charles Thaddeus Terry.

LABOR LEADERS.

E. J. Keenan, J. Stitt Wilson, J. M. Kline, Warren S. Stone, and John B. Lennon.

MEDICAL SPECIALISTS, HEALTH COMMISSIONERS, ETC.

W. J. Mayo, Victor C. Vaughn, Haven Emerson, Richard C. Cabot, Theodore C. Janeway, William A. White, Richard M. Pearce, Henry R. Christian, Ludwig Hekteen, Edward Martin, James J. Walsh, William R. Williams, J. Emmons Briggs, W. W. Keen, Eugene L. Fisk, L. Emmett Holt, Francis Carter Wood, William De Kline, J. K. Kellog, J. E. W. Wallin, E. E. Montgomery, William G. MacCallum, James Bronson Reynolds, Henry O. Marcy, W. A. Evans, and Charles H. Young.

HUMANITARIANS AND SOCIAL UPLIFT WORKERS.

Maud Ballington Booth, Owen R. Lovejoy, Jane Addams, Charles Stelzle, Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Warren F. Spalding, Luther H. Gulick, Dudley A. Sargent, Don R. Grout, Borden Harriman, C. C. Carstens, V. Everit Macy, William T. Shanahan, W. D. Weatherford, John F. Moors, Homer Folks, Timothy Nicholson, Raymond Robins, John Haynes Holmes, Robert Treat Payne, Frederick Almy, Robert A. Woods, Charles W. Birthwell, Katherine Bement Davis, Louise de Koven Bowen, Francis H. Gavisk, Charles Loring Brace, C. W. Stiles, and Albert Warren Ferris.

AUTHORS, POETS, ARTISTS.

Vance Thompson, Ray Stannard Baker, Samuel Hopkins Adams, John Sparge, George W. Cable, Hamlin Garland, Nathan Haskell Dole, Mary Antin, C. Hanford Henderson, Vachel Lindsay, George Sterling, Ernest Thompson Seton, Upton Sinclair, Booth Tarkington, Jack London, John Burroughs, Meredith Nicholson, Gutzen Berglum, Winston Churchill, Austin O'Malley, William Lyon Phelps, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Robert Haven Schauffler.

ARMY OFFICERS.

Nelson A. Miles, L. Mervin Maus, and Edward L. Munson.

CAPITALISTS.

J. G. Phelps Stokes, James N. Jarvie, William F. Cochran, John D. Rockefeller, jr., V. Everett Bacy, and John E. Gill.

ECONOMISTS.

Walter W. McLaren, Willard E. Hotchkiss, Jessica B. Poixette, Davis R. Dewey, Robert T. Hill, James D. Barnett, Frances Newton Thorpe, Robert C. Brooks, R. S. Saby, William A. Schaper, John H. Vaughn, Donald F. Grass, Oswald W. Knauth, Henry S. Seager, Karl F. Geiser, William Watts Folwell, J. W. Gardner, George Elliott Howard, F. E. Horack, and J. Allen Smith.

SOCIOLOGISTS.

Robert N. Shenton, Loran D. Osborn, Edward A. Ross, Walter G. Beach, F. H. Hawkins, Frank W. Blackmar, and Edward Cary Hayes.

PROFESSORS OF MEDICINE AND ITS BRANCHES.

Henry J. Berkley, Albert M. Barrett, Thomas Ordway, M. J. Rosenau, Paul F. Clark, Oscar B. Hunter, Edwin O. Jordon, E. D. Congdon, Basil C. H. Harvey, Simon H. Gage, F. N. Whittier, Max F. Meyer, Mazyck P. Ravenel, John B. Johnston, C. S. Merrill, John M. Dodson, N. Emmons Paine, Joseph Sailer, George W. Bartelmax, Thomas G. Lee, Edwin B. Frost, and Maurice Mulvania.

MEDICINE.

Howard A. Kelly, H. Gideon Wells, John M. T. Finney, Harold E. Robertson, Frederick T. Lewis, Walter S. Cornell, Walter B. Cannon, James P. Porter, Albert Poffenberger, C. J. Bartlett, Aldred Scott Warthin, Harvey Ernest Jordan, Warren P. Lombard, H. F. Hewes, Joseph McFarland, Albert C. Crawford, Stevenson Smith, and Norman Wilde.

POLITICS AND LAW.

Charles Shirley Potts, Wm. L. Burdick, Arthur N. Holcombe, Harry F. Ward, Meyer Bloomfield, William Starr Myers, Joseph W. Bingham, Ella Flagg Young, Edward A. Steiner, Samuel McCune Lindsay, and Wm. Bethke.

PROFESSORS OF PHYSIOLOGY.

E. T. Reichert, Yandell Henderson, Edwin Fauver, C. C. Guthrie, Colin C. Stewart, Horace C. Swan, Albert P. Mathews, Winfield Scott Hall, Warren H. Lewis, Theodore Hough, A. J. Carlson, E. B. Delabarre, and F. H. Howard.

PROFESSORS OF CIVIL, MECHANICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS ENGINEERING.

C. J. Tilden, Walter Rautenstrauch, Arthur F. Barnes, E. G. Hoefer, John R. Allen, A. E. Kennelly, F. F. McIntosh, F. L. Bishop, George C. Whipple, Lewis J. Johnsom, J. H. James, Wm. H. Walker, Wm. E. Wickenden, A. C. Boyle, James P. Calderwood, P. F. Walker, Edward N. Zern, Reid T. Stewart, Robert Fletcher, C. N. Little, Morgan Brooks, and Edward Bennett.

BIOLOGISTS.

Lorande Loss Woodruff, C. E. Turner, Morton J. Elrod, F. W. Carpenter, William A. Kepner, Spencer Trotter, George F. White, Lucius H. Merrill, Ulric Dahlgren, Wm. C. Rose, Albert B. Ulrey, D. E. Merrill, H. W. Conn, Alfred O. Gross, and Francis Ramaley.

ZOOLOGISTS.

John T. Patterson, Theodore D. A. Cockerell, Alexander G. Ruthven, William L. Tower, Harold Heath, William Patten, O. C. Glaser, George C. Price, C H. Gilbert, Herman Carey Bumpus, Edwin G. Conklin, and Henry F. Osborn.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Howard R. Reiter, Wilson H. Henderson, George W. Ehler, Clark W. Hetherington, E. F. Ladd, W. A. Henry, J. S. Jones, E. V. McCollum, R. C. Bentley, Ellwood P. Cubberley, M. V. O'Shea, David Snedden, F. E. Austin, R. L. Green, James N. Hart, James P. Lichtenberger, William Pepperell Montague, W. W. Comfort, Richard J. H. Gottheil, Vida D. Scudder, F. R. Hamilton, John C. Van Dyke, George B. Haven, Amos P. Wilder, Charles B. Davenport, Alexander N. Winchell, Joseph Barrell, Ellen Hayes, Paul A. Lewis, Samuel S. Edmands, James C. Egbert, H. H. Goddard, Fernando Sanford, Norton A. Kent, June E. Downey, Edward L. Thorndike, Walter B. Pillsbury, Erwin W. Runkle, Elliott Park Frost, Lawrence W. Cole, Henry Clay McComas, jr., W. S. Hunter, Madison Bentley, F. R. Kneeland, Marston T. Bogert, Allen W. C. Menzies, George A. Hulett, F. W. Christensen, John Dewey, William Romaine Newbold, George H. Palmer, Edwin Diller Starbuck, and P. P. Claxton.

MANUFACTURERS AND MERCHANTS.

Iron and steel products: Elbert H. Gary, John C. Haswell, Wallace H. Rowe, C. S. Robinson, Edward O. Goss, C. W. Martin, William A. Harris, E. C. Spear, Bishop White, R. C. Kirk, Charles L. Huston, John A. Mathews, T. J. Gilliespie, Lionel J. Kane, C. Edward Murray, J. J. Eagan, J. W. Harrison, William R. Rogers, David D. Lupton, W. R. McClave, J. A. Campbell, W. A. May, Milton T. Pickles, R. M. Downie, Howard A. Fitch, Thomas J. McKaye, Charles Streatman, N. N. Hill, C. B. Calder, F. C. Knapp, W. H. Wilbur, C. R. McIlyar, Alton Farrel, W. H Reid, W. F. Evans, James Bowron, Harry M. Estabrook, L. M. Bowers, W. T. Hildrup, jr., W. H. Cowdery, Thomas E. Palmer, Alfred H. Ames, H. A. Higgins, Byron A. Walker, William H. Hamilton, Charles B. Eddy, Frederick E. Perkins, G. E. Savage, W. E. Sessions, C. Edwin Michael, Fred W. Snow, J. Henry Longmaid, H. Gerrish Smith, J. E. Baum, Jeremiah

Dwyer, George D Selden, James Long, A. B. Farquhar, Eben B. Clarke, William F. Donovan, A. F. Bennett, and John A. Westman.

MACHINERY.

John A. Mead, E. J. Lindsay, John Carruthers, E. H. Sleight, C. B. Reed, James K. Risk, Charles H. Ingersoll, L. C. Walker, H. A. Severson, Arthur Baxter, D. D. Bowsher, Ward W. Willits, Clarence E. Bement, A. Lincoln Bell, Edward C. Hinman, Marshall T. Reeves, L. A. Osborne, Frederick K. Copeland, B. Congor, A. C. Bent, C. R. Fitch, Joseph H. Wesson, C. Rorabeck, Daniel Seltzer, Edwin C. Nichols, Frank H. Brooks, Albert J. Thornley, James Hartness, James Russell Clarke, William Butterworth, John L. Wagner, W. T. Beatty, V. D. Moody, N. G. Williams, George A. Farrall, L. S. Starrett, J. A. Jeffrey, A. E. West, D. Robert Yarnell, Seth A. Moulton, Charles K. Haddon, Frederick Fosdick, John Fahnline, G. A. Stephens, Joseph Boyer, Clement A. Griscom, H. A. Carhart, H. T. Herr, Pliny E. Holt, J. C. Reed, William D. Baldwin, Frank O. Wells, and E. P. Bullard, jr.

TEXTILE.

R. J. Jones, Thomas Hand, Frederick B. Gordon, E. A. Clements, S. I. Munger, William Carter, J. J. Phoenix, Robert S. Mehane, George B. Goodall, William H. Haines, George H. Kersiake, Charles W. Masland, Oliver L. Johnson, Frank L. Chipman, J. W. Hollenback, J. E. Edgerton, Frank Hughes, Francis Winslow Poe, James P. Verdery, D. H. Campbell, John M. Geer, Arthur E. Tweedy, James E. Rankin, William G. Bassett, T. B. Kay, Fuller E. Callaway, E. M. Green, Ira Dimock, James D. Hammett, Z. F. Wright, Edward Freschl, F. A. Carter, George T. Greenhalgh, Charles Cheney, J. T. Shanahan, Robert Simpson, G. W. Hamilton, Rufus Mathewson, R. A. Schoolfield, G. M. Traber, James C. Self, William L. Turner, William McCleary, H. L. Shuttleworth, M. F. Cole, R. E. Shanahan, F. F. Peabody, Francis T. Maxwell, L. C. Mandeville, Theodore F. Thieme, Charles Sisson, Aug. W. Smith.

PAPER.

Charles Sumner Bird, Maurice Hoopes, H. A. Frambach, G. E. Henry, A. W. Brown, James Rogers, George W. Sisson, jr., W. H. Foster, Frederick A. Emerick, G. A. Osborn, N. J. Smith, J. N. Henry, D. M. Bare, H. A. Moses, James Logan, B. F. Nelson, F. Wayland Ayer, H. L. Paddock, George H. Mead, R. Glendinning, Frederick M. Hodge, J. A. Kimberly, Arthur C. Hastings, Waldo E. Pratt, and William Gibson.

AUTOMOBILES.

R. H. Webber, R. H. Scott, A. R. Erskine, E. O. Sutton, F. E. Eckhart, H. H. Franklin, Harry G. Fisk, and E. W. Allen.

MINING AND OIL.

F. W. Uuh, Fillmore Condit, Wm. H. Stanton, Chas. C. Stoll, W. G. Morris, Stewart K. Smith, Dwight C. Morgan, William J. Faux, Alan C. Dodson, E. B. Thornton, John Laing, R. M. Fry, Charles E. Lawrence, H. W. Varnum, C. M. Wasson, T. H. Watkins, Lyman Stewart, A. W. Calloway, Robert H. Gross, George C. Atkinson, H. H. Willock, J. F. Welborn, A. Gatliff, W. M. Pickett, Lewis Emery, jr., W. De L. Walbridge, and John Gibson, jr.

WOOD AND LUMBER.

William Decker, M. W. Waldorf, P. A. Peterson, P. C. Fuller, J. T. Cox, F. A. Seagle, Walstein R. Chester, John S. Bradley, N. J. Blagen, and W. R. Brown.

SHOES.

E. J. Bliss, J. P. Grosvenor, George D. Selby, C. E. Legg, John A. Affleck, W. H. Butler, and J. Franklin McElwain.

FOODSTUFFS.

John S. Pillsbury, A. J. Porter, James F. Bell, Isaac F. Norton, C. E. Welch, John Crosby, E. P. Wells, William Fellowes Morgan, Chas. S. Pillsbury, Harold A. Hatch, and C. C. Colt.

ELECTRICAL.

J. H. McGill, William L. Hooper, H. H. Noble, R. R. Benjamin, G. A. Briggs, and C. C. Chesney.

GENERAL MERCHANTS.

John Wanamaker, S. S. Kresge, John V. Farwell, Ralph N. Harbison, Samuel S. Childs, Charles E. Adams, Herbert S. Houston, L. S. Bixler, P. W. Litchfield, John T. Dorrance, Harry B. French, L. J. Colman, N. Musher, George S. Wright, A. D. Reynolds, James W. Johnson, Otis N. Pierce, Frank S. Washburn, George H. Raidart, P. H. Callahan, George L. Palmer, Thomas W. Stephens, Edward S. Payson, Joseph M. Steele, J. A. Sunderland, George G. Williams, James N. Gamble, Wallace J. Pierpont, H. E. Moore, Walter B. Knight, Edward E. Kerr, Edward W. Backus, Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Albert M. Todd, C. A. Moorman, J. P. Gossett, Frank B. Clippinger, Daniel Baker, Hiram W. Steele, Charles Piez, John S. Baker, S. F. Bowser, John C. Milne, Nathanael G. Herreshoff, George A. Driggs, John Walton, E. J. Young, Elisha J. Steele, Ernest Lister, W. A. Rogers, William A. Vawter, Harold F. Coppes, Henry S. Dulaney, W. E. Penn, Henry F. Baker, A. H. Heisey, N. T. Pulsifer, Courtenay Guild, H. J. Hayden, William S. Stearns, R. S. Kent, Sidney Blumenthal, Eugene N. Foss, and B. B. Comer.

MISCELLANEOUS.

W. S. U'Ren, John L. Grandin, Florence Kelley, Robert E. Speer, John Graham Brooks, Carrie Chapman Catt, Arthur Copper, Luther Burbank, Gifford Pinchot, Orville Wright, William C. Sturgis, T. A. Jaggar, jr., and H. W. Wiley.

MISCELLANEOUS SCIENTISTS.

James G. White, E. J. Phelps, Walter A. Danforth, Robert Garrett, James Brown Scott, Joseph Walker, Charles W. Bryan, and Melvil Dewey.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Let me say, further, in reference to the memorial that I have here the autograph signatures of the signers which I will be glad to have Senators inspect during the day before I file it with the Secretary.

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I have a letter in the form of a petition bearing upon the subject of conscription. It is so terse and so strong and presents the argument so briefly that I ask that it may be read at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read the letter.

The Secretary read as follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 21, 1917.*

Hon. PORTER J. MCCUMBER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: You have voted the money, now vote the men; and don't depend on volunteer service; that has always failed in the past and is bound to fail if tried again.

Anyhow, we have no time for experiments. We need soldiers, and we need them quick. And we may need many more than can reasonably be expected to volunteer.

Then, why not vote for compulsory universal service and settle the question?

It puts all on an equality. It does not ask the generous and the brave to endure banishment from wives, children, parents, and friends, to sacrifice their business or positions, and to imperil their health and lives, while the shirkers and the unworthy remain comfortably at home and continue their selfish pursuits in peace and safety.

It means coercion, yes; but of a less offensive sort than the coercion of the volunteer system—the contemptuous glances of men and, more potent still, of women, too, upon the lusty figure of the youth who hangs back from the recruiting station, with their sneers, and jeers, and epithets, and imputations, and disdain.

Conscription is the only just, fair, democratic way to raise an army.

Those who oppose it are either uninformed as to what it really means or are afraid that they or theirs will be caught in the draft. You can not afford to vote just to please the uninformed, and as for the shirkers or the disloyal, they are not deserving of consideration.

You did not depend on voluntary contributions for the war fund. You knew it couldn't be raised that way. And if enough people will not voluntarily part with their money to pay the expenses of the war, is it reasonable to expect that enough of them will voluntarily give up their homes and business entirely and adopt a life worn out with toils and exposed to continued perils to create an army adequate for the emergency?

Undoubtedly some of the opposition to compulsory service comes from the same secret and subtle influences that from the beginning have sought to advance the interests of Germany. They want Germany to win. Failing in their efforts to keep us from accepting Germany's challenge, they now seek to hamper and delay our preparations for defense. They would, a few of them, deliver us into the hands of our enemies. With these, of course, you have no sympathy or concern.

But admitting there is a very considerable worthy and loyal element that is opposed from conscientious and unselfish motives to compulsory service, your practical, common sense must tell you they are wrong. Then why not use your own good judgment in the matter and depend upon your ability to establish the wisdom of your course later? You should have no trouble in convincing your constituents that from the standpoint of economy of life, of suffering, and of treasure selective conscription is the best means that can be adopted.

Senator, it is very likely that you hear from more people who oppose than who favor conscription. But that is not proof that the opposition sentiment preponderates. Those who favor it feel so strongly it is the only way that they take it for granted it will go through, and so only a few ask you to support it. Those who oppose it know that argument and reason and enlightened public sentiment are all against them, and they seek to make up by noisy demonstration and passionate protest what they lack in logic, in numbers, in intelligence and moral worth.

This is no time for Congress or its Members to consider any temporary or local political effect of its actions. It is a time to think of the future of the Nation, of the pressing needs of the situation, and to make sure that we do not by temporizing or delay invite calamity.

Yours, truly,

H. R. STRONG.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the modest communication which has just been read from a citizen of St. Louis rather amuses me. Each Senator has received a copy of that document. When Mr. Strong, whoever he may be, informs the country that those of us who have ventured to question the propriety of conscription are uninformed and are afraid that we ourselves may be drafted he goes altogether afield in his attempted criticism. I have more than a hundred communications here on the other side that I will not ask to have printed in the RECORD, but I will let the communication of the St. Louis gentleman go for what it is worth.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. BRADY. I have received from Mr. Norman Thomas, the secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a memorandum giving his views regarding the amendment his association feels should be added to Senate bill 1871. Mr. Thomas appeared before the Military Committee, and I then suggested to him to prepare this memorandum, which gives a very clear and intelligent statement of the principles of his association, and which I think is of sufficient importance to be considered by the Committee on Military Affairs. I ask that the memorandum be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The memorandum is as follows:

In submitting the inclosed suggested amendment, in the interest of conscientious objectors, I respectfully desire to make plain the following points:

First. Conscientious objectors in general are not expressing their approval of the principle of conscription for military service, when they request exemption.

Second. Conscientious objectors of the sort whom I know personally are not cowards and are very eager to serve society. It is our hope that under a system of selective draft the great majority of conscientious objectors will be found to be giving unselfish service of recognized value to the State. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, which I represent, has sent out a letter urging its members to lose no time in engaging in constructive service. Several of its members are now engaged in dangerous forms of relief and prison-camp work in the Balkans and in Armenia.

The fellowship is seeking an opportunity to send out some of its younger men for the reconstruction of villages in those regions in Armenia where danger from disease and disordered conditions of life is very great.

Third. In urging this amendment members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are not actuated primarily by personal motives. Few of them would be liable under the present form of the act to military service. We are primarily desirous of saving the principle of freedom of conscience, which is absolutely vital to democracy, and of securing its recognition—even in a form which may not seem to us ideal—in this law.

Respectfully submitted.

NORMAN THOMAS,
Secretary Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Suggested amendment to Senate bill 1871 to cover the case of conscientious objectors:

First. Amend title by adding to it the following words: "and for other purposes."

Second. Section 3, strike out words "and nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for who is found to be a member of any well-recognized religious sect or organization * * * in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organizations." Substitute therefore the following: "and nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require or compel service in any of the forces herein provided for by any person who is conscientiously opposed to engage in such service."

Third Add new section, following section 3, as follows:

"Any person who shall have been exempted from military or naval service on the grounds of conscientious objection under section 3 of this act shall be liable to be drafted and assigned by the President to any one of the following kinds of civil service under the civil branches of the Government in which he can conscientiously engage: Agriculture, forestry, reclamation of waste land, highway construction and repair, public education, prison work, social-welfare work, coast-guard life saving, and relief and reconstruction among noncombatant sufferers. Any other civil service of national or international importance.

Any person so drafted shall serve during the period of the emergency and for one year thereafter unless sooner discharged.

Fourth. Add to the bill provision for civil tribunal to pass upon exemptions in general and especially upon those urged on conscientious grounds. We suggest, in general, that the terms of the House bill will meet this point. We quote the language of the House bill suggesting that it be incorporated in the Senate bill as a separate section: "That the President is authorized and empowered to constitute and establish throughout the United States tribunals for the purpose of enforcing and carrying into effect the terms and provisions of this act, together with such regulations as he shall prescribe and determine necessary for its administration. A majority of the members of each tribunal shall be citizens of the United States not connected with the Military Establishment: *Provided further*, That upon the complaint of any person who feels himself aggrieved by his enrollment or draft as is herein provided any court of record, State or Federal, having general jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the writ of habeas corpus, according to local laws or by act of Congress, shall have jurisdiction by proceedings in the nature of the writ of habeas corpus to hear summarily and determine the rights of such person."

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, while we may not all agree as to what this section in the bill should contain, yet I feel that the amendment suggested by Mr. Thomas should receive consideration and for that reason I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SMITH of Maryland:

A bill (S. 2027) for the relief of The Sanford & Brooks Co. (Inc.); to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 2028) to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the business of loaning money on security of any kind by persons, firms, and corporations other than national banks, licensed bankers, trust companies, savings banks, building and loan associations, and real estate brokers in the District of Columbia," approved February 4, 1913; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

A bill (S. 2029) for the relief of the widow of Joseph Culley; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 2030) granting a pension to Edward Keegin; and

A bill (S. 2031) granting a pension to Lillie B. Le Compte; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 2032) to prevent unfair discriminations in the sale of print paper by persons engaged in commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 2033) for the relief of John Ogden;

A bill (S. 2034) to correct the military record of James H. Painter; and

A bill (S. 2035) to remove the charge of desertion against James B. Smock; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 2036) granting an increase of pension to Ephriam Briggs;

A bill (S. 2037) granting an increase of pension to Zed Culver;

A bill (S. 2038) granting a pension to Thomas Jefferson Rothgeb;

A bill (S. 2039) granting an increase of pension to Thomas White;

A bill (S. 2040) granting a pension to William C. Campbell;

A bill (S. 2041) granting an increase of pension to Louisa Walters (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2042) granting an increase of pension to Albert H. Wood (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2043) granting an increase of pension to Fanny Harris Howe (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2044) granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Huey (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2045) granting a pension to Eliza Coe (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 2046) to amend the act entitled "An act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes approved February 9, 1909," as amended by an act approved January 17, 1914; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 2047) providing for the free transmission of mail of enlisted men below rank of captain; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 2048) granting an increase of pension to Thomas McCarty (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. OVERMAN:

A bill (S. 2049) granting an increase of pension to Minnie Lord Henderson; and

A bill (S. 2050) granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Edge; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

A bill (S. 2051) for the relief of Edward S. Farrow; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota:

A bill (S. 2052) authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 2053) granting to the State of Colorado sections 2 and 32 in every township of said State for educational purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 2054) granting a pension to Mamie Bridgewater (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WEEKS:

A bill (S. 2055) to authorize the President to appoint Francis P. Fremont, formerly a major in the United States Army, on the active list of the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 2056) for the relief of Frank Pinkley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 2057) granting an increase of pension to George W. Hill;

A bill (S. 2058) granting an increase of pension to Cyrus Fike;

A bill (S. 2059) granting an increase of pension to Emma E. Elliott;

A bill (S. 2060) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Bristow;

A bill (S. 2061) granting an increase of pension to James L. Mitchell;

A bill (S. 2062) granting an increase of pension to Andrew West;

A bill (S. 2063) granting an increase of pension to Gilliam L. Craven;

A bill (S. 2064) granting an increase of pension to Alvin M. Owens;

A bill (S. 2065) granting an increase of pension to William A. Bodine;

A bill (S. 2066) granting a pension to Rebecca J. Thompson;

A bill (S. 2067) granting an increase of pension to George D. Abrahams;

A bill (S. 2068) granting an increase of pension to Richard M. Clark;

A bill (S. 2069) granting an increase of pension to Oscar Davis;

A bill (S. 2070) granting an increase of pension to Abraham Schopf;

A bill (S. 2071) granting an increase of pension to James H. Knight;

A bill (S. 2072) granting an increase of pension to Jehu F. Stiffler;

A bill (S. 2073) granting an increase of pension to Jabez Smith;

A bill (S. 2074) granting an increase of pension to Uriah G. Williams; and

A bill (S. 2075) granting an increase of pension to James Alfred Mason; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 2076) for the relief of Augustus G. Reynolds; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 2077) granting an increase of pension to John C. Emery; and

A bill (S. 2078) granting an increase of pension to William H. Tripp (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

SEIZURE OF ENEMY VESSELS.

Mr. CULBERSON. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask to have read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 42) authorizing the President to take over for the United States the possession and title of vessels of any subject or citizen of any nation with which the United States may be at war, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the President be, and is hereby, authorized to take over for the United States the possession and title of any vessel, within the jurisdiction of the United States, of any subject or citizen of any nation with which the United States may be at war, and, through the United States Shipping Board or any department or agency of the Government, to operate, lease, charter, and equip such vesssel in any service of the United States, or in any commerce, foreign or coastwise, as he may see fit.

The property rights and claims to compensation, if any, of such subject or citizen shall be determined at the end of the war.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. HARDING. I send to the desk an amendment which is to be proposed by me to the Army bill (S. 1781) and which I think is of sufficient importance to have read and ordered printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment will be read.

The amendment was read and ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

At the end of section 1 add a new paragraph, as follows:

"Seventh. The President is further authorized to raise and maintain by voluntary enlistment, to organize and equip not to exceed four infantry divisions, the officers of which shall be selected in the manner provided by paragraph 3 of section 1 of this act: *Provided*, That the organization of said force shall be the same as that of the corresponding organization of the Regular Army: *And provided further*, That there shall be no enlistments in said force of men liable to draft under section 1 of this act: *And provided further*, That no such volunteer force shall be accepted in any unit smaller than a division."

In section 2, page 5, line 6, after the word "authorize," insert "except as provided in the seventh paragraph of section 1."

In section 8, page 11, line 18, strike out the word "and" and insert after the word "sixth" the words "and seventh."

REQUISITION OF VESSELS.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Senate bill 1797 has been reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs and is now on the calendar. I desire to offer an amendment which I intend to propose to that bill when it comes up for consideration, and ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be received and printed.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I offer a resolution, which has reference to some hearings had before the Committee on Military Affairs, and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 48) as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer, at a cost not to exceed $1 per printed page, to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee; that the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate, and that expenses contracted hereunder shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. There is no immediate necessity for the passage of the resolution at this time, and I ask that it be referred to the appropriate committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

RAILROAD FREIGHT RATES.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I send to the desk a resolution and ask to have it read and lie over under the rule.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 47), as follows:

Whereas the railroad companies have filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission schedules of rate increases amounting to 15 per cent flat, that with the increase of local rates to follow will be over half a billion of dollars annually, which will go into effect June 1 unless suspended by order of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and

Whereas the railroad companies have enjoyed an enormous increase of business during the last two years, giving them, according to the receipts for the last six months of 1916, a net income of approximately 7 per cent on the book value of their properties: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Interstate Commerce Commission be requested to suspend said increases of rates until the same shall have been thoroughly examined in detail by the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine whether they are just and reasonable, or until such time as Congress may investigate the same to determine whether legislative action is advisable.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will lie over and be printed.

AFFAIRS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 49), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the authority heretofore vested in the Committee on the District of Columbia by Senate resolution of February 20, 1909, directing the said committee to examine into matters relating to the District of Columbia is hereby continued, and the said committee is hereby directed to pursue its investigation during the Sixty-fifth Congress.

HEARINGS BEFORE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. SMITH of Maryland submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 50), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to send for persons and papers, and to administer oaths, and to employ a stenographer to report such hearings as may be had in connection with any subject which may be pending before said committee; that the committee may sit during the sessions or recesses of the Senate; and the expense thereof be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

ADDRESS BY JOHN SKELTON WILLIAMS.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, I present and desire to have referred to the Committee on Printing, with a view to have it printed as a public document, a very admirable address by Comptroller John Skelton Williams, which was delivered before the Southern Commercial Congress at its annual convention in Norfolk, Va.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The address will be referred to the Committee on Printing for action.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The VICE PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate; and I desire to say in this connection, Mr. President, that I believe at the time the Senate adjourned on Saturday last the request was pending that the bill be read.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the chairman of the committee. I send to the desk an amendment to the bill which I think the chairman of the committee will, perhaps, be willing to accept, and I ask to have it read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

On page 6, line 9, after the word "Territories," insert the following: "duly ordained ministers of religion, students preparing for the ministry in recognized theological or divinity schools."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that I prefer to examine the amendment a little more carefully, and in any event I think the bill ought to be read and the amendments taken up in order.

Mr. REED. Then, let the amendment be printed and it can be taken up later. I ask the chairman of the committee, however, to kindly consider it because I think it is a matter to which he will agree.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I now ask that the Secretary read the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill.

The Secretary read the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That in view of the existing emergency, which demands the raising of troops in addition to those now available, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized—

First. Immediately to raise, organize, officer, and equip all or such number of increments of the Regular Army provided by the national defense act approved June 3, 1916, or such parts thereof as he may deem necessary; to raise all organization of the Regular Army, including those added by such increments to the maximum enlisted strength authorized by law. Vacancies in the Regular Army created or caused by the addition of increments as herein authorized which can not be filled by promotion may be filled by temporary appointment for the period of the emergency or until replaced by provisional appointments made under the provisions of section 23 of the national-defense act, and hereafter provisional appointments under said section may be terminated whenever it is determined in the manner prescribed by the President, that the officer has not the suitability and fitness requisite for permanent appointment.

Second. To draft into the military service of the United States, organize, and officer in accordance with the provisions of section 111 of said national-defense act, so far as the provisions of said section may be applicable and not inconsistent with the terms of this act, any or all members of the National Guard and of the National Guard Reserve, and said members so drafted into the military service of the United States shall serve therein for the period of the existing emergency unless sooner discharged.

Third. To raise by draft as herein provided, organize and equip an additional force of 500,000 enlisted men, or such part or parts thereof as he may at any time deem necessary, and to provide the necessary officers, line and staff, for said force and for organizations of the other forces hereby authorized, or by combining organizations of said other forces, by ordering members of the Officers' Reserve Corps to temporary duty in accordance with the provisions of section 38 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916; by appointment from the Regular Army, the Officers' Reserve Corps, from those duly qualified and registered pursuant to section 23 of the act of Congress approved January 21, 1903 (35 Stat. L., 775), from the members of the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States, from those who have been graduated from educational institutions at which military instruction is compulsory, or from those who have had honorable service in the Regular Army, the National Guard, or in the volunteer forces, or from the country at large; by assigning retired officers of the Regular Army to active duty with such force with their rank on the retired list and the full pay and allowances of their grade; or by the appointment of retired officers and enlisted men, active or retired, of the Regular Army as commissioned officers in such forces: *Provided*, That the organization of said force shall be the same as that of the corresponding organizations of the Regular Army: *And provided further*, That officers with rank not above that of colonel shall be appointed by the President alone, and officers above that grade by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Fourth. The President is further authorized, in his discretion and at such time as he may determine, to raise and begin the training of an additional force of 500,000 men organized, officered, and equipped as provided for the force first mentioned in the preceding paragraph of this section.

Fifth. To raise by draft, organize, equip, and officer, as provided in the third paragraph of this section, in addition to and for each of the above forces, such recruit training units as he may deem necessary for the maintenance of such forces at the maximum strength.

Sixth. To raise, organize, officer, and maintain during the emergency such number of ammunition batteries and battalions, depot batteries, and battalions, and such artillery parks, with such numbers and grades of personnel as he may deem necessary. Such organizations shall be officered in the manner provided in the third paragraph of this section, and enlisted men may be assigned to said organizations from any of the forces herein provided for or raised by selective draft as by this act provided.

SEC. 2. The enlisted men required to raise and maintain the organizations of the Regular Army and to complete and maintain the organizations embodying the members of the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States, at the maximum legal strength as by this act provided, shall be raised by voluntary enlistment, or if and whenever the President decides that they can not effectually be so raised or maintained, then by selective draft; and all other forces hereby authorized shall be raised and maintained by selective draft exclusively. Such draft shall be based upon liability to military service of all male citizens, or male persons not alien enemies who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 19 and 25 years, and shall take place and be maintained under such regulations as the President may prescribe not inconsistent with the terms of this act. Quotas for the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, or subdivisions thereof, shall be determined in proportion to the population thereof available for military service as shown by the registration provided for herein, and credit shall be given to any State, Territory, District, or subdivision thereof for the number of men who have entered the military service of the United States under the provisions of this act from any such State, Territory, District, or subdivision as members of any Federal force hereby authorized. All persons drafted into the service of the United States and all officers accepting commissions in the forces herein provided for shall, from the date of said draft or acceptance, be subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army, except as to promotions, so far as such laws and regulations are applicable to persons whose permanent retention in the military service on the active or retired list is not contemplated by existing law, and those drafted shall be required to serve for the period of the existing emergency unless sooner discharged.

SEC. 3. The Vice President of the United States, the officers, legislative, executive, and judicial, of the United States and of the several States and Territories, and all persons in the military and naval service of the United States shall be exempt from the selective draft herein prescribed; and nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for who is found to be a member of any well-organized religious sect or organization, at present organized and existing, whose creed forbids its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed of said religious organization; and the President is hereby authorized to exclude or discharge from said selective draft and from the draft under the second paragraph of section 1 hereof, or to draft for partial military service only, persons of the following classes: Customhouse clerks; persons employed by the United States in the transmission of the mails; artificers and workmen employed in the armories, arsenals, and navy yards of the United States, and such other persons employed in the service of the United States as the President may designate; pilots; mariners actually employed in the sea service of any citizen or merchant within the United States; persons engaged in industries, including agriculture, found to be necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment or the effective operation of the military forces or the maintenance of national interest during the emergency; those in a status with respect to persons dependent upon them for support which renders their exclusion or discharge advisable; and those found to be physically and morally deficient. No exemption or exclusion shall continue when a cause therefor no longer exists.

SEC. 4. All persons liable to military service under the provisions of this act shall be subject to registration in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President, and upon proclamation by the President or other public notice given by him or by his direction stating the time and place of such registration it shall be the duty of every such person liable to military service under the provisions hereof to present himself for and submit to registration under the provisions of this act; and every such person liable to military service shall be deemed to have notice of the requirements of this act upon the publication of said proclamation or other notice as aforesaid given by the President by his direction; and any person who shall fail or neglect to present himself for registration or to submit thereto as herein provided shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction in the proper district court of the United States, be punished by imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than one year, and shall thereupon be duly registered.

SEC. 5. The President is hereby authorized to utilize the service of any or all departments and any or all officers or agents of the United States, and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, in the execution of this act, and all officers and agents of the United States, and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, are hereby required to perform such duty in the execution of this act as the President shall order or direct, and the officers and agents of the several States shall hereby have full authority for all acts done by them in the execution of this act by the direction or request of the President. Any person charged as herein provided with the duty of carrying into effect any of the provisions of this act or the regulations made or directions given hereunder, who shall fail or neglect to perform such duty; and any person charged with such duty or having and exercising any authority under said act, regulations, or directions, who shall knowingly make or be a party to the making of any false or incorrect registration, physical examination, exemption, enlistment, enrollment, or muster, or any false or incorrect report or return pertaining to any registration, physical examination, exemption, enlistment, enrollment, or muster; and any person who shall make or be a party to the making of any false statement or certificate as to the fitness or liability of himself or any other person for service under the provisions of this act, or regulations made by the President thereunder, or otherwise evades or aids another to evade the requirements of this act or of said regulations, shall, if not subject to military law, be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction in the proper district court of the United States, be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months nor more than one year, or, if subject to military law, shall be tried by court-martial and suffer such punishment as a court-martial may direct.

SEC. 6. That the qualifications and conditions for voluntary enlistment as herein provided shall be the same as those prescribed by existing law for enlistments in the Regular Army, except that recruits must be between the ages of 18 and 40 years at the time of their enlistment; and such enlistments shall be for the period of the emergency unless sooner discharged. All enlistments, including those in the Regular Army Reserve which are in force on the date of the approval of this act and which would terminate during the emergency, shall continue in force during the emergency unless sooner discharged, but nothing herein contained shall be construed to shorten the period of any existing enlistment.

All voluntary enlistments shall be in the Army of the United States, and those enlisted may be assigned upon enlistment to any force of said Army not required to be raised exclusively by selective draft.

The President may provide for the discharge of any or all enlisted men whose status with respect to dependents renders such discharge advisable; and he may also authorize the employment on any active duty of retired enlisted men of the Regular Army, either with their rank on the retired list or in higher enlisted grades, and such retired enlisted men shall receive the full pay and allowances of the grades in which they are actively employed.

SEC. 7. That the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, is authorized to appoint for the period of the existing emergency such general officers of appropriate grades as may be necessary for duty with brigades, divisions, and higher units in which the forces provided for herein may be organized by the President, and general officers of appropriate grade for the several Coast Artillery districts. In so far as such appointments may be made from any of the forces herein provided for, the appointees may be selected irrespective of the grades held by them in such forces. Vacancies in all grades in the Regular Army resulting from the appointment of officers thereof to higher grades in the forces other than the Regular Army herein provided for, shall be filled by temporary promotions and appointments in the manner prescribed for filling temporary vacancies by section 114 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916; and officers appointed under the provisions of this act to higher grades in the forces other than the Regular Army herein provided for shall not vacate their permanent commissions nor be prejudiced in their relative or lineal standing in the Regular Army.

Each chief of bureau of the War Department shall, during the existing emergency, have the rank, pay, and allowances of major general.

SEC. 8. The appointments authorized and made as provided by the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs of section 1 and by section 7 of this act, and the temporary appointments in the Regular Army authorized by the first paragraph of section 1 of this act, shall be for the period of the emergency, unless sooner terminated by discharge or otherwise. The President is hereby authorized to discharge any officer from the office held by him under such appointment for any cause which, in the judgment of the President, would promote the public service; and the general commanding any division and higher tactical organization or territorial department is authorized to appoint from time to time military boards of not less than three nor more than five officers of the forces herein provided for to examine into and report upon the capacity, qualification, conduct, and efficiency of any commissioned officer within his command other than officers of the Regular Army holding permanent or provisional commissions therein. Each mem-

ber of such board shall be superior in rank to the officer whose qualifications are to be inquired into, and if the report of such board be adverse to the continuance of any such officer and be approved by the President, such officer shall be discharged from the service at the discretion of the President with one month's pay and allowances.

SEC. 9. That all officers and enlisted men of the forces herein provided for other than the Regular Army shall be in all respects on the same footing as to pay, allowances, and pensions as officers and enlisted men of corresponding grades and length of service in the Regular Army.

SEC. 10. All existing restrictions upon the detail, detachment, and employment of officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army are hereby suspended for the period of the present emergency.

SEC. 11. All laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby suspended during the continuance of the present war.

ISSUANCE OF BONDS—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I desire to submit as a privileged matter the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on H. R. 2762, being a bill to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

I will say, before sending up to the desk the report of the conference committee, that the House receded from all of their disagreements except the disagreement involved in Senate amendment No. 5, and there they receded with an amendment. I will explain that so far as the difference involved in Senate amendment No. 5 is concerned, down to the second proviso the matter as it comes back from the conference committee is what the Senate did, but abbreviated, made somewhat more terse and somewhat clearer, and then there is added this proviso, which is new matter:

Provided further, That the provisions of section 5191 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the Federal reserve act and the amendments thereof, with reference to the reserves required to be kept by national banking associations and other member banks of the Federal Reserve System, shall not apply to deposits of public moneys by the United States in designated depositaries.

It was thought that we ought to make that amendment to the Senate amendment, because the moneys received by the Treasury under this bill are secured by independent security anyhow, and it would be a useless burden upon the banks to make them increase their general reserves because of this addition to their deposits. I submit the conference report and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read.

The Secretary read the conference report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate the proceeds, or any part thereof, arising from the sale of the bonds and certificates of indebtedness authorized by this act, or the bonds previously authorized as described in section 4 of this act, and such deposits may bear such rate of interest and be subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe: *Provided*, That the amount so deposited shall not in any case exceed the amount withdrawn from any such bank or trust company and invested in such bonds or certificates of indebtedness plus the amount so invested by such bank or trust company, and such deposits shall be secured in the manner required for other deposits by section 5153, Revised Statutes, and amendments thereto: *Provided further*, That the provisions of section 5191 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the Federal reserve act and the amendments thereof, with reference to the reserves required to be kept by national banking associations and other member banks of the Federal Reserve System, shall not apply to deposits of public moneys by the United States in designated depositaries."

And the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the title, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the title inserted by said amendment insert the following: "An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes."

F. M. SIMMONS,
W. J. STONE,
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
BOIES PENROSE,
H. C. LODGE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
A. P. GARDNER,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ask for the adoption of the conference report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, it is not my purpose at this time to discuss in detail the bill which is now before the Senate. The chairman of the committee, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], has done that in the most comprehensive way, and I assume that there will be opportunity later on to discuss and rebut any arguments that may be made with reference to the provisions of the bill as presented.

When war was declared with Germany, the President was directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States to bring it to a successful conclusion, and we pledged all the resources of our country to that purpose.

The question we must now consider is How are we going to give the President what we have directed him to employ—that is, the naval and military forces of the United States? Are we to do so in a manner which has been demonstrated over and over again as ill-advised, ineffective, and disastrous, or are we to turn our attention to the results of the experience of other countries and take from their experience those lessons which will enable us to steer clear of the follies of the past? That is really the dividing line between general service and volunteer service, between efficiency and inefficiency, and between the judgment of military men everywhere and of those who, through some delusion, would make our country in its hour of greatest need ineffective, if not impotent.

Our own experience in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, and the Spanish War, has been of one kind and has completely demonstrated, even if no other course had been adopted by other countries, the futility of sending untrained or partially trained troops—very largely officered by patriotic persons who are brave and willing, but insufficiently instructed—against thoroughly equipped and mechanized troops under the direction of trained officers. The result has always been a needless sacrifice of life and health and an enormous and unnecessary expense.

In the Revolutionary War we used 231,771 Regulars and Continental troops and 164,087 militia, a total of 393,858, against which the entire British force from first to last did not exceed 150,000; in other words, the Americans had nearly three men to their enemy's one, and they were operating in a country they knew thoroughly, in the midst of their own bases of supplies, while the enemy were operating a great distance from their base and in a country with which they were not acquainted and of which they could not have had suitable military maps.

In the War of 1812 we had 56,032 Regulars and 471,622 militia against English and Canadian forces of about 55,000 men. There is no more painful page in the history of our Republic than the results of the contests between our land forces and the enemy during this war. With the exception of two or three bright spots, notably at New Orleans, the American armies made a shameful exhibition of their capacity to wage a successful contest against a trained enemy.

Right here in the neighborhood of Washington we have had the example of an American volunteer army, quite likely made up of as brave men as ever shouldered a gun, fleeing before a British force so far inferior in numbers that the comparison is almost ludicrous and permitting, as a result of their inability

to fight as a body, the British to capture Washington and to burn the White House and the Capitol of the Nation.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WEEKS. I do.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Would it interrupt the Senator for me to ask a question just at that point?

Mr. WEEKS. Not at all.

Mr. VARDAMAN. In the light of those disastrous mistakes which the Senator has so graphically portrayed, what explanation has the Senator to give for the failure of Congress and the American people to embark upon the plan which the Senator now proposes, or some similar plan, in order to avoid the possible repetition of those disasters? If the old way was such a bad way, I confess I can not reconcile persistence in it with my idea of the ability, patriotism, and high order of statesmanship of the men who have directed the affairs of this Republic in the past.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I expect to discuss some of those reasons; but I will say to the Senator that in my judgment very much the same reasons have been advanced in the past as will be advanced here during this debate. They are well known; they will be stated by those who have an honest belief that a volunteer system is traditionally the system which this country should follow; and yet I am going to try to demonstrate that they are wrong in the first place, and in the second place that the demonstration of their wrong has been universal, not only in this country but in other countries.

Mr. VARDAMAN. If the able Senator will pardon a further interruption, I should like to suggest to him that it is rather remarkable that the men who conceived this marvelous form of government, gave it being, and directed its growth from its infancy to the present day, when it stands out the strongest, the richest, and in many respects the most remarkable success in governmental experiment beneath the stars—I repeat, it is remarkable that these wise statesmen should have overlooked and disregarded the lesson of experiment and thrown away the wisdom which ought to have been extracted from the mistakes which the Senator has pointed out and pursued the same policy for 125 years. It remained for the wise men of the twentieth century, the heirs of the founders of the Republic, to insist upon this radical change, which to my mind is a reflection upon the capacity to govern and the noble statesmanship of those who have gone before us.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I agree that it is a reflection on their capacity; and it will be a reflection on our capacity if we do not now correct the mistakes of the past.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. I was interested in the statement the Senator from Massachusetts made, that a small British force defeated a larger American force of volunteer soldiers and burned the Capitol. Does the Senator think the force would have been any stronger if it had been conscripted at that time?

Mr. WEEKS. I think, Mr. President, that if we had had the wisdom to establish universal training in this country, so that we would have had trained men, we then would have been able to protect our own.

Mr. GALLINGER. But we did not have it. Now, my question is susceptible of a direct answer. Does the Senator think that if those soldiers had been conscripted, in place of having been volunteers, they would have been better able to compete with that trained force of the British Army?

Mr. WEEKS. With the same length of service, I think not; but, Mr. President, I am going to discuss the question of universal service. I hope the Military Affairs Committee will report later on a bill providing for universal training, and I am trying to point out why we have failed in the past.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am in favor of universal training, and I want to ask the Senator another question. We are constantly having it said to us that our disaster at the first Bull Run Battle was because our soldiers were untrained; and that was true. The southern army was made up to a very considerable extent of men who had had some military training. But does the Senator think that if that army had been conscripted, in place of having volunteered, they would have stood any better chance in the first Bull Run Battle?

Mr. WEEKS. Probably not, but I want to add if it had been conscripted it would have been a fair representation of the American people. As it was it was made up of an unfair representation of the American people. What we ought to do at this time is to do what is fundamentally and technically the right thing instead of continuing a policy which is fundamentally and technically wrong.

Mr. GALLINGER. That volunteer army was made up of average good citizens.

Mr. LODGE. Above the average.

Mr. WEEKS. Yes. That is one of the peculiarities with the early volunteers.

Mr. GALLINGER. I do not think so. Does the Senator think we are going to have a fair representation of the citizenship of this country if we draft men from 19 to 25?

Mr. WEEKS. I think so.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator thinks so?

Mr. WEEKS. I absolutely think so.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think it the most unfair proposition that ever could be presented.

Mr. THOMAS. Will the Senator inform me whether the troops which won the Battle of New Orleans were volunteers or conscript?

Mr. WEEKS. The men who won the Battle of New Orleans were volunteers who had had a great deal of training in connection with the Indian wars, who knew how to shoot, who were led by a determined man, who knew how to handle his men. They were behind breastworks which had been improvised for the occasion, and they won because they were protected; they were well officered, and they knew how to shoot. That is a part of the general training which we ought to give to our people.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator from Massachusetts yield to me?

Mr. WEEKS. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am very much interested in what the Senator is saying. I was wondering if he is going to take up in the course of his remarks the history of conscription in this country as well as voluntary service. I wish to ask the Senator if he recalls what took place when the Government instituted conscription by law in 1863?

Mr. WEEKS. Oh, yes; Mr. President, I recall just what happened, and it happened as a result of the intrigues of a lot of copperheads who were doing everything they could to prevent the Government from being successful in prosecuting the war, and there are people in this country who are coming pretty near the line of doing exactly the same thing under present conditions.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; the newspapers say those of us who do not entirely agree with the Senator ought to be put in that class.

Mr. WEEKS. I do not think so.

Mr. GALLINGER. I could put in the RECORD some very important newspaper utterances not a thousand miles away from Washington which would indicate it. Now, will the Senator——

Mr. WEEKS. The Senator knows I am not responsible for newspaper utterances. I am responsible for my own.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator permit one further inquiry? We have had five wars, I believe.

Mr. WEEKS. More than five.

Mr. GALLINGER. Five that are worth enumerating. They were all fought by volunteer forces and we won them all.

Mr. WEEKS. Yes; and at the end of the Civil War we had the finest Army that was ever gotten together. A volunteer force in a Commonwealth which is trained makes the most effective force that can be congregated under any circumstances, infinitely better than Regulars. That has been demonstrated time and time again.

Mr. McKELLAR. May I ask the Senator, if that is so, why change the system that brings about such a splendid force as the Senator has described?

Mr. WEEKS. Because the delay and cost is excessive. If the Senator will give me the opportunity, I will try to demonstrate why I think we ought to change the system. There may be those who do not agree with me, and I should be glad to debate any question which develops as a result of this discussion. This is simply preliminary. I am glad to answer the question and I shall try to answer the question more fully during my discussion.

Mr. NORRIS. Will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I wish to preface my question with the statement that it seems to me the Senator's argument thus far made is a logical and correct one in favor of conscription as a permanent policy; but will the Senator claim that in raising an army for the present war we can get a trained army any quicker or a better army by conscription than we could by volunteering? In other words, taking the condition we are in now, whether

we may like it or not, taking it just as it is, will there be any advantage in raising and training an army now by conscription over the volunteer system?

Mr. WEEKS. I think I can answer that.

In the Mexican War the forces involved included 31,024 Regulars, 60,659 Volunteers and Rangers, and 12,601 militia, a total of 104,284 men, while the maximum number of Mexican troops engaged in the war was only about 46,000. In this war the Volunteers were enlisted for one year, and as the war did not end within that time many of them returned to their homes without waiting for its termination.

At the end of the Civil War our volunteers had acquired a training which made them comparable to any army that ever existed. They were without question among the best troops in the world, but the cost of their preparation and the final accomplishment was simply appalling. We employed 67,000 Regulars and at different times 2,606,341 Volunteers, while the Confederacy did not during the entire war employ more than a million and a half men, and perhaps not greatly exceeding 1,000,000. It must be remembered that in this war the Confederacy was operating in interior lines and in their own territory, with which they were entirely familiar, and that to some degree they had previously been given a better training than the men who had come from the commercial and industrial North. But the results on both sides showed lack of experience and suitable previous training.

No intelligent man can go over the battle fields of the earlier days of the war or examine the records of that period without being deeply impressed with not only the lack of experience of the officers but the futility of attempting to fight without the very best training and under the best obtainable officers. Three months after war was declared the Battle of Bull Run was fought, and it showed conclusively the result likely to come in a contest between comparatively untrained forces, and that result would have been accentuated greatly if one of the forces had been made up of trained men. The panic was indescribable, and the evidence is complete that neither side felt itself competent to engage in further actual contests without sufficient preparation, because between the 4th of July, 1861, and the last days of May, 1862, no action worth the name was fought by the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. It was a period of drill and preparation and assimilation of the forces which had enlisted for long enough periods to give them sufficient training.

In the Spanish-American War we had engaged 58,688 Regulars and 223,235 militia or Volunteers, and the Spaniards did not have over 200,000 men in any part of the territory involved in the contest. In this instance we were fighting with a nation not much better prepared than ourselves, though one that had military traditions, which might have led to the belief that it would have made a better showing.

Thus in two of our foreign wars we were fighting nations incomparably inferior to ours in numbers and resources, while in the other two foreign wars fought with Great Britain we engaged in the contests at a time when that country was not free to devote its entire energies to the wars being waged with us.

The arguments and appeals for trained forces made by military men from Washington and his lieutenants down to the present day are of one tenor; indeed, it would be difficult to find a trained military man anywhere in the world not in favor of universal training and universal service. Continental Europe has been committed to this policy for many years, and the soldiers of Great Britain, like the late Lord Roberts, Earl Kitchener, and others, who have in the past and their successors who are at the present time demonstrating their efficiency, are quite as insistent along this line as their brother soldiers of the Continent. The ideas of our own trained soldiers are in entire conformity with those of the soldiers of other nations.

Great Britain failed to heed Lord Roberts and the others, and this failure resulted in the loss of a great many of the most promising and patriotic young men of Great Britain and her colonies. Her failure to be prepared nearly lost the war, and imposed upon her allies a double burden until she could prepare herself to do her part.

Not only are the trained soldiers of our Regular Army favorable to universal training and service but their opinion is shared by our citizen soldiers, as is clearly demonstrated by the replies received to a series of questions asked last year by Representative GARDNER, through Gen. Bell, while the National Guard was on duty on the border. The head of every independent National Guard organization was asked this question: "Have you formed an opinion upon the question of universal military training? If so, what are your ideas?" Five hundred and ten answers were received to this question, 500 being in favor of universal training and 10 opposed to it. The 500 men favoring universal training included 16 colonels, 250 captains, and 234 first sergeants. The 10 included one colonel, 5 captains, and 4 first sergeants. As far as I am informed these National Guard units came from every section of the country, and it would seem to be a complete indorsement of the principle of universal training from our citizen soldiers.

Whenever we have waged a great war it has been necessary to resort to draft in order to bring it to a successful conclusion. As early as 1777, within about a year of the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the then leading Colonies of Massachusetts and Virginia were forced to resort to draft, and notwithstanding the disjointed efforts of the Colonies to keep up their complements the patriot armies which in 1776 had been 89,000 men had shrunk to 29,000 in 1781. In 1812 the volunteer system was so conspicuously unsatisfactory and incompetent that even Mr. Jefferson, who was certainly not a man of the military type, was obliged to make a protest against such a system.

From 1802 to 1808 all measures, whether offensive or defensive, looked almost exclusively to the use of militia and volunteers. In 1807, when for the second time our relations with Great Britain had become strained, the President was authorized to accept 30,000 Volunteers, officered by the several States, and says Gen. Emory Upton, probably the best military expert developed by our Civil War, "more than half a century later we reaped the bitter fruit of this system at the Battle of Bull Run." Thus was the volunteer system given preference in anticipation of the War of 1812. But long before that war had been brought to a close the folly of the system had manifested itself to such a degree that Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> It proves most forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans, and must be that of every free State. * * * We must train and classify the whole of our male population. * * * We can never be safe until this is done.

The volunteer system having failed before the close of the War of 1812, the Government was forced to devise various schemes for raising men, and was only able to avoid a draft by the speedy termination of the war.

In the Mexican War nearly the entire force of Volunteers was raised under one call and enlisted for a period of one year. It required almost the entire 12 months to train this volunteer force in the ways of war, and the training having been completed and the term of enlistment exhausted practically the entire volunteer force withdrew from the service, although the war was not over.

I might at this time call attention to the results during the Civil War due to a termination of the service of Volunteers. When Gen. Lee was making his invasion of Pennsylvania in 1863, when there was danger of an attack upon the Capital, the terms of service of many men ended; that is, on the 30th of June of that year. One regiment of Volunteers which was passing through the Capital was asked to remain and defend the Capital, or to remain long enough to be sure that their aid was not necessary, and of those men—loyal men, I presume, generally speaking—only about one-half consented to remain and protect their Capital.

Despite the unfortunate experiences of the Government with the volunteer system in almost every instance in which it had been put to the test, it was again resorted to at the outbreak of the Civil War. The difficulties experienced in that struggle through the use of Volunteers were occasioned, to some extent, by the fact that short enlistments were made the practice. Nevertheless, in resorting to the draft, President Lincoln in an address to the American people, which set forth some of the human traits which must forever be a weak point in the volunteer system, said in part:

> At the beginning of the war, and ever since, a variety of motives, pressing some in one direction and some in the other, would be presented to the mind of each man physically fit for a soldier, upon the combined effect of which motives he would or would not voluntarily enter the service. Among these would be patriotism, political bias, ambition, personal courage love of adventure, want of employment, and convenience, or the opposite of some of these. We already have and have had in the service, as appears, substantially all that can be obtained upon this voluntary weighing of motives. And yet we must somehow obtain more or relinquish the original object of the contest, together with all the blood and treasure already expended in the effort to secure it. To meet this necessity the law for the draft has been enacted. You who do not wish to be soldiers do not like this law.

The report of the provost marshal general of the Civil War, Gen. Fry, is eloquent of the failure of the volunteer system at the most critical period of the war. He said in part:

> During the latter part of 1862 the necessity for a radical change in the method of recruiting troops in order to prosecute the war to a successful issue became more and more apparent. The demand for reinforcements from the various armies in the field steadily and largely exceeded the supply of men. The old agencies of filling the ranks proved more and more ineffective It was evident that the efforts of the Government for the suppression of the rebellion would fail without a resort to the unpopular, but nevertheless truly republican, measure of conscription. * * *

But it was not easy to convince the public mind at once of the justice and wisdom of conscription. It was a novelty, contrary to the traditional military policy of the Nation. The people had become more accustomed to the enjoyment of privileges than to the fulfillment of duties under the General Government, and hence beheld the prospect of compulsory service in the Army with an unreasonable dread. Among the laboring classes especially it produced great uneasiness. Fortunately, the loyal political leaders and press early realized the urgency of conscription, and, by judicious agitation, gradually reconciled the public to it. * * * The public safety would have been risked by a longer delay in the enactment of this law. A general apathy prevailed throughout the country on the subject of volunteering.

Mr. President, I wish to demonstrate that the press of to-day is as loyal as the press of that time, so I include in my remarks the statement of a large number of newspapers throughout the country which have indorsed the act which is now pending before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMPSON in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Five hundred and one newspapers scattered over every section of the United States recognize the vital necessity for the immediate passage by Congress of a universal military training law and urge this action in their editorial columns. The advocates of universal military training include practically all the big dailies of the country. The list follows:

Maine: Portland Eastern Argus and Press, Bangor News, Rockland Opinion and Courier-Gazette.

New Hampshire: Manchester Union, Keene Sentinel, Rochester Courier, and Strafford County Record.

Vermont: Burlington News, St. Albans Messenger, and St. Johnsbury Caledonian.

Massachusetts: Boston American, Journal, Post, and Transcript, Pittsfield News, Westfield Journal, Springfield Union, Fitchburg Sentinel and News, Lowell Courier-Citizen and Sun, Amesbury News, Lynn News and Telegram, Salem News, Rockland Standard and Independent, Waltham News, Brockton Times, Worcester Post, Norwood Messenger, New Bedford Times, Mercury, and Standard, and Plymouth Old Colony Memorial.

Connecticut: Hartford Courant, Post, Times, and Globe, New London Day and Telegraph, Meriden Record, New Haven Courier, Evening Register, Times-Leader, and Union, Bridgeport Farmer, Telegram, Post, and Standard, Norwalk Hour and Sentinel, Ansonia Sentinel, Waterbury Democrat, American, and Republican, New Milford Times, Torrington Register and News.

Rhode Island: Providence Journal, Bulletin, and Tribune, Newport News, Pawtucket Times, and Westerly Sun.

New York: New York City Times, Herald and Telegram, Morning Telegraph, World and Evening World, American and Journal, Tribune, Sun and Evening Sun, Globe and Mail, Brooklyn Eagle, Standard Union, and Times, Long Island City Star, Flushing Queens Chronicle, Peekskill Times, News, Union, and Highland Democrat, Rye Chronicle, White Plains Argus, Record, Eastern State Journal, and Westchester News, Ossining Democratic Register, Citizen, and Sentinel, Middletown Argus and Orange County Times-Press, Newburgh Journal, Valatie Rough Notes, Kingston Express, Freeman, and Leader, Catskill Examiner, Recorder, and Mail, Albany Journal, Knickerbocker-Press, and Times-Union, Cohoes Republican, Glen Falls Times, Johnstown Leader-Republican, Saratoga Sun and Saratogian, Amsterdam Recorder-Democrat and Sentinel, Ogdensburg News, Watertown Standard and Times, Binghamton Press, Rome Sentinel, Utica Herald-Dispatch, Cortland Standard and Democrat, Auburn Citizen, Newark Union-Gazette, Ithaca Journal and News Rochester Chronicle, Post-Express, and Times, Albion Orleans Republican and Orleans American and News, Niagara Falls Gazette, Buffalo Commercial Express and News, Dunkirk Grape Belt and Observer.

New Jersey: Newark Star and News, Jersey City Journal, Hoboken Hudson Observer, Ridgewood Herald and News, Perth Amboy News, Clinton Democrat, Somerville Unionist-Gazette, Democrat, and Messenger, Trenton Times, Elizabeth Journal and Times, Plainfield Courier-News and Record, Summit Herald, Rahway Record, Westfield Leader, Englewood Press, Hackensack Record, Newton Register, Passaic Herald, Paterson Guardian, and Bayonne Review and Times.

Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Bulletin, Public Ledger and Evening Ledger, Inquirer, Press, Record, and Star, Pittsburgh Gazette-Times and Press, Scranton Scrantonian, Warren Mirror and Times, Washington News, Wilkes-Barre Independent, Record, Times-Leader and News, Williamsport Sun, York Daily, Dispatch, and Gazette, Butler Citizen, Du Bois Express, Easton Free Press, Erie Herald, Franklin News and Herald, Hazleton Standard, Johnstown Tribune, Lancaster Intelligencer, New Era, Examiner, and News-Journal, Lock Haven Dispatch, Express, and Clinton Democrat, Mount Carmel Item, Carbondale Leader, Coaldale Observer Kane Republican and Leader, Meadville Tribune-Republican, Monessen Independent and News, Mount Pleasant Journal, New Castle News and Herald, Uniontown News-Standard, Herald-Republican, and Genius-Republican.

Maryland: Baltimore American, News, Star, and Sun, Ellicott City Times, Laurel Democrat, Cumberland News and Times, and Frostburg Mining Journal.

Virginia: Richmond Leader and Times-Dispatch, Covington Virginian, Danville Register, Petersburg Index-Appeal and Progress, Roanoke Times, and Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.

West Virginia: Clarksburg Exponent and Fairmont Times and West Virginian.

Kentucky: Paducah Democrat, Newport Kentucky Post, Lexington Herald, Ashland Independent, Maysville Bulletin, Independent, and Public Ledger, and Hopkinsville Kentucky New Era and Kentuckian.

Tennessee: Knoxville Sentinel, Nashville Banner, Memphis Appeal, Scimitar, and Press.

North Carolina: Charlotte Observer, Asheville Times, Elizabeth City Advance and News, Washington News, New Bern Sun-Journal and New Bronian, Oxford Public Ledger, Reidsville Review, Wilmington Star, and Salisbury Post.

Georgia: Athens Banner and Herald, Griffin News and Sun, Dalton North Georgia Citizen, Valdosta Times, Dublin Courier-Herald, and Laurens Citizen.

Alabama: Mobile Tribune, Item, and Register, Montgomery Advertiser, Birmingham News and Talladega Our Mountain Home, and Alabama Reporter.

Mississippi: Jackson News, Vicksburg Herald, Post, and Times-Democrat, Natchez Democrat, and Brookhaven Leader.

Florida: Lake City Citizen-Reporter and Index.

Louisiana: New Orleans American, Item, and Times-Picayune, and Shreveport Journal, Times, News, and Caucasian.

Ohio: Columbus Citizen, Cincinnati Times-Star, Inquirer, Post, and Tribune, Cleveland Leader, News, Plain-Dealer, and Press, Urbana Citizen, Galion Inquirer and Leader, Kenton News-Republican and Democrat, Chillicothe Scioto Gazette, Akron Times and Press, Delaware Journal-Herald and Gazette, Mansfield News and Shield, Wellsville Union, Norwood Enterprise and Republican, Portsmouth Times, and St. Marys Leader.

Indiana: Terre Haute Star, Indianapolis News, Linton Citizen, Seymour Republican and Democrat, Anderson Bulletin, Valparaiso Vidette, Noblesville Ledger, Wabash Times-Star, Marion Chronicle, and Goshen Democrat and News-Times.

Illinois: Chicago American, Post, Examiner, Journal, Herald, News, and Tribune; Belvidere Republican; La Salle Post and Tribune; Rock Island Union; Galesburg Republican-Register; Peoria Star; Decatur Review and Herald; Jacksonville Journal and Courier; Belleville Advocate; Collinsville Advertiser-Press; Harrisburg Register; Cairo Bulletin; Carbondale Free Press and Southern Illinois Herald; Joliet Herald-News; Ottawa Free Trader-Journal and Republican-Times.

Wisconsin: La Crosse Leader-Press; Oshkosh Northwestern; Stevens Point Journal and Gazette; and Wausau Record-Herald, Pilot, and Wochenblatt.

Michigan: Detroit Free Press and Gateway; Kalamazoo Progressive Herald; Adrian Telegram; Battle Creek Moon-Journal, News, and Inquirer; Flint Journal; Lansing State Journal; Cadillac News; Manistee News-Advocate; Calumet News; and Houghton Gazette.

Minnesota: St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press, Minneapolis Journal and Tribune, Stillwater Gazette and Messenger, Wadena Pioneer-Journal, Duluth News-Tribune, and Cloquet Pine Knot.

South Dakota: Aberdeen News and American.

Iowa: Des Moines Capital and News; Burlington Hawk-Eye; Fort Madison Democrat and Gem City; Waterloo Courier; Cedar Falls Record; Oelwein Iowan and Register; Cedar Rapids Republican, Times, and Gazette; Clarinda Herald; Creston Advertiser; and Sioux City Journal and Tribune.

Nebraska: Omaha True Voice, Ord Quiz and Kearney Hub and Times.

Kansas: Wichita Eagle; Rosedale Interstate News; Coffeyville Journal, Sun, and Independent; Pittsburg Sun; and Wellington News.

Missouri: St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Post-Dispatch, Republic, and Star; Kansas City Journal, Star, and Times; St. Joseph News-Press and Gazette; Chillicothe Tribune and Constitution; Trenton Republican-Tribune and Times; Carthage Press; and Joplin Globe and News-Herald.

Arkansas: Little Rock Gazette, Pine Bluff Graphic, and Fort Smith Times-Record and Southwestern American.

Oklahoma: Battlesville Enterprise and Examiner, Guthrie Leader, and Shawnee Herald.

Texas: Corsicana Light and Sun; Fort Worth Record; San Antonio Express; Waco Times-Herald; Amarillo News; Brownwood Herald, Bulletin, and Pecan Valley News; Dallas News, Journal, Dispatch, and Times-Herald; and Temple Mirror.

New Mexico: Albuquerque Journal and Roswell Record and News.

Nevada: Reno Journal.

Colorado: Denver Rock Mountain News; Boulder News-Herald, Camera, and Miner; Cripple Creek Times; and Grand Junction News.

Montana: Helena Independent, Anaconda Standard, and Bozeman Courier and Chronicle.

Idaho: Boise Statesman and Twin Falls News and Times.

Oregon: Portland Telegram, Oregonian, and Spectator; and Astoria Astorian.

Washington: Seattle Post-Intelligencer and Times; Spokane Chronicle, Spokesman-Review, and Press; Tacoma Ledger; and Vancouver Columbian and Clarke County Sun.

Utah: Ogden Examiner and Salt Lake City Republican and Tribune.

California: San Francisco Call and Examiner; Sacramento Union and Star; Chico Enterprise; Bakersfield Echo; Fresno Republican and Herald; Santa Barbara Press; San Jose Herald; Long Beach Telegram; Los Angeles Examiner, Express, Times, and Tribune; Santa Monica Vanguard-Sun; Riverside Enterprise; San Bernardino Index; and Richmond Independent.

The Minneapolis Tribune says: "Universal training is not only the best safeguard against war, but the only scheme that puts the rich and poor on exactly the same footing in the matter of military service if war should come."

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch says: "Congress ought to pass at the earliest possible moment a measure embodying the main provisions of the Chamberlain bill. The people ought to demand it as a measure of wise and needful preparedness."

The Seattle Times says: "Compulsory military training is an urgent necessity as a means of assuring the Nation a dependable reserve of trained men for any emergency that may arise."

The New Orleans Item says: "This paper long ago exhausted its vocabulary in arguments in favor of a compulsory system of military training. It is the only democratic form of military service. It is the only practical form of preparedness."

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I am the last person to do an injustice to the National Guard. I have served in it for many years. I think I know its high purposes, its loyal membership, and its desire to be militarily useful. Moreover, in recent years, there has been a marked increase in its efficiency, somewhat due, of course, to the legislation of 1903 and other subsequent legislation. Yet, our National Guard is composed of 48 units, the officers of which are elected and, in time of war, appointed by the governors of the several States. Necessarily, the efficiency of these units vary, because the same support and encouragement is not given to the guard in each State, and very seldom is the guard enlisted to its full strength. Many men who enlist are found disqualified for various reasons and are discharged before they receive much training; many lose interest and fail to attend drills, being discharged for cause, without any resulting stigma attached to their leaving the guard; and the number of long-service and well-trained men in comparison to the total number connected with the guard is relatively small. Probably not more than 25 to 30 per cent

of the National Guards which went to the border last year had received more than a year's training, which meant, in addition to the week ordinarily spent in camp, not more than from 50 to 100 hours of drill a year.

To show how inadequate this amount of training is considered by those directing European military affairs, it is only necessary to compare this period of drill with that given European recruits before being sent to the front. At this time no recruit is considered fitted to come into contact with the enemy until he has received at least 2,400 hours of drill. When our men went to the border last year, a very considerable percentage—possibly as many as one-half—had never fired a rifle and nearly as large a proportion had never had an hour's drill.

Moreover, as I have suggested, the selection of officers, which is done under the provisions of the Constitution, presents a serious difficulty. They are elected by their men, and the election, while it produces many admirable officers, is more or less influenced by social or political reasons and almost always affected by the element of good fellowship. As a matter of fact, officers should be chosen solely on account of their military qualifications. Leadership in military affairs, as in every other walk in life, must include a knowledge greater than that possessed by others. A man who knows more than his fellow men is a leader, wherever he may be, and therefore, in fitting out military organizations, one of the first requirements is that an officer must be competent to instruct and lead his men, in which case he will have their respect and will be followed by them even though they may not have a personal liking for him.

I have heard many complaints about the hardships brought about by sending the National Guardsmen to the border last year to perform police duty. There is reason for these complaints, because men who had been patriotic enough to join the National Guard suddenly found themselves dragooned into performing a service they had not anticipated or desired, while many of their fellow citizens were at home following their civil employments. Yet, if every man had had to take his chance of performing this service there could not have been any reason for complaint.

The Commander in Chief considered it necessary that such service should be performed on the border, and the National Guard was the only available force for that purpose. The National Guard, however, through its constituted representatives, is responsible for being placed in this position. I do not mean its representatives in every State—I am glad to say that the leading officers in the State of Massachusetts were opposed to the military legislation placing the guard in this position—but the adjutants general of most of the States brought all the political pressure they could to bear on Congress last year, and, as a result, obtained the legislation they desired and which made it necessary for the National Guard to perform this police duty. However, the feeling was created that the guards sent to the border were unjustly treated, because a great many of their fellow men were exempted from such duty, and for that reason alone, in my opinion.

Those who are urging a retention of the volunteer system emphasize the fact that there is merit in retaining historical associations, such as the names of well-known State and local military organizations. There is no doubt about the validity of such a claim. The long-continued service of an organization of distinguished character attracts enrollments in its membership. Everyone can recall the names of famous military organizations in this country which have had brilliant records. This, however, is not unusual in other countries and is equally true in countries where universal service prevails. The well-known regiments like the Grenadiers and the Black Watch and other similarly prominent organizations in Great Britain are as familiar to the rest of the world as to the inhabitants of England. A similar policy is followed in Russia and in Germany. In Germany troops from the different sections of the country are usually included in organizations by themselves. We read of the Bavarians, the Württembergers ,the Saxons, and the Prussians, and there is no reason why such a policy should not be followed in this country under a conscription system. It seems to me it would be particularly unfortunate to make up our organizations from groups of men coming from different sections of the country. They can serve in every way as well, and will be more willing to enlist if they are to enter organizations made up of men coming from the same general locality and who may be their personal friends.

Mr. President, the Constitution of the United States makes the most ample provision for the protection of the citizen and in permitting him to exercise his rights in all matters pertaining to citizenship. He is assured of entire freedom of religion and speech and is permitted to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. He is protected against unreasonable search of his person, house, or effects, and is assured against unjust arrest and imprisonment, and no State is permitted to deprive him of his life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The Government not only protects a person in the exercise of every conceivable liberty which does not involve a violation of law, but it goes further than that and protects him and his property abroad. It has contracted agreements with other nations assuring American citizens impartial treatment while sojourning within their territory, and our history is filled with instances in which the Government has taken drastic measures where the life or property of a citizen have been endangered in foreign lands.

We fought the Tripolitan War in 1803 because American citizens were seized and imprisoned by the Tripolitan pirates, their property sequestered, and because our commerce was constantly preyed upon and great financial tributes demanded by the Tripolitan leaders as ransom for our sailors. We fought the War of 1812 to maintain the rights of American citizens from the claim of the British Government of the right of search and seizure. It is not necessary to instance individual cases, though it will not be unreasonable to call attention to one or two to show what has been the policy of our Government in such matters.

For example, in 1852 Martin Koszta, a political refugee from Austria to the United States, made declaration under oath of his intention to become an American citizen. After remaining here nearly two years he went to Turkey on business, placing himself under the protection of the United States consul at Smyrna. While there he was seized by a band of lawless men, thrown into the sea, and immediately thereafter taken up by a boat's crew belonging to an Austrian man-of-war. Their plan, apparently, was to return Koszta to Austrian territory; but opportunely an American sloop-of-war, the *St. Louis*, under Capt. Ingraham, arrived in the harbor, and the release of the captive was demanded. Force was threatened, but unnecessary, as the Austrians finally released Koszta and he returned safely to the United States. Incidentally, I will say Congress thought that incident so important that it voted a sword to Capt. Ingraham for the prompt and effective action which he took.

On another occasion, in 1904, Ion Perdicaris, an American residing near Tangier, Morocco, was abducted by a bandit named Raisuli. The American consul immediately notified the Moroccan authorities that they would be held responsible for the safe return of Perdicaris. Long negotiations followed until finally Secretary of State Hay sent his famous message to the American consul general at Tangier that "the United States wants Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead," and five weeks after his abduction this American citizen had regained his liberty.

Now, having all the rights of a free people and having the protection of the Government wherever the citizen may be or whatever the condition of his qualification for citizenship, it can not be an unreasonable position to say that the citizen shall respond to the just requirements of government, and we do compel him by stringent legislation to observe all laws and regulations concerning public health. We compel him, except when reasonable excuse is offered, to serve on the jury, and there are innumerable other civil examples to show the policy of the Government in requiring its citizens to support it in time of peace and to help, in proportion to their capacity and opportunity, in maintaining and executing the laws. If it is practicable to permit such action in time of peace, how much more necessary must it be to require from every citizen in time of war those things which he can best do to maintain and uphold his Government.

Unfortunately, up to the present time, this has not been the case. While our Government has been most scrupulous in its efforts to fulfill its obligations to the citizenry, it has been far too lenient, even in time of great national peril, in calling upon the citizens to reciprocate. It has said in effect: "Those of you who desire to do your duty may do so; others may do as they please," and the result has been that most of our wars have been unduly prolonged, and, before victory has been assured, it has been necessary for us to employ at least two men to every one used by our adversaries.

Mr. President, there is nothing in national compulsion repellent to democracy, provided the thing to be compelled is recognized as beneficial to the Nation. If there were, it would reject governmental regulation of the hours of labor, compulsory insurance, and compulsory education. A democracy like ours is made up of millions of units, and its success, in the final analysis, will be determined by the intelligence of these units. Therefore, we not only provide education at the public expense but compel it within reasonable limitations. If it is beneficial to the country that its citizens should be educated and educated as a result of compulsion, is it not equally desirable when the country needs

defense that we should take those citizens who have been educated at the public expense and require them to defend what the world has agreed is the best form of government extant.

Moreover, a system of compulsory training should be established. The opposition of the opponents to compulsory training is based on the theory that it is not necessary, but when we come to a national crisis we immediately discover that there is no time for the preparation we should have made. Tyranny, not democracy, has always justified itself by suppressing discussion or action as unnecessary.

It is rather a curious statement, but true, nevertheless, that men who work for very different purposes in life have, through their studies, come to an entire agreement on the question of compulsory military service. While, as I have stated, most trained military men whether citizens of an autocracy or of a republic, are in favor of it—we have not expected the most radical pacifists to support it—we have been lead to believe that there was a vast difference of opinion on the question of compulsory military training and service among the peoples of those European countries where that system obtains, and that liberals and socialists were generally opposed to it. We hear substantially nothing from any such sources in opposition to the prosecution of the war or in detraction of the policy followed by their countries in preparation for it; indeed, compulsory service seems to have practically unanimous support in contiental European countries.

Such men as Vaillant and Jean Jaures, two of the most noted pacifists of France, long ago came to the conclusion that compulsory service was absolutely essential, and in his last days Jaures published a book which was a plea for compulsory military training based on the Swiss method, and advocated that it should commence as early as the age of 10. I quote the following from Jaures' book, and Jaures was one of the leading Socialists of Europe.

> A government which is demonstrably and genuinely a government of national defense, which can give proof of its reverence for law and justice, is entitled to call on every available man in time of need. The resentment which men feel at being obliged to leave their families will be directed against the aggressor and will strengthen their resolve to defend the country. It will be the duty of the country, defended by all its citizens, to provide for the families of those who fall in its defense.

Switzerland in the first week of the present war mobilized a force of 200,000 men, which would be equivalent to practically 6,000,000 in the United States; and in order to bring about a result so important it is necessary to take out of the working life of the citizen only a little more than six months. The Swiss system is one we could well afford to copy as far as it would directly apply to our conditions, for it is strictly defensive and intended simply for the defense of the country and not for the purpose of waging foreign wars.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WATSON. I understand the Senator's argument to be an argument in favor of universal military training. Does the Senator make no distinction between universal military training and the selective-draft system proposed by this bill?

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, universal military training is simply a forerunner of the system which we should have in force, but which we have not. Every citizen should be trained, prepared, and compelled to serve his country in the way he can serve it best. It may not be in a military way; it may be in raising potatoes or serving as a United States Senator or in some other way. I am in favor of compelling everybody to do his share as a citizen of the Republic in maintaining the Government in time of need.

Mr. WATSON. Precisely; but——

Mr. WEEKS. Now, just let me go on one moment.

Mr. WATSON. Certainly. Pardon me.

Mr. WEEKS. I admit we are not in condition to do that to-day because we have had no universal-training law in operation. I hope there will be one; but why I am arguing in favor of this bill which is pending before the Senate is because I believe it is the only fair system to impose; and I think, if the Senator will do me the honor to listen to me, he will obtain my reasons for thinking so before I finish my address.

Mr. WATSON. I shall be very glad, of course, to listen to the Senator, but I thought that, in my own mind, at any rate, he was confusing universal military training with the idea of the selective draft, as embodied in this measure.

Mr. WEEKS. It is impossible to divorce universal military training and universal service.

Mr. WATSON. Precisely; one follows the other.

Mr. WEEKS. One follows the other.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. WEEKS. Now, we have not had universal training, and we want it—or most of us do—and we want universal service at this time. There ought not to be a single slacker in the United States. Either every man should be engaged in the military service or he should be engaged in some other way in supporting his Government at this time.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield, if the Senator from Indiana has concluded.

Mr. REED. I do not want to break in on the chain of inquiry of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. WATSON. I only desired to pursue the matter just one further step. I thoroughly agree with the Senator in his contention that it is entirely desirable from every standpoint that we should have universal military training, followed by universal military service; but we can not have universal service, except by the preliminary step of universal military training.

Mr. WEEKS. I disagree with the Senator in that respect entirely; and that is what we are trying to bring about now, so far as we can, by this legislation.

Mr. WATSON. I understand that this legislation simply proposes to go into each community and take out certain persons to be put in the Army, to be selected in a certain way, under a selective draft.

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. Now, whether a man is drafted or volunteers, he is still a raw recruit, is he not?

Mr. WEEKS. He is, or, at least, he may be.

Mr. WATSON. Yes; and he will have to go through precisely the same military training in order to become a soldier whether he is drafted or whether he volunteers?

Mr. WEEKS. He will.

Mr. WATSON. Precisely. So that there is nothing about the draft which makes a man a soldier by the mere act of being drafted?

Mr. WEEKS. Not at all.

Mr. WATSON. And, therefore, so far as obtaining immediate results are concerned, there is nothing sacred about the draft?

Mr. WEEKS. Not at all.

Mr. WATSON. Well, I wanted to get the Senator's viewpoint.

Mr. WEEKS. More than that, there is not only nothing sacred about the draft, but there is a great deal of prejudice against a draft. Now, however, we have an opportunity to do what those who have preceded us for 125 years have failed to do. We have an opportunity to establish what the whole world says is a correct military system; and why should we throw away this opportunity simply because for the moment we do not get better results than we would by following the old system?

Mr. REED. When did the whole world say that?

Mr. WEEKS. If the Senator had been listening to me, and if he will do me that honor to listen to me until I finish, he may be able to get an answer to a question which evidently he has asked haphazard. I will say to the Senator that he can not find a single trained, competent military man in the world who is not in favor of universal training and of universal service.

Mr. REED. I can find the Senator one; I can cite him to one now, the best soldier in the United States to-day—Gen. Miles.

Mr. WATSON. Well, Mr. President, I rather agree with the Senator from Massachusetts in his contention; but that is not the selective-draft proposition which is favored in certain quarters: it is universal military training; and I think there is the greatest difference in the world, a chasm as wide as from the North Pole to the South Pole, between universal training and the selective-draft system proposed in this bill.

Mr. WEEKS. Now, let me make this suggestion to the Senator from Indiana: A selective-draft system is not ideal; it is going to take one man and not take another; but it is going to give every man a chance; and it is going to prevent the fellows who are standing around on the street corners down town—the slacker, who never does anything for his country—it is going to give him the same chance that the boy who is going to be a worthy citizen has to serve his country.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. WEEKS. It is not going to take your boy and mine, necessarily, who may be fit and who may be prepared to make good citizens in the future, but it is going to give them an equal chance with every sluggard, every slacker, every fellow who is standing around the street corners and wasting his time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. WEEKS. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. It is going to take the boys of 25 and exclude the boys of 26.

Mr. WEEKS. It is.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is not universal; that is the most arrant discrimination and injustice.

Mr. WEEKS. There are good reasons for it, because the whole history of the world has demonstrated that the men who serve and serve best are under 25 years of age. There were only 46,000 men in the northern Army during our Civil War who were over 25 years of age when enlisted out of 2,600,000.

Mr. GALLINGER. Very true; but that great Army was organized of enlisted men, and was a magnificent Army.

Mr. WEEKS. It was when it came out of the war.

Mr. LODGE. They had four years' training.

Mr. GALLINGER. They could not have had four years' training before they enlisted, nor four days' training, any more than the conscripts under this bill can have.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

Mr. WEEKS. I yield to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. I do not know that the Senator has covered it, and if he has I will read it in his speech—I have only come in in the last few moments—but I am very anxious to know how this bill links in with and fits into the proposition of universal training. It seems to me this is the very antithesis of universal training. It is by its terms limited to a very few and even to only a portion of those included between 19 and 25.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I think the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee would say to the Senator that it is his purpose to try to bring out of the Military Affairs Committee, before this session of Congress is over, a bill providing for universal training. It has not been attached to this bill for the very good reason that we can not commence to recruit our armies until Congress has decided how it shall be done, and therefore it did not seem desirable to involve that question in the legislation which is now pending.

Mr. BORAH. Precisely; but what I want to get in my mind is in what respect am I indorsing universal service by voting for a bill which provides for a selective draft?

Mr. WEEKS. The Senator is indorsing it in this way—that every man stands his chance of being selected and of serving in some capacity, if we follow it by requiring certain men to work in munitions factors, certain men to work on the farm, and certain men to do other things.

Mr. BORAH. You could do that under the volunteer system. Canada has done it.

Mr. WEEKS. Well, Mr. President, I noticed this morning, that these regiments in the city of Washington, right under the shadow of the Capitol, are short 644 men, and that since the 1st day of April only 104 men have been enlisted. In other words, it will take nearly nine months to enlist the National Guard regiments in the city of Washington up to maximum requirements, if we follow the volunteer system.

Mr. WATSON. But after all——

Mr. REED. Mr. President, may I make a statement——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield, and to whom?

Mr. WEEKS. I have been pretty liberal in yielding. I am quite willing to yield for questions, and I am desirous of bringing out any objections to anything I have said or may say, but I do think I should yield to one Senator at a time, and just now I have yielded to the Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. I want to ask only one more question. I am not asking these questions to combat the Senator's position.

Mr. WEEKS. Oh, I understand.

Mr. BORAH. I have been wholly unable to reconcile this bill with the propaganda which has been going on for the last year and a half for universal training and universal military service, and I should like to have the Senator—who is not only a member of the committee but peculiarly fitted to discuss this question—enlighten some of us as to how and wherein we are in any sense aiding universal military training and universal military service by voting for a selective draft, which contemplates, in the first place, limiting it to men from 19 to 25 and, in the second place, selecting a very few of the men between those ages. Now, you might go into a neighborhood where there were 10 boys and select 1. He would get his military training, while the other 9 would be in the same position that they were before.

Mr. WEEKS. Well, Mr. President, there are practical reasons why this can not be made any more comprehensive. It is estimated that we require at this time a million men. There would be probably, between the ages of 19 and 25, 6,000,000 men. We could not arm and equip 6,000,000 men with our present system inside of three years. What nonsense it would be to make a draft which would cover all of the men suitable for military service within those ages and have them taken away from their normal employments and not be able to arm and equip them or make any military use of them. Therefore it is necessary to take a portion of them rather than all.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think the statement was read into the RECORD on Saturday by the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER] that under the volunteer system of Great Britain there went from the factories and from the manufacturing enterprises of the country practically all of the available men, with the result that after they did get an army they had to bring back all of these men.

Mr. WEEKS. That undoubtedly is true, Mr. President, and it was especially true of men connected with steamships or any other water service.

Mr. BORAH. But that has not happened in Canada.

Mr. WEEKS. Men employed along the water front went into the naval reserve and became at once attached to the Government operations to such a degree that for a time it was impossible to discharge steamers which had landed at Liverpool and other British ports. We want to prevent that. We do not want to take men away from the factories that are making munitions or clothing or doing the other things which are just as necessary to the Government as the actual military service which this bill contemplates.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. WEEKS. I do.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. This bill does create, does it not, a universal liability to military service between the ages of 19 and 25?

Mr. WEEKS. Absolutely so.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. That is, except for certain exemptions contained in the bill.

Mr. WEEKS. Now I should like to have an opportunity to go on with my remarks. I was speaking of the Swiss system when I was interrogated. This system is not only compulsory and general but it is democratic in that all promotions result from competition and all ordinary social qualifications are removed. The Swiss system has the approval of those responsible for military affairs and government in Switzerland, and it meets the approval of all classes to such an extent that the rejection of a recruit on account of physical disqualifications or other reasons is looked on as a disaster.

The attitude of Liberals and Socialists in Belgium on this question is not different from that in France and Switzerland. There, after long discussion, the Liberals took the lead in advocating universal service and they were supported by substantially the entire Socialist Party. The opposition came from Conservatives.

We all know that in this country a man wearing the uniform of a United States soldier or sailor is tabooed in many places. This was once the condition in Europe, but since the adoption of universal service in European countries the uniform is universally respected, and many social benefits have resulted from the intercourse of men of all classes, rich and poor, during their periods of military training. One of the greatest "outs" about the English Territorials, and one which it is almost impossible to disconnect from a similar service, is the frequent distinction of birth and wealth between an officer and a private. That is impossible in a universal-service system.

Jaures said in one of his articles on the subject of universal training that a volunteer army for France was as undesirable and unthinkable as voluntary taxation. In referring to the political phase of the question, he said:

> Any political party which is too cowardly to demand from the nation the sacrifices which are necessary to its life and its liberties is beneath contempt, and can not survive.

Vaillant has said that—

> universal service is one natural and inevitable direction of true democratic development.

To demonstrate to the Senate that the opinions of the European workingman are no different from those of the wage-earners of this country who have given the subject consideration, I wish to read the following extract from an editorial which appeared in a recent edition of one of the New York papers:

ORGANIZED LABOR ACTED WISELY IN INDORSING COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

The declaration in favor of compulsory universal military training by the representatives of organized labor is a momentous event in the history of our country. It signifies the abandonment of the opposition to preparedness by the workingmen of the country; or rather it signifies the victory of the workingmen of the country over the opposition to improper methods of preparedness.

The workingmen have always very wisely opposed that preparedness which is based upon a large standing army of professional soldiers. They knew instinctively that there was danger to the country in a large standing army of professional soldiers. And it is largely due to the weight of their wise influence that military preparedness in this country has not taken the direction of an increase in the size of our professional army. A great standing army of professional soldiers would be dangerous to our internal liberties and ineffective as a defense from danger from outside.

But universal compulsory military training is an entirely different thing. Liberty was never endangered by a citizen soldiery, but liberty has many, many times been preserved by a body of trained citizens called from all walks of life to render service in the hour of need for which they had been amply trained.

In the history of the world the trained citizen soldiers have made the best armies. Never have they been conquered, when thoroughly trained, by any professional soldiers. In all nations and at all times they have conquered their enemies when their enemies have been professional soldiers. Thus they have proved themselves to be the best and most efficient defense against foreign foes.

But while the professional soldier has been a weak defense against the stranger and a source of danger to the country which employed him, the citizen soldier has not only been a source of strength and security to his nation from foreign attack, but has been a great bulwark in preserving the liberties of his country from dangers from within.

In many countries the opposition to compulsory service has been under the general characterization of calling it Prussianism or militarism. Militarism can not exist in any country where the military as a class is not exalted above the civilian. The theory that teaching a man to defend himself, to shoot, and to drill with precision puts in him a desire to fight and that every man wearing a soldier's uniform has that desire is absolutely without foundation. A complete answer to such an assertion can be found by inquiry of those men who have fought in our wars. Ask any old veteran af the Civil War whether the numerous battles in which he fought created in him a desire to fight or a disgust for war. In ninety-nine out of a hundred cases it will be found that the latter was the result of his military service. It has been charged that Army and Navy officers are desirous of bringing about war because of their desire to fight. Exactly the opposite is the case. Practically all of them would be glad to avoid war, but they know the only way to fight effectively is to be prepared for it, and that is the reason they defend suitable preparation. They are not deluded by the theory that because a man is patriotic or physically strong, or any other equally specious reason, he is a prepared soldier or sailor. They know that exactly the reverse is true; hence their desire to change raw material into a finished product.

The only countries in which militarism may be said to exist are Japan and Prussia. In Japan militarism has existed from days immemorial—the samurai and his successor of the present day have been in a higher social class than the civilians engaged in professions and trade. To some extent the same condition has obtained in Prussia. Many people who have visited Germany within the last 15 or 20 years have testified that the military class has been dominating and domineering; that it has not respected civil employments or employees; that there has been no discrimination in the brutal manner in which the soldier has treated the civilian; and that he has been supported and protected by the constituted authorities in following this course.

We all agree that the one great object to be obtained in the world is peace. We all hope that the time will come when armies and navies will be superseded by an international court of arbitration. As a practical proposition, however, the prospects in this direction are not promising. There are almost insurmountable barriers between us and the realization of our dream of world-wide peace. One of the difficulties of first importance is that every strong nation prefers to depend upon its own military resources instead of placing itself at the mercy of some international tribunal. Arbitration of differences between nations means the willingness of the nations concerned to reach some agreement. When one nation refuses to agree, that is the end of arbitration. Furthermore, some time before the present war began, the great powers participating in The Hague conference decided not to arbitrate certain important questions. Until our dream of world-wide peace comes true, we must be prepared to protect ourselves.

The extreme pacifists of to-day are decrying preparedness. They claim that the mere act of preparing ourselves to properly defend our shores from an invading enemy tends to militarism Because of their fear of militarism they prefer to let the other nations of the world prepare and the United States remain totally unprepared, trusting that we will not be attacked. History has taught me one thing: If we are going to trust anybody, I prefer to trust ourselves—even at the risk of having to cope with that terrible menace militarism which is causing the pacifists so much anxiety—rather than trust some great powerful nation to leave us alone in our weakness.

As a matter of fact, Mr. President, I do not believe that a country governed by the people, as is the case in the United States, need fear militarism. It is true that large standing armies are dangerous to the peace of a country where the power to use that force is vested in a few persons. A few persons can not declare war in the United States. Before war can be declared a majority of the House of Representatives and the Senate must vote in favor of it.

The first person to resent militarism, exalting the military above the civil, is the private citizen, and the Constitution places in his hands the power to decree whether or not militarism shall exist; in fact, there is no institution of our Government—military or naval—which is not dependent upon the approbation of a majority of our citizens.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. WEEKS. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I suggest to the Senator, too, that there is another shield against militarism, and that is the fact that Congress can only make an appropriation for the Army for two years, and in the meantime the Members of Congress have to go back to the people and be reelected.

Mr. WEEKS. That is quite true.

Opponents of universal military training have frequently charged that such a system is undemocratic and un-American and should not be tolerated in this country. To that charge I reply that nothing is un-American which a majority of the American people, after mature deliberation, decide is for the good of the country and desire to see enacted into law. If I correctly understand the principles which inspired the foundation of the Republic, the Congress of the United States reaches the utmost pinnacle of democracy and Americanism when it heeds the voice of the people and puts into effect such legislation as that voice demands. There is no doubt in my own mind as to what the people demand in this instance or what they would demand if they were correctly informed or given the time to study the question.

While expressions of opinion by individuals, even those in high official position, do not necessarily represent the final popular verdict, they do as nearly as any agency can express the popular will, so I wish to submit to the Senate the names of 383 mayors of cities of over 5,000 population, in all parts of the country, representing a total of 19,203,050 inhabitants, who are unqualified and enthusiastic advocates of universal training and service. I ask consent to have it inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Three hundred and eighty-three mayors of cities of over 5,000 population, in all parts of the country and representing a total of 19,203,050 inhabitants, are unqualified and enthusiastic advocates of universal military training. The list follows:

Maine: Charles P. Lemaire, Lewiston; John F. Woodman, Bangor; F. H. Nickerson, Brewer; H. Shall, Houlton; Samuel J. Mitchell, Sanford; and Frederic E. Boothby, Waterville.

New Hampshire: Fred N. Beckwith, Dover; A. A. Beaton, Franklin; and George T. Munsey, Laconia.

Vermont: Adelbert W. Braisted, Burlington; F. Mitchell, Montpelier; and James E. Timmons, Winooski.

Massachusetts: James M. Curley, Boston; W. D. Rockwood, Cambridge; Justice L. Moore, Chelmsford; Edward E. Willard, Chelsea; George D. Gibb, Dedham; Frank H. Tass, Fitchburg; John A. Stoddard, Gloucester; George H. Newhall, Lynn; Frank S. Banks, Maynard; James S. Russell, Milton; Charles S. Ashley, New Bedford; A. C. Bingham, Norwood; George M. Underwood, Orange; James A. Cody, Rockland; Henry P. Benson, Salem; Eben J. Williams, Waltham; Arthur F. Thayer, Ware; and T. F. Kenneally, Whitman.

Connecticut: Clifford B. Wilson, Bridgeport; Anthony Sunderland, Danbury; A. J. Deane, Hamden; Howard I. Taylor, Manchester; Harold M. Meed, Middletown; Samuel Campner, New Haven; John Humphrey, New London; Merwin Hine, New Milford; Paul Harstrom, Norwalk; Allyn L. Brown, Norwich; A. H. Lister, Plymouth; John M. Leach, Stafford Springs; John J. Treat, Stamford; H. E. Coe, Torrington; and Martin Sculley, Waterbury.

New York: John Purroy Mitchel, New York City; Joseph W. Stevens, Albany; Schuyler Hazard, Albion; James R. Cline, Amsterdam; Mark I. Koon, Auburn; C. F. Travis, Catskill; James S. Calkins, Cohoes; G. M. Hoagland, Cortland; J. A. Taylor, Dunkirk; H. W. Hoffman, Elmira; Henry C. Drake, Fredonia; William Reed, Glens Falls; Charles S. Harvey, Hudson; Frederick E. Bates, Ithaca; Samuel A. Carlson, Jamestown; Borden E. Smith, Johnstown; Palmer Caufield, jr., Kingston; A. Zoller, Little Falls; A. N. Thompson, Middletown; Charles A. Hyman, Newark; J. D. Wilson, Newburgh; George W. Whitehead, Niagara Falls; Albert W. Twigger, Ossining; Lester H. Crump, Peekskill; Hiram H. Edgerton, Rochester; John Hoag, Salamanca; W. P. Butler, Saratoga Springs; Franklin F. Burns, Troy; Isaac R. Breen, Watertown; and Farrington M. Thompson, White Plains.

New Jersey: Mark M. Fagan, Jersey City; Frederick W. Donnelly, Trenton; C. G. F. Patrick, Asbury Park; Norrall F. Mountain, East Orange; Victor Maraleg, Elizabeth; Clinton H. Blake, jr., Englewood;

Thomas C. Elvins, Hammonton; W. H. Lundley, North Plainfield; Emil Diebitsch, Nutley; J. Ten Broeck, Perth Amboy; Leighton Calkins, Plainfield; Charles Browne, Princeton; Harry Simmons, Rahway; Daniel A. Garber, Ridgewood; N. A. N. Grier, Salem; William T. Steel, Somerville; Ruford Franklin, Summit; Wm. A. Brady, Union; and William F. Vosseler, West Orange.

Virginia: George Ainslie, Richmond; Charles Broun, Roanoke; A. A. Moss, Newport News; Wyndham R. Mayo, Norfolk; R. Gillian, Petersburg; Julian F. Ward, Winchester; and Harry Wooding, Danville.

West Virginia: H. G. Kirk, Wheeling; G. E. Breece, Charleston; Anthony Bowen, Fairmont; and E. Schon, Huntington.

Kentucky: James C. Rogers, Lexington; W. M. Salisbury, Ashland; A. Y. Paterson, Bowling Green; W. C. Quinby, Dayton; R. T. Stowe, Hopkinsville; J. Wesley Lee, Maysville; A. J. Livingston, Newport; Frank N. Burns, Paducah; Samuel Rice, Richmond; and D. T. Matlack, Winchester.

Tennessee: R. E Wing, Nashville; J. W. E. McMillan, Knoxville; S. E. Millen, Johnson City; and Jesse M. Littleton, Chattanooga.

Pennsylvania: Thomas B. Smith, Philadelphia; E. H. Meals, Harrisburg; Edward H. Filbert, Reading; W. S. McDowell, Chester; C. E. Rhodes, Altoona; Jos. G. Armstrong, Pittsburgh; Harry C. Rulon, Bloomsburg; Herman W. Worth, Bradford; Thomas Scott, Bristol; John T. Loftus, Carbondale; A. H. Swing, Coatesville; H. F. Blaney, Coaldale; A. J. Hoag, Dubois; D. W. Nevin, Easton; Jacob Evans, Forest City; Fred W. Brown, Franklin; John G. Davis, Freeland; H. M. Stokes, Hanover; James J. Wood, Kane; Willis F. Beach, Knoxville; H. L. Trout, Lancaster; G. A. Leopold, Lewistown; Chas. E. Donahue, Lock Haven; B. B. Shultz, Luzerne; John E. Reynolds, Meadville; N. G. Dunlop, Monessen; John L. Shield, Mount Pleasant; Louis P. Lincoln, Munhall; A. D. Newell, New Castle; Samuel N. Shaffer, Plymouth; F. Pierce Mortimer, Pottsville; W. Newton Porter, Scottdale; Wm. R. Conrad, Tamaqua; E. Clay White, Tarentum; Richard Beaston, Tyrone; George M. Bailey, Uniontown; C. S. Keabb, Warren; J. R. Elree, West Chester; R. Nelson Bennett, Wilkes-Barre; E. S. Hugentugler, York; and Edmund Jermyn, Scranton.

Maryland: Thomas W. Koon, Cumberland, and S. R. Teddy, Frostburg.

Delaware: James F. Price, Wilmington.

Rhode Island: Joseph H. Gainer, Providence; Clark Bunstiek, Newport; Giles W. Easterbrooks, Pawtucket; Robert G. McMeehan, East Providence; Charles D. Kimball, South Kingstown; Everett E. Whipple, Westerly; and A. Archambault, Woonsocket.

North Carolina: T. L. Kirkpatrick, Charlotte; J. E. Rankin, Asheville; P. Q. Moore, Wilmington; P. G. Sawyer, Elizabeth City; A. H. Bangert, Newbern; L. F. Tillery, Rocky Mount; Warren N. Meadson, Salisbury; and E. T. Stuart, Washington.

South Carolina: T. T. Hyde, Charleston; and L. A. Griffith, Columbia.

Georgia: A. S. Candler, Atlanta; James R. Littleton, Augusta; Bridges Smith, Macon; L. G. Council, Americus; Robert O. Arnold, Athens; W. E. Wood, Dalton; W. W. Robinson, Dublin; Drew W. Paulk, Fitzgerald; A. B. Assington, Rome; W. J. Pierpont, Savannah; T. B. Converse, jr., Valdosta; and Scott T. Beaton, Waycross.

Alabama: George B. Ward, Birmingham; H. Pillans, Mobile; J. W. Vandever, Talledega; E. C. Payne, Albany; L. L. Scarborough, Anniston; T. T. Terry, Huntsville; and W. T. Robertson, Montgomery.

Mississippi: Walter A. Scott, Jackson; J. J. Hayes, Vicksburg; Benjamin T. Warriner, Corinth; Charles Henck, Brookhaven; and John M. Dabney, Meridian.

Florida: S. A. Anderson, Miami; J. E. T. Bowden, Jacksonville; George H. Hinrichs, Pensacola; and A. J. Moseley, Lake City.

Louisiana: Martin Behrman, New Orleans; J. McW. Ford, Shreveport; and George L. Riling, Lake Charles.

Ohio: C. Thornton, Youngstown; Charles A. Stolberg, Canton; W. J. Lamb, Akron; James A. Cahill, Chillicothe; Arthur J. White, Delaware; George N. Leasure, Delphos; T. P. Peter, Dover; George Kinney, Fremont; F. W. Biehl, Galion; J. C. Weaver, Greenville; George H. Lingrel, Kenton; George Tedey, Lakewood; F. H. Lowney, Mansfield; James Ralston, Martins Ferry; C. N. Anderson, Norwalk; H. E. Engelhardt, Norwood; L. A. Moore, Lorain; E. G. Huntington, Painesville; H. H. Kaps, Portsmouth; Henry J. Nallor, St. Barnard; G. M. Raudabaugh, St. Marys; Walter K. Keppell, Tiffin; C. S. Mark, Van Wert; H. Barnes, Wellsville; William Dodds, Xenia; W. H. Webster, Zanesville; and Charles M. Milroy, Toledo.

Nebraska: J. P. Dahlman, Omaha; C. W. Kilber, Kearney; Charles G. Rijou, Grand Island; and William Madgerd, Hastings.

Indiana: M. J. Hosey, Fort Wayne; P. E. Smith, Elkhart; Samuel F. Spohn, Goshen; James S. Wales, Alexandria; Thomas Barnes, Lafayette; Joseph E. Turner, Linton; Frank V. Guthrie, Logansport; James E. Crozier, Madison; James O. Batchelor, Marion; Alonzo K. Grant, Mount Vernon; J. Ross, Seymour; Perry L. Sisson, Valparaiso; James M. House, Vincennes; and James Wilson, Wabash.

Illinois: Charles T. Baumann, Springfield; H. P. Pearsons, Evanston; W. C. Lewman, Danville; E. R. Duvall, Belleville; William W. Ray, Belvidere; E. K. Porter, Carbondale; George B. Crispen, Charleston; D. J. W. Luigel, Collinsville; Daniel Dinneen, Decatur; P. N. Joslin, DeKalb; John L. Conger, Galesburg; T. Y. Gregg, Harrisburg; G. H. Gibson, Harvey; H. J. Rogers, Jacksonville; William C. Barber, Joliet; E. F. Bradford, Ottawa; H. M. Orr, La Salle; S. B. Dawson, Macomb; F. A. Garesche, Madison; F. E. Bell, Mattoon; H. A. Murphy, Pana; Charles Schaefer, Pekin; John J. Massieon, Peru; and William McConochie, Rock Island.

Michigan: James W. Marsh, Battle Creek; R. P. Welton, Bay City; A. D. Billings, Adrian; R. H. Mullen, Cadillac; Earl F. Johnson, Flint; H. W. Nordhouse, Manistee; John L. Black, Port Huron; and C. W. Brown, Ypsilanti.

Wisconsin: J. S. Konkel, Superior; Charles H. Fleming, Kenosha; John E. Barron, Eau Claire; Mathew P. Bellow, Oconto; F. A. Walters, Stevens Point; and H. E. Marquardt, Wausau.

Minnesota: V. R. Irvin, St. Paul; J. H. Truax, Duluth; Jacob R. Kolliner, Stillwater; E. E. Webber, Chisholm; H. M. Dixon, Cloquet; H. W. Misner, Crookston; Leonard Erikson, Fergus Falls; L. A. Fritscher, New Ulm; J. M. Diment, Owatonna; and John F. Merrill, Red Wing.

Iowa: John MacVicar, Des Moines; M. B. Snyder, Council Bluffs; Louis Roth, Cedar Rapids; J. B. Newman, Cedar Falls; John Berwald, Davenport; A. P. Brown, Fort Madison; A. C. Morris, Grinnell; and T. A. Potter, Mason City.

Utah: Abbot R. Heywood, Ogden, and W. Mont Ferry, Salt Lake City.

Missouri: Henry W. Kiel, St. Louis; George H. Edwards, Kansas City; E. Marshall, St. Joseph; Hugh W. Judor, Joplin; C. B. Gammon Carthage; S. Hawkins, Chillicothe; J. G. Micis, Hannibal; Christian Ott, Independence; I. F. Harlan, Moberly; J. J. Gideon, Springfield; and M. S. Sugder, Trenton.

Kansas: C. W. Green, Kansas City; Louis N. Eminan, Atchison; George Coverdale, Coffeyville; John J. Varner, Iola; A. M. Harrington, Newton; L. E. Curfman, Pittsburgh; and George H. Hunter, Wellington.

Oklahoma: Edward Overholser, Oklahoma City; J. E. Wyand, Muskogee; O. C. Lasher, Ardmore; Millard F. Kirk, Battlesville; and T. P. Stearns, Shawnee.

Arkansas: Charles E. Taylor, Little Rock, and Henry C. Reed, Fort Smith.

Texas: Clinton G. Brown, San Antonio; Lewis Fisher, Galveston; Tom Lea, El Paso; A. P. Wovedinclip, Austin; Henry D. Lindsley, Dallas; John Dollins, Waco; E. T. Tyra, Fort Worth; J. E. Brosley, Amarillo; H. C. McGown, Brownwood; J. B. Marmion, Houston Heights; William H. Kinglet, Hillsboro; Edward H. McCuistion, Paris; R. H. Dunn, Port Arthur; George A. Bird, San Angelo; J. K. Campbell, Temple; and Benjamin Campbell, Houston.

Arizona: W. H. Timerhoff, Prescott; W. W. Adamson, Douglas; and C. D. Barclay, Globe.

New Mexico: J. H Mullin, Roswell.

South Dakota: A. N. Aldrich, Aberdeen, and D. G. Mulberry, Huron.

Colorado: Charles L. McKesson, Colorado Springs; W. D. Armstrong, Cripple Creek; W. L. Armstrong, Boulder; and John T. West, Pueblo.

Montana: C. H. Lane, Butte; Edward O'Brien, Anaconda; H. T. Wilkinson, Missoula; and L. W. Truitt, Bozeman.

Wyoming: R. N. La Fontaine, Cheyenne, and E. S. Lauzer, Rock, Springs.

Idaho: S. H. Hays, Boise; L. J. Perkins, Lewiston; and E. M. Sweeley, Twin Falls.

Washington: C. A. Fleming, Spokane; Milton Evans, Vancouver; A. M. Muir, Bellingham; and Jesse T. Mills, Olympia.

Oregon, F. T. Woodman, Los Angeles; C. L. Palmer, Baker; C. B. Lankin, Ashland; F. C. Harley, Astoria; and W. A. Belle, Eugene.

California: F. T. Woodman, Los Angeles; Edwin M. Capps, San Diego; Samuel C. Irving, Berkeley; Alva E. Snow, Fresno; F. H. Bartlett, Alameda; George Hay, Bakersfield; E. J. Doussel, Napa; E. J. Garrard, Richmond; Oscar Ford, Riverside; G. H. Wixom, San Bernardino; Willis M. Slasson, Santa Barbara; and S. L. Berkley, Santa Monica.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, Switzerland is one of the best examples of the improbability that preparation involves militarism. Switzerland is completely surrounded by first-class powers; and yet, it has maintained its independence, its democratic institutions, its self-respect, and it has had universal service for more than 70 years.

Practically every Republic in South America has a compulsory military law on its statute books; yet we have heard no suggestion that universal service has developed a militarism in those countries or a desire to wage war. The Argentine system is an illustration of what is being done in those countries. In Argentina the law provides for obligatory military service between the ages of 20 and 45, and there are practically no exemptions, except for physical disability.

I have received a very large number of letters and communications in advocacy of universal training and I quote the following from the letter of a well-known citizen of New York, who expresses in strong terms his views in favor of this form of military preparation:

> There is more objection to it in Congress than elsewhere. Universal training and universal but selective conscription is mighty popular among the people I talk with, because it is so universally democratic and the only fair way. Every one of these slackers and pacifists would be united in declaring for his equal rights—that is, rights equal with those of any other man, rights equal because of American laws and American institutions—but if it comes to a question of equal duties and equality of obligations, these people would, many of them, prove to be slackers and dodgers.
>
> It is all very well to say that you interfere with individual freedom of action, but to thrust the burden-bearing of the whole country upon the shoulders of our very best—those who would come forward and volunteer—is certainly just as unjust as it would be to permit a chosen few to enjoy all the rights and privileges possible under the American flag and all it represents.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. WEEKS. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. I merely wish to ask the Senator, since he has made a number of references to what is popularly known as the slacker, if he considers the slacker morally deficient?

Mr. WEEKS. Well, Mr. President, I had not thought of it in exactly that way.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator knows that this bill exempts the morally deficient from the operation of the law.

Mr. WEEKS. That being the case, I do not consider him morally deficient.

Mr. THOMAS. I presume that for the purposes of this bill the Senator would include him as an individual subject to its terms?

Mr. WEEKS. I think so.

Mr. THOMAS. To my mind this is a remarkable bill in that it seems to me to exempt the very class the existence of which is one of the strongest arguments that the Senator is using in favor of this bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WEEKS. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. Is it not a fact, from the Senator's observation and experience, that slackers are usually more than 25 years of age?

Mr. WEEKS. Not necessarily at all. If the Senator will take the trouble to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening he can see 500 or more almost any time.

Mr. McKELLAR. They are all over 25 years, and you are going to exempt those under the terms of this bill.

Mr. WEEKS. The Senator is mistaken; they are not generally over 25.

Mr. McKELLAR. Most of them are.

Mr. WEEKS. Most of them are under that age.

I wish to add one further comment, because I think it is particularly pertinent and very well said. It is one of the strongest pleas for compulsory service which I have seen. It comes from Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, formerly Secretary of the Treasury. He says:

> Whatever number of men we raise I hope will be conscripted, for I want to see the ranks of the wealthy and the ranks of the poor, the ranks of the old American stock and the ranks of every shade and description of hyphenates, the ranks of the patriotic and the ranks of the pacifists, the good stuff within all ranks and the worthless stuff within each rank, to contribute proportionately.

The essence of the substance of this bill is stated there in those lines.

John Stuart Mill, in his essay on loyalty, almost every word of which could be used as an argument in favor of the principle of requiring the citizen to perform military as well as other service to the State, uses this language:

> If anyone does an act hurtful to others, there is a prima facie case for punishing him by law, or, where legal penalties are not safely applicable, by general disapprobation. There are also many positive acts for the benefit of others which he may rightfully be compelled to perform, such as to give evidence in a court of justice, to bear his fair share in the common defense, or in any other joint work necessary to the interest of the society of which he enjoys the protection; * * *. Though society is not founded on a contract, and though no good purpose is answered by inventing a contract in order to deduce social obligations from it, everyone who receives the protection of society owes a return for the benefit, and the fact of living in society renders it indispensable that each should be bound to observe a certain line of conduct toward the rest. This conduct consists * * * in each person bearing his share (to be fixed on some equitable principle) of the labors and sacrifices incurred for defending the society or its members from injury and molestation. These conditions society is justified in enforcing at all costs to those who endeavor to withhold fulfillment.

Mr. President, the United States is at war. Let us suppose for the moment that we are face to face with this possibility: We are about to be invaded by a vast army, a highly organized and efficient body of men. We have no reserve of trained men to recruit our existing organizations, bringing them to war strength and maintaining them during war at this effective strength, and consequently additional volunteer regiments will have to be called for, for troops must somehow be provided. As in the past, the patriotic young boys will join and go to the front. In every war we have ever had these volunteers—green boys, under inexperienced officers—lose from 22 to 28 per cent of their regimental strength in their concentration camps before ever actually going into a campaign, so a regiment of 1,600 will in a short time probably have lost 400. It will then be ordered to the front and in six months will have lost 40 per cent, and thus be reduced to 720 men. As there are no trained men to supply this wastage another 1,600-strength regiment will be raised and go through the same course, incurring the same losses, while the officers and men are learning the A B C's of the soldier's profession—that of keeping themselves well, properly fed, and properly supplied.

Such was the experience of our past wars, and such will be the experience of any future war fought by these volunteer soldiers. Can mothers and fathers of this Nation appreciate that the deaths of many of their sons are due to the ignorance of their officers and to the lack of training in their boys? Many a boy has become sick and has died from preventable disease because he did not know how to take care of himself and his officers were too ignorant to show him. Many a boy has been needlessly slaughtered by bullets and exposure because led by untrained officers.

Mr. President, I believe every real American man and boy stands ready to answer the call of his country, and I believe that every real American father and mother are willing to have their sons answer this call. Can not these same American fathers and mothers appreciate the fact that if their sons have received military training and are led by competent officers their chances of returning home alive are a hundredfold better than if they had received no training and are led by incompetents? If these sons do not return home, are not their parents better fortified to bear the burden of their grief knowing that their sons died on the field of battle, that their sacrifice was worth while, and that they rendered their country a service than if they had died in a concentration camp from some preventable disease, contracted through ignorance and lack of training? Moreover, how is the father and mother of a promising boy, one who quite likely would occupy an important place in life, to justify his sacrifice when they see the coward, the slacker, and the selfish in their midst who have made no effort to aid their country?

I have no patience with the sentiment which pervades that song, I Did Not Raise My Boy To Be a Soldier. I do not believe it represents American womanhood. I do not believe it represents anything but a skulking low desire to avoid responsibility. I prefer the sentiment expressed in an incident which took place in the town of Twin Falls, Idaho, recently. I happened to see an account of it in the New York Times. I do not propose to read it all; but a Mrs. Erwin, who had listened to some pacifist argument, made a speech which I think should be given general circulation:

> I have lived in peace and quiet under the Stars and Stripes for almost 50 years. I have helped to build a home and rear my children in this great land of splendid churches, schools, and institutions, and in all this time no sacrifice for my country was ever asked of me until now. Can I do less than give my boy?
>
> Let us send our boys with cheers and as few tears as possible. When one of our boys stands on lonely guard duty at night, thinking of home, let us be glad to have him say, as he remembers how mother cheered his going:
>
> "Gosh! Wasn't mother a great old sport? Didn't she buck up fine?"

That is the kind of sentiment I believe that moves the American mother and what they want to demonstrate to their sons. I recall very well an incident that took place on the U. S. S. *Ranger* after she had captured the *Drake* and had taken her into a French port. She had among her crew an 11-year-old boy. His name was John Downes. A visitor to the ship, seeing this small boy, said to him, "My boy, why did your mother let you go?" His reply was, "My mother did not let me go; she sent me." That is the kind of spirit that is the opposite of "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." That is the kind of spirit which I believe is in the breast of the American women.

There are undoubtedly many Members of Congress and many people in civil life who favor the volunteer system—it is a time-honored method of raising an army—but how would such advocates feel about a volunteer system of war taxation? There are men who have the habit of giving; they are free spenders of their incomes, and many of them feel the responsibility of their citizenship to such a degree that they pay their taxes with the same willingness that they contribute to any other public cause; but no one believes an attempt to establish a voluntary system of taxation would result in equality or justice or even in raising anything like sufficient revenue to carry on the Government. What would the average citizen say to giving to any of the well-known rich men of the country the privilege of paying taxes to support the Government in case of war or refraining from doing so, as he might see fit? He would say that the country can not trust to disinterested patriotism in the raising of taxes. No one would be simple enough to advocate such a plan, and yet the net result of a volunteer system in obtaining men does not greatly differ. The patriotic, the adventurer, the lover of excitement, and those men having an inclination to military life will be the ones to respond, and the other classes will be glad to have them to do so, because it will relieve them of their obligations to the Government. If the Government can not obtain revenue to run it in time of war by voluntary action, the same result will be bound to follow any attempt to obtain sufficient men, and from everyone's viewpoint, except to those who wish to raise units of volunteers for some specific reason, the universal training and service system is the correct one to follow.

There is another reason why volunteering is inequitable. It has been the experience of the past, I think almost without variation, that volunteering in the country districts is much greater than in the large cities. It is much easier to bring before the people of the country districts the requirements of the Government and to develop sentiment in those sections which will bring about a volunteer movement. Almost invariably in the past the recruiting officers have come across this situation. Perhaps it is due, to some degree, to the fact that a much larger percentage of the population of cities are recent immigrants, while people living in the country are naturally agriculturists, are more likely to become property holders, and thereby more readily recognize and accept the duties of citizenship. This being true, it naturally follows that if we depend on the volunteer system there is going to be an unequal contribution from the residents of the country, a most unfair and unreasonable result in itself and extremely harmful under present conditions.

when one of our greatest requirements will be a sufficient food supply.

In the United States there are unusual reasons for the establishment of a universal training system which do not exist in many other countries or in many other democracies. During the last 25 years we have received a vast number of immigrants, largely made up of men who have had no lesson and, to some degree, no instruction in loyalty to our American institutions, and many of them have come here not to assume but escape national duty. They have lived under a system of government where compulsion meant service to a sovereign and they are unable to appreciate the difference between service of that kind and compulsion to serve a commonwealth—that the latter simply represents the deliberate voluntary choice of the people of whom they are one. Therefore, from the standpoint of the desirability of the assimilation of these citizens, it is well that they should appreciate their obligation to the country they have chosen as their home.

Alan Seeger, a native of Massachusetts and one of those spirited young Americans who has been helping to repay the debt we have owed France for 135 years for the part she took in obtaining our independence, and who lost his life "somewhere in France," witnessing the complaisance, not to say criminal neglect, with which we have followed our own affairs and in failing to prepare ourselves for what has been demonstrated to be the inevitable, wrote a message to America, a part of which I shall read:

You have the grit and the guts, I know;
You are ready to answer blow for blow;
You are virile, combative, stubborn, hard,
But your honor ends with your own back yard.
Each man intent on his private goal,
You have no feeling for the whole.
What singly none would tolerate
You let unpunished hit the State,
Unmindful that each man must share
The stain he lets his country wear
And (what no traveler ignores)
That her good name is often yours.

Not by rough tongues and ready fists
Can you hope to tilt in the modern lists.
The armies of a littler folk
Shall pass you under the victor's yoke.
So be it a nation that trains her sons
To ride their horses and point their guns;
So be it a people that comprehends
The limit where private pleasure ends
And where their public dues begin,
A people made strong by discipline,
Who are willing to give—what you've no mind to—
And understand—what you are blind to—
The things that the individual
Must sacrifice for the good of all.

And then he made this appeal:

O friends, in your fortunate present ease
(Yet faced by the self-same facts as these)
If you would see how a race can soar,
That has no love, but no fear, of war,
How each can turn from his private rôle,
That all may act as a perfect whole,
How men can live up to the place they claim
And a nation, jealous of its good name,
Be true to its proud inheritance,
Oh, look over here and learn from France.

Can we not take this appeal, so graphically presented, to ourselves? Are we going to be a failure as a nation, governed by prejudice rather than reason, and do the thing which for the moment may seem to be popular, but which is really contrary to every principle of our Government? Can we not rise to the occasion presented to us, convert ourselves from individuals to a whole, and demonstrate that we have all the elements of real patriotism? We should not fail to follow the example of France and every up-to-date nation in the organization of our military forces and to take advantage of this opportunity to establish what will in years to come be of immeasurable benefit to our descendants; that is, a system of military preparation and training which will adequately protect the life of the Republic.

Mr. WADSWORTH obtained the floor.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. If the Senator from Minnesota desires to ask a question of the Senator from Massachusetts, I yield to him.

Mr. KELLOGG. I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question.

Mr. WEEKS. I yield.

Mr. KELLOGG. I should like to ask the Senator if he thinks any amendment of this act is necessary to accomplish what he suggested, allowing in the various units the service of men from the various States and communities together.

Mr. WEEKS. I think that might be done, Mr. President. There is a question now raised about volunteers and there is a disposition on the part of some of our citizens to serve in the way they want to serve but not in the way they should serve. We need 500,000 men in our Regular Army and National Guard. They can enlist for the duration of the war. They are going to serve under the best trained officers there are in those two services, and yet they object to volunteering in this way because they say that they want to serve their country in the way they think best. The best way is the way our military experts have indicated. Probably it is not the way the amateur would prescribe. If the men are really patriotic and wish to serve, there is an opportunity for 500,000 to enlist at once.

Mr. KELLOGG. I quite agree with the Senator. I thought he said in his speech——

Mr. WEEKS. I did say that in forming a new army the additional 500,000 men could very well be segregated so that those from a State would serve in the same organization.

Mr. KELLOGG. Does not the Senator think it is advisable to immediately supplement this legislation by a bill for universal military training?

Mr. WEEKS. Certainly.

Mr. KELLOGG. At once?

Mr. WEEKS. I certainly do.

Mr. KELLOGG. The Senator does not agree with the recommendation of the Secretary of War that we should not do it during this war?

Mr. WEEKS. I do not know what his recommendation is, but if he recommended that I do not agree with it.

Mr. KELLOGG. I think he so stated. Does the Senator know of any reason why it should be put off until after the war?

Mr. WEEKS. I am in favor of doing it at once.

Mr. KELLOGG. Is it not a fact that universal military service in this country at any time would be a mere name; that it would be only a selective service at best?

Mr. WEEKS. Universal military service in a military capacity?

Mr. KELLOGG. That is what I mean.

Mr. WEEKS. It must be selective, because there are a large number of men who for one reason and another will be employed for other useful purposes.

Mr. KELLOGG. It is not intended at any time to have all those serve of military age and qualification.

Mr. WEEKS. Of course not.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I make a suggestion to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have the floor, but I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I wish to point out just one thing, if the Senator will permit me. The bill authorizes the President to make such distribution that he may confine the men from any one State to regiments or divisions from that State. In other words, he can call them all together, and I think that has always been the policy of every administration, and it would be the policy of any President who had the best interests of the service at heart.

Mr. KENYON. I wish to ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question.

Mr. WEEKS. I have yielded the floor.

Mr. KENYON. Will the Senator from New York permit me?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly, with the understanding that I may obtain recognition.

Mr. KENYON. I heard nearly all the address of the Senator from Massachusetts, but he may have answered the question I wish to ask him. I should like to know if the Senator is entirely satisfied with the age limit prescribed.

Mr. WEEKS. I have never voted for a bill since I have been in Congress that I was entirely satisfied with. I might change many things in this bill if I were going to follow my own individual inclination. My judgment is that the boy who should be trained originally is the boy whose age is 19 years, and yet there are reasons why that should not be done, because one boy of 19 has frequently developed to a greater degree than another boy of 21. So there must be exceptions. But wars are fought by young men, and we say 19 years because that is naturally the period when the boy is passing from high school into employment or into college, and it would interfere less with his normal requirements than if he entered later.

Mr. KENYON. We will not get the slacker we hear so much about unless the age limit is raised.

Mr. WEEKS. The Senator means above 25?

Mr. KENYON. Above 25.

Mr. WEEKS. I do not think there is any age limit to the slacker. I think all ages contain the slacker. Even those of our age contain slackers, and I should like to put the slackers of our age out on the farm and see that they raised potatoes or something else.

Mr. KENYON. Then, the Senator believes that as to the unmarried men there should be a difference in the age?

Mr. WEEKS. Quite likely.

Mr. KENYON. Why should not the bill be modified so that the unmarried man can be taken, say, to 40 or 45 and let them go into this list of the draft? When a man reaches 40 he ought to be married, or he ought to be reconciled to war, anyhow.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has the floor.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am not in a hurry. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. In regard to that matter, on which I have noticed there has been some question, in every army in Europe, if I am not mistaken, they take their youngest men from the first line. They are men who form the bulk of the army in active service. When the war comes the men under 25 are sent. Then up to 45 they are called in the respective lines. It is the universal practice to take the young men first. This is nothing new. It is simply following the line which, I think, has been adopted in all the systems of the world.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, an incident happened this morning during the morning hour which I believe should enable us to measure the extent and the scale of our efforts in this war. The Senate adopted a report of the conference committee having in charge the adjustment of the differences between the House and the Senate on the bill providing for the issuance of $7,000,000,000 of bonds and certificates of indebtedness. That bill goes, of course, immediately to the President, and without any question whatsoever it will receive his signature and become a law. It is the largest authorization for expenditures in our history, and I think it is the largest single authorization in the history of all nations. It indicates, if it indicates nothing else, that America intends to wage this war in earnest and to the full extent of her power and resources.

We all know the composition, generally speaking, of the Navy. We know the nature of its organization. We know that the Navy has been kept modernized and up to a high degree of efficiency. We know that it can not be greatly expanded upon a moment's notice; that probably, for the purpose of this war, it will not be greatly expanded; that with the exception of the creation of special services the Navy of the United States is ready, and that no legislation of great and far-reaching importance is necessary with respect to the Naval Establishment.

When we come, however, to judge of the effectiveness and the adequateness of the Army of the United States we find an entirely different state of affairs, and it is in the creation of an army capable of bearing its part in this war that America will make its most gigantic efforts.

It must not be forgotten, Mr. President, that we are building for great events; and that when we set out to build an army which shall be competent to meet the supreme test of those events we must start practically de novo and build from the ground up. It will not suffice for us Americans to stand here and be content with the building of an army, or rather the hasty throwing together of an army, merely for the purpose of our continental defense. We can not afford to proceed upon the assumption that the time will not come when American troops will be needed in France or upon other European battle fields. If we are to exercise a requisite degree of prudence and foresight and incidentally maintain our self-respect we must assume, in our preparations, that the sending of an American force across the Atlantic Ocean is inevitable. If we will get that assumption thoroughly grounded in our minds and prepare ourselves mentally and spiritually in that respect, then we will be better prepared to build a real army which shall be competent to carry the heaviest burden which may be placed upon it. Events may not come to such a pass, but we must not choose the easiest way. We are not the masters of events.

In creating a great military force which shall represent the power and the spirit of the United States, naturally, we must first make use of the weapons we have. This bill provides for such use. Our thought at first turns, of course, to the Regular Establishment, which upon April 1 last in its combatant force numbered in the neighborhood of 105,000 men. Since April 1 something like 25,000 men have been enlisted in the Regular Army, and it now contains about 130,000 men.

The bill provides, however, that the five-year increment laid out in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, shall be accomplished during this one year. Accordingly the Regular Army will be raised to a fighting strength of 270,000. This is to be done by accepting volunteers; and in the event the President makes up his mind that volunteers are not forthcoming with sufficient alacrity, he is authorized under the terms of this act to fill the Regular Army up to the maximum war strength of 270,000 by the imposition of the draft.

When we contemplate, however, this great expansion of the Regular Army we must remember one or two phases of that expansion. In order to accomplish the five-year increase of the Army from approximately 130,000 men to double that number, it will be necessary to very considerably increase the number of units in the Regular Army. For example, I think there are to-day 37 or 38 regiments of Infantry. With the five-year increment completed and the maximum war strength accomplished, there must be, as I remember, 64 regiments of Infantry, and a like increase in the number of units must take place in all other branches, such as Cavalry, Field Artillery, Engineers, and so forth. So it will be necessary while we are expanding our most perfect instrument to split in two every existing regiment of the Regular Army, take half, or approximately half, the men and assign them to new regiments to form a nucleus of veterans around which new recruits may be clustered and receive their training, and be thereby the more rapidly trained as efficient soldiers. So within the next six months the Regular Army of the United States will pass through this phase of enlargement and expansion, and in a short time—what the period will be I can not tell—the Regular Army will be practically unrecognizable as compared with what it is to-day. It will be doubled in size; it will have a large number of additional units, half of them veterans and half of them, or approximately half of them, more or less green recruits.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GERRY in the chair). Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. KELLOGG. I should like to suggest to the Senator that that assumes, of course, that we are going to get the men by voluntary enlistment.

Mr. WADSWORTH. We are going to get them, whether they volunteer or not.

Mr. KELLOGG. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is determined in this bill, if it shall pass.

Mr. KELLOGG. I mean for the next three or four months.

Mr. WADSWORTH. For the next three or four months.

Mr. KELLOGG. Does the Senator know whether or not we are now getting the men by enlistment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I said a few moments ago that my understanding was that the total number of enlistments in the Regular Army since April 1—which was approximately the date of the declaration of war, or a little bit before that time—is in the neighborhood of 25,000 men.

Mr. KELLOGG. How long will it take to secure the aggregate number at that rate of enlistment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am not quick at arithmetic, but it will be seen that it will take many, many months to recruit to 270,000 men at the rate of 25,000 a month. However, when the program has been finally settled by Congress and enacted into a statute, to be followed by a proclamation by the President, I look for an increase in voluntary enlistments. To-day thousands of young men do not know what the military policy of the Government is; and it is not surprising that they do not know, because the Government has none.

Mr. President, I was about to say that this expansion of the regular force will very largely increase the number of the commissioned personnel. Officers in command of companies, batteries, and troops of the Regular Army have already been requested to send to the War Department the names of enlisted men who are under their command and who, in their judgment, are qualified to receive commissions in the expanded force. We shall find at the end of a few months that many a sergeant and many a corporal will be holding commissions as second lieutenants in the expanded Regulars or in other forces.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from New York a question for information?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. NELSON. My understanding is, though I may be mistaken, that after this bill providing for a selective draft shall have been passed, if men volunteer the township or the precinct upon which there is a draft imposed will get credit for the volunteers who have enlisted; that is, the number who so volunteer will be credited on their draft quota.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is true.

Mr. NELSON. That is my understanding. So that, after we pass this bill, in a township we will say, where there are five called for under the selective draft, if five men volunteer, the township will have filled its quota, will it not?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It will.

Mr. NELSON. So that the door for volunteering is open.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The door, Mr. President, is wide open. It is wide open to men who desire—and I should think that sensible men would desire it—to join units already organized and suitably officered.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, the Senator from New York says that the door is open for volunteers; but does not the Senator think there would be a wide difference in the joining of volunteers if there were a call for volunteers to serve during the war, instead of asking them to join the Regular Army or to become members of the National Guard when it is almost impossible now to get out those organizations when one once enlists?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from Idaho forgets that, as already stated by the War Department, the enlistment period carried in this act for the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the selective draft is for the emergency only.

Mr. BORAH. That is true; but is it not true that one can only enlist now to become a member of the Regular Army or the National Guard?

Mr. WADSWORTH. A man may enlist now, Mr. President, and become a member of the Regular Army for the duration of the war.

Mr. BORAH. Exactly.

Mr. WADSWORTH. And may enlist in the National Guard to become a member of that branch of the service—which, incidentally, is to be thoroughly absorbed into the United States forces—for the duration of the war. They will be on a parity with the 500,000 men who are to be raised by the selective draft. All are treated exactly alike in the enlistment contract. That, to my mind, is one of the most valuable provisions of this bill, for it will give us a homogeneous army. There will be no enlistments expiring during the period of the war, and all the men who have enlisted subsequent to April 1 last at the conclusion of the war will be entitled to return to their homes.

As I was saying, Mr. President, a large number of sergeants and corporals of the Regular Army, and I dare say many privates, before this war is over will be serving as commissioned officers. The chances for promotion which are offered to an enterprising and intelligent and industrious young man who will take this opportunity of joining a unit that is already trained are greater than have ever been offered to the young men in the United States Army.

The same thing must be said also of the National Guard, as it is to be treated under this bill, and that ought to be thoroughly understood. The existing units of the National Guard under the terms of this bill are to be raised to maximum war strength. That will provide a force of approximately 330,000 men, practically double the number of the present National Guard. Those recruits will be accepted on the volunteer principle unless and until the President makes up his mind that the total of 330,000 can not be promptly obtained under that plan. In that event the existing units of the National Guard will be filled by the operation of the selective draft. And the Guard is to receive further treatment of a military nature which, in my judgment, is a very healthy one, and which I am sure the Senator from Idaho will agree to. Under the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, an effort was made to federalize the National Guard. In my judgment the Congress went about three-quarters of the distance. I am sorry they did not go the whole distance. I would have voted to have made the National Guard completely Federal in every respect; and I hope at some future time, when the discussion of these emergency measures is over, that I shall have such an opportunity.

The President has the authority, of course, to muster into the United States service the National Guard or the Organized Militia; but there has been grave doubt as to whether or not the President has the right under the Constitution to send these men outside of the United States. In the consideration of that very question during the session of Congress last year a provision was incorporated in the national-defense act, known as section 111, which authorizes the President, when the United States is in need of greater forces than are provided for by the Regular Army and in time of war, to draft the National Guard, complete and entire, into the Federal service. This bill provides for the drafting of the National Guard. In addition to being mustered into the United States service, they are to be drafted into the United States service as a collection of individuals; but the Secretary of War assured the Committee on Military Affairs that it would be the policy, and that it was certainly the desire of the War Department, not to break up the existing units of the National Guard when they were drafted as individuals. So the operation will practically amount to this: We will say that the First Minnesota—which I will say, incidentally, is one of the finest Infantry regiments in the United States—will be mustered into the United States service.

Mr. NELSON. I think they are already mustered in.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from Minnesota tells me that they are already mustered into the United States service. The colonel of the First Minnesota Infantry will receive an order to parade his regiment. They will leave their quarters and march on parade, and the order of the President of the United States drafting the regiment, complete and entire, into the Federal service will be read to the men; the regiment will then march back to its quarters completely federalized, with all connection with the State of Minnesota severed, and in exactly the same condition, in a military sense, as is the Regular Army and as will be the 500,000 men to be raised by the selective draft.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, would that be any different than if the President should find that number of men out upon the commons somewhere and should draft them into service?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It would be much different, Mr. President.

Mr. BORAH. Except that they have had training.

Mr. WADSWORTH. They have had about eight months on the Texas border, and are a very valuable unit.

Mr. BORAH. But the President must draft them as individuals.

Mr. WADSWORTH. He must. I thought I said quite distinctly that the individuals are to be drafted, but that the units will not be broken up. The policy of the War Department recognizes that that would be a very unwise thing from a military standpoint. As a matter of fact, the muster rolls of that regiment and of every other National Guard regiment would simply show on their face that on such and such a day the men—naming them—had been drafted into the Federal service. The machinery is automatic and does not disturb the existing units.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. STERLING. The National Guard, having been completely federalized by this proposed draft, as the Senator says it would be, will it be State militia or National Guard after the war is over, or what will be its status?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, that brings up an interesting phase of the future of the Organized Militia, or the National Guard, which I did not intend to discuss; but let me say, in reply to the Senator from South Dakota, that when the National Guard regiments are drafted into the Federal service as individuals they cease entirely to have any relation whatsoever to the States, and when the war is over they are mustered out, but they do not go back to the National Guard of the States, because the Congress has not power, as I understand, to create a State force. I doubt if it is within our power to legislate in such a way as to say to the State of New York or to the State of Minnesota, "You must take back these troops when we get through with them." We might legislate in a permissive sense, and probably it will be necessary for us when this emergency has passed to deal with the question. In fact, Mr. President, I think it will be exceedingly necessary to deal with it, because it certainly should not be the policy of the National Government by the operation of the draft to deprive the States for all time to come of a military force which they have assisted in organizing. That is a question which must be taken up sooner or later.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. NELSON. What the Senator states is true in respect of those who are drafted to fill up the ranks of the National Guard, but as to those troops that have already been enlisted under State law and then mustered into the Federal service, when they are mustered out of the Federal service they go back into the State service and become subject to State control. That is my idea. There is a distinction between those who were in a regiment while it was a part of the National Guard and those who are put into it after it has been mustered into the service of the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is a close legal question, Mr. President, that I am not competent to discuss, and shall not attempt to discuss upon this occasion, because it looks only toward the future, to a condition of affairs that will arise when the war is over. This bill makes no attempt to solve that question, and it really ought not to demand our attention at this moment.

So it will be seen, Mr. President, that the National Guard is to be very largely expanded, and will go through somewhat the same experience as the Regular Army during the next few months, involving the selection and promotion of a large number of men to commissioned rank. With the guard drafted

into the Federal service and placed upon exactly the same military footing as is the Regular Army, the commissioned officers of the two forces become interchangeable. The President has complete authority over the commissioned officers and over their appointment and promotion. No longer, while this war is in progress, will the governor of any State have any jurisdiction whatsoever; the two forces, Regulars and guard, are made completely homogeneous. There will be no distinction between them, and I believe that in a short time they will be equally efficient.

A good deal of stress, Mr. President, has been laid upon the desire of many men residing in the various States to create additional units in the National Guard under the provisions of law contained in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916. Senators will remember that that law authorizes the National Guard to be recruited to an aggregate number based upon a quota of 800 men to a congressional district. That will provide something like 450,000 men. To do that it would be necessary, of course, to create additional regiments, troops, and batteries of all branches of the service in the National Guard. The Judge Advocate General of the Army has ruled that the War Department has no power to prevent the governors of the States from organizing additional units of the National Guard up to that limit, but the Secretary of War, as I am informed, has urgently requested the authorities of the several States not to do so, but to confine their efforts to recruiting the existing units to full war strength. They are urged not to attempt to throw together hastily additional troops and companies and regiments in the towns of their States, and thereby incur the danger which, as the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] has pointed out, has always accompanied and always will accompany the hasty assembling of volunteer forces. So it has been the policy of the War Department during the last few weeks to discourage the creation of additional units of the National Guard; and I for one hope very much that that advice of the Secretary of War and that policy of the War Department will be followed and that the present units, which have already reached a considerable degree of efficiency, certainly far higher than the National Guard has ever before enjoyed, shall be left as they are; that our military system shall be left unhampered by the sudden creation of additional units with officers named by the governors.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SHERMAN. Under present conditions, in view of the discouragement to the creation of additional units of the National Guard of the States, it practically leaves the Federal recruiting station as the only avenue through which a person desiring to enlist can offer his services. In that event what term of years would a volunteer who enlisted in the Federal service assume, seven years?

Mr. WADSWORTH. He would enlist for the duration of the war.

Mr. SHERMAN. Is there any such limitation of the term of enlistment under the oath he takes under the present law?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Under the existing law?

Mr. SHERMAN. Under existing conditions. I am not having reference to the bill pending here, but I am having reference to conditions that would attend a recruit who goes to a station now and desires to enter the Federal service. He would be required, would he not, to enlist for the regular term of seven years if he desired to become a member of the Regular Army?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I can answer "yes" and "no" to that question. At the present moment, of course, he would enlist subject to the regular enlistment contract; but the assurance has been given to all those who have presented themselves for enlistment since April 1 that, whereas they sign such an enlistment contract as is provided for by law for the Regular Army, they will, in fact, be discharged at the end of the war.

Mr. SHERMAN. That, however, is merely a regulation of the War Department, and there is no authority of law, is there, to recruit forces——

Mr. WILLIAMS. There will be after this bill passes——

Mr. SHERMAN. There is no authority of law, outside of this bill, is there, to recruit forces except under the regular terms of enlistment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is what we are waiting for.

Mr. SHERMAN. I understand that. I am not talking about the provisions of the bill; I am talking about the conditions attending enlistment under existing law.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator just a moment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator knows that the President can discharge any man at any time for the good of the service; and if he can discharge one man, he can discharge a unit.

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly; but I know equally well, if the Senator from New York will permit me, that when war exists and any private or officer is discharged for the good of the service, he will be regarded as having a dishonorable record. So, practically it leaves, does it not, the recruiting stations in a condition where the recruit must enlist, outside of this extra legal contract, for the full term of seven years? He can not enlist legally for the period of the war, can he, under the present provisions of this bill?

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is true.

Mr. SHERMAN. May not that have something to do with the indisposition in many places to volunteer?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I said a few moments ago that I believed that the comparative indisposition of men to come forward and volunteer at this time is due to the fact that they do not know what the policy of the Government is going to be, and that when this act is passed we will find volunteers much more ready to come forward.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I ask further, if the Senator will permit me—because sometimes we can get a great deal of information as we go along in an informal way—if at the time the resolution declaring war passed the President did not have power to issue a proclamation calling for volunteers, in the absence of special legislation on the subject?

Mr. WADSWORTH. He did.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think he did. I believe that power has been exercised, Mr. President, a number of times in the history of this country, notably on the 15th day of April, 1861, the day following the surrender of Fort Sumter, when he called for 75,000 volunteers. The President convened Congress in extraordinary session on the 4th of July, 1861, not to pass a conscription act, but to consider legislation generally.

Mr. McKELLAR and Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To whom does the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. SHERMAN. I will conclude in a moment. The President at that time called for volunteers. Suppose the President of the United States at the time we declared war a few days ago had called for volunteers. He would possibly have had power then to limit enlistments for the period of the war. He did not do so. If such a call had been made, as it was made in 1861, would not that have completely demonstrated whether volunteers would offer in adequate numbers for the public defense?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President——

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee, with the consent of the Senator from New York.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator from New York yield to me to answer the suggestion of the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I desire to direct attention to the fact that the act of April 25, 1914, known as the volunteer army act, specifically provides that volunteers can only be called for by the President after the President has been authorized to do so by Congress.

Mr. SHERMAN. I understand that. The information I am trying to get is what is responsible for the apparent indisposition in certain places of men to volunteer; and I think the Senator will agree with me that the difficulty I have suggested may have something to do with it.

Mr. NELSON. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I will.

Mr. NELSON. The Senator from Illinois has referred to the first call for 75,000 men by President Lincoln. He will find if he examines the form of that call that it was a call upon the National Guard, on the militia, for that number of troops.

Mr. WADSWORTH. On the militia of the States.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have read the call. They were called for the Federal service.

Mr. NELSON. It was a call upon the militia to furnish that number of soldiers. It was a call upon the States.

Mr. SHERMAN. They were for the Federal service. I will ask further if the call of April 15, 1861, was not followed by the call of May, 1861—about the 22d of May, if my memory serves me aright—in the absence of legislation? Congress did not convene in extraordinary session until the 4th of July of that year. The second call was for 500,000 men. That tested the question of whether volunteers would offer themselves in sufficient numbers. Now, would it not have been fair, at least to the volunteer system, for the Executive to have made a call in this crisis, so that we might have some adequate information as to the response of the loyal sentiment of the country? That would have met any argument that might be offered by Senators if it had been done. There is no answer to arithmetic. All we can do now is to say what possibly would have happened if it had been done.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I ask this question, Mr. President, because I think the Senator from New York has a familiarity with the subject that is possessed by few of us. First, I should like to inquire, under the bill as it is now presented, how long, in the opinion of the Senator from New York, will it take the United States to have an effective fighting force?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Well, Mr. President, I hardly dare venture an opinion on that question. It depends upon the definition of an "effective fighting force." There are so many elements that enter into it that I hardly feel competent to answer it.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The bill provides, first, for a half million men by selective draft. How long, in the Senator's opinion, will it be before that half million fighting force will be ready to engage in the present conflict?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, as was brought out in the debate on Saturday, it has been estimated that on or about August 1 those half million men produced by the selective draft will be in the mobilization camps in the 16 divisional areas, with all their equipment ready for them. We can only estimate the length of time after that which must transpire to make an effective force suitable for use in this tremendous war by having regard to the experience of other countries. It is generally understood that the British consume eight months in steady, unrelenting work teaching their men how to wage this kind of warfare. Then they are sent to France and there have a month or six weeks' additional training in conjunction with veteran troops, who, as it were, teach them the finishing touches. So that it would be 9 months or 10 months, in all probability, before we could send those 500,000 drafted men into the trenches.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. If the Senator will allow me to continue my answer, much will depend also upon what sort of officers are teaching those 500,000 men.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Everything will depend upon that.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. It would not be extravagant, then, Mr. President, to concede that, under the proposed legislation, it would take a year, substantially, to have any sort of effective fighting force in the United States?

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; Mr. President, I do not concede that. My observations were directed only toward the 500,000 to be produced by the selective draft.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But, in the meantime, the expanded Regular Army will be far ahead of the selective draft army in efficiency, and so will the expanded National Guard. I think those troops, or, speaking generally, the average of them will be ready for effective field service long before the 500,000 secured under the draft.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. That is, if you succeed in having men volunteer subtsantially in those two branches of the service.

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; Mr. President, the success of filling those two branches is not dependent upon volunteering.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Substantially.

Mr. WADSWORTH. No; Mr. President, the Senator is mistaken, if I may say so. The bill provides that if volunteering does not produce them within a time deemed reasonable by the President, they shall be filled by the draft.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Oh, yes; but first you undertake to obtain the requisite number by volunteering. Now, there are a very large number of our citizens, are there not, who have had military training in one form or another, who might volunteer for service under a general call for volunteers——

Mr. WILLIAMS. They all want to volunteer for commissions.

Mr. JOHNSON of California (continuing). And particularly if they believed that they were to have actual service in the military department of the Government?

The point I should like to make with the Senator is this: If, after Sumter had been fired upon, a proposed measure such as this had been presented in order that there might be an effective force in this Nation, we can let our imaginations run rife as to what might have transpired during that effective force coming together under a selective draft. But the President then resorted to the two modes of seeking volunteers. He resorted to them in an emergency, it is true. In this instance, if we are going to fight our war otherwise than by money, and if we may obtain an army by a call for volunteers more quickly than by the proposed method, what objection is there to the call for volunteers being made in conjunction with all that is now proposed by this bill?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I do not think the analogy recited by the Senator from California is an accurate one. No comparison can be made between the conditions of 1861 and the conditions here in the United States with respect to the great world war of 1917. In 1861 there was no time whatsoever to lose. Both sides rushed to arms under the volunteer system. Of course it would have been impossible for President Lincoln to ask the Congress in 1861 to take a bill such as this and build up, through the processes of a selective draft, a carefully devised and constructed army. Washington would have been captured by the Virginians while the bill was being discussed here in the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. That is exactly the point.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But, Mr. President, fortunately the United States is in no such peril to-day. Our own Navy and the British Navy are protecting us from invasion and giving us, thank Heaven, time to build a real army from the ground up, which shall be efficient, carefully selected in all its elements, all errors, if possible, avoided, built upon the experience of other nations, lessons learned from their mistakes and their successes; assistance from such an army. It could not be done. Our duty is to build a real army, which can compare favorably with the best armies now fighting and hold its own against any enemy that confronts it. That is the purpose of this bill. This new army is to stand the test as long as this war lasts and bear every conceivable burden that can be placed upon it in this war of trained men. The two conditions are not analogous, I say, with all respect to the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, the reason I asked was because I knew the Senator was thoroughly prepared to answer any query of the sort.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do not boast of that, Mr. President.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Oh, well, I grant it to the Senator, and grant it to him very readily, indeed; but I am still unable to understand why, if we are going to fight in this war, we should not take every available means—the volunteer system, the draft, begin with our universal military training, and the like. I assume that the Senator from New York perhaps is not familiar with what may be the ultimate policy, but may I inquire whether the ultimate policy is that this country shall or shall not send soldiers abroad?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I am not competent to announce what the policy of the administration is. I can state my personal view. My personal view and hope is that at the earliest opportunity a force of trained American troops shall appear upon the soil of France.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator from New York will pardon me for the interruption, it seems to me that this bill answers the question just propounded by the Senator from California. There is no reason for the existence of this bill unless our object be to prepare an efficient army, ready to go to France or Belgium or Germany, wherever the war in Europe may call us and making ourselves fit to go when we are sent. If we were merely preparing an army to keep Germany from invading America we would not resort to this, of course, nor resort to the idea which the Senator has in his mind now. We would be making a useless waste of money. We had better turn the entire Army appropriation bill into the Navy and be done with it. The bill itself answers the question as to whether there is any intention to send troops to Europe if we ever get the troops, fit troops, equipped troops. We do not want to send boys there to be murdered—untrained, unequipped, unfit in every way.

One more word in this connection: If we had to meet conditions like those during the Civil War, of which Von Moltke said that for 12 months it was a war of armed mobs, that would be a different proposition, because the northern armed mob and the southern armed mob were equal to one another. Sending an armed mob to Europe to be shot down with machine guns and under modern conditions of trench warfare would not only be unwise but it would be brutal; and the very reason why we are undertaking here to prepare an army which shall be, individually and by companies and by regiments and by divisions, prepared to do actual service, is that we expect them to see actual service abroad. Nobody expects Germany to invade America, unless she invades the border down by Mexico, through Mexican machinations by German bribery with a few Mexican bandits.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I want to thank the Senator from Mississippi for a very definite answer to the query that I propounded. It is exactly in line with what I thought would be the answer to that particular query.

Let me set the mind of the Senator at rest by saying that there is no design upon my part, there is no design upon the part of any man who believes in a volunteer system, to send a mob, unprepared and unequipped, to be shot down in France or Belgium or any other place on the face of the earth. The insistence is that any army that we have shall be equipped and prepared, and the like; but the problem is whether you can not prepare and equip an army more readily and quickly under a call for volunteers than you can under the particular system that is suggested by this bill.

All of us agree, none of us disagree, that any men of our fighting force must be physically fit and must be fully equipped. There is no disagreement upon that score in the slightest degree.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield further to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I rise again for the purpose of saying that I did not misunderstand the Senator from California. I had no idea that a man of his good sense would have had the notion that we should send men unprepared to become merely food for cannon. I was merely answering the question and explaining, upon the basis of the bill, that the question answered itself, provided that the bill be passed, and that the question answered itself for the reason that I knew he would agree that we do not want to send abroad merely "food for cannon."

Now, there is one other thing. Do not make this mistake about the volunteer system: In the War between the States here were brothers quarreling in a family, and whenever brothers do quarrel, and reach the fighting point, each one is anxious to get at the other's throat, principally for the reason that he is so indignant that his own brother should be angry with him and should be fighting with him. Now, if you expect to arouse that sort of passion, which existed in the South and in the North both when the War between the States began where each man wanted to get at the other and kill him, you are not going to have that. There is no hatred of the German people in the American heart to-day, as there was hatred of Yankees in the southern heart and hatred of rebels in the northern heart at that time. You can not rely upon that spontaneous feeling that makes every fellow rush for fear the war may be over before he can get there. This is a different proposition. It is a matter of modern military machinery and mechanics, and the men have got to be taught to manage the machinery and the mechanics; and they ought to be taught it under men who at least have made a study of the science, whether they have succeeded in becoming masters of it or not, but at least men who are supposed to have some knowledge of it. My own father's regiment at the Battle of Shiloh ran over a whole brigade of Federal troops at their breakfast. Why? Because they were under the command of political general, a political brigadier, who had never known what to do with himself or his troops.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, just one word and then I am done.

I am very thankful for the remark of the Senator from Mississippi. He is quite right. I agree entirely with all that he has said. The idea that is in my mind, of the generation since the Civil War—and I may pause to say that the most charming thing in this whole debate has been to see the men of the North and the men of the South uniting for a common country—but of a generation since the Civil War, as I am, I have just this thought: If the Nation goes into war, it goes into war to fight, and there is something that is repugnant to me as an American in thinking that there is a possibility—which now happily is removed by the remarks of the Senator from Mississippi—of our fighting alone with our dollars.

We are going to fight, I see from the remarks that have been made, not alone with all of our resources, but we are going to fight with well-equipped men; and I quite agree, as well, that it is not a fight in animosity or in hatred or in bitterness at all. It is not at all a contest wherein the German people have from us anything but the kindliest sentiments and the kindliest feelings, and wherein we do aught else than desire to see a lasting and a just peace for that people as well as for every other people on the face of the earth. Nevertheless, we are in war, and when you are in war there is just one thing to do—to fight with every bit of force that you possess. That is why I asked the questions concerning the various modes of fighting, merely to elicit the information in that regard.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I hope to have an opportunity to continue.

Mr. WILLIAMS. One word, and I will cease to interrupt the Senator from New York.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi for a brief statement.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to say that one reason why I said what I said was because I agree precisely with the Senator from California that about the most contemptible thing any people on the surface of the earth can do, or has ever done, or may hereafter do, is to fight merely with dollars; and, above all people in the world, the people from my section of the country, who know how much a dollar does accomplish in war, have that feeling, because we suffered by it, and suffered a great deal.

There is no intention upon the part of this administration—and I am authorized to speak that far by my knowledge of the character of the President and of the men who are running the administration—to sink to the low level of defending American rights and avenging American lives and defending the liberty of the world and small States and defending the right of democracy to have a place to stand in under the sun with nothing but dollars. We are going to defend those American and humanitarian rights with dollars and with men and with endurance and with suffering, and with everything else of which we assert mastership. Whatsoever it shall cost, that we shall pay. Whatsoever suffering comes, that we shall endure; and whatsoever there may be of worse than suffering, that, too, we shall stand to the bitter end. Whatsoever must be borne, that we shall bear. One of the beauties of the opportunity that we now have is this: We can put an end forever to the infamous lie that the American people are not a nation but are nothing but a conglomerate association of dollar hunters and of dollar makers. I am glad that the Senator from California had in his heart and has expressed the very feeling that every man south of Mason and Dixon's line has—that is, every man who has a right to live there.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I had reached that point in my remarks where I had about concluded a discussion of the use of the instruments which we now have at hand, or, rather, the enlargement and perfection of them, and had not reached that part of my discussion which has to do with the selective draft as contrasted with the volunteer system. However, at this point I desire, if I may, to impress upon the Senators some of the elements of the task that we are about to embark upon if this bill or a similar bill becomes a law.

Under this bill, and even under the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR], it is contemplated that 36 tactical divisions shall be organized, equipped, and trained in the continental United States. They will total a little over 1,200,000 men. It will be seen at a glance that that is the biggest single effort that the United States has ever embarked upon. It will be recognized also, I think, by every thoughtful man that there is a very dire scarcity in the United States of trained and educated soldiers who can lead us in that effort, and that whereas enthusiasm is always good and outbursts of patriotism, of course, are valuable and never should be discounted, nevertheless, when we view the size of the task ahead of us, and the scarcity of the tools with which at the beginning we must work, it ought to be apparent that we would better go slowly and build surely than to act with haste and make a complete failure of it, as we have done on former occasions when we have attempted tasks which at the outset were nowhere near as big as the one we are going to attempt under the provisions of this bill and the plans of the administration.

Thirty-six tactical divisions, 28,000 men to a division; 12,000 animals, horses and mules, and at least 1,000 wagons for each division; approximately 600 motor trucks for each division; each division containing every element that is ever seen in an army, every branch of the service being represented in proper proportions; presumably 36 divisional mobilization camps, at which will be congregated, respectively, the 28,000 men and 12,000 animals, requiring a water supply equal to and probably exceeding that of a city of 25,000 people—all must be prepared from the ground up. No mistakes must be made. It can not be done in a hurry. If it is, you will have thousands of men ill in hospitals and wasted. Mile upon mile of cantonments must be built in which the men will live—for they can not be expected to live under canvas with any degree of comfort in the northern part of the United States subsequent to December 1 next. Mountains and mountains of sacked oats and baled hay for the horses and mules, exceeding anything we have ever attempted before; medical supplies accumulated to an extent that we have never comprehended before; hundreds of physicians as commissioned surgeons to take care of these

1,200,000 men, most of whom will be green recruits. The mind can scarcely picture the extent of this effort and the enormous undertaking it represents; and no man can exaggerate the utmost importance of building carefully, conserving our resources, controlling every stage of the progress, reducing to a minimum the waste in human lives and in the materials upon which the soldiers and the animals must live.

It will not do for us, Mr. President, to say, "Let us throw together a volunteer army of 500,000 by the mere proclamation of the President." That would be but the beginning, and the vice of such a process is this: That in the hasty throwing together of an army of volunteers of 500,000 men the Government would have little control over the qualifications of the officers. It would be compelled, in the very nature of things, to take the men who present themselves in units already organized. A patriotic and popular citizen in my town or your town under such a call can organize a company or a troop, and by his personal influence and his popularity he can get them together, no doubt; but he will want to be the captain. That is the way it will work; and the chances are he will not be an efficient captain. Likewise, it is said, regiments can be organized overnight. I have heard it stated that it can be done in 48 hours in some of the communities of this country, and probably it is true; but you have got to take the colonel and the lieutenant colonel and the three majors that are offered to the War Department under those circumstances. If the War Department attempts seriously to resist that pressure for commissions in the Volunteer Army, Senators will find themselves wearing out shoe leather between the Capitol and the War Department trying to get commissions for their friends. We will all have to do it under any such system, begging for special favors for men that we happen to know back in our home States; and this great effort of ours that I have tried to picture, and have failed utterly in painting adequately, will inevitably fail, and we will be the scorn and the laughing stock of the great military nations of the world, particularly the allies, who are fighting our battles to-day. But if they see us starting in by a process of careful selection to use our wonderful material in all those channels of effort in which it can be best used, when they see that we mean to build something that shall endure, that shall not stumble or fail in this great emergency, which can carry the burden, no matter how heavy it may be, then they will know that America's assistance is a real force in bringing this war to an early conclusion. That will be the sign that will tell England, and France, and Russia, and Belgium, and Serbia that America is enlisted for the war, no matter how long it lasts. But if we take the old-fashioned, haphazard methods under which we have wasted thousands and thousands of lives in the past, and prolonged our wars instead of shortening them, our efforts will not command the respect of the Governments of the allied powers, with whom eventually, I hope, we shall be cooperating actively upon the battle fronts of Europe.

I have just as intense a desire as the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] that we shall join in the fighting at the earliest possible date, provided we do it effectively. Should we send over a body of half-trained volunteers, it is true, enthusiasm would sweep over this broad land, and we would give them a send-off that no expeditionary force leaving the shores of America ever received; and undoubtedly the devoted people of France would greet them with an enthusiasm and a heartiness that would bring the tears of gratification to our eyes; but, my friends, when they got into the trenches such a force would be a burden upon France instead of an assistance.

Mr. HARDWICK and Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To whom does the Senator yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. HARDWICK. I was just going to inquire of the Senator whether he regarded Canada's efforts—in which three-quarters of a million men were raised, or some such number as that—as of the same character as the situation which he has just described; and, if not, why we could not try for a while the same system that Canada seems to have tried with some success and without exciting the contempt of the allies? Also, I should be glad if the Senator would state how many men England raised by voluntary enlistment before she undertook to enforce conscription, and why she delayed so long in putting into effect any form of conscription there.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, those very topics were discussed in a running debate here in the Senate on Saturday afternoon, and at the risk of repetition——

Mr. HARDWICK. By the Senator? I did not hear the Senator on that subject.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The Senator from New York was one of perhaps six or eight Senators who took part in a running debate on this question of the volunteers of Canada and the volunteers of England.

Mr. HARDWICK. But, really, I am seeking information about this matter to a greater extent than is perhaps apparent from the latter part of what I have said. I am thinking about these things, and I should like to have the Senator's views on these questions.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, of course it is well known that the Dominion of Canada has sent approximately 400,000 men into the army.

Mr. HARDWICK. I saw the statement made very recently that the figure now was nearly three-quarters of a million.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Seven hundred and fifty thousand?

Mr. HARDWICK. Nearly that; yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am quite certain that the Senator is mistaken.

Mr. HARDWICK. Well, the statement was made yesterday in the public press of the country.

Mr. WADSWORTH. The number, I am quite certain, is in the neighborhood of 400,000 men. True, that number was raised by a so-called volunteer system.

Mr. HARDWICK. Are not the Canadian troops the best the allies have had?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am not denying their excellence for a moment.

Mr. HARDWICK. Why should not America have the same system under the same category?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I was about to reach that. It is true, as I said, that Canada has sent in the neighborhood of 400,000 under the volunteer system. The truth of the matter is, however, that Canada in the first six months of actual fighting in France wasted the best men of Canada, who should have been carefully selected, and would have been under the provisions of a law similar to this, and been used as officer material. I mentioned a regiment Saturday afternoon as an example, two-thirds of which was well known to be of officer material, 1,600 men, the Princess Patricia Regiment. There has never been a volunteer regiment that I know of in the history of any country that had a finer and a more splendid personnel than that. In six weeks' time after reaching the trenches only 40 were left. They can never be replaced. They should have been officering the other Canadian regiments. The sacrifice of those men was infinitely more than that represented by the killing and wounding of, say, 1,500 of them, because they would have been of more service to their country in the positions for which they were best qualified. The same is true of the first troops sent by Great Britain to France in that wonderful response to the call for volunteers.

Mr. HARDWICK. May I interrupt the Senator again? Could not the selective principle be applied just as well to the volunteer system as to the conscriptive system?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do not see how.

Mr. HARDWICK. Is not that exactly what Canada is doing?

Mr. WADSWORTH. If you could not fill your quota with volunteers you must resort to draft.

Mr. HARDWICK. I do not know, but I have been informed by a Senator on this floor that Canada is now applying the selective principle—the main principle the Senator is lauding now—to the volunteer system and in practically three years has not yet resorted to conscription.

Mr. WADSWORTH. There is another reason, however, for their failure to resort to conscription.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator state it, because I should like to have all the information I can?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The political influence in the Canadian Government of the Province of Quebec, which is largely responsible for their not having conscription.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Province of Quebec is of very small influence in the Dominion.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It is sufficient to have great power in the Canadian Government as now constituted, as the Senator can readily see. Of course, that is a mere expression of opinion and may or may not be well founded.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am not belittling the volunteers of Canada. The Senator misunderstood me. The Senator is mistaken when he says that the Province of Quebec is exerting an influence to prevent conscription. The truth is that the Province of Quebec furnishes a very small quota to the Canadian Army.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is true.

Mr. GALLINGER. Inasmuch as the Province of Quebec is negligible, so far as the Dominion of Canada is concerned, it would seem as though the conscription would be resorted to so

as to force those men into the army to the extent of other Provinces. I suppose the Senator knows that Australia rejected the system of conscription. So it is not universal. Yet the Senator contends that conscription is universally recognized as the best system.

Mr. WADSWORTH. In commenting on the first portion of the Senator's question or answer, as it may be termed, I do not know whether I am confusing cause and effect with respect to the Province of Quebec or whether the Senator is doing it. It is true a much lower percentage of men in the Province of Quebec volunteered in the Canadian Army than in the other provinces, and therefore it is not surprising that Quebec is not in favor of conscription.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me just one further observation. Is it not surprising, I will ask the Senator, that the Dominion of Canada with the Province of Quebec as a negligible quantity should not enforce conscription so as to make those men enter the service?

Mr. WADSWORTH. If the Senator's assumption that Quebec is a negligible quantity politically is correct, to which I can not agree——

Mr. CURTIS. Would not the objection the Senator urges against the manner in which the officers are now selected from volunteers be avoided by a provision in the law that no one shall be commissioned an officer unless he has had a sufficient amount of training?

Mr. WADSWORTH. That would leave the volunteers without any officers.

Mr. CURTIS. Not necessarily. The officers now in England according to the testimony before the committee must have served so many weeks in the ranks and then they must have taken a course at a training school before they can be commissioned as officers. Congress could make a similar provision relative to officers.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I think the statement of the Senator with reference to the selection of these officers of volunteers is altogether one of the strongest arguments against the volunteer system. I agree that that proposition is one of the objections to the volunteer system. But I wish to ask the Senator solely for information, how are we going to supply the officers for the different regiments when we have such a limited number of officers now?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The bill makes provision for that very thing.

Mr. BORAH. Have we enough officers in the United States to supply them?

Mr. WADSWORTH. We have not now.

Mr. BORAH. I mean trained officers?

Mr. WADSWORTH. We have not.

Mr. BORAH. We must necessarily, then, resort to some extent to untrained officers.

Mr. WADSWORTH. We shall have to train officers in large numbers. The first effort will be, as I understand it, to train 10,000 new officers.

Mr. BORAH. The thought occurred to me that we could train volunteers perhaps as early as we could train other officers.

Mr. WADSWORTH. With whom shall we train them?

Mr. BORAH. With whom are you going to train the men you are going to train?

Mr. WADSWORTH. The present trained officers will have to train new ones.

Mr. BORAH. Exactly. Could they not train the new officers?

Mr. WADSWORTH. They could not train the volunteers for an army of 500,000 at the same time. The system would break down.

Mr. BORAH. Gen. Sherman says, in his memoirs, some of the best officers who came out of the Civil War were men who were discouraged in the first instance to become officers. If we are going to select these men in the first instance without having been trained and having their capacity developed, I do not see why we could not select them just as well from volunteers as from conscripts.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I think the Senator misunderstands the provision of the bill with respect to training officers and also the policy of the administration. These officers are not to be selected before they show their fitness. They are to be trained, and then they are to be given commissions after they show their fitness. That is the whole point.

Mr. BORAH. I do not know how the officer is to show his real fitness before going to war. It took the first year of the Civil War to get rid of the blunderers of West Point.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I would first prefer to answer the question of the Senator from Idaho a little more fully, because he has brought up a very important topic. The Senator says the best way to develop the fitness of an officer is in war. Certainly the Senator would not urge sending green officers to Europe in charge of troops to see how many of them would turn out to be fit.

We must give them all the instruction we can and test them out—test their ability in mobilization camps and in handling troops—and pick the best men. That is what this bill contemplates, and even then, may I say to the Senator from Idaho, the commissions that are to be given under the bill, outside of commissions already existing in the Regulars and in the National Guard, are to be temporary. They are probationary commissions. They may be withdrawn, if need be, after troops have been sent to Europe—in fact, at any time—by the President for failure to come up to the standard. So every effort is made to prevent that horrible tragedy of sending troops into battle under officers who have never been tested anywhere.

Mr. BORAH. In order that the Senator may understand me, I say frankly I have what some would call hereditary prejudices against conscription; but the Senator has done much toward causing reconsideration.

Mr. WADSWORTH. My hereditary tendency should also be against it, because every member of my family above the age of 17 was a volunteer in the Civil War, and I volunteered as a private in the Spanish War myself. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. On the question of officers, which is the most important one of all to be considered, I understand that it would take 18,538 officers to command the first increment of 500,000 men. We have about 8,000 in the Army Officers' Reserve Corps now—young men who, for the most part, have filed applications and had their names put on the list. Does not the Senator think—and that was the suggestion of the Senator from Idaho awhile ago—that officers who have seen service in the Spanish-American War, for instance, or officers who have been trained in the military schools of our country would be more competent and just as easily trained as the 8,000 young men we already have on the roll and the 10,500 others we have to put on that roll from some place or other, we know not where?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, the bill on page 3 provides exactly for what the Senator from Tennessee is contending. It proposes to make use of men who have graduated from military institutions at which courses approved by the War Department are prescribed, or "from the country at large," which would include Spanish War veterans. Now, if these men want to be officers in command of troops in the service of their country, all they have to do is to present themselves at an officers' training camp within certain reasonable limits of numbers, take the course of three months which has already been outlined by the War Department, mix in with the men who are now upon the officers' reserve list, mix in with the men who are graduates of military academies, schools, and colleges, take their chance with the rest, learn something of the care and sanitation of camps, of drilling and handling troops, show their efficiency, and they will get their commissions. But what many of them want to do, Mr. President, is to organize their own companies at home and get the commissions before they are trained.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. HARDING. I wish to ask the Senator from New York if he does not think the acquirement of a sufficient force under the volunteer method is entirely dependent upon the acceptance of these unfit officers at home?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Absolutely; you can not raise 500,000 volunteers unless you let down the bars in the matter of commissions.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I merely wish to ask the Senator a question for my own information. Does the Senator understand that with the bill as it is now prepared the National Guard would come under its provisions?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes, Mr. President; I discussed that earlier in my remarks. The National Guard is to be drafted into

the Federal service, and will be just as surely Federal troops as the Regular Army itself. I discussed that when the Senator may not have been in the Chamber.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I was not in the Chamber when that was discussed. Would not that eventually destroy the National Guard, the militia? Our law in section 11 of the national defense act reads that "all persons so drafted shall from said date of their draft stand discharged from the militia."

Mr. WADSWORTH. May I say to the Senator from South Dakota I have already discussed that. I am anxious to conclude my remarks within a reasonable time, and at the same time, of course, I do not wish to be discourteous to the Senator. That matter was discussed in a running debate while I had the floor.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. In that case I beg the Senator's pardon for my interruption.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. FALL. The Senator discussed the point a few moments ago, to which I was attempting to direct his attention at the time before he got away from the subject of the terrible sacrifice of the few English troops Great Britain was able to send to France when the war commenced. Does not the Senator believe that that sacrifice was not only absolutely necessary but was justified, if ever a sacrifice was? In other words, is it not a fact that the flower of the English Army in France hanging on to the German right flank finally enabled the French to come out from Paris and hurl the Germans back? Had it not been for that would not Paris at that time have fallen into the hands of the German Army?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Of course, I am not able to answer the concluding portion of the Senator's question; I do not know. But may I say in partial answer that undoubtedly the situation demanded that a terrific drain in the lives of men should be imposed upon Great Britain. In the first six months or year of the war she had to send men to France half trained. She had to take in the first few weeks the flower of the manhood of England, because always they are the first to offer themselves. But no such compulsion falls upon us, and if England had to do it over again I have not the slightest doubt but what she would have first trained, in advance of the events, a democratic army on the plan of universal compulsory service for her forces, and thus would not have wasted her best men.

Mr. FALL. I understand from the general trend of the bill it is the theory of some in this country, and evidently of the General Staff, that th United States is not to take any part in this war for a long time, not perhaps for a year or more.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is not my understanding of the bill or the purpose of the General Staff.

Mr. FALL. Well, that is mine. So Senators differ on those lines.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It is not my understanding of it.

Mr. FALL. At the same time I would like to ask the Senator is it not his impression that the sacrifice of the Princess Patricia Regiment was absolutely necessary, and if it had not been made the Germans could have reached the coast of France and this war might have had a different termination?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It might be so.

Mr. FALL. Of course, if there is no emergency, I do not see any reason why we should not discuss this matter for a week or 10 days.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, may I say in regard to the matter of volunteers in our Army there is room for 600,000 of them, if these men desire to come forward to join units already organized and reasonably well officered. There is no room in the bill for any volunteers who are to organize themselves under officers of their own choosing, and who, according to the lessons of the past, will be 75 per cent inefficient.

This bill does not contemplate that method of recruiting an army. The bill contemplates that our new army shall be built up by a process of selecting the most available instruments, building it upon a sure foundation, and making it so strong that it will carry any burden imposed upon it, and that, furthermore, in that army all kinds and classes of Americans shall be represented.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WOLCOTT. For my own information, Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator a question. The Senator from New York has just stated that the present bill furnishes the opportunity for 600,000 men to volunteer. I desire to ask how many volunteers of the 600,000 under existing law may come into the Regular Army and how many in the Organized Militia? How much of an increase is to be made in the Regular Army and how much in the Organized Militia?

Mr. WADSWORTH. As I said earlier in the day—I feel as if I should call it a day now—the Regulars are to be increased to 270,000 men.

Mr. WOLCOTT. How many men are in the Regular Army now?

Mr. WADSWORTH. About 130,000. The Regular Army is to be increased from 130,000 to 270,000, and the National Guard up to 330,000.

But, in addition to supplying volunteers for the existing units of the Regulars and National Guard, it is inevitable that many thousands of Regular enlisted men and of National Guard enlisted men will become officers, so that the number of men necessary to fill up those two branches of the service on the present basis must be largely increased. That is how the War Department has computed, roughly, that 600,000 Volunteers will be necessary to fill these forces up; and if they do not come forward, the President may draft them.

Mr. FALL. The Senator is now speaking of officers. Does not the Senator think that the United States has power and authority to provide absolutely the qualifications of the Volunteer officers?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It has.

Mr. FALL. Then the Senator's idea is, so far as officers are concerned, that just as easily, under exactly the same conditions, officers for both the Volunteers and the drafted quota of 500,000 can be provided for.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I do not think it possible; politics would prevent.

Mr. President, I want to say a word with respect to the contrast between the volunteer system and the selective draft system. As the Senator from Massachusett [Mr. WEEKS] has so well said, when volunteers are called for the best blood of the country comes to the front. That is to be expected. Much of it should not be allowed to come. Under a volunteer system, practically speaking, there is no way of preventing that. If you are to get the requisite number of volunteers, you must take practically every able-bodied man who comes forward; and when you do that, Mr. President, you take thousands of men away from tasks at which they are of more value to their country in the waging of the war than they would be in the trenches themselves. That has happened time and time again.

The Southern Confederacy was much wiser than the North, generally speaking, in its military policy during the early part of the Civil War. They were the first to come to the conclusion that the volunteer system was inadequate. They were the first to come to conscription, and it was not solely because they lacked men. It was because the leaders of the Southern Confederacy were military men, competent to judge what the future would bring forth in the maintenance of the Confederate armies. For the first two or three years of the war the comparative success of the Confederate forces over the Union forces was due largely to the superiority of the Confederate military policy. Of course some of their advantage was due to the fact that they were on the defensive.

It was on April 16, 1862, that the Confederate Congress passed their conscription act. They had learned the lesson in just one year. It took the northern people two years to learn it.

Mr. HARDWICK. Will the Senator give me the date that act went into effect?

Mr. WADSWORTH. In the volume from which I am reading, unfortunately, on the pages which are before me the date on which the act went into effect is not given. I am reading from the Military Policy of the United States, by Maj. Gen. Emory D. Upton, where, on page 466, in the midst of a discussion of Confederate military legislation, he uses this language:

The next law, April 16, 1862—

Then follows the description and a copy of the conscription law itself. So it was either passed or went into effect on that date. I think the former is correct.

Mr. HARDWICK. I think that law did not go into effect until about the 1st of January following.

Mr. WADSWORTH. But, at any rate, I am correct in saying that the leaders of the Confederacy saw the wisdom of conscription at least a year in advance of the leaders of the North, and at the same time they provided in their military policy one of the most important things which we attempt to provide for in this bill, and that is the maintenance of a system of recruiting depots at home in order to keep the forces in the field filled to war strength, or approximately so, while they are doing the

fighting. It was the fact that during the Civil War the average Confederate regiment at the front was equal in numbers to the average Union brigade, with the single exception, I may say, of the Wisconsin regiments. The State of Wisconsin apparently adopted an internal State policy by which they kept sending fresh men to the old regiments who were serving at the front and discarded the practice of organizing new regiments of green men under inefficient officers. The Confederacy knew better from the beginning. We have often wondered, as we have read accounts of battles of the Civil War, how it was that Confederate regiments "stood off" Union brigades. It was because the Confederate regiments were kept at nearly war strength and the Union regiments went down to 200 and 150 men each.

We are attempting in this bill to prevent with absolute certainty that very evil. You can not keep the regiments at the front full, you can not make good the wastage, unless you are sure to get the men from the rear, and the only way you are sure is by a selective draft. If you rely upon the volunteer system to keep your regiments at the front filled, you are gambling—you can not tell from day to day how many recruits there will be in the rear ready and trained to go to the front.

That is one of the phases of this bill that I wanted to bring to the attention of the Senate, because when armies are actually fighting the wastage is enormous and it must be filled.

Mr. WEEKS. I should like to remind the Senator from New York that the very policy to which he so correctly refers followed in the Union Army added enormously to the expense of the maintenance of the service. There was always a colonel of the regiment to be paid a colonel's pay, a lieutenant colonel, a major, and other superior officers even with not more than a hundred men in the regiment.

Mr. WADSWORTH. They generally had a full complement of officers.

Mr. GALLINGER. Would not that be so under the drafting system?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Except that the regiment would always be full.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. It is worth while to employ a colonel to command a regiment of 1,900 infantrymen, but it is not worth while to employ a colonel to command a regiment of 150 men. That is the command of a captain. A company of Infantry at war strength is composed of 150 men.

To come down to the basis of this whole discussion, Mr. President, we have to admit, so long as we are the devotees of a democratic system of Government, that the burdens of a great war should be distributed as evenly as may be upon all the men who are capable of bearing any share of that burden. If we are to be true to the ideals of a democracy, we must insist that every citizen owes it to his country to help in her defense. We want our defensive system so contrived that it shall not only be fair and democratic in its spirit but that it shall be employed in the most efficient way. Hence the necessity for selection, for selecting the instruments which we are going to use in waging our part in this great war.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I propounded an interrogatory to the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], but the answer was not very conclusive to my mind. I am going to ask the Senator from New York the same question. When Great Britain resorted to conscription, she conscripted men from 18 to 41 years of age. Upon what theory or hypothesis has the committee restricted the age in this bill to from 19 to 25?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Well, Mr. President, as I understand it, there are 7,000,000 men in the United States between the ages of 19 and 25. That is a great many more than we could use for a long time to come. I suppose it was the policy of the General Staff, who have studied this matter for months and months, to select from our male population capable of bearing arms the most available material, and that material which could be drafted into the Army without inflicting unnecessary handicaps upon the industries of the country. They decided apparently—and I am disposed to agree with them—that between the ages of 19 and 25 a young man can be taken from his civil employment with less disturbance to his family or his industry than at any other age. So this bill provides that the selective draft shall apply to the men between 19 and 25. It is perfectly true that there are large numbers of men, aged 26, 28, and 30, who are fit to bear arms; but as we go up the scale in age the further we go we find the greater hardship inflicted on the country—not only on the men but on the country at large—if you take them away from industrial pursuits and put them into the Army.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; but I am still puzzled as to the system pursued by Great Britain.

Mr. WADSWORTH. She had to do it, Mr. President.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am not so sure about that. Great Britain called back a great many men from her army and put them into civil occupations, inasmuch as they were there needed; and yet, when she came to conscript men, she conscripted them from 18 to 41. I should think she would have needed a great many of those men in her industries, as much so as we would in the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Of course, many of them were needed in her industries and were kept in her industries. If we wanted to apply this selective draft to all the men in the United States between the ages of 18 and 45, we should have available 20,000,000 men. It is the policy of the Government, or it should be the policy of the Government, to take the men whose departure from civil life causes the least hardship, and who at the same time will make the best soldiers. If this war should go on for 5, 6, or 10 years, we might very well find it absolutely necessary to draft men up to the age of 45.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator knows this war will not go on for 5, 6, or 10 years.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I certainly hope it will not.

Mr. GALLINGER. Still, I am puzzled to understand why Great Britain did not make similar exemptions. Now, I will ask the Senator from New York if any calculation has been made by the Senator or by the committee as to how numerous are the exemptions which are provided by this bill? The Senator from New York states the number of men who are liable to conscription. What about the exemptions? As I read the bill, there can not, under it, be conscripted a man who is useful on a farm.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is scarcely accurate, if I may call the Senator's attention to the language.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is the way I read it.

Mr. WADSWORTH. There are certain specific exemptions established by this bill. One of them is on the ground of religious conviction.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; applying to three or four denominations.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Then, there are discretionary exemptions, which are lodged in the hands of the President. Among them are those men who, in his judgment, would be of more value in industries at home than in the ranks at the front.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, I should like to conclude.

Mr. KELLOGG. I merely want to ask the Senator a question. Is it not a fact that Great Britain could not get the number of men it was necessary for her to have by taking those from 19 to 26 years of age, and that she was forced to require the service of those 40 years of age?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Certainly; that is the fact. England had to take men who were as old as 40 years in order to get enough. She had to create an army of four and a half million men out of a population of fifty-one or fifty-two million. Mr. President, I am very anxious to conclude, if I have a chance.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I desire to suggest that he is not consistent. He is insisting on compulsory military service, and I think he ought not to object if he is compelled to occupy the floor.

Mr. POMERENE. Particularly when he is speaking so well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOLLIS in the chair). Senators will kindly address the Chair.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, my great concern in this whole matter is that my country shall acquit herself creditably and in such a way as to bring this war to an early conclusion. I know that some of the ideas incorporated in this bill do not meet with the unanimous approval of the people of the United States; but, sir, I am looking toward the future, in which I hope to see our efforts, great or small—and I hope they will be great—crowned with a victory, achieved in such a way that every man in the United States will be able to say at the conclusion of this war that he has borne some part of the burden and thereby is entitled to look the rest of the world in the face and be deserving of his share of the blessings which our institutions have vouchsafed to us.

Mr. THOMAS addressed the Senate. After having spoken for some time, he said:

Mr. President, the hour of half past 5 o'clock has arrived, and I am somewhat weary. If the Senator from Oregon will consent, I should like to yield the floor until to-morrow morning.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize the issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President.

RECESS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate take a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 24, 1917, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *April 23, 1917.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, Author of every great thought, of every high and holy aspiration, clarify our minds that we may think clearly, and fill our hearts with pure motives in the epoch-making period through which the world is passing, that we, as a people, may do our part in shaping the destiny of mankind. It is a gigantic undertaking for truth against error, righteousness against evil, liberty against oppression, democracy against autocracy, the divine right of men against "the divine right of kings." Without Thee we are impotent; with Thee we are strong, for Thou art mighty to deliver. Uphold, sustain, and guide us, and inspire every American heart with patriotic zeal, that no man, no woman, may be found wanting; that out of the great holocaust shall come a brighter day when men shall learn war no more; and liberty, justice, righteousness, and peace shall reign supreme and the old earth shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, to the glory and honor of Thy holy name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 19, 1917, was read and approved.

ALLEN F. COOPER.

Mr. CRAGO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great personal sorrow that I announce to the House the death of former Congressman Allen F. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, who died at his home in Uniontown, Pa., on Friday, April 20. Mr. Cooper was a Member of the Fifty-eighth Congress and each succeeding Congress, including the Sixty-first, and I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a short summary of his services in this body.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD, as indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAGO. Mr. Speaker, Allen Foster Cooper was elected to the Fifty-eighth Congress from the twenty-third Pennsylvania district, and was reelected to the Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, and Sixty-first Congresses. He was not a candidate for election to the Sixty-second Congress, and I was elected by the voters of the district to succeed him.

As a Member of Congress, Mr. Cooper was active, energetic, and always watchful of the interests of his district. He was chairman of the Committee on Printing, and gave to this work his close attention.

Mr. Cooper was a lawyer by profession, and was also identified with the large business interests of his home town and Fayette County. He was active and influential in the councils of his party, a man of high character and ideals, domestic in his tastes, and ever ready to take an active part in public affairs. His life and work have left an impress which will last, and his sudden death, which occurred at Uniontown, Pa., April 20, 1917, in the very prime of his life is a distinct loss to the splendid community in which he lived, the State, and the Nation.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. STRONG, for to-morrow, Tuesday, on account of important business.

To. Mr. DIES, for several days, on account of illness.

WILLIAM H. PARRY.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, with much sorrow I announce the death in the city of Washington, Saturday last, of Hon. Will H. Parry, vice chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, a citizen of the State of Washington. I shall not take the time of the House further, except to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD concerning his life, character, and services.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Washington asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD as indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. 1845. An act to authorize PETER GOELET GERRY to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use of the steam yacht *Owera;*

S. 995. An act to authorize the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards; and

S. 1006. An act authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the following titles:

H. R. 2338. An act to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office;

H. R. 2339. An act to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918;

H. R. 2340. An act to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve;

H. R. 1771. An act to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve; and

H. R. 2008. An act to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate bills of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:.

S. 1845. An act to authorize PETER GOELET GERRY to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for the use of the steam yacht *Owera;* to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 995. An act to authorize the issue to States and Territories and the District of Columbia of rifles and other property for the equipment of organizations of home guards; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1006. An act authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 1771. An act to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

H. R. 2338. An act to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office;

H. R. 2339. An act to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918;

H. R. 2340. An act to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve; and

H. R. 2008. An act to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service.

REQUEST FOR EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting an editorial from the Evening Sun, of Baltimore, on "Maryland does its bit."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. DOWELL. I shall have to object, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa objects.

EMERGENCY BOND ISSUE.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to present the conference report and accompanying statement on the bill H. R. 2762, authorizing the bond issue.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the conference report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Conference report on the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the statement be read in lieu of the report.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman from North Carolina wants to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I do that, Mr. Speaker. I ask immediate consideration of the conference report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent to consider this conference report, notwithstanding it has not been printed in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. What is the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. KITCHIN. To have the statement read instead of the report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina asks unanimous consent that the statement be read in lieu of the report. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The statement was read.

The conference report and accompanying statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (NO. 23).

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 5: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 5, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate the proceeds, or any part thereof, arising from the sale of the bonds and certificates of indebtedness authorized by this act, or the bonds previously authorized as described in section 4 of this act, and such deposits may bear such rate of interest and be subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe: *Provided*, That the amount so deposited shall not in any case exceed the amount withdrawn from any such bank or trust company and invested in such bonds or certificates of indebtedness plus the amount so invested by such bank or trust company, and such deposits shall be secured in the manner required for other deposits by section 5153, Revised Statutes, and amendments thereto: *Provided further*, That the provisions of section 5191 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the Federal reserve act and the amendments thereof, with reference to the reserves required to be kept by national banking associations and other member banks of the Federal Reserve System, shall not apply to deposits of public moneys by the United States in designated depositaries."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment of the title: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the title, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the title inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and, for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes."

And the Senate agree to the same.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
A. P. GARDNER,
Managers on the part of the House.

F. M. SIMMONS,
W. J. STONE,
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
BOIES PENROSE,
H. C. LODGE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

STATEMENT.

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

On amendments Nos. 1 and 2: These amendments make no material change in the bill and are in the interest of clearness; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 3: The bill as it passed the House limited the conversion privilege granted by this bill to December 31, 1918. The Senate changed the limitation to "the termination of the war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, the date of such termination to be fixed by a proclamation of the President of the United States"; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 4: The Senate amendment provides that the certificates of indebtedness authorized in this bill shall be exempt from all taxation, except estate or inheritance taxes. While this amendment is probably not necessary, it is thought advisable to take this precaution; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 5: The purpose of this amendment is to encourage a great many financial institutions and trust companies to join in assisting in floating this large bond issue. The Senate amendment authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate an amount not to exceed the amount withdrawn from such bank or trust company for investment in United States bonds or certificates of indebtedness authorized and issued under the provisions of this bill. For fear that the Senate amendment might be construed to limit the amount that could be deposited in banks or trust companies to the amount withdrawn by depositors the amendment agreed to specifically states that the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate an amount of money equivalent to the amount withdrawn from such banks and trust companies and invested in bonds or certificates of indebtedness plus the amount so invested by such bank or trust company.

The amendment agreed to further provides "that the provisions of section 5191 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the Federal reserve act and the amendments thereof, with reference to the reserves required to be kept by national banking associations and other member banks of the Federal Reserve System, shall not apply to deposits of public moneys by the United States in designated depositaries."

On amendment No. 6: This amendment changes the section number; and the House recedes.

On amendment No. 7: The Senate amendment requires the Secretary of the Treasury, in addition to the reports now required by law, to make, on the first Monday in December, 1917, and annually thereafter, a report to Congress giving a detailed statement of all expenditures under this act; and the House recedes.

The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the title, and agrees to the same with an amendment which merely inserts a comma after the word "and" in the third line of the Senate amendment. This amendment is merely in the interest of clearness.

CLAUDE KITCHIN,
HENRY T. RAINEY,
LINCOLN DIXON,
J. W. FORDNEY,
A. P. GARDNER,
Managers on the part of the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from North Carolina might state what it contains.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for one hour.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, amendments Nos. 1 and 2 simply make it more clear that these bonds and certificates of indebtedness are not exempt from the payment of estate or inheritance taxes levied by the Federal Government or by the States.

Mr. MANN. My recollection is that the Senate amendment did make them subject to the estate and inheritance taxes levied by the States.

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. MANN. Not by the Federal Government?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; as the bill passed the House, it exempted estate and inheritance taxes levied either by the State or Federal Government from taxation. The Senate thought that the language was not clear enough and repeated the words, "imposed by any State or local taxing authority." The Senate amendment made the language absolutely clear, and we receded from our disagreement and agreed to that. Now it admits of no doubt but that Congress intended to except from taxation estate and inheritance taxes levied by the Federal Government and by the State authorities.

As to amendment No. 3, you will recall that the House——

Mr. MANN. One moment; as to this amendment No. 1, the amendment, as I understand it—I do not know whether I am right—makes these bonds subject to estate and inheritance taxes levied by the United States?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. But not subject to the estate and inheritance taxes levied by the State?

Mr. KITCHIN. We intended for these bonds to pay the estate and inheritance taxes, whether levied by the Federal Government or the State governments. The Senate amendment makes it more clear that that is the intention of Congress.

Mr. MANN. That is not the way I read it. It says, "shall be exempt."

Mr. KITCHIN. "Both as to principal and interest, from all taxation except estate and inheritance taxes, imposed by authority of the United States, or its possessions," or shall be exempt from all taxes except estate or inheritance taxes imposed by authority of any State except the estate or inheritance taxes. That is the way we had it.

Now it reads:

And shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation except estate or inheritance taxes, imposed by authority of the United States, or its possessions, or by any State of local taxing authority.

Mr. HASTINGS. That is clear.

Mr. GARNER. The way it read in the House bill was sufficient.

Mr. KITCHIN. The way it read in the House bill was sufficient, but they thought it best to repeat that—

Or by "any State or local taxing authority."

This makes it clear that these bonds must pay estate and inheritance taxes levied by State or Federal authority.

Now, amendment No. 3, to which the House agreed, makes this change: In the House bill the period of convertibility of these bonds into those bearing a higher rate of interest, if Congress should pass an act authorizing the issue of bonds at a rate in excess of 3½ per cent, was limited to December 31, 1918. The Senate struck that provision out and made the convertible period the termination of the war with the Imperial German Government. The amendment just extends the time. If the war should last only a year, the convertibility would extend only a year. If the war lasts beyond December 31, 1918, this convertibility privilege is extended beyond that time. We thought there was no objection to that.

Mr. MANN. Now, referring to the other amendments—Nos. 1 and 2—I still think that the reading of the bill excepts those bonds from estate or inheritance taxes levied by a State, but makes them subject to inheritance or estate taxes levied by the Federal Government.

Mr. KITCHIN. No. The language is——

Mr. MANN. The gentleman has read it. Let me read it.

Mr. KITCHIN. All right; you read it.

Mr. MANN. It reads:

Shall be exempt, both as to principal and interest, from all taxation except estate or inheritance taxes, imposed by authority of the United States, or its possessions, or by any State or local taxing authority.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is, excepted from the exemption.

Mr. HASTINGS. Exactly.

Mr. KITCHIN. In other words, the Federal Government taxes these bonds with respect to estate or inheritance taxes.

Mr. MANN. I believe the gentleman is right.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think so.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. If a person of large fortune invests $100,000 or $500,000 in these bonds, will he be liable to any taxes of any kind to the Federal or the State Government?

Mr. KITCHIN. Not until he dies. He will pay no taxes except estate or inheritance taxes.

Mr. ADAMSON. And after he is dead he will not care.

Mr. KITCHIN. No. Now, amendment No. 4 simply makes it clear that the certificate of indebtedness shall be exempted from taxation in the same manner as the bonds.

No. 5 is entirely a new section. The statement of the managers on the part of the House fully explains the section and is as follows:

The purpose of this amendment is to encourage a great many financial institutions and trust companies to join in assisting in floating this large bond issue. The Senate amendment authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate an amount not to exceed the amount withdrawn from such bank or trust company for investment in United States bonds or certificates of indebtedness authorized and issued under the provisions of this bill. For fear that the Senate amendment might be construed to limit the amount that could be deposited in banks or trust companies to the amount withdrawn by depositors the amendment agreed to specifically states that the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate an amount of money equivalent to the amount withdrawn from such banks and trust companies and invested in bonds or certificates of indebtedness plus the amount so invested by such bank or trust company.

The amendment agreed to further provides "that the provisions of section 5191 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the Federal reserve act and the amendments thereof, with reference to the reserves required to be kept by national banking associations and other member banks of the Federal Reserve System, shall not apply to deposits of public moneys by the United States in designated depositaries."

But for this provision the Secretary of the Treasury would have no power to make these deposits in trust companies or State banks and nonmember banks of the Federal Reserve System. So we enlarge his power to make deposits in trust companies and State banks as well as the banks of the Federal reserve, to the extent of not exceeding the amount of the money withdrawn by depositors from those banks to buy these bonds and to the extent of the amount which those banks may invest in the bonds. So it seems to put the trust companies and State banks, if they furnish money to buy these bonds, on the same terms as to deposits as the national banks or the member banks of the reserve system.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. The Secretary of the Treasury can now deposit money in the national banks, or members of the Federal reserve.

Mr. KITCHIN. There is so much talk around me I can not hear what the gentleman says.

Mr. MANN. The Secretary now has the authority to make deposits in banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; if he names them as depositors.

Mr. MANN. This is possibly technical. The language is this:

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, is hereby authorized to deposit in such banks and trust companies as he may designate the proceeds—

And so forth. Here is a new authority covering all banks, not merely State banks and trust companies, but also by its language covering the present national banks. Well, that can do no harm, of course, except that having designated all banks in the first part of this amendment, in the proviso you say—

In no case shall an amount so deposited exceed the amount withdrawn from such bank or trust company for investment in United States bonds or certificates of indebtedness authorized and issued under the provisions of this act.

Now, that is all banks. That was not the purpose of the amendment.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; it is not all State banks or trust companies, but such as he may designate as depositories.

Mr. MANN. But the gentleman inserts a word which is not in the amendment. The gentleman says "State banks."

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. The language of the amendment is "banks," which covers all banks.

Mr. KITCHIN. It means State banks or trust companies, for the reason that now he has power to designate only members of the Federal reserve or national banks. Now we make it all banks. Therefore it includes the State banks and trust companies.

Mr. MANN. I understand that; but you say "banks." That covers all banks.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; all that he may designate.

Mr. MANN. Then you say below:

In no case shall an amount so deposited exceed the amount withdrawn from such bank or trust company for investment in United States bonds or certificates of indebtedness.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. That was not intended to restrict the amount that he may deposit in member banks to the amount withdrawn from those member banks.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it is this——

Mr. MANN. No.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it was. That proviso was in for this purpose——

Mr. MANN. I know what the purpose is.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let us see if it does not carry out the purpose. If that proviso were not in, then we will say here is a trust company or State bank right across the street which would take $500,000 of these bonds, and without that proviso and this section 7, the Secretary of the Treasury could take that money right out of that bank and put it in a national bank, its competitor, on the other side of the street.

Mr. MANN. That does not come from the proviso; that comes from the main part of the section.

Mr. KITCHIN. Here is what it does. Suppose the national bank right across the street had put in $500,000 and the State bank on the other side had put in $500,000. If you did not have that proviso the Secretary could take all of the $500,000 from the State bank and put it over in the national bank, which would then have $500,000 more than the national bank had paid for the bonds.

Mr. MANN. I understand the purpose of it. If money is withdrawn from the State bank, then that money may be deposited in the State bank, so that the money will not be taken out of the bank before it is used; but I am calling the attention of the gentleman to the language. The first provision in the section covers all banks, and the second provision is a proviso that he can not deposit any more in any such bank than the amount withdrawn. It was not the purpose, as I understand it, to put that restriction on the present member banks. They must have some place to deposit the money.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; it was.

Mr. MANN. It will not all be redeposited in the same banks.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is right; but if the national bank across the street to which I referred had taken only $500,000 of the bonds, this proviso says that he shall not put more than $500,000 in that bank. It does not say that he shall put as much as that, but not more than that. He can leave $300,000 in that bank, but he can not put in more.

Mr. MANN. Where will he put the balance?

Mr. KITCHIN. He would put the balance if he needed the balance into the Treasury and pay it out.

Mr. MANN. Oh, no; it would not be put in the Treasury. It might be half a million dollars. You do not want to remove the money from circulation.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, no; not from circulation.

Mr. MANN. Here is a State bank which the gentleman says takes $500,000, but it may be only $10,000. They may not desire to put up the security in order to retain this money. The money is going to be deposited in some banks, it is not going to be deposited in Washington or in a Subtreasury, because that would take it out of circulation. I am sure that it was not the intention in preparing this amendment to say that the Secretary was limited in the amount that he could deposit in the member banks, but when you say "such banks" then "such banks" refer to all banks, and I am afraid you do put that limitation on.

Mr. KITCHIN. I would say to the gentleman that that very matter was discussed, and it was the bone of contention for two days, that very point that he raises. I do not know that I ought to say anything about what took place in the conference, but some of the conferees felt that if you did not put this limitation on, the funds would go to the State or the trust bank right across the street——

Mr. MANN. I am not objecting to that limitation.

Mr. KITCHIN. Wait a moment—get this money out and put it over here in a competitor bank that is a member of the reserve, and if you can put in the Federal reserve or the member bank more money than it has paid for bonds, then you can do this, because the law does not say that you shall keep the amount in each bank which has been taken out for investment, but it says that you can not keep to exceed that. That is to protect the State banks, and I would say the Secretary of the Treasury and some of the conferees would prefer to have exactly what the gentleman claims, but the conferees could not get together on that.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. I think possibly the gentleman from North Carolina does not get quite clear the points of the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I do get the points clear.

Mr. HARDY. Let me see if I understand it the way the gentleman does. As I understand it, the gentleman's objection is that under the present law the national banks, the Federal reserve banks, may receive more of these deposits than are taken from their vaults?

Mr. KITCHIN. They would have to receive all but for this section 7.

Mr. HARDY. They may receive all that they paid out and other sums invested in this money.

Mr. KITCHIN. All other sums, except for this section 7.

Mr. HARDY. This section 7 will prevent even a national bank from receiving any more sums than were paid out from that national bank.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. Does the gentleman think that is wise?

Mr. KITCHIN. To be absolutely candid, personally I did not think that was the wisest course, but the conferees could not agree on anything else than that.

Mr. MANN. I am sure that will not be the construction in the Treasury Department, although that is what the language says.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think that is what the conferees intended, or some of them, because they would not agree to anything else, to be candid with the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman tell how long this money is to be left in the member banks or the banks that purchase these bonds?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. He will keep it there as long as practicable, no doubt.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. When the bonds are purchased the purchasing bank pays the money to the Government or the Federal Reserve Bank. This bank is out that money. Now it reimburses itself by sales to customers and also by the deposits of money received there. It does not send it away, as I understand it.

Mr. KITCHIN. It is to keep it in the bank as long as practicable.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is equivalent simply to depositing these bonds with the member banks.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is the great inducement to the banks to help float these bonds.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It is the same with the certificates, as I understand it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Now, of course, section 6 is simply a renumbering of the section——

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, before the gentleman gets away from section 7 I wish the gentleman would advise us what was the reasoning that led the conferees to agree to the last proviso of section 7.

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, now, banks outside of certain cities, such as Albany, Philadelphia, Boston, and so forth, are required to keep a certain reserve as against the amount of deposits and their circulation.

Now, that is simply a security for its deposits. When the Government makes deposits of public money it requires gilt-edge security for them. We thought it was nothing but right to release those reserves and not have further security for Government moneys than the security they must put up in order to get those moneys, and that that would release the reserves and get them in circulation and in use by the people.

Mr. WINGO. I do not agree that the only function of reserves is security for deposits; but that does not meet the question that occurred to my mind. As a matter of fact, the practical operation of this act will be this: That the banks will purchase these bonds offered on their own account or for their customers, and under the deposit feature there will be no money paid out by them, but the deposit account will be altered so that instead of it being that of their customers it will be that of the United States Government. In other words, these banks will not be out a single dollar.

Mr. KITCHIN. Wait a minute. Why will they not be out a single dollar?

Mr. WINGO. I do not think they will be. I think that the object of this very deposit provision is to enable the Government to procure credits to the extent of the bonds sold without disturbing the finances of the country, and with that we all agree. The very object of this deposit provision is to prevent a financial stringency that would be produced by withdrawing this great, enormous amount of money.

Mr. KITCHIN. The object of this is to do exactly what I said, to release the reserve that under the present law is required to be kept as security for public moneys deposited. Now, when that public money is deposited ample security must be given. No man on the conference committee questioned that at all. We all thought it was right and proper.

Mr. WINGO. If the gentleman will permit me to conclude, I was making a statement; and he is thinking about one thing, and I am discussing another. At the time I was talking about the deposit proposition and now——

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman referred to the last proviso, and I thought he was discussing that.

Mr. WINGO. I was discussing the deposit of the proceeds of bonds, and I was getting down to the effect of this reserve provision——

Mr. KITCHIN. I thought that was what the gentleman was discussing.

Mr. WINGO. No; I think the gentleman did not pay attention to what I was discussing, or he would have seen that I was discussing what is in the bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. But the gentleman referred to the last proviso.

Mr. WINGO. There is no use discussing the effect of a thing unless you get at the cause of it and what you are doing; and I was leading up to my question, which was this: The object of this deposit provision is to prevent a disturbance by withdrawing from the vaults of the banks this enormous sum of money, and I approve that. Now, against these funds at the present time they are required to maintain a reserve. Now, under the deposit provision these funds will not be withdrawn immediately. It is intended that this loan shall be a credit to the allies, and consequently the only effect of this whole bond issue will be a transference of the credit in the banks of the country. That is the reason it will be easy to float the bond issue. You will not change the status of the banks so far as the funds are concerned, and yet you are creating a greater inflation at this time of inflation by taking off the reserve requirements of the law, which all agree are low enough.

You have not placed any burden upon the banks, because with this deposit provision you have removed the burden, the danger you wanted to avoid, and in addition to that you go further and say, "We will free you from the reserve requirements so far as these deposits are concerned."

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman does not state it right. We remove them from requirements of reserves against the proceeds of these bonds which will be deposited in banks.

Mr. WINGO. And the funds will still be there and still be used for financial purposes, and the release of that much of their funds from reserve requirements will enable them to extend their credit much more.

Mr. KITCHIN. And enable the people to have much more money to use.

Mr. WINGO. And result in additional inflation.

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not know whether you would call it inflation or not. It releases so much more money for the use of the people. It does not create any new currency. It may permit a transfer of credits.

Mr. MANN. Suppose a bank or its depositors subscribe for a million of dollars of these bonds. That money is in the bank. The bank is to keep $120,000 of it, say, as reserve. The moment it subscribes a million dollars that reserve is wiped out, and it does not have to keep any reserve on account of that million dollars. That is inflation. Then when the Government draws the money out and it gets back into the bank through depositors then they have to keep the reserve of $120,000. That is contraction. One of the two is sure to make trouble.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that if a bank in Washington has $100,000 now, and if I go there and borrow that money, according to the view of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO], and I pay it out for building, and so forth, the currency is inflated. When I pay it back it will be contracted. It will be that kind of contraction and inflation, and that is the only kind of inflation and contraction that will take place. It matters not whether you call it contraction or inflation if the Government puts in a bank $1,000,000 of deposits, the Government would require that bank to keep in there under the present law $120,000 of reserve. It could not loan it out, but it would be tied up in their security for this $1,000,000 of Government deposits. Now, as the law requires the Government to give gilt-edged security, Government bonds, or State bonds, or other gilt-edged security, in that bank and requires the bank to put up this security for that $1,000,000 of deposits, we thought it was only right that this $120,000 of reserve required should be turned loose to be loaned to the people, because the Government does not need that additional security, for the reason that it has got security from the banks in the form of United States bonds, or State bonds, or other gilt-edged securities.

Mr. MANN. Now, to-day, if they buy $5,000,000 of bonds under existing circumstanes with that $1,000,000 in the bank, they can only loan $880,000. To-morrow, if they buy bonds, they can loan the whole $1,000,000 of it. The next day, if it comes back to private deposits, they can loan only $880,000 of it.

Mr. KITCHIN. You have that kind of contraction and inflation. You can not prevent that. I think the people will need all these reserves when they begin to borrow this money or begin to pay it out.

Mr. MANN. That is the only reason we have the high cost of living. They reduce reserves and inflate the currency.

Mr. WINGO. We have never been asked to do this before. We considered this matter when we lowered the reserves by the Federal reserve act, and we lowered them to a dangerous point. And it is one of the elements of the high cost of living now, and the issuance of this large volume of bonds is going to increase the cost of living sufficiently without taking off the reserve on $5,000,000,000 at one fell swoop. This is not a mere bugaboo that I have raised, but it is a dangerous proposition, and the banks that demand this have no right to demand it. It is not necessary. You can float these bonds without giving them this additional privilege.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think there is something in what you say.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Was the question of the disposal of these bonds considered by the committee? Can the chairman tell us what becomes of them, how the bonds will be disposed of, whether by the Federal reserve banks or by the United States Treasury or by these large banks, and where they will be placed for sale?

Mr. KITCHIN. That will be left to the Secretary of the Treasury. He will dispose of them in the way that he thinks he will get the most for them. I think the banks will take a large portion of them and sell them to their depositors.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will they be sent to these banks to be disposed of?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; they will just subscribe for them and advertise them.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. McFADDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina how the banks will ascertain what these withdrawals will be used for?

Mr. KITCHIN. It does not say what they are to be withdrawn for, but it would be an actual investment.

Mr. McFADDEN. This will be only for actual investment?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. If a depositor withdraws $100,000 from your bank and puts that $100,000 into a bond, the bank of course will know that, and the Secretary of the Treasury can deposit that amount of money in the bank.

Mr. McFADDEN. The question I wish to propound is this: In many instances there will be withdrawals by individuals who do not care to have anybody know about them.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then the bank will not get those deposits.

Mr. McFADDEN. I would like to ask just one more question.

Mr. KITCHIN. Very well.

Mr. McFADDEN. Under this authorization it gives the Secretary of the Treasury the discretion to deposit bonds in any bank?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McFADDEN. This applies to the 27,000 banks in the United States. Do I understand that the Secretary of the Treasury will distribute these deposits equitably to all the banks?

Mr. KITCHIN. Only equitably so far as practicable to those banks that subscribe or whose depositors subscribe and take bonds.

Mr. McFADDEN. One more question. There is in hiding, it has been stated frequently on the floor of the House, about $800,000,000 or $900,000,000. Suppose this should draw out $600,000,000 of that money. Where is that money to be deposited—idle funds in people's stockings and in hiding?

Mr. KITCHIN. That will be deposited in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. McFADDEN. We are limited to the amount that is withdrawn from these banks?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; you can not exceed that amount withdrawn from the banks. I imagine that will be deposited in the regional banks or the Treasury.

Mr. McFADDEN. In the 12 regional banks?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; either in the 12 regional banks or in the Treasury Department.

Mr. McFADDEN. And the surplus can be deposited in any one of the 12 regional banks?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; or in the Treasury. That will be paid up.

Mr. McFADDEN. You mean the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, just a word further regarding the deposit of the proceeds of this big bond issue by the Secretary of the Treasury

in national and State banks of the country. So far as the national banks or member banks of the Federal Reserve System are concerned, the per cent of reserve is fixed for all of them by the Federal reserve law, but for State banks the required reserves differ in the many States, the legal requirements being fixed by the States themselves. These State banks and trust companies, if they are to receive these deposits, should be made to keep a reserve against these deposits the same as the national banks; and a good plan to cover this would be that the Secretary of the Treasury make a ruling that all State banks receiving deposits from the proceeds of this loan be required to keep the same reserve as do the national or member banks of the Federal Reserve System, and, further, the Secretary of the Treasury should leave or deposit these funds in the banks in the localities in which the subscription originates until the United States uses the same instead of transferring or consolidating the same in the few large city banks, thus to preserve the even tranquillity of our financial institutions the country over.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; they could keep it in that, or the Secretary of the Treasury could put it in the regional reserve.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. PLATT. This does not interfere with the present arrangements for deposits?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. It gives an additional right to others.

Mr. PLATT. So that if money comes out of hiding it can come out under the present arrangements?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. This section here refers only to the proceeds of those bonds and not withdrawals from the banks.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. What will be the security? Will the bonds be the security of the Secretary of the Treasury for these deposits?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think under the law he will have the right to do that.

Mr. WINGO. Does not the gentleman anticipate that these bonds will be the security that will be placed there?

Mr. KITCHIN. Some of it.

Mr. WINGO. Where else will you get sufficient?

Mr. KITCHIN. We have a law now with reference to the security required by law.

Mr. WINGO. He naturally would give the preference to the bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. Suppose a bank in my town, for example, has no United States bonds and no State bonds or any of these securities, and say a $40,000 depositor would take these bonds. My bank could not get any of that money, for the reason it would not have any of the security to put up, unless it would go and rent this depositor's bonds, so to speak; and if he turned those bonds over to it, it would get security.

Mr. WINGO. I am not objecting.

Mr. KITCHIN. I know that. I know the gentleman is only asking for information. There are a great many of these bonds that will not be deposited for security.

Mr. WINGO. There will be many that will be, though.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have in mind parties that have money in savings banks and in local banks who will take that money out and buy these bonds and put the bonds in their pockets. They will not put them back into the banks, and the banks have not the securities to get the deposits. There are many banks in that situation.

Now, the seventh amendment requires the Secretary of the Treasury to make a report as to all expenditures under this act.

Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves the adoption of the conference report.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman give me five minutes before he does that?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I will do that.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. WINGO. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to agree to the conference report on this important matter, because I recognize the fact that we do not want a delay. But, understanding this reserve question as I do, and knowing the dangers of this very provision, I can not conscientiously agree to the conference report, and I shall vote against it, even though I am the only man to do so. I want briefly, in the five minutes allotted to me, to call your attention to what the effect of this provision is.

If you will refer to section 5191 of the Revised Statutes, you will find the provisions with reference to reserves, as amended by the Federal reserve act.

We are voting under this bill $5,000,000,000 of bonds. The President of the United States, in his address that he delivered here a few days ago suggesting this issue, very wisely called attention to the danger of such a large bond issue, and the President was not unnecessarily alarmed. It was not an imaginary danger that confronted the country, but it was of such importance that the President felt it necessary to warn this Congress.

What do you do gentlemen? This $5,000,000,000 of bonds, reduced to a mathematical proposition under this last proviso of section 7, means a possible inflation of credit in this country of exactly $3,000,000,000. Do you want that additional inflation at this time? It is admitted by all that one cause of our present high prices in this country is the inflation of the currency and of our credits. Yet at one fell swoop you propose to swell the credits of this country $3,000,000,000. It is bad enough to issue $5,000,000,000 of bonds. That may well make men hesitate at the danger that would come from such a great bond issue. It made the President hesitate, and for that reason he called the attention of Congress to the danger. We can obviate a part of that danger by not waiving the reserve requirements on deposits of the proceeds of these bonds, as is done under this last proviso. What is the necessity for it? Do you mean to tell me that the banks of this country and their depositors and customers will not buy these bonds unless you grant this privilege? The wise bankers of this country do not ask for this provision. The wise bankers of this country for the past two years have been warning their associate bankers throughout the country against the dangers of inflation, caused by the extraordinary conditions which exist in this country.

The gentleman says the proceeds of these bonds will be deposited in the banks, and that in the course of a few months they will come back as deposits, against which there must be maintained the legal reserves. But you will immediately inflate the credit of the country to a possible $3,000,000,000, and soon thereafter—within the course of six or eight months—you will contract the credit of the country to an equal extent. Does any sane or sensible man think that is not going to have an effect upon prices and upon financial conditions in this country? Do you think you are at the end of your needs when you issue these $5,000,000,000 of bonds? Do you not know that when you meet next December you will be faced with the necessity for another issue if this war goes on? Do you want to have unsettled the financial conditions in this country when next year you want to issue additional bonds? There will be but one answer, and that will be that the unsettled conditions produced by this cause and other causes that will exist will compel you to pay a higher rate of interest for the next issue that comes on and automatically reconvert the present issue into a higher rate of interest.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman does not mean to convey the idea that we will inflate credit to the extent of $3,000,000,000, but he means only to the extent of 15 per cent of $3,000,000,000.

Mr. WINGO. To the extent of $3,000,000,000. There will be $5,000,000,000 of bonds issued.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. And 12 per cent of that will be $600,000,000.

Mr. MADDEN. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. And on the basis of 5 to 1, the usual credit basis, that will be $3,000,000,000—five times $600,000,000.

Mr. MADDEN. That is the loaning power.

Mr. WINGO. I am talking about the inflation of credit. I am not inveighing against the banks. The wisest bankers in this country have been warning this Congress of this very condition during the last two years, and whenever they have spoken in their association meetings they have warned the country bankers and have warned Congress of the dangers of inflation. That is one of the causes of the high prices right now. Through this provision you can enter upon this policy, and having once taken the step, the next act for issue of bonds will carry this same provision, and the people of this country, through increased prices, will pay these bonds over the counter when they purchase supplies and food and clothing, and still the next generation will have these bonds to pay.

Mr. PLATT. Does the gentleman think there would really be an expansion in loans of 5 to 1?

Mr. WINGO. I do not think there is any question about it.

Mr. PLATT. I think it is very unlikely.

Mr. WINGO. Of course, it will not go to the maximum. There are a great many wise bankers in the country who see the danger, and they are now guarding against it as best they can, but the history of every war tells you what the effect is on business.

These older men who sit here know the history of the expansion of credit in the Civil War, in the purchase of great volumes of supplies, and they know what is in danger of happening in this country in the course of a few months when the $5,000,000,000 are going to be spent by the allies. They know what is going to happen. They know what is going to happen to credits.

Mr. PLATT. But $3,000,000,000 of this are to be exchanged for bonds of the allies. Does the gentleman think that would make any such inflation?

Mr. WINGO. I do not think that will have anything at all to do with it, because the $3,000,000,000 of bonds of the allies will simply be security for the money that our Government is going to loan to the allies. Our Government is going to loan this money for the purpose of providing credits in this country. They are going to spend that money in the purchase of supplies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield me five minutes?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I think there is something in the statement made by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO], but here is the situation. We expect to have national banks—under which term I include members of the Federal reserve as a matter of convenience—and State banks also subscribing for these bonds and getting their depositors to subscribe for the bonds. If a national bank subscribes for the bonds and the money is redeposited in the national bank, the national bank would be required to keep, say, 12 per cent of those deposits as reserves under existing law, while the State bank would only be required to keep that portion as reserves that is redeposited, which the State law requires, and in most cases, or in many cases, that is a negligible amount. Of course, we can not change the requirements of the State laws concerning reserves in State banks.

I assume that the purpose of the proviso referred to eliminating reserves entirely as to redeposits made by the Government in banks which have subscribed for the bonds is an effort to put the national banks on at least as good terms as the State bank. I doubt very much, however, the propriety of eliminating reserves on account of any deposits made by the General Government. How long this money will stay in the banks no one knows. If it stays long and the reserves as to those deposits are wiped out, that will mean a considerable increase in the loaning power of the banks and probably a large increase in the amount of loans of the banks. That is expansion, inflation. When, however, the money is paid out by the Government and put back into the banks by private depositors, then the banks will have to keep their reserves, and that means contraction. I doubt the advisability of the inflation in the first place, and, if it occurs, everyone knows that there will be trouble when it comes to the contraction.

Mr. MADDEN. That would require the banks, then, to call their loans in many cases.

Mr. MANN. Undoubtedly.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANN. Yes.

Mr. PLATT. All of these deposits will have to be backed by security.

Mr. MANN. The security has nothing to do with the question of reserves.

Mr. PLATT. It has this to do: According to the theorists on this matter, every bond or security has a potential credit and can be put up and borrowed upon somewhere else. The banks have got these securities, which they can borrow on somewhere else. If they pledge them, then that much currency is taken out of circulation.

Mr. MANN. A bank is supposed to have security for all of its deposits upon which it can obtain money. It is supposed to have securities for all of its deposits, and whether in the hands of the bank or in the hands of the General Government does not cut any figure at all, except as to the security to the General Government, and the General Government in addition to the security claims a first lien upon the deposits of the bank. In the national banks I do not think the question of security has anything whatever to do with the question of reserves or with inflation or contraction.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Take this example. A bank in Chicago buys $1,000,000 worth of these bonds of the Government of the United States. The Government of the United States pays that million dollars back into the bank in Chicago. The Chicago bank sells those bonds to the member banks or national banks throughout the country. How can the Government put that money that the national banks pay to the Chicago banks back in the member national bank?

Mr. MANN. It leaves it there, of course.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. MANN. You could not get the bonds without disturbing all of the finances of the country, if you take the money out when they buy the bonds. They have to leave the money in circulation, or you would have a cataclysm.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The money would be put in the Chicago bank instead of in the member bank, because the United States could not take that money out of the Chicago bank.

Mr. MANN. The member bank will buy its own bonds.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; and the Government will not put any money back into that member bank.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY].

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] seems to think that the sale of those bonds to the people of the country is going to inflate values. Did anyone ever hear tell of a war in any country on the face of the earth the result of which was not to inflate values? If so, I would like to have him tell me what war it was and when it happened. My good friends, the sale of those bonds among the people of the country is going to cause a more stringent money market. It is going to divert the funds of the banks of the country into channels other than those used now, and it is going to cause money borrowers of this country to pay more interest for the money they get. There is no question about that. That is going to have a tendency to inflate values. The more interest you must pay for money to carry on your business the more you must get in value for the product of your institution, and the consumer in the end must pay that increased cost. I do not know that I grasped the real point the gentleman made about the reserves in the Federal banks. Under the law there is a certain amount of money required to be held as reserves in national banks.

A certain amount of that money must be put into Federal banks by any bank that becomes a member bank. This proposition permits that money to be used as collateral security for the money deposited in local banks by the Government, which money went for the purchase of those bonds, and if you do not permit that reserve to be used as collateral security, it means that the banks of the country must put up that much more money for security and divert it from the natural channels of business in local territories. Which of the two is the most likely to inflate values?

Mr. WINGO. If the gentleman will yield, he misunderstood me. I did not discuss the matter that he is discussing. I agree with the gentleman, and I think if the gentleman had listened, he would have understood. I called attention to the fact that wars cause inflation in prices. Does the gentleman want to further inflate the credit in this country by removing the reserve requirements of banks by legislation? I think the gentleman will agree with me when he sees what I am driving at.

Mr. FORDNEY. Perhaps I did not understand the gentleman. I do not want to do anything by an act of legislation that will inflate the values beyond what they are naturally going to be inflated because of the war.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman will admit that the decreasing of the reserve inflates the credit.

Mr. FORDNEY. The question is whether you use it as collateral security or put up another like amount as security and thereby double the amount in the Federal bank. Which of the two is most likely to cause a tight money market and increase value of interest, and consequently inflating values?

Mr. WINGO. I may not understand, but I think both will, and for that reason I am opposed to either.

Mr. FORDNEY. Of course both will; but the two together will make it double.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman and I agree; I do not want any more inflation.

Mr. FORDNEY. This bill does not do anything of the kind.

Mr. WINGO. If the gentleman will yield further, will not the decrease of the reserves inflate credit?

Mr. FORDNEY. I do not know that I fully understand the real sense of the gentleman's question. Here is a certain amount of money in the reserve bank to-day, put up for membership. Is not that true?

Mr. WINGO. There is so much confusion in the Hall I did not catch the gentleman's question.

Mr. FORDNEY. Does not the national bank to-day which becomes a member of the Federal banking system put up a certain amount of reserve in that bank?

Mr. WINGO. Yes; for a certain purpose, but that is not the reserve that I am talking about.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield the gentleman two minutes more.

Mr. FORDNEY. That money is now in the banks, and the bill permits it to be used as collateral security for Government money deposited in the banks or invested in the bonds. Does the gentleman want to double it?

Mr. WINGO. That is not the proposition.

Mr. FORDNEY. Yes, it is.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman is talking about the reserve required to be maintained by the member bank with the Federal reserve bank. He is talking about another reserve.

Mr. FORDNEY. Do you not, as a member bank, have to put up money to become a member of the Federal bank?

Mr. WINGO. Every bank whether or not it goes into the Federal Reserve System must maintain lawful reserves.

Mr. FORDNEY. What has that got to do with this bill?

Mr. GARDNER. Will the gentleman from Michigan yield to me for a question?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GARDNER. I think the gentleman from Arkansas refers to that clause in the conference amendment by which we exempt from reserve requirement the deposits from sales of these bonds. That is what the gentleman has referred to, is it not?

Mr. WINGO. That is one of the undisputed facts.

Mr. GARDNER. Will not the gentleman admit that the issuance of this great amount of bonds will of necessity force up the rate of return on money unless there is something else done to offset it?

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. I yield to the gentleman two minutes more.

Mr. GLASS. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. FORDNEY. I will yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. GLASS. I have not heard the reason given by the members of the conference committee for this provision in the bill, but I assume that one of the reasons is—and I ask the gentleman from Michigan if it is not true—that the Treasury Department apprehends that it will have to invoke the aid of thousands of nonmember State banks and trust companies in placing this loan?

Mr. FORDNEY. I wish the gentleman would be brief, as I have only two minutes.

Mr. GLASS. Very well, I have not the time to ask the question.

Mr. FORDNEY. I want to say that the Government must, in the sale of these bonds, appeal to other banks in the country to buy the bonds aside from those that are member banks of the Federal Reserve System, and must go to banks operating under State laws that are not now members of the Federal Reserve Bank System. Their reserve is not affected at all by the security put up as collateral for deposit in their banks. It is only the national banks that are member banks that have a deposit put up that is required under the law in order for them to become a member bank.

The real point and gist of the law is that the Secretary of the Treasury must permit to remain in the bank all the money which is invested in these bonds, or practically so—a very large amount of money so invested—because if the State banks invest heavily in bonds the Secretary of the Treasury to permit the withdrawal of that money from the State banks and deposit it in a national bank—take all the money invested in these bonds from all the banks of the country and send it to New York or anywhere else and deposit it in one of the national banks—it would immediately cause a contraction of the currency all over the country, would it not?

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from North Carolina yield to me?

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has six minutes remaining.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I will yield two minutes to the gentleman from New York—I will yield three minutes.

Mr. PLATT. Two minutes, I think, will be sufficient. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me there is something in what the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. WINGO] said, but I do not think there is very much in it as a practical matter. It must be remembered that very few other countries have any reserve requirements for their banks at all, and reserves are kept as a necessity of good banking practice and not generally because of the requirements of the law. The banks that may have these moneys redeposited in them, after having invested their own funds or the funds of their customers in these bonds, would never dare to loan that money out down to 12 per cent. They will keep, in my opinion, more than a 12 per cent reserve anyway whether they are required to do so or not, and as a matter of fact the law does not now require a full reserve to be kept against Government deposits in banks of the Federal Reserve system, when secured by collateral. This provision, I have no doubt, was put in to equalize the National banks or member banks and State banks. Personally I do not believe that it makes any real difference as far as inflation is concerned whether it is in there or not.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PLATT. I will.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman does not believe in requiring a reserve at all?

Mr. PLATT. That is not quite true as a general statement. In a system like ours with so many small banks I believe a reserve requirement is essential, but without a reserve requirement for any deposits most of the banks would act just as they do now, and would keep about the same reserve or larger.

Mr. WINGO. But it is an indisputable fact that a decrease of reserve increases credits, does it not?

Mr. PLATT. Potentially and theoretically it does.

Mr. WINGO. And makes it possible——

Mr. PLATT. Now, the gentleman knows this: That according to the last statement of the Comptroller of the Currency the national banks of the United States are holding way above their reserve requirements to-day in spite of the great demand for money. I think it was something over $1,000,000,000 on the date of the last call, that of March 5. Now, why are they doing that? Simply because good banking demands that they shall, and the same thing will apply whether you put in this exemption or take it out.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman yield for a question there?

Mr. PLATT. Yes.

Mr. WINGO. Is it not known there are a great many bankers of this country who recognize that the present reserve requirements are too low and they keep a higher reserve than they are required to keep, and that is the reason——

Mr. PLATT. I think that is part of it, but the gentleman knows there is before the Committee on Banking and Currency now, or will be shortly, a proposition coming from the Federal Reserve Board to still further lower the requirements of the reserve.

Mr. WINGO. That may be true, but that does not change the fact that as you decrease the reserves you make it possible to increase credits.

Mr. PLATT. Potentially, yes; but the banks know what they have to do, and they generally keep their reserves about right, anyway. What I mean to say is this: The gentleman from Arkansas can not say with any confidence that the waiving of the reserve requirements as to these special Government deposits will actually result in any inflation at all.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a vote.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken, and the conference report was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. KITCHIN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to was laid on the table.

INCREASE OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3545, and pending that I ask unanimous consent that general debate on the bill be continued during to-day, one half the time to be controlled by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] and the other half by myself, and that the committee rise at 6 o'clock.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman does not mean that general debate will close to-day?

Mr. DENT. Oh, no; not at all; that general debate shall continue to-day and the time to be controlled one half by the gentleman from California and the other half by myself and that the committee rise at 6 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] moves that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3545, and pending that he asks unanimous consent that general debate on this bill shall run to-day, one half of the time to be controlled by himself and the other half by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], and that the committee rise at 6 o'clock.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question to see if I am mistaken in my impression. It is not the purpose of the chairman of the committee to close general debate on the bill after the debate to-day, but that debate to-day shall extend until 6 o'clock.

Mr. DENT. It is the purpose not to close general debate.

Mr. SLAYDEN. And as to its conclusion there will be an agreement?

Mr. DENT. In other words, there will be an agreement later.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I desired to know that so there might be no misunderstanding.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Is that the way the Speaker understands it, that part of the unanimous-consent request that general debate continue to-day, but is not to be concluded to-day?

The SPEAKER. Why, of course, this simply provides for to-day, and sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. [Applause.] So that everybody will know what the request of the gentleman from Alabama is the Chair will state again. That this simply provides for to-day, and there is no attempt to shut off debate when we adjourn to-day, but that will be another matter. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3545, with Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3545, the title of which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill may be dispensed with. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I think I may fairly state at the outset that there has been more misrepresentation of the attitude of the Committee on Military Affairs, or a majority of that committee, on the pending proposition than has ever heretofore occurred in the history of this Republic. [Applause.] There is no question that the Congress of the United States, after having declared war, stands ready and willing to back the President of the United States in order to make that declaration effective. [Applause.] The only feature that hurts me in all of this program is that there should be a feeling that the method by which this declaration should be carried into effect should not even be considered by Members of Congress. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, if we are willing to say that we will adopt a resolution authorizing the President to draft or to call for volunteers, authorizing the President to call for all the resources of the country in his own good way, without any other action on the part of Congress, then we might as well adopt that resolution and adjourn to-day. [Applause.] This has been a most embarrassing situation to me. I hope the committee will pardon me for this personal reference, but I wish to say that I have been to the President and I have been to the Secretary of War with every proposition of compromise, upon the theory that I think unity of action at this particular time is more important than the method of raising an army. And I think so yet. I think that it ought to be known to the country that we will do what is necessary. But the method of getting the army should be one that is worked out by the proper legislative process.

Now, let us see what this bill actually does according to the majority report. In the first place, it authorizes the increase of the Regular Army up to war strength, which will produce an army of about 287,000 to 290,000 men. That increase to the Regular Army is authorized, first, by voluntary enlistment, and in the event that fails the President is authorized to fill up the gap by conscription. In the next place, this bill authorizes the increase in the National Guard up to war strength, first, by voluntary enlistment, and if that fails, then by conscription. If that is increased to war strength as authorized by the national defense act, which provides for 800 men for every Member of Congress, you will have a National Guard composed of about 625,000 men. That gives you an army, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, of over 900,000 men—practically a million. So that this bill, first, by utilizing the voluntary enlistment system, and, second, by using the draft, if necessary, gives to the President an army of practically a million men, an army of the size that he is asking us to appropriate for. He is not asking us to appropriate for more than a million men as it is. Now, the only difference, the only real difference, between the majority of the committee and the President and the War Department is this: They want authority to conscript a half million more. Then they want additional authority to conscript still a half million more if necessary, so that the army will eventually amount to about 2,000,000 men. I say, then, the only real difference between the majority of the committee and the President is this: That the majority of the committee of the House believes that while the President is proceeding with his census of the men between the military ages, that while he is finding out by registration who will be liable and the class from which he can draft this half a million men, an opportunity shall be given to the country to volunteer that number of men. [Applause.]

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. Is not there also a very important and fundamental difference between the two propositions in regard to the range of the ages of those whom it is proposed to enroll, the War Department asking that the entire burden of the war be placed upon boys and men from 19 to 25, and the committee proposing that the burden shall be spread on all the mature men of the country from 21 to 40?

Mr. DENT. The gentleman is entirely accurate and exact in his statement of the proposition. I had not reached that. I was simply speaking of the method of raising the army first and will refer later to the details of those who will compose it.

Mr. OLIVER. Will the gentleman inform us whether or not the War Department is opposed to the age limit being fixed at 40?

Mr. DENT. The Secretary is.

Mr. POU. Mr. Chairman, a great many of us are interested in this matter, and I suggest that the gentleman be allowed to finish his statement before he is interrupted further. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to finish the statement I am going to make, and then I am willing to answer any question I can answer, if any gentleman wishes to ask.

Now, I stated, Mr. Chairman, that I thought the most important consideration at this time was unity of action on the part of Congress in backing up the declaration of war and not the method of selecting an Army, because I believe there will be no difficulty in getting an Army of 2,000,000 men in this country in order to carry on a war if necessary, by either the voluntary process or by the draft system. I have not the slightest doubt about that. But the misconception that exists among many people and the misrepresentation that has been deliberately indulged in by a certain portion of the press of this country, and especially those of them that have been on every side of every important question in recent years and not loyal to any [applause], has resulted in the charge that a majority of the committee was opposing the President in allowing him to have a bill that would give universal liability to military service.

There never was in all the history of this country a greater misrepresentation of the facts. As the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL] suggested a little while ago, there is a suggestion of universal service and universal liability to service. Let us see what the bill drafted by the War Department and sent to the committee proposes to do. It proposes to select from the male citizenship of this country every person between the ages of 19 and 25. Is it universal liability for service to take a selected class between the ages of 19 and 25, and then to exempt certain members of that class, those that are physically defective, those that have religious scruples against war, and so forth, and so on? The statement is made that the male population of this country between those ages is 7,000,000; that of that 7,000,000 about 42 per cent will be exempt from one cause or another, so that there will be left about 4,000,000 people between that age from which to select an Army of 500,000 men. And yet that is called universal service and universal liability to service. It is one of the most arbitrary systems of stating who shall go into the Army and who shall serve in the Army that could possibly be conceived of. [Applause.]

Now, as to the military committee: As I understand it, there is no difference between us so far as that feature is concerned. I have no authority, however, to speak for them; but, I repeat, there is no difference between us upon this point. The Committee on Military Affairs, or the majority of us, decided that we would never vote for a bill that would authorize the Government of the United States to conscript a boy 19 or 20 years of age and who did not have the right to vote. [Applause.]

As I have touched upon this age-limit proposition, I may say here that while the committee changed the age limit in the bill proposed by the War Department from 19 to 25 to 21 to 40, the

Secretary told me on yesterday that he thought that that limit was too large. They do not approve of going that high. The committee adopted that program because of the recommendation that had been made by the Secretary of War to change the enlisted age in the Regular Army and in the National Guard in this bill. Under the present law the enlistment in the Regular Army is from 18 to 30 and in the National Guard it is from 18 to 45, and the Secretary of War recommended that should be changed to from 18 to 40 in both branches of the service. That is the reason why the committee finally agreed upon the maximum age limit of 40 in the bill that was presented by the majority.

Mr. Chairman, that proposition, as I understand, is practically unanimous in the committee. The minority report certainly does not say anything in regard to it and does not offer any proposition changing the age limit as fixed by the majority of the committee in this bill.

And I may say another thing while I am on this proposition: The minority does not offer as a substitute for the majority bill the bill that was proposed by the War Department. There stands to-day before this House no one who sponsors that bill. [Applause.] There is no proposition pending before this House, as a substitute for the majority report, to enact just exactly the bill that was drafted down at the War Department and submitted to the committee. The minority report simply criticizes the proposition of the majority—that we want to recognize the traditional history of the Anglo-Saxon race and give every patriotic and loyal American citizen the right at least to tender his services to the Government. [Applause.]

That is the only criticism that is made; and I assume from that minority report that all that will be done is that, when we come to section 3 of the bill, a proposition will be made to strike out of the bill the provision authorizing the President to call for volunteers while he is taking a census of the people between the prescribed military ages.

Now, I believe, Mr. Chairman, that states in substance the bill, except I wish to make this statement, which, I think, ought to be known to the House and to the country: The majority report does not delay the President in getting an Army. If the bill as reported by the majority of the committee is adopted, the President is still authorized to proceed with a registration of all the male persons between the prescribed military ages for the purpose of determining who is on the list from which the draft is to be made. It does not stop the President from proceeding with that plan. He has ample and absolute authority to do it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. TILSON, and Mr. STAFFORD rose.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman explain the provision as to the increased number in addition to the increased force in the Regular Army and the National Guard?

Mr. DENT. I did not understand the gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman explain the provision made in the bill for an additional increment of force of half a million men for the Regular Army and the National Guard?

Mr. DENT. I thought I had done so.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. DENT. I thought I had, but I will state to the gentleman that it means this: Under the bill as reported by the majority of the committee this increase of half a million in the first instance and an additional increase of half a million in the next instance, if necessary, shall be resorted to by the voluntary system while they are taking the census of the people if the President wishes to resort to it. But if, after the completion of the registration, after every male citizen between the prescribed military ages has been registered, the President decides he can not raise the army by the volunteer system, then he has the right to draft these 500,000 men in the first instance and an additional 500,000 men afterwards.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes, sir.

Mr. TILSON. In order that the debate may center about the one point that is really in controversy between the majority of the committee and the minority, will the gentleman permit me to say that, so far as I understand the minority's intention, it is that when we reach section 3, at the top of page 3, of the gentleman's bill, we will move to strike out all of page 3 and page 4 down to the word "authorized," in line 6, and on page 5 strike out the words "volunteers or." That is all the difference, so that we may bring all the debate upon that point that is really at issue. Now that leaves the matter of age, referred to by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], and brings it down to the matter of volunteers, paragraph 3 of section 1, beginning at the top of page 3 and going down to the word "authorized," on page 4, in line 6. The word "authorized" is the last word to be stricken out; and on page 5, paragraph 5 of section 1, in line 19, strike out the words "volunteers or."

Mr. DENT. I will state, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. I should like to make a statement in response to what the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] said, and then I will yield to the gentleman. I thought I had stated—not specifically, as the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] says—exactly what the proposition was, but that was the substance of what I had already stated, that that was the only real issue between us; that the majority of the committee recognized that the old volunteer system should be resorted to while they were trying to get ready for the draft, and leave it to the President finally to decide that question; and the minority say that it should not be recognized at all. Now I will yield, first, to the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN].

Mr. KAHN. My colleague from Connecticut [Mr. TILSON] stated the major proposition, but it was understood in the committee that if further amendments were desired by any members of the minority they should have leave to do so. The majority in their report thought it best to center their fight on selective conscription, but the minority reserved the right to offer such other amendments as they saw fit.

Mr. DENT. In connection with what the gentleman from California states I want to say that I understood that both the majority and the minority reserved the right to offer amendments that would go to the details of the bill, but nobody reserved the right to change the policy or the principles of the bill.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to my colleague on the Military Affairs Committee.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I wish to have the gentleman make a little more plain, if he will, the opinion of the majority of the committee and our reason for authorizing the President to call for volunteers, that in no way will it result in a delay in securing the Army, but, on the contrary, it is a matter of record that when volunteers were called for in England and Canada and Australia they presented themselves so rapidly that the Government could not take them all. Millions of men presented themselves for service before the time when they could be accepted, and before the time we were told that it would take to install the conscription system in this country.

Mr. DENT. That is absolutely true, and I will go further and make this statement: That we were told by the Secretary of War and his advisers that they did not have sufficient equipment right now to muster in the National Guard up to its war strength.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I should like to inquire whether the gentleman is at liberty to state the position of the President upon the bill that we have presented here?

Mr. DENT. I can not state the position of the President.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I understood the gentleman to say that he had been to the President and had talked with him.

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And also had talked with the Secretary of War.

Mr. DENT. I did; but I would not like to undertake to say what is the reason which inspires the President to say that the bill should be adopted just in the form in which it is submitted.

Mr. BRITTEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. BRITTEN. The gentleman referred to certain exemptions in the bill. I do not know the bill thoroughly. I should like to inquire if there is anything in the bill that would exempt from the service those Americans who still have fresh or warm blood ties applying to their relatives in Germany or Austria or Hungary? That was done in Australia and in Canada.

Mr. DENT. I will answer the gentleman's question. The only exception in the bill on that subject is the exception of alien enemies.

Mr. BRITTEN. Then there is no exemption in the bill of persons having relatives in Germany or Austria?

Mr. DENT. The only exception is "alien enemies."

Mr. BRITTEN. Did the gentleman's committee consider that point at all?

Mr. DENT. Yes; that point was presented to the committee.

Mr. BRITTEN. And it was decided not to make those exemptions?

Mr. DENT. The only exception in the exemption in the bill is as to alien enemies.

Mr. SIMS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. SIMS. In order that we may get a clear conception of the issue or the difference, is it not a question between the volunteer system as a preferential system for raising armies in this country in the first instance, or the conscriptive or draft system in exchange for it as the preferential system? Is not the real fight between those two systems, more than it is over mere details in working out the respective systems?

Mr. DENT. That is absolutely true.

Mr. SIMS. And I understand the volunteer system has always been the established system in this country, and conscription has been resorted to only as exceptional, unusual, and to meet an emergency that could not be covered in the regular way.

Mr. DENT. As I understand the history of the country, conscription has been used only once, and that was two years after the beginning of the Civil War. It never has been used in the beginning of any war.

Mr. CRISP. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP].

Mr. CRISP. I should like to ask the gentleman to explain to the committee how the selection will be made, or the first increment, or any additional increment provided for under the conscription plan?

Mr. DENT. Under the conscription plan?

Mr. CRISP. Under the conscription plan, and how this selection will be made? The bill does not deal with that, except to say under departmental regulations; but from reading the hearings I think the chairman and the committee have some idea as to how that selection is to be made, and I would like to have the gentleman explain that.

Mr. DENT. Perhaps I did not go into details upon this point. It is proposed to take a census in the first place of all the male citizens between the ages that the bill may provide for, 19 and 25, according to the War Department bill, or 21 and 40, according to the bill reported by the committee. The first thing that must be done, of course, is to take this census. Then it is proposed to put the names in a box and draw them just as you would draw a jury. Of course, the right is reserved to determine who are physically unfit and to reject them, just as a juror whose name was drawn from the box if he was found to be incompetent or disqualified for any reason would be rejected. Finally, the 500,000 men are selected by lot out of the names drawn from the box.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FESS. I have frequently heard that the conscriptive plan is the only one that would be sure of not taking the ones who ought to be at home engaged in something else.

Mr. DENT. Yes; that idea is expressly incorporated in the volunteer plan by an amendment to the act of April 25, 1914, providing for the call of volunteers. That act is amended by this bill so as to preserve exactly the same exemption features as the bill of the War Department under the draft scheme.

Mr. FESS. Then the voluntary system would not necessarily rob the country of the munition makers?

Mr. DENT. The gentleman is absolutely correct. If we adopt the volunteer system under the provisions of the bill the President can refuse to accept any volunteer whose services are more important in some industrial enterprise. [Applause.]

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. BORLAND. I would like to ask whether I am right in believing that the enlistment law has been changed so that enlistments both in the Regular Army and in the National Guard are for the period of the war? Has there been such a change in the period of enlistment?

Mr. DENT. There has been in this bill.

Mr. BORLAND. I understood the gentleman to say that the Regular Army could be enlisted up to 287,000 and the National Guard to 625,000 under existing law?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. Does not that furnish all the opportunities for voluntary enlistment that is likely to take place in the immediate future?

Mr. DENT. I am sure that it does.

Mr. BORLAND. Then why is it necessary to create a third branch into which voluntary enlistment may be had?

Mr. DENT. Does the gentleman mean to ask me if the additional 500,000 men are necessary why they should not be given an opportunity to volunteer?

Mr. BORLAND. Assuming that we need all the men that the President thinks we need, why are we not testing the enlistment of the 925,000 already provided for?

Mr. DENT. If I understand the gentleman's position or his question, it is this—that in the Regular Army and in the National Guard the volunteer system is recognized, but when you come to the additional force it ought not to be recognized.

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman is not quite accurate; he has not quite hit the mark. The question is—the law already provides two branches of the service in which the voluntary enlistment is provided for by law, embracing nearly a million men. If it is desirable to raise an additional force than that already provided for, why should not the additional force be raised by the same method?

Mr. DENT. I thought I stated that a little while ago, but perhaps I did not understand the gentleman.

Mr. BATHRICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BATHRICK. The gentleman has explained very plainly the method of selecting the men who will be considered under the conscription method, but he has not explained who the authorities are that will make that selection—that will carry on the process of selection. I would like to have him do so.

Mr. DENT. I am glad the gentleman asked me that question.

Mr. BATHRICK. And I will ask the gentleman two questions in one. After he explains how the selective conscription will be carried on and by what authority, I would like to have him explain how the selection can be carried on by the volunteer system?

Mr. DENT. I will try to answer the gentleman. I will answer the first part of his question first. This process of raising 500,000 men from 7,000,000 men in the country will be conducted primarily through the War Department. The bill authorizes the President to use all agencies of the United States and all of the States in order to carry it into effect. But the bill goes further and provides that there shall be a tribunal to pass upon the question of exemption and pass upon the question of the rights of every man under this law, a majority of whom shall be civilians. Now, what was the gentleman's other question?

Mr. BATHRICK. The other question is: The question of selection is most important; and how are you going to do it with the volunteer system?

Mr. DENT. The same proposition would apply to the volunteer system that applies to the draft system, so far as excluding men that are not fitted for the service but are more suitable elsewhere.

Mr. FIELDS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. FIELDS. Is it a fact that whether we operate under the volunteer system or the draft system they are safeguarded in the same way?

Mr. DENT. The same way; exactly.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I listened to the question put by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] to the chairman of the committee, and I thought that the chairman failed to catch the significance of the question. If I understood the gentleman from Missouri correctly, it was why the volunteer system is not tested by the opportunity now to go into the Regular Army or into the National Guard.

Mr. BORLAND. That is it.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Now, I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if he does not believe that the cases are not alike for this reason: That under common American understanding of the volunteer system boys of the same neighborhood can organize, or have themselves organized, into companies, where when they go to war they will touch elbows with the man from the same shop or from the next farm, whereas if they go into the Regular Army some may be sent to California and some to New York and some to Panama or to any service in the Army or any branch that the authorities at Washington may determine that they should go. Concerning the wisdom of that I have nothing to say, but is not that it?

Mr. DENT. That is unquestionably true. As the bill was originally drafted by the War Department and sent to the Military Committee it provided that all enlistments hereafter should be in the Army of the United States. I asked the Secretary of War when he was before the committee what that meant. He said it meant the destruction of the present establishment of the Regular Army and the National Guard, and the creation

of an entirely new Army; so that he could wherever a man enlisted in the service send him anywhere he wanted to, with any branch of the service he desired, and separate him from his neighbors, and the committee repudiated that proposition. [Applause.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman one additional question. Was not that a confession on the part of the Secretary of War that the new Army, volunteer Army, would be too popular; that the young men would go to that instead of to the Regular Army? [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. I would not say what the Secretary had in his mind.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman from Alabama, of course, in all fairness to the Secretary of War, states that subsequently——

Mr. DENT. He yielded on that.

Mr. KAHN. He sent an amendment to the committee that all units coming from certain States should be enlisted as far as possible as State units?

Mr. DENT. He did yield on that, and sent me a letter to that effect.

Mr. CANNON. And will the gentleman allow me to sandwich in two words right there?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] makes a distinction without a difference. [Laughter.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I want to call the chairman's attention, replying to the question of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND], to the fact that one of the essential matters about this contest is whether or not a real call for volunteers has been made in this country. The bill as reported by the majority of the committee authorizes the President to call for volunteers, and let the country know that we want a volunteer army, and, further, in this bill it is provided that the army shall be raised in regimental units. In other words, it provides that in the call for volunteers regiments and companies shall be permitted to be organized and brought into the Army just the same as is the National Guard. Those of us who believe in a volunteer army feel that is the only way you can raise a volunteer army—that is, to raise it in units, as is provided in this bill. That is the difference between the plan of enlisting men, as they now are, in regimental recruiting stations scattered all over the country and enlisting them as volunteers in units, as we do now in the National Guard.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question right there?

Mr. DENT. I would rather not yield for a question now.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, is it not true that the Judge Advocate General has recently ruled that the States have the power now, by their own initiative, to create additional units of the National Guard up to the full authorized limit?

Mr. DENT. He has.

Mr. BORLAND. Under that system is it not possible to organize these very neighborhood companies or battalions or regiments that both these gentlemen have spoken of?

Mr. DENT. That is very true.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. I wanted to inquire of the gentleman from Alabama if the War Department offered any proof positive of their inability to get an army by a proper call under the volunteer system before proceeding with this?

Mr. DENT. They did not. The only argument that was made was that we ought to learn from the experience of England. We had an English Army officer before us, and I asked him the question, "How many men did you raise in your army under the volunteer system?" and he answered, "5,000,000." I said, "What is the total strength of the British Army," and he said, "Six and a half million"; so that five million of the six and a half million were raised under the volunteer system.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. As bearing upon the question as to whether sufficient opportunity for volunteering is given by enlistment in the Regular Establishment and the National Guard, is it not true that until very recently the War Department held there was no authority for raising additional units of the National Guard, and only recently, and with reluctance, admitted there was such authority, and even now the War Department is not encouraging, aiding, or assisting in the organization of such units?

Mr. DENT. I can not say that. I will state to the gentleman that I think there has been a change in the opinion as to the authority to organize the additional units provided for in the national-defense act, and now they admit that the entire war strength of the National Guard can be had.

Mr. KINCHELOE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. KINCHELOE. In answer to the question of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP], if the selective conscription be adopted whereby you fix the age, as your bill provides, from 21 to 40, I understood the chairman to say that those of that eligible list would have their names put in a box, and that they would be drawn out by lots?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. KINCHELOE. If that is done, and you are trying to fill up an increment of 500,000, and there are 10,000,000 names in the lot, and 500,000 are drawn out, what discretion, if any, under this bill is given to those officers as to whom they shall select and whom they shall not select, and if any discretion is given, where will that authority eventually lodge?

Mr. DENT. Well, they have no discretion, I will say to the gentleman from Kentucky, except to pass upon the question of their eligibility under section 3 of this act, which is the exemption clause and which eliminates those who are physically and morally unfit. In the first instance, as I said, that would be done through the instrumentality of the War Department, but there is a provision that a tribunal shall be created that shall have a majority of civilians to pass upon this question.

Mr. KINCHELOE. One more question: If the volunteer system is adopted and there is a call issued for, say, 500,000 men and there were a million men who responded to that call, will they be selected in the same way through being drawn out of this box?

Mr. DENT. No.

Mr. KINCHELOE. How would they be selected?

Mr. DENT. They would not be put in a box at all. If they call for volunteers, the call would come under the act of April 25, 1914, with such exceptions as we have made by way of amendments authorizing the exemption features of this draft system to be applied to the volunteer system.

Mr. KINCHELOE. How would you select 500,000 men out of a million men who volunteered?

Mr. DENT. The President would do as he has always heretofore done, call for a certain number for each State.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Where is this tribunal of civilians to be located?

Mr. DENT. There are to be a number of them; they are innumerable.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. That is exactly what I wanted to get at.

Mr. DENT. They are innumerable; just such number as may be necessary.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. So as to be within easy reach?

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. With reference to the question propounded by the gentleman from Missouri as to the opportunities of every State for the creation of additional units. I want to inquire if it is not true that when the Secretary of War Saturday a week ago informed the States that under the different construction placed upon the national defense act they could now raise additional units, but accompanied that statement with a letter to the governor of each State urging them not to do it?

Mr. DENT. It is a fact, as I understand.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. MASON. Upon the question of encouraging volunteers, is it not true that a former Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of this country, a man who has served in the field, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, has offered to furnish to this Government and this administration volunteers in a large amount to serve his country abroad if necessary, and that that offer has been declined?

Mr. DENT. I know the offer has been made, but I have no authority to answer that it was declined.

Mr. MASON. Then I ask if the gentleman does not believe a resolution of inquiry should be sent to the Secretary of War, if it be consistent with public propriety, safety, and welfare, that he may answer to the Congress of the United States and the people whether he declined Col. Roosevelt's offer; and if so, why? [Applause.]

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. DENT. I yield to my colleague from Alabama.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Chairman, referring to the recruiting of the National Guard up to the full war strength, which will give 641,000, is it not a fact that the War Department has not supplies for these new units—has no guns, uniforms, machine guns, or anything else for them to use, and it has no desire to bring them in the field at this time?

Mr. DENT. Well, I will say to my colleague from Alabama that I think the War Department has a sufficient number of rifles to supply an army of about a million and a half men but not the other necessary supplies.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Permit me to call the attention of the gentleman to the statement of the Secretary of War recently made before the gentleman's committee that they have only 690,000 Springfield rifles all told, both in reserve and in the hands of the troops, and that they have only three or four hundred thousand of the old Krag guns, which are not suitable for service but are merely suitable for training purposes, and they have no large cannon—no cannon suitable to equip an army of 500,000 men—no cannon of as large as 9-inch caliber and could not get them inside of seven months and would not be in a position to put 500,000 additional men in the field until after the 1st of July; that they could not get the necessary supplies.

Mr. DENT. That is substantially the statement of the Secretary of War, as I recall.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FOCHT. I desire to ask the gentleman whether there was any expression of doubt on the part of the President, as the gentleman understood it, or by the Secretary of War as to the ability of the country to raise 2,000,000 men by the volunteer system, in the presence of the fact that more than that number were raised during the Civil War on both sides, the North and South, when brother was fighting against brother? Now, is it possible that anybody would doubt our ability in this country, a land of intense, consuming patriotism, to raise 2,000,000 to fight a foreign foe? [Applause.] During the Civil War we had a population of about 30,000,000, and we now have a population three times as great. It seems to me that, whatever merit selective conscription may have, the suggestion that we can not readily raise two or ten million volunteers is an absurdity and a poor tribute to American loyalty. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. I will state to the gentleman in order to be perfectly fair to the President and to the Secretary of War they have not contended in any conference that I have had with them or in any hearing before the committee that you could not raise these men by the volunteer system, but they said they thought the other system the better.

Mr. WALSH. Can the gentleman state what the difference would be in the time required under the two system to raise this number of men? Under which system could it be done the quickest?

Mr. DENT. Under the volunteer system, of course. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. Will the gentleman state a little more elaborately his reasons for making that statement?

Mr. DENT. I will, and I am very glad to do it. I am pleased that the gentleman asks the question. We have not had a census of the people of this country since 1910. We must take a new one. It will require, according to the statement made by the Secretary of War before the committee, at least 3 months to take that census and at least 30 days longer in order to go through the list and weed out those that are unfit and exempt, so that it will take, according to the Secretary of War's own statement before the committee at least four months before you would get the names from which you are going to draft the men. In my humble judgment, it is going to take from 8 to 12 months, because you can not take a census of 7,000,000 to 15,000,000 people in this country in any short time.

Mr. LANGLEY. Permit me to suggest that it has taken longer than that heretofore.

Mr. DENT. Under the volunteer system all the President would have to do would be to say how many men he wanted from Alabama or Massachusetts or from any other State in the Union, notify the governor of the State, and in less than 48 hours you would have the men. [Applause.]

Mr. LANGLEY. I do not think the gentleman caught my statement a moment ago, and that is—and I know what I am talking about, because I was connected with the Census Bureau—it has taken a much longer time than the gentleman has suggested to take every census that has been taken.

Mr. DENT. That is true. It has taken several years to take a complete census of the country, and I am sure it can not be taken in three months.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LENROOT. The gentleman states that under the volunteer system the required number of men could be raised in 48 hours. I want to ask him whether he thinks that food production is just as necessary to win this war as fighting men?

Mr. DENT. I certainly do.

Mr. LENROOT. Then I want to ask him whether under the terms of this bill, whether the enlistment be voluntary or by conscription, the President will be authorized to exempt all those engaged in agriculture, if he sees fit?

Mr. DENT. He will.

Mr. LENROOT. Or those in any other industry whom he thinks should be exempt?

Mr. DENT. Under the volunteer plan or draft plan the President has the right absolutely to refuse to accept into the service or to discharge from the service any person who is needed in any industrial pursuit.

Mr. LENROOT. Now, if the gentleman exempts from volunteering all those engaged in agriculture, all those engaged in industries that he thinks necessary for the welfare of this country at this time, how many months does the gentleman think it would take to get 500,000 volunteers from the nonexempt classes?

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, if you would exempt everybody you would never get an army. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENT. Now, Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended 10 minutes.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama be allowed to conclude his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] asks unanimous consent that his colleague be permitted to conclude his remarks. Is there objection?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I understood that we agreed the time should be controlled by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] and myself during the general debate to-day.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GARNER. Was there not a unanimous-consent agreement that the time on each side should be controlled by the gentleman from Alabama and the gentleman from California?

Mr. DENT. That is the understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. If that was the fact, the Chair has not been so informed.

Mr. DENT. That was the understanding.

Mr. MANN. That was the request made by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT]. I am not sure whether the Speaker stated it, but I think everybody so understood it.

Mr. DENT. He stated it, and it was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is true, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] is in control of his own time without further motion. The Chair had not been advised to that effect.

Mr. FERRIS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. FERRIS. A few moments ago I made an inquiry of the chairman of the committee to know what proof, if any, was presented to the committee showing we could not get a volunteer army?

Mr. DENT. None in the world.

Mr. FERRIS. He supplemented that by saying that the statement had been made that it was shown that in the past it was a failure. Who presented this to the committee and said that it was a failure in 1776, in 1812, in 1861, or in the Spanish-American War? Who advocated that?

Mr. DENT. Nobody.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. In answer to the gentleman I wish to say that the statement was made that the Civil War was the only exception in which the conscription plan had been used.

Mr. GORDON. By Congress.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. If I remember the figures correctly, from first to last the United States called out approximately 2,800,000 men and the Confederate States, from first to last, approximately 600,000 men. Can the gentleman tell me what proportion of those figures were conscripts?

Mr. DENT. My recollection is that the statement was made before the committee that in the Union Army during the Civil War not over 60,000 of the 2,000,000 and more they had were conscripts.

Mr. KING. Two and one-half per cent.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I saw in a statement that was sent out to the effect that they were 2½ per cent.

Mr. DENT. It was approximately 60,000 men, according to the statement made to the committee.

Mr. GARDNER. As a matter of fact, there were 2,200,000 and odd men, different individuals, enlisted in the Union Army. Counting reenlistments there were about 2,900,000 different enlistments in the Union Army. Forty-six thousand men were raised by draft and 73,000 drafted men sent substitutes. In the Confederate Congress the conscription law was passed April 16, 1862. After that time no law was passed by the Confederacy raising troops by volunteering from those liable to military service. From that time down to February, 1865, 82,000 conscripts were enrolled and sent to the Army from instruction camps. To this number must be added more than 76,000 men subject to conscription who anticipated it by joining the Army without compulsion. (See report of Brig. Gen. John S. Preston, C. S. A., Official Records of War of the Rebellion, serial No. 129, p. 1099.)

The CHAIRMAN. Has the gentleman from Alabama concluded?

Mr. DENT. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Unless some gentleman has a specific question to ask, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman closes will he yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield to the gentleman from Georgia?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama yields to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. CRISP. The Chairman stated that the machinery of a board was to be appointed to pass upon the exemption of anyone if the conscription feature of this bill becomes operative, which it will. Does the bill allow an appeal to the courts from the decisions of that board?

Mr. DENT. Yes; by means of a writ of habeas corpus.

Mr. CRISP. From the hearings I understood that the bill made the findings of this board conclusive as to questions of fact, and that the court could not go beyond the findings of the board as to questions of fact. Does this bill do that, or leave the matter open to the courts?

Mr. DENT. It leaves the matter open to the courts. It repudiates that other proposition.

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. BARNHART. Under the provisions of the bill as reported by the committee could the volunteer system act necessarily as a bar to hastily mobilizing the Army under personal conscription?

Mr. DENT. Not at all. On the contrary, it permits the President to proceed immediately with the registration, so that he can get his conscript army, if that is required.

Mr. BARNHART. Under the provisions of the bill, is there any means whereby it might happen that one State furnishes its full allotment, and the conscription might fall in a State where the volunteer quota had not been made up, whereas in a State that had furnished its full quota of volunteers it would not be subject to conscription?

Mr. DENT. The only feature along that line in the bill is this: The bill provides that in drafting this army of half a million men in the first instance, and an additional half million afterwards, if necessary, each State shall be given credit for the number of men that have enlisted therein since the 1st day of April in either the Regular Army or the National Guard.

Mr. BARNHART. Now, will the gentleman state to the committee in what respect the bill proposed by the majority of the committee would hasten the mobilization of a large army over and above the conscription plan?

Mr. DENT. Would hasten it?

Mr. BARNHART. Yes.

Mr. DENT. I think I answered that a little while ago by stating that if you adopted the volunteer plan and the President called for volunteers, you could get them more quickly than you could take a census of 15,000,000 people, from which you have to get your 500,000 men.

Mr. RAGSDALE rose.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield, and to whom?

Mr. DENT. I yield first to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE].

Mr. RAGSDALE. As I understand the situation now, the Secretary of War and his military advisers and his experts and the President have worked out a plan and submitted it to Congress, in which they desire to secure as soon as possible a large and efficient army. Now, does the gentleman believe that those who are advising the President and cooperating with him, and the President himself, have reached a conclusion that will bring about a greater delay in securing that army?

Mr. DENT. In securing the additional army?

Mr. RAGSDALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DENT. I really think you can get a volunteer army quicker than a conscript army. I do not think there is any question about that.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Of course, the gentleman has discussed that with the Secretary of War. May I ask the gentleman what was the answer of the Secretary of War to that proposition?

Mr. DENT. Well, I would not like to state what the Secretary of War's reasons for his position are, because he has printed them in the hearings. He has been before the committee, and the hearings are printed. But I may say in brief that the final argument that they make to me is this: "Remember the experience of England, that England started out with a volunteer system and soon had to adopt the conscripting system." My answer is this: "If you are asking for an army of five or seven millions, that England needed because she was close to the firing line, instead of an army of only a half million, I might agree that your system is the better one." [Applause.]

Mr. RAGSDALE. Now, does the gentleman think that with the facts that are now known to the State Department and the President of the United States they would at this time embark on a system that they feel would in any way impair the service and the quickness in raising the men that they believe we are going to need in addition to those under the first call?

Mr. DENT. Of course, I do not think any such thing. The gentleman knew that before he asked the question.

Mr. RAGSDALE. I am quite sure of that. The point that I wished to make, Mr. Chairman, is this: Does not the gentleman think that the conditions that now confront this country with regard to securing men to go abroad are so different from the conditions that we faced in other wars that we are going to find a very material difference in the voluntary service of the people who will come forward?

Mr. DENT. No; I do not think so.

Mr. RAGSDALE. You think the men will come forward as rapidly for this war abroad?

Mr. DENT. I do not think there is any question in the world but that you can get 500,000 men to volunteer in this country in 48 hours. [Applause.]

Mr. RAGSDALE. How about the balance of the Army?

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield now?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LITTLE. I want to ask the question suggested by the gentleman's question who inquired whether it will be more difficult to get troops to send abroad than at home. Was not that demonstrated in the Philippine War, where they all wanted to go to the Philippines instead of to Cuba? They raised thousands of volunteers to go to the Philippines, which is farther away than Cuba.

I am informed that the bill to be presented by the minority of the committee is supported by some military experts. Does the chairman feel at liberty to inform the committee just who those military experts were, and just how expert they were, and as to what their experience had been in battle? For instance, if the gentleman would bring us the facts and tell us the names of the experts, and what battles they fought in, and what troops they commanded in action, it would assist me greatly in coming to a conclusion as to their expertness. Can the gentleman give us that? I ask this question in good faith, because I would like to have those facts. I do not expect the gentleman to answer them immediately, but later on he can disclose those facts.

Mr. DENT. I can answer that question now. That question was asked the Secretary of War when he was before the committee, and he said he had consulted with the members of the General Staff and the Army War College, and they worked it out by joint consultation with those people. I do not recall the military history of anybody in there right now except Gen. Scott, Chief of Staff, and the gentleman is familiar with his military history.

Mr. LITTLE. I anticipated the gentleman's answer, but if I am to be confronted with an array of experts, I want to know just how expert they are and whether they got their expertness by precedence or by practice. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. That is the only answer I can give the gentleman.

Mr. KAHN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. KAHN. I think it is only fair that the gentleman from Alabama should state that the Chief of Staff, Gen. Scott, has fought many battles.

Mr. LITTLE. Give me their names.

Mr. KAHN. I can give the gentleman their names.

Mr. LITTLE. Name one.

Mr. KAHN. We can insert the names of the battles in the RECORD.

Mr. LITTLE. I want them now.

Mr. KAHN. And Gen. Bliss has been a warrior who has fought many battles.

Mr. LITTLE. Name one.

Mr. KAHN. And there are others who have fought for the Republic.

Mr. LITTLE. Name them. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENT. I want to say in my own time that there was nothing that I said here that was intended as any reflection on anybody in the General Staff. I admire Gen Scott. I simply stated that his war record was known to everybody.

Mr. LITTLE. I meant no reflection on anybody. His war record is not known to me. If it had been I would not have asked the question. You are here presenting a bill which you say he indorses. I do not know of any battles he ever fought. If you know, name them. I do not intend any reflection on anyone, but when you make that assertion and do not name any battle that he was in, you make the reflection. Now, produce your battle list. [Laughter.]

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. PLATT. I want to say, for the information of the gentleman behind me [Mr. LITTLE], that Gen. Kuhn has been in Europe during a good part of this war. He is the president of the War College. I also want to ask the gentleman from Alabama whether there is anything in the volunteer section of the bill that prevents the payment of bounties to obtain volunteers?

Mr. DENT. There is nothing on that subject at all.

Mr. PLATT. Has not that been a tremendous abuse of the volunteer system which ought to be stopped?

Mr. DENT. Does the gentleman think the Government could pay bounties unless they were especially authorized in the act of April 25, 1914? You see this call is made under the volunteer act that we passed here in April, 1914, and there is nothing in that which authorizes bounties. So how can they get any?

Mr. PLATT. There is nothing that prevents any city, town, or neighborhood that is richer than others offering bounties.

Mr. DENT. No; there is nothing to prevent any individual from supplying his means if he sees fit.

Mr. PLATT. And that is the trouble with the whole system. One neighborhood richer than another will offer bounties, and so will draw volunteers to itself.

Mr. SABATH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. At the present time we have a large number of members of the National Guard who have families dependent upon them. I would like to know whether there is any provision by which those having families dependent upon them can be excused from service.

Mr. DENT. There is an express provision in section 3 of the act authorizing the discharge from the service of any person whose status is such that he has a dependent family to support, whether we adopt the volunteer or the draft system.

Mr. AYRES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. AYRES. I understood the gentleman to say a few minutes ago that there was an English officer who appeared before the committee who said there had been about 5,000,000 men who volunteered in the English Army. Is it not a fact that thousands and thousands of those men had to be taken out of the British Army and returned to civil life in order to help restore the paralyzed industries of Great Britain?

Mr. DENT. That is very true, and that is taken care of in this bill, whether under the volunteer or the draft system.

Mr. GARDNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Saltzgaber, the Commissioner of Pensions, gives the number of 2,213,365 different individuals in the Union Army and 2,898,304 as the total Union enlistments, of whom 1,722,690 got United States bounties. That does not reckon the bounties paid by States and towns prior to 1863. Now, as to the number who were the result of the Union draft, there were 46,347 held for service and 73,607 drafted men sent substitutes.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I accept the correction, as far as the Federal enlistments were concerned. Now, I will ask the gentleman if he has the enlistments in the Confederate States from first to last?

Mr. GARDNER. That has always been a subject of dispute, but according to Livermore's "Number and Losses in the Civil War," the lowest Confederate estimate was about 600,000, and the highest estimate runs up to somewhat over 1,000,000.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. What is the gentleman's authority for that?

Mr. GARDNER. I was quoting Livermore from my own memoranda. The Commissioner of Pensions, Mr. Saltzgaber, furnished his figures to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. They appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 21, 1916.

Mr. DENT. I must decline to yield except for questions.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield for a statement in one sentence?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. LANGLEY. More than a dozen men in my district have indicated their desire to get up military units, and men have been promised, and, as indicating their desire to fight, the most of them say they want to volunteer under Col. Roosevelt.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman inform the House the total amount of bounties paid during the Civil War?

Mr. DENT. I can not.

Mr. ROGERS. Can the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. GARDNER. The United States Government paid $300,223,500 in national bounties. That does not include the State and local bounties—see page 4698, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 23, 1916.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will yield to the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. MONDELL. Conscription seems to have been sugar-coated to a great many people by calling it selective, and therefore we are all interested to know what selective conscription is going to be like. I understood the chairman to say that the War Department and some officials had suggested that there might be a selection by drawing, and that the bill would allow that kind of a selection; is it not possible that this so-called selective conscription might be and would be likely to become a mere roulette wheel or lottery selection?

Mr. DENT. Out of the number of those between the military ages that is unquestionably true. There may be one boy in a family in one house and across the street three boys in another house, and the one boy may be drawn and the three other boys absolutely eliminated.

Mr. GOOD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. GOOD. The President's message stated that in case of war at least 500,000 men should be chosen on the principle of universal liability to service. What I want to direct the gentleman's attention to is this: Is there any real and substantial agreement in the Committee on Military Affairs as to what persons are liable for military service on the principle of universal liability to service, and also what ages?

Mr. DENT. The bill fixes the age limit from 21 to 40, and I understand that the committee is practically unanimous on that.

Mr. GOOD. How about the War Department? Does the War Department concede that only those persons who are between 21 and 40 are liable for military service under this principle of universal liability to service?

Mr. DENT. The War Department bill selects male citizens between the ages of 19 and 25.

Mr. GOOD. Under the War Department bill a man 26 years old, a citizen of the United States, is not liable for universal military service in the United States?

Mr. DENT. That is absolutely true.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. If the present volunteer system has failed to give the required number, will the gentleman explain what there is in this bill that will facilitate enlistment and bring in the required number?

Mr. DENT. I did not quite catch the gentleman's question.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. The volunteer system has failed to recruit sufficient men up to date. Is that correct?

Mr. DENT. No; that is not correct.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Will the gentleman explain what there is in this bill which differs from the present system and which the gentleman thinks will bring a greater number of men to the colors?

Mr. DENT. I have endeavored to state that, and if I have failed to make it clear, I am sure it is my fault. I have stated that the raising of the Regular Army and the National Guard by volunteers up to the maximum war strength will give us 912,000 men, and if necessary then resort to the draft.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. But having passed that stage, the War Department must resort to the selective system to get the required men.

Mr. DENT. I do not think we have passed that stage.

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.
Mr. HILL. The chairman says we propose to raise the Regular Army and the Volunteer Militia to its maximum strength by volunteers. I have been studying the bill to find out whether the provisions of the bill for the additional force are operative from the passage of the bill, so that the formation of that army goes on concurrently with the increase of the Regular Army and the National Guard.
Mr. DENT. Perhaps my statement was to some extent misleading. The law will go into operation immediately on its passage, but the idea is that we have a system for raising the Regular Army and the National Guard to the war strength, but we can not get the 500,000 additional force by draft until a census of the people is taken in accordance with the provisions of the bill. The census will go on before we have any chance to get the men.
Mr. HILL. There is nothing in the bill to prevent the immediate organization of the additional army?
Mr. DENT. No; but you have to await the taking of the census.
Mr. HILL. But there is nothing in the bill itself that would prevent it?
Mr. DENT. Nothing in the bill but that.
Mr. KING. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. KING. Is it not a fact that the Secretary of War said to the committee that even if he got 500,000 men overnight, it would take four or five months to equip them, and that he could not use them?
Mr. DENT. That is true.
Mr. MASON. Then what is the hurry?
Mr. WISE. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. I will yield to the gentleman from Georgia.
Mr. WISE. With reference to the ages fixed upon—21 to 40—that all between those ages would be liable to draft, did not the Secretary of War expressly state, in answer to a question that he would object to raising the ages from 25 to 40 unless he had authority to make regulations to group them and have authority to call the first group first, and did he not say we never would get out of the first group?
Mr. DENT. That is what he stated, as I recall.
Mr. RUSSELL. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. RUSSELL. Under the present plan there are two chances to volunteer, one in the Regular Army and one in the National Guard. Can they at this time volunteer for service during the war?
Mr. DENT. That is what the bill provides.
Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; but can they do it before the bill passes?
Mr. DENT. No; they can not. If this bill is passed it operates on all the enlistments in the Army and the National Guard since the 1st day of April.
Mr. RUSSELL. Until the bill is passed they can not volunteer for service during the war?
Mr. DENT. No; under neither organization.
Mr. RUSSELL. Some statement has been made that they are not volunteering fast enough. When this bill is passed limiting men to the war, will not that facilitate enlistments of volunteers?
Mr. DENT. I think so, very decidedly.
Mr. KING. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. KING. I would like to ask the gentleman three questions. In the first place, why were the particular ages fixed in the conscription bill between 19 and 25; why not 22 and 27?
Mr. DENT. The reason given to the committee was that it would take out of the industrial life of the country a less number of people than any other age limits.
Mr. KING. Are there any being conscripted in Canada or Australia?
Mr. DENT. No; no conscription in Canada or Australia.
Mr. MASON. Or in New Zealand?
Mr. DENT. No; none in New Zealand.
Mr. KING. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman know of a single instance in history where a nation was going out to conquer the earth and set up democracies throughout the world where they did not exist where the leader went forth trailed by a conscript army?
Mr. DENT. I do not recall any.
Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. REAVIS. As I understand this bill, there are certain absolute exemptions?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. REAVIS. Then there is a large element of discretion permitted the authorities with reference to other discharges or refusals to conscript.
Mr. DENT. That is true.
Mr. REAVIS. Has there been anything before the committee as to how that discretion is likely to be exercised? I mean by that this: I have seen in the newspapers and elsewhere articles to the effect that men working in steel mills or in shipyards, in munition works, who are so skilled as to take them out might stop the work, would be exempt, while they could take the boy on the farm and easily supply his place with those under or over military age, or those having minor defects which would make them ineligible to service. Have there been expressions of that kind?
Mr. DENT. That question was put to the Secretary of War when he was before the committee, and he stated that he would not, in advance of the enactment of the act, announce any positive program or plan by which it will be administered.
Mr. REAVIS. Has there been anything in the hearings before the committee to justify the statement recently in the press that the Department of Agriculture was contemplating taking a census of boys between the ages of 16 and 18 for the purpose of putting them on the farm to take the place of farm boys who were conscripted?
Mr. DENT. Nothing of that kind has been presented to the Military Committee.
Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. MADDEN. Has the committee any information as to what the regulations would be with respect to the exempt classes? I understand that the regulations are being drawn or are drawn, and that they cover all of the elements of exception.
Mr. DENT. I have no information as to what regulations would be adopted.
Mr. MADDEN. Does not the gentleman think that such information as that ought to be in the possession of the Military Committee, so that it might be able to present the full details of the information to the House?
Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Will the gentleman permit me to answer that?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. We asked for that information.
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. And they told us it had not been prepared.
Mr. MADDEN. It seems to me that every Member of the House ought to have that information.
Mr. DENT. The committee asked that question. I stated a little while ago, in answer to a question by the gentleman from Nebraska, that we asked the Secretary of War about that and he said that he had not promulgated regulations and would not do it in advance of the passage of the act; that that would be an administrative matter to be decided upon later.
Mr. MASON. In other words, Mr. Chairman, the selective part of the draft is to be purely executive, and not a legislative function. In other words, the President has the power to formulate any rules to make the selective draft; that is, the President and his representatives decide who shall be exempt?
Mr. DENT. Subject, of course, to the express provisions of this act upon that subject.
Mr. KAHN. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] has stated repeatedly that he will also have the right to make the same regulations for the volunteers.
Mr. DENT. That is true.
Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.
Mr. SIMS. I wish to state to the gentleman from Alabama that I was 9 years old when the Civil War began, and lived in both Hardin and Wayne Counties, Tenn., during the war. Conscription or the draft came first from the Confederate Government. A majority of the men within military age in my neighborhood were what were called Union men, opposed to the war, but on account of not wanting to go out and fight their neighbors they remained at home. When the Confederate conscription act was passed, almost in a body they went over to and volunteered into the Federal Army. That was the first fruits of the Confederate conscription in my section. It was a material increase of the Federal Army from that section. A few Southern sympathizers were conscripted, and nearly every one of them deserted the first opportunity he had. I saw that, and I know what I am talking about.
Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. TOWNER. I would like to ask the chairman of the committee this question. The general exemption outside of those stated in the bill is to those persons engaged in industries found to be necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment or the effective operation of the military forces during the emergency. In the opinion of the gentleman and the committee, would that include the boys under any circumstances who are working on the farm?

Mr. DENT. Undoubtedly.

Mr. TOWNER. It is the opinion that it would do so?

Mr. DENT. Yes; undoubtedly; and I think I can state that that is the opinion of the Secretary of War.

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. HUSTED. As I understand, under the committee bill absolutely no provision is made for compelling the men to serve who ought to serve, but who is unwilling to serve, and when I say ought to serve I mean the man who has no valid objection to raise why he should not serve provided there are enough volunteers to fill up the units. Now, I would be very glad to have a statement of any of the reasons which the chairman entertains, or which were advanced by the committee, why the men who ought to serve and are unwilling to serve should not be compelled to serve?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I have already stated the position and reasons on which the committee acted, without going into an elaborate discussion on that question again.

Mr. ESCH. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. ESCH. The cost of carrying out this bill has not been considered to any extent since the debate opened, and yet this bill appropriates $3,000,000,000 to carry it out for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and I want to ask whether there were any estimates furnished the Committee on Military Affairs constituting a basis for the amount?

Mr. DENT. Yes; it is shown in the hearings and the report that I filed along with this bill calls attention to the pages of the hearing where these estimates are given.

Mr. ESCH. And the various arms of the service were estimated for in considerable detail?

Mr. DENT. No; I can not say that; that is impossible.

Mr. ESCH. It was left entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of War?

Mr. DENT. It is left entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of War. The committee reached the conclusion that we had to rely on somebody to carry out this act, whichever form was adopted, and as long as we were making a new law we could not go into minute details as to each feature of this new legislation which was proposed. We had to trust somebody, so we provided a lump sum and trust its administration to the Secretary of War.

Mr. EMERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. EMERSON. I understood the chairman to make a statement that the majority of his committee would oppose conscription under any circumstances?

Mr. DENT. Oh, no; I did not; the bill itself authorizes conscription if the President, after taking a census, reaches the conclusion himself that he can get a better Army by conscription than by the use of the volunteers.

Mr. EMERSON. Suppose the House passes this bill and suppose that the Senate passes the conscription bill and it goes to conference, what will be the result then?

Mr. DENT. Well, I can not tell the gentleman what will be the result of the conference; I do not know.

Mr. EMERSON. The gentleman will be on the conference committee. What will the gentleman do?

Mr. DENT. I can not say in advance what I will do. In other words, the gentleman wants me to state right now that I am going to get what I am asking for and not yield anything that other people may want. That is not my attitude.

Mr. OSBORNE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I will.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask the chairman of the committee, referring to the age limit fixed in the bill, whether it is not a fact that the record of The Adjutant General's Office of the United States Army shows that of the 2,800,000 enlisted in the Civil War there were 1,151,438 of 18 years of age and under?

Mr. DENT. I do not know as to that record.

Mr. OSBORNE. Do not the records of The Adjutant General's Office show that there were 2,159,798 men enlisted of 21 years of age and under?

Mr. DENT. I am not familiar with that record.

Mr. OSBORNE. That is the fact.

Mr. MASON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MASON. What provision in the minority bill or the majority bill is there, if any, in regard to substitutes?

Mr. DENT. None at all in either one.

Mr. MASON. Then, as a matter of fact, is it, in the opinion of the Secretary of War and the committee, a matter which can be controlled by regulation by the War Department?

Mr. DENT. I do not know what is the opinion of the Secretary of War about that, but I would imagine not unless authorized by law. It is not authorized.

Mr. MASON. In neither bill?

Mr. DENT. In neither bill.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I do.

Mr. MEEKER. What does the gentleman think of the policy of permitting voluntary subscriptions to the $3,000,000,000 instead of forcing the people to pay it?

Mr. DENT. I did not catch the gentleman's question.

Mr. MEEKER. What about the policy of adopting this same haphazard scheme of letting people subscribe to this $3,000,000,000 instead of forcing them to pay it, or the penitentiary if they do not?

Mr. DENT. The gentleman knows those two questions are not at all similar in any manner, shape, or form.

Mr. LITTLE. Does the gentleman know of anyone who wants to give a million or two?

Mr. DENT. I do not.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Undoubtedly the chairman has answered the question which I would like to ask for information: Is there anything to prevent anyone enlisting, who is within the required age limit, providing the conscription bill is passed?

Mr. DENT. Anyone offering to enlist between 18 and 40?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Anything to prevent those who desired to enlist as volunteers even after the conscription bill is passed?

Mr. DENT. Oh, there is nothing to prevent anyone enlisting in the Regular Army and National Guard now.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That would be true even though the other bill was passed?

Mr. DENT. Yes. Now, Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] is recognized.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose to close the debate for the minority. I now yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCKENZIE].

Mr. MCKENZIE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, inasmuch as my time is limited I ask the Members to not interrupt me until I have at least made a short statement.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I believe that we all approach the consideration of this measure with a full knowledge of the solemn responsibility resting upon us. There never has been a time in the history of our country, at least in the lifetime of the Members of this House, when we were called upon to take action on a bill of such far-reaching importance as the one before us to-day. It deals with the life and death of our fellow citizens. Yes; and it may be the very life of our country. More than that, it changes the policy that has been in vogue in our country from the days that our Revolutionary fathers gave us our liberty until the present time. It is a short bill, and I regret that the members of the committee could not all agree upon it.

The chairman of the committee has given you an idea of what it contains. It provides for raising the Regular Army to war strength, for the raising of the National Guard to war strength, by voluntary enlistment of American citizens between the ages of 18 and 40 years. And in the event that they do not come voluntarily, then they may be drafted to fill up these organizations. The bill reported by the committee proposes that then the President of the United States shall call for 500,000 volunteers, and on that proposition the committee divided. There were some of us in the committee who were firm in our belief and have an abiding conviction that in this country we have come to the place where all men should recognize their liability to serve their country not only in time of peace but in time of war. [Applause.] On that one great proposition we divide here to-day. The men of this House will find themselves influenced by their emotions, their consciences, and their judgment, but I hope before this bill is finally passed the better judgment of the men of this body will prevail.

There are beautiful sentiments connected with the volunteer system. It is wreathed about with sentiments that we all love. Is there a man in this House that would break down the spirit that has animated the volunteers from the days of the Revolu-

tion to the present time? Surely not. I have the good fortune to come from that section of our country known as the great Middle West. We have sometimes been charged with dereliction so far as the preparedness of our Nation is concerned. It may be true that living out there on the almost boundless prairies of our section, breathing the fresh air that is wafted over those great plains, and viewing our fertile soil and the great potential power of our country we may feel more secure than the men who live along the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of our country. But, my fellow colleagues from the East and from the West, we are not provincial. Oh, no. Bunker Hill and Yorktown, Fort Moultrie and New Orleans, San Jacinto and the Alamo, are as dear to us as they are to men who live in other sections. Moreover, at no time in our Nation's history when the Nation was in danger have the sons of the great Middle West failed to respond to the call. But in talking about volunteers, and we will hear much of it here in this House, when in 1861 the civil strife broke, did the boys come when Lincoln called? Surely, from Illinois, my dear old State, from all over the great West, they came singing, as one has said, "We are coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 strong." [Applause.] Yes, they came, led by such immortal volunteers as "Black Jack" Logan, gallant "Dick" Oglesby, and Isaac R. Sherwood [applause], going forth to meet in mortal combat the volunteers of Mississippi and Alabama and Virginia, and to die together on the slopes of Donelson, in the woods of Shiloh, around the precipitous bluffs of Vicksburg, and before Atlanta. Yes; it is a glorious heritage, and we are proud of it.

Is that spirit dead to-day in our country? Ah, methinks not, when the greatest living American citizen, ex-President Roosevelt, stands ready to lead his band of volunteers even to distant France. And that is not all. I picked up the paper from my little home village yesterday, and I read a story there that thrilled my heart. A young boy, whose mother died when he was an infant, and whom I have seen grow up to young manhood, and being educated in the high school, where he would soon have graduated, got on the train the other day and rode 140 miles to the city of Chicago and enlisted in the Navy. Do I love that boy? Why, we all love him. We love that spirit of the American youth. And in order that it may be an inspiration to other young men I want his name to go into the RECORD of this House. He is Frank Moist, a plain American boy, who never knew the love of a mother, but he had learned to love our flag.

Ah, friends, in the days of the Civil War they came by thousands and hundreds of thousands, but finally the patriotic orators grew weary. And so eventually in that great war we had to resort to conscription, and the men who were taken and put into the ranks were looked upon as poltroons and cowards, and from that day to this the word "draft" has borne a wrong meaning. Those on the other side of this proposition say, "Can not we get the volunteers?" Perhaps we can. Perhaps there are enough men in this country that would volunteer to make up an army of 500,000 men. But are you willing to let them do it? Are you here to-day standing for a proposition that means that only the heroes of your community shall fight the battles of your country? [Applause.] Is it fair, is it just, is it right to ask only the brave to go forward and engage in the conflict? Ah, there is not a "slacker," there is not a coward in the whole length and breadth of this land that does not fear conscription. I know that you men are standing for the volunteer system because of the sentiment that appeals to us and because of the fear that there may be wrath in your community if conscription is put into effect. But what is conscription? Let us see. In this bill as it is written, striking out some of the things that the Secretary of War wanted, we say that all men between the ages of 21 and 40 shall be subject to this draft who are physically fit for soldiers in the Army of the United States and that their names shall be put into a box and the wheel turned and the names of those coming out shall be selected as the men to go forward to fight our battles. Is it fair, is it just, is it right when in this same proposition we provide that the boy who has an unfortunate mother that needs his help may be exempt, when the man who has a family dependent upon him may be exempt, when the man who has religious scruples and can not fight is exempt to put these men's names into the box and let them stand up as Americans and take their chances in this great conflict that is now upon us?

Another thing. If we had the system of volunteering abolished, if we were on the basis of conscription absolutely, let us see how it would work. Suppose our Government to-day wanted a million men and the names were put in, all of them, for selection and it was to be determined by fate and chance which of our citizens would wear the laurels on their brows as soldiers, do not you think that a man who was so chosen to carry the colors of his country would be looked upon as a hero? In every age of the world, in every country, the soldier has been the man who has been looked upon with reverence and respect, and that is as it should be, because it is through the sword of the soldier that we enjoy every blessing that we now possess. Every privilege that we have, every liberty that we boast of, was secured by the men who drew the sword and died for the same. Then let us enact a policy in this country, not because the Secretary of War advocates it, not because the President of the United States stands for it, but because it is right and fair and just to every American citizen. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, that is what I stand for here to-day. Surely you would not say that I am controlled by the views of the President of the United States. Far from it; but I stand for this proposition because I feel in my very soul that it is the only fair, just, and equitable thing for our people.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman care to yield there?

Mr. McKENZIE. I will yield to the gentleman for just one question.

Mr. BORLAND. I want to ask the gentleman whether if conscription is put in force at first there would be any distinction as to who would be volunteers and who would be drafted?

Mr. McKENZIE. No. That is it. It would take away that distinction.

Mr. BORLAND. If volunteers are first called for and then conscription is enacted into law later, it puts a brand on the man who did not volunteer?

Mr. McKENZIE. Yes. It brands every man who did not volunteer as a poltroon.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKENZIE. Yes.

Mr. FIELDS. The same thing exists anyway. Men are volunteering in the Regular Army now. They may be fighting side by side before the war is over. Yet, if conscription is exercised, here is one who is conscripted and another man who has volunteered under the plan of the War Department.

Mr. McKENZIE. That is true; but look at this bill as it stands. What does it provide? It provides that if these men do not volunteer, then the President of the United States shall assume the responsibility of putting conscription in force. My colleagues, I ask you to have the courage to vote conscription into this bill from the beginning or else make it a volunteer proposition. If you believe you can get the necessary men by the volunteer system, have the courage to stand upon it, but do not put a lever in here that will pry every man loose between the time this bill goes into effect and the conscription is put into force, compelling every such man to think that he must enlist. In such a case, what will be the feeling in this country? Every man who is physically fit to be a soldier will think there is an obligation upon him to enlist, otherwise he will be conscripted. But if you say that everybody must be conscripted in the first instance, things will move on in this country evenly and regularly. The impassioned speeches that are made to arouse our people against Germany by a recital of wrongs committed by her, the pleas of ambitious politicians trying to get up regiments will all be done away with, and the business of the country will move along quietly, serenely, and undisturbed. [Applause.]

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there for a question?

Mr. McKENZIE. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. If this bill for a conscription becomes the order of the day it will require every State in the Union to furnish its quota of men in proportion to its population?

Mr. McKENZIE. Absolutely.

Mr. MADDEN. Will there be any power vested in the President to exempt any State from doing that?

Mr. McKENZIE. No.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the President have the power to make a regulation that will enable him to do it?

Mr. McKENZIE. He will not. The law will specifically provide that each State shall furnish its quota. That is the only fair way. That is the reason why I am pleading for fairness and justice.

Mr. MADDEN. If I thought that would be carried out to the letter, nobody would be more enthusiastically in favor of it than I.

Mr. McKENZIE. Let me say to the gentleman that the power of impeachment has not been done away with in this country, and a President who would undertake to play favoritism between the States in that respect certainly would be made amenable to the law.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. McKENZIE. Yes.
Mr. McCORMICK. Will the gentleman point to that part of the bill which covers exemptions and explain how it is duly provided that even if the exemptions within a given State be numerous, nevertheless a quota from that State shall still be proportionate to the quotas from the other States?
Mr. McKENZIE. I can only explain that by saying this to my colleague from Illinois, that in my judgment the President of the United States would not have the power to exempt down to a point beyond the limit provided which the State should furnish.

Now, in closing, gentlemen, I do not want to take up the time in this general debate, but I do just want to say a few words in conclusion. To-day we have started in to summon 2,000,000 American citizens to arms, many of them to die of sickness in hospitals here, at home, and abroad, and perchance some of them to die on the battle fields of Europe. I know not. But it does not take much imagination to look back into the homes all over this country and see these 2,000,000 American boys coming forth to put on the uniform of the United States, either voluntarily or by conscription, to uphold the flag of our country. We passed the resolution declaring war with sad hearts on the 5th of April. Why did we declare war? Why do we now call for 2,000,000 American citizens to uphold that declaration? Was it because our President said it was desirable? No. While elevated to the highest position in the gift of our people, he is but a citizen. Thank God for that.

Was it for the purpose of driving from power one monarch across the sea in order that the throne of another monarch might be made more secure? God forbid! Was it for the purpose of overturning one branch of a royal family in order that those who represent another branch of royalty might be supreme in the countries of Europe? No; that was not the reason. Was it for conquest? I think not. If it were conquest and if we coveted the lands of other nations, the great wheat fields to the north of us, and the iron mines and the oil wells of Mexico to the south of us are much more inviting than any spot in Europe. Was it for that? It was not. Was it because we had a grievance or a hatred toward the common people of Germany? Oh, no. For I take it there is not a man here who has a particle of malice in his heart toward the great toiling masses of the German Empire.

When I voted for that war resolution, was it to put the Union Jack and the Tri-color alongside of the American flag? Was it to protect the American Eagle by calling the British Lion and the Russian Bear to its side to reenforce it? Was it in order that we might form an alliance with Russia and Japan and France and England, so that we might be secure in our isolation? Oh, no; I am sure no American was influenced by any such motive, for we know that we stood alone for 140 years; and God being our helper as Americans, let us hope that the day may never come when the representatives of our Government will entangle us in any alliance with the nations of European, Asiatic, or South American countries that will conflict with the true American doctrine.

Then why did we vote for war against the Imperial German Government? I will tell you, my fellow colleagues, why I voted for the proposition. The reason that moved me to cast the vote that I had prayed God I might forever be permitted to escape was this, and this alone, to serve notice once more on the people of the world, aye, to write it across the heavens if necessary with the blood of our patriot sons, so that the people who toil in the vineyards of Italy, the shepherds on the Caledonian hills of Scotland, the poor, unfortunate peasants in the Carpathian Mountains in the Empire of Austria, the great population of Slavs on the broad plains of Russia, and even the industrious peasants of Germany along the banks of the Rhine might read it and remember it for all time, that in this great, free Republic the rights of the citizen, even of a poor sailor, are secure, and that every son of this land will come to the defense of those rights when interfered with, and that he is secure in being a freeman in a country where he can stand up in his manhood and look up to his Creator as his Supreme Ruler and say, "My country," instead of "My lord"! We did it to serve notice that he is just as secure here as in a land that is controlled and dominated by a king, a kaiser, or an emperor, and that the poor and common masses of this world may take courage and feel that the time is coming when the world will be democratized, not by the force of American arms, but by the example of its heroic sons standing for the right, the security, and the protection of even its humblest citizens. [Applause.] Yes, my countrymen, this was the reason that impelled me to vote for a declaration that should turn the energy of this great, mighty, and peaceful people from the pathways of peace to those of war.

Now, my friends, we are in this war. We have antagonized the greatest military power in the world. Shall we ask only the brave? Shall we ask only the few boys who will go forward and volunteer to fight our battles, or shall we lay that burden where it belongs, on the shoulders of every American citizen, and go forth to battle serving notice on that mighty military leader that he has at last aroused the people of this great, free Nation, and that he will not have to combat a small army of volunteers, but the entire military strength of our country? My colleagues, it is for us to say. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN]. [Applause.]

Mr. LUNN. Mr. Chairman, the question before us seems to me to be the most important that we have had since our declaration of war, and it is, of course, intimately connected with it; and unless I fail, I shall hope to make it clear that either we declared war on a wrong basis, or we are committed to the democratic principle of universal liability to service.

We were impelled to that war decision, so we told ourselves, on the basis of our devotion to the principles of democracy. We agreed with the President that the principles on which a just Government is founded were tragically threatened, and we agreed with the President that the world must be made safe for democracy if this Nation and every other nation believing in those principles were long to endure. Either that position is logical and sound to-day or it was not logical and sound on April 6.

Many of our citizens believed that we ought to have entered the war at the time that Belgium was ruthlessly invaded by a nation that contemptuously disregarded every sacred right of small peoples. There were others who believed that we should have gone to war when the *Lusitania* was sunk, and a hundred American lives were lost by reason of the barbarism of the Imperial German Government. But the President was patient in spite of these terrible provocations. And I want to say that they were terrible, and I am glad that I had not the responsibility to decide when it was up to him to decide, for I fear I could not have been as patient as he was though I recognize the wisdom of his patience. He delayed that momentous step, and by delaying it proved that the die was finally cast for reasons far more weighty than any one set of facts such as the invasion of Belgium or the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The Imperial German Government prosecuted a ruthless war, proving by innumerable acts that she utterly and contemptuously disregarded the rights of international law as well as the more fundamental and sacred rights of humanity itself.

The time arrived when this Nation was convinced that Germany's one purpose was to exalt autocracy based on militarism and to destroy, if within her power, the last vestiges of democracy. The world was no longer safe for a free people, so Congress was called upon basely to submit to the tyrannical force of an autocractic monarch, or to take up arms in defense of those principles which we claim are worth living for and worth dying for.

The President's decision, given to Congress in a message that will forever live as one of the greatest state documents, was overwhelmingly sustained by this body. We pledged to the President all the power and resources of this mighty Nation. In that decision I voted affirmatively and was not unmindful of the tremendous consequences of our act. To my mind it involved the complete and unequivocal support of the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. [Applause.] In my remarks on the war resolution I reserved the right to oppose, by the strength of one vote, at least, any proposition which did not carry with it my own conviction. No man can compromise on a question involving his deepest conviction. That would be cowardly [applause]; but every man can compromise on a mere question of opinion. That would be courageous. To my mind there is a distinct difference between a man's conviction and a man's opinion. I make this reference for I am sure that we are all prone to confuse a genuine conviction with a mere opinion. We hold opinions when it comes to a matter of method. We are swayed by convictions when we face a matter of principle.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I believe intensely that the question before us resolves itself to this: Are we to raise an Army based on the democratic principle of universal liability to service on the part of every male citizen, or are we to raise an Army on the undemocratic principle of asking those who will to defend their Nation? I recognize that the majority report of the Committee on Military Affairs provides that in case of failure to secure volunteers we will then resort to the democratic prin-

ciple of conscription. It seems to me that the majority of the committee are simply contending for what, in their opinion, might prove a wise measure. It is not a conviction with them, else they would commit themselves to the volunteer system without equivocation and without fear. Is the majority of the committee so convinced as to the desirability of the volunteer system that they are willing to stake the fate of this Nation on that system? Their report answers this question. They are absolutely deterred from standing fearlessly for the volunteer system by reason of their fear that it might fail again as it always has failed. Their report, therefore, is not based on the principle of raising an army along democratic lines.

Mr. Chairman, if the volunteer system were what its advocates claim for it, surely history would come to reinforce their arguments. But history in the past, as well as history being made at the present time, reveals the awful blunders that would be committed if we should tolerate, again, a system that we know to be unscientific, inefficient, and most undemocratic. Our committee has carefully studied the facts regarding the volunteer system in those countries now at war. We found that England's surrender to the volunteer principle at the beginning of the war constituted one of the tragedies of English history. After losing the flower of her young manhood she finally had to resort to conscription as a national necessity. Why should America, in the light of her own experience, in the light of the experience of England in the present war—why should America tolerate for a moment a system that is based on the very denial of democracy? The volunteer system is not democratic. Universal liability to service is democratic. The principles of democracy on which this Nation is based should be defended, not simply by those who are willing to defend her, but should be defended by every citizen, whether they are willing to recognize universal liability to service or not. We must not commit this Nation to the policies that all our citizens should be protected in their rights, but only those who are desirous shall perform their duties.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will the gentleman define what he means by universal military service?

Mr. LUNN. I referred to universal liability to service.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Taking young men between the ages of 19 and 25—is that the gentleman's conception of universal military service?

Mr. LUNN. The gentleman is mistaken if he thinks there is before this House any measure calling for the conscription of young men between the ages of 19 and 25.

Mr. ALEXANDER. The War Department measure takes men between the ages of 19 and 25, and that is the administration measure.

Mr. LUNN. I would answer at once that that is not universal military service, but it provides for universal service. There are more arms in this great struggle that we must use than the military arm, and, while I do not agree, I could agree with them if they would take the boys from 19 to 20 and train them. That was their object. Anyone who asserts that the President or the War Department intended to put boys of 19 on the firing line is interpreting the bill erroneously. They did want this training, and I think it would have been a good thing, but you must understand, and the country must understand, that that is not the question involved, since this bill calls for men between the ages of 21 and 40.

Mr. ALEXANDER. If the gentleman will yield, John Temple Graves, the Washington correspondent, after sounding out the War Department, wrote his paper that it was the purpose that the first 500,000 men would be men of 19 years of age; that they were the first class to be trained and go to the firing line in Europe. I do not know whether he is right or not, but that is not my notion of universal military service.

Mr. KAHN. Will my colleague yield to me for a moment?

Mr. LUNN. I gladly yield to my colleague.

Mr. KAHN. The gentlemen who favor the volunteer system seem to forget that boys of 18 can volunteer and go to the firing line now, and there is nothing in this bill to prevent them from doing it. [Applause.]

Mr. LUNN. I would like to call the attention of the House to the remarks just made by the gentleman from California [Mr. OSBORNE] as to the ages of those involved in the Civil War. You may not know, but the gentleman volunteered for the Civil War at 16 years of age; but that is aside from the point.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. I will.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I understood the gentleman to state that the majority compromised because they permitted both the volunteer and conscription. How do you avoid the same conclusion when you provide for the national army and the National Guard shall be filled by volunteers?

Mr. LUNN. If the bill passes as the minority hopes that it will pass, on the basis of universal liability to service and not simply on the willingness to serve, immediately the machinery can and will be placed in operation filling the Army up to the full strength. They can enlist under a former law that you made for enlisting in the National Guard and in the Regular Army. But we are dealing here now with a problem of a new army, and we are departing from an old tradition, and I think the sooner we get away from that tradition the better.

May I add a personal word as to the volunteer system? I was a volunteer in the Spanish-American War. I was a personal sufferer and I know of the excessive costs, the unpardonable waste, and the tragic inefficiency of the volunteer system as revealed during that war. We had one of the best of men at the head of our regiment, Col. W. J. Bryan. A more conscientious leader we could not have had, but, with all our love for our colonel, we prayed daily that in case of actual combat we should be led into battle by an experienced soldier. I mention this for I believe I saw the volunteer system under favorable conditions.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. Yes.

Mr. MEEKER. The gentleman is aware of the fact that if he had gone into action he would have been led by somebody else.

Mr. LUNN. Oh, no; I am not at all convinced of that.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. I would like to say that my experience is that those who followed the volunteer captains and commanders in the Confederate War came back swearing by those captains.

Mr. LUNN. Let me say in reference to the Civil War that we are not fighting in a war that can be compared with the Civil War. At that time it was a question of soldiers more than anything else although, of course, foodstuffs entered into it. To-day, gentlemen, we are associated with other nations and we must help them to the limit with foodstuffs and munitions, or they will be defeated and we will be defeated in spite of all our bravado as to what we can do. None of us want to see the allies defeated. None of us want to see a draw. Consequently we must supply our associates with food and with munitions and at the same time raise as strong an army for ourselves as possible; and the only way we can do that is to plan conscientiously and with the best possible expert advice and keep all of these armies of our defense strong and effective, the military Army, the agricultural contingent, the manufacturing establishments, our civic bodies—in fact, mobilize all our forces—and I do not see how that can possibly be done under the majority's bill.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. LUNN. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. The gentleman raised a question as to his colonel in the Spanish-Amerian War. Does he know that he is one of the few men who have volunteered to serve as a private in this war, and he is not under 25 years of age either. [Applause.]

Mr. LUNN. I do know that.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Would the gentleman volunteer as a private?

Mr. LUNN. I have already volunteered. I will go anywhere and do anything that the War Department wants me to do—even resign from the House and go out and fight as a private. [Applause.] And I intend to do all in my power to overcome a great deal of the damage that has been done by a misunderstanding of this conscription system.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. Yes.

Mr. EMERSON. Could I ask the gentleman from Nebraska were Col. Bryan volunteered—what place he volunteered except in the newspapers?

Mr. LUNN. Oh, no, no; just a minute. Let me say to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SHALLENBERGER] that I will be one absolutely opposed to putting Col. Bryan in the ranks as a private, because the country can not afford to let a man of his type go there. We admire his splendid spirit, but we must also consider his age and his healthy avoirdupois, which would interfere with his efficiency as a private. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. I will yield just one minute.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Unfortunately I came into the Hall after the gentleman had spoken for some time. In

describing the difference in the agricultural and industrial conditions of the country in the Civil War and at the present time the gentleman seems to think that the plan proposed by the majority would strangle our agricultural development and hinder us. Will the gentleman tell me how?

Mr. LUNN. I am not going to take the time to explain it to the gentleman, except to say that the voluntary system by which men can rush out of industry at once, in a day, needs no explanation as to the fact that it would disorganize industry.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I know the gentleman wants to be fair about the bill?

Mr. LUNN. I certainly do.

Mr. FIELDS. Is it not a fact that whether we operate under the draft or the voluntary system in this bill we will have the same safeguards? The department can reject a man under the voluntary system because he is indispensable to industry just the same as if he was selected.

Mr. LUNN. With this difference, that under the voluntary system they call for volunteers and they rush forth to the place of rendezvous, individuals or by the thousands, and under the draft system they are not called away from their industry until the particular ones are wanted, and that is a very much more scientific way of doing it. [Applause.]

Mr. FIELDS. And the question of their usefulness is passed upon by the board before they are taken in either instance.

Mr. LUNN. I can not bring myself to the position to believe that defense of the Nation is a question of will. I say that it is a question of obligation upon the part of every citizen. [Applause.] I do not want to see the flower of our young manhood, as in the case of England—and they did lose tremendously by their blunders—unnecessarily sacrificed. I do not want to raise the slackers of the country up to take the place of the flower that is to be sacrificed, if it is to be sacrificed. [Applause.] I would take every slacker and put him in the ranks, whether he wanted to go or not, exactly as you take every man and make him pay his debts, if he is able, whether he wants to or not. If you believe in the voluntary system and it is a conviction with you that it is based on democracy, then I suggest that there be an amendment in this bill stating that in case we are face to face in battle with the foe, before a regiment goes forward to fight, the officer in command again ask them whether they want to volunteer that day or wait until the next day, and make it thoroughly a volunteer system. [Applause and laughter.]

My friends, in closing, God only knows how long this war may last. No one can tell what new alignments may take place. There is only one road to safety for this great country and that is to use all of our resources, as have already been pledged to the President, in prosecuting this war until democracy is safe and militarism and monarchy are crushed forever under foot. Not only must we prepare the military army, but the industrial army, the agricultural contingent, the educational forces, the civic bodies, yea, every possible force must be mobilized to the end that the rights of humanity shall no longer be threatened by a ruthless militarism that recognizes no power but brute force.

I want to speak as dispassionately as I can of internal conditions, but you know, as we all do, that we have certain threatening internal conditions. If I were a pro-German—and I am not casting any insinuations against any Member of the House—but if I were a pro-German, if I were a hater of America, and I wanted to put America before the world weak, I would stand for the voluntary system without the right of conscription at all. I would absolutely stand on that principle, because I believe that it would weaken our defense and make us the laughing stock not only of our enemy but of every potential enemy.

Mr. EAGLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. LUNN. Yes.

Mr. EAGLE. I desire in this presence to bear testimony that during the period of the last two years and a half I have received signatures to the extent of thousands in number written upon post cards and form post cards, on letters and form letters, on petitions, and on resolutions of either real or imaginary mass meetings throughout, first, my own district; and second, throughout the entire country, each and every one of them asking me to do those things here in the Congress of the United States which would embarrass this Government's foreign diplomacy, or which would help Germany or violate neutrality or which would hurt the allies; and that, since we have recognized by formal resolution on the 6th instant that a state of war exists by virtue of the brutality of the Prussian military oligarchy, those same names, traced in my office, are generally attached to the telegrams, post cards, letters, and resolutions I have received in favor of the volunteer system, asking me thereby to cripple the efficiency of the President and the Nation in this war by providing an inefficient volunteer army; and I desire to say to the gentleman that I will not do so. [Applause.]

Mr. LUNN. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been very generous in yielding to questions. Permit me now to complete my remarks. I want to paint a picture. One day while I was a volunteer during the Spanish-American War I went to the hospital tent, and there found about 50 young men ill with typhoid fever. There were about 50 of these boys, and 6 or 8 of them were dying. There was one man in attendance, a private. As I went in I saw these poor fellows. and I said to the attendant, "For God's sake, where are the nurses in charge?" He said, "I am the only one this morning." I went over and saw one especially pathetic case. He was a boy belonging to the Second Mississippi Regiment. I asked the attendant, "Is this boy dying?" His answer was, "Yes." I said, "How long will he live?" "Perhaps two hours." "Have they notified his parents?"—for that provision is made to give the name of the nearest of kin, so that notification can be made. He said, "No one knows about him." I went down to the tent of the boy's captain, and found them playing cards. They were light-hearted American boys, like other boys from Nebraska or New York, playing cards and enjoying themselves. I said. "There is a boy over in the hospital tent dying with typhoid who belongs to your company; will not you notify his parents?" They were not at all concerned, remarking, "Well, when we finish the game of cards, if he is still alive we will notify them that he is still alive, and if he is dead they can be notified of his death." I do not think that could ever happen in any organized army equipped efficiently and carried on scientifically.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. No.

Mr. STEVENSON. Will the gentleman permit an interruption? I want to ask the gentleman——

Mr. LUNN. No; I will not yield. I have been very generous, and I desire to finish in these few minutes remaining.

Mr. STEVENSON. Just one question. Was it not the inefficiency of the War Department, which has charge of the administration of those affairs, that caused the great suffering in the Army in the Spanish-American War, and is not that the same department that now asks us to take a bill without even looking at it? [Applause.]

Mr. LUNN. My friend, I do not know whether the gentleman is aware of the fact that the War Department is not under the same management as it was in 1898.

Mr. STEVENSON. I am glad it is not; but I do not assume that it is perfect yet.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LUNN. We hope we will not have any rotten meat or embalmed beef to pass over to our soldiers.

Mr. LOBECK. Dr. McRae, of Council Bluffs, surgeon, Fourth Iowa, told me they did not have enough surgical instruments or medicine when they came to the Texas border last summer.

Mr. LUNN. There was a reason for that.

Mr. LOBECK. And that is the present War Department.

Mr. LUNN. Now, the question raised by my friend from Nebraska is a good one, that there was not a sufficient amount of surgical instruments at the border, but we must remember that those instruments can hardly be bought for love or money, and we want the administration free to organize an Army so that they can plan when there is a firm making necessary surgical instruments which we need to leave that firm unhampered.

Mr. LOBECK. I hope that is true for the good of the boys, whether they enlist or are conscripted.

Mr. LUNN. My friends, I want to say this in the few minutes at my disposal that remain.

For the first time in history a great and mighty Nation has entered a war with no other object than that of upholding the sacred rights of humanity. No secret plan of conquest has engineered this war; no desire for indemnifying ourselves for the cost has entered the thought of this Government. We enter with the distinct understanding that we want no territory; we want no indemnities, but we do want justice; we do want decent consideration for international rights; we do want the acknowledgment that the small nations were never organized to be unwillingly transferred at the will of some powerful potentates.

If we ever had reason to be proud of America that reason exists to-day; if ever there stirred in our hearts a love of country, nothing but the deepening of that love can result from this war. If we ever believed that America was worth living for and worth dying for, then I say that in this day, with the recent history of the world to instruct us, we have reason for being inspired by what our Nation is trying to do and to have our devotion to country multiplied a million fold.

The Stars and Stripes go forth to conquer not for selfish gain but for implanting in the soil of the world the blessed seeds of a democracy that believes that human rights ever tower above material gains. We go forth to join hands with England, with Russia, with Italy, and with dauntless France for the preservation of principles that are dearer to us than life itself.

You and I are responsible for supporting the President as Commander in Chief of the Army. He says to us that he can more adequately and effectively carry on the great responsibilities of this war with selective conscription than by the old and vicious volunteer system of chance, and I trust we will stand by him on that proposition. Members on both sides of the House! I do not know what the result will be, but how strange if the vote, which I am confident is going to go against the volunteer system, should be recorded and show a larger number of Republicans than Democrats supporting; Republicans willing to trust the President on that question and some on our side unwilling. I hope it does not result that way. I plead as one who has had some little experience and as one who knows of the poisonous, treacherous agitation and propaganda that will go on under this particular volunteer measure. It is not countenanced by our friends I know absolutely, but let us stand unequivocally by the President for universal military service under this selective conscription bill, and it will constitute the most effective blow that we can this day give the Imperial German Government. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. FOSTER having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2762) to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

INCREASE OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. NICHOLLS].

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Chairman, before going into my argument I wish to make a statement. The gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN] a few moments ago and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. EAGLE] stated that in their opinion the best way to help the German Government was to vote for the volunteer system, and insinuated that those of us who favored the volunteer system might be in sympathy with the German Imperial Government. If you will pardon me for a personal allusion, I wish to say that that can not be charged to me, for the only brother I had, two years before this Government saw that Germany was wrong, lost his life on the battle fields of France fighting with the British Army. [Applause.]

So, Mr. Chairman, I certainly have no love for Germany.

I want to say that I for the first time am in a very strange position. I think my record will bear me out that since I have been in Congress I have stood by the President as long as I could. I am standing by him now as I see it. I want to say for the members of the Committee on Military Affairs, and I have served on it for some time, that I believe every member of that committee, both for the volunteer idea and for the conscription idea, is absolutely conscientious in his views. If my conscience would let me I would follow the course of least resistance and vote for this conscription act from the beginning. My conscience will not let me, and therefore I propose to vote for the volunteer amendment.

Now, why do I say that we are to stand behind the President? Because, gentlemen of the committee, there is no difference in the bill which the President suggests and the bill which the committee suggests, except that in the one bill—the committee bill—we give men the right to enlist inside of the three months spoken of by the Secretary of War, while the President is perfecting his plans for conscription, and if at the end of that time or the time necessary he has not enough volunteers, he has a perfect right to put conscription into effect and put it in as strongly as he can.

A great mistaken idea has gone out over this country, and it has gone out through the newspapers, through the mails, and through the telegraph companies, that the men who voted against the use of the conscription bill from the start are opposing and hindering the administration. It is no such thing, and the men who wrote those letters and the newspapers who published those articles had never seen the committee bill, as is shown by an article in the Washington Post of Sunday. They had roasted us, called the members of the committee traitors, and said that we were not true to the country, because we were supporting the Dent bill, and then this same paper came out Sunday morning and said that Col. Roosevelt would have a perfect right to raise volunteers while conscription was being put into effect, and take them into France. If Col. Roosevelt has that right, why has not anybody the same right? And that is all we are contending for.

There are a great many reasons why I am opposed to the bill, and there are a great many things in which our bill improves it. In the first place, they say that boys from the age of 19 to 25 shall be called into the service of this country, and they say further that out of the something over 6,000,000 available men possibly 42 per cent of them will be put aside for physical or other reasons, and that out of a balance of approximately 4,000,000 men the first 500,000 troops will be drawn. How do they propose to draw them? They say, "We are going to have the selective draft." What sort of a selective draft are we going to have? The committee has not been able to find out. You do not know what it is. Why did not they cause the exemptions as they are proposed to be put in to be published, as were the British orders when the war started there? We do not know what sort of an exemption they are going to give us, but we do know this: That under the volunteer system we can use the exact exemption that can be used under the conscription system. And I say that we can use it to better advantage, and why? Because, gentlemen of the committee, all that the Government has got to do is to instruct the enlisting officers when men are coming to enlist to question them, to find out what their avocation is, to find out what business they are engaged in, and if they can better be used at home than at the front, refuse to accept them, and give them a button to signify they have offered their services to their country.

Now, why from 19 to 25 years of age? I never heard of as unfair a proposition.

Mr. LUNN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. No; I can not. When I get through I will let you have all day.

Why, gentlemen of the committee, do they limit it from 19 to 25 years? Who voted for this war? Did the boys who are not even entitled to a vote have anything to do with it? You men voted war, and if you vote to make this 19 to 25 I hope some widowed mother will come to you when you go home and say, "Why do you represent me in Congress? Why do you take my boy and fix a law for him that keeps you at home?" That is what you deserve, and there is no way to get around it. Our bill raises that limit from 21 to 40 years, and all of you who are so bloodthirsty and hate Germany so much can get an opportunity to fight for your country. [Applause.]

I am getting tired of newspaper editors sending out these reports, because can you tell me anything that they are going to do to make the war go on after it has started?

Mr. HUDDLESTON. I want to suggest that it is not civilized to use noxious gases.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Now, to pass on, my friends, there is another opposition to this bill of the department, and that is this: They say to us, "We have a right to run one recruiting station in your town. When a man comes there to enlist he can be either placed by the enlisting officer in the National Guard or in the Regular Army. He has no right to designate which he will take. We will put him in where we see fit to use him. In other words, he belongs to the Government from that time on." Now, let me tell you, we do not know anything about war. I do not think any of us know any too much, including the War College and the General Staff. [Applause.] But we do know this, that when a man goes out to fight for his country he would rather fight side by side with his neighbor than with a foreigner; that there is a great incentive for him to fight for his country when he knows if he is wounded there is somebody there to take care of him and send word home that he is wounded. And for that reason I am in favor of keeping the State units together. You take a boy from Mississippi—I do not think the Government would do this, but under this bill they would have the right to do it—you take a white boy from South Carolina and put him in a negro regiment from Massachusetts or anywhere else, and you would not have to go to Germany to have war, for you would get war right at home. [Laughter.] That is another reason why I am opposed to the proposition from start to finish.

Now, gentlemen, let me tell you something else. The War College is not always right. I can recall some little history for some of you gentlemen. Last year when the Hay bill was introduced it was opposed absolutely by the War College and the

General Staff. The original bill had the backing of the President. The President agreed finally, however, to accept the Hay bill instead of the Continental Army. At that time the papers called us all traitors, including my friend from West Virginia and myself. They said we were traitors for not accepting the General Staff proposition.

Now, what would have happened if we had accepted the General Staff bill? The National Guard would have been dismissed, and the Continental Army would not have been constructed; and when the Mexican trouble came up whom in the world would we have had to send to the border to protect the Regular Army and to keep Villa from stealing their horses? [Laughter and applause.] When this trouble came up, where is our national defense? It is the National Guard. The very organization that is kicked around is the Army that they want to defend themselves with.

Now, the only word that I have heard that appeals to me as practical from the standpoint of those gentlemen who favor the conscription bill is this: They say they wish the President had come over and that we could have gotten together. God knows, we all wish that. But they say, "We believe in standing by the President, because if we do not and it goes out to Germany that we have not stood by the President it will have a bad effect." I grant you that, absolutely. But there is another view to take of that. This country heretofore has always fought its wars with volunteers to start with. This country has had as brave and as patriotic men as ever went to the front in an army. Suppose that Germany is informed that after war has been declared the President is forced to compel men to fight. Will they then think that the sentiment of this country is behind the President? [Applause.] Which is the worse of the two evils, my friends?

"Oh," they say, "England has conscription." Of course England has conscription after 5,000,000 volunteers went to the front, just like the Union Army and the armies of the South were conscripted in the War between the States after years of fighting. But it was five years before they had to conscript. Canada, which has had to do most of the fighting, or as much of it as any one branch of the British Army, has never yet resorted to conscription. Australia, than whose troops there are no better in the world, has not yet resorted to conscription, and the Australians are doing their part in this war.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from South Carolina yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I do.

Mr. GARDNER. The gentleman does not overlook the fact that Canada pays $33 a month to each of its soldiers and $20 for separate allowance?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Oh, I had not overlooked that fact; but I hope the people of Canada do not fight for money, but for love of country, as our people do. [Great applause and cheers.]

Now, gentlemen of the committee, they can not tell me that the citizens of this country are any more disloyal to their flag than are the citizens of Australia and Canada. They make one other point that, possibly, I think, should be answered: They say, my friends, that we will lose time; that if we do not put the conscription act into effect at once we will not be able to raise this Army. What do they base that on? Is there a man of any practical sense that can convince you that, if we start out to get men under a conscript act and other men come in and voluntarily offer to fight while the others are being prepared to be conscripted, we will not have more men than we started with? It is purely a question of figures.

They say that the boy from 19 to 25 ought to do the fighting for this country, and they say that the reason why we should not have a volunteer system and a conscript system united is because the boys—as one officer gave me as a reason—would be jibing each other and making fun of each other and quarreling in the ranks about it. Now, who ever heard of such an army? [Laughter.] Do you mean to tell me that the officers of the American Army off at the front, on the battle line, are going to allow their men to fight about who was conscripted and who volunteered? They are not going to do it. Our bill is merely giving a chance to men over the age of 25 to have the opportunity to fight for their country. There are hundreds of them who want to do it in my own State. I know they want to do it; and in my State they have the feeling that a conscript is a slave. And I want to ask you this question: Would not this be a great Government to go to Germany to free slaves with an army of slaves to do it with? [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen of the committee, there are other things that I would like to talk about, but my time is about up. In this matter, either way it turns, in my judgment, on both sides of this controversy, we are trying to give the President everything he asked for. We did give him every dollar he asked of us, and we are giving him every man he has asked for, and under our system we will give him a few more if he will just accept them. [Applause.]

I do not love the German people. I hate their methods. I admire the English nation. But, gentlemen of the committee, I do love America and her boys, and I do not propose to see the men of this country who are responsible for declaring war sit back and require those boys to do their fighting for them without raising my voice in protest against it. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CRAGO].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CRAGO] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. CRAGO. Mr. Chairman, we are now considering the legislation under which we shall form an army to meet the present emergency. In the discussion of this bill I think it not amiss to call attention for a few moments to the conditions existing in this country and to the points of view from which our citizens have heretofore considered our military forces.

The change of sentiment and interest which has taken place among our people within the past two years concerning a proper military policy for the United States is truly typical of a democracy, and is, to my mind, a healthy expression of a deep concern for the safety of our Nation.

In the midst of a commercialized age, with civilization seemingly run mad fighting for nonessentials, when men were confusing the blessings which flow from a strong, stable Government with the source of the Goverment's strength, when we were dreaming that our peculiar advance in civilization had rendered us safe from the dangers which have threatened nations in former centuries, our dreams of universal peace and security were rudely shattered by the call to arms of the nations in Europe.

Prior to this great conflict the right and duty of maintaining our national honor, whatever the cost, was never questioned, but the horrors of the great sacrifice which the unprepared nations drawn into that war were compelled to make, instead of arousing us to a sense of our own unpreparedness, seemed to chloroform our people into a senseless disregard of our national responsibility, and only when the country began to hear from men who are not willing to sell principles for which our fathers died in order that we may enjoy ease and material comfort did our people awaken from this stupor to a realization of the fact of our unpreparedness to maintain our rights and defend our national honor.

During this period many of us have been weighing arguments, studying the military history of our country, comparing it with that of other nations, attempting to lay aside all prejudice, or even our preconceived ideas as to what might be considered as constituting an adequate line of defense, and we can not escape the conclusion that in a democracy such as ours universal military training and service is the only fair, the only democratic, the only efficient means of attaining our purpose to place ourselves as a nation in a position where we can reasonably believe ourselves free from attack either from within or from without.

The first fundamental duty of government is the protection of life and property; if it does not do this it has no right to be called a government. We may also consider as a fact that inefficiency is a part of the price we must pay for a democracy, and we are not willing to admit that individual freedom and personal liberty are not worth the price. It is our plain duty, however, as citizens of a democracy to make the price as small as possible.

Admitting the truth of these propositions, it naturally follows: First, the Government must have some armed force at its disposal, one which is instantly available and capable of enforcing our demands of other nations. Second, this armed force, other than our Regular Army, should be contributed not merely by a part of our citizens whose patriotism prompts service, but every citizen, rich or poor, high or low, who participates in the blessings which come to us by reason of our Government should do his proportionate share of this duty.

When this agitation for a more adequate Army first began to gain force the average business man, when shown our situation, would unhesitatingly say, "Why, yes; let's have a strong Regular Army, fully trained and equipped to meet any emergency." This appealed to him as a business proposition, a businesslike way of paying an insurance against war; but a careful analysis of this plan, and the knowledge gained from the conflict in Europe, where millions of men are necessary, when we had thought in terms of thousands, convinced thinking people of the impracticability of such a solution of our defense problem.

In the first place, you can not get the men; second, such an army would be too expensive; and third, this Nation should never wage war with a purely professional army.

In other words, we should not enter any war unless the heart of the Nation is in it; and it can not be in it unless the best blood of the Nation is fighting the battles.

Admitting, then, that some force other than our Regular Army may be necessary, how can we escape the conclusion that it is only a question as to whether we shall send our young men forth trained, equipped, able to meet at least with equal vantage any foe with which they may contend, or whether we shall send them forth to certain death against a foe better armed, trained, and equipped. Shall this Nation have said of it, as Kipling said of England?—

> You pushed them raw to the battle,
> As you plucked them raw from the street.

How to train our citizens and how to have available for instant use a proper number of those who have received training are, to my mind, important problems which should have been solved by Congress long before this emergency, and we are now paying a part of the penalty for this neglect.

And I want to call the attention of the members of this committee to the fact which has been alluded to here by the gentleman from Texas: When we made our first little step in preparedness a little over a year ago we had these same people from all over this country protesting against even that meager preparedness, and many men answered with demagogic answers, when as a matter of fact we should have taken stronger measures than we did. [Applause.] These same people are to-day protesting against any change from our old, archaic system of former years.

If we had read intelligently the military history of our country, we should be convinced that we should never again enter a war depending on untrained volunteers. When we consider the technical skill, the scientic methods employed in modern warfare, we realize how helpless an army would be composed of men lacking in these essentials. When we realize that any change in our present policy of training and service must come with the approval of the great body of our citizens and that such system as is devised must be one which will appeal to them as in harmony with our institutions, we must recognize the fact that we can not hope for 100 per cent efficiency in an armed force in time of peace; so we must content ourselves with whatever plan will best organize our physical forces so as to reach efficiency most quickly in time of war.

We have now reached the stage when our future military policy is no longer an academic question, and we are face to face not with the proposition of what we might wish to do, but what, in the light of previous experience, will enable us most quickly to mobilize our physical forces into shape for effective use.

We have passed the stage when patriotic oratory, waving of flags, and hearts swelling with emotion when we hear the music of our national airs will suffice.

Here, in the very shadow of war and all its cost, we must agree to give of ourselves that supreme sacrifice which at times becomes necessary for any people to make who proclaim themselves a nation. It is very well to say that all should stand ready to volunteer their service, if necessary, but these words do not and can not make armies. We might as well recognize at once the fact that the duty of defending this Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service, and we should establish a democratic system of defense based upon this universal liability to service.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, this is a most interesting exposition that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is making. I hope we can have order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will again ask the Members of the committee to preserve order, and the Chair desires to ask the occupants of the galleries kindly to cease conversation. A little noise when multiplied by so many makes a great deal of noise in the House.

Mr. CRAGO. The first duty of a citizen is to the Nation. The duty of the Nation is to protect life and property. When we legislate so as to establish organized relations between the citizen and the Nation, for purposes of defense, you may call it conscription or draft, I call it the command of the highest sovereign to the citizen. No more a draft than the command of a father to a dependent child to perform a duty necessary to protect the family.

It is well for us to realize now that our President, in asking us to declare war on the Imperial German Government, knew he was asking us to take part in an undertaking which involved great sacrifice. He has asked us, as Members of the Congress, to take the first step to place at his disposal an armed force with which to maintain our rights.

The bill which we are now considering provides that our existing military forces, the Regular Army and the National Guard, shall both be increased to war strength, by volunteers if possible; but if not, by invoking the principle of universal liability to service. In my opinion the call for more than a half million men to fill up these existing organizations will absorb practically all the men who at present have any thought of volunteering their services. Especially is this true when you take into consideration the men already in these organizations who will be discharged on account of dependents, and the others who will be available and who will be used to officer the organizations which will be afterwards formed.

These citizens who are asked to volunteer to fill these existing organizations are to volunteer for the emergency only, and at the termination of the emergency they will be automatically released from the service.

Mr. HASTINGS. I wish to ask the gentleman why the word "emergency" was used instead of the words "present war."

Mr. CRAGO. It was thought that "emergency" was the better term and, in the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, might save us the necessity of organizing new forces in case, after a treaty of peace had been signed, there was still use for a large army.

Now, I have called attention to the fact that this plan has the approval of the Commander in Chief. Would any man have thought 60 days ago that it was possible to put on 12 pages of printed matter a declaration of principles which would have met the unanimous approval of William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson? But that is what you have in the bill of the administration here to-day, gentlemen. Representing every shade of view on political questions, they are a unit as to the system advocated by the administration by which to form this new army.

Either plan which we are considering is infinitely better than that adopted at the beginning of any of our former wars; we have gotten away from the old vicious system of calling men for any fixed term of service other than during the emergency, and we thus have made it impossible to repeat our sad experience in former wars of having enlistments expiring at a critical time and battles brought on without proper preparation, because delay would mean the loss of men by expiration of enlistments made for so many months or so many years.

Mr. MASON. Could Col. Roosevelt volunteer his services under this bill? As I understand it, Col. Roosevelt would like to raise a division.

Mr. CRAGO. I believe he is too big a man to insist on changing the policy that is laid down here because of any personal desire he might have to serve under the old system.

Mr. MASON. Can he enlist under your system?

Mr. CRAGO. He can.

Mr. MASON. Under this bill?

Mr. CRAGO. He can.

Mr. MASON. And raise an army of his own?

Mr. CRAGO. No. His services can be utilized as the Government wishes, but not as he wishes.

I am convinced that the plan urged by the War Department, and which has the approval of the Commander in Chief, is the better and safer plan for the following reasons:

First. It recognizes the principle of universal liability for service in the beginning and does not delay until the other system has failed to put it into effect.

Second. It will insure the enlistment in the Regular Army and National Guard, the organizations which should be brought to war strength immediately, of the men needed, who would otherwise wait to join some new force if volunteer organizations are to be accepted.

Third. It makes the supply of men certain and allows the Government to judge where and when the service of the citizen is most necessary.

Fourth. The sad experience of England in delaying this system cost them many precious lives and millions of money.

Fifth. If all enter the service under the same law, there will be no distinction as to class of service.

Sixth. This is the only really democratic plan, and will let the man who has not been called attend to his civilian duties without being disturbed by an inner consciousness that his country needs him at the front, and without any undue persuasion which might call him to enlist when he is more valuable in his usual occupation.

Seventh. War is now the most scientific, the most technical clash of machines and trained men which human ingenuity can devise, and in the formation of an army we must follow expert advice rather than trust to spontaneous impulse, if we are to succeed in our purpose.

I shall therefore support an amendment to the present bill which will carry out the idea of the War Department in regard to raising the troops for the new organizations, at the same time favoring the amendments already made to the bill providing for territorial recruitment, and extending the minimum age limit, which amendments, I understand, are acceptable to the Secretary of War.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. CRAGO. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. I would like to have the gentleman explain, if he can, why any one man was lost in the English service who would not have been lost if he had been conscripted instead of having volunteered?

Mr. CRAGO. Because had they gone forth with a system, instead pouring in on the Government and insisting on doing something and being in the army, the Government would have been ready to take care of them. The Government was not prepared to take care of them. It could not count on them when it needed them. There was no constant supply. They went in voluntarily and at haphazard. And men went in who should have been back attending to their duties at home, supplying the army with munitions and food and medicine and surgical instruments, and all the articles necessary to keep the army well equipped and healthy.

Mr. GORDON. Why could they not do that with volunteers as well as with conscription?

Mr. CRAGO. Because under the volunteer system you have no control of the supply. You must take men as they come or you do not get them at all.

Mr. GORDON. You can under the volunteer system proposed in this bill, can you not?

Mr. CRAGO. Not at all. You must take them as they come or not at all. But some one will say there are thousands of men who have already been formed into tentative organizations who want to volunteer their services and be taken into the service of the United States as organizations. I am not unmindful of the patriotism of these men, many of them would undoubtedly serve with great distinction; many of them have seen previous service as officers of such organizations. These organizations are, in many cases, to my own personal knowledge, composed of men of the highest character and ability. But the inauguration of this system opens up the old volunteer plan which has been so costly in former wars, and which has broken down and driven us to extreme measures in order to maintain an army.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAGO. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. MEEKER. Will the gentleman state whether he favors the age limit of 21 to 40 years, and if so why?

Mr. CRAGO. I am coming to that.

Our sad experience in the Civil War of having organizations, after they had been seasoned for service and had lost many men, utterly disbanded because of a lack of recruits for these veteran organizations, while new untrained and undisciplined regiments were accepted by the Government as they were offered, should make us hesitate to repeat this costly error now.

I want to say that if anyone will read the military history of our country it will be found that in the Revolutionary War, in the War of 1812, and in the War of 1861, there never was a time when the number of men who were really needed and asked for by the Government were forthcoming at the time they were needed.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CRAGO. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. In all the history of the present war have there been any finer soldiers than the Canadian volunteers?

Mr. CRAGO. I think not, and I want to say that I think the means used in Canada were more drastic, more compelling than any draft that we can adopt. Why, when you give to a little child in the school a badge or button saying, "My father is at the front. Is yours?" and that boy shows it to a neighbor's boy, and that neighbor's boy goes home to his father who is trying to feed a little family and says, "Daddy, why can't I have one of those buttons?" do you think that is not more compelling—more humiliating—than a draft?

Mr. HARDY. Then, why did Canada and Australia popularly vote against conscription?

Mr. CRAGO. Because Australia had given practically 90 per cent of her military strength before she was asked, and the men at the front objected to conscription. And they also had a universal training system in Australia. That is the answer to that question.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAGO. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. Did they have that in Canada also?

Mr. CRAGO. No, sir; they did not; but they used other methods.

Mr. GARDNER. They have compulsory service for home service in Australia.

Mr. CRAGO. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAGO. Yes.

Mr. LITTLE. The gentleman speaks about the breaking down of the volunteer service. Were there more than 61,000 conscripts who helped out the volunteers in the Civil War?

Mr. CRAGO. Unfortunately, we did not resort to that until nearly all the able-bodied men were at the front.

Mr. LITTLE. Why unfortunately? Unfortunate for your argument. [Applause.]

Mr. CRAGO. All honor to the brave men who in our former wars voluntarily offered their service. All honor to the splendid men who eventually equipped themselves as officers of volunteers. The pages of our histories are full of the well-deserved praise of these men, who, in spite of the weakness of the system, learned the lessons of war and emerged from these great campaigns capable, courageous officers.

Notwithstanding this fact, however, you will not, I believe, hear anyone who knows, either by experience or study, the military necessities which the last 50 years have demonstrated offer any defense to the old volunteer system of raising armies.

We can not hope to appeal to an intelligence so lacking as not to know that military operations have been completely revolutionized in the past few years, and that war now is as much dependent for success on the proper mobilization of the forces to supply the battle line as it is on the bravery of the men on the line.

The principal opposition to the plan of the President and the Secretary of War is centered on the idea of raising our additional force by means of a selective draft of our citizens of a certain age; in other words, calling to the colors a sufficient number of our young men to form a force which is to be organized, trained, and equipped as an efficient army. In my opinion, the course proposed is the only democratic, the only effective, the only fair plan which can accomplish our purpose. It is proposed to take men at a time in life when few of them have assumed family obligations or are so identified with our industries that their presence is more needed at home.

These young men, rich or poor, high or low, educated or uneducated, are to be organized, and in all human probability will remain in training camps for at least a year, and will at the end of that time be able to meet a foe with equal vantage.

If, on the other hand, we attempt to form this new force by a call for volunteers, we will fail, and at the same time we will have men volunteering, men of patriotic impulses, who should remain at home. You will make the patriotically inclined men bear the burden and let the slackers go free. You will take from our communities the very best patriotic men and leave the slacker and the shirker at home to mold public opinion, and in some cases create a sentiment opposed to the Government, while the real men of these communities will be offering their lives on the altar of their country.

There was a time in warrare when armies practically lived off of the country. This is not true to-day, and this fact only adds to the necessity of having our industrial forces mobilized and kept efficient as well as our armies.

Who would think of going back to the old plan of having voluntary contributions made to feed and supply an army in the field? This could not succeed, yet the volunteeering of men is on exactly the same principle. One month you might get the number necessary, at another time you would not get them, and you could never tell at any given time, no matter how critical it might be, whether your men would be forthcoming or not.

Under the selective system you could know exactly the number of men who would respond. The Government could estimate for the supplies and equipment of an army of whatever size may be needed, knowing that when we were ready for the men they would be forthcoming.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAGO. I have only a few minutes, but I will yield.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I want to know if the majority report fixing the age limit between 21 and 40 has the gentleman's approval.

Mr. CRAGO. It has. There is a sentiment in this country that we are taking them too young. They would only be in training, but if they will put it between 21 and 40 and let the President classify them, I am for it.

Mr. ALEXANDER. That obviates a very large part of my objection.

Mr. CRAGO. We have to guide us in adopting our military policy for the present emergency the experience of other countries; and from the testimony we have concerning forces raised in England, in Canada, and in Australia we are convinced that the volunteer system, as it has been used in these countries, has been more cruel, more drastic than any plan which we are now considering.

The testimony is to the effect that by means of social ostracism, pinning of yellow badges and white feathers on all men of military age who were not at the front, was the cause of many of the enlistments which have been made under the volunteer system in these countries. And the people of England now know that they unnecessarily wasted millions of money and thousands of precious human lives because they failed to realize in the beginning what they realize now, that the selective conscription of troops as the Government needs them is the more efficient plan to follow.

I believe it is our duty and I believe our constituents expect us to bring to this question our very best judgment.

Any one of us, no doubt, would gladly give his life rather than make it necessary to expose to the perils of war the young men of our Nation, but this is not the question before us. We are at war, and our people are looking to us to do our duty as we see it without any fear of how the performance of our duty may effect our political future.

What we want and what the country wants is a real effective army. I believe the citizens of this country are demanding this of us; and I believe the great mass of the thinking people have come to see the weakness of our volunteer system, and to recognize the fact that the plan proposed by the administration is the only just one.

Let us forget and lay aside all demagogic appeals, appeals uttered in the hope that we may retain our places in Congress, and let us stand for what we know will give this Nation that which it needs now—a real army.

We have made our choice in this great conflict from the highest motives, let us not now weaken the arm which must fight this the greatest of all conflicts for democracy and for humanity.

The issue in this conflict is so great, so far-reaching, that many little minds fail to see the real contest, but with fear and trembling and with an utter disregard of present facts and of history, they have preferred to play the craven part, under the guise of sympathy for the men who must fight that the Nation may live.

Since in this great drama of war which now occupies the amazed attention of the civilized world we have elected to again answer the call to arms, I have an abiding faith that the descendants of the men who have paid the full price for our liberties will proudly, gladly dedicate themselves to the task of protecting and defending our precious heritage. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SHALLENBERGER].

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, I have brought into the House here, for the information of the committee, since the discussion arose a plan for the exercise of the power of selective volunteering. This is a chart prepared by the Canadian Government, and it classifies the volunteers exactly as we propose to classify the conscript and shows you who care to look at it how they worked it out in that country, where they are fighting a war for democracy and humanity under this volunteer selective system.

Stated in a nutshell, the War Department plan for raising an army for this war is to enlist a volunteer army of Regulars, a volunteer army of National Guards, and a conscript army of 500,000 men all at one and the same time, with this proviso: That whenever the President determines men are not enlisting in the two volunteer systems as rapidly as the safety of the Nation requires, then all units shall be filled by selective draft. The Military Committee bill provides that all the units of the National Guard, the Regular Army, and the 500,000 additional troops may be filled by volunteers, and whenever the President determines that the call for volunteers is not filling up the ranks of the 500,000 additional troops as rapidly and effectually as the safety of the country demands, then all shall be filled by selective draft.

The committee plan places all armies upon exactly the same footing and recognizes the right of a free-born American to go as a volunteer, if he desires, into any army that fights for his country. Its plan prevents the United States from being the first great democracy to hoist the flag of conscription before ever a shot is fired in a world-wide war for the principles of democratic freedom and against military autocracy founded upon the power of conscription. [Applause.]

This is the real issue in this contest. The majority of the Military Committee declares its faith in the loyalty, the patriotism, and the courage of the American volunteer. [Applause.] The minority repudiates him and stands for the Prussian plan of the unwilling conscript, who goes to the battle line, since death awaits him with certainty in the rear, and there may be a chance with the enemy at the front. [Applause.]

The minority has conceded the many important amendments which the majority has made to the bill as drawn and presented by the War Department. Nothing further need, therefore, be said in defense of these amendments.

The argument for the War Department plan to raise an army of 500,000 men by immediate conscription, as advanced by the Secretary of War, is based primarily upon the principle of universal liability of the citizen to military service in defense of his country. Conceding this liability, the bill as drawn by the War Department is a direct repudiation of this basic principle of universal liability. The War Department bill would by express statute make every citizen above 25 years of age as safe from liability to service as though he were a citizen of another planet. [Applause.]

The information furnished the committee was that there are about 22,000,000 men of military age in the United States; that is, from the age of 18 to 40, inclusive. The War Department bill proposed to draft only between the ages of 19 and 25. These classes include between six and seven million men. Therefore, under the War Department bill as submitted to the committee more than 15,000,000 men of military age, owing the same military service to their country as do the boys and young men of the ages proposed to be conscripted, were relieved of all danger of ever being compelled to go to the trenches in Europe.

The reason advanced for exempting all men above 25 years of age is that industry must not be disturbed. Men who are making money in vast enterprises because of the profits growing out of this war are loud in their demands and keeping up a constant correspondence with Congressmen asking that this war shall not disturb their business. Well, men are going to have to die in this war that this Nation may live, and it may be necessary that some profits shall be curtailed and even some industries suffer death as well.

I have had 18 letters from manufacturers in one town in New York, all of them engaged in industries not essential to the conduct of the war, and they all urged me to vote for conscription so that their industries will not be disturbed, although the plan they urge me to support sends only boys to death.

Mr. SLOAN. Was one of the persons who wrote those letters between the ages of 19 and 25?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. No; I think they are all over that.

Two millions of the men subject to conscription under the War Department bill would not be old enough to vote, and the remainder, because of their youth, could have but little voice or influence in the determination of their rights and interests in the matter. The plan made it possible for those who are of age to dominate the affairs and mold the legislation of the Nation, to decree that other men should die on foreign battle fields, while 15,000,000 men, equally obligated to military service by every rule of justice were allowed to go free. We are told that these men are to be used in the industrial army or an agricultural army and serve their country here at home. There will be no conscientious objectors against being conscripted for the industrial and agricultural armies, for they will be the highest-paid armies in the world. The service is sure to be safe and profitable, and therefore very popular. It is time that we quit talking so much about this second line of defense and set out to get some real soldiers to fight this war. [Applause.]

The problem of every war is to secure men for the ranks. Just plain common men. There will be no trouble to get men to serve on horseback with epaulettes on their shoulders, eager for rank and thirsty for glory. The problem is to get men who are ready to march upon the ground in the mud and the mire with guns upon their shoulders and ready to die in the ditch if need be. [Applause.]

I have heard of men who are willing to serve as major generals. I have had numerous requests for commissions as officers and for service in the Hospital, Quartermaster, Medical, and other noncombatant Corps. Everyone who writes to me seems to be willing to serve his country in every way except to fight or pay increased taxes.

The War Department bill was drafted so that every man above the age of 25 could claim that he wanted to be a hero, but the Nation denied him the right to be a hero. There used to be a saying that one would rather be a live coward than a dead hero, but the bill that limited the danger of conscription to those below the age of 25 made by law 15,000,000 living heroes who could stay at

home and enjoy all the profits and opportunities that come because of war, with no possibility of encountering any of its dangers. If the majority of the Military Committee are to be drummed out of Congress, as some of the great newspapers would have done, I take some satisfaction that before I have to go I was able to cast my vote so that 15,000,000 of exempted heroes will have the possibility of a chance of demonstrating their valor upon the battle fields of Europe. [Applause.]

The minority bases the weight of its argument upon the proposition that the War Department is not to be questioned in any matter of this kind. Let me read you the argument of the minority.

The minority report, embodying the arguments in favor of the administration's selective-draft measure, puts forward in brief form two major ideas: One is that conscription had to be resorted to in the Civil War, and the other is that England went through a series of terrible blunders in endeavoring to raise a proper army by the volunteer system.

The report contains a copy of the letter from Secretary Baker to Representative KAHN, who will take up the administration's fight on the House floor, and also contains an excerpt from the testimony before the committee of Capt. Benson, of the Somerset Yeomanry, an English regiment. Capt. Benson details some of the mistakes that the United States should avoid, his statement being based on his experiences in English recruiting.

The report contains the following:

The bill as originally forwarded to the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs was drafted in the War Department and has the approval of the Commander in Chief of the Army, his civilian representative, the Secretary of War, and the officers of the General Staff and the Staff Corps. The military officers are the experts of the Government in military matters. It is to them the Nation will look for the organization and conduct in the field of our armies in the present war. The study of military plans and problems constitutes their life work. On the other hand, the members of the Committee on Military Affairs are laymen. They are not military men.

They should be silent.

The War Department is omniscient, and right or wrong we must accept its decrees and follow out its mandates as to legislation. We are told the same thing by the metropolitan press. Chambers of commerce, without any knowledge of the subject and having had no opportunity to have read the bills, wire Members of Congress to accept War Department plan, affecting the very life of the Nation. To question these policies or exercise our legislative judgment is akin to treason. I accept as my motto for this war, "My country always and eternally right," but I respectfully submit that the motto, "Government departments never wrong," is not the last nor truest expression of American democracy. [Applause.]

The idea that we must accept all mandates from the military department and abrogate our function as representatives of the people as advanced by the minority as their chief argument for their plan of immediate conscription is the first flower of the principle of Prussianism which is beginning to bud in this country. No one must dare question the wisdom of any plan proposed by a department of Government or a so-called military expert. Well, they seem to have a different view about this matter in the democracies of France and England, where those Governments are fighting a real war. The Republic of France has twice changed its entire cabinet during this war because bureau action was not satisfactory to the representatives of the people. In England at the outset of the war she had for secretary of war the greatest military figure of the Empire, a peer of the realm, a belted earl, victor on many a battle field, the idol of England and her armies. In a little more than a year this military chieftain had to leave that high office and surrender it to Lloyd George, a civilian who had been the butt of ridicule of the military aristocracy of England during the Boer War. To-day the Executive Council of the Empire, the council of five that directs and shapes the destinies of the armies and navies of Great Britain, is composed entirely of civilians, and the master mind of this world war is this same David Lloyd George, who was told by the military experts of Great Britain that it was presumptious for a civilian to dare to express an opinion as to the advisability of any military policies. [Applause.]

The constant cry is why should a lawyer, a business man, or, at the worst, a farmer, presume to express an opinion or raise his voice as a Representative in Congress upon a matter which the military experts, who are of course entirely disinterested, have already determined.

Well, I, for one, confess that I am a farmer, but I also am temporarily a Representative in Congress of a small portion of the American democracy. My father was born a farmer, and for a hundred and fifty years my people were farmers in the mountains of Pennsylvania, and for 2,000 years prior to that they were farmers amid the mountains of Switzerland. Poor? Yes, as poor as the rocks to which they clung. And though I can boast no titled lineage nor heraldic glory, there is one fact that I have always been prouder of than though I could trace my blood to a line of kings, and that is that for more than 2,000 years, so far back as the record of history runs, my people have always been free, free as the wind that blew around their mountain homes, and for more than 10 centuries, while all the rest of Europe knelt down in servitude to feudal monarchs, that peasant people embattled upon the snow-clad summit of the European Alps upheld aloft the banner of civil and religious liberty, the right of a people to rule and govern themselves and worship God as they pleased and yielding no allegiance to any power save that on high, refused to bow the head or crook the knee to any prince or potentate on earth. [Applause.]

I admit that my race heritage makes it difficult for me to accept the argument of the gentleman from California, the leader of the advocates of conscription, that Members of Congress are to accept the mandates of the military department without question.

I do not believe that a Member can excuse himself when he supports conscription upon the plea that we are raising an army of home guards or that the war will soon be over or any other hope that the Army shall not be used for the only purpose that it can possibly serve in this war, and that is to fight where the fighting must be done.

We must face the fact that when we conscript men for this army we are drafting them for no other purpose than to fit them to take part with those nations who are fighting our war on the battle fields of France this day and every day. The President has declared that the object of the war is to defeat our enemy, and to find him we must go to the Hindenberg line, where sons of France and England and Australia and Belgium are dying that democracy may yet be triumphant throughout the world. There are those who think that we can some way escape this responsibility, hoping that this army that we shall raise shall not be sent to Europe. That is the wish of one who does not want to do his part in this war; that is the wish of the conscript; that is not the hope of the volunteer. Can anyone conceive that safe behind the guns of the British fleet, behind the bulwark of the armies of France, England, Italy, and Russia, we are going to draft an army only to drill and march around upon American soil, 3,000 miles from the seat of war, 3,000 miles from the place where our enemy is fighting like a caged tiger to get at us if he can, only defeated by the protecting armies of our friends? I trust that this is not the part that anyone expects us to play in this war.

I was interested in the eloquent speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCKENZIE] when he proclaimed that he opposed any alliance with anyone else in this war. I would like to ask the chairman of the minority, the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN], if he, too, agrees that we are to make no alliance in this war with any other nation, and is he willing that we should make a separate peace with Germany whenever the United States can make a peace satisfactory to ourselves. He speaks for the administration, I understand, upon this floor. [After a pause.] He declines to speak.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I will state to the gentleman from Nebraska that the gentleman from California will speak in his own time and not in his.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Very well. I thought it was important, right at the very time when these other nations who are fighting our battles over there, who are giving of their best blood and dying upon the battle fields fighting for us, and just as their representatives are here to meet in council with us, that it be known definitely whether we are to proclaim, through the floor leader of the minority and the supporter of the administration, that we are not to support those men, and are to make peace with the enemy whenever we are ready to make it with advantage to ourselves.

I realize that it is a tremendous responsibility to send an army to the trenches of Europe to battle with the greatest military nation in the world. We should, therefore, send the best army that America can raise. No nation in the history of the world, so far as I can discover, has ever sent a conscript army to fight a war upon another continent. It is true the English sent a small force of conscripted Hessians to fight our forefathers when we were battling for the freedom of this Nation, but it is also a matter of history that this army of conscripted Hessians surrendered to Washington one morning before breakfast without the loss of a single American soldier. [Applause.] The soldiers of continental Europe are the product of compulsory service, not drafted by a selective system to be administered we know not how, but every man of military age declared physically fit is required to go to the colors when called. The men of Europe did not have to be conscripted to make them fight in

this war. Every one of the warring nations of Europe is fighting with its back to the wall. Every soldier believes he is fighting for the very life and existence of his country. They are fighting at the very doors of their own homes. Compulsory military service to these men was only the means whereby they were fitted and trained to fight. For a generation the nations of continental Europe have been getting ready for this war under systems of compulsory military service. [Applause.]

But there is no element of compulsion entering into their service in this war. The same men would fight with entirely different courage and spirit if they were drafted to fight on another continent. There is no question but that the military nations of Europe brought on this war because of their struggles to dominate and control the trade of the world. The military machines which they built up by compulsory service were designed to back up their claims for commercial supremacy. The Kaiser of Germany himself declared at the commencement of the war that the two principal causes of this conflict that is destroying the civilization of Europe is race hatred and commercial rivalry among nations. Prussianism is the full flower of the baleful power to conscript the manhood of a nation exercised by an autocratic ruler. It is the weapon the German autocracy forged with which to win commercial supremacy throughout the world. It is the club with which that autocracy has sought to beat democracy to death. If Prussianism wins, it means that the greatest power in this world is a 42-centimeter gun. It is against Prussian autocracy that the President tells us we wage this war. That autocracy is based on nothing else but the power of conscription combined with a military caste and dies only when this power is denied to it. Many good men who see the world on fire in this war because of the damning effects of the Prussian system insist that if we would defeat it we must make use of the system upon which it feeds to accomplish its overthrow. If we must fight the devil with his own fire, let us be very careful we do not consume the institutions of free democracy in our own land with that same blasting flame. [Applause.]

Article 2 of the German constitution declares the Emperor has full power to declare war if the nation is attacked or about to be attacked. Article 62 of the same constitution provides that the entire Prussian military system shall be introduced without delay throughout the Empire. Article 63 provides that the Emperor is the sole commander in chief of the armies of the Empire in peace or war.

These three articles contain the essentials of the German autocratic power. But the Kaiser would be as weak as water were it not for the Prussian military system of conscription, which has produced the fiercest and most merciless army known to modern warfare. It is a power that the whole world is in arms against. Every English-speaking people is in arms against that power, and every English-speaking race has refused to resort to the draft, which is the foundation of Prussianism, except as a last resort. In little England herself 5,000,000 of the best soldiers in the world volunteered in this war for democracy. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have sent almost a million of as brave troops as ever fought upon a battle field, every man a product of the system that is now sought to be discredited in this country. Six million and more of our brothers in language, now comrades in arms, have answered to the call of democracy and put guns upon their shoulders and gone voluntarily to fight her battles. England herself had less than a million men of military age left in the British Isles when they obligated the entire nation that remained at home to military service. We have more than 20,000,000 men of fighting age. If we were to go to the draft after we have sent 15,000,000 willing men to the battle line in Europe, that would be following the example of England in this matter.

Every advocate of conscription shouts "Look at England! Her record proves that the volunteer system is a failure." Yes; look at England. She is winning the war, if the allies win; she is the backbone of the opposition to Prussian militarism throughout the world; she rules the seven seas of earth; and if Germany is brought to her knees it is the navy of England that brings her to them. England rules the seven seas, and every man who treads the decks of her mighty fleet and fights beneath the union jack is a volunteer free-born Englishman. If anyone in America thinks that England has been in any sense a failure in this war, they can apply to Germany, and I think the Kaiser will tell them a different story. "God punish England" is the cry that shows the world that Germany knows whom her most dangerous adversary is. John Bull may have been a little slow at the start of this war in getting into the fight upon the land. Democracy has never deemed it necessary to be ready to strike a death blow at a neighbor nation at an hour's notice. But John Bull has his coat off now, and the Kaiser is learning that he can fight on land as effectively as upon the sea. Does anyone think the little army of a few hundred thousand men England conscripted from the residue remaining from her great mass of fighting volunteers makes the might of England invincible to-day on every battle field of Europe or of Asia where men fight beneath the banner of St. George? On every fighting front in this great war men who speak the English language and believe in the democracy which the English race has given to the world are proving that the volunteer soldier is the best soldier and the soldier that will fight until this war is won. English-speaking nations have never been quick to quarrel, but when once engaged have never yet failed to voluntarily fight the issue through to a successful finish. A great many people, including some of those high in our Military Establishment, are worried as to how we shall start in this war. They criticize and constantly refer to the slowness with which Great Britain and all her democratic daughters started in this race of death with military autocracy, but I have never seen prizes paid nor results decided at the start of any race. If the race is long and hard, as this race was bound to be, since its course ran round the world, the race was sure to go not to the swiftest at the start, but to the racer that could run true in the stretch, that could stand the whip and the spur when the pace was heartbreaking, and the spurs are driven deep into the heaving flanks and the cruel whip beats upon the struggling shoulders of the racers.

In that sort of a race the volunteer soldier has never failed to run true to the finish and be in at the death. When the Prussian autocracy shall finally be no more and democracy and enduring peace shall reign throughout this earth, the verdict of history shall be that the soldier that finally triumphed over military autocracy in this Armageddon of the world was the English-speaking volunteer. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. OLNEY.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Chairman, our minority leader has told me that there are practically 50 men who desire to be heard upon the minority report, and I am going to yield back 10 minutes of my time so that anyone who desires to be heard upon the question may have an opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, a state of war exists between Germany and the United States, and it is necessary that in the creation of an army we look to the Commander in Chief of the Army, the Chief Executive of the War Department, and competent and responsible Army officers for advice. Two methods of raising an army are under consideration by the House, one by the volunteer system and the other by selective conscription.

As a conservative business man I am willing to heed the advice of the Commander in Chief, a civilian; the Secretary of War, a civilian, and competent Army officers as to the best and wisest means to pursue in creating a trained force of men. Such witnesses came before the Military Affairs Committee, and in the terms of Cæsar, they came, some of the committee saw and were conquered. To illustrate further, if you are going to build a house you would naturally consult an architect and a carpenter, would you not, the one as the experienced, guiding hand and the other to build a strong foundation, frame the dwelling, drive in the nails, and roof the building. So when the architect of the War Department appeared before our committee with his skilled artisans or carpenters, if you will, and recommended that a certain method be adopted in the raising, equipping, and training of an army I felt that these men knew what they were talking about.

As one of the original proponents of universal military training and service in the House my action is absolutely consistent.

I advocated universal training and service as an arm of the Military Establishment of the United States more than a year ago, and hope and trust after this great war is over the great military heads of the Government will get together and frame and advocate such legislation.

Would that the Government had begun such a system a year ago and we would now have training 1,000,000 men. A member of the English Parliament told me at my home in Washington three months ago that the United States would not adopt universal training and service until a crisis arrived. The crisis has arrived and conscription should be the opening wedge for a permanent policy after the war of universal liability to service where the burden of military responsibility will be equally distributed to all citizens of military age and which is the only democratic and consistent method of raising and training an army.

Capt. Benson, seven years in the English Army and an officer in the Somerset Yeomanry, doing service in and about Jerusalem, on leave of absence from his country on account of dis-

ability, was in Washington 10 days ago and I conscripted him to appear before the Military Committee.

A summing up of his testimony strongly indicated a decided preference for the conscription over the volunteer system, and if England was beginning the war she would start with conscription. Among other things, Capt. Benson pointed out that under the volunteer act about twice as many married men volunteered as single men, and, furthermore, that the volunteer system took many of the most useful men out of the country, and frequently coal miners, skilled mechanics, and agriculturalists were compelled to return to England since their services were considered more useful at home in the prosecution of the war. Actually 200,000 under the volunteer act were recalled from the front for duty in England.

Capt. Benson made a strong point on the question of economy in conscription as against extravagance and waste in the volunteer method. I quote from his testimony:

> Very often A and B, who enlisted, were married men with large families, while C and D were single men. While those men were on service the State had to pay separation allowances and dependent allowances for A's and B's wives and children and dependents, and those allowances were a very serious factor. In fact, it was laughingly said that if a man only had enough children his pay would be as much as the pay of a general, and that was a factor that had great weight.

Another point which Capt. Benson drove home with force related to equal distribution of effort and obligation under conscription.

Under the volunteer act where a certain district was bombarded by Zeppelins heavy enlistment would ensue from that section, while there was practically no volunteering from sections untouched by balloon warfare. In other words, the distribution of effort and obligation under the volunteer system was not equitable.

Several weeks ago the emergency peace committee of Massachusetts took a straw vote on war and conscription and about 2,200 responded in the entire Commonwealth. The percentage against war was 62.4 and against conscription 59.9. The peace committee further states that the percentages in the congressional districts vary from high votes, such as in the Hon. RICHARD OLNEY'S—fourteenth—where there was a vote against war of 80.1 per cent and against conscription of 77.7 per cent, to an adverse vote in Hon. W. H. CARTER'S—thirteenth—of 53.5 per cent for war and 53.8 for conscription. In reading this statement to the House I reveal that the almost overwhelming sentiment in my district is against conscription, and yet I fearlessly go on record to-day in favor of such a policy as a Representative of the Nation and not as a Congressman from a particular section of the country. My people are a heterogeneous people, composed of boot and shoe operatives, skilled mechanics, farmers, business men, and granite workers, the finest constituency in the United States, and a strong bond of sympathy and friendship exists between them and their Congressman.

If my constituents could have listened to all the evidence before our committee, I am sure that there would be a reversal in the vote on conscription, for they are reasonable, intelligent, and open to conviction.

In this great war in which we have embarked there is work for all.

Men should be conscripted to stay at home to work in the fields or the shops, and most of the operatives in boot and shoe factories, the granite quarries, the shipbuilding yards will be needed at home to supply the Army and the civilians with necessities of life.

If the plan of conscription is adopted, those men will be taken who can best be spared from society.

At this point I beg to submit to the House the following letter from a constituent:

HYDE PARK, *April 16, 1917.*

Congressman OLNEY.

DEAR SIR: As one of your constituents I should like to express my views to you on the universal service bill which will come before you shortly. I am an ex-militiaman, having served in Company K, First Heavy Artillery.

After my own experience, and seeing the time they had in getting volunteers in England for this war, I believe the universal training bill is the only just and proper way to raise the forces we need, and I hope you will find yourself able to give it your hearty support.

Some of my reasons for supporting it are: That the volunteer force at present consists principally of the laboring class; and as it has been used mainly for intimidation in strikes it has lost favor with that class of people. Result: For years it has not been able to muster at peace strength.

Again, why should our bright, manly boys, a credit to our towns and villages, go to the front while the poolroom fiends, etc., stay at home. They should be made to go and do their part.

With the rich and poor in the ranks, there will be more respect shown for the uniform than there is at the present time.

Again hoping that you will give this bill your hearty support,

I am, respectfully, yours,

ROLAND S. WARDE.

681 Metropolitan Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.

Granting that half a million are ready to offer their services to-morrow as volunteers the War Department is not equipped according to the Secretary of War, to properly train and equip such a force at the present time, and he added that it would take at least three months before the machinery could be actually in operation to effectively provide for 500,000, on account of a deficiency in trained officers, tentage, uniforms, and other supplies.

Plenty of opportunity is afforded to those imbued with the volunteer spirit to enlist in the National Guard and Regular Army, since according to a summary furnished by the Secretary of War the number of men that may be provided by voluntary enlistment under the War Department plan amounts to 724,718. In Massachusetts about 60 men a day are enlisting under this plan, and at this rate it would take nearly two years for Massachusetts to furnish its quota; and I understand that enlistment all over the country is proportionately similar.

To a question by one of the committeemen as to what he would do if the volunteer act were adopted, the Secretary, without hesitation, substantially said that he would give his most earnest attention and his very best effort to make the system as successful and effective as possible.

About 50,000 Americans are fighting in France to-day in one capacity or another under the flags of France and Great Britain, but in the interest of one common cause—the subjection of militarism and the substitution of democracy for bureaucracy.

If in the course of events the European war lasts into next year, this Nation may send transports to France laden with soldiers, and it would be feasible and practicable to enlist there under the Stars and Stripes the 50,000 already enlisted in foreign service.

If we desire to pay our debt to France and to help the allied nations in their great struggle, how better can we render assistance than through a system of conscription which will be expeditious, businesslike, efficient, and which has the approval of the President, the War Department, and Army officers of high rank. While I respect the opinions and honest convictions of those members of the Military Committee who have presented the majority report, I am very happy in the stand I have taken and am proud to be enrolled with the minority members, the so-called conscript fathers.

In comparison to the committee as a whole, the minority are few in numbers, but, oh, how strong in faith. Who are the minority men? KAHN of California, representing the far West, heading the committee, MCKENZIE of Illinois, CRAGO of Pennsylvania, TILSON of Connecticut, GREENE of Vermont, HARRISON of Virginia, LUNN of New York, and OLNEY of Massachusetts. Three members hail from the three largest States in the Union in point of population; about half of the thirteen original States are represented on the committee, and Virginia and Massachusetts are again found clasping hands in a common cause. Four members are Spanish-American War veterans and, confessing the weakness of the volunteer system, enthusiastically indorse conscription. The Nation, yea, the world, is watching the United States during this period. Germany would welcome our adoption of a military policy such as the voluntary system, which has broken down in all the great wars of this Nation and which has been a failure in all other countries wherever attempted. The United States is engaged in this war as an ally of the entente, is it not, and we should present a united, a solid, front.

When the House acts, may it speak in no uncertain terms in favor of conscription, carrying a message of hope and gladness to the allies and guaranteeing a speedy termination of the great European conflict. [Applause.]

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 3545, and had come to no resolution thereon.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 2762. An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign Governments, and for other purposes.

INCREASE OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 3545.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 3545, with Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia in the chair.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, how much time did the gentleman from Massachusetts consume?

The CHAIRMAN. Fifteen minutes.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. QUIN]. [Applause.]

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, let no man misunderstand the gravity of the question before the House. The Congress, at the request of the President, several days ago passed the resolution boldly declaring the existence of a state of war between the United States of America and the Imperial Government of Germany. Our country is now at war with that powerful military nation. All discussion has been closed as to the relative merits or demerits of the war. The time for discussion has passed. Every citizen of this great Republic of freemen should now stand firmly and patriotically by the flag and do everything in his power to bring victory to our country.

The Congress has turned over $7,000,000,000 to the President, the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, to lend to the allies and expend for the United States in prosecuting the war. Everything requested has been unanimously granted. Your Committee on Military Affairs had the responsibility of reporting a bill to raise, equip, and maintain the Army to begin the prosecution of the war.

The President desires the authorization for 1,000,000 men by selective draft, or conscription, in two increments of 500,000 each. All of your committee agreed to give the million men, but the majority of the committee thought it wise to authorize the President to call for the first half million as volunteers in units of companies and regiments from the several States, and when he desired the next half million the President should call them in the same manner.

The majority of the committee also provided the machinery for the inauguration of the draft system desired by the President and the Secretary of War, with the authority vested in the President to initiate the selective conscription system if the proper number of available men failed to respond under the call for volunteers.

The committee was careful to safeguard the Commander in Chief against any semblance of failure on the part of the citizens to promptly respond to the call to arms.

Mr. Chairman, the objection to the selective conscription plan is fundamental. We owe it to the President and the country to provide an army sufficient to prosecute this war to a successful conclusion.

Your committee has granted every man and every dollar requested. We give in our bill the lump sum of $3,000,000,000, and authorize the President and Secretary of War to spend it as they see proper in preparing and in conducting the war. We could not agree to the selective conscription plan as presented to us.

Mr. Chairman, that plan required us to place the burden on the youth between the ages of 19 and 25 years—to be forced to do all the fighting—the only portion of our citizens, except those in the Regular Army and the National Guard, who would be called on to die for the United States, perhaps in the trenches of Europe. We were called upon to limit the men to that specific class and allow the agencies of the War Department to select which ones they would take.

I could not agree to that plan. We all know, if this war lasts long enough, these soldiers will be marched into the trenches and on the firing lines against the enemy in Europe. It is my conviction, sir, that the burden to do the fighting in this war rests on the shoulders of the men from 21 years up to perhaps 50. The stock argument of the advocates of this selective conscription plan is, that it is universal, democratic, and the only fair way to get the soldiers to do the fighting.

How universal is it, when every man above 25 years of age is excluded from the draft, and can pursue the even tenor of his way during the mighty conflict, when a few of those who are between 19 and 25 years of age will be fighting and dying for the entire Nation?

How democratic is it, when the agencies of the War Department are to select from among the physically and mentally sound ones those names that come out of the box or jury wheel which ones are to go into the Army to do the fighting and which ones are to be left at home? I ask if this is fair; to whom is it fair? Is it fair to the man who is conscripted into the Army, while his neighbor of the same age and same physical and mental ability is left at home to enjoy life or make money? Is it fair to all of that class between 19 and 25 years that a select portion of them be forced to do that Army service and perhaps get slain on the field of battle, while every man who happens to be above 25 years of age is excluded from the service?

Mr. Chairman, I could not vote to conscript the boys who are not old enough to vote and force them to do the fighting for the men of this Nation.

If Congress adopts the plan of the War Department, the first draft will mean about 1,100 young men from each congressional district, and the second draft will be about December for 1,100 more young men from each congressional district.

The Secretary of War stated before our committee that it would take three months from the passage of the bill to organize the machinery and register all of the male citizens between 19 and 25 years of age, and that it would take about six weeks after that to perform the select drafting and have them in camp ready for the Army. Of course, it would take several months of intensive training before they would be prepared to enter the trenches or march on the lines against the enemy on European soil. Every one of them will be in the Army for the period of the war or the existing emergency.

You understand they will be kept in the Army until the President of the United States issues a peace proclamation.

The metropolitan papers and a few leagues have endeavored to mislead the public and make them believe this is a mere proposition for universal compulsory military training. There is no such idea as that in this bill. The measure is for the conscription of 1,000,000 men between 19 and 25 years by selection through the War Department for actual service in the Army against the enemy. They are to be sent to any place or any battle field which the President may deem expedient.

Gentlemen, the President is Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, and after we turn this Army over to him I am in favor of his using his own judgment without consulting Congress as to when and where that Army is to be used.

I know, if the war continues long enough, he will be compelled to send the forces to fight the enemy in Europe. We can not be mealy-mouthed about not wanting our soldiers to be sent to foreign soil to fight. If the President says they should go there, it is up to Congress to say nothing, but aid him in every way possible to bring victory and honor to our country in this awful contest.

Since we know in reason that this Army we propose to raise under this act will be sent to Europe to engage in that mad carnage, do you want to conscript a few of a certain age, or let the call be answered by all of military age to voluntarily offer themselves as a sacrifice to the country? Do you want to follow the system and method of autocracy, or do you desire to follow the plan of democracy?

Gentlemen, the great body of the plain people, the inarticulate mass which constitutes the real sovereignty of our Government, can not be heard in the chamber of diplomats. Shall they cease to be heard in the committee rooms of the American Congress?

Shall their voice be stifled on the floor of this House?

Shall we resort to the same system created and perfected by the Prussian military autocracy, which we are seeking to overthrow?

My fellow Members, do you know that with all of the autocratic power vested in the Kaiser and his military autocracy, that he can not conscript a single soldier to go beyond the borders of the Empire? The German soldier volunteers for the service beyond his own country. The Kaiser with all his power could not conscript or draft his armies to come to America to fight. The soldiers of His Majesty could not be compelled to come until they had volunteered to do so.

If that idea prevails under an autocracy, am I to be criticized for thinking it should continue in a democracy? I love the people and adore all of the tenets of real democracy. If this be a weakness, I trust it is a pardonable one as the real cause why I can not follow our President and accept this doctrine of conscripting the young men of America to fight in Europe until after all men of military age shall have had an opportunity to answer the call of the President through authority of Congress to volunteer for such service. If they were to fail to respond to such a call in the proper number and the proper time, then no one could complain at the conscription of men from 21 to 40 years of age.

The advocates of this autocratically and erroneously denominated democratic and fair plan of selective draft or conscription say it is the ideal system of raising an army. Admitting for the sake of argument that their conclusion is true, does that make it just and right? I admit it is a perfect system by which

to gather up the American youths and stand them in front of the asphyxiating gas bombs, the machine guns, the heavy artillery, and infantry rifle bullets of the Germany army, to be swept into eternity without their desire or volition; but does that make it fair, just, and right to those young men of America? Would it harmonize with our ideals, institutions, and traditions?

I could formulate what many people would deem an ideal tax system, but to my mind it would be an outrage.

Suppose a law were suggested by which all of the taxes to support the Government should be paid by men between the ages of 25 and 40 years, and that no other persons were required to pay any taxes; and further that some agency of the Government be vested with full power at will to select a certain number of men between those ages to pay all of the taxes required of all the people of the United States, and not only the great majority of the men between 25 and 40 years would have no tax burden on them, but all other persons of all other ages in the Republic would be free from taxation. No doubt there are many people in the Nation who would call that plan "universal, democratic, and fair."

Does any man on this floor pretend to say that would be a "universal, democratic, and fair plan" to raise revenue to support and maintain the Federal Government?

Would it be a democratic and fair method of raising revenue to support the municipality, the county, or the State?

No Member of this Congress, nay, no intelligent man outside of Congress, could so becloud his powers of ratiocination as to reach a conclusion that such an abortive system of raising revenue could be universal, democratic, fair, just, and right.

Then why will not the same process of reasoning apply to the proposed selective draft, or conscription act, to draft whatever young men of the limited class the War Department's agents select to do the fighting for all the people of the United States?

Still we are told this is universal, democratic, and fair.

Is it really possible that a Member of this House could so prostitute his intellect as to in truth and fact reach such a preposterous conclusion?

Gentlemen, what is the matter with the Dent bill reported to this House by a majority of your committee?

Twelve of us believe that is the proper bill for our great country at the beginning of this impending emergency.

The minority of eight of our committee believe in the selective conscription plan, though agreeing with us on other features of the bill. A careful analysis of our measure will indicate to any mind that our country is safe in every regard in so far as the raising, equipping, concentrating, and maintaining an Army for the war is concerned.

Each member of that committee is actuated by the same high, noble, and patriotic impulses. The majority of us patriotically believe the volunteer system should be given a trial, and we have breathed our earnest and patriotic conceptions into the bill.

Why not give our citizens a chance to volunteer in units of companies and regiments, the officers to be examined and appointed by the President under the new laws?

Does any man believe that patriotism is dead in our country? Do you believe that the American citizenry would fail to respond to the stirring appeal of our great President if our volunteer provision is adopted by Congress?

Mr. Chairman, it is the passion of my soul that every real American should be ready at all times to lay down his life for his country. What nobler impulse can there be in the soul of Americans than to immolate themselves on the altar of their country? America, the proud heritage of Bunker Hill, Brandywine, and Valley Forge!

Our freedom, liberty, institutions, ideals, tradition, and rights of man and property, safeguarded by the Constitution, the sacred palladium of liberty, constitute a noble heritage won by the sacrifice of blood and life of the fathers before us.

Fellow Americans, do you mean to tell me there is no patriotism in the United States, the giant of the west?

Gentlemen on this floor argue that citizens would not volunteer, because they do not rush by the tens of thousands to fill up the Regular Army and the National Guard. Do not you know that is not a fair nor legitimate comparison?

More than a regiment a day since the declaration of war is being accepted into the Regular Army, which fills the hope of even the most optimistic observer.

Do not you know our citizens have never responded to any extent to the Regular Army? They did not do it in the War with Mexico in 1845 and 1848. They did not volunteer into the Regular Army in the Civil War from 1861 to 1865. During the whole time of the Civil War not more than 1 per cent of the volunteers enlisted in the Regular Army. Why should it be different to-day?

The first call of 400,000 by President Lincoln was responded to promptly, and they even came too fast. The Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, made this pertinent observation:

I can not forbear to speak favorably of the volunteer system * * *. A Government whose every citizen stands ready to march to its defense can never be overthrown, for none is so strong as that whose foundations rest immovably in the hearts of the people.

You hear men say conscription was resorted to by President Lincoln in the last years of the war. Do you know that the records show that 1,356,000 volunteers were enrolled and only about 60,000 were conscripted soldiers?

You say the Confederate Government had to resort to conscription. Do you know that the records show that the Confederate Government was formed in 1861, in February, and that on the 6th of March President Davis issued a call for 100,000 volunteers, and by the middle of April he had 35,000 already equipped and ready for the field. He only had a small population to draw from, and yet he got every man called for in a very short time.

Of course, he had to conscript soldiers when their wives and children were at home suffering for something to eat and wear.

What is the truth about our present condition? We have about 150,000 trained men in the National Guard who have been in training since the summer of 1916, and we have about 150,000 in the Regular Army. We have a goodly number trained in the Officers' Reserve Corps.

A call for 500,000 volunteers by company and regimental units from the States and Territories would mean what? It would mean a great upheaval of patriotism all over this mighty Republic, and before 30 days the half million men would be in training, ready and anxious for the day to come when they could go to alien soil, bear the flag of the United States, and demonstrate American valor and prowess in driving the Kaiser's warriors back toward Berlin.

All of the enterprise of this great Nation is in process of mobilization to equip the Army. The rifles are already in store for the first 500,000.

Our marvelous resources guarantee the statement they would be speedily uniformed.

Gentlemen argue that it might cripple industry. That is impossible, because the volunteer provision gives the President the same right to select them as he would have under his conscript provision. Anyway, what is a little unit of one-half a million men out of our hundred millions of people? We have 35,000,000 men of military age in this country. No one could seriously contend that 1,000,000 being taken according to the legal quotas from all the States and Territories, could cut any material figure in any business or industry, even if the President or Secretary of War did not exercise the power to say which should be refused by the Government.

Why, in the beginning of the war, depart from the traditional method of this Nation and all other democracies? It was the Volunteer Army that placed the flag of the United States on the ramparts of Monterey.

It was the volunteer regiments which brought honor and victory to our flag at Buena Vista.

It was the American Volunteers who carried the Stars and Stripes into Mexico City.

It was the Union's Volunteers who overcame the Stars and Bars and overthrew the Government of the Confederate States of America.

It was the American Volunteers who drove the flag of Spain from the Pearl of the Antilles.

It was the American Volunteers who drove the Spanish oppressor from the green isles inhabited by the swarthy Filipino in the far distant Pacific.

Is it possible that at this glorious period of our national history, when we surpass the world in wealth, resources, and inventive genius, we can not at the beginning of a war, trust the American men of military age to respond to the Nation's call to fight her battles any time and everywhere?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes additional to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIN. It was American genius that gave the world the fatal submarine. It was American genius which gave the world the flying machine, now the eyes of the modern armies engaged in the greatest war in the world's history.

Must we now, under the shadow of all past achievements, bow our heads in ignominy and exclaim, "Americans no longer breathe the patriotic spirit of 'Old Glory'"?

Shall we at the very outset of this conflict brand the American soldier with the word conscript, so that in future years his

posterity can, in accord with the citizen of old Rome, exclaim, "Conscript Fathers"?

Many newspapers of the country say the volunteer system is a failure.

Gentlemen, England, with a population of only 40,000,000 people, raised a volunteer army of 5,000,000 soldiers before resorting to the draft plan, and since adopting this plan she allows 30 days for the men to enlist in the army, and under that system she has added only 1,350,000 soldiers to her army.

Just think of it, with the war going on in her back yard, the Kingdom of England has not yet adopted any such strenuous law as is proposed here.

The Dominion of Canada and Australia, colonial dependencies or possessions of Great Britain, still have the volunteer system, and the war has been in progress nearly three years.

Each one of these countries supplies its quota of soldiers through the volunteer plan and gets them across the ocean for the mother country to put on the firing line against the enemy. No one will contend that any of the industries of Canada or Australia have been injured or hampered by this system of volunteers.

Gentlemen, who is to be selected?

The last evening the Secretary of War appeared before the committee I submitted this question to him: "Mr. Secretary, the population of my district is about 75 per cent agricultural and 25 per cent urban or town. What ratio will be selected under your draft system?" The Secretary said he could not, of course, be accurate; he would estimate about 3 to 1. That is, every time one was selected from the towns three would be selected from the country.

He said the transportation operatives of trains would not be drafted. It is plain that when they take 1,200 men out of my district 900 of them will be farmers and 300 of them town men.

Under the draft system the agencies of the War Department would, of course, determine which farmers should be put into the Army.

Gentlemen, do not pay attention to all this rot in the newspapers in reference to saying farmers will not be drafted into the Army. Every one of these men in the New England factories, these men who are making nine, twelve, and fifteen dollars a day on the coast here in the munitions factories, will stay there and say, "Yes; conscript these fellows between 19 and 25 all over the country and send them over yonder to bare their breasts to the German bullets." That is what is going to happen.

I am standing by the President in all of his war measures, but I can not support this selective conscription. It is a matter too vital and fundamental for any of us to treat lightly. I can not surrender my convictions when I am convinced that the plan is not for the best interest of our Nation. It is likely to breed internal troubles and ill feeling against the Government.

Now is the time when every citizen should love the Government. I can not conscript the boys into the Army. If they should go to the trenches and many be killed and others maimed and wounded, I could not face them, one-armed, one-legged, and with disfigured faces, and see some with sightless eyeballs rolling at me. If they go voluntarily, no reproach could come against anyone. To conscript the boys and ill fortune overtake them, pangs of conscience would disturb me as long as I live.

In the name of humanity, I ask you if you vote for the conscript bill please give us our amendment to exempt the boys.

This is a man's war, and if it is to be fought by conscript soldiers these soldiers should be above 21 years of age.

I am doing what my heart and mind lead me to think is right and for the best interest of our country now and for the future.

I ask you further to accept our amendment exempting ministers of the Gospel. Surely it would be humiliating to have the agents of the War Department drag the minister of God away from his congregation and conscript him into the Army.

May the God of hosts guard and protect America. [Applause.]

Mr. BLACK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIN. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. Does the gentleman know any reason why a minister of the Gospel should be excepted any more than a lawyer or a banker or a farmer?

Mr. QUIN. Oh, yes; a minister of the Gospel ministers to the people. We need somebody, while we are following this war-mad cry, while we are resorting to every endeavor to break down Prussianism, we need somebody inspired by God on high to preach to our women and children and those men above 25 years of age who are left at home to enjoy their usual pursuits. [Laughter]. Do not take the ministers of the Gospel from them. Leave a semblance of the followers of the lowly Nazarene back at home to preach to the people, to bury the dead, and marry the youth of the land. Gentlemen, I thank you. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON].

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, in order that I may not abuse the confidence of my distinguished friend from California and may yield back such time as possible for the use of others, I ask the Chair to notify me at the end of 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, it is with great reluctance and regret that I find myself reduced to the painful necessity of parting company on a great question from my friend from Alabama [Mr. DENT], the great chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. I have admired him; we have all admired him. He is able; he is true; he is one of the best men we ever had; he is one of the best chairmen that great committee ever had, and if anybody would say they are going into mourning because he has made this mistake I wish to console them by reminding them that as one swallow does not make a summer so one error can not damn a great man. [Applause.] There is yet time for him to retrieve his reputation and do right on this question.

I should have no objection, Mr. Chairman, to humoring the pride and preserving the face of every man who wants to volunteer if they would only offer to volunteer, but they do not all offer. If they did, the administration would be flooded with hundreds of thousands of telegrams saying they wanted to volunteer as quickly as possible, instead of hundreds of thousands of applications for clerkships and commissions. Now, Mr. Chairman, it is all right to talk about punctilio and pride and humiliating our young men by drafting them. This is no time for theorizing nor for sentimentality. The stern fact faces us that we have a job on our hands probably not realized by the great mass of our people nor even by all the Congressmen themselves. War has been forced upon us by the most reckless, unscrupulous, and warlike Government the world has seen for generations. The gentleman from Pennsylvania just now in describing the situation was in error when he said the President urged us to declare war against Germany. We have been for two years led by the wisest man who ever sat in the White House or presided over any other country trying to avoid having to recognize that Germany was making war on us. Finally, when patience ceased to be a virtue, when forbearance could no longer forbear, when our lives and our property and our rights, individual and national, were disregarded ruthlessly and recklessly, then, as watchmen on watchtowers, true to our trust, true to our people, we proclaimed and recognized that ruthless war was being waged upon us and recognized the necessity of preparing for it.

Now, shall we stand here and spin theories and talk about pride and punctilio and ask Germany to wait two years until we can make experiments to see whether we can organize a volunteer army, when Hohenzollern militarism may have broken down the eastern line and made it necessary—a necessity which might not arise if we took prompt action—for us to send a million men to Europe, in order that the descendants of Sheridan and Sherman and of Lee and Jackson shall cut through those phalanxes, pierce those lines, and secure liberty and freedom for us and for civilization from further ruthless aggression? [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, a thousand recruits a day would give us 750,000 men in two years. Our prompt recognition of the situation, unanimously extending credit, unanimously declaring we would resist the war, have been marvelous in their moral effects upon the war, and if we promptly follow that by recognizing the necessity to do all things necessary to raise an army as quickly as possible we would increase the moral effect, and we may by prompt action succeed in helping to end the war before the worst comes upon us. If we dally along and let our good men volunteer and let the "slackers" stay at home to disgrace themselves and probably rob their neighbors, we may be reduced to the extremity of not only sending an army abroad, but also leaving one equally as large at home to protect ourselves against other things that might happen just as bad, if we left our shores unprotected.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am unwilling that the flower, the youth, the chivalry, the bravery, the honesty of the country shall volunteer and go ahead and risk their lives in fighting for the balance of them, while their neighbors, less patriotic, are allowed to slack and shirk and stay at home. It is not discrimination. It is democracy, it is equity, both of which are equality

before the law. All of our people are subject to military duty unless specifically excepted for good reason. Then, it is simply obedience to law for everybody to recognize that, and no brave man can claim advantage over another and say, "I rushed in and volunteered ahead of you." And no "slacker" can be shamed by saying, "I was drafted when you were not." The thing to do when we have a man's job on our hands and where there may be a real war is to prepare for it and quit talking about these trifling sentimentalities that men talk about.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not trespass longer upon the time of the House, but I will ask that the Clerk read a letter, which is one of many thousands received from the district which I have the honor to represent, and which I am proud to say realizes the gravity of the situation. While many of their men stand ready to volunteer, they all recognize the liability of all to serve their country, and they are all standing by the administration in demanding the exertion of every means and the use of every resource and every recourse equally and justly to raise an army as quickly as possible and end this war as soon as possible.

I will ask the Clerk to read the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

LAGRANGE, GA., *April 19, 1917.*

Hon. W. C. ADAMSON,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMSON: To begin with, I do not think it is right to save all the flowers for the casket, so I am going to tell you how glad I am to see you standing for selective conscription. You are proving again your "level head," and in this instance your sense of justice as well. When I read what Representatives had to say—that "conscription would mean their political death"; "that they had promised the mothers of their States to keep their sons out of war"—I wondered whose sons would do their fighting for them. God grant it may never come to fighting; but just now, if all mothers' sons are to be spared all risks and possibilities, who will answer our country's call? No mother ever had two finer, dearer boys than mine. For years we have been trying to prepare them for lives of usefulness and praying each day that they might grow up to be a comfort to their parents and an honor to their country. We have worked and sacrificed that they might have every advantage from the public schools on through the State university and then their degrees at the Johns Hopkins and Harvard, and studying in Germany and France. Harry has spent four years of hard work on the house staff at the Hopkins, and last October he leased and equipped his own office in the city and has been doing so well this winter, and it seems the time isn't so far off now when he can begin to think of having a home of his own and some one to keep it. Searcy has been building up the "good roads and bridges" for his State, working unceasingly, going into every county in Georgia, from Rabun Gap to the sea, and, as you may know, the University of Michigan had him come up and spend one summer showing them what Georgia was doing. These are the boys who have been taught never to shirk a duty; and are such boys as these to be thrown into the breach and save Representatives from political death and their mothers' sons from every personal sacrifice and danger?

These boys of mine volunteered last year when the trouble came with Mexico, and when the war cloud appeared above the horizon again in February I went flying to Baltimore to have a little love feast with Harry before he was sent—I knew not where. While in Baltimore I was talking to some doctors about what a pity it was for Harry to have to stop his work just as he had started off. They said they had absolutely no patience with Harry: that "a fellow who had things right in his hands was a fool to risk the loss of such a grand work." These very doctors were spending the greater part of their days waiting for work to come their way, and going into the Army would be their salvation, and a burden off their parents.

We are sadly in need of conscription—boys and men, great, strong, sturdy men all over the country, some of them having been captains in athletics at college—they never have done any work worth while, and they surely need Uncle Sam to get behind them and make them work for once in their lives. I can't understand why people can't see that it would be the best thing the country ever did to take up all loafers and put them to work. Think of what it would mean to have several hundred thousand of them farming this summer.

You know how bravely and cheerfully Dr. Slack has worked all these years, despite his increasing deafness; he has looked to the future when these boys would be the stay and comfort of his later years, and now when it seems that his country needs them, he does not think of himself at all. I am not so brave and unselfish. When I was with Harry he tried to brace me up by telling me that "now was the time to put into practice my good old Presbyterian doctrines."

I am writing all this in a spirit of indignation over the effort of Congressmen to use our noble volunteers to save their shirkers, and to show that my boys are just as much to this mother—and Heaven knows no mother could ever recoil from the horror and dangers of this barbarous war more than I—yet I know that my fathers never shirked in the days of the persecution of the Covenanters; they fought for liberty in the days of the Revolution; they were loyal to the flag that "went down in defeat but in glory" in the sixties, and now I am thankful these boys are the "brave sons of noble sires." They will not have to be conscripted. It is a shame that conscription has to come, yet it is the only just course. The only safe one.

Yours, very sincerely, RUTH B. SLACK.

During the reading of the letter the following occurred:

Mr. DECKER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ADAMSON. I will ask the Clerk to finish the letter.

Mr. DECKER. How old are these boys?

Mr. ADAMSON. They have already volunteered, both of them. The mother thinks the sons of other mothers ought to be taken, too.

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman spoke feelingly and eloquently, as he always does, on the subject of universal responsibility, of universal liability to service. Does the gentleman think that those splendid principles which we all approve are exemplified by the administration, the War Department's proposition, to lay the entire burden of this great war on boys from 19 to 25, and draft them, and them alone?

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I shall not undertake to discuss the details of this bill. [Laughter.] I do not hesitate to say that the young men are best suited, and first to be called on for service—"old men for counsel, young men for war." I trust the military experts who have studied the military history of this and other ages to advise us as to the details, and the Military Committee has studied that out. I am simply discussing the difference between the administration proposition and the proposition to insist on the volunteer experiment to delay the organization of an army needed as soon as possible. And I want to say further, Mr. Chairman, that if gentlemen will analyze the pressure upon them closely they will find that the pressure for the volunteer system comes more largely from those who do not want to go to the war than from those who would volunteer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia to print the balance of the letter in the RECORD? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. ADAMSON. I thank the gentleman from California for his courtesy and the committee for its consideration and attention.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. GREENE].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Vermont is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Chairman, as I am one of the eight men, members of the Committee on Military Affairs, who joined in the minority report, I feel that, whatever may have been the traditions of ancient days that qualified men for such an honor in old Rome, I, too, in this twentieth century have become one of the "Conscript Fathers." I suggest that, not for the apparent flippancy of the remark, but for the opportunity it gives me to remind our friends who are laying so much stress upon the opprobrium that is supposed to be attached to the old word "conscript," that that word in its ancient, pure estate was a title of respect and dignity.

Every man in old Rome qualified to bear arms was under the universal obligation to military service, and every man qualified to serve the State in any other capacity of great usefulness was under equal obligation to perform that service when the State demanded it. And it was deemed among the Romans in those days to be a distinction beyond price to have the State reach down upon any man, deeming him to be qualified for exceeding great usefulness, and conscript him to his post of duty.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Yes.

Mr. GORDON. What happened to Rome? [Applause.]

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I will remind the gentleman that several centuries of freedom and greatness happened to Rome between that day and the day when she fell from her high estate. The gentleman also will remember that in part of that lesson we learned of those centuries that, instead of great devotion to military standards, corruption, vice, elegance, ease, frivolity, loose pastimes, luxury, and sluggishness swept over Rome, and——

Mr. GORDON. Rome lost her conscripted army in the German forests. That is what happened to her. [Applause.]

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Then we had better go against them there and find them and see what we can get. [Applause.]

I realize that approaching the subject at this time, after having given it much detailed attention, as men on the committee in charge of this work must do, it is useless to come here on the floor in general debate and in a few minutes attempt to do justice to the opinions and convictions by which one may have endeavored to fortify his position. We all know how much we would like to prepare something like a lawyer's brief, anticipating every move that the opposition might make, and trying to close up the door against it; but we all know, at least those of us who have had much experience on this floor, that it would not be long before the patience of the Members would cease to be a virtue. And I may add, by way of parenthesis, that few men who have been on this floor many years ever expect to convince many of their colleagues or to win many votes in general debate. So I am only going to try, as briefly as I may, to sketch, as I may say in the passing phrase of the day,

some of the "high places" that have induced me to come to the position where I now expect to stand to the end.

I am opposed to the proposition of the majority of the committee to substitute for the general plan of selective conscription for the main body of what we may well call the citizen's war army one more resort to the old time-worn trial of the volunteer plan, and I call your attention to the fact that this really is the crux of our debate to-day and this week on this bill. There are details that must be established in the administration of any law whether we decide now to adopt the conscriptive system from the start or whether we intend to use the substitution that has been proposed as the first makeshift by our friends on the majority side. But whichever way we decide, whatever principle we adopt, those details will have to be shaped afterwards in the bill in order that the law may be safely and satisfactorily administered. So I will not, I hope, offend your own sense of what are your own duties, and I will not seem to underrate your own experience in these matters, if I suggest that throughout this debate this afternoon many of our friends have been dwelling with particular emphasis, sometimes with extravagant emphasis, upon details, and details only, very carefully avoiding that main principle which is at issue before the Committee of the Whole. And inasmuch as this is a military bill I may suggest to you in military phrase that perhaps those friends of ours, beneath this scrupulous attention, this religious devotion to detail, are only masking the artillery that they hope to bring to bear against the main principle which is at stake. [Applause.]

You know it is an old, old proposition in our experience, and it has been introduced into something like a colloquial axiom that many men—perhaps we ourselves on occasion—are so troubled with what might be called an astigmatism of the imagination that they are able to discern with almost microscopic clearness the fly on a barn door, but they never see the door that the poor old fly rests on, never. So that perhaps some of the emphasis that has been laid upon some of these details as to who shall be exempted and how old these soldier boys may be, and all that sort of thing, are things that are perhaps not at all in dispute between this minority report and the majority report and do not affect the principle which has been raised here.

You will notice that our friends on the majority, in bringing out this bill, propose this substitution of the volunteering principle as far as it will work, and are very careful to guard their bill so that if it fails to work, or in the judgment of the President shows signs of failing to work, then shall there be brought into effect the last power of this conscriptive authority of the Government. I want to say—and I appeal to your own sense of logic as to whether I may be justified in saying it or not—that I am opposed to going into a war in this great emergency on the proposition of raising half of our Army conditioned on the failure to raise the other half. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Certainly.

Mr. DENT. Then is the gentleman opposed to that feature of the bill which authorizes the volunteer system in the Regular Army and the National Guard in order to build them up to war strength?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Absolutely not; and for reasons which I think are equally logical. The Regular Army and the National Guard are existing institutions. They have been with us for over a hundred years, and the law and the policy of the country have always been that with regard to those institutions men are at liberty to choose whether they will go into them or not, and this bill does not grant any extra authority in regard to that. On the contrary, this bill simply recognizes existing law. In the case of the Regular Army, the service in its ranks is looked upon as a life work, an occupation, a profession, and the law allows a man in civil life to elect whether he will adopt the Regular Army for his profession or occupation; and he does that voluntarily, as he goes into any other occupation or profession. In the National Guard, which, through the process of years and by the operation of statutes, has come to have something like a quasi professional status in the military world, we still employ exactly that same policy. If in the days of peace a young man wants to devote a part of his lifetime to special military studies and experience, then he may do so voluntarily in established units which this Government provides for that purpose.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Is not the volunteer system just as old as the National Guard?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Exactly. It is probably a great deal older, but I do not see what that proves.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. The gentleman wants the National Guard to retain its volunteer feature because it is an old organization.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. No; I said the National Guard was recognized by our Government, and has been in existence ever since its inception as a part of what we may call the established military force of the Government, in peace as well as war.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. So has the volunteer system.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Oh, no; the volunteer system only springs into existence in war emergency.

I realize, as you all do, that I must dwell briefly on what I hope to suggest to you, even if I do not persuade you by the suggestion of it. I think the fundamental proposition involved here is the very same fundamental upon which depends the continuity of our Government. Its philosophy, its form of operation, and the theory under which it is administered are so simple that all of us must get in agreement upon it. It is that the relation of the citizen to the State is that of a party to a bilateral contract. If he enjoys from his Government protection and security in his life, limb, and property, and his liberty, as he goes about every day in his ordinary peaceful employments, he is under the reciprocal obligation of maintaining the power that so protects him. We all agree to that. We agree that that is the larger part perhaps of our theory of a republican democracy. Therefore if we all start out, as we do by common consent, on the theory that every man owes to his Government the sacrifice of his life if need be to preserve and maintain in peace or in war the very power that preserves and maintains him, why should not every man in time of national stress and emergency be liable to come into the Army and defend his country? And if he is unwilling to perform his part of that obligation, why should he not be compelled by that Government to come in? [Applause.] Where does the logic lie that a man who rests upon the Government's obligation in this bilateral contract may have his option to volunteer whether he will perform his part of the contract when his Government is assailed in war? What is the logic of such a situation? How can it be defended? It seems to me—and it is for this reason that I am willing to support the idea of what in the terms of this bill is called selective conscription—it seems to me that the only truly democratic way to raise an army for the defense of the country in time of war is by such form of law and its administration as most nearly distributes equally the burden of military duty and of sacrifice upon the greatest number of people who are to benefit by the victory.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I will if the gentleman will have regard for my time.

Mr. MONDELL. I very greatly approve the patriotic sentiment the gentleman has just expressed, but I would suggest that that patriotic sentiment is not carried out in the plan which I understand the gentleman supports, the plan of the War Department to lay the burden of this entire war on boys from 19 to 25 years old.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman permit me to make one statement?

Mr. MONDELL. Is not that the War Department's plan?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Let me make just one answer——

Mr. MONDELL. Is not that the plan approved by the President?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Let me make one suggestion, and let me also keep my part of the floor. I realize what it means to get into a colloquy with the gentleman from Wyoming, and I do want to save the last 15 minutes of my time if I can. I say that in no disrespectful way; but when one engages in colloquy with the nimble-minded gentleman from Wyoming one must be ever on the alert to maintain both the floor and his head at the same time. [Laughter.]

Mr. MONDELL. The gentleman from Vermont is very nimble minded——

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I would rather have the time than the bouquets. [Laughter.] Now, let me suggest to the gentleman that the principle of universal obligation to military duty is not prejudiced because only a part of the men so liable are taken for some occasions. They may be taken in any number of groups, in any number of ways. It is obvious to any practical man that if there are, for instance, in this country, say, 10,000,000 upon whom rests this obligation to military duty, we would not take all of the 10,000,000 at once, and each one of the different groups of men who were excluded might equally say, as the gentleman from Wyoming does, by inference at least, "This is not universal military service."

Mr. MONDELL. But the gentleman predicates his argument on the proposition of general obligation to service and spreading the obligation among the people, but what he proposes——

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I do not appear to be having the opportunity to make any argument at all just at present.

Mr. MONDELL. What the gentleman proposes to do is to put the obligation and the burden entirely upon boys and very young men. The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. If the gentleman were as well informed on this bill as he is on Scripture, he would find that the ages of 19 to 25 are not in this bill. The ages in this bill are from 21 to 40.

Mr. MONDELL. Are not the ages from 19 to 25 in the administration bill?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. That is not before us for consideration, and the gentleman is out of order. The gentleman's amendment is not germane. [Laughter.]

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I can not yield further. I hope the gentleman will realize how fast the sands of my time are running out.

Mr. SLOAN. I would like to ask the gentleman if the obligation does not rest upon boys between 19 and 25, what are the limitations his colleagues have in mind?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I know of no limit except that all men that receive the benefit of Government shall maintain and defend their country in time of war.

Mr. SLOAN. I would like to ask the gentleman if he is in favor of that.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I am in favor of that.

Now, it seems to me that if we are to stand by what we call democratic principles in time of peace, the general philosophy of distributing all the obligations that the Government imposes upon its citizens shall also prevail in time of war when the very structure of our Government may be ruined and may perish. Why is not the obligation to serve the country then as it is now? If we are to go into a world war on the idea that may be in the minds of some of us, that we are thereby to make it safe for democracy to exist, why ought not we to go in with our full strength of a truly democratic army? Why do we only ask those who are willing to sacrifice for democracy to go in and win for the slacker and the shirker the fruits and benefits of democracy? Is that distributing the burden equally and fairly among all men?

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HARDY. Does not the gentleman recognize that all of our citizens can not be put in the Army; that it is different from taxes? We can all pay taxes, but we can not all be in the Army, so the argument of everybody serving falls to the ground.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. No; it does not fall to the ground. The power and forces of maintaining an army are not all in the field. There are others quite as important to the success of the Army as the men in the trenches with rifles.

I want to suggest one thing more about the volunteer system. There has been so much said on this subject that I realize I am touching no new chord and can not bring any new suggestions to your minds. But the volunteer system, as has been said over and again, makes its first appeal to and only brings out those men—to use an elegant term about it—of the finer spirit, these men with the chivalrous temperament, these men inspired by a little bit more of the devotion of self-sacrifice, men who are willing to acknowledge their duty and go to war without compulsion.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I would like to get in one or two of my thoughts on the floor. [Laughter.] I regret that I can not yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BENJAMIN L. FAIRCHILD. I wanted to bring out one of the gentleman's thoughts.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I do not wish to be discourteous, but I have already yielded too much.

It is argued that the volunteer system calls out the finer and braver spirits and has a moral effect. If we start out with the volunteer system, it may bring out the moral effect, but when we start conscription the very fact that the volunteer system had the moral effect stamps the conscripts by way of contrast as an army of skulkers and cowards. The very act that separates these men by giving the volunteers the first chance means that the men who do not take the first chance will therefore be grouped as "conscripts."

Now, there are some other thoughts that I had sketched out as some points to dwell upon, but those have been touched upon or dwelt upon by those who preceded me, and it is equally apparent to my hearers that I have been somewhat sidetracked from an attempt to cover them all.

There is one phase of the so-called conscript army that has a tremendous moral effect, apart from the suggestion that has been made, and that is that, while the volunteer system brings out the finer spirit, men who make some sacrifice, it brings out the venturesome spirit. It is not fair to say that every man who volunteers goes from a disinterested motive. It is true also that the venturesome and reckless, daring soldier comes in. But it is not fair to say that every man who does not volunteer in the first instance is a slacker or a shirker. There are men who are deliberate, who are not without courage, splendid men with good intentions, and they may only be waiting for a second call; they may think that the country does not need them so soon; they may have duties at home that are more compelling. But when these men are swept into a conscript army they have no chance to stand in any such attitude before the country.

Whereas, if all men are brought together in this democratic equality of a selective conscription, a citizen war army, then the man who is chivalrous enough to volunteer for any motive, then the man who may have hesitated somewhat from good conscientious motives before he volunteers, will be in there side by side upon equal terms.

And then there is another man. There is the man to be found in every army in this country through every generation of our history who, before he went in, may not have been quite as high spirited, quite as fine tempered, keen, up to what you and I think the higher standards of life and living and its outlook, but a man who, after a career in the ranks, the Army has absolutely made over. Many a man would be drawn into the conscript army, reluctantly, going with some timidity, perhaps with a little resentment, who would find himself shoulder to shoulder and side by side in the service with some of the bravest and best in the land, and who would find that he, too, had begun perhaps for the first time to recognize and realize his own self-respect. That is an accomplishment in the democratic army which you can not hope to get in any other way in the service.

It is said the patriot who is willing to volunteer is the man who will be humiliated by being put into a conscript army. My answer to that is that such a proposition does not do justice to his patriotic good intentions. If a man is such a patriot, if he is willing to risk his life for his country, if he is willing to sacrifice his life for his country, then he is a good enough patriot to serve in any army that his country raises for him to serve in and do his best for his country in any army where his country thinks he can do his best. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I had hoped, if I had not been interrupted, to dwell with some particularity upon one phase of this question, which now I can only barely suggest to you. If we start upon the plan of general volunteering we are going to be met face to face at the very outset, as we are now, by insidious and sometimes open and avowed influences that are determined to hinder, embarrass, and perhaps stop that enlistment or volunteering on every possible occasion, and you and I know it. I have roughly grouped them for the purposes of this suggestion into these five classes: People who are opposed to all wars; people who are opposed to this war; people who prefer to finance our allies rather than send men to fight—and those are the people whose souls are bound between the calfskin ledgers of the counting house; those are the people who think that if we can delay and fritter with this thing long enough to send a few dollars over across the water the war will be over before we get into it, and they are willing to risk the money rather than men in expectation of securing greater gains at home. Then there are the timid folks, who hope the war will be over before we have a chance to send their boys across the water—honestly timid, honestly conservative, struggling a little with conscience, perhaps, but meaning well; and they hope Providence will intervene with some miracle that will bring the war to a close before their boys will have to go, and they will help Providence all they can, even with their prayers. Then there is the fifth group, who are the out-and-out alien enemies.

I know it is urged that people of German birth or descent may be under some suspicion of disloyalty in this great crisis. I do not believe it. I know that they have a right to cherish affectionate sentiments for the fatherland, but I prefer to believe that every one of them, of the old settled stock, the men and women whom you and I know, are devoted to the flag of the new country where they have made their home, and that they will not be with the elements of disloyalty. But it is also urged right in this connection that we ought not to compel the man of German blood to fight against his fatherland, we ought to respect his tender sentiment and affectionate remembrance of the land across the Rhine.

I will remind such people when they say those things that hardly had this little British colony of ours, more than a hundred years ago, got out of its swaddling clothes before men and women of British blood, in order to make this the land of the free and the home of the brave, looked their own

fathers and brothers in the eye as they came over in red coats from the old homeland of England and pulled the triggers of their old flintlocks in their faces. And this in two wars—that of 1776 and 1812. All of the affectionate remembrances of the old land were with them, to be sure; but they were first, last, and all the time Americans. What men in America have done in the days past to make this a land of the free and a home of the brave I believe the men of America are willing to do to-day.

I had hoped to spend some time——

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I hould prefer not to yield to my comrade unless the gentleman from California can give me about three minutes more.

Mr. KAHN. I will yield the gentleman five minutes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DYER. I heartily agree with the gentleman's address, but I wanted to ask the gentleman if he was going to argue the question whether or not he would differentiate between German blood going to Europe and fighting and the colonists fighting the British when they invaded this country?

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Oh, no; I do not think the principle of national loyalty is circumscribed by any compass on the map. I do not determine men's loyalty by the place they occupy on the map, and I do not in this instance.

I think there are philosophic propositions—to use a much abused word—involved in this war which enter more into the spirit of reasoning than that of technical details, because, while we men here must contrive these practical things without which war can not be waged to any conclusion at all except one of disaster, still underneath this duty which falls to us we must consider the spirit in which the people behind us are apt to look at this thing.

If they do not see it in all its fullness now, they certainly will as the years gather and history is written, and men know what that history means. I think we have arrived at a crisis in this country, a very serious one, besides that of bloodshed and battle fields. Our participation in this world war is not to be so much a test of our American institutions as it will be a test of the character of American citizenship and democratic fellowship that has been developed under them. And that is a serious proposition. We want to remember that the habits of a lifetime of American ease of living, the ambitions and spirit of a liberty-loving people who like to debate just exactly what liberty means and how they were going to stand for it and how they were going to accomplish it and what they were going to do with it; people who for generations have passed their time in most elegant, fine, high inspiring, uplifting, academic discussions of what those principles were—are now thrust for the first time in half a century to a test of all the ideals, of all the theories, of all the academic opinions that this half a century has brought out. We find that, notwithstanding that for the last many years a propaganda has been afloat in this country of ours that war was a thing that was done and passed, nations would beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks—we find that all at once we are face to face with the most terrible war in history. Now is the time when we again must stand sponsors for the civilization that we have been boasting about so much, and must prepare in a most practical, thorough, and realistic way for the preservation of that civilization. The first thing for us to do, we who have been so accustomed to the use of words and fine uplifting phrases and hairsplitting debate, is to see that the day has gone by for discussion and argument and that the time has come for action. Civilization has come to a place where, as it does in these dreadful epochs every now and then in the history of the world, it seems that no further progress can be made. It is time for us to find out who among us are Americans, and when we have done that we have settled one great problem. If we have any easy dreams about the objective of this world war, if we have any idealistic principles, if we have been swept off our feet by any conjectures or what-not, there is at least one practical thing we can agree upon and it is this: That, if by bringing the men and women of America together in this crisis in support of one great democratic army to fight for our principles and our dignity we do actually nationalize all us Americans, this war will be worth all it costs. [Applause.]

The Civil War, terrible struggle that it was, settled for all time the principle of the indissolubility of this Union of the States. But it did not make a Nation of us in the last sense, in the sense that we were thenceforth to be a homogeneous people with one altogether distinctive national idealism and one in our manner of making that idealism reflected as much as might be in practical everyday life and living.

Now, for the first time in about 20 years men will be assembled in a great war army of the United States, men of all kinds of nursery and cradle inheritances, because, as you know, my friends, there has been a wonderful inpouring of all the races and tribes of men to this land since the Civil War. For the first time in such a democratic army as we should raise from selective conscription these men will be assembled in the ranks together. They will learn that mystic fellowship that is embraced in the word "comrade," and when they are mustered out those men will go down through all the walks of peace to the end of the days of their generation as American citizens beyond a doubt. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Vermont has expired.

Mr. KAHN. I yield one minute more to the gentleman.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Chairman, I would like to borrow just one doctrine from the Turk. Wherever the man of Moslem faith may go, once in every 24 hours he spreads his prayer rug and turns his face toward Mecca and breathes a prayer for the faith that is in him. I would like to see every boy in America brought up to emulate that Moslem doctrine in this one particular—that every day, once in every 24 hours, every boy in America in fancy, in his mind's chapel, would spread his prayer rug, turn his eyes toward Old Glory, and rededicate himself to the principles for which it stands. [Applause.]

In conclusion, let me suggest that now to us here to-day down through more than a century come the words of Nelson, which during that century have been readapted to suit American ears, words that have wonderful significance at this time, and words that are directly applicable to the issue before this House to-day: "America expects not merely volunteers but every man to do his duty." [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. ASWELL].

Mr. ASWELL. Mr. Chairman, I come from a State where the people love France with a passionate love. One-half our male population would gladly help France in her struggle. War to me is abhorrent. The thought of war is repulsive. I have deep and earnest convictions against war. So earnestly do I hold these convictions that for nearly three years I have done everything in my power to keep our country at peace. I have delivered public addresses from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific in the interest of peace and in opposition to war. I have believed that the battles of the Christian civilizations of this century would be fought not with shot and shell but by higher and more Christ-like forces—by living rightly and dealing justly but courageously with our fellow man. I have believed sincerely that no country in the world was our enemy or wanted war with us. I craved the opportunity for my country to rise above other peoples of earth and become the mightiest factor in all the world in bringing into realization the peace on earth and good will toward men that would endure forever. I believed this opportunity was real and promised to be realized.

There came a day, however, when war was inevitable. There was no honorable escape; and I now believe that even if it were possible for Americans to consider the idea, that dishonorable escape was impossible. I for one have been forced to believe that the German Kaiser—thank God, not the German people—has his avaricious eye upon the vast stores of wealth in the United States and that he has expected to make this country pay the cost of his barbarous war—a war of monarchical greed, waged senselessly and relentlessly upon the democracies of the world. [Applause.]

The entrance of the United States into this world war was a momentous hour. It has had a powerful moral effect upon the side of democracy, but that effect is lost if there be wavering, doubt, or delay on the part of this Congress. The United States must now strike the blow to end the war. We must act with a man's courage in doing a man's part. We must convince Germany and her associates that the United States Government will brook no delay in preparing this Government for defense against aggression and to hurl her powerful forces against tyranny and barbarism.

In times of peace I am opposed to centralized governments; but two generals can not direct a war. There must be one head, and under our form of government that head is the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy, the President of the United States. I have loyally supported him in peace, and regardless of my personal fortunes I shall support him now. The hour has come when petty matters must be forgotten, when personal and political fortunes must be put aside, when men of world-sized caliber are needed to handle this world war—men who pray, think, and act only for America. [Applause.]

I have always been and am now opposed to militarism, but country's honor and the future liberty of our people that delay is too dangerous to be considered. The time is at hand for America to stand erect and strike down her foe. Sentimentality, personal politics, and individual quibbling must be subordinated to the larger duty we owe our country. [Applause.]

Under existing law the President is authorized to raise, under the volunteer system, the Regular Army to the maximum war strength of 293,000 men. He is also authorized to raise, under the volunteer system, the National Guard to its full strength of 329,954 men, making a total of 622,954 men raised under the volunteer system, the largest Volunteer Army ever before raised by this Nation.

Both the Regular Army and the National Guard are at present far below their war strength. The National Guard at present offers opportunity for 206,349 men to volunteer. The Regular Army gives additional opportunity for 161,519 men to volunteer. Under existing law the way is open for 367,868 men to volunteer in the Regular Army and the National Guard. When the President's plan is enacted into law the opportunity will be offered for 724,718 men to volunteer. The above does not include the demand for additional volunteers in the Navy and Marine Corps.

To supplement the organizations of the Regular Army and the National Guard, the President proposes, through the Senate bill, to raise by selective draft an additional force of 500,000 men. The House bill proposes to extend the volunteer system for a limited time, for experiment, to this additional force of 500,000 men. It is estimated by Army experts that to raise 500,000 men by the volunteer system would require that at least 2,000,000 men must volunteer. It must be obvious that the emergency is too great and imperative to permit of such delay, in view of the fact that large opportunities are already offered for volunteers in the National Guard and the Regular Army.

The idea of the House bill was born in politics, that of the Senate bill was conceived in statesmanship. The one stands for petty politics, the other for national service. In the one armies are officered for personal and political ends, in the other for efficiency. [Great applause.]

The House bill proposes to give a short time for men to volunteer. When the time passes, as it undoubtedly would, without the required additional 500,000 men, then for a man to have had the opportunity to volunteer and later to be drafted will be considered a dishonorable conscription, whereas, if the President's recommendations are immediately enacted into law, this army of 500,000 men will be scientifically organized from the beginning, and there is no dishonor or humiliation attached to enlistment. [Applause.]

The House bill is a mere pretense. It is not sincere. It undertakes to shift the responsibility from the Congress to the President. To vote for this preliminary sham, knowing at the time that it is not possible to be effective, and knowing, too, that this is exactly what the German Kaiser would have us do, and then say we did the best we could for a volunteer army will not fool the American people. Let us not go before the world with a divided front. Let us act, without quibble or delay, in support of our Commander in Chief, not only because he is our leader but because he is right. Let the world now know that the Congress and the American people are standing solidly behind the President with a courage that makes failure impossible.

The House bill offers a system unscientific and undemocratic, tried and found ineffective in our Civil War, tested and found useless by the warring nations of Europe, a system that in all great emergencies has led the soldiers, though brave and patriotic but untrained, only to certain slaughter and disaster. [Applause.]

No one honors the brave and heroic volunteer soldier more than I. The most glorious achievements in all the world have been accomplished by the volunteer soldier. He is and always will be the best and bravest soldier. No one on this side would take one wreath from his noble brow. It requires dauntless courage and heroism for the volunteer soldier to meet the usual hunger, hardships, danger, disease, and death in camp life, march, and battle, made necessary by the unscientific and conglomerate organization of his army. To relieve the soldier from these hardships and sufferings, by organizing his army scientifically and by maintaining our productive industries at home, is the purpose of the selective draft system. War a half century ago was vastly different from the scientific organizations, use of modern machinery, and operations of battle lines to-day. To meet the new conditions is the object of the President's plan. It is not to discredit the volunteer soldier, but to save him from needless sacrifice.

The Senate bill will make for the right kind of democracy. It will apply to all races, to all nationalities, to all sections, and equally to rich and poor. No longer can the rich bring on war, then have others do the fighting. Equal service will be demanded.

No boy should be sent to the Army until he passes the age of 21 years. It is morally and economically wrong to send our boys to war before they are permitted to receive proper educational advantages.

Under the House bill, if the war continues several years, whole communities would be depopulated of men, while other communities less responsive would be undisturbed. Under the selective-draft method no community and no industry will be prostrated by taking all the men away. The President is authorized to preserve our industries, to exempt those who have dependent families and the men who are really doing the needed work of the country. The farmers who are actively engaged in producing the necessary food products and other raw materials to sustain our people, under the provisions of the selective-draft bill, may be exempt; while the loafers, the hangers-on, around the street corners in our towns and cities will either be sent to wholesome productive labor or will be sent to the front. No longer will the flower of our young manhood who are inspired by noble and patriotic motives and who have consciences that move them to respond to their country's call be forced to bear alone the brunt of battle, while many of the irresponsible, unreliable, and less useful, though physically able, remain at home. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this is not a local skirmish. It is a world war on a world scale. In this perilous hour and in defense of this Nation's honor, in the cause of real democracy and in behalf of common justice, I shall support the President's plan and I am ready to give my life, my all, to my country, God, and humanity. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States and had come to no resolution thereon.

HOUR OF MEETING TO-MORROW.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow and that general debate on the bill pending before the House to-day be continued under the same agreement, the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] to control one half of the time and I to control the other half.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow and that general debate continue under the same conditions as to-day. Is there objection?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, is it the intention of the gentleman from Alabama as far as possible to aid us in having separate yea-and-nay votes on these two propositions?

Mr. DENT. On the two propositions?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; that is, on the amendment to be offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN].

Mr. DENT. I will say to the gentleman from Massachusetts I do not see how that can be prevented.

Mr. GARDNER. It can be very well prevented, if defeated in the Committee of the Whole, by a motion to recommit being made by somebody hostile to the whole bill.

Mr. DENT. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to a separate yea-and-nay vote on those propositions.

Mr. GARDNER. I felt sure the gentleman would support the idea; but I wanted to call the gentleman's attention to the fact, that if, for instance, the gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON] or some other gentleman should claim the right to make the motion to recommit and on that move the previous question, the test vote would come on the previous question, which is not so strong as on the main question itself. I know the gentleman's motives are the fairest in the world, but I do not think everybody in the House had thought of that fact, and I thought it would be well to bear it in mind.

Mr. DENT. I am glad the gentleman has called my attention to that. I had not thought of it at all. So far as I am concerned, I have no disposition in the world to do anything of the kind.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I suggest to the gentleman from Alabama that under the circumstances of the case it might be proper to ask for a general leave to print. A number of gentlemen have spoken of that.

Mr. DENT. Then I ask for that, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MANN. I have no objection to its going over until to-morrow. Several gentlemen who have spoken to-day desire leave to extend their remarks. That is the reason why I mentioned it.

Mr. DENT. I ask unanimous consent, then, Mr. Speaker, that each Member who has addressed himself to this subject——

Mr. MANN. Make it all Members.

Mr. LANGLEY. Yes; make it universal for 10 days.

Mr. DENT. That every Member may have the right to extend his remarks within 10 legislative days after the conclusion of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that all Members shall have leave to print remarks on this bill within 10 legislative days after the conclusion of the bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. EMERSON rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Ohio rise?

Mr. EMERSON. I rise to ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an article concerning an ex-Member of the House, Mr. Ricketts, of Ohio.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. McFADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the conference report on the emergency bond issue.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the conference report on the bond-issue bill. Is there objection?

Mr. DENT. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I did not understand that request.

Mr. MANN. It is on the conference report on the emergency-bond bill.

Mr. DENT. Very well.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the location of the Government armor-plate plant.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from West Virginia asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD as indicated. Is there objection?

Mr. LANGLEY. Reserving the right to object, the site has already been selected, has it not? The gentleman does not want to change the location, does he? [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan rose.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Michigan rise?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. To ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a patriotic resolution passed by citizens at a mass meeting at Kalamazoo, Mich.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD in the manner indicated. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS APPROVAL.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that this day they had presented to the President of the United States for his approval the following bills:

H. R. 1771. An act to amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," relative to the Fleet Naval Reserve;

H. R. 2008. An act to provide for the extension of minority enlistments in the naval service;

H. R. 2338. An act to authorize the detail of additional officers to the Hydrographic Office;

H. R. 2339. An act to increase the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy until September 1, 1918;

H. R. 2340. An act to increase the age limit for persons appointed as officers in the Naval Reserve; and

H. R. 2762. An act to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credit to foreign governments, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned, pursuant to the order previously made, until to-morrow, Tuesday, April 24, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting communication of the chief of the Division of Public Moneys, Office of Secretary of the Treasury, submitting proposed clause of legislation for incorporation in a deficiency bill (H. Doc. No. 48); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of the Interior submitting estimates of appropriations for salaries, mechanical labor, char and watch forces, for the new Interior Department Building from April 15 to June 30, 1917, inclusive (H. Doc. No. 49); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

3. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of War submitting an estimate of deficiency in the appropriation for repairs to buildings, etc. (H. Doc. No. 50); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

4. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Public Printer submitting additional estimates of appropriations for salaries and general expenses, office of the superintendent of documents, for the fiscal year 1918, and deficiencies for the fiscal year 1917 (H. Doc. No. 51); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

5. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriation under "Ordnance and ordnance stores," special naval appropriation bill (H. Doc. No. 52); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

6. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, report on preliminary examination of Indian River Inlet, Del. (H. Doc. No. 53); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed.

7. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting, with a letter from the Chief of Engineers, reports on preliminary examination and plan and estimate of cost of improvement of Seattle Harbor, Wash., with a view to the maintenance of the east and west waterways and deepening and straightening the lower Duwanish River (H. Doc. No. 54); to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors and ordered to be printed.

8. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, resubmitting certain estimates of appropriation for the service of the Department of Commerce for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918 (H. Doc. No. 55); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

9. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting draft of proposed joint resolution relative to suspension of provision of section 355 of the Revised Statutes requiring cession of jurisdiction by a State over lands acquired therein by the United States (H. Doc. No. 56); to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. DENT, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States, reported the same with amendments, accompanied by a report (No. 17), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. ESCH, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 328) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in

respect of car service, and for other purposes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 18), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. LONERGAN: A bill (H. R. 3634) appropriating money for the improvement of the Connecticut River between Long Island Sound and Hartford, Conn.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 3635) fixing the rate of pay of compositors and bookbinders in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. EMERSON: A bill (H. R. 3636) to authorize the President of the United States to draft into the agricultural service of the Nation persons not liable to military service; to the Committee on Agriculaure.

By Mr. DILLON: A bill (H. R. 3637) to establish a standard of weights for various commodities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3638) to secure cooperation between the Interstate Commerce Commission and the State railway boards and commissions of the several States in correlating, changing, and establishing of intrastate rates, charges, and fares which indirectly affect interstate commerce in the transportation of passengers and property by public carriers, and providing for procedure relative thereto; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 3639) to return to the South certain of the "cotton tax" collected from 1863 to 1868 by paying to each living Confederate soldier and each living widow of a Confederate soldier, as proper representative of the South, the sum of $500, and a further sum of $25 per month during the remainder of their lives, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3640) for the erection of a public building in the city of Ballinger, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KRAUS: A bill (H. R. 3641) to authorize the county of Cass, in the State of Indiana, to construct a bridge across the Wabash River east of the city of Logansport, at a point known as Cedar or Rock Island, in said Wabash River; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 3642) for the erection of a public building in the city of Cisco, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3643) authorizing and providing for the construction of a military highway paralleling the Rio Grande border of that portion of the United States between Texas and Mexico, and along the entire border, or certain sections thereof, of that portion of the United States between Mexico and the States of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3644) for the erection of a public building in the city of Anson, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3645) for the erection of an addition to and completion of the public building in the city of Abilene, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3646) for the erection of a public building in the city of Sweetwater, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ROGERS: A bill (H. R. 3647) permitting the repatriation of certain former American citizens who have hitherto served or who shall hereafter serve in the armed forces of any foreign state engaged in war with a country with which the United States is at war; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 3648) for the erection of a public building in the city of Haskell, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky (by request): A bill (H. R. 3649) to regulate the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 3650) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WELTY: A bill (H. R. 3651) providing for the purchase of a site and the erection of a Federal building thereon and authority to sell the present Federal building in the city of Lima, Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 3652) for the erection of a public building in the city of Eastland, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3653) for the erection of a public building in the city of Paint Rock, the county seat of Concho County, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3654) for the erection of a public building in the city of Breckinridge, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3655) for the erection of a public building in the city of Palo Pinto, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3656) for the erection of a public building in the city of Baird, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3657) for the erection of a public building in the city of Albany, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3658) for the erection of a public building in the city of Winters, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3659) for the erection of a public building in the city of Merkel, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3660) for the erection of a public building in the city of Midland, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3661) for the erection of a public building in the city of Colorado, State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. DILLON: A bill (H. R. 3662) to establish the metric system as the standard for weights and measures, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 3663) providing for the counting of service in the Army or Navy of the United States as equivalent to residence and cultivation upon homestead entries, and in the event of the soldier's death in such service providing for the issuance of patent for such land to his widow or minor children; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BLANTON: A bill (H. R. 3664) for the erection of a public building in the city of Big Springs, Howard County, in the State of Texas, and appropriating money therefor; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GOOD: A bill (H. R. 3665) to regulate and control prices of food, wearing apparel, and fuel in the United States during the war with Germany, and for one year thereafter, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARKLEY: A bill (H. R. 3666) to prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation in interstate commerce of misbranded articles, to regulate the traffic therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CARLIN: A bill (H. R. 3667) for the purpose of limiting the activities of certain officers and employees of the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 3668) for the improvement of the narrows of Lake Champlain, N. Y. and Vt.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. VAN DYKE: A bill (H. R. 3669) fixing the rate of pay of compositors, bookbinders, and folding and gathering machine operators in the Government Printing Office; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. WALTON: A bill (H. R. 3670) to acquire and preserve the battle ground of the battle variously known as the battle of Apache Canyon, Pigeons Ranch, and Glorieta, in the State of New Mexico; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WEBB: A bill (H. R. 3671) to authorize the Supreme Court to prescribe forms and rules and generally to regulate

pleading, procedure, and practice on the common-law side of the Federal courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3672) for the relief of homestead entrymen and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. GLASS: A bill (H. R. 3673) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914; August 15, 1914; March 3, 1915; and September 7, 1916; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. EMERSON: A bill (H. R. 3674) to punish the deliberate fabrication of false reports, rumors, or stories concerning affairs that might affect the international affairs of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 3768) to suspend the rights granted under reissue No. 13848 of patent No. 1053300; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3769) to suspend the rights granted under certain trade-marks; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3770) to suspend the rights granted under patent No. 1053300; to the Committee on Patents.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3771) to suspend the rights granted under patent No. 986148; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. MASON: Resolution (H. Res. 67) authorizing the Committee on Military Affairs to make inquiry relative to certain inducements offered by the Canadian Government to American emigrants; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. EMERSON: Resolution (H. Res. 68) to appropriate $50,000,000 to buy seeds; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MASON: Resolution (H. Res. 69) requesting the Secretary of War to give to Congress and the people the facts relative to the proposal of Col. Theodore Roosevelt to enlist and command an army for service in France in the present war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WEBB: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 62) authorizing the President to take over for the United States the possession and title of vessels of any subject or citizen of any nation with which the United States may be at war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HULL of Tennessee: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 63) relative to an international trade agreement congress; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 64) to permit the naturalization of aliens of German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian birth, resident within the United States on the 6th day of April, 1917, who had before that day made a declaration, according to law, of their intention to become citizens of the United States; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. FLOOD: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 65) providing for expenses of the commission for relief in Belgium, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. MADDEN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 66) to authorize and provide for a joint assembly and meeting of representatives of the parliaments and national legislative bodies of the nations of the world in the United States, and to extend an invitation to said parliaments and legislative bodies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SULZER: Memorial of the Legislature of Alaska, protesting against the employment of aliens by the United States in positions of responsibility in Alaska; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALEXANDER: A bill (H. R. 3675) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Shisler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3676) granting an increase of pension to Charles N. Bryant; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3677) granting an increase of pension to Albert Helms; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3678) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Rouse; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3679) granting an increase of pension to Noah Lehman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BORLAND: A bill (H. R. 3680) granting a pension to John H. Wyatt; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 3681) to amend the military record of Harrison P. Wiltze; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CARLIN: A bill (H. R. 3682) for the relief of Asbury Scrivener; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLAYPOOL: A bill (H. R. 3683) granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Santee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3684) granting an increase of pension to James Knighton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CRAMTON: A bill (H. R. 3685) granting an increase of pension to Martin V. Loucks; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DILL: A bill (H. R. 3686) granting a pension to J. P. Boland; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3687) granting a pension to Frederick E. Bogart; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3688) granting a pension to John G. Miller; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3689) granting a pension to C. W. Lakin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3690) granting a pension to W. A. Davis; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3691) granting a pension to Arthur Rose; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3692) granting a pension to W. R. Price; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3693) granting an increase of pension to Howard A. Littlejohn; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3694) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Hester Jane Padgett; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3695) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sarah M. Gibbins; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3696) granting an increase of pension to George Bannar; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3697) granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3698) granting an increase of pension to L. H. Prather; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3699) granting an increase of pension to James Hampton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3700) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Anna M. Coder, wife of the late Curtis L. Coder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3701) for the relief of John G. Clark; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3702) for the relief of Andrew J. Maxwell; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3703) authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Rev. H. A. Luckenbach, Spokane, Wash., to the position of chaplain in the Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DYER: A bill (H. R. 3704) granting an increase of pension to Irene Gillespie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. EAGAN: A bill (H. R. 3705) granting a pension to Theresa De Villeneuve; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3706) granting a pension to Julius Ohswaldt; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3707) granting a pension to David Brass; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3708) granting an increase of pension to George Oberg; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GOULD: A bill (H. R. 3709) granting a pension to Elizabeth Gouldrick; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3710) granting a pension to Mrs. Helen A. Lamont; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3711) granting a pension to Mrs. William Teal; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3712) granting a pension to Charles V. Stevens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3713) granting a pension to Harriet P. Shuman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3714) granting a pension to William H. Kipp; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3715) granting a pension to Albert C. Schuman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3716) granting an increase of pension to Emma L. Counsell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3717) granting an increase of pension to George Proudfit; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3718) granting an increase of pension to James West; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3719) granting an increase of pension to Edward P. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3720) granting an increase of pension to George W. Harrington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3721) granting an increase of pension to George Gunnell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3722) granting an increase of pension to Edward Gridley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3723) granting an increase of pension to John W. Whitbeck; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3724) granting an increase of pension to Alpheus Demond; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3725) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Knox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3726) granting an increase of pension to Gottfried Czerny; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3727) granting an increase of pension to Cyrenus F. Horton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HAMILTON of New York: A bill (H. R. 3728) granting an increase of pension to Hadley S. Horth; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3729) granting an increase of pension to Eaton Kinney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3730) granting an increase of pension to James Little; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3731) granting an increase of pension to Joseph McNeight; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3732) granting an increase of pension to Edwin Wilcox; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3733) granting an increase of pension to Chauncy A. Cronk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3734) granting an increase of pension to Stillman P. Daily; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3735) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Covell; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3736) granting an increase of pension to Hiram Eells; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HASKELL: A bill (H. R. 3737) for the relief of Mrs. H. O'Neill; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3738) for the relief of Catherine Burns, widow of Patrick Burns; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HULBERT: A bill (H. R. 3739) for the relief of William H. Egan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. IGOE: A bill (H. R. 3740) granting a pension to Melissa A. Hawley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3741) granting an increase of pension to Noah W. Tryon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3742) for the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3743) granting a pension to Joseph B. DeLangevin, alias Joseph Louis Lansberry; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3744) for the relief of Nelson D. Dillon, executor of Harriet A. Dillon, deceased, widow of Robert Dillon; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 3745) granting an increase of pension to Perry Powers; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McARTHUR: A bill (H. R. 3746) granting a pension to Thomas E. Read; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 3747) granting an increase of pension to De Forest Rutman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MEEKER: A bill (H. R. 3748) for the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROWLAND: A bill (H. R. 3749) granting an increase of pension to Theodore Sinzig; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 3750) granting a pension to Mary A. Dancey; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SHOUSE: A bill (H. R. 3751) granting an increase of pension to John W. Swanson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3752) granting an increase of pension to William A. McClarren; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLAYDEN: A bill (H. R. 3753) for the relief of the estate of J. P. Dieter; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 3754) granting a pension to Josephine Timerson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3755) granting an increase of pension to Wilson J. Parker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STRONG: A bill (H. R. 3756) granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Fritz; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3757) granting an increase of pension to John A. Bennett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3758) granting an increase of pension to Alfred T. Hawk; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3759) granting an increase of pension to Caleb Snyder; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITE of Maine: A bill (H. R. 3760) granting a pension to Minnie M. Polk; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3761) granting an increase of pension to Alice E. Holland; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3762) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Thomas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3763) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Franklin S. Trufant, alias Frank Trufant; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3764) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Frank Cooper; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WINGO: A bill (H. R. 3765) granting an increase of pension to Lewis J. McHaney; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3766) granting an increase of pension to Robert Osborn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WOODYARD: A bill (H. R. 3767) to correct the military record of Solomon Beck; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Petitions of the Japanese American Citizens' Association, of Hawaii; the Telephone Society of the Mountain States; and the Telephone Society of Denver, Colo., pledging support to the President of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of Union Veteran Legion, offering services to country at present time; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorials of Railroad Club of St. Joseph, Mo.; Rochester Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution; faculty of the University of Virginia; Lawyers' Club of Washington; the Women's City Club of Kansas City, Mo.; and the Riding Club of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also (by request), memorial of American Economists, favoring taxation instead of bond issue; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BACHARACH: Petition of 74 citizens of Roebling, N. J., favoring selective conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Lawyers' Club of Essex County, Newark, N. J., and American Society of Civil Engineers of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BARNHART: Petition of 51 citizens of Elkhart, Ind., for a Christian amendment to the United States Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWNING: Memorial of Haddonfield (N. J.) Civic Association, urging suspension of manufacture of malt or spirituous liquors; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Also, memorial of Saranac Tribe, No. 128, Improved Order of Red Men, of Camden, N. J., pledging support to United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of Presbytery of West New Jersey, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Daughters of American Revolution of New Jersey and Haddonfield (N. J.) Civic Association, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAREW: Petition of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association, the Automobile Club of America, and the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Memorial of Milwaukee Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin: Memorial of Prof. Arthur E. Sutton and other teachers of economics at Beloit College, Wis., urging that Congress adopt the policy of taxation rather than that of bond issues as the principal means of financing the expenditures of our own country in the war upon which it has embarked; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of the Lawyers' Club of New York City and Illinois Society, Sons of the Revolution, favoring raising an army by conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the Unitetd States, against tax on perfumeries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the committee on engineering cooperation, Foreign Commerce Club, of New York, and board of directors of the American Society of Civil Engineers, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of H. Planten & Son, of Brooklyn, N. Y., relative to stamp tax along the lines of the Canadian stamp tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DALLINGER: Memorial of First Parish Church of Cambridge, Mass., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Boston Lodge of Elks, indorsing the foreign policy of President Wilson and favoring a committee of public safety to cooperate with the States and Nation in the prosecution of the war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EAGAN: Memorial of the Illinois Society of the Sons of the Revolution, favoring conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petitions of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, the Lawyers' Club of Washington, a committee of 100 citizens of Trenton, and the Rochester (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, favoring universal military service and selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, in re war-revenue legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, for woman suffrage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ELSTON: Memorial of Chamber of Commerce of Berkeley, Cal., relative to water-front advantages for Federal ship construction; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Petitions of the Rotary Club of Milwaukee, board of directors of the American Society of Civil Engineers, committee on engineering cooperation, and Milwaukee Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Southern Hardwood Traffic Association, relative to increase in freight rates and to investigation of car shortage; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Memorial of mass meeting of citizens of Boone County, Ill., favoring food conservation and selective draft, etc.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of American Society of Civil Engineers, favoring universal military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Association of College Alumnæ, favoring a Federal suffrage amendment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of the Merchants' Association of New York, favoring immediate legislation for universal military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GARDNER: Memorials of Boston Lodge, No. 10, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; Tennis and Racquet Club, of Boston, Mass.; and citizens of Newburyport, Mass., pledging support to the Government in present crisis; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorials of board of directors of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, board of directors of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and Tavern Club, of Boston, Mass., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GREENE of Vermont: Memorial of Edward Wries and George G. Groat, of first congressional district of Vermont, favoring certain forms of taxation to meet present war situation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HULBERT: Memorials of the Westchester County (N. Y.) Commission of General Safety, the Merchants' Association of New York, and the Central Mercantile Association of New York, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of military engineering committee of New York, in re methods employed in war preparations; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Business Men's National Service League, relative to the establishment of a Federal rifle range in northern New Jersey; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the executive committee of the National Arts Club, in re industrial preparedness; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorials of the Automobile Club of America, the Foreign Commerce Club of New York, and the Watauga Democratic Club, of New York, pledging loyalty to the President in all possible ways; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Petition of the American Label Manufacturing Co., of Baltimore, Md., indorsing House bill 3216; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorials of John T. Stone, of Baltimore; A. W. Calloway, president of Davis Coal & Coke Co.; Richard K. Edmonds, editor of Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Md.; and the First Baptist Church, of Baltimore, Md., favoring the discontinuation of manufacturing alcoholic liquors during period of war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of A. C. Meyer & Co.; S. Kahn & Co.; Kohler Manufacturing Co.; R. E. L. Williamson, president of the Baltimore Retail Druggists' Association; and the Harrison Whitehurst Co., all of Baltimore, Md., opposing stamp tax on medicine; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petitions of William Silver & Co., of Aberdeen, Md., and William Numsen & Sons and Torsch Packing Co., of Baltimore, Md., favoring legislation to conserve supply of tin plate; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McANDREWS: Memorial of Chicago Association of Commerce, in relation to safeguarding against espionage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McARTHUR: Memorial of the Republican Club of Oregon, Portland, Oreg., pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MAHER: Memorial of the Central Labor Union, of Brooklyn and Queens, in re method of raising revenue for war purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petitions of the Lawyers' Club, of New York, and the American Society of Civil Engineers, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of military engineering committee in re method of raising engineer troops; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MEEKER: Petition of Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis, Mo., favoring adequate appropriations for river and harbor improvements; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, petition of St. Louis (Mo.) Medical Society, favoring suspending the patents on salvarsan and other products related to salvarsan; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of St. Louis Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of St. Louis, Mo., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of five citizens of St. Louis, Mo., relative to placing war tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MONDELL: Memorial of Sheridan Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 520, of Sheridan, Wyo., pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: Petiton of committee on engineering cooperation, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, regarding the taxation of their products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of national legislative conference, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of American Society of Civil Engineers, favoring universal military service and training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Lawyers' Club of New York City, favoring a selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of faculty of social and political science of Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., relative to war taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of Illinois Society, Sons of the Revolution, favoring a selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of economists, relative to war taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PRATT: Petition of Melvin D. Spencer, William A. Fullwood, Charles D. Emery, Donald S. Burdett, Clayton Kesterton, G. F. Manehart, and F. L. Keeler, all rural carriers out of Hornell, N. Y., opposing an extension of rural routes without a corresponding increase in the pay for serving such routes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of Andrew D. White, former ambassador to England; Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University; and the following professors of Cornell University: E. Albee, C. E. Bennett, C. K. Burdick, J. E. Creighton, H. E. Dann, C. L. Durham, G. F. Atkinson, D. S. Kimball, A. R. Mann, W. F. Wilcox, E. Blaker, A. A. Young, and William A Hammond, all of Ithaca, N. Y., earnestly advocating selective conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of F. E. Bates, E. G. Wycoff, H. S. Wright, R. B. Williams, Harry G. Stutz, W. H. Storms, C. E. Cornell, R. G. H. Speed, R. L. Post, J. T. Newman, F. L. Morse, P. S. Livermore, W. O. Kerr, J. R. Robinson, S. L. Howell, Edwin Gillette, W. D. Funkhouser, B. S. Cushman, F. C. Cornell, H. A. Clarke, C. E. Treman, and L. D. Hayes, all of Ithaca, N. Y., strongly favoring selective conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RAKER: Telegram from A. A. Hibbard, in regard to the movie picture "Patria"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, letter of the United States Land Farm Co., of Los Angeles, Cal., urging raising of army by the system of conscription and universal liability to service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, letter and two resolutions of Lyon Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Oakland, Cal., urging the acquisition of Lower California and universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, letter from W. W. Donham, patriotic instructor, Lyon Post, No. 8, Grand Army of the Republic, urging military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, telegram from the American League of California, by Dr. Ray Lyman Wilber, chairman, urging the raising of troops upon the principle of universal liability to service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWE: Memorial of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, pledging loyal support to the President and Nation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of military engineering committee of New York, favoring organization of new units of engineer troops by War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorials of Rotary Club of Brooklyn, Philadelphia Board of Trade, and Westchester County (N. Y.) Commission of General Safety, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SCULLY: Memorial of New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, in re food conservation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of Town Club, Atlantic Highlands, N. J., favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J., in re food conservation; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of the Alumni Association of Stevens Institute of Technology, the Lawyers' Club of Washington, a committee of 100 citizens of Trenton, and the Lawyers' Association of New York, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SULZER: Petition of 40 citizens of McCarthy, Alaska, praying for the construction by the United States Government or authorization for the construction of a railroad line from some point in the Copper River Valley to Katalla oil fields and the Bering River coal fields, to the end that these sections be opened for development; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: Memorial of citizens of Loveland, Colo., favoring absolute prohibition of liquor traffic as a war measure; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of Tennis and Racquet Club, of Boston, Mass., pledging support to Nation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Boston Chamber of Commerce for universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorials of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States pledging loyalty to the President and favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of the United States, favoring taxation instead of bond issue for war costs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of Billy Olin's gang, veterans of the Civil War, and board of directors of the American Society of Civil Engineers, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TOWNER: Petition of Prof. R. Whitney, professor of economics, and 12 other professors of State University of Iowa, recommending a tax on special war profits, lowering income-tax exemption, increasing rates income tax, and high consumption taxes on luxuries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WOODYARD: Memorial of West Virginia Society of the District of Columbia, pledging the honor and lives of its membership in defense of the American flag and further pledging their support to the President and the Congress of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: Memorial of First Baptist Church of Baltimore, to prohibit the waste of grain and other foodstuffs for the manufacture of alcoholic drinks, and, as a war measure, to prohibit during the war the whole liquor traffic of the country; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Also, memorial of the preparedness and survey commission and the county agents' advisory committee, joint committee in Maryland, urging selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Lawyers' Club of Washington, for selective draft and universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of John U. Redwood and 33 others, for selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Department of Maryland, Grand Army of the Republic, and Confederate veterans, at a meeting in Baltimore, April 19, for conscription of physically qualified citizens for military or naval service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *April 24, 1917.*

(Legislative day of Monday, April 23, 1917.)

The Senate reassembled at 12 o'clock m., on the expiration of the recess.

INCREASE OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1871) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the following communication:

The Secretary read as follows:

AUSTIN, TEX., *April 23, 1917.*

Hon. THOMAS R. MARSHALL,
Vice President United States, Washington, D. C.:

The Texas Senate has to-day adopted simple resolution No. 12, introduced by Senators Robbins and Lattimore, the text of which follows:

"Whereas the National Congress is to-day considering the best plan of meeting the needs of this world crisis as it calls upon America: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the Texas Senate, heartily indorse the President's plan of selective universal military service and urge our Representatives to vote for the same and that a copy of this resolution be wired by the secretary of the Texas Senate to the President of the National Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington."

It is the request of the Texas Senate that this resolution be presented to the United States Senate.

Very truly, yours, JOHN D. MCCALL,
Secretary of Senate.

Mr. SMOOT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	McLean	Simmons
Beckham	Hollis	Martin	Smith, Ariz.
Brady	Husting	Myers	Smith, Ga.
Calder	James	Nelson	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Johnson, Cal.	New	Smoot
Colt	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Sutherland
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Overman	Swanson
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Page	Thomas
Curtis	Kellogg	Penrose	Trammell
Fernald	King	Pittman	Vardaman
Fletcher	Kirby	Poindexter	Walsh
France	Knox	Pomerene	Warren
Frelinghuysen	La Follette	Ransdell	Watson
Gallinger	Lodge	Saulsbury	Williams
Hale	McCumber	Sheppard	Wolcott
Hardwick	McKellar	Sherman	

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. LANE] is detained from the Senate by illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to state that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA], the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] are detained on official business in connection with the work of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

I wish also to state that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. THOMPSON] is detained by illness in his family.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I desire to announce the absence of my colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF], who is detained on account of illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. JAMES. I wish to state that the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HUGHES] is detained from the Senate on account of serious illness.

Mr. WALSH. I desire to announce that the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] is detained from the Senate on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Sixty-three Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask leave to offer an amendment to the pending bill that it may be printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. MARTIN. The Senator from Colorado has kindly yielded to me for a moment. I send to the desk a paper signed by the president and faculty of the University of Virginia. It consists of only about a dozen lines, and I ask that it may be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
Jefferson's Birthday, 1917.

To the honorable Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned administrative officers, professors, instructors, and assistants of the University of Virginia, being firmly of the opinion that the American soldiers to be enlisted for the war against Prussianism should be chosen, as President Wilson advises, "upon the principle of universal liability to service," and being convinced that the vast majority of the young men enrolled as students at this institution believe in this principle, do hereby respectfully but strongly urge the Congress of the United States to vote promptly for the same as embodied in the Army bill indorsed by the administration. We emphatically believe that the choice of soldiers by selective draft is not only the most practicable method but also the most democratic and the most just.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I desire to have inserted in the RECORD without reading a memorial which comes from citizens of Holmes County, Miss., indorsing the administration program of preparation for war.

There being no objection, the memorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOLMES COUNTY'S MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

The people of Holmes County, Miss., assembled in mass convention, fully realizing the gravity of our situation and the magnitude of the war into which we have been forced by the acts of war committed against our people and Nation, and being earnestly desirous of having our country do what is necessary to obtain a just and lasting peace at the earliest practicable time, and with the least sacrifice of blood—a peace that can only be obtained by a victory in war—we respectfully and earnestly make the following expression of our views and wishes to the United States Congress, and more especially to our two Senators and our Representative:

Undivided military leadership and responsibility is essential to military success. Under our Constitution and the voice of our people President Woodrow Wilson is our Chief Executive and the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy. With his expert military advisers and the present war experience of the world he is better qualified to determine what men, organizations, equipment, and measures are required for our Army than any other man, in or out of Congress. The administration Army bill, now before the House and Senate, prepared by military experts, and having the hearty approval of the President and the unanimous indorsement of our military and naval officers, should be promptly passed as submitted. Divided leadership means deplorable weakness. The chief element of strength of the Teutonic allies, making them a menace to the liberty and peace of the world, is the absolute control of everything touching the military vested in the Kaiser. Our only hope of success and that of the liberty loving part of the world is complete mobilization of the military resources of our own country and of each of its associates, and thus defeat German efficiency by greater opposing efficiency, suspending for the time such of our rights as may conflict with military efficiency in order that liberty may hereafter prevail throughout the world, and forever.

Unreservedly do we commend President Wilson's definition of a country's call for its soldiery, embodied in the bill mentioned, "the principle of the selective draft, in short, has at its heart this idea: That there is a universal obligation to serve and that public authority should choose those upon whom the obligation of military service shall rest, and also in a sense choose who shall do the rest of the nation's work."

The call to colors, term it what you will, should be clear, direct, and imperative, and, upon all, within our national limits, coming within its requirements without reference to wealth, class, or color. By this means, and through military selection of each man intrusted with a responsible position in connection with the national army, politics, patronage, and pelf could be eliminated and military efficiency assured. Our Teutonic enemies are watching our every move and governing themselves accordingly. The moral effect of enlisting, training, organizing, and equipping an army of 2,000,000 men in accordance with expert military judgment would be immeasurable and might force peace before our Army fired a gun. A national volunteer army might involve, as did that of the Spanish-American War, much inefficiency and the filling of some military commands and of nearly all the positions intrusted with the distribution of food and medicine for man and horse with incompetent men, with the result, as it was then, that men and horses suffered for food and medicine, which the Government had amply provided, but its distribution was blocked by incompetency. Negroes constitute about 60 per cent of our population. To call upon the 40 per cent of white people to provide our State's quota based on its whole population is absolutely unjust and wholly unreasonable. The negroes should be compelled, if necessary, to contribute their own quota. Under proper military training they would make as good soldiers. Certainly no such hardships and sacrifices as would be involved in exempting them should be thrown upon the white people of our State, nor of any other State, and would be indefensible. Let every race and class supply its own soldiery, and we shall gladly supply ours.

E. F. VOEL, *Chairman.*

Speech of Mr. Thomas, begun Monday, April 23.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, in a flood of letters and telegrams with which I have been deluged from advocates of this bill I have found one dominant note. It is "Support the President," a sentiment which I most cordially indorse, and one which I have endeavored since March, 1913, steadfastly to observe. In an humble way I am partly responsible for his election and his reelection. It has been both a duty and a labor of love to support him, but I have not always been able to reconcile my own views of public duty with those of the administration. When that has been so, I have reluctantly but generally followed the dictates of my own judgment. That is the only way I can be of service to any administration. Therefore, until I am more enlightened that path I must continue to pursue.

I have never been a pacifist, although I have that horror of war which is inspired by humane sentiment and by actual contact and experience with its miseries and its brutalities. I have felt, ever since the President's ultimatum to Germany about a year ago, that war with that great military people was unavoidable. I thought at the time of its announcement that unless the war ended and ended soon with the defeat of the central empires, noncompliance with that ultimatum would sooner or later manifest itself. So when the breach came I was in a manner prepared for it. I supported the President then, as I shall support now every measure which, in my opinion, is essential to a vigorous and a successful prosecution of the war.

But, Mr. President, men past the meridian of life find it extremely difficult to change the convictions of many years; convictions based not upon impulse but upon careful study, coupled with an earnest desire to ascertain facts and determine essentials. Not even in a great crisis can such convictions be easily shattered or abandoned. Nay, I believe that then, of all times, one should stand by the institutions and the traditions of his country, yielding them only under the spur and stress of undoubted necessity, and keeping in mind at all times that the plea of necessity has been the basis and justification of every intrusion upon the rights and fundamental laws of the Nation.

Of course, I do not wish to be understood as assuming that the principle of compulsory military service, which is embodied in this measure, is beyond our constitutional power to provide. The safety of the public is the supreme law, and whatever is absolutely essential to the preservation of the Government in times of war is within our power and the power of the administration acting by our authority. When the time comes, Mr. President, as it has come to other democracies, and to ours in the past, for the adoption of conscription as the basis of our military system, I shall be as ready to acknowledge the necessity of adopting it, I trust, as any other Member of this body. I am not able to perceive that such a crisis has arrived. I may be mistaken in my conclusion; I may be entirely wrong; the conclusion may be obviously unsound; but it is "mine own," and as such I must be guided by it.

I have supported the President since his inauguration as governor of New Jersey. I supported him when men now calling upon me to do so by voting for conscription were denouncing him as they are now denouncing me. I supported him in his every effort to avoid this war, when obloquy and reproach were his portion, when defense associations and security societies and navy leagues and ex-Presidents were reviling him, and, Mr. President, I shall probably be supporting him when his new friends and champions shall have abandoned their zeal and resumed their weapons of opposition. And I am supporting him in my advocacy of the volunteer system, so closely and honorably associated with the history of the great race to which he and I belong.

Mr. President, opposition to compulsory military service is characteristic of every government fit to be called a democracy. In the long contest between the people and absolutism it was mutually recognized that military power was the basis of despotism, and that until it was curbed and minimized and controlled by the people free government was impossible. You may take the history of the English people, beginning with the day when the first glimmerings of popular liberty were observable in their deliberations, follow its development down through the centuries, and you will find their antagonism to a standing army whose basic foundation is compulsory service. I have not the time to enumerate instances. Suffice it to say

that the proposition must be conceded by everyone familiar with the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is observable in the struggles of peoples in other countries toward popular government, where their efforts were prevented by the strong arm of military power based upon and supported by compulsory service. Our ancestors finally established popular government by establishing the supremacy of the civil law over military authority. What wonder, then, Mr. President, that democracies abhor that principle of compulsory service the exercise of which menaces and may destroy their liberties? Their apprehensions may be unfounded, but they are inherent in lovers of liberty and therefore ineradicable.

It may be that such old-fashioned notions at this time, when a crisis is said to be at hand and the Constitution itself is said to be suspended, are out of place; that to invoke them will be nothing less than an effort to defeat or at least postpone the enactment of a measure of prime consequence, but I do not believe it. I observed when last week we were defending the liberty of the press we received commendation and applause from its exponents who now assure men like myself that the expression of an honest opinion in even seeming opposition to a measure like this has as its basis either folly or cowardice; but I am getting used to that. During the past two weeks these have been among the mildest epithets, punctuating some of the correspondence voluntarily thrust upon me for consideration. So, I am neither appalled nor deterred by the situation. I merely remind the press that the pending bill, to my mind, is of more importance to the people of the United States than is the press section of the espionage bill considered last week to the journalism of the country, and therefore entitled to the same deliberate and full consideration of the Senate.

In giving my reasons for opposing this bill I shall detain the Senate, Mr. President, no longer than I consider absolutely necessary; but inasmuch as I see, as I think the fathers of this country saw, in its enactment the ultimate supremacy of the military over the civil authorities we had best weigh both sides of the subject very carefully before reaching a final conclusion which may shape the future policy of this country permanently, and it may be disastrously.

I have said, Mr. President, that anticonscription is a democratic principle emphasized by its absence from democratic communities. There are exceptions to all rules. France has the system, as has Switzerland, but the reasons for it are obvious, since they both join the territory of the mightiest military power in the world, a power entirely devoted to militarism, whose boast is that it is a nation that is an army and an army that is a nation. Its known general policy, if not its actual designs, with regard to France and its immense superiority over the little Helvetian Republic have dictated a departure from the democratic principle and the adoption of compulsory military service for self-protection, but the exceptions prove the rule. England abandoned the principle centuries ago. Her people forced the Government to do so. It was finally relinquished, the throne trembling in the balance, with the specter of another Cromwell upon the horizon; and we, the children of the British Isles, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, inheriting from our ancestors their antipathy to compulsory service, rejected it utterly, save as an alternative in times of national extremity. Even then its experimental value has proven negligible.

But we are now told that compulsory military service is democratic. Mr. President, that is a libel and a reproach upon the name of democracy. It is as repugnant to democracy as any despotic principle which can be conceived. Call it anything else but that and I may make no protest. You say it is based upon equality. But democracy does not mean equality and that alone. The terms are not interchangeable. If that were so, then I grant you, Mr. President, that a system which imposes the same burden upon the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the black and the white, the Jew and the Gentile, possesses one element of democracy. But the feudal system is democratic upon that reasoning, and slavery as well. Prior to the Civil War every black man was a slave, with here and there an exception, and that exception was subject to the bonds of servitude at any time. In bringing the African here no favorites were played; every black man caught and captured was exported and sold as a slave. Was that democracy?

We might establish, Mr. President, a state system of religion did not the Constitution forbid, and compel every man, woman, and child to observe its tenets under such penalties as disfranchisement, deprivation of goods or personal liberty. Would it be democratic because applying with equal force to all everywhere? To ask that question, Mr. President, is to answer it. Even the submarine war is democratic when measured by that test because its bloody program knows no exceptions. Whether engaged in commerce or to relieve the sick and wounded, whether belligerent or neutral, all vessels are alike prey to the submarine monster, bent upon a sole purpose and achieving it in democratic fashion.

I might mention other illustrations, Mr. President, to convey the thought which I have when I protest against calling a system democratic, however necessary, because it claims to operate impartially. Democracy means liberty, and liberty is wholly at war with the autocratic weapon of compulsory service.

What peopled this country during the first century of the Nation's life with immigrants from the old country if their coming to our shores had not behind it the desire to escape from monarchies under whose laws they were compelled to live? It used to be said that every European peasant carried a soldier upon his back. It might be said that every European peasant was subjected to a system which compelled him to be a soldier. He came here to avoid that system. He came to a country where the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race prevailed and were universally observed; where free institutions underlaid the system of government; where military service was the voluntary sacrifice of the citizen; where their children have been taught that compulsory military service is a weed of pestilent growth wholly abhorrent to the genius of our institutions, to be utilized only when the Nation's life is imperiled, and that the Republic has waxed in strength and power by the steadfast devotion of its people to republican principles.

I have noticed recently, Mr. President, that in every modern propaganda of the peoples of the Old World, whether in Russia or Germany or elsewhere, one of the demands is the abolition of compulsory military service, a fruitful source, Mr. President—a very fruitful source—of what is popularly called international socialism. It must disappear if popular government once established is to endure.

It is equally true, Mr. President, that as the absence of this system is a characteristic of democracy, its presence is inseparable from despotism, and particularly from the modern despotisms of Europe, some of which are responsible for this awful war, the end of which I trust will sweep them forever from existence. With these we are now at war.

If the reasoning in favor of this bill be sound, Germany is the most democratic of nations. And Austria also. Between them is the home of the system. The mailed hand of these Empires closes upon all their subjects and forces them into the lines of their armies. They make no exemptions. Equality is not only the watchword but the unvarying practice. Then, too, the officers are competent and they are all powerful. The conscript is turned over to their rigid requirements of discipline and of training. He begins his service as a man; he finishes it as a machine, with neither mind nor purpose of his own. From such democratic systems may this country be delivered forever and ever.

It may be that we must fight the devil with fire. If so, I shall cheerfully acquiesce; but until it becomes necessary, and the system which I deny to have been a failure—the American system, the Anglo-Saxon system—is given its opportunity, I can not consent that we should adopt the compulsory service of Germany, of Austria, and of Russia, and make it the basis of a new military policy for the raising of an army. My refusal to do so is emphasized by the evident intention of the Secretary of War to make it a permanent feature of our Military Establishment.

Mr. President, what I have heretofore said assumes equality in the system; but I deny that it is there. There is nothing that may be called equality between men in America, except equality of right and equality of opportunity. Some Senators in this Chamber are dependent upon their public compensation for a livelihood; others so much more fortunate in their possession of the good things of life that their compensation is of little consequence. And so throughout the country there are men earning their livelihoods and learning their trades, men dependent upon their daily wage for existence and sometimes for the existence of their families, while there are others entirely at ease, either through the possession of inherited wealth, because they are the children of well-to-do parents, or because they have been more fortunate in their own struggles for existence.

Under this system you may take one man from an apprenticeship the completion of which is necessary to enable him to become an independent citizen, and you may take also the son of a millionaire and put them side by side in the Army. Is there any equality in this situation? The one must give the very prime of his youthful years to his country and lose the opportunity of acquiring a trade or pursuit which would make him not only a useful but an independent citizen. The other is

neither better nor worse off for being subjected to the operation of the system.

I might make many other illustrations. It is not necessary. There can be no such thing as equality of operation of such a system among men whose stations and conditions and resources are not comparatively uniform. So that the proposed change has not so much as equality to recommend it, and I am amazed that sincere and intelligent men do not perceive this self-evident truth.

As illustrating the so-called democratic character of this system I saw the other day a statement which applauded the occupancy at Plattsburg of the same dog tent by Mr. Vincent Astor and his valet, and the country's attention was directed to the fact that under such a system the millionaire at one end of the line and the domestic at the other were brought into democratic, and therefore into equal, contact with each other. Now, apart from the awkwardness of the situation perhaps to both, is not that merely an incident which may result from any service which, instead of spelling equality, only serves to accentuate the contrast in this world between men? And is not such a contact equally consistent with service by volunteers? Such evidences of democracy, Mr. President, mean nothing in a country like this. The contact in the training camp between the aristocrat and the plebian may be extremely interesting for both for the time being, but it is only transient; it disappears with the occasion. I have not heard that the incident was followed by an invitation from Mr. Astor to his valet to dine with him at any time or enjoy those other hospitalities which equality in life is supposed to inspire, nor do I expect to hear anything of the sort.

There are inequalities in race and there are race prejudices which might for the moment be obliterated by a necessary contact in the camps, whether filled with conscripts or volunteers; but who will pretend that those fundamental conditions can be at all affected by occasional contact in camp life or under the folds of the same tent?

I deny, Mr. President, that there is anything democratic about this system. So let us accept it at its face value, using it when necessary, not until necessary, and no longer than necessary. We must then ascertain whether that necessity confronts us. I deny that it does, albeit many persons have tumultuously wired me to the contrary. And, Mr. President, because of this experience I am tempted to say that if I had any loose money for investment I would buy shares in one or the other of the telegraph companies now doing such a prosperous and formidable business in transmitting voluntary advice to men in my position from all over the country. It is a good thing for them, independently of any other consideration. They require large sums of money, coming, I doubt not, from the pockets of patriots prompted by no motive but to serve their country. Those who have been good enough to communicate with me are divided into men who oppose and men who support this measure, and I venture to say that not one-half of 1 per cent on either side of the controversy have ever read this bill or know anything about it except as they condemn or commend its general principle, and acting upon that they cheerfully demand that Senators representing them shall vote according to their respective views. Needless to say, one can not do both.

It is rather embarrassing to a man who has no convictions of his own upon the subject to be confronted with such a situation. Such a man might avoid the dilemma by following the example of old Wouter Van Twiller—weigh telegrams and letters for against telegrams and letters against the bill. He might let avoirdupois determine the problem. Perhaps his conclusion would be quite as correct as if he attempted to adjudicate otherwise. Both sets of communications, Mr. President, contain evidences of propaganda, especially when, as in the instance this morning brought to our attention by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], these telegrams and letters bear such a strong family resemblance, doubtless emanating from some central authority, either in idea or in expression, or in both. Those which I have received are subject to the same suspicion.

As illustrative of these propaganda I call attention to a full-page advertisement from the New York Times of Sunday, April 16, of the National Security League. I shall not read it, nor inflict it on the public through the columns of the RECORD. It tells us that "President Wilson's war message would be hollow words unless America acts." That is probably true. Then follows a reference to the Declaration of Independence, Patrick Henry's address, Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, and a few extracts from the President's message, ending by a call upon the people to urge their Senators and Representatives to vote for the administration Army bill. These things cost money. They must be paid for, as well as those on the other side, typified by a more modest advertisement I now exhibit, clipped from the same paper, and equally earnest in its insistence that the policy outlined in this bill is all wrong. This comes from the American Union Against Militarism, 641 Munsey Building, and contains a coupon to be cut out and sent to headquarters, and I suppose there to be sent to the respective Members of this body and the body at the other end of the Capitol.

Mr. President, the safe and only course for a man to pursue when beset by such earnest protagonists and antagonists is to follow his own counsel, do what he thinks is right under the circumstances as best he can, and take the consequences. It is easy to follow the drift for the moment of public sentiment—the easiest thing in the world. That is following the lines of least resistance. If one can ascertain the drift of public sentiment and catch it and conform to it, he may escape much sorrow and tribulation in this world, albeit he may achieve the reputation of being as unstable as water. And he may prosper.

Mr. President, I am satisfied, not from communications and telegrams, but from an acquaintance with my people extending over almost half a century, that I know something about the way they feel upon this subject. I affirm that they are opposed to conscription except as a last resort, notwithstanding the fact that in our large centers, as in others, there is at present a sentiment, prompted partly by patriotism, partly by apprehension, partly by propaganda, which finds more active and violent expression than that deeper current of sentiment, running silently and quietly, but constantly, from the hearts and the minds of the plain people of the country who maintain its integrity and wage its battles.

Mr. President, we are about to violate a fundamental tradition of our democracy. We are about to do so in what many earnestly and honestly believe to be a very serious crisis, and because they also believe that without it the safety and possibly the existence of their country will be imperiled. I am not finding fault with these opinions. I have not, and trust I never will, say upon this floor anything that can be construed into a reflection upon the motives of my associates, except in so far as honest criticism may carry such an implication. I have never consciously inserted in the RECORD anything that even seemed to cast a reproach upon the good faith, the standing, or the convictions of my associates. Something was inserted this morning, a letter from a gentleman whose convictions are too strong and all pervading to permit the existence of charity for those of others. It has no right to a place in the RECORD; but it is there, and I do not complain. I shall not dignify this man by mentioning his name. His dogmatism is as narrow as it is offensive. He reminds me of that character in Lowell's Bigelow Papers," described as one who—

> Couldn't see but dest one side;
> If his, 'twas God's, and that was plenty.

We have many such people in the world, Mr. President, and many of them favor this bill.

Some one has said that "vituperation is not argument, but a form of self-indulgence"; and a truer statement never fell from human lips. We can not reach the reason of others either by belittling their opinions or reproaching them for their expression. We make intellectual progress in this world only through impersonal argument and discussion, granting to every man the same sincerity and earnestness of conviction which we demand for ourselves.

In that spirit, Mr. President, I shall discuss what seem to me to be underlying and conclusive objections to the immediate adoption of the principle involved in this very important bill. The people of the United States may be entirely mistaken in their antipathy to compulsory service. In times past, when judgments were calm and deliberate, when excitement had not usurped the province of reason, those who advocated or believed in the system were few and far between. It was in distinct conflict with personal liberty. Opposition to it rose to the dignity of a race conviction. It may have been a prejudice, but it is too deeply ingrained in every Anglo-Saxon community in this world, wherever found, to be violated, except in the presence of a great extremity, which does not now confront us.

Of course, our military officers are for the most part the advocates of enforced service. But there are exceptions here and there even among these. I shall refer to two or three of the most eminent ones before I am through. But men of the military profession, thorough believers in that efficiency which comes from long service and thorough training, are restive under a system which leaves to the citizen the choice between the camp and the farm.

With the War Department, Mr. President, this proposed departure is no new thing. Those having our military affairs in charge are naturally, inherently, and constitutionally in favor of compulsory service. It permeates the atmosphere in which

they live. It is gathered and garnered from the line of their daily duties and experiences. They are not to be censured for it. They constitute a hierarchy, which very naturally regards the military as essentially superior to the civil branch of the Government. The existence of this sentiment is inseparable from the military life. Therefore we have always been on guard against it, as we should be now.

The same spirit exists in the Navy, and for the same reasons, therefore, you can not find a naval officer who believes that the submarine is displacing the battleship. Why? Because in the Navy, as in the Army, there is a hierarchy. There could be no hierarchy with the submarine. It has no quarter-deck. Within its small confines man and officer are brought into close and constant contact. Consequently the consensus of naval opinion among this hierarchy is that because the battleship has not yet been actually superseded we should continue to construct them more numerously than ever. So in our haste to get ready for the enemy we are feverishly building battleships and paying premiums for their speedy construction over the contract cost when not one of them can be finished before 1921. The space occupied by them in the navy yards of the country, and the men engaged in their construction, should both be utilized, now of all times, in the speedy construction of smaller craft—submarines, mosquito fleets, and so forth—vessels which can be completed in a short time and made immediately useful in this great struggle. For the present we have battleships enough, when we stop to reflect that our allies, long before our entrance into the war, commanded—subject to the submarine—absolute control of the seas.

Mr. President, this system in its last analysis—and we always come to that—means the seizure of the youth of the country and their subjection for the time being to a despotic system. The mind of the youth and of his parents instinctively recoils from such a situation. And this bill wholly fails to distribute the burden. It does not pretend to be universal. It takes one and passes five. It proceeds upon the old scriptural assurance that many are called but few are chosen.

Something has been said here about the conscript system in the South during the Civil War, to which resort was had in 1862. It may be, Mr. President, that my contact with the attempted enforcement of that system during my boyhood has something to do with my repugnance to it. Yet I say that down there—and I challenge successful contradiction—in my part of the country it was a failure.

Mr. VARDAMAN. It was everywhere.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. FALL. Does the Senator recall how the draft was enforced in the State of New York?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. FALL. Volunteer regiments enforced the draft in New York, who were called upon, and had to be called upon, to put down the riots.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I do recall it. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] to-day, when that matter was called to his attention, said that those riots were the result of copperhead intrigues and conspiracies. That may be; but in my section of the South, after the year 1862, this system, though not resisted openly at all times, could be evaded; and I want to assure the Senators who do me the honor of their presence that the swamps of my section of the country were the sanctuaries of able-bodied men, living without habitations and as they could, to escape an enforced military service. It was not very patriotic, but it was the result of a system which all men abhorred.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, the population of our neighbor on the north was very largely increased at the same time.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; and for the same reasons. Desertions increased more than a hundred per cent. I have seen instances of self-mutilation of the hands and the limbs to avoid response to this system, so loathsome and repugnant was it to many of our citizens. I have known instances where provost guards entered houses with fixed bayonets and dragged their inmates away; and when they resisted they were shot. I have seen the effect of this system upon parents more than once. I have never forgotten those experiences. I never can, and I earnestly hope that they may never be repeated. I trust that this system, when adopted, will meet with a different response, as I am sure it would if it were postponed to a time when an imperiled Republic may make it absolutely necessary.

Mr. President, we very naturally look to the majority report filed by the chairman with the bill on the 19th day of April for the reasons underlying it. That report declares that this measure is necessary because it establishes "a system which our own experience, as well as the experience of the world now in arms, has proved to be the only adequate and effectual one"; and we are also informed that "at the same time it accommodates itself to such volunteer spirit as exists and is available in the early days of the war."

Mr. President, if it be true that the experience of the world in arms has proved this to be the only adequate and effectual system for a nation's safety, let us have it by all means. I want it. But I deny that such conclusion can be truthfully drawn from the experiences of this war or any preceding one. On the contrary, I assert that it has been demonstrated beyond the power of successful contradiction that the volunteer system has not broken down in this war, but has been vindicated by it.

Much has been said in this discussion about Canada; and everything asserted regarding the success of her system of voluntary enlistments is true. She has equipped one of the greatest armies ever raised upon the Western Hemisphere by the old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon volunteer system. She has disciplined it and organized it with an efficiency, a completeness, and a dispatch so great that it has, in every encounter in which it has engaged, withstood the onslaughts of the veteran legions of the greatest military power on earth. A failure? Tell that to the people north of our boundary line! It has not, Mr. President, a solitary element of failure; for if it had, the people of the Dominion—as earnest in this war as the mother country, and as anxious to see it terminated, whose sacrifice of blood and treasure measures up to that of the mother country—would have abandoned it long ago.

In the last issue of the Survey I find an article entitled "A Canadian City in War Time." I shall not read it all; but it gives an account of the volunteer system, and ends with an interview between the writer and one of the principal officials of the Canadian Government intrusted with this work. They have there a national service board. He says:

> Nothing is more ruinous than the cry for wholesale indiscriminate volunteering.

That is the argument which was so powerfully made this afternoon by the brilliant young Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

> Do you favor compulsion, then?
>
> Indiscriminate compulsory service is only less bad than indiscriminate voluntary service, and compulsion is not needed if you apply modern census and efficiency methods to the process of selection. With a thousand first-class prospects in a district to work with, the process of recruiting can proceed on an entirely different plane from the old-style fife-and-drum method. The atmosphere is entirely changed. The recruiting officer goes to the young man without dependents, without any special equipment to serve his country at home, with strength and youth in his favor. He asks, "Why are you not in khaki?"

I shall ask leave, Mr. President, to insert the remainder of this article as a part of my remarks, and I particularly call attention to its last paragraph, which is devoted to what is called the scientific, selective volunteer system of Canada, a system which is there worked out, and, of course, can be worked out for volunteers just as rapidly and just as effectively as can a conscript system.

The matter referred to is as follows:

> As these Canadian service board men saw it, the old-fashioned way of opening a recruiting office was about as antiquated as a town crier. The modern way is more in common with the system by which a high-class insurance agency develops its prospects in any locality and an efficiency engineer deploys his human equipment once he has studied its make-up and individual prowess.
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> To illustrate along military lines: Recently the British Government wanted 3,000 men for the royal flying corps—acetylene welders, blacksmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, motorcyclists, motor drivers, electricians, engine fitters, motorcycle fitters, engineers' storemen, motor fitters, millwrights, sailmakers (tailors), milling machinists, metal turners, painters, tinsmiths, cabinetmakers, vulcanizers, cooks—at pay ranging from $1.10 to $2.80 per day. It was an easy matter for the national service board to run through its cards and turn over to the military department 12,000 excellent prospects of men with the right training.
>
> Similarly, in the industrial field, there was a slowing up of traffic due to lack of men to clean up locomotives in the roundhouses. It was a simple matter to put more than ample prospects in the hands of the employment agents of the Canadian railways.
>
> In the field of agriculture the man-power inventory made it abundantly clear that there was a shortage of labor with exception of Prince Edward Island. Manitoba needed 5,000 men, Saskatchewan 5,000 and Alberta 2,500. The thing to do, as the Canadian board saw it (Washington papers please copy!), was to induce 12,500 agricultural laborers to come from the United States to help in the spring work on the farms. An arrangement was completed with the provincial governments of the prairie sections by which over $150,000 would jointly be appropriated by the Dominion and the Provinces to send 44 special agents south in cooperation with the immigration branch of the department of the interior. The plan called for the absorption of a portion of the railway fare of experienced farm hands from certain common points in the United States to the Canadian line where the cent-a-mile rate applies.
>
> In March the second or occupational survey was initiated, schedules sent out to employers, and the cooperation of all boards of trade and industrial bodies solicited. The immediate purpose was to learn the labor needs of the essential industries, so as to make the labor resources disclosed by the man-power inventory practically available. The survey reaches deeper, however, so as to disclose opportunities for substitu-

tion in the general industries, where women or partially crippled soldiers might release present employees for the essential industries or for military service.

The survey reaches further, also, and calls for estimates of employment needs following the war, so that the Government will have a clear picture of the stupendous problem of displacement which will confront the Dominion, and may develop an intelligent and nation-wide program to ease the stress when the expeditionary force and the shutting down of munitions work will put the whole social and economic structure of Canada to extraordinary test.

SCIENTIFIC SELECTIVE VOLUNTEERING.

This, then, is the system which the Dominion is developing under its national service board to approach the problem of demobilization, and which, in the view of the officials of the board, would have conserved time, resources, and efficiency in the earlier period of recruiting, such as the United States is now entering. From a social standpoint, this Canadian demonstration can scarcely be ignored by the American public. It is the answer of the great English-speaking New World democracy to the north of us to the challenge of war. Its elements are the voluntary principle as against Old World conscription; pay standards related to the current economic life of the people, far in excess of the European armies, double that of our own, supplemented by subsistence allowances which release great numbers of young married men for military service, and, with the institution of the national service board, census and efficiency methods in developing and placing recruits for the army and the essential industries. It is scientific, selective volunteering. It has conserved the liberty of conscience to the individual, and in spite of the provocation of underenlistment among the French Canadians, it has stubbornly refused to yield ground to any system of conscription which would place in the hands of the Government the power of casting armies of citizens into war without their volition. And it has mustered 400,000 volunteers—the equivalent, roughly, of a free-will army of 4,000,000 from the population of the United States.

Mr. President, a great many men have given up their lives in the Canadian Volunteer service who might have been more useful as officers, but, Mr. President, it is the flower of every country which fights the battles of democracy. In this is one of its fundamental differences from autocracy. It is the glory of free peoples everywhere that the men who come to the front industrially, socially, politically, and martially in times of war are the flower of the country, and if it were not so republics would perish from the face of the earth. The sentiment which creates and perpetuates them is the spirit which impels its sons to die for them.

That fact was noted by De Toqueville, the great French commentator upon American institutions, years ago. With the selective conscript system it is this class of men which will go to the front, do the fighting, bear the burden and the heat of the day, and their bones will strew and their blood stain the battle fields of Europe. The selective process will winnow the chaff from the wheat as unerring as the volunteering system. What has been said of Canada can be said of every other British Colony although one of them did resort to conscription and afterwards repealed the act providing for it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have heard that statement, but I do not understand that it was done in Australia.

Mr. THOMAS. I am referring to Australia.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I understand that compulsory military training has been adopted there subsequent to the repeal or modification of the act.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator may be right. I am simply giving the facts, as I read them, that the conscription act has been repealed by a popular vote. It may not be so, but with that exception if it still exists——

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, I think he is accurate. They had a referendum and it was rejected, as we have been told.

Mr. THOMAS. I stated it as it has reached me; but the chairman of the committee is generally very accurate in his recollection of these matters.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I have not the exact information, but I understood that the referendum to which the Senator refers related entirely to military service.

Mr. THOMAS. I repeat, Mr. President, that this volunteer system has been tested in all the dependencies of the British Empire, in all parts of the world with the possible exception of Australia, and has been effective and successful. Under that system the South African confederation wrested from it, every acre of soil belonging to the German Empire upon the African Continent. Her soldiers have accomplished the feat in this war of practically annihilating that part of the enemy with which they came in contact, and it was done under the volunteer system.

It may be said, and it is true, that the British-Boer war conferred an experience and a discipline upon those men which made them such effective soldiers, but there also we are confronted with the fact that this training was acquired and enjoyed by volunteers who vindicated their right to be called soldiers from the commencement to the end of the war with Great Britain, and what is true of her dependencies is true of England also.

The report of the committee upon that subject says, on page 4:

No effectual army was raised in Great Britain until the volunteer system was abandoned and compulsory service established in its stead. Such a service was first but less effectually established by the force of enlightened and apprehensive public opinion operating in the form of social compulsion evidenced by derision, ostracism, and abuse heaped upon those who were reluctant to respond.

Again:

The British people are to-day, three years after the outbreak of the war, where they would have been at its outbreak had they been so well advised then as they are now. It would be folly for us at this late day, in the light of their experience, to begin where they began.

Mr. President, I read that twice before I could satisfy myself that it was a part of the committee report upon this all-important bill.

Mr. President, the inhabitants of Great Britain are a peace-loving nation. They are a great democracy. They are opposed to militarism in all its forms except upon the seas, where their very existence would be at all times imperiled in the absence of complete protection. They have not had a compulsory system of service until very recently. England entered into this war with a comparatively small volunteer army of veterans, who saved Paris at the Battle of the Marne. But her system, whether part compulsory or not, as here asserted and which I dispute, has been the most stupendous success, if we are to measure it by its results, in her military history.

Under that system, Mr. President, England has mobilized 5,000,000 men, drilled them, and equipped them, a force five times as large as the force whose magnitude seems to appall the Senator from New York, and did it within the short space of two years.

The majority of the committee are entirely mistaken when they assert that no effective army was raised in Great Britain until the voluntary service was abandoned and compulsory service established in its stead. In France you find the volunteer army of England. The conscripts, if I am correctly informed, are not yet ready to take the field. That magnificent body of soldiers which for the last two or three weeks have been battling by day and by night and making constant encroachments upon the enemy is England's army of volunteers. I challenge any man to contradict this statement.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. If I understood the Senator from Colorado correctly a moment ago, he said the volunteer system had been a success in the colonies with the possible exception of Australia. Will the Senator permit me to read exactly what Capt. Benson, of the British Army, said about Australia before the House committee?

Mr. THOMAS. I will be glad to have the Senator read it.

Mr. GALLINGER. The question was asked Capt. Benson:

Did you get 5,000,000 men under the volunteer system from Great Britain, not including Canada, Australia, and the other colonies?

Capt. BENSON. Yes, sir; not including any of the colonies. We got roughly, about 11 per cent of the population.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Do you know how many were received under the volunteer system from New Zealand, India, Australia, Canada, and the other colonies?

Capt. BENSON. I think Canada raised under the volunteer system about 400,000 men, and I think Australia and New Zealand raised, roughly, about the same number.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator just a moment there?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. While this discussion was going on a gentleman in the gallery sent down a card to me in which he stated he was informed "that good prospects for soldiers in Canada were given notice that they should enlist, and if this notice was not acted upon a discharge from employment was hinted at as likely to result." Is not this voluntary system equivalent to selective draft?

Mr. FALL. If they did enlist, they lost their job, did they not?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes; but in enlisting they served their country.

Mr. THOMAS. They could not very well fill two jobs so widely apart as local employment and service in the Army.

Reference has been made during this discussion to the effect that the volunteer system has been partially compulsory because men have been denounced as slackers; that the women have derided and reproached them and have refused to associate with them when they would not join the Army. It is contended that this constitutes a method of compulsion and transforms in some degree the volunteer system into a compulsory system.

Mr. President, no crusade for volunteers was ever carried on when such inducements were not a part of the propaganda.

I remember in the South, after Sumter was fired on, young men of the proper age for military service were forced by the girls of the community to enlist whenever they exhibited any reluctance to do so. They would have nothing to do with him except to reproach him, sometimes to insult him; and that pressure is something a red-blooded man can not long resist.

Mr. McKELLAR. If I may interrupt the Senator, it is sometimes said that such a soldier is "nothing better than a conscript."

Mr. THOMAS. "Nothing better than a conscript." I was told that the Speaker the other day said that the people of this country regarded the conscript and convict as somewhat analogous. I do not know whether he said it or not, but I never knew a conscript to boast of it. I never knew one who voluntarily confessed it. I never knew one to acquire credit or standing because he was a conscript.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, if the Senator will pardon me, I have before me a document on the question of conscription in Australia. That question was submitted to a referendum and it was overwhelmingly defeated, and the writer says in speaking of the vote of the army on the question:

The result of the poll was a triumph for democracy, leading one to believe that no free people in the world would knowingly put themselves under the power of a military autocracy.

Sir William Irvine, a nephew of John Mitchell, the famous Irish politician, and one of the ablest men on the conscription side, had hopes to the last that the soldiers' vote would carry the day. It had been rightly decided that the Australian soldiers at the front should have their say in the matter, though a distinguished Melbourne lawyer thought it a simpler plan to add 200,000 votes to the "Yes" side, because he knew what the opinion of the soldiers would be. But to the surprise of many, who take their opinions ready-made, the soldiers voted against conscription by a huge majority. This fact was at first suppressed, but soon became an open secret.

That is, the men who were at the front bearing the brunt of the battle were unwilling that that method should be employed to force patriotic citizens to ...ve the country.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, let me refer now to another statement in this majority report:

The influence of this British tradition—

That is, regarding conscription—

in this regard has brought her to the verge of national disaster in this pending gigantic struggle, which involves her life, as, indeed, it may involve ours.

Did the presence of this tradition in active form keep France from "the verge of a national disaster in this pending gigantic struggle"? Mr. President, we all know that the German Army was within 12 miles of the city of Paris when the flanking movement occurred which saved that city largely through the activities of the British Army of volunteers; and that was not only the first but the greatest disaster which has yet come to the German arms. Yet France was as near to the verge of disaster with conscription as Great Britain was near to the verge of disaster without it.

So, Mr. President, the occurrences of the war that are urged here as reasons for the attitude taken by the committee and probably by the country do not seem to be conclusive upon this question, nor as regards Great Britain do they seem to be based upon facts.

Now, there is another reason why I assert that the British volunteer system has been an immense success. Great Britain wisely postponed conscription until public opinion was ready for it. If Great Britain at the outbreak of the war had tried conscription, it would have created civil war from one end of the island to the other. Those of us who recollect the comments at that time, the apprehensions indulged in by the governing powers, the deep-seated rumblings of dissent among the great mass of the people bear out the fact that, politically independent of any other consideration, Great Britain was wise with a wisdom that almost passes understanding in postponing the day of conscription until the time when she needed all of her men and when she had secured all that were possible through the volunteer system.

I referred to the fact last Saturday that Lord Kitchener was a military commander of some experience and of great eminence, and to certain comments of his on this subject in a book recently published called "The Lord Kitchener Memorial Book." Here is a soldier to whose attention the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WEEKS] is directed, who seemed to have some ideas on the volunteer system not entirely in harmony with the views of those vocal militarists who are patronizing so constantly and so frequently the telegraph companies of the country. The book to which I refer is published by George H. Doran Co., and consists of contributions from men who were close partners with Lord Kitchener in his work. Among them are Lord Derby, Sir Hedley Le Bas, who conducted the extraordinary advertising campaign for recruits, that doubtless contributed largely to the success of the volunteer system. Among them is Marquis de Chasseloup Laubat—

who after November, 1914, represented the French Government at London as technical expert in the broad field of military coordination between the two Governments. In the course of many intimate conversations with Kitchener the question of recruiting naturally came up. From this point we may quote—

I am quoting from an editorial recently appearing in the New York Evening Post:

Like all men who have carefully studied the history of the French Army, he [Kitchener] knew that my father was the statesman who in 1871 and 1872 drew up the first French universal conscription law; he therefore often spoke to me of that subject, and was especially anxious to know whether I had confidential information as to the length of time the French considered necessary in 1871 for a general conscription law to produce serious results; and he was most interested when I explained to him the reasons why the answer was about 17 years.

I certainly hope if this bill is to pass that the efficiency we are looking for will materialize long before the lapse of 17 years. I would like to live to see it, and 17 years from now conscription will have very little interest for me.

From what he told me he seems to have come to the conclusion that in England conscription must necessarily come sooner or later—but the later the better.

On the whole, it seems that Kitchener and the British Government acted wisely—

He is still giving his conversations with Kitchener—

in not hurriedly taking a step of which the premature adoption might have brought many more and far greater evil results than good.

Let me reread into the RECORD what this great military genius said on the floor of the House of Lords on January 5, 1916, upon this subject:

So far we have been able to provide for the largest increase of the army and its maintenance on a purely voluntary system, and I, personally, had always hoped that we should be able to finish the war successfully without changing that system, which has done so well and which has given us such splendid material in the field. I do not consider that the change proposed should be regarded in the light of any derogation of the principle of voluntary service in this country. It only affects, during the period of the war, one class of men, among whom there are undoubtedly a certain number who have but a poor idea of their duties as citizens.

On May 23 Kitchener said in the House of Lords:

The conviction is deeply and universally felt that we have engaged in a just war, and the patriotism of our people gave us, under the voluntary system, a far larger army than we could ever have contemplated. This bill will enable us to maintain its numbers in a manner and degree not hitherto possible.

Mr. President, I can reach no other than the conclusion that Lord Kitchener was satisfied with the volunteer system up to the time when it became necessary to supplement it with the draft. You can not condemn a system so long as it is good, nor can you resort to something else on the plea of necessity until that element appears. Then the new departure should be used to supplement existing conditions.

Before the Senate adjourns let me quote another character of some military prominence in his day and generation. I now refer to Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, who wrote and published his Memoirs. On page 386 of the second volume, beginning at the bottom of the page, he says:

But the real difficulty was, and will be again, to obtain an adequate number of good soldiers. We tried almost every system known to modern nations, all with more or less success—voluntary enlistments, the draft, and bought substitutes—and I think that all officers of experience will confirm my assertion that the men who voluntarily enlisted at the outbreak of the war were the best—better than the conscript and far better than the bought substitute. When a regiment is once organized in a State and mustered into the service of the United States the officers and men become subject to the same laws of discipline and government as the Regular troops. They are in no sense "militia," but compose a part of the Army of the United States, only retain their State titles for convenience, and yet may be principally recruited from the neighborhood of their original organization. Once organized, the regiment should be kept full by recruits, and when it becomes difficult to obtain more recruits the pay should be raised by Congress instead of tempting new men by exaggerated bounties. I believe it would have been more economical to have raised the pay of the soldier to thirty or even fifty dollars a month than to have held out the promise of three hundred and even six hundred dollars in the form of bounty.

Here comes the slacker—

Toward the close of the war I have often heard the soldiers complain that the "stay-at-home" men got better pay, bounties, and food than they, who were exposed to all the dangers and vicissitudes of the battles and marches at the front. The feeling of the soldier should be that in every event the sympathy and preference of his Government is for him who fights rather than for him who is on provost or guard duty to the rear; and, like most men, he measures this by the amount of pay. Of course, the soldier must be trained to obedience and should be "content with his wages"; but whoever has commanded an army in the field knows the difference between a willing, contented mass of men and one that feels a cause of grievance.

Now, listen to this conclusion:

There is a soul to an army as well as to the individual man, and no general can accomplish the full work of his army unless he commands the soul of his men as well as their bodies and legs.

That is true, Mr. President. It explains the superiority of the volunteer to the conscript. You can not transmute reluctant and unwilling service into that spiritual enthusiasm which glows with fervor and sacrifice in the camp as on the battle field. Germany can, under her despotic and inflexible methods, grind the man to powder, break his will, reduce him to the level of the slave, and turn out a dull automaton, obeying orders and yielding the obedience of a dog to a brutal master, but that can not be done here yet. No such soldiers can defend a Republic. But, if the conscript system comes, such methods must come with it sooner or later, and the volunteer soldier will have disappeared forever.

Just one more reference this afternoon, Mr. President. I want to quote Gen. Miles in this connection, one of the greatest soldiers of his time, and to read an extract which I find on page 52 of the hearings before the House Committee on Military Affairs on the volunteer and conscription systems:

Mr. GORDON. You are opposed to compulsory service?
Gen. MILES. Absolutely.
Mr. GORDON. Do you believe that we can raise 133,000 men each year for three years for the continental Army without compulsion?
Gen. MILES. With compulsion, I hope not. I think it would be a very dangerous step toward centralization. As far as conscription was concerned, that was tried out during the Civil War, with unsatisfactory results. I think there were 54,000 men added to the Army—54,000 additional to the 2,000,000 men—by conscription, but I know that, just at the time of the crisis of the Gettysburg campaign, thousands of the best troops, drilled and disciplined men in the Army, had to be taken out of the field and sent back to suppress the riots occasioned by that unpopular measure. Approximately 10,000 or 12,000 were ordered to New York, and I know that there was a brigade in Pennsylvania, which was organized at Huntingdon, and, instead of being sent to the field where they were needed, they were sent to Philadelphia to maintain order. It was a very unpopular measure at that time in that great crisis of the Nation.

Tuesday, April 24, 1917.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, just before the recess of yesterday I read quotations from the memoirs of Gen. Sherman and the testimony of Gen. Miles regarding the subject now under consideration. I shall supplement them with one from Maj. Gen. Sir Sam Hughes, with whose career we are all familiar. He was intrusted with the duty of securing, training, and equipping volunteers for active service upon the Continent.

On the 16th of April of last year, in a statement published in the New York Times Current History upon this subject, Gen. Hughes said:

What Canada is doing is raising a trained democratic army. Both of the adjectives I have just used—"trained" and "democratic"—are of the utmost importance in understanding this situation. Our strength up to a million and three-quarters of men, if necessary, will be in a volunteer army of citizens, every man trained in modern methods of warfare. And the lesson of all history is that the democratic army, after it gets its bearings, always defeats the standing army of professionals. One-third of the army that won the battle of Waterloo was made up of farmers. We have farmers, fishermen, lumbermen, hunters, Indians, thousands of keen athletic young fellows from the cities, and big student delegations from the universities—all the elements needed for the army that wins.

Mr. President, that confirms De Toqueville's comment upon democratic armies, that the longer they exist the more efficient they become, and unless conquered early in the conflict they become invincible.

Gen. Hughes continues:

RICH AND POOR BOTH COME FORWARD.

There is nothing to complain about, and we can not say that this or that element in the population is hanging back. The rich and the poor, the French and the English Canadian, and even the Indian, are all coming out to help Canada and the rest of civilization.

The response is so loyal and spontaneous that, as I have already told you, the new men are enlisting at the rate of a thousand a day for the entire Dominion.

Mr. President, the views of Mr. Roosevelt upon this subject, whether convincing or not, are of some interest. In a letter published on the 16th of April, giving his indorsement to the program of conscription, he said:

Many months, probably at least a year or more, must elapse before the army thus raised would be available for use in Europe in the hard, aggressive fighting campaigns which it is honorably incumbent on us to undertake, now that we have entered into the war.

He is entirely within bounds in assuming that an army raised by the selective draft, and equally true of an army raised in any other way, will require a year if not more to train and equip it for active service in the field.

Meanwhile—

Says Mr. Roosevelt—

let us use volunteer forces in connection with a portion of the Regular Army, in order at the earliest possible moment, within a few months, to put our flag on the firing line.

Now, that suggestion is precisely what the opponents of this bill are endeavoring to effect. Our motives are challenged, our sincerity is questioned, our patriotism is denied, because of our insistence upon a recognition of American methods in the raising of this great number of troops. Yet this gentleman, who apparently agrees with us very cordially, has encountered no criticism from our noisy civil experts on military policies.

Now, why does Mr. Roosevelt think that while waiting for a conscript army to be whipped into condition we should invoke the volunteer system for the purpose of raising an army to be immediately utilized.

We owe this to humanity—

I read again from Roosevelt's statement—

We owe it to the small nations who have suffered such dreadful wrong from Germany. Most of all, we owe it to ourselves, to our national honor and self-respect.

We do not go so far as this. We advocate the old system because it is American, because it is the system of free men and not of slaves, because it has never failed us during the earlier stages of warfare, and because it is democratic.

But Mr. Roosevelt wants to put the flag on the firing line immediately and perceives the necessity of doing it with volunteer forces if it is to be done at once.

"For the sake of our own souls and the memories of the great Americans of the past we must show that we do not intend to make this merely a dollar war. Let us pay with our bodies for our souls' desire. Let us without one hour's unnecessary delay put the American flag on the battle front in this great world war for democracy and civilization and for the reign of justice and fair dealing among the nations of mankind."

The colonel said he did not seek to have the volunteer system interfere in any way with or substitute for the obligatory plan, but that, except in certain cases, the volunteers should be composed of men who would not be taken under obligatory service.

He proposes an amendment to the act of March 7, 1899, providing for the raising of 35,000 volunteers. He is evidently unfamiliar with or has forgotten the act of 1914. He proposes an amendment—

So as to authorize the President to raise a force of not more than 100,000 (or 200,000 to 500,000 later) for three years or the duration of the war.

"Under this act," the letter continued, "I should ask leave to raise for immediate service overseas with the first expeditionary force an infantry division of three-regiment brigades and one divisional brigade of Cavalry, together with an Artillery brigade, a regiment of engineers, a motorcycle machine-gun regiment, an aero squadron, a signal corps, the supply service, etc.

"I should request the War Department for the detail of, say, two officers for every 1,000 men."

Of course the colonel would do the commanding himself.

"I believe that, acting under the direction and with the aid of the department, I could raise the division and have it ready to begin shipment to France in two or three months. My idea would be to have the intensive training in gas work, bomb throwing, bayonet fighting, and trench work given in France; they would then be sent into the trenches when they were thoroughly prepared."

Mr. President, if that is a praiseworthy, patriotic suggestion, I wish some one would explain to me the difference between it and the thing for which we are contending, which is that for present exigencies a test should be had of our old acceptable American volunteer system, resort being had to the other system when this shall prove a failure either in whole or in part.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I am very much interested in what the Senator from Colorado has read as an utterance of Col. Roosevelt. Can the Senator inform me what has become of that proposition of Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. THOMAS. I know nothing about it. I have seen little comment upon it. I do not think that any offers—and a number of them have come through me—of men under the volunteer system have been entertained or considered.

Mr. GALLINGER. As I have understood—I may be incorrectly informed—that proposition of Col. Roosevelt has been practically refused.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, the Senator is probably right; but, Mr. President, behind and beneath it is the fact, which Col. Roosevelt instinctively recognizes, that, after all, the soldier who does the fighting is the man, to use Gen. Sherman's expression, whose soul is in the business; and I venture the prediction that when this bill becomes a law its practical operation will, if successful, be the equivalent of the volunteer system. The man who wants to fight, the man who proposes to fight, the man who believes it to be his duty to fight, will be the man to whom this selective system, so called, will ultimately apply, and especially in view of the conceded fact that we actually need but a very small percentage of the men who will be subject to the operation of this draft within the limit of age for which it provides.

Mr. President, I might say much more against the proposition that the volunteer system has not proven the failure in this war that is contended by the advocates of this bill. Let me now turn, however, to what is said in the majority report of the committee regarding the draft which was resorted to by both sides during the Civil War:

It was half a century—

This is a quotation from Gen. Upton—

It was half a century later that we reaped the bitter fruits of this system at the Battle of Bull Run.

What system? The volunteer system. Who reaped "the bitter fruits" of it? The Northern Army. Did it not bring triumphant success to the volunteer army of the South? In battle the reaping of "bitter fruits" means the garnering of rich and luscious ones by the enemy. To assert that because an army of volunteers representing one section of the country overcame an army of volunteers representing the other section is a condemnation of the volunteer system is to invoke a process of logic which, I confess, I am unable to understand. I deny that the result of the early battles of the Civil War militates either for or against the system, for the very obvious reason that the one thing common to both sections of the country was the volunteer system in full operation.

That battle—

Says the report—

the first of the war, though it should have contributed much, contributed nothing whatever to the decision, and this for the very reason which so unnecessarily prolonged that struggle, namely, the incompetence of those placed in command by the volunteer method.

Mr. President, I concede that the man who is trained to arms is presumptively superior in that profession to the man who is not so trained; and yet it is the history of every volunteer system the world ever knew that military genius has been disclosed and developed to the highest degree among volunteer officers. The long list of distinguished commanders whom I might mention, the fruit of the terrible Civil War in America, demonstrates that through the crucible of conflict, through the active service upon the battle field and in the camp, comes the development of volunteer officers and volunteer soldiers alike. I do not go to extremes when I declare that the volunteer commanders of the Civil War who achieved distinction and honor and glory on both sides are quite as numerous and as conspicuous as those of the Regular Army.

The truth is—

Says this report—

The truth is the volunteer system and the State method of recruiting it, which seems to be a necessary concomitant of it, throughout the war proved such a failure to Union arms that it could but have been disastrous in the face of an enemy better prepared than were the Confederates or with a better system.

That, I think, Mr. President, is obvious; that is to say, a poor system in conflict with a better system has a disadvantage which may result in defeat; but it is no historic argument in favor of or against the system which some of us think should not be discarded by this bill, and which, when discarded, will in all probability be discarded forever. Moreover it should be borne in mind that had the North been represented at Bull Run by an army of conscripts, the result would have been no different. The troops would have been just as raw, just as unfit, and just as unsuccessful.

In the South the volunteer system was continued after 1862 concurrently with the so-called conscriptive system. Men raised companies and regiments and brigades through their personal efforts just as before, inspired, of course, by the ambition to command. It was the concurrent operation of the volunteer system which kept the armies of the Confederacy equipped with man power. And for two years, Mr. President, after every resource of that country was exhausted, shut off from the world by the most complete system of blockade known to the military history of the world, the Confederacy was able to continue the conflict because of the heroism and sacrifice and sense of duty animating the breasts and the consciences of its volunteer armies. If the experiment of the draft in the South proves anything, it is that in a country like ours it is a somewhat hazardous experiment.

Let me read an extract from the report of the Confederate bureau of conscription in 1864:

A rigid and unusual inspection, not only of company rolls but personal and also pay rolls, will prove that more men have been received into the service irregularly—that is, by volunteering—since the 1st of January than have gone through the conscription authorities.

In many localities it has been found expedient, indeed necessary, to suspend wholly or partially the operation of conscriptions. This has been done in localities between the lines of our armies and those of the enemy—so far as the reserve classes are concerned—for obvious reasons of preventing those classes from becoming prisoners of war.

Mr. President, I quoted Gen. Miles yesterday partly for the purpose of showing the small number of troops obtained under the operation of the conscript law of the North. In 1866 Provost Marshal General James B. Fry made a report, which, after referring to the violent disturbances in many portions of the country and the bloodshed accompanying the attempted enforcement of the law, says:

The draft was not completed till late in the year—

Presumably that year—

and produced but few men for the service.

And I am informed that Gen. Miles's computation of 53,000 men secured by the draft is entirely too high. The actual number was less than 50,000. So that, Mr. President, we derive but little intelligent information from a study of the conscript experiments of our own Civil War. If it tends to prove anything it is that they were failures.

Reference has been made to the Spanish War. At that time, Mr. President, the conscripting of men was not mentioned, was not considered, was not thought of. Why? Because through the spur and spirit of adventure the young men of the country flocked to the standard of the Nation in overwhelming numbers and to a far greater extent than were needed. What that war did develop was the incompetency of the War Department in meeting a sudden emergency. What it did develop was the folly of attempting to use troops that were not troops at all beyond their oaths of allegiance. These were mobilized for active service without training. They were unfit for service. If these volunteers had been conscripts, under the existing conditions the result would have been precisely the same. You can not make a soldier out of a recruit in a moment, whether he volunteers or is conscripted. The element of training in either event is an absolute essential and the time required for it is not affected.

Some people assume—at least their statements involve the impression—the presence of some chemical or mental or physical element about conscription, which when applied to the average citizen instantly transforms him into a veteran, whereas the volunteer, being innocuous to such influences because he is a volunteer, must undergo a long process of training to become a soldier. If Col. Roosevelt is a military authority—and he claims to be an authority upon everything on earth—then I must conclude that his demand that pending the operation of this conscript law we should use the volunteer system, necessarily implies that the class of men whom he would thus obtain would be more susceptible to discipline and more easily and rapidly trained than would the average American, and that for the accomplishment of one of the main purposes involved in this war we should use the two *pari passu*, and that is what we are contending for.

I have heard it claimed in the committee room that universal service is an American policy as outlined by the act of 1792. That act, Mr. President, does recognize, and very properly so, the obligation of every citizen to serve his country and, within certain ages, to submit to military training; but no one will pretend that that law was enforced or that any attempt was made to enforce it. Why? Because the spirit, the traditions, and the genius of the American people were in conflict with it; because the attempt to enforce it would have instantly brought to the front the identical conditions against which the Revolutionary soldiers fought. A significant element of that bill, which is not mentioned very often, is the authority to the States to make such exemptions from its operation as they might see fit, a condition which, of course, destroyed the effectiveness of the law, and that must have been known to those who in enacting the law allowed it to contain such an exemption. So that, Mr. President, if that statute is at all pertinent to the discussion, it is that it was so out of touch with the prevailing views and opinions of the people at that time that no attempt was made to enforce it. That may have been a misfortune; we may otherwise have inculcated a military spirit in the generations which have occupied the field of action between that time and the present; but the fact remains that a law more than 100 years old, now resurrected to show that this new policy has always been ours, certainly shows the desperation of its advocates, since it is conceded that the statute was a dead letter from its enactment.

Mr. President, there is much force in the reminder that we should not imitate the mistakes of Great Britain; that her blunders should be a warning to us, and we should avoid them wherever possible. That is good advice. We can have no better counsel from any direction. I sought to show—and to my own satisfaction, at least, I did show—yesterday that England made no mistake in testing her voluntary system to the full; that she made no mistake in postponing resort to conscription until the minds and consciences of the people had been educated through experience to the belief in its final necessity as a supplement to the volunteer system then in vogue. I hope that we will, as far as possible, avoid every blunder with which the experiences of that great people have been punctuated during the past two years and a half, and that we will be able to do so very largely if we study dispassionately the history of these times and find what were and what were not the blunders of her policy.

But, Mr. President, should we not imitate her successes while avoiding her mistakes? Has she not taught us something in the field of active and successful effort equally as valuable to us if we heed it, as the need for ascertaining her blunders and avoiding them? What was England's first act of military policy after war was declared? Did she not take possession of every line of transportation? Did she not assume control of her railroads and water communications, making them all subservient to her great need of national defense? And was it not the supreme demand of a great crisis? Has anyone here, has any advocate of conscription, even suggested that the United States heed this most successful step in war administration? I have not heard it.

Mr. President, during the hearings on the military training law this subject came up in connection with the testimony of Col. Lydecker. Let me refer to that testimony for a moment. The colonel said, and said very properly:

The question for you is, How are you going to arrange the military defense of the country by the utilization of the militia? You are first to prepare your Regular Army, and it is a very costly thing to do. The Regular Army must be the center of organization of all military force and strength in regard to the five elements that relate to the subject of war.

He then states these five elements, each of which is absolutely and essentially important to preparation, either for defense or for offense.

The five elements I perhaps need not repeat here, but the five things that must be attended to in order to prosecute war successfully are—

And he puts this first—

the transportation, the material, the instruments of destruction, the instruments for medication and care of the sick and wounded, and then the masses of men who make up the fighting strength. These are the five things that must be required by every nation for preparation for defense or for war.

And that is the experience of every writer upon military affairs of whom I have any knowledge.

I then asked the colonel—reading now from page 415:

Would you extend that general control to the five essential elements of military defense to which you referred a few moments ago, including transportation?

Col. LYDECKER. No, sir; I would not. I have been brought up under a democracy, and I am a Democrat. I do not believe yet in Federal ownership of the railroads—

Mind, the question had nothing to do with ownership—

the telegraph, or the other public utilities. I do not believe in it yet. The country may be socialized to the point where it would be necessary to do so, but I do not believe in that. I do not believe in a military autocracy. I do not believe in the Federal authorities owning the railroads until war begins, and then they should take them under full power, and the military authorities should have full control and run the railroads through such sections as it is necessary to properly control the transportation.

The colonel believed that after war begins this should be the policy. Has anybody heard a suggestion of such a policy from any source, either before or after we entered this war? On the contrary, we are asked to increase the toll of these great transportation companies upon the consuming millions of the country by permitting them to raise their rate for transportation from 5 to 15 per cent. Mr. President, if we are to prepare for war, let us prepare. As the Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] so well said, we are in this fight, so let us fight. Let us not forget that everything necessary to success in this war may depend upon transportation; and we know that when it is in the hands of private corporations, they very naturally and very properly operate the roads to earn money, thus enabling them to pay a profit to shareholders. That is right; but, Mr. President, it is superior to the military necessity in their minds at all times, whether they are conscious of it or not. It is perfectly legitimate, but it would not influence the Government in war times beyond the need for supplying the people with life's necessities. In private hands, however, the public needs are essentially secondary to the usual demands of traffic.

I heard some time ago of a consignment of horses from Cheyenne, needed on the Mexican border for men ready to mount and use them, which were sent first to New York by the railroad companies and then forwarded to the border. I have wondered whether Uncle Sam paid the freight first from Cheyenne to New York, and then from New York to the border. I am not a betting man, but I should be inclined to wager that the bill was presented for that transportation, in any event. This is an instance of results that must follow from the competition of civic and commercial needs and necessities and the imperative requirements of the Government.

I am in favor of compulsory service when required, and the public needs demand as a military step full governmental control of the transportation and the intelligence companies of the country, comprising the railroads, the telephone and the telegraph companies, and the vessels conducting traffic upon our waterways. The Government has commandeered wireless telegraphy, and no reason can be assigned for it that does not justify the extension of the policy to the telephone and telegraph lines of the country.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator will remember that the very proposition he is now discussing was before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, and the very amendment that the Senator suggests was adopted by the committee and finally enacted by Congress, authorizing the Government, in case of necessity, to take charge of and operate these public utilities.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, I well remember, Mr. President, that in the defense act of last year that matter was up, and if I recall aright I was the author of the amendment to which the Senator refers; but it was not enacted as I offered it. It does not provide for the seizure of all of these lines of communication, which Col. Lydecker says, and all military writers say, is one of the five prerequisites to a sensible, full, military preparation. That is what I think should be done. I know that we are at war, and I know that it is necessary to do whatever we can—keeping in mind always the rights of the people, and the effect upon those rights of hastily considered legislation—to meet this crisis as it should be met.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator further?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. POMERENE in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado further yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Does not the Senator think that under that very provision which was enacted by Congress, when the emergency does arise, when the railroads are needed by the Government, it can take charge of them?

Mr. THOMAS. I think so; I also think the emergency confronts us; but unfortunately the Senator knows when you leave the matter to the discretion of functionaries the emergency is seldom if ever recognized. The emergency is here, and we are told that we should follow the experience of other nations and avoid their mistakes. We should also imitate their successes. We should do exactly as Great Britain and France did—not wait for any other than the overwhelming, present, all-pervading emergency—and act accordingly.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield; yes.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Is the Senator advocating now the policy of taking over the railroads at this time and operating them?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; I am. We are at war. Military authorities say that the control of transportation is necessary. Col. Lydecker declared that when war was on, he thought it ought to be done.

Mr. TOWNSEND. What would the Senator expect to obtain from such operation which the country does not now obtain?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I should expect to obtain first just what was obtained in England, the abolition of the numberless discriminations through the exercise of which the prices of the necessities of life are soaring beyond the reach of the average man. I should expect the Government to give equal rates and equal rights to all, just as was done in Great Britain. I should expect benefit to result through the discipline of the men, for they, like conscripts or volunteers, must also be trained to the arts of war; and I should expect scores of engineers to be at work determining where new lines should be constructed to prevent possible calamities upon our coast, which is now not so well provided. I should expect the disappearance and destruction of these gambling enterprises, which in times like these flourish upon the needs of the people through combinations which succeed through juggled transportation rates. I should expect, too, Mr. President, that through this operation the Government would make due compensation to the owners of the railroads, based upon the actual value of their property, just as as they are doing in Great Britain.

I read some time ago in the New York Times Supplement an article written by an Englishman which described the admirable improvements in service and benefits in rates resulting to all the people of the British Isles through Government regulation and control of transportation, and which concluded with the statement that when this war ended popular sentiment would compel the Government to continue that control and operation in the interest—the commercial interest, the social

interest, the industrial interest—of all the people. That may be one reason why we can not do it. Here, as there, the inestimable and far-reaching superiority of Government over private control will create a similar public sentiment irresistible and nation compelling, under the operation of which these essential elements of modern commercial and social life would be permanently taken over by the Government.

Mr. President, we are told that we should help the allies all we can. I agree to that. I do not violate any of the proprieties, certainly no confidences, when I assert that what France needs now is not men; her man power is still ample. What she needs are supplies and credits; and we should arrange to give them both in ample amount and bend our energies to the one effort—to the principal effort—of raising and manufacturing supplies and building ships.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

Mr. THOMAS. What did Lloyd-George say the other day was the crying need from this country? First, ships; second, ships; and third, ships. Mr. President, in the repetition of that word he voiced what we know to be the one supreme need of this war in view of Germany's submarine warfare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield, with pleasure.

Mr. KELLOGG. What authority has the Senator from Colorado for the statement that France does not need men now, as against the statement of her public men and other public men of England that she does need them?

Mr. THOMAS. I have the authority of similar statements, of the fact that we are informed from time to time of the number of men at the front. You can not use two or three men where only one is needed. Of course, I do not wish to have my position misunderstood. I am not saying that we should not proceed to raise an Army. Yes; by all means let us do it, and do it expeditiously. I am simply calling attention to other things which, in the course of our preparation, seem to me to be equally and in some matters more important. Of course, we are responding. It is proposed to build ships everywhere. God grant that we may do it. I hope some system may be devised whereby different parts may be constructed in different sections of the country and assembled upon the seacoast. There are other good things about England's defenses which we might well imitate, but I will not now recount them.

Now, Mr. President, a few words with regard to the details of this bill. I have contended—with what success I do not know—that the same inequalities and defects which are observable in the volunteer system and for which it is condemned will appear under this system until the public need requires all of our man power. That was true during the Civil War. I think it is true now. It is said that we need but a small percentage of our man power, and that calls into activity what is called the selective element of this bill. The mere exercise of the selective power reveals the presence of inequality. As provided in the bill it stops with the process of exclusion.

It may be that I have misread the bill, and that it does what I now criticize; but if it provided that all men between given ages should be unconditionally subject to the law, and that in the processes of selection those not needed for soldiers should be assigned to and compelled to serve in other branches of activity—on the farms, in the factories, upon the railroads, and in those other vocations which are a part of the Nation's preparedness—it would fulfill one idea of universal service; but it does not. The exercise of this so-called selective system—and if I am wrong I hope the chairman will correct me—begins and ends with naming those who are to enlist and those who are not. The man who is excused is excused without limitation or condition. He goes back to the thing which he was doing, and to idleness if he was doing nothing. He may abandon the thing he was doing, although the doing of it was the cause of his rejection. Now, I can conceive of no virtue in such a selective process, and all can perceive that sense of injustice and inequality which will inevitably arise in the breasts of those and their relatives who are required to go because of that discrimination by the military authorities, which conscripts him and dismisses his neighbor. If, on the contrary, the man excused from service was at once drafted into something useful and necessary, because he was skilled in the art to which he was assigned, they would not entertain, to the same degree at least, that feeling of unjust discrimination which ripens into discontent and impairs the morale of the soldier.

I can not find in this bill anything which establishes that system which I understand to be the English system now and which we are supposedly imitating. Now, that is precisely the volunteer service as its opponents contend. What difference does it make to the man who serves whether the slacker of whom he complains is a slacker by his own volition or by the direction of the Government? Does it not produce the same feeling of inequality? How, then, are you going to avoid by the enactment of this bill the very thing which is contended for as the fundamental difference between the draft and the volunteer system? You can not do it.

Let me turn for a moment, Mr. President, to the exemptions in this bill—and I shall run over them as hurriedly as possible.

The civil officers and employees of the United States are exempted. It is then declared that—

> Nothing in this act contained shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for who is found to be a member of any well-organized religious sect or organization, at present organized and existing, whose creed forbids its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed of said religious organization.

There, Mr. President, is an exemption which is rank injustice. Why should those entertaining convictions against war be divided into those who belong to denominations and those who do not? How will this exemption operate? Let me illustrate. I will suppose that my distinguished friend the Senator from Illinois has a son within the age covered by this bill. He does not belong to any church or religious denomination, but all his convictions are against service in war. They are as deep-seated and as profound as those of any church member in the world; yet he must go into the ranks. My friend from Utah has a son possessed of the same convictions and affiliates with a sect or organization whose creed forbids its members to participate in war. He is exempted from military service; not because of his convictions, but because of his church connection. Does the history of the volunteer service reveal any discrimination more monstrous than this?

I do not believe, Mr. President, if you are to have universal service, we should make any exemptions at all except public officials of States and the Nation and the mentally and physically unfit. I do not believe that in universal service a man should be exempted because he thinks war a horrible thing any more than the man who does not think so. Each is a citizen, invested with a citizen's duties. Exemptions like these breed hypocrisy and falsehood. But if you are going to make this exemption, be just and include all whose consciences prohibit their participation in acts of war, in bloodshed, in militarism, whether defensive or offensive, and do not limit your exemption to those who are fortunate enough to be identified with some religious denomination of similar creed.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. CUMMINS. I have in mind to ask the Senator from Colorado more than one question with regard to the section which he is now considering and which I think is radically wrong, as I shall endeavor to point out at some future time, although I am not opposed to conscription; but the thing I now desire to ask the Senator from Colorado, who is a member of the Military Committee, is this: Why did the committee adopt——

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, let me interrupt the Senator by saying that illness prevented me from attending the meetings of the committee on this bill, save one, and consequently I wish he would address himself to those who are more familiar with its details.

Mr. CUMMINS. I will address myself directly to the judgment of the Senator from Colorado. The military service act of Great Britain adopts an entirely different criterion upon the point being discussed by the Senator from Colorado, and permits an individual whose conscientious scruples against fighting or against combative service to be relieved. I call that to the attention of the Senator from Colorado to emphasize what he just said about the injustice and apparent want of necessity of requiring that the man who is to be relieved shall belong to a religious organization whose creed is opposed to fighting. Great Britain has not adopted any such criterion.

Mr. THOMAS. I think I have stated that I could not conceive any reason for the distinction. There may be a practical one.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The language in the bill is the language which has been in every military bill that has been enacted since colonial days. I think it was first used during the War of 1812. The other proposition of exempting an individual who has conscientious scruples against serving was not brought to the attention of the committee, as I remember

it, and the committee followed the language that has been used always in military legislation in this country.

As the Senator says, the military act of Great Britain does provide for individuals who have conscientious scruples, and it provides a tribunal which shall determine as to the justice or the reasonableness of the claim of the individual. That might not be a bad idea in this bill, but Senators and Members in Congress insist on following tradition and following the precedents heretofore established in this legislation, and the committee did that in this bill. It may not be broad enough, but that was what moved the committee to adopt the language which has been discussed in Congress for years, and which was finally crystallized in the statutes.

Mr. CUMMINS. I am very glad to hear what the Senator has said, but I supposed we were attempting to profit by the wisdom of Great Britain and France and other countries.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Yes, measurably; but we did not have those acts before us when the bill was prepared. I will say to the Senator with reference to the selective draft that there must be some method of selection, because there are, perhaps, 6,000,000 men who would be subject to the draft in this country. We are not liable to need that number of men now. Under the volunteer system they would go out from the factories and the fields and farms, from the industrial plants and from behind counters. That has been the history of all countries. Patriotic young men would enter the Army and cripple the industrial life of the country.

The purpose of this selective proposition was to leave those men in groups behind. They are to be drafted into the service as well as anybody else. The President will say, under the regulations prepared, "Here is a group of men engaged in munitions factories who shall be exempted; they are serving their country when they stay at their forges and do the work the country needs." So it is with other groups of individuals who may be needed in industrial life. I have heard it said on the floor of the Senate, but I forget, how many hundreds of thousands of men went from the factories and munitions plants and other industrial life in Great Britain who were finally brought from the trenches and put back into the industrial life to manufacture the very munitions and clothing which the troops needed. Those men were thus doing just as much for their country, and probably more, than the men in the trenches themselves.

Mr. CUMMINS. Ought not their compensation to be reduced to $15 a month, then, during the war?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is aside from the question. If I had my way, in time of war every man would serve his country for nothing—not only the enlisted men but the officers as well. That gets away from the idea of a mercenary army and puts everybody on the volunteer system. If I had my way, I would make them serve and let the Government keep them, and give them nothing for it; but I will not have my way. In all human probability Congress, instead of placing all on an equality of maintenance and support while serving the Government, will raise the pay of all.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. THOMAS. I am very anxious to get through. I want to be as courteous to these Senators——

Mr. FALL. I simply want to ask the Senator from Oregon a question, in view of his statement.

Mr. THOMAS. I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. FALL. As it is necessary to encourage some of these men who serve their country in munitions factories, would he apply the same rule of nonpayment to a man in a munitions factory that he would apply, if he had his way, to the man in the ranks?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I hardly think so, Mr. President.

Mr. FALL. Why not, if one is to be called and the other is left, and they are to render equal service to their country? The Senator would not allow anything to the man who is offering his life. Why should he allow anything to the man who is simply giving the work of his hands?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The man who is working in the industrial plant, unless the Government is operating it, is supposed to be making a profit for the owners.

Mr. FALL. Then I would go further than the Senator, if necessary, and commandeer the plants and take the profits, or see that there were none.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It may come to a point where that will have to be done.

Mr. FALL. If we are going to have nonpayment for work let us commence there.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will say to the Senator, if the Government has to commandeer these plants I do not see why they should not be placed on the same basis.

Mr. FALL. I am not indulging in heroics, but I am willing to serve without my salary as a Member of Congress if the Senator will join me, providing that other people also in the service of their country shall also surrender their emoluments and pay.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am willing to measure my patriotism with that of the Senator from New Mexico. Whenever the Senator——

Mr. FALL. I have no reflection to make upon the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield further?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I shall here insert the exemption clauses of the British military act, exclusive of the procedure for their operation:

CERTIFICATES OF EXEMPTION.

2. (1) An application may be made at any time before the appointed date to the local tribunal established under this act by or in respect of any man for the issue to him of a certificate of exemption from the provisions of this act—

(a) On the ground that it is expedient in the national interests that he should, instead of being employed in military service, be engaged in other work in which he is habitually engaged or in which he wishes to be engaged or, if he is being educated or trained for any work, that he should continue to be so educated or trained; or

(b) On the ground that serious hardship would ensue, if the man were called up for army service, owing to his exceptional financial or business obligations or domestic position; or

(c) On the ground of ill-health or infirmity; or

(d) On the ground of a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service.

Of course, I understand that the exemption to which I was addressing myself when interrupted is a rescript of former statutes. But as we are getting away from tradition I see no reason why, when we burn our bridges behind us, we should not keep pressing forward and give the man having conscientious scruples outside of a church the same consideration as the man having the same conscientious scruples inside of a church.

Now, let me refer briefly to some of the other exemptions. The original bill, what is called the committee print, is precisely that of the bill reported, except that the exemptions of all persons engaged in agriculture were not mentioned. That was inserted by the committee, and the Senate will notice that it is without limitation as to the class. Everybody engaged in agriculture may be exempt if the authorities see fit in this proposed scheme of universal service to say so. And they need not require the farmers to continue their pursuit after the exemption. I do not know why this far-reaching exemption was inserted, unless to placate the farmers of the Nation. That might quiet their opposition, but it is not fair to the balance of the Nation who remain subject to the provisions of the law, nor do I think it is fair that they should enjoy especial privileges in a time of great emergency. It is not fair to the agricultural community, because if the son of John Jones, farmer, is exempted, and the son of Reuben Jones, farmer, is conscripted, there is an inequality as glaring, if not more so, than any that you can detect in the volunteer system. Why should a partial selection be made from an entire industrial interest, perhaps the largest in the country, which may be excused in toto if the President shall so determine? Will you excuse those raising wheat and conscript those raising corn? Will you make selections from both? How shall you exercise the right of selection so that he who is called may not curse you for choosing him and relieving his neighbor's boy?

I can not reconcile these provisions, Mr. President, with what is said to be the purpose and the object of the bill. To my mind they are replete with trouble, with far-reaching trouble, the certain outgrowth of that discrimination to flow from the fact that we need but a small percentage of the men who will be subject to this law, and especially when we consider that there is nothing in the bill which authorizes the Government after a man has been exempted to draft him for the pursuit in which he is engaged or to compel him to take up some other and as a conscript contribute his service to the common cause.

It is true the volunteer system produces the inequalities to which the Senator refers, but the selective principle can be applied to the volunteer system of enlistments quite as readily as it can to any other. Canada is doing so. It should always be done, except where the entire force of the Nation coming within the age limit is required for military duty.

But I must proceed. Among those who are subject to exemption are "the physically and morally deficient." We have heard much about the slackers. The term has become one of reproach. In many instances it is justified and in many more it is not. Nevertheless it is a term of reproach. Is the slacker morally deficient? Who are the morally deficient? Can any man answer? Will any two men give the same definition? A

man who can without any injury to himself enlist and does not do so when his country needs him is morally deficient in the opinion of many. We can mention many other classes of moral deficients. We are told—and I think it is true—that it is, generally speaking, the morally deficient who do not enlist, except from a spirit of adventure or where the probabilities for its speedy gratification are great. But under the provisions of this act, if it becomes a law, the very classes it is designed to reach can be exempted from the operation of its provisions. And the so-called slacker will escape anyhow. I venture the assertion, so far as the morally deficient are concerned, there are more of them beyond than below the age of 25 years.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. THOMAS. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. I simply want to ask the Senator from Colorado if the conscription plan is put into effect why not remove the entire age limit and make a selection from conscripts everywhere and allow them to go on the pay roll when they are called to duty. I would say that I would favor a plan of that kind myself, using reasonable judgment in the matter.

Mr. THOMAS. I do not care to discuss that, because it has been referred to several times heretofore, and I think the reasons which have been given for the age limitations of the bill, while not convincing to me, are probably conclusive, since we need but a small proportion of our man power. Certain it is that the limit robs the bill to all claim of establishing universality of service. Nevertheless, it is beyond question a discrimination between men within a certain age limit and men without it, particularly where the same limit is not applied to those who may volunteer under the provisions of the law.

When so many exemptions appear in this measure and opportunity given for many more, when whole classes of the community are included in them, do we not see abundant opportunity for the exercise of political influence in securing the recognition of the claims of those who do not wish to serve? There is not a man within the sound of my voice, there is not a Member of either House who, under the provisions of the bill as it stands, will not be besieged to use his influence, to use every exertion possible, to secure exemption from the operation of the law, and especially in view of the admitted fact that a comparatively small percentage of those included will be needed. The result will be that those who would volunteer will be drafted and those who would not volunteer will stay at home.

So I think, Mr. President, the bill, irrespective of the fundamental objections to it, should be amended so as to make it in some measure what it purports to be—a system of universal selective service, combined with authority to the President to assign those exempted to other fields of effort and to conscrip them for those purposes when qualified to serve therein.

Now, Mr. President, let me say a word about existing laws upon the subject under consideration, and I am through. I do not think the volunteer system has been given a fair or any serious trial since the beginning of this war. In 1914 at the request of the administration we passed the volunteer law. I have it here. It was approved on the 25th day of April, 1914, and was enacted at the request and with the approval of the General Staff. It provides for the raising of volunteer forces and their organization and maintenance during the existence of war or when war is imminent, and only after the Congress shall have authorized the President to raise such a force.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Will the Senator yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I desire to call the Senator's attention to this fact. When the national defense act was before Congress the Senator will remember what a desperate fight the friends of that very act made on the floor of the Senate to have section 56 retained in the bill. Now, the object of section 56 was to make applicable in time of peace the volunteer act of 1914, and the Senate voted it down.

Mr. THOMAS. The Senator will remember, if I may interrupt him, that in that controversy he and I were in perfect accord——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I am only calling the Senator's attention to it because he is disposed to criticize this bill now because the volunteer act of 1914 seems to him to have been abandoned when Congress itself turned it down.

Mr. THOMAS. No; the Senator mistakes my purpose. I am not now criticizing either the committee or the pending bill. What I want to suggest is that we have not been asked to legislate so as to make the volunteer bill effective. If that had been done, the emergency provisions of that measure, many of which are very commendable, would have been put in full force and effect, and we would then have had a test for volunteers which we have not now and have not had under the provisions of the existing law. The present campaign for recruits is not attracting volunteers nor appealing to the volunteer spirit of the country. I think, Mr. President, we should give, as we can give under the amendment proposed by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR], full play to the operation of that spirit which I know exists. Had we done so, the enlistment of volunteers would have reached high tide long ago and demonstrated the futility of this bill. And we should make Army life more attractive. Instead of asking men to serve for nothing, the sentiment behind which I cordially approve, we should do what Canada has done, what Great Britain has done, and increase the pay now received by the American soldier. We should also make more wholesome provision for his vocational education in times of peace. We should diminish the chasm of caste which yawns between the commissioned officer and the man. By such methods we can attract all the volunteers we shall ever need.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator just a moment in this part of his argument?

Mr. THOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think one reason for the increase of pay of the enlisted man in Canada and the provisions made for the care of his family was that the volunteer system took men who ought not to have been compelled to go. It took men with families; it took men with dependents; it took men who were very much needed at home. Under that condition of things, which is guarded against in this measure, it was almost essential that the Government should either pay the men more or else make a charitable institution of the whole Government and take care of its people.

Mr. THOMAS. Granting all that, Mr. President, I affirm that the selective principle can be made as applicable to the volunteer system as to any other. Canada has been doing so for some time.

Mr. President, I have spoken longer than I intended, largely because of the interruptions, which were very opportune, but which necessarily have protracted the discussion. I have endeavored to give some of the reasons why the amendments proposed by the minority of the committee should be incorporated into this bill, and why the bill in some of its details is radically and fundamentally defective, and why the bill should be postponed to the test of the American volunteer system of Army creation. I have by no means exhausted the subject, but I have done.

I do not flatter myself that I have convinced my associates, but I have discharged a duty to myself at least in spreading my view upon the RECORD, in reply to the thousands of communications with which I have been flooded from the advocates and the opponents of this measure since it was given a place upon the calendar.

Your bill may secure a majority here. It may become a statute, and as such the basis of our future military policy. If so, I trust that it may not, as I fear it will, profoundly alter the structure of our Government, substitute enforced service for the time-honored, Anglo-Saxon principle of voluntary duty; subject the citizenry of a Republic to the domination of the War Department, displace our Regular Army, and plant the seeds of militarism in the soil of our institutions. For this the military hierarchy have long striven; for this those who do not trust the people have long been striving. The Nation's supreme crisis is their opportunity, and well are they taking advantage of it.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President, I have received so many communications from different parts of the country, and especially from the good people of the State which I have the honor in part to represent, opposing or approving the present stand of the administration in the international crisis that I desire very briefly to put into the RECORD a few of the reasons which impel me to support the administration, and do it heartily so long as it takes no backward step.

I do not believe there is a Member of this body whose dread of war is more profound than mine, and it is precisely because I want peace above everything else in the world that I shall vote for universal military training and service.

I can see no peace for us or anyone else until the present war is ended in the way we would have it end, and if I am right about this, it is high time that we assisted those who are fighting our battles.

Our forefathers brought with them to this country the gospel of democracy, but they brought it in their powder horns, and it is my belief that no purer, holier stuff was ever made than the powder which those old Concord farmers used at Lexington. It is up to us to emulate their example whenever it is necessary.

From the very beginning the issue of peace or war has been above and beyond the control of the President. He is not to be blamed for the conditions which exist to-day, or praised for the conditions which existed on the 7th of November last. As long as the central powers believed they could accomplish their purposes by victories on the land, they found it expedient and easy to keep us out of the war; but when they realized that their only chance of ultimate victory lay in the starvation of one or more of their enemies, they immediately put us into the war, and to-day our case is precisely that of Belgium.

In August, 1914, the central powers notified Belgium that if she would surrender her neutral rights on the land she would be unharmed.

A few weeks ago we received notice from the central powers that if we would surrender our neutral rights on the sea we would be unharmed.

Our case is that of Belgium, and our cause is the same. It is a cause as old as justice—a cause for which every liberty-loving Teuton as well as Saxon has fought for more than 15 centuries—and the fact now is that the atrocious methods adopted by the armies of the central powers have brought down upon the heads of those responsible the righteous indignation of the whole world.

In my opinion our position as a Nation is unassailable. The heart and conscience of the great mass and body of the German people bitterly opposed the leadership that started the war. Anyone who will look at the RECORD of the last week of July, 1914, will find abundant corroboration of this statement. I have here some editorial comments from the great liberal German paper, the Vorwärts, representing probably 60 per cent or more of the real will of the German people. That journal took a very definite stand, and I desire to call now the attention of the Senate to two or three expressions found in its editorials on July 25, 1914, the week preceding the declaration of war.

War fury unrestrained by Austrian imperialism is setting out to bring death and destruction to the whole of Europe.

Four days later, on July 29, it denounced the German foreign office for not accepting England's mediation proposal in the following language:

The camarilla of war lords is working with absolutely unscrupulous means to carry out their fearful designs to perpetrate an international war and to start a world-wide fire to devastate Europe.

On July 31, when it was evident that nothing could stay the guilty Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs in their lust for war, the Vorwärts declared that the German Government was "utterly without conscience." Moreover, mass meetings were held in the great cities throughout the Empire, protesting the insane and brutal course of the Government. In Berlin alone, on the 29th of July, 28 mass meetings were held. At one of them there were more than 70,000 men in attendance. These were spontaneous meetings, called for the purpose of registering the protest of the German people against the "crime that the German rulers were about to commit."

Only a few years ago the master of Germany declared our Monroe doctrine to be a piece of "incredible impertinence." More recently Herr Barnhardi and Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg stated the Imperial German world policy in the following language: "Necessity knows no law. The injustices we thus commit—in Belgium—we will repair as soon as our military object has been obtained," and that object is to "expand our frontiers for the accommodation of our surplus population."

In carrying out this plan the central powers have filled the world with spies and lies. They have maimed, murdered, robbed, raped, burned, and buried Christian men and women for the express purpose of stealing their land. This is the "kultur" of the German war lords and the creed of his satanic majesty.

The central powers overlook the fact that the natural law of evolution which, in the absence of reason, decrees the survival of the brutally fit, deals with one individual at a time and with individuals only. Cooperation and respect for the rights of others make nations possible, and the time has come when international cooperation is as necessary for the peace and prosperity of the world as national cooperation has been necessary for the peace and prosperity of a nation. The marvelous economic advances of the last century have obliterated national boundaries except for political purposes. Commercial evolution is already international; moral and intellectual evolution and growth are international.

More than a century ago that great German, Emmanuel Kant, said that the world would never have peace until the nations of the world could politically organize to enforce peace. But in these days, when international cooperation in politics is suggested, we are told by our statesmen that it would mean entangling alliances, and the historic advice of Washington in this regard is quoted as concluding the argument. We hear, too, the thoughtless exclamations, "Human nature is always the same; men always have fought and they always will," and so forth.

I have great respect for the advice given us by the Father of his Country, but Washington did not hesitate to enter into an alliance with France, and this great man once said, "Mankind when left to themselves are unfit for government." We must have more courage than this to-day. The instant we admit that the international mind should be a reasonable mind all our fears vanish. There are as many kinds of human nature as there are human beings, and all of them are constantly changing, and most of them are changing for the better. It is true that they all swing on the pivot of selfishness, and probably always will, and for this very reason international peace is possible. If everybody is on the make and aggressive, war does not pay anybody; cooperation in the interests of peace is the only thing possible with reasonable beings.

It is our business now to help stem the tide of barbarism until sanity is restored to central Europe.

But patriotic declamations and declarations will not do this. Appropriations of money do not win battles. Fortunately for us, the British fleet up to date has kept the devastating hordes of central Europe from our shores, but it will be criminal neglect for us to ignore the possibility of attack. The sea, instead of protecting us against the enemy, as has heretofore been the case, may now be used to hide and conceal hostile ships and permit them to select their point of attack without let or hindrance.

We do not want to back into this war with the idea that we can get out more easily. We must make common cause with those who are fighting our enemies. We must expect to see it through, and we must expect our allies to stand by until the end. We must give and receive assurances that will permit no misunderstanding in this regard. But to do this we may need soldiers as well as talkers, and soldiers enough to insure victory now and freedom from attack in the future.

Soldiering is a hazardous occupation at the best, and soldiers untrained and unequipped are worse than useless. If we must fight, we must win, and we can not expect to do this if we send our young men into the field unfitted for the work to be done. It seems to me very clear that the more men we train the surer will be the ultimate victory and the longer the succeeding peace. I can see no danger in strength in a just cause. Weakness is always powerless for good.

Now, it is clear to me that universal military training is the first step necessary if reason is to win the victory over cruelty and greed. When the right ceases to resist it ceases to exist. We do not fear the skilled surgeon, though he deals with deadly weapons. We welcome him into our community, because he is a protection against death and disease. Why should we fear military skill if we are sure of its purpose? We should let it be known that our goal is international peace based upon justice to all men. No more wars of conquest, but constant wars against it, if need be.

It is not many years since England was the ally of Turkey and her purpose was to prevent Russian aggression. Twenty years ago our statesmen were warning us against the Russian advance—the Slavic peril. Ten years ago it was the yellow peril, inspired by Germany. Russia and China are now democracies, the last thing on earth that our statesmen expected and the best possible thing for the peace of the world. Within a fortnight after Russia rid herself of ridiculous and dangerous czardom she told the nations of the earth that she stood squarely against aggression. She did not want Constantinople. She wanted peace and justice to all men, and she would fight for that to the last man, and nothing else.

The unselfish course we have taken in world politics has compelled the admiration of other nations, and if we remain loyal to that course the other nations must follow our example. Our remission of the Chinese indemnity, our freedom of Cuba and the Philippines, a work of pure philanthropy unequaled in the history of the world, Mr. Blaine's efforts in 1890 to secure the consent of the Latin-American countries to eliminate the right to title by conquest from the international laws of the Western Hemisphere, and our consistent forbearance with weak and semicivilized States, are things to be proud of. If, however, the square deal for nations as well as men is to be our watchword, there must be no doubt of our strength to resist aggression and injustice, and now is the time for us to reaffirm our international policy and put ourselves in a position to maintain it. Now is our opportunity to secure the cooperation of the world in the maintenance of our Monroe doctrine and encourage the extension of its vital principle throughout the

world. We may well hope, and, I think, expect that England and France and Russia and Italy and Japan and the Americas will henceforth stand together for peace and intellectual, moral, and economic cooperation in so far as varying conditions will permit.

And we may legitimately expect great benefits at home in the immediate by-products of universal military training. Among these benefits will be better health for the rising generations. Fifty per cent or more of the present one is physically defective. We may expect greater respect for law and order and a keener sense of duty to neighbor and country. The intermingling of rich and poor in impartial and mutual service will result in a clearer conception of the duty which the fortunate owe to the less fortunate.

There is nothing too high or noble for us to attempt, and nothing we may fail to accomplish if we are in a position—if we are strong enough—to support our ideals as the occasion may require.

If the training is universal then the service must be universal. Universal training with voluntary service only would be absurd.

I realize that universal training and service is somewhat in the future. We can not expect to put this law for universal training and service into practical application so that it will produce armies containing any great number of men within the year or possibly within the two years, and it is quite likely that for our immediate needs some modification of the system should permit volunteers to a certain extent; and while I am in favor of selective conscription, I should hope that the system adopted by Congress would permit at least 100,000 men, if we have them and they are needed, to organize as volunteers.

I will call the attention of the Senate to an incident which has come to my knowledge recently in support of the position of those who would permit at this time the organization of a certain number of volunteers. A boy brought up within a stone's throw of where I live read about the war, took a great interest in it, and became convinced more than two years ago that France was fighting our battle and that it was his duty to enlist. So he went to France with a brother—two of them. You may have noticed in the metropolitan press two weeks ago that Douglas Dodge, of Weatogue, Conn., was awarded the war cross for special bravery in service. This boy inherited from his father a large fortune. His father is now dead. His mother is the president of the American Antisuffrage Society. But this is only one instance of many that could be noted of American boys going to the front. You may have noticed that a boy from Texas led the assault at Vimy with the American flag tied to his bayonet.

If it is necessary for us to send immediately some men to the front, I hope that we shall send a sample that those who follow must emulate and who will demonstrate to the world the danger of defying the United States; and I sincerely hope that the committee will agree to some amendment that will provide for what may be the immediate necessities of the situation, will permit volunteer service to a limited degree, because there is something about those boys—the one I have mentioned and the twenty or thirty thousand that may be there—that lifts them above any other service which you may expect to get. They have the right stuff in them, and plenty of it, and we are proud of them.

But if the war continues we must resort to universal training and service, and I have become firmly convinced that the Nation has everything to gain—physically, morally, and economically—by remaining loyal to the spirit of the fathers in deed as well as speech.

But in our haste to indulge in universal military training let it be clearly understood that the needs of the hour are transportation and food. The administration will be blind, indeed, if it does not see that just now we should concentrate all our energies upon escaping or sinking submarines and raising crops. The future peace of the world and the fate of democracy may depend upon the use we make of the present planting season. Every State and every county and town should organize a planting campaign and march to the front in double-quick time, and every man in every community should do his bit with money or muscle to help feed the heroes who are fighting our battles in the trenches of France. A famine in England next winter means surrender, and surrender means death and despair for tens of millions of brave men and women, and it may mean 20 years of war for the United States. If the central powers should win a temporary victory; if we should allow France and Belgium and England to bear this cross alone, and they should fail, there are few men in this country who will dare say that it would not mean from 10 to 20 years of war in the near future.

If the American women want to win the gratitude and admiration of the world and save their boys from the horrors of war, let them make the vegetable garden the fashionable salon for the season of 1917. The handsomest, bravest, sweetest women in the world to-day are the English and French girls in trousers and caps making munitions for their husbands and brothers and sweethearts at the front.

For more than two years we looked for our duty in a thrifty, indifferent neutrality, and we failed to find it there. For more than two years we tried to convince ourselves that cowardice is a virtue, and we failed again for obvious reasons. We see our duty now. We must train our boys to defend their country, and we must feed and equip the boys that are already at the front, if we would avoid bitter tears of regret and long years of conflict.

Mr. NEW. Mr. President, I propose an amendment, which I ask to have printed and to lie upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOLLIS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, whatever opinion may be held by the people as to the cause of the European war and as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the conduct of this administration in connection with the European belligerents during the two years and eight months prior to the recognition by Congress of a state of war between the United States and Germany, there can now be no difference of opinion between patriotic Americans on the question of the duty of the United States to anticipate by the most immediate intelligent action every reasonably possible emergency which it may meet in that war. What has been written has been written and it is now the highest duty of loyalty to democracy, unprejudiced by the past, uncontrolled by partisanship and uninfluenced by passion or weakly sentiment to understand the present and prepare to meet what may prove to be the supreme test of the Republic. That our Government and its institutions are threatened, no thoughtful, intelligent man will deny. That the United States must win in this most vital crisis of history is as important as is the survival of democracy and its concomitants.

Nearly 150 years ago the fathers lighted on these shores the fires of democracy, and they have been kept burning with increasing brightness until this hour. Their effulgent beams have been the beacon which has joyfully attracted the seeker for liberty and the lover of freedom from every section of the globe. By this light other nations have read their duty to mankind and freedom has been extended to other lands. But not all who have watched our fires have been grateful for their blessed light and warmth. Self-styled divine monarchs have realized that democracy was the mortal enemy of monarchy, and the effulgence of the former has filled them with a hatred uncompromising and a dread indefinable. By our beacon light our enemies have studied our weaknesses and have profited by them, so that while our Republic has demonstrated its true greatness it has at the same time disclosed its defects. Not the least of these defects has been the fact that in the midst of ravenous wolves we have left our human flock unprotected. We now know that we must strengthen our fold pending the time we are destroying these enemies of peace and progress. Our past neglect of preparation has rendered our present duty difficult and expensive. Further delay and procrastination now is certain to mean disaster if not destruction later. It is unfortunate that we failed in time of peace to prepare for the complete and unquestioned protection of our country. At such a time the preparation would have been less expensive; it would have been more intelligently effective; it would have avoided the grave and dangerous problems which now confront us; but again I am reminded that the past is gone. From the extravagant school of experience, however, we may acquire some wisdom. Our duty is here and now, and it is not too late to overcome some of the effects of error.

I am inexpressibly depressed when I think of the distressing possibilities which may come—aye, some of them must come even under the most favorable conditions—as a result of the war in which we are now engaged. The tax burdens which will test our industries; the want, privations, and sufferings. But I am somewhat revived by the thought that out of it will come a national and individual economy essential to the true progress of a nation and its people, which has been retarded to a great extent by that soul-destroying spirit of extravagance born of a desire for wealth, ease, luxury, and irresponsibility. I can see a new birth of patriotism essential to the life of the Republic. I can see democracies erected on the ruins of monarchies. I can see a world regenerated somewhat by the baptism of blood. But whatever shall be the cost of this war in terms of suffering, blood, and treasure, there is but one course for the United States Government to take at this time, and that is to mobilize

its every resource to meet any emergency. The very present duty before Congress is to raise and equip an army. Without a dissenting vote in either House the largest appropriation for military and naval preparation ever known in the history of any nation has been provided, and we are now properly debating the question of how to raise the strongest and most efficient army possible.

I confess my deficient knowledge of the technical and yet controlling questions of army organization. I am unfamiliar even with the rank and duties of officers. My efforts and experience have been confined to the work of peace. I had almost believed that it was impossible for our great peace-loving country to engage in a European war. I am now, however, awake to the fact that I am a Member of that branch of the Government which is charged with the awful duty of preparing for entrance into the greatest war the world has ever known. At such a time and under such conditions I am inclined to give more weight to the opinions of men trained and experienced in matters of warfare. For 14 years I voted the people's money for support of the West Point and Annapolis Academies. I did it with the undoubting belief that war and war preparation was at once a science and an art to be mastered as other technical matters are mastered. In constructing a skyscraper, a suspension bridge, or a railroad we follow the advice of skilled architects and engineers rather than the advice of laymen, however honest or friendly. Only the learned and experienced scholar can write an authoritative textbook on mathematics. Only the trained and highly educated surgeon is trusted to perform major operations. In fact, our civilization is largely based upon the advice and leadership of experts who have specialized and whose knowledge and experience entitle them to advise and lead.

I know of no place in our social, political, or national economy where this rule is more applicable than in war. All the others deal either with material things or with isolated individuals. But war involves the resources and lives of a whole people. Nations are the objects of its operations. The present war is the most gigantic of history. Its methods are largely new. Only military and naval genius comprehends it, and so when nations centuries old are being toppled over as houses of cards, when free institutions are threatened with destruction, when mistakes of patriotic ignorance means additional death and disaster, I must look for knowledge to guide me in this fateful hour to the men our country has trained to advise and lead at such a time. I know that experts do not always agree and that theory sometimes is impeached by experience, but when theory and practice without an authoritative exception agree my duty becomes clear. Fortunately at this time those men who have been educated by the Government at West Point and Annapolis agree with the similarly unanimous opinion of those experienced soldiers who were not educated at our academies but in the camp and on the battle field. When all these square their theories with the experience of all nations, and especially with that of the nations of Europe, who have been warring for the last two years and eight months, I am bound by every dictate of duty to my country to ignore the advice of laymen when opposed to that of those who know.

I am not going to delay the Senate by recounting the history of our country's experience with volunteers. All of our wars have been fought at their beginning by volunteers, but at what a cost of life and treasure. Due to the mistaken policy which our Government has always followed, it has been necessary to enter all wars with untrained, poorly equipped soldiers, and so far as efficiency is concerned it has made, and will now make, little difference whether the voluntary or draft system was or shall be employed, except perhaps that with the same previous preparation the enlisted man is generally a better soldier than the conscript for the reason that he is more patriotic. But no great war ever was fought or ever will be fought largely by volunteers. Conscription must come, as it always has come, and in the end both patriotism and efficiency, aye, democracy itself, demand that equality of governmental benefits shall require equality of service and responsibility.

I have but little more patience with the man who is now talking of immediately sending an American army to Europe when we have no army to send and can have none fit to send within a year than I have for him who would, in terms, limit military service to the United States. Whatever army is raised must be mustered for service during the war and for whatever field the emergencies of war may select. Our present duty is to raise and equip an army as quickly and equitably as possible. Personally I believe that army will not be called to foreign shores, but at any rate its soldiers will have from 8 to 12 months' training before such an event can happen. How shall such an army be raised? It appears that nearly everybody believes in universal military and industrial training, but such training does not at present exist, and hence that principle can not aid our country now in creating an army; that is, such training can not be employed technically to fit our soldiers. If, however, it is established, it will be an inspiration to patriotism by inducing men to think of duty as well as privilege. I shall not occupy time now to discuss universal training. That it is right every patriotic, right-thinking man seems to admit; but the fact is an army must be provided now, and it will be composed at the start of untrained men. God grant that my opinion that it will never be called upon to make the supreme sacrifice, and certainly that it will not be within the year, shall be verified.

I am in accord with the men whose opinions are entitled to highest consideration that selective conscription is the fairest and most democratic method to employ. It is in harmony with universal training in this, viz, it recognizes the duty of universal service.

I am not, however, in accord with that provision of the bill which fixes the minimum and maximum ages of the conscript. I would like to have a census of all men in the United States between the ages of 16 and 70. I would then classify all of them as to special fitness for service to the United States. I know, as every thoughtful man knows, that our success in this war will depend not more upon our Army and Navy than upon our ability to feed and clothe, equip and maintain, our people and that Army and Navy. Not only that but the necessities of those countries which are fighting with us against a common foe are depending upon us for food and other supplies. A duty thus devolves upon our every citizen to serve in the manner for which he is best fitted. It would be an expensive if not a fatal mistake to permit men and boys to leave those necessary employments for which they are fitted without at least putting in their places others equally efficient. After making such a selection, I would list all those remaining men between the ages of 21 and 45 who are physically fit and from that list, equitably apportioned among the States, I would draw by lot the number of men required for an army. The rich and the poor, the patriot and the shirker, all would be placed on an equal footing as to liability for service.

The patriot with red blood in his veins shrinks at the word "conscript," because he feels that it would disgrace him to be compelled to serve while his comrade volunteers. If all were drafted, this humiliation would not exist.

There are millions of fathers and mothers in this country who raised their sons to be soldiers if soldiers were necessary to the honor and preservation of their country, but they feel that other boys like theirs should be subject to the same duties and obligations. They are willing and anxious that their loved ones should bear their share and only their share of the national defense. It is improbable that all of the men of military age and fitness will be taken into the Army. Not 1 in 12 can serve, but every one of the 12 should be subject to conscription. If, however, the volunteer service is employed, only the conscientious and patriotic will enlist, and they are of the very best of our people.

I see no valid reason why physically fit men up to 45 should not be liable to army service. They have had 26 years more of the benefits of government than has the boy of 19. Many of these men want to serve. Many of them have had valuable experience in the Spanish War and in the militia. They would enlarge the field of eligibles and lessen the chance of each individual citizen to draft. You ask the boy to fight for the uncertain future. You deny the man an opportunity to repay the certain advantages which he has already enjoyed.

It is barely possible that our boys under age may be called to the colors later, but at present it is not necessary and they should be allowed to finish their education, their apprenticeship in trade, their preparation for life. I have received many letters from fathers asking that they be permitted to serve in place of their boys. No worthy reason has been presented to me why this should not be done. I expect to offer an amendment to this end if no one else does.

Mr. BRADY. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him at this point?

Mr. TOWNSEND. I shall be very glad to yield.

Mr. BRADY. I wish to offer a suggestion at this time relative to the very splendid argument the Senator is making. I should like to have the Senator give an expression as to his viewpoint relative to exemptions from service as well as the limit of years. The pending bill provides, as the Senator is well aware, for those from 19 to 25. An amendment has been offered including those from 18 to 35. The Senator suggests that he will probably offer an amendment embracing those from 21 to 45. I should like to have the Senator express himself as to what he thinks the exemption should be from that selective conscription service.

Mr. TOWNSEND. I have already stated that first I would classify all of our people. A man who is well at 70 years of age can render distinctive service to the country. I know there are many men in this country who are prepared to do certain work for the Government on the farms or in various industries who would not be fit for field service. I have purposely increased the age to 70 for industrial or domestic service, but have confined my military list to the ages between 21 and 45. From that, if I had my way about it, I would exempt all the men between those ages who are now engaged in employment necessary for the maintenance of an army and for the maintenance of the industries of the Republic. I would keep them employed at home. I would keep certain people on the farm. I would keep people in munition factories. I would keep certain other employments busy or well filled because that is a part of the need for our success.

Mr. BRADY. I realize that, and I desire to have the Senator cover that point fully. At this time I desire to ask him whether he would have the men who are not physically fit for military service drafted for the other lines of service he suggests?

Mr. TOWNSEND. I would. I would certainly not draft for military service a man who is not fit physically to serve.

Mr. BRADY. Who is not capable of rendering military service. The Senator thinks that is the object to be attained?

Mr. TOWNSEND. Quite so.

Mr. President, I realize the prejudice which attaches to the word "conscription." I would divest it of that odium by making it universal in its application. I would give every man of military age and fitness the same chance. I would not penalize patriotism for the benefit of shirkers and cowards. I would endeavor to instill in all the paramount idea of service for benefits. Only as a last resort would I call to the Army and Navy for continuous field service the boys upon whose life preparation the future progress of our Republic depends.

Whatever method for obtaining an army is employed, the Government must provide for the dependents of its soldiers, and the man in the ranks must receive greater pay than is at present provided. Those who do not enter the country's armed service must in good conscience care for those and their families who do enter it. Especially must this be done if the voluntary method is employed. I have no doubt that such a provision would stimulate enlistments. The crucial test of deciding between country and the necessities of dependent loved ones should not be applied to our men by a rich and prosperous people. The possibility of dependency should be avoided, and I believe it can be avoided.

Perhaps I have already occupied more time than I ought to have occupied. I realize that time is of the very essence of our success, but I also know that such success depends largely upon the kind of action we take now. Haste may mean irreparable waste, and Congress should not enact legislation without at least first reading the bills proposing it.

I realize that it would be more popular to advocate voluntary service, but, sir, he is an enemy of his country who courts popularity at such a time as this. Can Senators, most of whom will under any circumstance be exempt from field service, think of their political futures while providing for a war in which their constituents' lives and fortunes will be sacrificed? Mr. President, I believe I speak the true sentiments of a great majority of Senators when I say I would gladly sink into political oblivion—aye, I would unhesitatingly yield up my life—if by doing so I could alleviate the heartaches, avert the loss of life, and more speedily accomplish the success of our arms and the permanent triumph of democracy. Such a sacrifice would, of course, be insignificant. What may happen to me is unimportant; but what may happen to my country and my countrymen is all-important, and to it and them I pledge my unselfish devotion. I believe in universal military training. It can not, however, be of any service to us in this present duty, but should be inaugurated for the immediate future. I believe in universal service. Conscription approximates such service and places our citizens of all nationalities, of all stations in life, upon an equal footing. That is democracy.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, having had the honor of serving upon the committee which has had the pending measure under consideration, and having voted to report it to the Senate with a favorable recommendation, I consider it a duty to my conscience and to my country to present my reasons for such action on my part.

Moreover, having served as a volunteer myself, and having seen what I believe to be the imperfections of the system, I feel that I am in a position to comment, and that I should comment, upon the merits of the bill now before the Senate.

I have an honest conviction that the administration should be sustained in its effort to create an army of 500,000 men, in addition to the Regular Army and National Guard—now lacking about 500,000 recruits—an army where the burden of service will fall alike on all and give the Government, under its central authority, an efficient, controllable, mobile force of fighting men.

Having a proper regard and respect for the opinions of other Senators who oppose this measure, I desire to state why I believe the universal compulsory system is better, in the light of past and recent history, than the volunteer system.

As a preliminary to my remarks upon the bill itself, I desire to say with all the emphasis that I can command that I do not for a moment question the sublime valor of hundreds of thousands of patriotic Americans who in the several crises of the Nation's history have voluntarily rallied to the colors and fought and died in defense of liberty and justice. Their heroic deeds make resplendent the annals of the Republic.

Nor, in my position in this matter, have I anything but praise for the members of the National Guard, with which I was identified eight years. They, too, when the call to duty has sounded, have responded splendidly and rendered the best service of which they were capable.

For over a century Americans have been unwilling to accept the most fundamental of truths, namely, that self-preservation, with nation and individual alike, is the first law of nature. To bring about an awakening, it has been necessary for fate to turn two-thirds of the world into a maelstrom, and finally to bring this country to its very brink.

We have passed through five wars without being willing to recognize the fact that our military system was always a lamentable failure; that most of these wars were frightfully costly in blood and treasure, solely because of unpreparedness, and that, without exception, each one should have been brought to a close much sooner than it was.

Now, however, fronting the most crucial experience in our history, we are made to realize that our existing and former systems were fundamentally defective, and that to save ourselves from annihilation as a Nation, we must make a radical departure and adjust ourselves to the imperative demands of this impending crisis.

No one at all familiar with real American history can fail to recognize the fact that the conduct of the Revolutionary War by the Continental Government was wretchedly faulty, in that Congress could not give, or did not give, Washington an adequate army of properly trained soldiers to oppose the regulars sent over by the British Crown. The irregular volunteer forces placed at his disposal were almost useless, and rendered abortive all the plans of the commander in chief.

Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, September 24, 1776, said:

> To place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff.

He also said:

> To expect, then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits as from veteran soldiers is to expect what never did and perhaps never will happen.

Writing October 22, 1780, Washington exclaimed, in an agony of despondency almost reaching despair:

> If we mean to continue our struggle, we must do it upon an entirely new plan. We must have a permanent force, not a force that is constantly fluctuating and sliding from under us, as a pedestal of ice would do from a statue on a summer's day, involving us in expense that baffles calculation—an expense which no funds are equal to.
>
> It is idle to suppose that raw and undisciplined men are fit to oppose regular troops.

Writing March 1, 1781, to Richard Henry Lee, speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, Thomas Jefferson, then governor of that State, said:

> Whether it be practicable to raise and maintain a sufficient number of Regulars to carry on the war is a question. That it would be burdensome is undoubted, yet it is perhaps as certain that no possible mode of carrying it on can be so expensive to the public, so distressing and disgusting to individuals, as the militia.

"Light Horse Harry" Lee wrote:

> A government is the murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught, where they are to meet men of the same age and strength, mechanized by education and discipline for battle.

It is not necessary to dwell further upon the evils of the volunteer system during the Revolution, which prolonged for eight years a war which should have been determined in eight months.

The War of 1812 was so attended by blunders and humiliations that a review of its history can not fail to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of the patriotic American.

In October, 1812, a body of troops, less than 1,000 in number, crossed the St. Lawrence River to attack a British force. An engagement took place, which would have resulted in a victory for the Americans had the militia on the New York side of the

river crossed to their aid. What was the result? Let McMaster, the historian, tell the story:

No sooner did the militia behold a real battle, no sooner did they see the dead brought back in the boats and hear the groans of the wounded, than fear overcame them and they refused to cross. Soldiers who the day before were clamorous to be brought face to face with what they called the British hirelings now stood on their constitutional rights and refused to help their countrymen. They were, they said, militia, and the only services for which the militia could be called out were to uphold the laws, to put down insurrection, to repel invasion. The Constitution did not give the President power to send them out of the United States, and they would not go.

Holding such views, they stood quietly on the American side, saw the British gather in force and march up the hill, saw their countrymen, overwhelmed by numbers, driven back foot by foot to the edge of the cliff and down the side of the river bank, where, as no one would row a boat across, the little band of 600 threw down their arms and surrendered. With them were captured some 300 skulkers and cowards, who had been crouching at the river edge all day.

Concerning the lamentable happenings in and about Washington in 1813 we need say little. It is a black page in American history. The Volunteer Army defending the city was routed with a loss of only 8 killed and 11 wounded. The Capitol was destroyed and the White House was sacked. The invading forces, it is said, comprised only 1,500 British troops.

So much for the "efficiency" of the volunteer system in the War of 1812!

Concerning the War with Mexico, let us quote from a modern writer, who, after commenting upon some early successes of our arms, says:

About one month later at Pueblo, his [Gen. Scott's] progress came to a sudden halt because the terms of enlistment of 7 out of his 11 best regiments were on the eve of expiring, and Scott discovered that most of the men intended to exercise the alternative offered to them upon enlistment, and to terminate their services at the end of 12 months. In the midst of a hostile country and only three days march from the capital, with virtually no enemy to oppose him, Scott was unable to budge for more than three months until he had been joined by reinforcements—all of them raw by comparison with the troops which had left him. For three months his situation was very precarious, and it was only good luck that averted a calamity. When he did fight his way into Mexico, in August, 1847, it was at a loss for which there was no justification.

Certain proponents of the volunteer system have said, and still others will say, that the Mexican War was mainly won by volunteers. This is quite true. Yet the system failed in the crisis I have indicated.

During the Civil War the inadequacy of the volunteer system was exhibited in a startling manner, especially during the early stages of the struggle. The first Battle of Bull Run demonstrated the futility of compelling raw recruits to undergo a baptism of blood. As one writer, a Northern man, says:

As a result of this battle the South was demoralized by victory and the North by defeat, and nothing further of importance occurred that year, notwithstanding that there were 437,105 more Federal troops under arms than Confederates.

A former Secretary of War, Luke E. Wright, in an address some time ago, said:

The fact is that the Confederacy in our Civil War thought that they would lick the Yankees in just a year. They gave themselves ample margin, and so they enlisted their men for 12 months. The 12 months expired and they were mistaken, woefully so; and thereupon by a conscription act all of those 12 months' men were simply blanketed into the army for the rest of war.

The Federals only gave themselves 90 days days to finish the Rebellion, and they went upon the idea of voluntary service; but at the end of 12 months they seemed to be no nearer than they were at the beginning. They had to reorganize their whole system. Then they began a system of bounties, and finally went to the system of drafting or conscription.

The occurrences of our last war, that with Spain, are familiar to all present-day Americans.

The muddling which characterized the recruiting of the volunteer army hurriedly mobilized in the spring of 1898 is ineffaceably stamped upon the memories of us all. Such a breakdown in every direction, including the Quartermaster's, the Commissary, the Ordnance, and the Medical Departments, was never before known in the annals of warfare.

The men who volunteered were brave men, patriotic men, enthusiastic men, full of the spirit of service and devoted to the sublimest ideals of citizenship.

But they were not soldiers. Many of them were office clerks, salesmen, factory operatives, raw, green, soft, thoroughly undisciplined, absolutely lacking in all the essentials of army training, ignorant of the simplest principles of hygiene and sanitation, hurriedly rushed to the front, poorly equipped and trained. And what was the result?

Is it necessary to ask? Is there any American who has not heard of the horrors of Montauk Point, of Chattanooga, of Tampa, and of the other great camps, where scores of fine young Americans, filled with an enthusiasm that was glorious, were stricken down with typhoid and other dread scourges, martyrs to a system of inefficiency?

I had some experience in the Spanish-American War with the volunteer system. I observed also the result obtained from our small Army of Regular troops, so striking in contrast both as to self-care and efficiency. I saw men of the Volunteers die by the score—brave men, useful men—whose lives could have been saved had they been safeguarded by a proper system of preparedness. I saw the best men volunteer. I saw and knew of these men broken in health because they were sent away too soon and did not receive proper food or proper care.

I saw political pull exercised to secure positions for men physically unfit and mentally unprepared to be sent to the front. I saw them receive the pay of colonels and majors—yes; of generals—while men of the Regular Army, soldiers bearing the scars of Indian battles in the conquering of the West, humbly submitted to orders and failed to rise above a captain's pay, although they had waited a lifetime for well-earned promotion.

And who was responsible for the entire failure of every phase of the mobilization program of 1898? Who was responsible for the chaos which prevailed? Who was responsible for not the comedy but the tragedy of errors which marked and marred every stage of the conduct of the war?

I remember quite distinctly that Senators upon this floor, and many gentlemen of the other House, were vigorous in their denunciations of the then Secretary of War, Gen. Alger, because, forsooth, he was not a miracle worker and failed to achieve the impossible.

Did the consciences of those men smite them, that they sought to place unmerited blame on the shoulders of the War Department's head? Did they not, down deep in their hearts, recognize what every student and writer of American history knew only too well, that it was Congress and Congress alone which, because of neglect and indifference, had permitted the country to be hurled suddenly into war, without adequate equipment for such an awful contingency?

What a catalogue of inefficiency and disaster, covering the entire period of the Nation's war history, from 1775 to 1898.

It is idle to do more than mention incidentally Great Britain's distressing experience during the early stages of the present war. Let me quote briefly from a gallant young American, Eric Fisher Wood, who, according to a recent news item, now lies in an English hospital suffering from wounds received in the recent great struggle about Arras. Addressing a Washington audience a year ago, Mr. Wood said:

Military experts agree that at the commencement of the present war the British territorial battalions were superior to our own militia regiments. They had certainly received the equivalent of more than four months' training. And yet, in spite of the desperate need of reenforcements in Flanders, no territorial battalion could be fitted to withstand the test of fire until it had received eight months' additional training. The first territorial battalion to see service did not do so until it had spent eight months in a training camp.

Mr. Wood wisely added:

Troops which have received less than one year's training are worse than useless. Their addition to a weak army only tends to make that army weaker. I repeat that it is axiomatic that troops can not be made fit for battle unless they receive more than one year of training.

The volunteer system was given a splendid test in Great Britain. After an extraordinary campaign, unparalleled in the history of the world, a considerable army was raised, but eventually a resort to conscription was found to be imperative in order to mobilize the supreme strength of the Empire against the despotic Governments of central Europe.

A remarkably illuminative picture, exhibiting the respective merits of the two military systems—the regular army and the militia—as they existed in Belgium at the beginning of the war, was shown in an address delivered in this city by Capt. Granville Fortesque, of the United States Army, as follows:

I saw the defense of Liege. I saw the ninth regiment of the line and the fourteenth regiment of the line, men who fought like lions against tremendous odds, who stood up to the last minute, giving every ounce of fight that there was in them, because they were trained and disciplined fighters, and I do not hesitate to say that it was the force developed in those trained and disciplined fighters that saved France. You all know the heroic defense of Liege. I do not have to recount the stories of splendid heroism; how they went back only foot after foot when pressed by enormous artillery superiority.

Now I am going to show you another picture. From Brussels I went down through the valley of the Meuse to Namur. The same kind of men—they were Belgians—were entrusted with the defense of Namur. When I went there dozens of officers were sitting out in front of the cafes. On inquiry I found out that these were more or less irregular troops, gardes civique and others, who had not yet come under the regular service discipline.

What happened? Two hours and a quarter after the first German gun was fired at Namur the city was surrendered. Why was not the defense at Namur as efficient and as effective as the defense of Liege? Simply because there you had militia forces operating and not the trained and disciplined regular forces of the Belgian Army.

What more can a reasonable man, a reasoning man, ask? Emblazoned upon the pages of history, in letters of undying light, so that he who runs may read, are found innumerable evidences of the failure of the volunteer system.

With history presenting so powerful, so unanswerable, an argument in favor of a regular army, supplemented by com-

pulsory training and service, what have we, the opponents of the latter system, to present? They tell us that compulsion in our military system is an innovation. How amazingly inaccurate! In the earliest period of colonial history, in nearly every Province, the trainband system was introduced by legislative enactment. Compulsory training was exacted, and failure to report for duty on training day was punishable by fine. Wherever, as happened in some Colonies, war came, compulsory service followed compulsory training. Such, we know, was the system in Massachusetts and the other New England Colonies from their very foundation. In the first-named Colony it was provided "that every person, with certain specified exceptions, above the age of 16 is required to serve in a military capacity."

So, too, in my own State, New Jersey, in 1668 the general assembly passed an act providing for compulsory military training of all men between the ages of 16 and 60 years, and imposing fines for failure to report on mustering day. Furthermore, in 1675 another act was passed, whose opening clause was as follows:

> Forasmuch as it is requisite of necessity amongst all men to be in a posture of defense against enemies or dangers that may accrue, and especially we being invited hereunto by the insolence and outrages of the heathens in our neighboring colonies, not knowing how soon we may be surprised.

There was an illustration of preparedness which I would commend to my fellow countrymen at the present time.

I am happy to state that throughout its entire colonial history there was never a drop of blood shed in actual warfare upon New Jersey soil. Had war come, as in Massachusetts, then compulsory training would have been followed by compulsory service.

In the Province on the opposite side of the Delaware, founded by the great Quaker, Penn, the colonial legislature refused, for over half a century, to pass a military defense law.

As early as 1689, during a war scare, the provincial council, composed almost entirely of pacifists, refused to equip a military force.

There came a time when Pennsylvania was ravaged by the Indians, and men, women and children were scalped, homes were burned, crops were destroyed, and cattle were stolen. The once-peaceful land of Penn was swept by fire and deluged with blood, because no provision had been made for the training of her citizens.

Surely no one familiar with American history, early American history, will suggest that the compulsory element in military service is an innovation. In this connection, however, I am compelled to make a confession. The trainband compulsory service law was rigidly adhered to in the early history in the Colonies, or certain of them. However, human nature in the eighteenth century was very much like that of the twentieth century. There came a time when, menacing war clouds having disappeared from the sky for a time, men grew lax in their conceptions of public duty and public service. Then the compulsory-training act became practically a dead letter.

What was the result? When the War for Independence suddenly burst upon the world in 1775 the Colonies were altogether unprepared, and independence was secured only after a vast sacrifice in blood and treasure.

The criticism most frequently heard from the lips of those opposed to conscription is that the system is undemocratic. As a matter of fact, it is the very essence of democracy, which is defined as "political and social equality in general."

That nation alone enjoys pure democracy where every citizen demands equal rights and equal privileges with every other citizen. On the other hand, that nation alone enjoys pure democracy which requires equal obligations and equal duties from each of its citizens, without regard to race, color, environment, wealth, or social position.

Lincoln declared that no nation could survive which was half slave and half free. If living to-day, with this stupendous crisis facing him, he would be the first to declare that neither this nor any other people could maintain its prestige, honor and solidarity, if one-half were patriots and one-half were evaders.

A strange democracy, indeed, is that which is willing to have its battles fought alone by the enthusiastic, impulsive, red-blooded men of the Nation who volunteer their services, while a vast majority of its citizens, endowed with no such spirit of duty and sacrifice, slink and cower in the rear, far removed from even the smell of burnt powder.

A distinguished Senator said upon this floor a day or two ago, that the words "conscript" and "convict" might have a similarity in this connection.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS. If the Senator will permit me—I think he is referring to me—I gave what I understood to have been a statement of another, and with the comment that there was in this country, in my opinion, a sort of feeling that justified it. I did not myself draw the comparison.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I understood that the Senator from Colorado quoted from another.

I find no such definition given to the word "conscript" in any standard dictionary. The Century defines it, used as an adjective, as "registered; enrolled." Employed as a noun, it simply means "one who is compulsorily enrolled for military or naval service."

There is nothing there to suggest prison stripes or a convict's cell. There is no taint or ignominy in the word "conscript" when properly employed.

If the Senator will cross the seas in imagination—he will thus be safe from German submarines—he will see a wonderfully inspiring sight "somewhere in France"—a magnificent army, whose deeds will uplift and inspire the souls of this and future generations, all of them "conscripts." I doubt if anyone would presume to designate these valiant compatriots of Lafayette as "convicts."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. May I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Notwithstanding the fact that the compulsory system has been in vogue, as the Senator from New Jersey very properly says, since the earliest colonial days, the word "conscript" never was used in connection with the military system until 1798, and then it was based upon the plan of army organization which was reported to the French Assembly by Gen. Jourdan, who had had the matter assigned to him to work out a system under which Napoleon operated.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The Senator is, of course, familiar with the term "conscript fathers," a common rendering of the Latin phrase "patres conscripti" used in addressing the Senate of ancient Rome. Senators were of two classes, we are told, patres, "fathers," or patrician nobles, and conscripti, or those "elected" from the equestrian orders. Whether the "conscript" Senate of the Romans was better than the "volunteer" Senate of America is an academic proposition which I will not discuss in this connection. I might add, however, in passing that it does not seem necessary to resort to "compulsory service" in order to find men to sit in this honorable body.

From the opponents of conscription we hear the doleful cry that a resort to it is a step toward "militarism"; some say a step toward "imperialism."

Does not "militarism" come from the top and not from the bottom; from a despot and not from a free people? "Militarism" is the natural correlative of autocracy. Universal service is the essence of democracy and thus the antithisis of militarism, which by reason of universal readiness will be made impossible in our own land and wiped out of existence as a dominating influence in the world at large.

One of the finest expressions of opinion concerning universal service is that from the pen of Dr. David Jayne Hill, former ambassador to Germany, who says:

> No true American desires "militarism" in the United States, and it is to be hoped that we shall never become its victim. It is not in the character and temper of our people to permit it either from without or from within.
>
> But it is in no respect a drift toward "militarism" to say that every able-bodied young man in our country should first be well instructed in the meaning and value of our free institutions and taught a wholesome respect for civil authority, and then be impressed with the privilege and obligation of a full preparation of mind and body to defend them.
>
> A resolute determination to do this would not only cause any power to reflect long before it would disregard the rights of American citizens, but it would elevate and ennoble the tone of the present and the coming generations of American youth. Wholly apart from any danger on land or sea we need the ethical influence of an enlightened patriotism.
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> Once properly apprehended, the inspiration of national security and American defense would act like a tonic upon our whole people. For years we have been preaching the necessity of performing the dull duties of voting and paying taxes, with the result that we have found little exhilaration in either of them. But why not make every young man feel that he is, in truth, a part of the country and leave with him the sweet memory that he has really served it by fitting himself to be its defender?

Other opponents of conscription say it is unpopular. In granting that I beg to add that war, also, is unpopular but imperative when a nation is compelled to choose between that and German domination.

Never was warfare so unpopular as now—especially the intensified brand of warfare introduced by the archmaniac of Europe which disregards not only international law but all the fundamental laws of humanity as well.

We are not considering questions of popularity but the fundamental questions of national life and its preservation. We are not striving for applause but endeavoring to preserve to future generations the benefits of civilization. If there is any American in public life who is considering only those things which are popular, his sense of duty must be horizoned by the confines of his own immediate constituency.

I have heard the question asked upon this floor, "What is the difference between universal training and universal service on the one hand and 'selective conscription' on the other?" One distinguished Senator, for whom I have a very high regard, in raising this question has said that he is in favor of the former but is not clear in his mind that he can support the pending measure. The question is a very simple one and can be simply answered. Academically there may be a difference in the two terms; in effect, there is but a single difference. The bill for universal training, which I most emphatically favor, will prepare us for some future war. This measure will so equip us that we may participate in this war, and thus perform our duty as a civilized nation in the pending struggle against barbarism.

I make bold to assert that had we a universal training and service measure upon our statute books, and in operation for a year or more, we would now have no necessity for a conscription bill. Because of the failure of past Congresses to make proper provision for such an emergency as this we are compelled to resort to the measure now before the Senate, which, it should be noted, authorizes the President "to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."

Another measure, either the so-called Chamberlain bill, or something along the same line, must follow the enactment of the bill now under consideration to furnish a permanent system of national defense.

The words "universal" and "compulsory" are, in effect, so far as the present question is concerned, identical, for universal training and service can only be secured by compulsion. Theoretically such is not the case. Practically it is.

If the truth were told, the main objection to "conscription" is to the word itself. The term "compulsory military service" has no more terrors for me than compulsory taxation or compulsory education, against the latter of which there was a general and vigorous protest when the system was originally suggested not so many years ago.

The issue before the Senate to-day is whether we shall have a uniform "draft" of all men between 19 and 25 years of age to raise 500,000 men for a national army, under the plan worked out by the Commander in Chief and the Secretary of War, or whether this Congress shall insist that the country adopt a plan to call for 500,000 volunteers in opposition to the best judgment of those who have studied the problem and believe the "draft" system is the only safe one to apply at this time.

There have been many opinions expressed. One has been that if we impose the "draft" system we might face a revolution. If this Government has become so weak that it can not enforce its own authority, it is time for us to know it.

I have had numerous young men say in my own State, where the volunteers are slow in enlisting—it costing, as I am told, about $100 to get a single recruit—"I want my Government to tell me to go. I am willing to go, but I want to know that the other fellow is called, too."

Former President Roosevelt, who may be recognized as the father of the preparedness propaganda, says:

> Military service should no more be optional in a democracy than should the payment of taxes. One should be accepted as an obligation just as much as the other * * *. Military training should be recognized as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor with all our citizens. In a free democracy the nation has a right to the services of its citizens both in war and in peace.

Former President Taft, who prior to entering the White House had served at the head of the War Department, has repeatedly declared his belief that only by a resort to compulsory military service could the perpetuity of the Republic be insured.

Another former Secretary of War, Luke E. Wright, has thus expressed himself:

> The fact is that the volunteer is not a reliable soldier, and any people that leans upon him leans upon a broken reed. * * * That system is a failure. It is wrong in principle and it is bad in practice. No people have been able to fight a long-continued war, to endure a strain upon all their resources under the volunteer system.

Still another able Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, in a recent magazine article, says:

> The volunteer system has become obsolete, not only because modern war has grown to such gigantic dimensions that the necessary force will not be obtained by volunteering, but even more clearly because, with the growth of democracy, the unfairness and injustice of such a system has become increasingly apparent.

The senior commanding officer of our Army, Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, has thus presented his views:

> The volunteer spirit is splendid, but the volunteer system is absolutely insecure. It is false. Analyze the country's military history and it will be seen that it was because of the volunteer system that our wars lasted so long.

Mr. President, an army to be efficient must be of one mind, and that mind the commander in chief's; otherwise it will not have morale and spirit. An army to be effective must be a machine.

We are fighting the most efficient army in existence. If Germany conquers in this war, she conquers the world. No other nation of strength remains to stop her supremacy, and her long-known and cherished ambition to attain the hegemony of the world will be accomplished, and your children and mine will be brought up under Prussian philosophy, and the world will go back to the Dark Ages in compliance with a Hohenzollern policy.

Let us not commit the unpardonable blunder of building upon the fact that this Nation has in the final analysis emerged victor in her several wars.

This is not a war with Mexico. This is not a war with Spain. This is not a war with an effete, decadent nation, lacking in virility and sunk into a state of desuetude. This is not a war where any nation can muddle through.

This struggle, which destiny and not choice has compelled us to engage in, is fought against the most brutal foe the world has ever produced. He has insidiously, relentlessly planned it for decades, while the balance of the world slept, utilizing all the physical and mental forces of a war-mad dynasty, and we are face to face with a proposition, a condition, that is appalling.

"Old things have passed away; all things have become new." This is particularly so of modern warfare. It is worse than idle to suggest that America's participation in this struggle of the ages should be predicated upon anything we have done in past wars.

We must exercise the highest degree of efficiency. We must put every ounce of our national character into the scale. We must mobilize every fiber of our being. There must be a coordination of all our assets—spiritual, intellectual, and physical. Only thus may we expect to be a real factor in evolving order from the chaos which now envelops the world and to bring about a peace that shall endure.

Do not let us trifle with the eternal verities when the earth is aflame. Let us not falter and dawdle. Let us not depend upon theories which have been long since exploded, or systems that have always failed. In a word, let us give America at once that plan of military action now employed by every one of the European belligerents, compulsory service; without which our efforts will be futile and our aid to our allies pitifully inadequate.

Why should we, Mr. President and Senators, set our opinions against the absolutely unanimous judgment of the military world? Our President, the Commander in Chief of our Army, has strongly urged nondependence upon the volunteer system. So have former Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. So has the present Secretary of War. So have four of his predecessors, Lindley M. Garrison, Elihu Root, Henry L. Stimson, and Luke E. Wright. So has the senior major general, Leonard Wood. So have the General Staff officers of the Army.

If the technical judgments of these men are to be ignored and the opinions of laymen are to be accepted, why not abolish the War College and wipe West Point out of existence?

An able officer of our Regular Army has said:

> I ask of you not to confound valor with effectiveness.

Few men are heroic or even brave by instinct. It is the nature of man to shrink from danger and death. The soldierly quality is not congenital. The man-at-arms, unlike the poet, is not born. He is the creature of man's handiwork pure and simple.

To fit a body of men to face the bayonet, the machine gun, or the gas bomb requires something more than abstract courage. It is only by a tedious process of welding, molding, and pounding into a state of perfect discipline that soldiers are made.

An hour's maneuvering in an armory each week, a few days spent in a camp each summer, these do not make a soldier. The mills of the military gods grind slowly and the finished product comes only as the result of a laborious, strenuous, crucial process. The weaklings fall by the wayside, the fit survive.

The Cincinnatus of apocryphal history is an interesting figure to ponder upon, yet no man need question what his fate would be as a participant in twentieth century warfare. The "Minute Men of '76" would survive about a minute in the trenches before Verdun or on the bloodly slopes of St. Quentin.

Frequently have I heard it said within the past few days: "Let us try the volunteer system, and then if that proves a failure we can resort to conscription."

Was there ever a suggestion more amazing, more delusive?

Try the volunteer system! Have not we Americans tried it for nearly a century and a half, and always at a frightful cost? Did not the British try it for nearly two years and then abandon it to save the nation from annihilation?

Do not men know that procrastination is not only the thief of time but the thief of opportunity as well—opportunity that may never return?

At a time like the present, when dynasties are toppling and the crushing and crashing of nations go on about us, can we afford to procrastinate, to temporize, to fritter away precious days "trying" systems and policies which have always failed and always will fail?

"Try the volunteer system," indeed! If we resort again to that obsolete program, and then at the end of a year start in to inaugurate the compulsory system the war will be over without the firing of an American gun. Either we will be vassals of Prussianism or the laughingstock of the civilized world, for in vain will have been uttered the inspiring appeal of America's present-day Peter the Hermit, who said:

> Let us pay with our bodies for our soul's desire. Let us without one hour's unnecessary delay put the American flag on the battle front in this great world war for democracy and civilization and for the reign of justice and fair dealing among the nations of mankind.

In carrying out the military program of our Government, we are not preparing for the present alone. We do not merely aim to aid in bringing to an end this Hohenzollern-inspired war. We are laying the foundations for all future contingencies, for any recrudescence of savagery which may seek to disrupt the social fabric of society and shackle the civilized world.

Lend no ear to that blind sentimentalist who predicts that there will be no more wars—the same disciple of pacifism and passivity who, in the spring of 1914, uttered the same prophecy.

In spite of the fact that she was a victor in 1871, Germany's memory was long and she struck again in 1914. Her memory will be equally long in the case of the United States. For a time, if defeated now, she will sing her hymn of hate in a minor key, but she will sing it just the same. Then, when least expected she will cry "Gott strafe America!" And the blow will fall. Let us be ready.

In closing my remarks, Mr. President, I want to call upon my colleagues and the Nation at large to conduct this war upon the high plane and for the sublime purposes enunciated in a speech recently delivered by the greatest of living Englishmen, Lloyd-George, who said:

"We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable and too indulgent, many, perhaps, too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the everlasting things that matter for a nation—the great peaks we have forgotten of honor, duty, patriotism, and, clad in glittering white, the towering pinnacle of sacrifice, pointing like a rugged finger to heaven.

"We shall descend into the valley again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of these mighty peaks whose foundations are not shaken, though Europe and even the whole world rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I voted for the resolution declaring war on Germany, and I believe I voted right. I voted for the bond issue to prosecute that war, and I believe that was a right vote, and before we get through with this bill I am going to vote for a measure that will prosecute this war to the best of this Nation's ability.

Germany had sunk our ships and drowned our citizens. She had taken away our rights on the high seas. She had even joined or tried to join with other nations in forming an alliance to overrun our country and divide up our territory between them. Under these circumstances, Mr. President, no American, in my judgment, could take any other course than to vote for war against this Nation that had so disregarded our rights.

I despise German militarism. Indeed, I go further than that and I say that I despise militarism wherever it may be. It has no place in a free country. I admire the German people, but I believe that the German Kaiser is the greatest criminal on the face of the earth to-day. I hope the Hohenzollern dynasty will go down, and go down forever, in this conflict. I have no sympathy with the dynasty nor with the head of it, and I want to wage this war in the quickest way to rid the world of this despot.

Holding these views, the question arises, What shall be the course of this country in organizing an army to fight Germany? The majority of the committee of which I happen to be a member has brought in a report recommending what is commonly called the selective draft plan—not universal service, not universal training, but a selective draft of a comparatively few of our citizens; not a plan that takes in all men of military age and imposes the military burdens equally, but a plan that takes in the boys of our country and seeks to have us wage war against this great German nation of trained and seasoned fighters with boys between 19 and 25 years of age.

Let us see for a moment what the bill does and how these boys are obtained. In the first place, the Secretary of War tells us that under the terms of this bill we can not begin to organize until the 1st of next August, and it may be September or October before the arrangements are completed; and then it will take from 10 to 12 months to train our troops. Next August is a long time off, gentlemen of the Senate. What are we to do between now and then to prepare our country for this great conflict that we have undertaken?

Well, as testified to by the Secretary, we begin, after the passage of the bill, to enumerate these boys between 19 and 25. We have got to prepare rules and regulations to enumerate them, and then send out to every county and precinct in the United States and get them enrolled, and then, when we get them enrolled, there will be about 6,000,000 of them, it is estimated—about a million to the year. When we get the 6,000,000, what is the next step? Why, we have to assort out the fit from the unfit. It is estimated that 42 per cent are physically unfit and 58 per cent are good for service. In round numbers, that will leave about 3,500,000 men that are selected in the first instance; and then we have got to appoint other officers of the Government to pass upon exemptions. We have a long list of exemptions in this bill, many exemptions, and the general estimate is that probably 500,000 of these boys will be eliminated by the exemptions in the bill, and that will leave us the 3,000,000 men out of whom to get the first 500,000 under the terms of the bill.

How are we going to get them? By selective conscription. Imagine for a moment how this will work. The President does not select. The Secretary of War does not select. Some Army officer selects which one of the six he will take in each community in order to get the 500,000. You gentlemen who have been talking and believing, and honestly believing in universal service, in putting the burden of the defense of the country upon all of the people, can you not see what a small body it finally falls on? The whole burden is put upon less than 3 per cent of our population to carry on this war, and they are boys, under the terms of this bill, a large portion of whom are not old enough to make a contract! These boys are not even citizens.

That is what this bill does unamended. It is not universal service at all; it is partial service. And did you ever stop to think that that might be the reason why it is quite popular in some quarters? There are many people in this country who would like to see the burden put on the other fellow, and no doubt there are great numbers of the 97,000,000 of our population that are easily content to let one-sixth of the 3,000,000 boys do our fighting for us by selection—selective conscription—under the terms of this bill.

You may say, after that exposition of it, "Why are you going to vote for it, then?" I am going to vote for it on two grounds. One is that I believe we will get the men, and we have got to have the men. We are in this war, and we have got to fight it. The other one is that under the terms of this bill the whole machine goes out at the end of the war. Those are the grounds on which I am going to support this bill, with an amendment for volunteers at first, if it is possible to get it put on here.

With that general statement as to the provisions of the bill, it is a question for this Senate, for this Congress. If you want to adopt the most partial system that it is possible for you to adopt, vote down all amendments and put the burden of this war on the 3,000,000 young men, 500,000 of them going out in the first instance, and then selecting 500,000 more from time to time as the days roll by.

Some say, "Why, this eliminates politics." Can we be told that? Why, Senators, do you not know that when they come to select one out of the six in each of our States, every kind of political influence is going to be brought to bear to have this man or that man excused out of the six in each instance? And we are going to do it, too. In my judgment, it is a question of whether you want to adopt the most partial and unfair system, or whether you are willing that the burdens of the defense of our country may fall on as many of our citizens as possible.

Now, I want to read for just a moment my amendment. It is very simple. I do not change the wording of this bill at all.

It does not interfere with any provision of it. It does not delay it a moment. It goes right along; but I just add as a separate section, on page 2 of the bill, this:

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to raise 500,000 volunteers under the provisions of "An act to provide for the raising of the volunteer forces of the United States in times of actual or threatened war," approved April 25, 1914, in so far as the same is not inconsistent with the terms of this act; and he shall immediately call out and train 500,000 volunteers. Should that number not enlist within 90 days, all deficiencies shall be secured by draft as herein provided.

Is that a good amendment? The Senate said so on March 3, 1914, just three years ago. The distinguished chairman of our committee brought in a report on the volunteer bill three years ago in February, in which he said that the volunteer bill that we put on the statute books then was approved by all of the expert military authorities in our country. All of them were for it then, and yet three years pass by, and now all of those same experts, we are told, are against it. I have been much interested in some of the statements made by the distinguished Senator when reporting the bill in 1914. In this present report very considerable argument has been raised about the volunteer system; that it has been a failure; that it is undemocratic; that it is ineffective in our country and in others, and yet, just three years ago, on February 20, 1914, Senator CHAMBERLAIN said as to this volunteer system which afterwards became the law, and which he now decries, as follows:

The legislation now proposed (the volunteer legislation) has received the approval of the military authorities and has been pending in various forms before Congress for the last seven years. It has been urgently recommended by every Secretary of War since the incumbency of Mr. Root. Its general purpose is to provide for a complete organization of any force of volunteers that may hereafter be called out, whether that force be a single regiment or an army of a million men. It harmonizes with the militia organization under the Dick bill, and with the existing laws governing the Regular Army. It is elastic and flexible in that the organization of the volunteer forces is to conform to that of the Regular Army, future changes in the latter automatically carrying corresponding changes in the former, as is now prescribed by law for the militia.

This bill was duly passed by the Senate by unanimous vote and received the approval of President Wilson on April 25, 1914, just three years ago. And yet this law that was put upon the statute books under a favorable report of the distinguished Senator from Oregon is now declared wholly ineffective, useless, and of no value. I voted for that bill believing that it was a good bill at the time, and believe it is a good bill now and that it ought to be used. Now let us see what my amendment does. It simply calls out 500,000 volunteers, and they have to enlist before August 1 if the bill passes by May 1, or perhaps earlier if the bill passes earlier. How is that going to hurt or interfere with the terms of this bill? Not at all, because it does not interfere with a line of it. They can go right along with their enumeration, right along with their process of selection and exclusion and exemption. It does not change a word or a line. It does not delay it a moment; but what does it do in the meantime? Why, unless I am greatly mistaken in American citizens, it will give us an army which will be training in the various mobilization camps of the United States in less than 30 days.

When have Americans not come forward at a time of crisis like this? They have always volunteered. When have they become so degenerate that they are not willing voluntarily to fight for their country? Is it possible that we can believe that the sons of men who fought in the Civil War on both sides, or the sons of men who fought in the Spanish War, have become so degenerate that they will not fight for their country in a crisis like this? I do not believe it, and I have no sympathy with that idea. But let us see for a moment.

Mr. WEEKS rose.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator excuse me for just a few moments?

Mr. WEEKS. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have a line of thought, and I shall be glad to answer any questions just a little later. I am a new Member here, and I shall appreciate it very much.

What happens? Why, they say: "If we have this volunteer system, we can not have trained men." Is it any harder to train volunteers than to train conscripts? I do not want to send abroad or anywhere else, to fight, men who are not trained, and there is no purpose here to do it. We are in this fight, and my belief is that we ought to begin, and begin at once, to prepare our Army to win this fight.

You can not win a fight and put off for three months the beginning of your organizing. That is no way to fight. Why, Germany will think we do not mean what we say when we only begin to enumerate and count up our forces. Ah, but let them begin to organize and train in the field, and you will find that it will be the greatest object lesson that could possibly be given Germany in this conflict.

Well, now, I say, time is of the essence of this thing. We want an army, and we want it at the earliest possible moment, and we want men drilling in the field at the earliest possible moment. I say that if you adopt this amendment that I have offered, under the terms of the act as it stands to-day you will have an army of 500,000 men actually drilling by August 1, the very first date upon which the draft plan can even be started.

What is the objection? Why, the first objection is that under the volunteer plan you can not get the officers. Let us see about that.

For 500,000 men it will take 18,538 officers. We have not got them. Under the volunteer plan we have got to get them from the body of the country. When we come to the conscript plan we have got even fewer, because we cut off our real material. Under the conscript plan what have we got? Why, they say: "If you adopt the volunteer plan it will make the selection of the officers political." There can not be any greater mistake than that. The President appoints every officer under the volunteer plan, just as he appoints every officer under the conscript plan. There is no difference in the law as to the one or the other. But what is the real difference? The real difference is that we have got, among the body of the people men who have been educated in military schools, men who have seen service in the Spanish-American War, men who have seen service in the Regular Army, men who have seen service as officers in the National Guard but now do not belong to it, men who have seen service at Plattsburg, and you can not get them. They are practically eliminated under the terms of this bill unamended.

But how are you going to get the officers for the conscript plan? Well, the plan is this: They say they have a Reserve Officers' Corps, and they have got 8,000 men on it. That is true. I doubt if there is a Member of this body who has not put a few officers in that corps. You know how it is done. A young man writes to you and says he wants to join that corps. He has heard about this conscription, and he wants to go in as an officer rather than as a conscript; and I do not blame him. He gets three of his friends to give him a certificate of good character, and then he tells the department whether he has ever had any military experience and whether he has been at a military school a year, or whether he has been at Plattsburg; and if he has the right kind of backing and can stand a limited examination, he goes in on the Officers' Reserve Corps; and that is the kind of officers they are going to have under the conscript plan.

In addition to that, they are going to establish camps all over the country, at various places in the country, to train these officers. With troops? Oh, no. Actual training? Oh, no. What kind of training are they going to get? Well, they are going to be given an academic training by Army officers—good training, no doubt; but what is the best kind of training? It is where the officers are trained with troops.

What will happen under the volunteer plan if we get it? Why, under the volunteer plan, if we get it, men who have served as officers in the Spanish-American War, men who stand well in their community and whose friends are willing to go to war with them, men who are willing to trust themselves to officers who are more or less experienced, will select these officers in the first instance, and they can be weeded out by the War Department if they are not of the right kind. But at all events, I say that these officers who have had experience, who have had training, who have seen service, many of them, are far more effective officers than the young men that we are putting into the Army Officers' Reserve Corps; and that is what you have to decide on that proposition.

Senators, you are asked to decide upon these two plans. Either take them both together or exclude the volunteer plan; and when you exclude the volunteer plan, what do you do? Well, let us see what we do.

In the first place, every man over 25 years of age who has served in the Regular Army will be excluded under this plan. He can not go to this war. He might desire to volunteer; he might desire to be a noncommissioned officer and go with a whole battalion or regiment; but, "No; you are excluded. We are going to put in conscripts instead." That is one of the military assets of our country. We have spent large sums in paying some of them retired pay; we have spent large sums upon these men in the past to use them in the event of a crisis just such as we have now; and yet under the plan as proposed, unamended, you would throw away that military asset.

And here we have had the National Guard for years.

We have spent many millions of dollars to build up the National Guard, and it may be misspent and it is misspent, as

Senator WILLIAMS says to me on the side, if you throw it away. They have been trained. They are one of the military assets of this country that this bill discards. All members of the National Guard over 25 years of age, and it is those men who volunteered and went to the Spanish War, many of them good soldiers and many of them who would be glad to go again, but being over 25 years of age now, there is another military asset gone.

In the next place, we have been assisting for 40 years, through military colleges known as land-grant colleges and a number of other military colleges lately, to educate and train these young men in the colleges. It is estimated, and I think very correctly, that there are at least 400,000 of these young men who have been trained in colleges who are over 25 years of age.

Every one of the 400,000, trained at the expense of the National Government in part, is excluded from going into this war by the terms of the pending bill.

Lately, as you all know, we have spent two or three million dollars—I believe we appropriated $3,500,000 the other day—for training camps throughout the country at which men between 19 and 45 were to be trained, as I recall it. We are training about 50,000 of them a year—we have been for two or three years—nine-tenths or more of whom are over 25 years of age. That is another of the military assets of our country. They can not come in under this plan if they are over 25. They might want to go to this war; they might want to fight for their country. It is just probable that some of them might be patriotic. They inherited some patriotism from their forefathers. It is just possible they may not all be like those in New Jersey, if my distinguished friend from that State is correct about the statement he made concerning his own State or his own young men. But they are cut out. They can not go, however patriotic, however courageous, however available they may be.

There are five distinct military assets of this country that the Government has spent money to train, and they are just frankly laid aside and left out of this bill. For what reason? I do not know what the reasons are. I can easily see that the plans proposed here of selective conscription have some claims to popularity. I think a selective draft of the Senate by which 3 per cent of it was forced to go to the front and fight in this war would be pretty popular with the other 97 per cent.

Mr. THOMAS. After the selection was made.

Mr. McKELLAR. After the selection was made, especially; but if you arrange the method of selection to begin with and let it only apply to 3—as I believe there are 3 gentlemen in the Senate under 40 years of age—if such a law were passed, if such a thing were possible, that those under 40 should go to the front and fight for their country, I do not believe the other 93 would have any very great trouble in agreeing to an act like that.

Mr. STONE. It would be a good example.

Mr. McKELLAR. It would be a fine example, but pretty hard on the three and unfair as a policy.

Now, further, I want to talk about some objections which have been raised to the volunteer amendment. Some say we can not have a plan like this because it is part volunteer and part conscript. That is true. We have got that right now, have we not? Of course I am a new man here, and I have not exactly learned as yet the methods by which we reach conclusions in this body, but I have been struck with one thing, that gentlemen rise in their places, inveigh against the volunteer system in one breath, and in the next breath they are telling what a splendid volunteer system we have already in this act. Some one said we can get 300,000 more volunteers under this act, another gentleman said 400,000, and another 500,000, and one gentleman said here this morning we could get 900,000 under this act. Let us be frank about it. That is not the intention of this act. As I remember the testimony of Mr. Secretary Baker, he was very frank about it. If this act goes through without amendment it is not intended to get any more volunteers. It is intended to substitute the conscript system for the volunteer system. That is what it seeks to do. They are just waiting to see what is going to be done.

In talking about the volunteer system the advocates of conscription say it is a good thing as far as it goes in this act. I want to say this: If the volunteer system is a good thing, why do they not accept it in a way that will make it effective? Why do they not accept it in a way that will give us 500,000 of more or less trained soldiers in less than 30 days, which it would do, in my judgment.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I understand the Senator does not want to be interrupted.

Mr. McKELLAR. I would be delighted to be interrupted a little later.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I am absolutely seeking information. My mind is entirely open upon this proposition. I want the best information that I can get. I have been attracted by the Senator's statement that it will be the policy of the War Department to permit the acceptance of no volunteers in case the draft bill goes through. Will the Senator oblige me by reading the testimony or statement of the Secretary of War? If he has it here, will he quote it or refer me to it?

Mr. McKELLAR. The testimony of the Secretary before the Committee on Military Affairs was not taken down and transcribed, but as I recollect the statement it was that they are having a hard time getting volunteers now; that they did not know whether they would want to come in for seven years or for the term of the war; and then they explained that they expected them to go in for the term of the war; that the enlistment was to be for the term of the war, but they were not getting men, and that they had absolutely prohibited any increase in the units of the National Guard, and did not expect to add any more units to it, but at all events merely to fill up the ranks at present of the Regular Army as it now exists and of the National Guard as it now exists. That is my recollection of what was said.

Mr. STONE. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT] was seeking information. I have understood it to be the position of the Secretary of War that any number of men might volunteer their services, not that volunteer organizations as such would be received as separate units in the aggregate of the Army, but that as individual volunteers any number would be welcome to be incorporated in the organization as it is to be made up under the bill. I should like to know whether that is correct.

Mr. McKELLAR. I think the Secretary so testified. I read his testimony in the House hearings, but I repeat he gave me the impression that he regarded the volunteer system as an absolute failure and that it was the purpose of the department to do away with it at the earliest practicable moment.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator, of course.

Mr. BRADY. The Senator advised us that he does not desire to be interrupted, for the reason that he is a new hand here.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; I am a new hand.

Mr. BRADY. I just want to say that he is a new hand, but he has demonstrated by his very eloquent and forceful argument that he is not a new hand at the business. There has been so much said about the testimony of the Secretary of War before the Military Affairs Committee, and there seemed to be so many different opinions as to what the Secretary said at that time, that I took it upon myself to write the Secretary a letter and ask him certain questions. His reply, I think, entirely explains all this matter. I will not interrupt the Senator at this time, but I wish to say that after the Senator has concluded I will read into the RECORD the letter which I received this morning from the Secretary of War.

Mr. McKELLAR. If I am in error in any way, I shall be delighted to have the Senator or the Secretary correct me. I just give my impression of the verbal testimony that I heard.

Mr. BRADY. It is simply an honest misunderstanding.

Mr. McKELLAR. Now, assuming that men can be added as volunteers, it is to fill up units all over the country. A man volunteers in Memphis; he may be put in a Vermont company or regiment or battalion. He volunteers in California and he may go into a New York brigade. I do not think that is a fair system of volunteering. We all know that, especially when we send troops to a foreign war, men from the same locality like to go in the same company and the same organization as far as possible, so as to be with their friends. Homesickness is one of the trials of any army, and especially when you send them to a far country.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. McKELLAR. I will in just a moment. May I first make this explanation? I have not very much more to say in my remarks, and when I get through then I would be delighted to answer any question. I shall be delighted to hear the Senator from New Hampshire now.

Mr. GALLINGER. I simply want to make an observation along the line the Senator has just spoken. An instance came to my attention to-day where two brothers enlisted expecting to be together in the Army. One has been sent to Texas and the other does not know where he is going to be sent.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator for the illustration.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is the beauty of the present volunteer system.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is the defect; I know the Senator meant the word "beauty" in that sense. It is a defect in the present system of volunteering. If this volunteer system is so good, as far as it goes in this bill, why not make it effective by letting the men come in independent organizations?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I notice that in the Senator's remarks he seemed to assert that in the training camps which are intended to equip and fit and train and drill officers who in their turn shall fit, train, and drill recruits there is nobody above 25 years of age. Am I correct about that?

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; officers can come in——

Mr. WILLIAMS. I so understood him; and if so, he has misunderstood the situation.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am very glad the Senator called my attention to that, because if I made such a statement it was in error, and I can not believe I made it; at all events, I did not mean to make that statement. What I meant to say was that the vast majority of the young men at present in the Officers' Training Corps are young men who are not over 25 years of age. I know that is true of those coming from my State. I have recommended a couple of hundred or more in the last 35 or 40 days.

Mr. WILLIAMS. For the men who received training during the Spanish-American War and for the ex-cadets of the military academies of the country where the military course has been recognized as equivalent to a Regular Army training the chief use will be as second lieutenants, first lieutenants, captains, for the purpose of training the other men who are coming in. That is the highest utility for them, and I want to say that the War Department has published to the entire country the fact that they desire the first 10,000 who are going into training to be men of somewhat mature age, and the War Department has given its reasons for it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am glad to know that they are seeking some of the better material. But I will say this: The Senator will find upon examination that the War Department has virtually eliminated from this war the five classes of military assets which I have heretofore enumerated.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator will find in a memorandum the War Department has drawn up—probably it sent a copy to the Senator; the department sent one to me and to other Senators—the department states just what I am talking about.

Mr. McKELLAR. The President will have exactly the same right to appoint those officers who are being trained in the volunteer forces that he has the right to appoint them in the conscript force, the only difference being that in the conscript force it will be limited to the officers in the Army Officers' Reserve Corps and those others prescribed by this act. If we have a volunteer force, it will not be limited to the officers who present themselves with the volunteers.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Will the Senator pardon me just one moment longer?

Mr. McKELLAR. Surely.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is a material difference besides what the Senator has mentioned. When these men get through with the three months' training in the camps they have to stand a military and mental examination, and the Government thereby becomes satisfied that they are fit and equipped. In the volunteer units of which you speak, where the men select their own officers, the equipment of the officers is absolutely unknown to the Government.

Mr. McKELLAR. I just want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that if he had examined the act approved April 25, 1914, providing for a volunteer army, he would have seen that the President is given the absolute authority to name every officer in the volunteer force. I can not subscribe to the proposition that you can make an efficient army officer by training him three months at a training camp.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course, after they have gone out with those units.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no; he has the same right under that law to name the officers as he has under this bill to name the officers for the conscripted troops.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But under this system he names the officers after they have passed an examination.

Mr. McKELLAR. He has a right to demand an examination of any officer in either volunteer or conscript force.

Mr. WILLIAMS. To disorganize the units so far as the existing officers are concerned and reorganize them.

Mr. McKELLAR. Not at all. If the Senator will examine the law, he will find that the provision for the appointment of officers under the volunteer-army act of 1914 gives precisely the same power that the President has to appoint officers under this act.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Right along that line, and seeking further information——

Mr. McKELLAR. If I am able to give the Senator any information, I shall take pleasure in doing so.

Mr. WOLCOTT. As I understand the Senator's statement, if a unit should present itself under the volunteer system for service to the Government, and if the unit comes, of course, fully organized with its officers chosen, and the United States Government should be of the opinion that that unit is poorly officered, in the sense that the officers are not qualified, the power remains in the Federal Government to discharge them from their official place and to substitute in lieu of them fit and competent officers?

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, and not only that, the Government has the right to refuse to accept them until they have stood an examination and qualified themselves as officers, which means just this, that in the volunteer forces there will be a greater number of competent officers for the President to choose from, and he has exactly the same right in every instance.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Then, if I understand correctly the Senator from Tennessee, he is making this point—I want to see the drift of his argument—that the contention made by the advocates of the conscript system, who are at the same time the opponents of the volunteer system, namely, that the volunteer system will produce a force improperly officered is not well taken.

Mr. McKELLAR. That claim is absolutely without foundation.

Mr. WOLCOTT. It struck me that that was a very forcible point made against the volunteer system, and I wanted it cleared up.

Mr. McKELLAR. It would be a strong point if it was correct. If the Senator will read the act of 1914 he will find a provision precisely the same for the appointment of officers under a volunteer system as under this bill, and by the way the same classes of our citizens are enumerated in the two cases, with one slight exception.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think the Senator is mistaken in the position he takes. The bill as it is now before the Senate for consideration provides for taking into the service units of the National Guard as now organized.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am not speaking of the National Guard at all. That is out of it, because they do come in in the same way, except instead of the act of 1914 they come in under the act of June 3, 1916.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. The Senator is proposing that additional units shall be taken from the States into the Regular Service.

Mr. McKELLAR. No; I am proposing that the President shall call out 500,000 volunteers under the time-honored system which has been in vogue in this country ever since this was a country, under the amended law of 1914, which gives him the same right to appoint officers of such a volunteer force as he has under this bill to appoint the officers of a conscripted force.

Now, if the Senate will indulge me just a few moments longer, I want to have a word or two to say about the volunteer system.

The history of the volunteer system, Mr. President, is the history of the warfare of the Anglo-Saxon race. There never has been in the history of the world since there was an Anglo-Saxon race a time when any nation of that race ever resorted to conscription at the beginning of any war. The distinguished Senator, my friend from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], for whom I have the highest admiration and regard, as I understood his speech a few moments ago, undertook to argue that all our wars, the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the War with Spain, had all been gigantic mistakes. I do not so read American history. I may not have the comprehension to understand it, but as I do my belief is that we won every war that we have undertaken. Mistakes were made, of course; they are made in every war; but what has been the result? The result is that America has won. It is easy enough for self-constituted experts who have never been in a battle, 140 years, or even 50 years, after the war to criticize the mistakes of those great heroes of our country who won the wars; and thinking men do not pay any attention to such criticisms. Here a little nation, a little puny aggregation of States along the Atlantic seaboard just a little over 100 years ago, under this system of volunteers has step by step, war after war, added to her territory until to-day she is the greatest nation on the face of the earth under the present system of volunteers.

Are we going to traduce the memory, the courage, and the patriotism of our Revolutionary forefathers by saying that their system was a mistake—that they ought to have done better than they did? They won that war. Should we not be proud of that success? Is it becoming in us at this late day to belittle their courage and patriotism?

Then we come to the War of 1812. Some say we did not win it, and we did have some very disagreeable things happen in that war, but it was all cured by the victory at New Orleans. We won the Mexican War by volunteers. Then came the Civil War; and, by the way, it is said here that volunteering then was a failure. It won the war. The Spanish War was won by volunteers.

How can any thinking man familiar with the history of his country say that the volunteer system, under which this country has grown from 3,000,000 to 100,000,000 people, from a puny little aggregation of States to the greatest Nation on earth, the most powerful, the richest, the ablest, and the best Nation of men on the face of the earth—how can it be said that we have made nothing but a series of failures in war? The contention is ridiculous.

Sometimes it is said that America is not a warlike Nation. Think of five great wars in a little over 100 years. We are distinctly a warlike Nation, and the good part of it is that we won all of them.

It is easy enough for Senators to pick flaws in the proceedings after the fact, and for great self-constituted military experts in military—and civil life, too—to tell the country how those wars could have been won more easily or more economically; but the facts are that they were won, and it is results that tell. They were won under the volunteer system, and I venture the assertion that if the Congress stands by the volunteer system to-day, when we get through with this fight with Germany, though she is the most powerful nation on earth, we will have won again.

England has just raised a volunteer army of 5,000,000 men. She resorted to conscription and secured a million more. In other words, her army is five-sixth volunteer and one-sixth conscript, and there is not a better army on the face of the globe to-day than the British Army. Then, there is little Canada, with just 8,000,000 of people, and she has raised 400,000 troops by the volunteer plan, and sent over 300,000 already to Europe, where they are fighting for the allies. And there is Australia, that has contributed a like number to the allies by the same volunteer system. Indeed, Australia by a referendum turned down conscription. And here is the United States, with 21,000,000 men of military age, that has always followed the volunteer system, and yet we are asked to institute in the very beginning, without giving any man the right to volunteer—we are asked to pass a conscript law and force our young men to go.

But it is claimed by some of our so-called military experts that the volunteer system has been a failure. We have tried it in five wars, and we have won all of those wars. But they then reply that those wars could have been won easier and with less loss of life and property with a conscript system. Oh, Mr. President, it is easy to pick flaws after the fact, but it is the result that counts; and the result has always been under the volunteer system we have had the highest success, and after the war was over our soldiers have passed into the peaceful pursuits of man, as is proper under our system of government.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. Of course, whether we adopt the conscript plan or the volunteer plan the present officers of the War Department will very largely have control of those forces, so that from the standpoint of personal interest no reason occurs to me why they should favor one plan rather than the other. How does the Senator account for the fact that the War College and nearly all the Regular Army officers who have made the profession of arms a study favor the conscription system?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not account for it at all; but I say to the Senator if he will look at the hearings before the House committee taken two or three weeks ago and printed, he will find, as I recall those hearings—and if I make a mistake I certainly have no desire to make one—the Secretary of War said that this was his plan, not a War College or General Staff plan, and that he submitted it to Gen. Scott, to Gen. Bliss, to Gen. Kuhn, and to Gen. Crowder, and the bill was drawn after those four officers had submitted the plan. That is my recollection of the testimony. That is a matter, however, that the record will show about. The General Staff was just as much in favor of the volunteer bill of 1914, which they now seek to set aside, as they are now for this bill. The Senator will find the absolute facts in the record.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if I may be permitted to say a word——

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope the Senator will merely ask a question at this time; but I yield to him.

Mr. POMERENE. I shall be very brief. I have not any doubt that Secretary Baker consulted experts. I have known him for a good many years, and I know that he is a man who never comes to a conclusion without having a reason for it that is satisfactory to him.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have the same high opinion of Secretary Baker that the Senator has. I am a great admirer of the Secretary.

Mr. POMERENE. I have not any doubt that if Secretary Baker has accepted the advice of men at the head of the War College it is because it has met the approval of his own mind.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am sure of that.

Mr. President, having said that much about the volunteer system, I now come to the one that it is proposed at this late day in our history to substitute for it. I have taken the trouble to examine into the success or failure of the draft plan, hoping to be able to give Senators some information as to the success or failure of the draft plan. I want very briefly to give the latest experience that this Nation has had with that plan.

In 1863, when the Government of the United States was confronted with a situation of more extreme danger, perhaps, than it ever had been confronted with before or ever will be again, the Congress of the United States passed what was known as the draft bill. Now, mind you, this Nation was then fighting for the Government's life when this draft plan was passed. Volunteers had not come forward in sufficient numbers, and it was sought to supplement and to strengthen the armed forces of the United States by a draft law. Such a law was not passed at the beginning of the war, as we propose here, to supplement and to strengthen the Army, but it was passed more than two years after the war began. What happened? Well, here is what happened in the first instance: There were 2,700,000 men, in round numbers, raised by the Union in the Civil War, of whom 2,654,000, to be absolutely accurate, were raised by volunteering and a paltry 46,000 were raised by draft—less than 3 per cent. To be absolutely accurate, 2.3 per cent of the Union forces of the Civil War were raised by draft, and history does not record when any conscript in this country ever distinguished himself.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. Wait just one moment, and then I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. THOMAS. I was simply going to say that the figures given by Gen. Miles were a little over 50,000.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will explain that discrepancy. The reason that Gen. Miles gives those figures is that he included a few who were drafted who did not actually serve; but I am talking about the drafted men who served their country from 1863 to 1865. What happened? I can not better be accurate about a thing like this than to read a very short excerpt from a report by Gov. Seymour, the then governor of New York, to his legislature on January 5, 1864. I quote from him accurately, as follows:

> Like results are conspicuous in all parts of our State and in all sections of the country—in New England, Pennsylvania, and the West. The attempt to fill our armies by drafting was abortive. While it gave no useful result, it disturbed the public mind; it carried anxiety and perplexity into the workshops, the fields, and the homes of our citizens. It not only fails to fill our armies but it produces discontent in the service; it is opposed to the genius of our political system; it alienates our people from the Government; it is injurious to the industrial pursuits of the country.

Gen. Miles has also recently testified that while he was down on the front fighting for his country, after this draft law was passed he had to withdraw regiments of trained troops to be sent back to New York and to other places to quell the riots that had been brought about by this undemocratic draft measure. That is the history of the draft in this country.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. If the Senator will yield right there——

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I will ask, was not that due to the fact that the State authorities of New York practically refused to sustain the carrying out of the volunteer law?

Mr. McKELLAR. It was due to the fact that in all instances where men have been free they have objected to be treated as slaves; it was due to the fact that we never have resorted to conscription except as a last resort to aid our country in time of peril; and when we have done it, it has been a failure. It is due to the fact that conscription has always been consid-

ered in this country as the most despicable form of military despotism.

Now, let us see one step further. Much has been said about the failure of the volunteer system, under which we have won all of our wars, but, as I said before, very little has been said about the failure of the draft system. I took occasion on the day before yesterday to write to The Adjutant General of the Army to give me the exact facts and figures as to what was done under the draft plan. This letter was written on yesterday, and is signed by Gen. McCain, The Adjutant General of the Army. He says:

It appears from the final report of the Provost Marshal General that the whole number of men drafted from the several States and Territories for the United States service under the enrollment act of March 3, 1863, and its amendments—

Think of it, now! The whole number enrolled—

was 776,829. Of that number 161,244 failed to report, 46,101 were discharged because the quota was full, 47,247 were discharged by order, 315,509 were exempted, 73,607 furnished substitutes, 86,724 paid commutation and were discharged, and 46,347 were held in the service.

That is the record of the draft system. Out of 776,000 men enrolled to fight for their homes, not in a foreign war, 46,000 conscripts were finally secured. Suppose we shall have that same result here, what will happen?

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator excuse me for just one moment? Let me finish this statement.

Mr. POMERENE. Certainly.

Mr. McKELLAR. What will happen? Well, if the same proportion, the proposed conscript law would do this: If we enroll 6,000,000 young men and have the same result that we had in 1863 when the life of the country was at stake we will get 360,000 men out of the 6,000,000. That is what the result of the draft system was before.

It is said we now have a very different system; that at this time the Government is stronger, and that is so. I know it is so; but, Senators, are you going to substitute force for freedom? That is the question for us to decide.

Now I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator has just referred to the large number of men drafted and the comparatively small number who were afterwards accepted as conscripts. I had a letter this morning from a gentleman who was an officer in the Civil War, who quit the service as a captain, who made this explanation in part of the so-called failure of the draft system. I may say that I am not privileged to give this officer's name, but he is one of the leading lawyers of Ohio. He said that after the draft system had been inaugurated and the men drawn, nearly all of those men, when they found that they had been drafted, went personally and enlisted as volunteers; and that, while they appeared on the rolls as volunteers, it was largely because of the draft system. Can the Senator from Tennessee advise us as to whether or not that is correct?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know how correct that is; but I have no doubt, in my own mind, in future years in this body, when Senators are discussing the question of whether this draft measure is a failure or a success, that kind of specious argument will be used to mitigate the failure of the system.

Mr. POMERENE. Well, Mr. President, this man was himself a volunteer, and he served four years during the Civil War.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course there may be always individual instances and exceptions to the rule. We can not determine a policy of government, a policy of raising an army, by the experience of an individual in one war or another.

Mr. POMERENE. Well, does the Senator know whether or not that was general?

Mr. McKELLAR. I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. POMERENE. I know this man, and I know that he is one of the most reputable men in Ohio. He himself, at the head of a company, was detailed to arrest many of the men who were drafted, and he afterwards took them into camp and permitted them to enlist as volunteers.

Mr. McKELLAR. Naturally, I have no knowledge of the facts to which the Senator refers.

Mr. POMERENE. That may explain very largely the small number of drafted men, of which the Senator speaks.

Mr. McKELLAR. Probably it may have had something to do with it. I have no doubt that when we arrest a number of these boys under the provisions of the present act we will mitigate the arrests as far as possible by getting them into the service without visiting upon them the penalties for not having voluntarily come in.

M. POMERENE. Let me further interrupt the Senator for just a moment.

Mr. McKELLAR. Surely.

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator does not make this distinction between the draft act of 1863 and the present proposed law. Under the act of 1863 men could buy immunity by paying $300 in lieu of enlistment.

Mr. McKELLAR. And send a substitute.

Mr. POMERENE. And could send substitutes in their places. There is nothing like that in this bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. I want to express my very great admiration for the majority of the committee that they do not recommend any provision like that in this bill, and I think to that extent at least the pending measure is a great improvement on the draft act of 1863.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, there is another question I should like to ask the Senator.

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator, but I hope I am not consuming too much of the time of the Senate. I have a little more to say.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I am asking these questions of the Senator because I think he has given much study to the proposition he is advocating, and I have not heard the side of the subject to which he addresses himself discussed very much. Some considerations have been suggested which seemed to my mind rather strong arguments against the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee. If I caught the point of the argument I heard yesterday by the Senator from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH]—and a very able argument it was—at one point he made this suggestion, which appealed to me as a rather forceful one: He said that while under the volunteer system it might be possible in the first instance to get units into the field at full strength, yet as the wastage proceeded, there not being any machinery for the recruiting of those to take the places made by this wastage, the volunteer system would prove ineffective. He instanced the case of some regiments in the Civil War reduced to a hundred men, yet retaining all their regimental officers. Under the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee proposing a volunteer plan is there anything to prevent that sort of possibility?

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, if that question was troubling the Senator, I am delighted he asked me about it, for this reason: Under the terms of this bill, with my amendment incorporated in it, all the wastage will be taken care of.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Under the draft provisions?

Mr. McKELLAR. Under the draft provisions of the bill.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Will it be, Mr. President?

Mr. McKELLAR. Absolutely. The draft features of this bill will remain in effect. The men will be enrolled. The volunteer feature of the amendment will not take the place of anything, except that the first 500,000 men will be drawn from the body of the country in a universal way, under the idea of universal obligation rather than partial obligation. They will simply be drawn from the body of the country first.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Well, Mr. President, I do not pretend to any intimate acquaintance with the various military acts, but from a cursory glance I have made of them I think the Senator must be in error as to that.

Mr. McKELLAR. Not at all. I will read my amendment, which makes it perfectly plain.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I should like to see how it does so.

Mr. McKELLAR. This is to be added as a separate section:

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to raise 500,000 volunteers under the provisions of "An act to provide for the raising of the volunteer forces of the United States in times of actual or threatened war," approved April 25, 1914, in so far as the same is not inconsistent with the terms of this act, and shall immediately call out and train 500,000 volunteers. Should that number not enlist in 90 days, all deficiencies shall be secured by draft as herein provided.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Yes; but that does not meet my question.

Mr. McKELLAR. I see what is in the Senator's mind, and the explanation——

Mr. WOLCOTT. If, after 90 days has expired and we have the 500,000 men in the field, and then wastage takes place, what is going to supply the deficiency?

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator will read the bill, he will see that by August 1 all of the enumerations will be made and the War Department will be training the second 500,000 men under the terms of the bill, which will proceed right straight along in its operation. My amendment does not interfere with it for a moment. We will have the other 500,000 ready to be trained. A million men are wanted; and the bill with my amendment will give 500,000 volunteers and 500,000 conscripts.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, still my point is not cleared up. I should like the Senator from Tennessee to point out to me in the draft features of this bill wherein any of the men drafted can be utilized to make up the wastage in the volunteer force of 500,000 for which the Senator's amendment provides.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is perfectly plain, as the Senator will see if he will just read the bill.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Where is it found?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is found in the third paragraph of the bill, which my amendment leaves untouched, and which reads:

Third. To raise by draft as herein provided, organize, and equip an additional force of 500,000 enlisted men—

The Senator will notice that it reads "to raise by draft." Then in the fourth paragraph of the bill it is provided:

Fourth. The President is further authorized, in his discretion and at such time as he may determine, to raise and begin the training of an additional force of 500,000 men organized, officered, and equipped as provided for the force first mentioned in the preceding paragraph of this section.

That provides for the third 500,000 men under the terms of this bill.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Which paragraph covers the point I have suggested?

Mr. McKELLAR. The third paragraph, on page 2, which reads:

Third. To raise by draft as herein provided, organize, and equip an additional force of 500,000 enlisted men, or such part or parts thereof as he may at any time deem necessary, and to provide the necessary officers, line and staff, for said force and for organizations of the other forces hereby authorized, or by combining organizations of said other forces—

I think that covers it. It is just as plain as the noonday sun that under the terms of this bill the President has the right to fill up not only deficiencies but any wastage or anything else.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I thank the Senator for calling my attention to that particular clause. It had escaped my eye.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President, as long as the Senator is being interrupted, perhaps he would not object to a further interruption.

Mr. McKELLAR. I am anxious to get through, but at the same time I am delighted to yield to my colleague on the committee.

Mr. FLETCHER. I am sure that no one will find fault with the Senator for extending his remarks as long as he likes, because they have been most interesting and instructive.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator.

Mr. FLETCHER. What I want to call the attention of the Senator to is a phase of the subject which I do not think he has exhausted, if he has touched upon it, and that is this: The Senator has well said that we have been living under the blessings of the volunteer system. On December 15, 1916, the authorized strength of the Regular Army was 126,552, while the actual strength of the Army was 100,902 men, as I recall. In December, 1915, Congress authorized an increase in the enlisted strength of the Regular Army of 20,000 men; but, so far as I know, up to this time we have not even obtained the 20,000 men.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is in error about that. We now have about 150,000 men in the Regular Army. We had on the 1st of April, as I recall, according to the latest reports of the War Department, 129,000 or 130,000 men in the Regular Army, and there have been 20,000 or 25,000 added to the Regular Army by volunteers since then. Of course, we can add to the present units of that Army and bring it up to a strength of about 275,000, so that there is a chance for about 125,000 more men to volunteer.

Mr. FLETCHER. It is possible that the increase in the Regular Army which was authorized at the time to which I refer, has been met, but I know that a few months ago, I think perhaps as late as January of this year, we had not enlisted from December, 1915, to January, 1917, the 20,000 men authorized.

Mr. McKELLAR. But there have been a great many enlistments in the last month, so that the strength of the Regular Army is now about 150,000, and it is rapidly increasing. If we would give the men of America the opportunity to enlist, we would soon have an army.

That, Mr. President, brings me to the next point I have in mind, which is this: What we need, if we are going into this war, is an army; and we want that army now. I am opposed to putting it off until next August or next September or next October. Delay is always dangerous when it comes to war. A distinguished Confederate leader, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, who happened to live for some time in the same town where I now reside, once said, "The art of fighting a successful fight is to get there first with the most men." That is good doctrine to-day. We have got to train these troops, whether they are 19-year-old boys or whether they are men who have even had some previous experience under the volunteer system. Nobody wants to send raw recruits against a European army, and nobody is going to do that; so we will have to train them. It is perfectly manifest that if we can get 500,000 men to volunteer within 30 days we will be just that much quicker getting a trained army. I am against even a day's delay.

It is a great misfortune, according to my notion, that a call for volunteers was not issued on the very next day after we declared war. In that event, by this time we would have had an army drilling in the camps of our country and being trained to fight its battles. That is what we ought to have done; but it is no longer useful to discuss what might have been done. It is what we are doing now, and I, for one, am opposed to postponing the creation of an army for three months and a half or four months and a half or six months, as the case may be, for I think it ought to be created now.

What are some of the objections to making provision for a volunteer system? It is said it will not do to have a half-and-half system—half volunteers and half conscripts. I do not blame anyone for making that contention. I should dislike to be a conscript in an army, and I think most of us feel the same way. I think very few would enjoy being put in that situation. I have not any sons myself, but I doubt if any Senator who has sons would like to have them conscripted in the Army. It is opposed to what real red-blooded men believe in.

But, Mr. President, we have a volunteer system now. There are at least 300,000 National Guardsmen and Regular Army men who have volunteered, and it is sought to raise 500,000 more by draft. The proportion will then be 3 to 5. Will it make the situation any worse to call for 500,000 volunteers, and then have 800,000 volunteers and 500,000 drafted soldiers?

It is proposed to raise an army of over a million men; everybody knows that. I think it is necessary; I think it ought to be done, and ought to be done as soon as possible; but it is not a logical objection to say that if we add a volunteer feature to this bill it will make our Army part volunteer and part conscript.

I now come to another feature. It is said that under the proposed draft system we will catch the "slackers." Well, I must confess that in the busy life I have lived I do not know very much about "slackers." I am not an expert on "slackers." I have not any respect for them in civil life, and I have not any respect for them in military life; and if it is proposed here to make an army of "slackers," we are doing a very poor business, because I do not believe men who are "slackers" in civil life will make very good soldiers. I would dislike to go out with a company of "slackers."

But let us see what we are doing to the "slackers." As I remarked here yesterday afternoon in the course of a question, most of the "slackers" that I know—if I know what that term signifies—are men over 25 years of age. Amongst the boys between 19 and 25 you rarely ever find any "slackers," as the term is commonly employed. If that is the case, what are we doing under this bill? Instead of making the "slackers" go forward and fight, we are giving them an honorable immunity from war. A man over 25 years old may be the worst "slacker" in the country, and yet he is given an honorable immunity under this bill. Senators say that one of the vices of raising volunteers is that the girls say to the boys they have no respect for them and will not associate with them unless they go to war, and those who will not go to war after such treatment are "slackers." That is one class of "slackers." Well, there will not be any such in this war, because all those over 25 years can reply to the girls, if anything like that is said, "I am barred from going to this war; the law bars me; I can not go. Congress has forbidden me to go." I say that argument is not sustained; that under the provisions of this bill that the "slackers" will be required to go. I say we will get no more "slackers" under the proposed partial selective draft system than we will get under the proposed system of volunteers.

Now, I come to another question——

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for just one moment?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Let me give an illustration of one kind of "slacker" that has come to my attention: An old farmer in my State had one son who volunteered and went to the Mexican border. His neighbor, right across the fence from him, had four sons, and none of them went. Now, this young man has been called out a second time, and his father wrote me a letter saying that he hardly thought it was fair that a man should go out and fight again when his neighbors, right across the fence, were laughing at him and saying that they would not be caught in any such fix as that.

Mr. McKELLAR. That case is not in point, for this reason: Under this bill we have the right to exempt that young man, whether he is a volunteer or whether he is a conscript. It is

immaterial. The Government does not have to take him because he volunteers. It has a right to exempt him. With all due respect, I do not think the illustration cited is a case in point at all.

I now come to what has been called the democracy of the service. If this partial law, by which the burden of this war is placed primarily upon 500,000 boys—one two-hundredth of our population—if that is democracy of service for one's country, then I am utterly unable to understand the term. Is that universal service? Is there any universal service about that? Why, it is the narrowest limit of service that can be effectively established. It is putting the burden of war on the smallest number of people possible, and a large part of this small class are not even citizens.

But my distinguished and very greatly beloved friend, a man for whom I have the warmest affection, and I think we all have, the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], on yesterday made this argument: He said that he objected to the volunteer system because it required the best blood to go forward; that we got the flower of our country under a volunteer system, whereas under this system we would get slackers and all. Let us see what we get under this system. Let us see whether this contention is correct.

We first take the 6,000,000 of boys between 19 and 25. That is a pretty fair sample of our male population, is it not? They are pretty carefully selected. You could not have gotten 6,000,000 better men, physically, morally, and in every other way, in a blood way, as well as in every other way, than by such a process. But does it stop there? Not at all. You first say: "We will not take any of that 6,000,000 who are physically unfit," and you have the doctors to examine them all over the country. They have to pass a physical examination; and under the experience of the War Department, when you make that examination, you eliminate 2,500,000 of them, and you reduce the available number down to 3,500,000 under this system—this partial system. Then, when you do that, you come along and get the morally deficient, and you get those whose religious views will not let them make good soldiers, and you get those of certain exempted classes, and you exempt all those. You narrow it down to 3,000,000, according to the best view. And then what do you do? Why, you take those 3,000,000 of the very flower of our country, and you just select the best one man out of every six!

Now, I may not know a thing in the world about reasoning; I may not know anything in the world about getting the best blood; but, unless I am fearfully mistaken, I do not believe a better plan could be devised to get the very best blood in our country to go forward in the first draft. I say that this talk about volunteers bringing forth the best blood of our country as a sacrifice, while it may be partly true, is not one-half as true as the process of getting the best blood that is used in this bill.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, just one word, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield, of course.

Mr. GALLINGER. While we are talking about universal military service, while these 3,000,000 young men are put into the service, there are 19,000,000 of military age who entirely escape.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have that under a subsequent subdivision of what I have to say. I will refer to it now. We have at least 21,000,000——

Mr. GALLINGER. Twenty-two.

Mr. McKELLAR. Twenty-one millions of men, and maybe twenty-two, as the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire says, of military age in this country; and I have heard for three years the argument of the militarists in every newspaper, on every stump, and in every place that what this country needs is universality of both training and service. They say that the burden of defending the country ought to be put on the same basis as taxation; that it ought to be applied to all alike. It is a very persuasive argument, I will say, and it has a great deal of force. I am not prepared to say that it is not all right; but does this bill give it? Instead of putting the burden on 21,000,000 men, it puts it in the first instance on 500,000 and in the second instance on another 500,000 boys.

It is easy enough for men to say: "Let George do it. If anybody is going to get killed, let Bill be killed." It is a popular argument. It appeals to the many. It is evidently appealing to all men over 25 years of age in this country. They are using a good deal of persuasion all over the country to limit it; but is that right? Why, this age limit ought to be changed in any event. I think amendments have been offered here to change it; and, by the way, I will refer to that phase of the matter right now.

We are asked to leave the traditions and the history of the Anglo-Saxon race for the first time since William the Conqueror went to England in 1066 in the matter of the formation of an army, and we are asked to pattern after the military despotisms of Germany and of Russia and of Austria; and even such despotisms as those never took the services of a boy 19 years of age.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator?

Mr. McKELLAR. In just a moment. I have the figures here that were given me awhile ago. Germany, which we are asked to follow, fixes the minimum age at 20 years, and a number of the countries fix it at 21. I have no doubt the Senator has the same figures, and I will read them.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I was going to call the Senator's attention——

Mr. McKELLAR. I have those figures right here, I think; and, so that the Senate may be absolutely certain about it, I will give them.

In Germany, universal and conscription, actual service begins at 20; Austria-Hungary, 21; Turkey, 20; Roumania, 21; Bulgaria, 20; Serbia, 21; Sweden, 20; Norway, 28; Denmark, 21; England, volunteers much younger; France, compulsory, begins at 20; Russia, universal and compulsory, begins at 20; Italy begins at 20; Japan at 20; Brazil at 21; Portugal at 20; Greece at 21; Switzerland at 21; Chile at 21; and Argentina at 20. Those are the figures as taken from the records. Now, are they correct?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I was not questioning those figures. I wanted to call attention to another matter.

Mr. McKELLAR. I beg the Senator's pardon. I thought he was referring to the accuracy of the figures.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Not to those figures; no. If this law violates the Anglo-Saxon tradition and the tradition of our own people, I call the Senator's attention to the fact that his own State has done the same thing. In 1909 a law was passed in Tennessee providing that all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 who were residents of the State should constitute the militia, making certain exemptions, and section 6 of the same act subjects them to the draft.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator is correct about Tennessee. I am proud of the fact that we permit boys to enlist by volunteering at the age of 18, and I think that is all right. I have no fault to find with it, but I am speaking about the policy here. We older men are undertaking to put the burden of this war on boys who are not old enough to make a contract, who are not citizens. I do not believe in it. I may be wrong. I have heard from but one boy in all this controversy under 23 years of age, and he said that he thought it was wrong. Of course, an individual opinion does not make any difference.

Now, it is remarkable what peculiar views we have about this bill. I think most people have an idea that we are passing on the question of universal service. I have even heard some Senators, in an unguarded moment, say that this was the principle of universal service.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit an interruption, I want to say that the bulk of the telegrams which I have received, both for and against this measure, assume that this is a bill for universal service, when as a matter of fact it is not.

Mr. McKELLAR. A great many of the telegrams that I have seen have urged me to vote for the General Staff universal-service plan; a great many other telegrams have urged me to vote for the Chamberlain military training bill, showing that because of the advertisements and propaganda that have gone out there is well intrenched in the public mind back home the idea that we are passing upon a democratic measure for universal service for the defense of the country, when as a matter of fact, when you examine the provisions of this bill without the amendment that I have offered, you see that it is the most partial and undemocratic kind of a measure, and does not provide for universal training or service at all.

Mr. President, there is one other matter that I want to discuss right here. It is strange what kind of views we have. Just a few days ago I saw in a newspaper published in Washington a terrific onslaught upon certain Members of the House because those Members of the House favored putting an amendment for volunteers on this bill, and I think the very day after that onslaught was made that very paper—the editor of which is no doubt one of the ablest men we have in this city, whose editorials I always enjoy—turns deliberately around and makes one of the best arguments for the volunteer provision in this amendment that I have seen submitted by anyone, and I am going to weary the Senate for just a few moments by reading

an editorial in the Washington Post of Sunday, April 22, 1917. The article is entitled—

"THE ROOSEVELT VOLUNTEERS."

Officers in the War Department are said to be opposed to granting permission to Col. Theodore Roosevelt to raise a division of volunteers for early service in France, because they think it would be inconsistent with the plan for raising a regular army by selective draft.

If this objection were valid, Col. Roosevelt's patriotic offer should be declined.

But where is there any inconsistency? Where would the two plans conflict, and how?

Col. Roosevelt proposes to raise a division of volunteers, to be commanded by Regular Army officers. He proposes to accept men above the age of 25, who would not be subject to draft.

The President's plan for selective draft would not be affected in the slightest degree by raising a division of volunteers. Is it argued that young men who could not get into the Roosevelt division would lose heart? They would be subject to draft just the same. Is it suggested that young men drafted would suffer under the imputation that they had not volunteered? The answer is that they could not volunteer. They would be upon exactly the same footing as other men of their age rich and poor. Is objection made because the volunteer division would go forward first and gain all the credit? There will be credit enough for all who go to the front. The emergency calls for the American flag at the front. Is it to be kept at home because somebody would get credit for taking it to the battle line? The man who raises this objection should search his heart and ask himself if he is not willing to sacrifice his country's welfare to his own desire for first honors.

The law providing for universal selective draft could not cast any imputation upon any man. It would not prevent any men above 25 from volunteering in the first expeditionary force, nor cast doubt upon the patriotism of those who did not volunteer. The Roosevelt division would be created to meet an emergency. The army raised by selective draft would go forward when ready. Neither could replace the other, and neither could possibly interfere with the other.

There is work to be done for all Americans. If 100,000 men above 25, already familiar with arms and drill, are ready to fall in for service in France, why hold them back? Is the War Department unable to provide for 100,000 men now? It can be given means and the task of outfitting 100,000 men will furnish valuable experience to be applied to the bigger task later on.

Every one of Col. Roosevelt's division would be a picked man, capable of rendering invaluable service to the inexperienced men who will be raised by selective draft. Thousands of them could be brought back after active service at the front to train the recruits according to the actual needs of modern war. Just as the American volunteers now at the front could be of the greatest service in training men here, so the Roosevelt division would be available.

In the meantime the American flag would have been planted in France, never to withdraw while German armies were on French soil. The improvised forces would in due time give way to the Regular Army of the United States, which would carry the flag to victory.

If that argument is applicable to 100,000 men, why is it not applicable to 500,000 men? Why single out one and say, "You can go to the front, as your fathers have," and deny the privilege to the thousands and the hundreds of thousands of other men in this country who want to go and fight for their country?

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President——

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. KELLOGG. Does the Senator from Tennessee favor Col. Roosevelt raising a division if he wishes to?

Mr. McKELLAR. Why, I do not object to any man's raising a division. I think that any man who wants to raise a division in this country ought to have the right to do it. I believe in the freemen of this country doing the fighting. I do not believe that we ought to resort to a partial system of conscription.

And that brings me to this point in what I have to say: I have felt greatly embarrassed in the position that I have taken here. I was educated in a military school, served in every position from private to captain, graduated as one of the captains of a company, and served with the National Guard for some years. I have been on the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. I have taken a more or less active interest in the military affairs of our country. I started what I had to say awhile ago with the statement that I abhor militarism. I believe in a democratic army. I believe in a volunteer army, and always have believed in it. I inherited that belief. Likely you have. I still believe in it. I have no doubt you do. I believed in it three years ago when the Congress, of which I was then a Member, passed the volunteer bill. We thought it accorded with American history and traditions and American honor and American right. We believed it. I have not changed my mind. I still am of that opinion; and with that history I regret more than I can say that I have to differ with some of my friends.

Mr. President, there is no man in this country whom I admire more than I do Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States. I think he is the greatest man on the face of the earth to-day. I believe in him. He is my friend and I am his friend. I regret to differ with any plan that he has indorsed. But at the same time, with such knowledge as I have of the facts, I can not do else in this Chamber than to vote the way I believe is right. When I first came to Congress, and began to cast my votes on various questions, I adopted the policy of trying to find out what was the moral side, what was the right side, of every question upon which I was called on to vote; and as long as I have served in Congress I have never yet voted except in accordance with what I believed to be right, and, so help me God, I never shall vote in any other way. I regret more than I can say that I differ, even in this detail, with the leader of my party; but I would not be a man if I did aught else than follow my mature conviction of what is right and vote for the volunteer system, because I believe that is right.

Mr. President, the very term of conscription in this country of free men is offensive, and every man to whom it has been applied in the history of this Republic has been looked down upon with contempt by his fellow men. The reason for this is because we have only conscripted men when we could not get volunteers.

Now, in the very beginning of the war for us to set aside the volunteer system of raising an army, the system of free men, the system which gives us our best soldiers, the system which gives us the most courageous soldiers is set aside in one act, and instead of that system we are to have a system of exclusive conscription. In the eyes of all men it will be said that the only reason that this proud Republic resorted to conscription in the beginning was because we had so degenerated that we did not have enough patriotic men to volunteer to fight their country's battles. That can be the only excuse offered for such a system in the beginning of a war. I have no sympathy for such a contention. I believe that the Americans of to-day are just as courageous as any men in the history of this Republic. I believe that they would win fame for their country and their flag, and I for one am opposed to applying that hated term of conscript to them until all other methods have failed.

Mr. President, I am from a State that is known in the sisterhood of States as the Volunteer State of this Republic. She won that name by the willingness of her sons to offer their services in war as a sacrifice for our common country. In the Revolutionary War it was John Sevier and Tennesseans who turned the tide at Kings Mountain, and gave to this Republic a local habitation and name forever. In the War of 1812 her sons distinguished themselves on every field, but it was left to that immortal hero, not only of Tennessee history but of the history of the world, Andrew Jackson, who won a name and fame for the Volunteer State, and the dearest hope of my heart is that as the Volunteer State we will be known as long as the Republic of America is known to the world. In the Civil War, Mr. President, Tennessee furnished more troops in proportion to her citizens to both armies than perhaps any other State in the Union. Her sons lived up, whether they were on the one side or the other, to the proud distinction of history as the Volunteer State of the United States.

In the Spanish-American War again her sons were enrolled in the first call for volunteers and bore themselves proudly and courageously through that conflict. And now, Mr. President, when the country is threatened again the sons of this proud Commonwealth have already enlisted in the National Guard in greater numbers than the law requires, and tendered organizations have already been rejected. The people of that State come again and ask the American Congress to let their sons fight as volunteers for our common country and our common flag. Are you going to deny these sons that right? Are you going to say to them, "Your history is a mockery and your name a symbol of dishonor"? Are you going to say to them, "You will no longer be called volunteers according to the history and traditions of your fathers, and the proud name your forefathers earned on many battle fields is to be wiped out forever"? Are you going to say to them, "Heretofore you have been called volunteers, but hereafter your name will be conscript"? God forbid, Mr. President, that any such law will ever be passed by this Congress!

Mr. President, we have always believed in this country that all just government came through the consent of the governed; that is the principle of the volunteer plan of raising an army. We are asked to disregard that plan and to substitute what in its place? The answer is force. No longer will a man in this country have a right to fight for his country. He will be forced to fight for his country provided he happens to be within a certain age. Instead of universal service we will have partial service; instead of laying the burdens of defense upon all men of military age, we are laying it upon an insignificant portion that comes between the ages of 19 and 25. Instead of obligation of all men to defend their country we are asked to put that obligation upon less than 6 per cent of our population, and this 6 per cent is composed of young boys of our country. It may be right, Mr. President, but I for one am unable to see the justice of the scheme. It will be a sad day for free America when we substitute force for patriotism.

Mr. BRADY. Mr. President, I do not rise for the purpose of answering the many able arguments made by the Senator from

Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR], but simply for the purpose of reading a letter from the Secretary of War in order to clarify the atmosphere relative to his position and the position of the General Staff as to the number of volunteers that will be permitted under the present bill.

We are facing a great crisis, the greatest, I believe, in the history of this Government, and what we are all attempting to do is to come to a fair understanding as to what it is best to do for our country at this time.

The Committee on Military Affairs, of which I am a member, worked earnestly in preparing the bill that is now before the Senate and had several hearings. I happened to be a member of the subcommittee that held public hearings. During the subcommittee hearings all the statements were taken down by a stenographer, but unfortunately the day the Secretary of War appeared before us we did not have the statements of the Secretary and those who accompanied him taken down by a stenographer. For that reason there has arisen a misunderstanding as to what was said.

I therefore, on the 20th instant, addressed a letter to the Secretary of War asking him what present organizations in the different States will be permitted to be completed and what the status of the men will be who enlist in the National Guard. In answer to my letter he addressed the following communication to me, which I hope I may be permitted to read without interruption so as to have it properly in the RECORD, and then we can discuss any features of the same that Senators feel should be discussed. I now read the letter from the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 20, 1917.

Hon. JAMES H. BRADY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In reply to your letter of April 20, 1917, addressed to Gen. Crowder on the subject of the number of men that would be permitted to volunteer, assuming that the pending Senate bill for raising additional forces has been enacted into law, I take great pleasure in furnishing you the information requested.

In a letter dated April 15, 1917, to the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, on this same subject, I wrote as follows:

"A request was made by the committee during my recent hearing to have inserted in the record a summary of the number of places the draft of a bill submitted by the War Department provided for individual voluntary enlistments. The summary given below is furnished in compliance with that request. The numbers given refer to the Army only, of course, and do not take into consideration the outlet for voluntary enlistments for the Navy and Marine Corps, which forces are to rely entirely on voluntary enlistments.

Authorized strength of Regular Army, all increments included, exclusive of Philippine Scouts	293,000
Present strength	131,481
Available for voluntary enlistments	161,519
War strength of National Guard organizations now existing	329,954
Present actual strength	123,605
Available for voluntary enlistments	206,349
Needed to raise existing units of the National Guard to war strength and the Regular Army with all increments added to war strength	367,868

The bill provides that a training cadre may be transferred from those two forces to train the additional forces. The War College Division recommends as a minimum cadre for training a force of 500,000 men in time of peace 148,850 men, and this would add that number of places for voluntary enlistments in the Regular Army and National Guard when this training cadre was taken for the first additional force of 500,000 men.

The law as drafted and construed by the Judge Advocate General before your committee would permit recruit training units for the Regular Army and National Guard to be maintained by voluntary recruiting. The minimum strength of such recruit training units would approximate one-third the strength of the units to which they would supply losses, or give a total strength of recruit training units for the Regular Army of approximately 98,000 men and 110,000 for existing units of the National Guard, or a total number of volunteers in the recruit training units of 208,000 men.

The bill further provides that special and technical troops may be raised by volunteer or compulsory methods. If these be raised by the volunteer system, it would add to the total number given above for voluntary enlistments, but as the number can not now be definitely determined they are omitted.

SUMMARY.

Additional numbers that may be filled by voluntary enlistments under War Department plan:

Units of the Regular Army	161,519
Units of the National Guard	206,349
First training cadre	148,850
Recruit training units for existing National Guard	110,000
Recruit training units for the Regular Army	98,000
Total	724,718

The figures quoted above answer the question asked in your letter in regard to the additional number volunteering in the Regular Army and the additional number volunteering in existing organizatons of the National Guard. The bill makes no provision for volunteer except as discussed above in any other of the authorized forces.

In reply to your fourth question "as to just what present organizations in the different States will be permitted to be completed and what the status of the men will be who enlist in the National Guard," I would say it is the intention of the War Department to raise existing organizations of the National Guard to peace strength of the Regular Army before permitting the organization of new units of that force. In order to complete the elements now lacking in the existing 12 divisions of the National Guard, the War Department will prescribe of what the new units shall consist; that is, whether they shall be Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, etc. A memorandum explaining this matter in detail, prepared in the Militia Division, is attached hereto.

The status of new men who have enlisted in the National Guard since the declaration of war will be identical with those of such men who have enlisted in the Regular Army and those selected for the additional forces to be provided by the act now under consideration; that is, they will be discharged at the expiration of the existing emergency.

Trusting that the information given above answers completely your letter of April 20, I am,

Cordially, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Mr. President, it seems to me this letter gives us all the information we need relative to the number of men that will be permitted to volunteer under the present plan of the General Staff and the administration, and should enable us to discuss the present bill with a better understanding as to what the language of the same means, and what the intent and purposes of the War Department are.

We are to-day all aiming for the same end. I hope to see a law enacted that will be just as nearly as possible satisfactory to every Member of this body. But we must realize that we are at war. The time for talking and tears has passed. The time for action is here. While we may differ as to the manner and the method, I do not believe there is a Member of this body who differs as to what our purpose is, and that is to win the awful struggle that we have entered into.

We are necessarily compelled to raise a large army. The only question that we are discussing to-day is, How shall we raise it? What is it, Senators, that we are disagreeing upon? There was not a dissenting vote on the passage of the bill giving $7,000,000,000 as a war fund. We were all agreed upon that. The Senator who just preceded me, an honest man, an able man, an honored Member of this body whom we are glad to receive here, honestly differs from me as to the manner and method in which this army should be raised. But what are our differences?

I want to raise an army of 1,200.000 men as our Commander in Chief and the General Staff recommends it should be raised. I am not going to set my opinion against the opinion of the War College of this country, against the opinion of all the generals of our Army, and against the opinion of the man whom the Senator just said, in his judgment, was the greatest man on earth. I may not agree with him so fully as to all that, but I do agree with him when he says it is right and proper to follow him just as far as we can in this emergency.

As I said before, what are the differences? Take the bill section by section and we find that we agree on practically everything until we come to the method of raising the Army. I am just as much in favor of the rights of man and of democracy as any human being can be. I believe that the chance of every man in this country should be equal, and in attempting to secure that condition I believe we can reach the matter of equality in no fairer way than has been suggested by the administration and approved and adopted by the Committee on Military Affairs in recommending this measure.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] has made an eloquent plea to permit the brave men of Tennessee to volunteer. They are given that privilege under this bill. The history of the brave men of Tennessee is one of which not only Tennessee but the entire Nation may well be proud; but under this bill we do not intend to deprive them of the opportunity to volunteer. What army do they want to join? Under this bill they can volunteer and enlist in the Regular Army or in the National Guard. What the General Staff is trying to do, and what the President is trying to do, is to get a central control, simply because the war in Europe, which has cost billions and billions of dollars and millions and millions of lives, has taught lessons that we should heed. Therefore, Senators, let me ask you why the men of Tennessee can not volunteer under the bill as reported by the committee. The Secretary of War tells us in this letter that in units of the Regular Army there is opportunity for 161,519 men to volunteer. That is the same Army that fought the battles of the War of Independence, the same Army that won the War of 1812, in which Jackson fought, and the same Army that went to Mexico. Our citizens have the opportunity to volunteer in that Army; but, if they do not want to do that, there is an opportunity for 206,349 men to enlist in the National Guard. If they prefer to organize a home guard and have their own regiments and have them turned over by the State to the Nation as units, they can volunteer in such organizations, and their term of service will only be for the war, just for this emergency, for the length of time that they are needed to defend their country. So, Mr. President, it seems to me that every opportunity is given to every American citizen to volunteer.

The question has been raised as to the age limit. This body must decide the age limit. The bill has been framed to cover certain ages, which the committee and the General Staff thought were right. If it is proper to raise the age limit from 25 to 35, as has been suggested, an amendment may be proposed to accomplish that purpose.

With this evidence before us as to what the Secretary of War has said and as to what the intent of the administration and the General Staff is, all these questions may be easily and thoroughly understood.

I hope that I may so conduct myself in the discussion of this matter that those who disagree with me will understand that I appreciate and know and feel that the difference between us is only a difference of opinion and not of purpose. It is my hope, as I have heretofore said, that we may counsel together, agree upon the sections of this bill that we can agree upon, and then, when we come to one or two subjects about which there may be difference of opinion, let us discuss them for a reasonable length of time, vote upon them, and then send the bill to the President to be signed, so that we may let Germany and the world know that America is in this war with a determined purpose to fight to a finish. By doing that we will do more for democracy and our country than in any other way. I hope we will finish the discussion at as early a date as possible, enact this measure into law, and then proceed to the consideration of other necessary business that must be transacted in order to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, before the Senator takes his seat I should like to ask him a question. Does the bill limit the volunteers who may be raised under the provisions of the bill to the same age as in the case of those who are to be conscripted, to wit, between 19 and 25?

Mr. BRADY. A man can volunteer in any of the branches of the service to which I have referred between the ages of 18 and 45.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I am glad to hear that. I thought from a remark that the Senator made that he was of the other opinion. Has the Senator in mind the total number who could volunteer under the terms of this bill? As he read from the Secretary's letter it was in fragments, the numbers being stated as to different organizations. I do not know whether the Senator has added the various numbers together.

Mr. BRADY. The total number who can volunteer under the proposed plan is 724,718.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. And they can volunteer at any age up to as high as 45 years?

Mr. BRADY. Yes, sir.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I wish to submit a proposed amendment to the pending bill raising the age limit. I ask that the amendment be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, that action will be taken.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask leave to offer an amendment to the pending bill, to be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. TRAMMELL. I offer an amendment to the pending military bill, and ask that it may be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That action will be taken.

ODD FELLOWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration——

Mr. FLETCHER. Before the Senator makes that motion I will ask him to yield to me for a moment.

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FLETCHER. From the Committee on the Judiciary I report back favorably the bill (S. 1800) to amend an act approved June 29, 1906, and entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate." It is a unanimous report from the committee, and has reference to the Grand Lodge of Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia, which lodge is about to engage in constructing a new building. Everything is hung up pending an amendment of their charter. This amendment will authorize them to encumber the present site for the purpose of erecting a new building or to put a new building on another site and sell the present site. It will only take a few moments to pass the bill, and I think it ought to be done.

Mr. BRADY. Does the bill involve the expenditure of any amount of money from the Treasury?

Mr. FLETCHER. It involves the expenditure of no public money. It involves simply the power of the lodge to place a trust upon the property sufficient to put up a building.

Mr. BRADY. Before giving my consent to the passage of the bill I should like to have it read.

Mr. FLETCHER. It pertains to the lodge here in Washington. It simply amends the law relating to the grand lodge which heretofore has been passed by Congress. There is some question raised as to their power to place a trust on property that they might acquire in exchange for their present property.

Mr. BRADY. It is a private matter?

Mr. FLETCHER. It is entirely private, and relates to the local lodge of Odd Fellows in the District of Columbia.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. It simply proposes to make a change in the charter of the local organization.

Mr. BRADY. Then I see no reason why the bill should not pass.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. BRANDEGEE and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN addressed the Chair.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I was merely going to ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. The bill of the Senator from Florida can be passed by unanimous consent without laying aside the unfinished business temporarily.

Mr. FLETCHER. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill, which was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the act approved June 29, 1906, entitled "An act to authorize the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia to sell, hold, and convey certain real estate," be amended to read as follows:

"That the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia, a corporation created under and by virtue of an act of Congress approved June 12, 1860, be, and hereby is, authorized to sell and convey for, or to borrow and secure by deed of trust thereon, such sum or sums as may be satisfactory to the several organizations hereinafter named as owners, those parcels of ground in the city of Washington, D. C., known and designated on the plat of said city as lot No. 11 and part of lot No. 10 in square No. 457, together with the buildings thereon, known as Odd Fellows' Hall, the title to which property is now held in trust by the said corporation for the following organizations, owners thereof, namely: The Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the District of Columbia; Columbian Encampment, No. 1, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Central Lodge, No. 1, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Washington Lodge, No. 6, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Columbia Lodge, No. 10, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Beacon Lodge, No. 15, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Excelsior Lodge, No. 17, Independent Order of Odd Fellows; and Eastern Lodge, No. 7, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the consent of each of said several organizations being evidenced by a written instrument bearing the seal and the signature of its executive officers; the proceeds of said sale or loan may be applied to the payment and liquidation of any debt on said property or toward the purchase of other ground and the erection thereon of a building or buildings for like purposes as those for which the above-described property has been held, or to the erection of a new building, or to repairing or rebuilding on the ground now held, said property to be held in trust for said above-mentioned organizations according to their respective interests therein, and for such other organizations of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows as may hereafter contribute to the cost of such property, according to the amount respectively contributed by each: *Provided*, That any purchaser or purchasers of such property shall not be required to see to the proper application of the money paid therefor.

"SEC. 2. That the said corporation shall be authorized and capable of taking and holding real and personal property in trust for said organizations to any value not exceeding the sum of $1,000,000, and shall have full power and authority, upon a resolution or resolutions of each of said beneficiary organizations, to, from time to time, encumber any ground and the improvements thereon so held in trust for said organizations, or any part thereof, in such manner, for such purpose, and in accordance with such regulations as may be prescribed by said resolution or resolutions."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 15 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I ask that the following petition from citizens of Seattle, Wash., be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

Unreservedly we ally ourselves with that fundamental democracy toward which all mankind strives, and of which the English-speaking people are happily the chief exponents, as against the medieval autocracy by which the Imperial German Government temporarily dominates its own people and plunges the world into armed conflict.

We favor conducting this war with the utmost of resolution and expedition and pledge thereto, so far as we may, the hearty cooperation

of our entire citizenship. We recognize the great sacrifice of personal interests cheerfully accepted by the men of our Army and Navy and favor making the most perfect possible provision for their success, for their safety, and for their well-being. To that end we purpose doing, in our several capacities, whatever may be possible to us. We will refrain from profiting by the sacrifice of our neighbors and favor making that practice generally impossible by limiting permissible profits on the sale of munitions of war and necessities for life. We also favor conducting this war on a cash basis, so far as may be done, in order to avoid burdening our posterity with debt for a philanthropic endeavor, the cost of which our Nation can meet from day to day by eliminating wasteful and useless private expenditures, by the joint application of our united labors to useful purposes, by putting our vacant lands to productive uses, and by directing into the Public Treasury all private incomes over and above reasonable requirements for living expenses.

In furtherance thereof we respectfully urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of appropriate laws limiting the rate of permissible profits in certain cases, laying a special war tax of 3 per cent on personal income above $5,000 per annum, and increasing that rate with respect to larger sums, so that no person may spend for himself during the war a larger sum than the salary of the President of the United States, namely, $75,000 per annum, or thereabouts.

We further request the President and Congress to enact the necessary legislation to create a food commission for the purpose of eliminating waste and preventing speculation, and we make the following recommendations:

No. 1. That the commission make an immediate survey of all the food resources now on hand in the United States.

No. 2. That the commission commandeer the storage warehouses and that the storage of food be controlled by the commission.

No. 3. That the price of all foodstuffs be fixed by the commission.

No. 4. That the commission encourage the planting of crops and the raising of cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry in every possible way.

No. 5. That the commission act as the middleman and distributors of food from the producer to the retailer, without profit to the commission, until the war closes.

The foregoing petition was unanimously indorsed by a large mass meeting held April 12, 1917, at the Tivoli Theater, Seattle, Wash., at the call of the Commonwealth Club, and the undersigned committee was instructed by said mass meeting to immediately forward the same to Congress.

OTTO A. CASE, *Chairman.*
Mrs. GEORGE A. SMITH.
F. E. RAWLINGS.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented 25 telegrams from citizens and firms in the State of Michigan, remonstrating against volunteer enlistment, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented 15 telegrams from citizens and firms in the State of Michigan, praying for national prohibition as a war measure, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Albion, Mich., praying that the proposed revenue law take up substantially all of the special war profits, etc., which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Petoskey and Battle Creek, in the State of Michigan, pledging support to the President and praying for compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. McLEAN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Greenwich, Conn., praying for compulsory military service, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of Crittenden, Benham Grain Co., G. E. Johnston & Co., H. G. Shepard Sons Co., F. Mansfield & Sons Co., and of the congregation of the East Pearl Street Methodist Episcopal Church, all of New Haven, in the State of Connecticut, praying for national prohibition as a war measure, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Manufacturers' Association of Hartford County, Conn., praying for the adoption of an efficiency amendment to the Army appropriation bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GALLINGER presented a memorial of the New Hampshire State Pharmaceutical Association, remonstrating against the imposition of a stamp tax, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Antrim, Hanover, Concord, and Center Harbor; of the New Hampshire Antisaloon League; and of the Union Congregation of Unitarian and Congregational Churches of Walpole, all in the State of New Hampshire; and of Henry G. Ives and the W. H. McElwain Co., of Boston, Mass., praying for national prohibition as a war measure, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. WARREN presented a petition of sundry citizens of Douglas, Wyo., praying for national prohibition and for the protection of military camps from vice, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Sheridan (Wyo.) Trades and Labor Assembly, praying for an investigation of the price of foodstuffs, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union Federation, of Pasadena, Cal., praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. LODGE presented resolutions adopted by the city council of Revere, Mass., favoring the enactment of legislation for the Federal control of food and fuel, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. NELSON. I present a petition from citizens of Stearns County, Minn., pledging support to the country, which I ask to to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAUK CENTER, MINN., *April 20, 1917.*

Senator KNUTE NELSON,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As loyal and patriotic citizens of Stearns County, in mass meeting assembled, a thousand strong, we pledge our services to the Nation's cause to the extent of our lives and fortunes.

We offer our services to do all in our power to help in the production of food and the cultivation of the soil that none may suffer for the lack of proper food. We offer to do all we can to help build up an army of workers who will enlist for the cause of democracy.

We offer this resolution in order that a more effective force may be gathered to help strengthen the Government in using its resources to bring the war to a speedy and successful close.

We offer this message to you that you may act immediately and crush once and for all time the great monster and foe of human liberty and freedom. We appreciate such men as you and trust you will live many years to serve as a representative of our Nation.

Respectfully submitted.

A. J. DUBEAN,
Mayor of Sauk Center, Minn.
JOHN N. McGIBBON,
President Board of Education.
M. D. AYGARN,
Superintendent of Schools.

Mr. KNOX presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Dubois, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation providing a selective draft system, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Portage, Homer City, and Oakmont; of the congregation of the Christ Methodist Episcopal Church, of West Philadelphia; of the Presbytery of Butler; and of the congregation of the Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for national prohibition during the period of the war, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COLT presented the petition of Augustus T. Swift and 32 other citizens of Rhode Island, praying for national prohibition, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Business Men's Association of Olneyville, R. I., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the saving of daylight, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. SHEPPARD presented a petition of the faculty and students of the University of Texas, Austin, Tex., praying for the raising of an army by selective draft, based upon the principle of universal liability to military service, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of 292 citizens of Cisco; of sundry citizens of Celina; of 300 citizens of Odem; of 35 citizens of Irene; of sundry citizens of Electra, Hartley, and Carthage; of the congregations of the Baptist and Methodist Churches of Slaton, Woodland Heights, Houston, and Mullen; of the Business Men's Bible Class of the First Baptist Church of Temple; of the congregations of the First Baptist Church of McKinney, the Baptist Church of Arlington, the First Baptist Church of Richland, the First Christian Church of Paris; of the Pastors' Association, the presidents of Simmons College and Christian College of Abilene; and of sundry churches of Douglassville and Carleton, all in the State of Texas, praying for national prohibition, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented petitions of 53 citizens of Galveston; of sundry citizens of Houston; of the Farmers' Institute of Westover; of the Williamson County Farmers and Citizens' Institute; and of H. O. Nelson & Co., of Houston, all in the State of Texas, praying for selective conscription, and indorsing the administration's war policies, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of six citizens of Greenville, Tex., praying for the passage of the House volunteer army bill, and remonstrating against the Senate bill, favoring the age limit from 21 to 40, which was ordered to lie on the table.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 2079) granting an increase of pension to Susie M. Gilbert (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2080) granting an increase of pension to John Reiman (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 2081) granting an increase of pension to Joseph S. Alger; and

A bill (S. 2082) to increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOLLIS:

A bill (S. 2083) granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Newhall (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 2084) granting a pension to William F. Rogers (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 2085) granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Penland (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BORAH:

A bill (S. 2086) for the relief of Alvin Harder; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COLT:

A bill (S. 2087) granting an increase of pension to Thomas M. Johnson (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 2088) to consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah, and to add certain lands thereto; to the Committee on Public Lands.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 382) providing for a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

RECESS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m., Tuesday, April 24, 1917) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Wednesday, April 25, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 24 (legislative day of April 23), 1917.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Capt. Thomas M. Robins, Corps of Engineers, to be major from April 14, 1917, vice Maj. Arthur Williams, retired from active service April 13, 1917.

First Lieut. Gordon R. Young, Corps of Engineers, to be captain from April 14, 1917, vice Capt. Thomas M. Robins, promoted.

CAVALRY ARM.

First Lieut. James L. Collins, Eleventh Cavalry, to be captain from March 31, 1917, vice Capt. Joseph C. King, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. William C. McChord, Cavalry, detached officers' list, to be captain from March 31, 1917, vice Capt. George L. Converse, jr., Fourth Cavalry, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. William R. Henry, Cavalry, detached officers' list, to be captain from March 31, 1917, vice Capt. Alexander H. Jones, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. George F. Patten, Thirteenth Cavalry, to be captain from March 31, 1917, vice Capt. Murray B. Rush, unassigned, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Robert M. Cheney, Fifth Cavalry, to be captain from April 9, 1917, vice Capt. Rodman Butler, Eighth Cavalry, placed on detached officers' list.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

First Lieut. John T. Kennedy, Seventh Field Artillery, to be captain from February 26, 1917, vice Capt. George M. Apple, Fourth Field Artillery, promoted.

First Lieut. Thomas J. Johnson, Second Field Artillery, to be captain from February 27, 1917, vice Capt. Phillip W. Booker, Fifth Field Artillery, placed on detached officers' list.

First Lieut. Leo J. Ahern, First Field Artillery, to be captain from March 21, 1917, vice Capt. Edgar H. Yule, Sixth Field Artillery, promoted.

PROVISIONAL APPOINTMENT, BY PROMOTION, IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Second Lieut. Ernest L. Osborne, Corps of Engineers, to be first lieutenant from April 14, 1917, vice First Lieut. Gordon R. Young, promoted.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 24 (legislative day of April 23), 1917.

CONSULS.

CLASS 6.

Wesley Frost to be a consul of class 6.

CLASS 7.

Arthur C. Frost to be a consul of class 7.
Paul H. Foster to be a consul of class 7.

CLASS 8.

Albro L. Burnell to be a consul of class 8.
James H. Goodier to be a consul of class 8.
O. Gaylord Marsh to be a consul of class 8.

CLASS 9.

Ralph F. Chesbrough to be a consul of class 9.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

J. L. Camp to be United States attorney, western district of Texas.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

William J. McDonald to be United States marshal, northern district of Texas.

John H. Rogers to be United States marshal, western district of Texas.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:

Harlan P. Perrill,
Arthur J. Hepburn,
Cyrus R. Miller,
David F. Boyd,
Andrew T. Graham,
Zeno E. Briggs,
Clarence A. Abele,
Thomas L. Johnson,
Edward T. Constien,
Edgar B. Larimer,
Alfred W. Johnson, and
Walter M. Hunt.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Isaac C. Johnson, jr.,
Leigh M. Stewart,
Richard P. McCullough,
George V. Stewart,
Jonathan S. Dowell, jr.,
Nelson H. Goss,
Stanford C. Hooper,
William O. Spears,
Walter H. Lassing,
Ernest Durr, and
Harry E. Shoemaker.

Civil Engineer Luther E. Gregory, with rank of lieutenant commander, to be a civil engineer in the Navy, with rank of commander.

The following-named gunners to be chief gunners:

Henry W. Stratton, and
William Seyford.

Lieut. Commander Arthur Crenshaw to be a commander.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders:

Clarence S. Kempff,
David C. Hanrahan,
Joseph K. Taussig,
William S. Miller, and
Charles E. Courtney.

The following-named lieutenants to be lieutenant commanders:

Charles S. Kerrick,
Louis P. Davis,
Arthur W. Sears,
George C. Pegram, and
Harold G. Bowen.

Passed Asst. Surg. Wrey G. Farwell to be a surgeon.

Asst. Civil Engineer Ralph M. Warfield to be a civil engineer.

Lieut. Col. Thomas C. Treadwell to be colonel in the Marine Corps.

Lieut. Col. Albert S. McLemore to be assistant adjutant and inspector in the Marine Corps.

Maj. James T. Bootes to be lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps.

The following-named captains to be majors in the Marine Corps:

William H. Pritchett,
Edward A. Greene,
Raymond B. Sullivan,
Howard H. Kipp, and
Nelson P. Vulte.

First Lieut. Frederick A. Gardener to be a captain in the Marine Corps.

The following-named first lieutenants to be captains in the Marine Corps:

Howard C. Judson,
John Potts,
Benjamin S. Berry,
Harry W. Weitzel,
Arthur J. White, and
Samuel P. Budd.

Second Lieut. William C. MacCrone to be a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps.

The following-named second lieutenants to be first lieutenants in the Marine Corps:

Harry K. Pickett,
Maurice S. Berry,
Harold D. MacLachlan,
John B. Sebree,
Egbert T. Lloyd, and
Ethelbert Talbot.

Lieut. Commander Frank L. Pinney to be a commander.

Lieut. George M. Baum to be a lieutenant commander.

Civil Engineer Homer R. Stanford, with rank of lieutenant commander, to be a civil engineer in the Navy with rank of commander.

Boatswain Michael J. Wilkinson to be a chief boatswain.

Boatswain Emory F. Hosmer to be a chief boatswain.

Gunner Clyde Keene to be a chief gunner.

Machinist Albert A. Hooper to be a chief machinsist.

POSTMASTERS.

CONNECTICUT.

Frank E. Williams, Noank.

ILLINOIS.

Alta A. Rose, Atwood.
Fannie B. S. Morrison, Tower Hill.
Benjamin S. Burr, Medora.
Ira J. Aull, Kincaid.
Albert H. Nafziger, Danvers.

IOWA.

Julia Connelly, Churdan.
R. I. Juneau, Valley Junction.
D. D. Marshall, Oakville.
Maurice Connolly, Dubuque.

MARYLAND.

Thomas E. Frantz, Cockeysville.
John D. Showell, Ocean City.
Leonard H. Gosnell, Woodbine.
Harry Nalley, Mount Rainier.
G. W. Etchison, Gaithersburg.
John T. Culver, Forest Glen.

MISSOURI.

John H. Bueter, Bowling Green.
J. E. Shepherd, Seneca.
Richard W. Tucker, Senath.

NEW JERSEY.

Louis Cressman, Bloomsbury.
Simon Cunningham, Pennsgrove (late Penns Grove).
W. A. Tripp, Millington.
Samuel Munyan, Gibbstown.

RHODE ISLAND.

Edward F. Carroll, Providence.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Alfred E. Swift, Brookings.

WEST VIRGINIA.

J. Y. Hamilton, Fairview.
Arthur Jackson, Littleton.

WYOMING.

Guy U. Shoemaker, Laramie.

REJECTION.

Executive nomination rejected by the Senate April 24 (legislative day of April 23), 1917.

U. V. Whipple, of Cordele, Ga., to be United States district judge, southern district of Georgia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *April 24, 1917.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, let the light of Thy truth possess our minds, and the sweetness of Thy love come into our hearts, that we may love mercy, do justly, and walk humbly with Thee this day, and at its close enjoy the peace and tranquillity of soul which comes through right living; for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

INCREASE OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry. I should like to know if it is proposed that the general debate shall continue throughout the day?

Mr. DENT. Just prior to the adjournment yesterday afternoon unanimous consent was obtained that the procedure to-day should be the same as yesterday, and that this whole day should be used for general debate.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT].

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of H. R. 3545, with Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia in the chair.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 45 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS] is recognized for 45 minutes. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman from Kentucky begins, may we know how the time stands?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] has used 2 hours and 46 minutes, and the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] has used 2 hours and 50 minutes, so that the time used has been practically evenly divided. The gentleman from Kentucky will proceed.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am not unmindful of the responsibility that rests upon me and upon every Member of the Congress of the United States in these trying hours. And I feel that each member of the committee and the House approaches this most important question with a full desire to do that which is best for the country. I, with the majority of the committee, have been assailed by militaristic bodies and organizations through a certain element of the press throughout the country as being opposed to giving the President of the United States the power and the authority for which he asks to conduct this war. That statement is untrue, and everyone familiar with the facts knows that it is untrue. I do not charge that that falsehood went from the press gallery of this House, nor do I believe that it did. In fact, some members of the press have admitted to me that their reports appeared in some of the papers which they represent entirely different to the way they wrote them. One newspaper man came from New York for the purpose of interviewing the members of the committee, and frankly admitted to me after he had done so that we had been grossly misrepresented. But, that same chain of newspapers that have been misrepresenting facts to the American people in this case have heretofore misrepresented and libeled Members of Congress with the result that their charges were disproven by the facts and discredited by the people in due time.

It is true that there are some points on which the committee has been unable to agree with the plan of the General Staff of the Army, notwithstanding the fact that the plan of the General Staff has the sanction of the President. In fact, there is not one single Member of the committee or the House, so far as I know, who is willing to accept the plan of the General Staff exactly as it came to us, because it contained some provisions

which were absolutely arbitrary and which, if enacted into law, would place unnecessary hardships upon the people, without adding to the efficiency of the Army. The committee therefore, by unanimous vote, eliminated or amended those provisions. One of those provisions, to which I shall refer later, would have subjected men to punishment in the Federal courts and confinement in jail for failure to register for draft, even though prevented from doing so by circumstances beyond their control. And your committee felt that it is the duty of Congress to protect the people against such indefensible hardships and injustices, and yet we have been criticized by some of the newspapers for doing so.

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that it is not popular in some sections or among some people for a United States Senator or Representative to even have an opinion of his own at this time, much less express it. But that does not change or alter the sworn duty of Members of Congress to their constituents and their country. It seems that some people have lost sight of the fact that the only guaranty of the perpetuity of democratic government is freedom of thought, freedom of expression, honesty of purpose, and majority rule on the part of the people and their representatives in the solution of our great national problems. Some people have also lost sight of the fact that the Constitution of the United States imposes certain duties upon the Congress, and imposes upon its Members an oath to faithfully perform those duties. Some of those duties prescribed by the Constitution read as follows:

Congress shall have power—
1. To raise and support armies, * * *.
2. To provide and maintain a navy.
3. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

Yet in the face of that language contained in the Constitution of our country, the greatest document ever written, that document which constitutes the pillar upon which our Government rests, and which guarantees its existence, some people, in this good year of 1917, less than 130 years after the adoption of that Constitution, believe that Members of Congress, the duly elected representatives of the people, those people who make up the Army, who fight the battles of their country and die for its rights and its liberties, are not supposed to express an opinion or proclaim a conviction as to who or what class of the people shall be called to perform those arduous and painful duties, and if they dare to do so they are attacked by the militaristic journals and societies of all the country; but that shall not deter me in the discharge of my duty to the masses of people, upon whose shoulders and hearts the burdens of this war will most heavily bear.

I realize the necessity of unanimity of action between the legislative and executive branches of the Government at this time, and I and several other members of the committee have devoted several days to an effort to bring about absolute unanimity. We have all been willing to yield opinions and make concessions, but the military authorities have been unwilling to make any concessions, even in matters which are immaterial to the efficiency of the Army but most vital to the people. The one glowing evidence of that fact is their persistent effort to build the Army out of boys under 21 years of age. The only reason they give, or that I have heard them give, is that boys of that age are more obedient than older people. No one disputes that children, as a rule, are more obedient than men; but this is a man's war, and, by the eternals, they shall never fight it with children if I can prevent it.

As I said a moment ago, we have all been anxious to bring about unanimity of action, and to effect that result have been willing to yield opinions. Speaking for myself, I am frank to say that regardless of my opinion that those desiring to volunteer should have an opportunity to do so, I offered before we reported the bill, because of my desire for unanimity of action as well as my willingness to yield opinion, to yield on that if the administration would yield on the minimum age limit and recommend that it be made 21 instead of 19. I made this proposition not alone in the interest of harmony but also because I believed that the question of keeping the burdens of this war off of the undeveloped youths of this country the more important of the two. But they refused to do so, which forced me to yield not only my opinion but my conviction on that vital question of the minimum age, or be classed as opposing the administration. And then I accepted the gage of battle and shall fight to the last ditch, utilizing every means at my command, both in the House and in conference, to keep the burdens of this war off the shoulders of the undeveloped youth of this country, who have a right to develop to manhood under normal conditions and should be protected in that right. The question as to whether the Army shall be made and the battles fought by the mature men of the country or the immature youths is not a military but a civil question, yea, a humane question. On matters strictly military I am willing to yield my opinions to the opinions of our military experts, especially in this crisis. But on questions which are not military in character but which affect the basic principles of the Republic and the fundamental principles of humanity and Christianity I refuse to turn over my brain, my heart, my conscience, and my soul to the military experts of this or any other nation on earth. [Applause.]

I favor the volunteer system because I believe it in keeping with the ideals of a free people, and, further, because I believe that an army can be raised more quickly by voluntary enlistment and that it will be a more effective army than a conscripted army. I shall therefore vote to retain the provision in the bill which authorizes the President to call for volunteers; but if that provision shall be stricken out by the majority vote of both Houses, thereby confining us exclusively to the draft system, then, in the name of justice and humanity, let us draft men, not children.

I shall not refer further to this subject at this time, but will return to it later.

I shall now come directly to the merits of the bill. As I have said, the Secretary of War presented to the committee a plan drawn by himself with the advice of the General Staff which had the sanction of the President of the United States, asking us to enlarge the Regular Army to full war strength; first, by voluntary enlistment; second, by conscription if the forces do not come by voluntary enlistment, and we give him that. Next he asks for an increase in the National Guard to full war strength, first by voluntary enlistment and second by conscription in the event that men do not enlist, and we give him that. Then he asks for authority to raise two additional increments of 500,000 men each, all by conscription, and stated that it would take about five months to put the machinery into operation for raising these increments by conscription. And the committee said: "We are willing, Mr. Secretary, that you shall have all the authority necessary to raise all the forces that you may need in the prosecution of this war regardless of the number that may be required. We will give you the draft system, for which you ask; not because a majority of the committee favors the draft system, for we do not except as a last resort; but we will provide for it in the bill so that it will be at the command of the President in the event he should need it, which we hope may not occur. We will also insert in the bill a provision authorizing the President to call for volunteers so that the men who want to volunteer may have an opportunity to do so while you are getting the draft system organized and perfected." We insert this provision in the bill in the hope that the President will exercise the authority which it will give him if it is permitted to remain in the bill, and confidently believe that if he does exercise that authority by giving the men of America an opportunity to volunteer it will never be necessary for him to exercise the power of conscription.

Because this provision was inserted in the bill, the committee has been attacked by the militaristic forces of the entire country; so let us attempt to see and understand why they are so opposed to it when it does not even make it mandatory upon the President to call for volunteers, but only gives him authority to do so. Ah, gentlemen, we had just as well be frank. We know and the military experts and their supporters know that we know why they are making such desperate efforts to have the volunteer provision stricken out of the bill. The reason is perfectly obvious, and I can not violate my conscience by remaining silent and saying by my silence that I indorse compulsory military service, both in war and in peace, as the military authorities desire it. If you will carefully follow the arguments of the representatives of the General Staff during this debate you will observe that they are working as hard to establish a compulsory policy for the future as they are to prepare for the raising of an army for the present war.

I have always favored adequate preparedness for national defense, and during my six years' service on the Military Committee I have worked hard for it. I favor widespread military training; but in peace times, at least, the young men of America should be permitted to choose their respective professions or pursuits, which is denied them under a compulsory military system, for the young man who is preparing to enter some permanent profession or pursuit knows not what hour the summons may come calling him to fill a vacancy in the Regular Army. And, on the other hand, the man who desires to enter the Army and make it his life's work is not permitted to do so unless his name happens to be drawn from the box, all of which is contrary to American ideals, and when this shall happen in the future I do not purpose to be placed in the attitude of having indorsed it. I therefore take advantage of this

opportunity to call attention to the effort that is being made toward permanent compulsory service for the future and to voice my protest against it.

There has been a fight in this country from the beginning of the Republic to fasten upon the country a compulsory military system for peace times as well as in war. Proposition after proposition leading to that has been put up to Congress from time to time under normal conditions, and it has been refused by the Congress, and the people have sustained Congress in its refusal.

But at this time we see in the actions of the General Staff the boldest of all efforts to fasten upon the country once and forever a compulsory military system, which the Government has not heretofore been willing to accept. When questioned as to why they refuse to encourage immediate enlistment for service at the front, they say it is "because it would be a recognition of the old volunteer system, which is broken down." I read in the papers the other day that when the question was asked why Col. Roosevelt was not commissioned to go to France, it was stated it was refused "because it would be a recognition of the old antiquated volunteer system."

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I would rather not yield at the present time, but I will later. But, my friends, all of you know or should know that the oldest and most antiquated military system known to civilization is the compulsory system. Go back 470 years before Christ to the wars between the Greeks and the Persians, the greatest battles known to civilized man, and what do we find there? We find an army of less than 110,000 Greeks on the one side, freemen, fighting for the love of country, defeating an army of 2,600,000 Persians fighting as conscripts. In the Revolutionary War, the first war of our country, at the Battle of Trenton, Washington, with his volunteers, captured the British colonel, Rahl, and his thousand Hessian conscripts without the loss of a single American. And yet they say that the compulsory system is the only one and is a new and modern idea.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Is the gentleman certain that the Greek Army was a volunteer army?

Mr. FIELDS. I only know what history says.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Is the gentleman sure that history says that?

Mr. FIELDS. The Persian King, Xerxes, himself in speaking of the Greeks and in reasoning how they could not reckon with his forces, made the following statement:

> Besides, continued the king, there is a great difference in the character of the troops. The Greeks are all freemen, while my soldiers are all slaves—bound absolutely to do my bidding, without complaint or murmur. Such soldiers as mine, who are habituated to submit entirely to the will of another and who live under the continual fear of the lash, might perhaps be forced to go into battle against a great superiority of numbers or under other manifest disadvantages; but freemen, never.

Let us see what the historian says about the Persian Army. Abbott, the great historian, says, in speaking of the Persian soldiers:

> They were all slaves and had been torn from their rural homes all over the Empire by a merciless conscription from which there was no possible escape.

That brings us to the point as to whether or not a volunteer army is a more effective force than a conscripted army, and all history from that just cited, during the reign of Xerxes down to the present, bears testimony that the volunteer army is the most effective, and I am unwilling to go on record by my silence or otherwise as indorsing the attacks which have been made upon and the arguments which have been made against the volunteer system and the service previously rendered under it. Men must fight willingly to fight effectively. The volunteer always fights willingly and eagerly; the unwilling conscript does not.

Our Government was founded through the efforts of our volunteers. Our flag was planted by our volunteers. Our battles have been fought and our victories won by volunteers, who fought not by compulsion but as freemen, fighting willingly, not grudgingly; fighting spiritually, not mechanically. And, Mr. Chairman, their loyalty, their valor, and their achievements have been the pride of America, which through the efforts and under the protection of volunteer forces under a volunteer system has become the richest, the grandest, and the mightiest Nation on earth. But now that system which permits warriors to fight as freemen—that system under which our Government was established and has been maintained—is attacked and its destruction sought. It is to be overthrown by the militarists of the land and supplanted by a compulsory system without evidence that it has failed in the past or is likely to do so in the future.

We hear much said in the arguments against the volunteer system of the mistakes made by Great Britain at the beginning of the present war under her volunteer system. Well, let us see if these charges are well founded. Statistics show that Great Britain enlisted 5,000,000 men under her volunteer system before she adopted conscription, and has enlisted one and one-half million in about the same length of time since she adopted conscription. Therefore her mistakes were not due to the volunteer system, but to her indiscriminate methods of enlisting or assigning her men. She permitted men to enlist as privates who should have been held in reserve as officers, or who were most valuable men in their munitions factories or other industries essential to the support of the army, thereby disorganizing her industrial and productive forces. But we have guarded against those mistakes in the bill under consideration. We give the Secretary of War wide discretion in the enlistment of men either under the volunteer system or by conscription. Under this bill the volunteer or conscript will be examined as to his usefulness in industrial pursuits, and if it is found or decided that he is more valuable in civil or industrial life than at the front, or that he has children or dependents who need him at home, he is not permitted to enlist. Therefore if the volunteer plan remains in the bill we will have none of the mistakes that were made by Great Britain of which you have heard so much.

I referred a few moments ago to the real issue at stake between those of us who oppose compulsory military service except as an absolute necessity and those who favor it for both war and peace times. The real issue is this: Our hopes are their fears. We hope that the volunteer provision will be retained in the bill and that the President will exercise the authority which it gives him by issuing a call for volunteers and that that call will prove so successful that it will not be necessary to again fasten upon this country the conscription that we experienced during the Civil War, which was neither satisfactory nor profitable, and which was precipitated by the War Department as a step toward compulsory service, as I will endeavor to show before I conclude. And they fear it; they fear that if the volunteer provision is retained that he will issue the call and that the call will be responded to by such a mighty force of fighting men that it will never be necessary to conscript a single soldier to fight this war, and that is the only issue.

Mr. LANGLEY. Does the gentleman mean to intimate that the success of the volunteer system would interfere with the future plans of Army officers—is that the gentleman's thought?

Mr. FIELDS. I mean to say this: That if the President should issue a call for volunteers, to be raised in local or State units so that neighbor could go by the side of neighbor and friend by the side of friend, that call, in my opinion, would be responded to by the fighting men of America in such numbers that the power of conscription would never have to be exercised, and the hope of those who are trying to force permanent conscription onto the country would go glimmering and their propaganda would fall to the ground. [Applause.]

Mr. LANGLEY. Is the gentleman prepared to yield now for a question in connection with what he was discussing a few moments ago?

Mr. FIELDS. I yield.

Mr. LANGLEY. The gentleman made reference to Col. Roosevelt. I do not wish to embarrass my colleague by this question, and if it will embarrass him he need not answer. It has been rumored that there may be reasons other than military ones why Col. Roosevelt's proposition to raise a volunteer army has not been accepted. Does the gentleman know anything about that and does he think such a matter should figure in this crisis?

Mr. FIELDS. I do not know why his services have not been accepted, and I do not care to discuss that phase of the subject. But if what you indicate be true—and I am not charging that it is—I will say that this is not the time for figuring on or quibbling over who shall have the glories that are to be carried back from the battle fields of Europe. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I referred a moment ago to the exercise of the power of conscription in the Civil War. Let us see what number of the men who fought in that war on the side of the Union were conscripted. The records of the War Department show that only 2.3 per cent of the total were conscripted; the remainder, or 97.7 per cent, were volunteers. I do not know whether it is correct or not, but I have read that 60 per cent of those conscripted into the service deserted. Whether that be true or not I do not say, but we do know this: You know and I know and every other man knows that a man does more effectively the service that he likes, performs more effectively that duty which he performs willingly, than do the men who are forced to perform it. There is no question about that. Gen. SHERWOOD states that he had in his command 70 men who had been conscripted, and that 68 of them deserted. Before I get away from it I desire to refer a little further to this charge

that the volunteer system was a failure. What occurred when the Civil War began? Men volunteered faster than they could take them and in greater numbers than they could use them. Reading from the reports of Provost Marshal Fry, I find the following:

Under the authority of Congress referred to in the foregoing, a force of 637,126 men was in the service in the spring of 1862. The popular impression was then that this immense number would be sufficient for overthrowing the military power of the rebellion and putting down all armed resistance to the Federal Government. Congress and the people deemed it necessary to check the enormous current expenditures by discontinuing the enlistment of men for the Army. The popular demand was yielded to, and on the 3d of April the volunteer recruiting service was closed by general order from the War Department. Under this order recruitment for the Army was immediately stopped, property at the rendezvous sold, and the offices closed throughout the country. Owing to the unexpected and unfavorable turn of the fortunes of war in the following months and the consequent depletion of the armies in the field, the recruiting service was resumed by general orders June 6, 1862.

When the war started men came and offered their services in numbers so great that they could not be used, and they were turned away without recognition of their loyalty and their patriotism, and as soon as it was seen that further enlistments or further recruits were necessary demand was started throughout the country for a conscription law, which was placed upon the statute books without delay. And that law stifled the spirit of patriotism, made the war unpopular in the North, and resulted in unrest and riots in many sections. It took more to suppress the riots than the conscripts were worth.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman spare me time there for one more suggestion, and I promise not to interrupt him any more?

Mr. FIELDS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LANGLEY. The gentleman, I am sure, recalls with reference to the situation in Kentucky at that time that there were a number of units organized in our State that wanted and tried to get mustered into the Federal service, but could not, as the quota was filled, and they. therefore, went on and served, some of them for a year and a half, along with the Regular soldiers, and were never mustered in because there was no room for them under the call. In some counties in the section of the State, where the gentleman and I come from, the total number of volunteers was greater in the Union Army *alone than* the total number of voters then in those counties. One of these counties formerly in my district is now in the seventh district of Kentucky, now represented by my friend, Mr. CANTRILL.

Mr. FIELDS. I understand that is correct. Kentucky discharged her duty then, as she had previously done, and is ready to do so again.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question there?

Mr. FIELDS. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Yesterday one of the Members made the statement that the volunteers could not be used, they would come more rapidly than they would be utilized, and the gentleman's reading this morning from the RECORD would indicate something of the same sort. Is there weight in that argument that volunteers would come so rapidly that they could not be utilized, and therefore later would be ineffective because they would not offer themselves again? Is there argument in that or not?

Mr. FIELDS. I think there is much weight in the argument that men would come faster than they could be used, but if I were administering the laws I would then and there register them. Then I would enroll them in the service just as fast as I could get to them, and turn no man away who wanted to fight for his country.

Mr. LANGLEY. In other words, conscription would be rather a restraint upon enlistments, which is contrary to the argument they have been advancing here in support of it. The volunteers would really come too fast for them.

Mr. FIELDS. We could most assuredly raise an army more rapidly by voluntary enlistment at this time.

Let me suggest this: In this crisis no one wants to hamstring the administration and the Commander in Chief in this war. But we must all recognize the fact that we need the best fighting force that can be had, and who, in your opinion, would make the best fighters in the trenches of Europe if our boys shall have to fight there? An army of youths, two-sevenths of whom are under 21 years of age, undeveloped physically and mentally, many of them with no spirit of fight within their bosom, or an army of sturdy volunteers who had enlisted because of their desire to fight? Why, the question answers itself. Men upon this floor have criticized those who fear to fight, yet they can not help it. They were not the masters of their creation. God Almighty created them. I have long since decided that it is not proper or right for me to criticize my fellow man because his Maker made him different from me. This is not a time to inflict punishment upon men because they are not brave. This is a time to wage the battles of the United States to a successful victory. Let them be waged with brave men, not cowards; with fully developed men, not boys who are but mere children, unable to endure the hardships of war.

Mr. BATHRICK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I yield.

Mr. BATHRICK. Is it not a fact that the average age of the soldiers of the Northern Army was about 19 years?

Mr. FIELDS. It is; and it is also a fact that statistics of the War Department show that for every death in battle there were more than two deaths by curable and largely preventable diseases, largely because of the tenderness of these youths and their susceptibility to disease. [Applause.]

Mr. BATHRICK. Well, will not the gentleman concede that under more modern surgical methods in the field this would not occur?

Mr. FIELDS. I am unwilling to concede that undeveloped youths under any condition are not more susceptible to disease than the developed man. Now, one other point——

Mr. BARKLEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I do.

Mr. BARKLEY. Without regard to any personal opinion as to the minimum age limit, what is there about boys of 19 or 20 years that makes them more susceptible to disease than a man of 40?

Mr. FIELDS. I rely upon the highest authority I can find upon this subject, which I accept rather than an opinion of my own or others who are not authorities on the subject.

Mr. JAMES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I will.

Mr. JAMES. Does not the gentleman know that the death of these volunteers, boys of the age of 19 to 21, was due to the incompetency of the volunteer officers? If the gentleman had experience in 1898 he would know that.

Mr. FIELDS. There may have been many causes for the numerous deaths, but the best authorities that we have teach us that boys of that age are not as hardy as men fully developed, and we can not get away from that fact.

Mr. HARDY. And they are not capable of taking care of themselves.

Mr. FIELDS. The remark of the gentleman from Texas is apt, that they are not capable of caring for themselves. They have not the will power to resist temptation, they have not the control of their appetites and passions like mature men have.

Now, let us come to the question of selective conscription. Those who favor it say that it is an equitable proposition because it is just like our taxing system that every man is forced to perform the duty that he owes to his Government. Every man pays taxes, but every man does not fight for his country. You propose to apply the selective-draft system to citizens of designated ages and then call from that class certain ones upon whom the call chances to drop by lottery, and in this way we may call one man who is practically useless in the Army and leave by his side another one who is full of the spirit of fight and who wants to enlist, but who under the system is prohibited, who would be a most valuable man in the ranks. Therefore the Government suffers the loss of a good soldier and accepts a poor one. You can not legislate equity into war or into the distribution of its burdens. There is no equity in it; it is a cruel process that we must unfortunately resort to for the preservation of our national life, but when it comes to distributing the burdens there is no way by which it can be done equitably unless it would be to draft all men, each to serve the same length of time, and even then the burdens would be greater on some than on others because of differences of temperament, so there is no way of equally distributing the burdens of war.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. FIELDS. I do.

Mr. FESS. I am trying to seek light; I have an open mind on this matter. The selective conscription will leave the man in the munitions factory receiving $3 to $5 a day that he is now commanding and take the boy who is not thus employed and send him to the line at $15 a month. What will the parents or the citizenry of the locality seeing this feel and say as to the discrimination? What effect will it have upon the citizenry in the discrimination?

Mr. FIELDS. That is the seriousness of the proposition.

Mr. FESS. That is the thing that is troubling me.

Mr. FIELDS. That is the seriousness of the proposition. We must all admit the fact that, regardless of what our personal opinion may be, we must deal with public sentiment in this great conflict. Laws are made by public sentiment; they are exe-

cuted by public sentiment, and the law that does not meet public approval will bring to the country we can not tell what in a crisis like this. That thought has given me no little concern. But let us hope that whatever is done will receive universal approval and prove most successful.

Now, I must hasten on. I return now to the point upon which I absolutely differ with the administration and upon which I can not yield, and that is the minimum age limit. [Applause.] When I started the fight in my committee to raise the minimum age limit from 19 to 21 I was told that I would stand alone, but I did not believe it, for I knew that I was right and felt that this Nation could not afford at this time to commit such an error. This is not a matter of sentiment or opinion, it is a question of conscience, because it touches the principles of humanity at the present and affects the race in the future.

Mr. McKENZIE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I do.

Mr. McKENZIE. In the interest of fairness will the gentleman from Kentucky, my colleague, not say to the committee that many of those of us who stand for conscription agree with him on that proposition.

Mr. FIELDS. I was just coming to that point, if the gentleman will permit me. There was opposition to my efforts to raise the minimum age limit when I started the fight, but every man upon that committee is a good, honest, conscientious thinker, and when the proposition was finally passed upon by the committee I am proud to say that my amendment to raise the minimum age limit from 19 to 21 received 20 votes to 1 vote against it. [Applause.]

Mr. WISE. Will the gentleman yield at that point, because I think it is important?

Mr. FIELDS. I yield.

Mr. WISE. Is it not true that while we are deceiving ourselves on the proposition that we raise the age limits to 21 and 40 that under the testimony of the Secretary of War we are taking his bill wherein every man who is actually called to the service will be between 21 and 25? Did not he say that he would not consent at all unless he had the right to call them in groups, and he would call the first group first and in that way he would get them between those ages? And you never would get them above those ages.

Mr. FIELDS. If my colleague will permit me, I am discussing the minimum age limit, and we do say positively in our bill prepared by the Military Committee that the minimum age limit shall be 21. I will reach the proposition to which the gentleman refers before I conclude.

Mr. LANGLEY. Is it not 19 in the Senate bill, which is now being considered in that body?

Mr. FIELDS. It is 19 in the Senate bill, and we will have that to deal with in the future, and I learn that an amendment will be offered in this body to reduce the minimum age to 19. I therefore desire to devote a few minutes' discussion to it at this time so the membership may have time to think over it carefully, after which I am sure you will sustain the decision of the House committee or House conferees.

Now, why do I oppose conscripting the youth of this country for this military service? First, this is a man's war and should be fought by the men of this country. Man owes his second duty to his government; his first to his God. But the child by divine right belongs to the mother, and the Government should protect her in that right, and I do not propose to consent that the first wound inflicted in this war shall be inflicted upon the heart of American motherhood. [Applause.] Oh, you say, the boy after he is 21 must go, and what is the difference? There is a great deal of difference. When a man reaches his majority the question of his duty in war is a question between him and his government. His mother yields him, because it is his duty to go. But call the tender youth, who the framers of the Constitution said because of his physical and mental immaturity is incapable of participating in the Government, and subject him to the burdens and the ravages of war to die for the country in the Government of which he can not participate because of his immaturity, and you outrage justice and crucify the principles of humanity. I pray God that the Congress of the United States and the manhood of America may have the strength and the courage to forego the commission of such an act.

Mr. LUNN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I will.

Mr. LUNN. I want to ask my colleague whether he believes it is the intention or the desire of the War Department to fight this war in the trenches or anywhere else with youths under 21 years of age?

Mr. FIELDS. We are not dealing with intentions, we are dealing with facts, we are dealing with a concrete proposition, a definite plan, presented to us for raising an army for probably the most arduous military duty that any army of this country has ever faced, and that says plainly that at least a portion of the Army, and probably all of it, shall be boys under 21 years of age.

And another thought in connection with that, my dear sir; we must realize that when men are called into the Army for this war they are called for service. They are not called to pleasure resorts; they are not called to places for mental and physical development, but they are called for arduous military duty. And when you go into the home and conscript the youth who is still under his mother's care the effect is just the same upon her and upon society, whether you are going to put him into the trenches two years from now or to-morrow. There is no difference in the moral effect upon the home. Therefore I refuse to strike this unnecessary blow at the homes of the United States, which have enough to suffer, God knows, at the best.

Mr. LUNN. Yesterday you asked me if I did not want to be fair. I answered, "Yes." I would like to ask you the same question. Do you not want to be fair?

Mr. FIELDS. I do.

Mr. LUNN. Do you believe the President of the United States, or the Secretary of War, or any member of this minority, or any Member of this House that favors conscription wants to strike a blow at the home?

Mr. FIELDS. I am not speaking of intentions. I am speaking of the plan we have been asked to write into law and what it will do if enacted into law, as requested. I am speaking of the plan of the General Staff to make this army out of boys under 21 years of age, and the gentleman knows that that is their plan, which they say has the approval of the President, which I very much regret. I contend that such a law would strike a painful and unnecessary blow at the homes of America. I am not impugning the motives of the President, but I have a right, and it is my duty as I see it, to differ with him on this vital question. I realize how far superior he is to me, but still he is a human being; and I read in Holy Writ that there is none perfect. No; not one. Then, all who are not perfect are subject to err. What man has ever lived, save the Son of God, who did not at some time or under some circumstances commit errors?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. FIELDS. I yield to my friend from Nebraska.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Let me read from the hearings before the committee in reply to the question of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN], who questioned the Secretary of War on that very point. The record reads as follows:

Mr. LUNN. That, it seems to me, is what we are doing now.

Secretary BAKER. We are going to enroll all of the boys between the ages of 19 and 25 years, and then choose by lot, getting some 20 years old, and so on.

Mr. LUNN. Why not make the limit 40 years?

Secretary BAKER. We would then be interfering too much with the industries.

Mr. LUNN. It is not a class of boys 19 years of age, but a class composed of men between the ages of 18 and 25 years.

Secretary BAKER. That would be the effect of the operation of this draft. A man will draw lot No. 1, and that man would go with the first 500,000 troops, while the man who drew lot No. 2 would go with the second 500,000 troops.

Mr. LUNN. Men from 25 years up would be entirely eliminated from any possible conscription?

Secretary BAKER. Yes.

That was the testimony of the Secretary of War upon the very question the gentleman asked.

Mr. FIELDS. I thank my colleague, Gov. SHALLENBERGER, for calling attention to the testimony before the committee. And in addition to that, the plan of the General Staff was written up by John Temple Graves, one of the most prominent writers of America, after he had conferred with a member of the General Staff, and was published in the New York American on April 17, and probably in many other papers, as well as referred to repeatedly during the discussion of this bill. And neither the General Staff, nor anyone representing it, has disputed or challenged the statements of Mr. Graves. His article reads as follows:

GENERAL STAFF TO CALL OUT FIRST 500,000 BOYS UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE.

[By John Temple Graves, staff correspondent of the New York American.]

WASHINGTON, *April 16.*

Just exactly how conscription or, as the President denominates it, "selective draft" will proceed is, of course, the most interesting of all questions just now connected with the organization of the new American army. I have from the Army and the General Staff standpoint the plan as it presents itself now and as it will prevail until Congress should alter the plan of the General Staff.

The War Department has sent to Congress its own idea and the idea of the Commander in Chief that conscription should be voted first and let the volunteer system come as an incident of it.

The President's wish, which is conscription or "selective draft," will eventually be voted by Congress.

FIRST ARMY OF 500,000.

The first grand army of 500,000 men, according to the staff officers, will be raised under the selective draft from men not over 20 years of age. It will be the "first class." These selective conscripts will not necessarily be kept undistributed. The majority, however, will not be assigned to other divisions than that created by the first general levy.

The process of the original levy of the beardless first army of a half million was explained to-day by a member of the General Staff.

First. The whole country is to be divided into 16 military districts, the limits of which have not yet been defined.

Second. A general officer with a complete staff is to be assigned to certain cities or localities as headquarters. These officers will report primarily to the departmental commanders. The general in command in the territorial division will select and equip camps for the selected conscripts.

REGISTRATION FIRST STEP.

Third. When the bill embodying this plan is passed, the postmasters of the second, third, and fourth classes and the rural free delivery carriers are to make registrations listing all the men in their sections who are from 19 years of age to 25 years. The bill prescribes the age as from 18 to 25, but the Army plan denominates the first men as "the 19-year-old class." They will probably be 19 years old before they are actually assigned to service.

Fourth. When the registration is completed the War Department will officially call out "class 19" first. The selected men will repair to the camps selected. Those who are exempted will be allowed to depart. Those who after physical examination are pronounced sound will be enrolled.

Fifth. The selected men will then go into immediate and vigorous military training. It is proposed by the General Staff to raise 150,000 officers and men under present laws to man the first 500,000 men. But in the meantime the training will proceed with all possible energy and dispatch under the officers now available.

After training the first army will be assigned to companies, battalions, regiments, troops, squadrons, batteries, brigades, and divisions until the military units have all been completed.

WILL BE READY IN YEAR.

It is believed all this can be done, with the virile adaptability of American youth, within less than a year after the arrival of the men in the training camps. The staff officers express full confidence there will be enough men of the "19-year class," as registered in the postal districts, to make the complement of 500,000 and to render unnecessary the immediate calling of the "20-year class."

If, however, the registration of 19-year-old men is not sufficient, the "20-year class" will be called, and out of this second class will be selected by lot a number sufficient to make up the first 500,000.

This latter contingency, is, however, so remote a contingency in the judgment of staff officers that they give it little consideration.

It is reasonably certain that this is the plan under which the first American army will be selected and trained for the battle field.

Mr. FIELDS. Now, aside from the principles of humanity to which I have referred, let us take the testimony from some of the authorities that we have in this and other countries on this subject.

Mr. FESS. Would the gentleman yield before he enters upon that?

Mr. FIELDS. I yield.

Mr. FESS. The question of the gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN] to the gentleman now on the floor, is a conundrum to me. If these boys who are to be conscripted are not to fight the battles, what are they for? What is the purpose of it?

Mr. FIELDS. I can not understand the reasoning of the gentleman from New York. I do not know what he means.

Mr. LUNN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FIELDS. No; I can not yield further.

Mr. LUNN. I yielded to you very generously yesterday.

Mr. FIELDS. You did not yield the whole of your time to me, neither did I ask it.

Mr. LUNN. I do not ask you for your whole time.

Mr. FIELDS. Now, Mr. Chairman, aside from the principles of humanity involved in the proposition to place the burdens of fighting this war upon the immature youths of the country, there is another principle of vital concern to society. The youths of this generation will be the men of the next generation, and they have a right to develop mentally and physically under normal conditions to fit them for their future responsibilities. If we force upon them in their tender state the burdens of this war we unfit those of them who may survive the conflict for their future responsibilities and do an injustice to their posterity. We can not afford to do it. We must live after the war as well as during the war, so let us protect and develop the children of to-day, who must meet the responsibilities of the future.

I have said that boys of 19 and 20 are unfit for military service, and I am going to prove it by eminent authority—both by experts on juvenile psychology and warriors who have seen real service, including the greatest of all warriors, Napoleon.

Dr. Sargent, of Harvard University, in testifying before the Senate committee, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, said:

In the medical department of the report of the Secretary of War for 1898 we find the following paragraph in relation to the health of the troops in the Spanish War:

"In my opinion the reduction of the age limit from 21 to 18 years and the haste with which the volunteer regiments were organized and mustered into service were responsible for much of the sickness which was reported in the early days of their camp life. All military experience shows that young men under 21 years break down readily under the strain of war service; and every regiment had many of these youths in its ranks. Medical examiners were appointed to testify to the physical qualifications of each man before acceptance, but, notwithstanding this, which at the time was characterized in the press as a very rigorous procedure, so many men were afterwards found on the sick lists of the camps unfit for service from causes existing prior to enlistment that special arrangements had to be made for their discharge."

Sir William Aitken, Knt., M. D., F. R. S., professor of pathology in the Army Medical School of England, in his book on the Growth of the Recruit and the Young Soldier, sets forth the result of much study and experience on this question. He cites many military authorities to show that soldiers of less than 20 years of age have proved rather an incumbrance than an assistance to an army. For example, M. Coche:

"Recruits at 18 years of age are commonly unfit for the duties of an army. If they do not possess unusual strength they pass two, three, or more years in the hospital, if they are not discharged from the service altogether before that time."

Again, he quotes Dr. Parks:

"There is no doubt that to send young lads of 18 to 20 into the field is not only a lamentable waste of material but is positive cruelty at that age. Such soldiers, as Napoleon said, merely strew the roadsides and fill the hospitals. The most effective armies have been those in which the soldiers have been 22 years of age."

To quote Sir William Aitken himself:

"It will be my duty to show you that the younger the recruit under 22 years of age the less perfect is the growth of his skeleton, and of such important organs as the heart, the lungs, the liver, and the kidneys, the less is his body weight, and bulk, and the less able is he for military work. It is hardly reasonable to expect the same work and exertion out of a lad 18 to 20 as out of a full-grown man of 25 to 30 years of age."

It is interesting to note the following in Sir William Aitken's book:

"In the annual report of the Surgeon General of the United States Army for 1885 it is shown that a greater proportion of invalids was furnished by troops under 31 years of age, while up to the age of 25 the rate proved so much above the mean for the whole Army that the Surgeon General states, 'It may fairly be questioned whether the services rendered by these young men are equal to the cost of their maintenance.'"

I shall not quote the further authorities that I have on this subject which are numerous, but shall put them, or a part of them, in the RECORD.

Now, in conclusion, let me repeat: We must live after the war. In our hysteria that something must be done to-day let us not take the youths of the country who are not physically and mentally developed and subject them to the ravages of this war, which would necessarily affect them and their posterity, thereby affecting the race. The deciding battle in this war will not be fought to-morrow. We must get an army at the quickest moment possible, but when we get that army let it be an army of men and not an army of children. Let it be an army that can discharge its duties as our volunteer fathers discharged their duties in the wars of the past. Let us not repeat the mistakes of the Civil War by conscripting youths into the military service, which made the death rate in that war appalling to the people of this Nation.

This question may come back to the House later on, because in the other body they are standing for the minimum age of 19; and I, for that reason, submit these observations at this time for the consideration of the membership of this body. As I have previously said, my main and absolutely uncompromising difference with the administration is upon this point. I stand by not only my judgment but also my conviction on this question, a conviction that I am unwilling to yield, a conviction that I would not yield, regardless of what effect my refusal to do so might have upon my political fortunes; but that does not concern me when a principle of such magnitude as this one is involved. It requires a spirit of self-sacrifice to take any stand that is not indorsed by the President and the Secretary of War at this time, but I am willing and ready to make any sacrifice that may be required of me for the course I have taken in this matter. Let me add, in conclusion, that if the time ever comes when men in this body, through fear that they may incur the displeasure of the executive authorities or subject themselves to criticism, shall fail to stand by their honest convictions on questions which they believe affect not only the basic principles of our civic institutions but the fundamental principles of humanity as well, then and there the pillars upon which rests the principles of representative government will begin to crumble. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I am unwilling to yield on this point, regardless of what it may bring to me in the future, and I trust and pray that the membership of this House will stand for the protection of the children of America against the burdens and ravages of this war. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman reserves two minutes of his time.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman—Mr. FIELDS, of Kentucky—who has just taken his seat has re-

ferred to the personal assault of certain newspapers upon the chairman of this committee and the members of the committee who have signed the majority report. I wish to preface my remarks here this morning by expressing my emphatic dissent from these unjustifiable reflections upon the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and the gentlemen who have united with him in signing the majority report. My association with these gentlemen has been so pleasant and so instructive that it gives me pleasure to bear testimony to the diligence, the patience, and the honesty of purpose with which they have discharged their duties in reference to the measure now before this body. Surrounded here by their colleagues, I hardly think it necessary even to pause to pay a passing tribute to the conspicuous ability and the exalted patriotism of the Hon. S. HUBERT DENT, of Alabama, and the other gentlemen to whom I have referred. [Applause.]

It was with the utmost diffidence I ventured to differ with him and the majority of my colleagues on the Military Committee in regard to the important matter now before this body; but overshadowing the committee stands the form and figure of the great President of the American people. He has had the advice of the expert military men of this country. He has followed the bloody drama that has been enacted in Europe and can retrace the progress of our allies through the blunders which they committed. He has now at his elbow the wisest statesmen of the world, the ablest military commanders of this age or any other age, and I take it that we ought to weigh well our own conclusions when we attempt to depart from the advice which he gives to us. Furthermore, he is, under the Constitution, the Commander in Chief of the armies and the navies of the country, as well as the adviser of Congress. Upon him rests the responsibility to wage this war to a successful conclusion. I take it that I can render no greater service to the best interests of my constituents and the interests of my country than by standing firmly and steadfastly behind his leadership. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, we all recognize the emergency which confronts us. We are at war with the greatest military power on earth—savage and cruel in its methods—upon whose solemn obligations no reliance can be placed. We must raise an army adequate to our defense. It takes time to raise an army, to equip and train it for action. A raw recruit is not considered fit until he has had 12 months' intensive training. Our trained men are barely sufficient to enforce the law within our own territories against domestic disorder. It is in violation of no state secret to say that many months must elapse before we can be adequately prepared for defense, much less for offensive war. Our contributions to this war for a long time to come must be food, munitions, and credit to our allies. We can not wait to prepare until the Germans thunder at our gates. We would then be too late, and we would deservedly go sounding down the ages as a nation of fatuous fools. All are agreed upon the immediate and pressing exigency of having an army of sufficient proportions to meet all possibilities.

But, Mr. Chairman, I desire to confine my remarks to what is actually before this body. The committee has reported a bill and the minority have filed a dissenting report, bearing exclusively upon one feature of the bill. The only matter before the House at present is the bill of the committee, the majority report and the minority report, and the only point of dissent in the minority report is the method of raising the army whether by the system known as volunteering or by the system known as the selective draft. There is nothing before this body which involves the age of those to be selected. The bill reported by the committee fixes the age limits for the selective draft between the ages of 21 and 40, and the minority report does not dissent therefrom. The age limit therefore is not the question before this body. I stand on the bill as reported in this respect. Therefore, it seems to me that all the matters which the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS] has debated here are absolutely irrelevant to any question that is now before this body.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield to the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia Yes.

Mr. FIELDS. I suppose the gentleman refers to the age limit?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. FIELDS. He does not mean to say what he really stated, that all the matters I debated were irrelevant?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. No. I meant the greater portion of the gentleman's speech.

Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. FIELDS. The gentleman understands that I stated that the other body was passing the bill, with the minimum age of 19, and I discussed that feature at this time in order to call the attention of the House to that fact, because it will be before us later.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I stand with the committee on that proposition, that we must raise the age limit, and I do not care to be diverted from the few remarks that I will ask this body to hear from me in order to discuss a proposition that is not before the House at the present time. [Applause.] Nor is it a question, Mr. Chairman, of raising an army immediately. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] said yesterday that if you would issue a call for volunteers in 48 hours we would have an army, while under the selective draft it would take from three to five months to get the machinery in operation. What would we do with an army in 48 hours? The Secretary of War has said it would be a disorganized mob here, without the possibility of caring for it, and that the three to five months' delay required for providing the machinery of the selective draft was necessary in order to be able to take care of the recruits when they came.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield to the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Certainly.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Does the gentleman object to the volunteer system because he is afraid we are going to get an army to fight this war?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I am coming to the volunteer system shortly. I will show you that you have not got a volunteer system in your proposal. I state here that you are saying you can get an army in 48 hours under the volunteer system, when the Secretary of War has said that he could not handle an army of 500,000 men in any less time than it is necessary to take to put into effect this draft system.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will my colleague permit a question there?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. My colleague from Virginia is a very accomplished Shakesperean scholar, as I have occasion to know.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I had to yield to his superior knowledge on a former occasion.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Does my colleague remember that Sir John Falstaff describes exactly the kind of an army that would be raised under this system?—

> But look you, pray, all you that kiss my lady Peace at home, that our armies join not in a hot day; for, by the Lord, I take but two shirts out with me.

[Laughter.]

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I think the illustration of the gentleman from Vermont is very apt.

Mr. HARDY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HARDY. Is Sir John Falstaff one of the high military expert authorities to whom the gentleman refers?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I have not referred to him. I stand on the report of the Secretary of War. You are standing on Sir John Falstaff.

Mr. HARDY. No; I am not. It is the gentleman from Vermont who cites him.

Mr. GORDON. Will it interrupt the gentleman if I ask him a question right there?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GORDON. Is it your understanding that it is not the purpose of the majority to train these volunteers at all?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. No; I understand they will be trained.

Mr. GORDON. Why do you describe them as a mob, then?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. In due and proper time, under the selective draft system, we expect to call the recruits to come and we will then be able to train them.

Mr. GORDON. You are afraid they will come too quick.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes; that is exactly what we are. We do not want them here until we are ready for them.

Mr. GORDON. You do not need to have them until you are ready for them.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. What do you suppose we are going to do with a mob without arms, without equipment, without any housing for them, the men without training and without officers to train them?

Mr. GORDON. We are not going to bring them here. We are going to leave them at home until we are ready for them.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. That is where they will be pretty apt to stay. [Applause.] Now, I will ask not to be interrupted unless some information is really desired.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to be interrupted.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Now, as I have said, the question of these details is not before this body at present. Neither the question of the age limit, nor the question of bringing an army here immediately, nor the machinery of operating the selective draft is before this body; but the sole and only question is whether we shall have this army raised by the volunteer system or by a selective draft. Mr. Chairman, let us understand terms. Is that a volunteer system where the men are driven into the ranks by the scorn and contempt of their neighbors? Yet the testimony of the British officer before our committee was to the effect——

Mr. WISE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes; if it is for information.

Mr. WISE. A question for information. The gentleman speaks of men being driven into the Army by the scorn of their neighbors. Do you suppose that some of these men over 25 years of age are afraid they will be forced to go?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I have just this moment said that the question of the age limit was not a matter that was before this body at this time. I have stated that I indorsed the plan of the committee in making the age limit between 21 and 40 and that I did not consider that the age limit proposed by the Secretary of War between 19 and 25 was at all essential or a vital feature of the draft system. I think that everyone of military age, not under 21, should be the subject of the selective draft. Now, I hope I may be permitted to continue my discussion of the subject which is actually before this House for its present consideration. It has been claimed here that the volunteer system has been tried out in England and its dependencies and that it has proved a success. I was about to quote the testimony of the British officer of the methods that were resorted to to obtain the so-called volunteers. He testified that the most extraordinary methods were brought to bear upon the men liable to military service in order to force them into the army. Everything that intense public scorn could suggest was resorted to. I need not enter into details. They are perfectly well known to those who have cared to investigate the matter. Such men were no more volunteers in the true sense than the man who is dragged there by the strong arm of the law.

Now, I ask for the correction of another term which is frequently used here. In the late Civil War both North and South, after every man had been enlisted who could be induced to do so voluntarily, by conscription acts sought to bring in the refuse. Of course, conscription at the end, after all had volunteered who would do so, instead of conscription at the beginning, which would have been fair to all alike, brought a stigma upon every man who was thus finally conscripted in the Army; but I deny that the system recommended here by the Secretary of War has anything in common with conscription of that character.

Under the selective-draft system every man liable to military service is called upon to come forward and register. He then waits and bides his time until his country calls for him in the manner and according to the procedure prescribed. When he comes forward in response to this call and puts his name upon the registration list, he is as much a volunteer as the man who goes to the recruiting office and has his name put upon the recruiting books. [Applause.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Is it not a fact that the bill provides that a man may be imprisoned for six months or a year upon a day's notice by the Federal court if he does not go?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. That is your bill, too, exactly.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Is that man a volunteer when he has the penitentiary behind him?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Your provision for volunteers has a conscription act in fact behind it, coupled with its provisions for imprisonment by a Federal court. I propose to come to that later. I will not be diverted at this time from the line of my argument. I say that the man who goes under this selective draft and registers his name to wait his turn for the call of his country is far more a volunteer than the man who goes under the lash of public scorn and ostracism and is recruited. [Applause.] It is not the hullaballoo boy who is always the fighter. The man who quietly and in the fear of God discharges his whole duty in response to the laws of his country is just as apt to be the reliable soldier as the man whose valor is always on dress parade. Now, let us look a little at the basic principles of these systems. Why should one man volunteer and another man stay at home? Why should one man go to the front and another man get his job at home? Why should one man make every sacrifice, even unto the sacrificing of his life at the front, while another man stays at home and gets the benefit of army contracts? Where is the first semblance of equal rights and corresponding duties in such a system as this? The selective draft is based upon the right as well as the duty of every man to serve his State in time of war. It applies to the rich and the poor alike, to the high and low alike. No distinction is based here upon the willing or the unwilling, upon the aristocracy of birth or of wealth. All must respond to do his share in carrying a common burden. The volunteer system feeds upon the patriotism and the zealousness of the real useful citizen and fosters the selfishness and greed of the slacker. On the other hand, the selective draft has its foundation in the Jeffersonian principles of equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

As an illustration, I desire to read here the letter from a valued friend, Hon. George W. Settle, of Flint Hill, Va., which I ask to have read as a part of my remarks:

FLINT HILL, VA., *April 22, 1917.*

Judge T. W. HARRISON,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR JUDGE HARRISON: I want to convey to you my approval and appreciation of the high stand you are taking on the "selective draft" measure now pending before your Military Committee.

I can but feel that if the sensible citizens of this Nation understood just what this measure means that there would be universal demand for its passage.

With the urgent call for producers and the lack of true patriotism on the part of those who are not producers, it seems to me the only way we can hope to meet the crying needs of the day.

I have three boys, all of whom are producers and badly needed on my farm, yet, when the President called, with my hearty consent they made application for enlistment in the Second Regiment of Virginia and are now awaiting for orders; at the same time they were the only volunteers from this district, which evidences just what the result would be, comparatively speaking, under the volunteer system. The very ones who amount to something in the way of producing would volunteer and the ones who could very well be spared would not volunteer, which would prove a calamity at this trying period of our national history.

Your constituents, if not now, will after they understand applaud you for your gallant and splendid fight for this the only fair and just way by which to raise an army such as we must have to prove ourselves worthy the past record of Americans.

With my best wishes and kind regards, I am,

Very truly, yours, GEO. W. SETTLE.

I say that the volunteer system is undemocratic, and I say that the system of the selective draft is the only democratic method. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, it is pleasant for me to reflect that I represent the old county of Albemarle, in which Thomas Jefferson lived and spent the declining years of his life. [Applause.]

In the latter part of his life he lived at Monticello, where he expounded for the benefit of all generations the grand principles of democracy. Here he supervised the foundation of the great University of Virginia, of which he was the father. I hold in my hand a telegram from Hon. Edwin A. Alderman, president of the University of Virginia, and the faculty, indorsing the selective-draft plan. I hold in my hand a petition signed by every member of the faculty of the university and all its administrative officers, indorsing the selective-draft plan. I have received resolutions adopted by a large mass meeting held at Charlottesville under the very shadows of Monticello, indorsing the selective-draft plan. I have received resolutions from the chamber of commerce of the same city, indorsing the selective-draft plan. [Applause.] And now, representing the old county where he claimed his citizenship, I ask permission to read what Thomas Jefferson himself has said.

In a letter to James Monroe, he wrote the following:

But it proves more forcibly the necessity of obliging every citizen to be a soldier; this was the case with the Greeks and Romans and must be that of every free State. Where there is no oppression there will be no pauper hirelings. We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens, and make military instruction part of collegiate education. We can never be safe till this is done.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Does the gentleman contend that Jefferson favored conscription in that passage? It was universal military training.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I will read you something a little more pertinent.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. I would like to hear it.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Here it is. In a letter to J. W. Eppes, Thomas Jefferson wrote:

I think the truth must now be obvious, that our people are too happy at home to enter into regular service and that we can not be defended but by making every citizen a soldier, as the Greeks and Romans, who had no standing army; and that in doing this, all must be marshaled, classed by their ages, and every service ascribed to its competent class.

[Applause.]

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.
Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Is that all?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. That is all, and I thought that was enough. [Applause.]
Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Is it not possible that the entire manhood of the Nation might be drilled and disciplined from a military viewpoint, and at the beginning of any war volunteers be called for?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. What would be the sense of drilling them if you did not want them to fight? [Laughter.]
Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman permit me to answer what the sense is?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.
Mr. CHANDLER of New York. In this emergency with which we are confronted now, whether we applied the volunteer method or conscriptive method, we want disciplined men in the first place.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I have tried to explain my conception of the difference.
Mr. OSBORNE. Will the gentleman permit a suggestion?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.
Mr. OSBORNE. Is it not a fact that by reason of the neglect of this advice of Thomas Jefferson in 1813, in the following year of 1814 this city of Washington was captured by the British and this Capitol was burned? [Applause.]
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. The point is well taken. From the earliest colonial days until some years after the Civil War, in Virginia, our statutes required and insisted upon the enrollment of every man of military age into companies, battalions, and regiments, and the duty was imposed, under the penalty of a fine, on every man to report at stated and frequent intervals for drill and instruction. These statutes, some time after the Civil War, were superseded by statutes organizing volunteer companies, and these in turn became, under later statutes, a part of the National Guard. So that the principle announced by President Wilson of universal liability for military service is no new doctrine in Virginia. I have been discussing these two systems from the viewpoint of the individual. Let us consider them now, briefly, from the standpoint of the Government exclusively.
In modern warfare it is just as essential to mobilize the industrial resources of a country as it is to mobilize its armed forces. This is well illustrated by the situation of Germany in the present war. The strangle hold of England on Germany is starvation, and the attempt of Germany by its U-boat warfare has the same intent against England. An army must be fed, as well as the people of a country. The necessary equipment for the army must be provided. The demoralization, therefore, of the industrial conditions of a country would lead as certainly to defeat as the failure to raise an army. The volunteer system ignores all these conditions. Fiery appeals are made to the patriotic to join the Army without regard to the demoralization produced in the agricultural interests or in the manufacturing interests or in the mining interests. The high cost of living bears testimony to the great strain under which the agricultural interests are now laboring. Ought this great industry at this time, so essential to success in war, be subjected to a further strain by the appeals of the Government to patriotic citizens to leave the fields and join the ranks of the Army?
The selective-draft method presents these advantages: First, it raises the Army without question and without doubt. It raises it according to a definite program. The military commander knows exactly what he may count upon. Under the volunteer system the recruiting increases or decreases according to the wave of enthusiasm which may at the time be pervading the country. Second, it raises the Army on a fair and just principle, that every man is liable to service in one capacity or another; and, finally, it raises the Army without disturbing the business interests of the country.
Under the selective draft a man is taken to serve in the ranks who can serve there without disturbing the industrial interests of the country. The man who is needed on the farm to provide the food of the Nation is kept there and not permitted to join the Army.
I know that the majority report of the committee recognizes some sort of an exemption in regard to their volunteer provision as is provided for here in the selective draft.
Mr. GORDON. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.
Mr. GORDON. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that that provision is identical with the provision in the drafting system.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I am going to call your attention to the fact that it is not worth a button. You call for volunteers and then tell them you will not take them. You are playing at cross purposes.
Mr. CLAYPOOL. The gentleman says they will not take them?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes; you call for volunteers, and when one offers you say, "Oh, no; you are not the one we want."
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Yes.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Is not that what you propose to do by your enrollment plan, and when he comes you say you do not want him?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Our plan is an exemption plan. If a man is called, he has to be exempted, and we exempt him, but you in your bill you first appeal red hot for people everywhere, and then you say, "Oh, we do not want you."
Mr. CLAYPOOL. How are you going to exempt them?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. The machinery is going to exempt them, a civil tribunal provided for in this bill. It is intended to be a local court, and Secretary Baker suggested the local probate court.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. How many local tribunals made up of politicians are going to pass on the life and liberty of American citizens?
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Your bill calls for the very same thing. [Applause.]
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. We also have a plan by which we may not have to resort to it.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. And how many political colonels and other officers are you going to have under your plan? [Laughter.]
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. We do not provide for them in the bill; they are appointed, every one of them.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. The bill provides for volunteering in regiments or other military units, with their own officers.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. The President of the United States has authority to appoint them under the volunteer plan when they are called.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, yesterday on the floor, I understood some gentleman, I think from Kentucky, to say that he had three or four captains or colonels down in his country ready to enlist and recruit.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes; but the gentleman will admit that if the President of the United States sees fit to appoint them, they should be appointed.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. The law provides the open door of opportunity for every one who is desirous of obtaining a commission and who is worthy to have one, and that is through the Officers Reserve Training Corps. [Applause.] Let the officer come in the regular prescribed method which trains him and prepares him for his duties so that he may not be a menace to himself and to those whom he has in his charge.
Mr. SHALLENBERGER. That is by the law which we are going to call these volunteers in. That is what the gentleman is referring to and there can be no other way.
Mr. GLASS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we have heard most of these gentlemen who insist upon interrupting the gentleman from Virginia, and we would like to hear the views of the gentleman from Virginia. [Applause.] I suggest that he maintain his right to speak.
The CHAIRMAN. This is a matter entirely within the control of the gentleman from Virginia. If the gentleman desires the Chair not to permit interruptions, the Chair will not permit them; but as long as the gentleman yields, he has control of his own rights.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Of course, I am always glad to yield if I have the time. Mr. Chairman, I have tried to impress here the importance of the basic difference between the volunteer system which has proved a failure in its true sense in every war and the selective draft——
Mr. CLAYPOOL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. HARRISON of Virgina. No; my time is speeding.
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.
Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I wish to get something in a collective way before this body, and I can not do it if I have to reply to questions, the answers to which the gentlemen can find out in some better way than through me. I have been endeavoring to point out to this body the basic differences between the volunteer system and the selective draft. I have not as yet pointed out any of the features which the bill of the committee proposes. In my judgment the proposition of the majority of the committee contains all the evils of the volunteer system without any of its redeeming features and then provides a conscript provision in its most odious form. If you

are calling for volunteers and want your volunteer patriot, why do you hold over his head the threat of conscription and say, "If you do not come, you patriot, we will drag you"? [Laughter.] This is not the volunteer system of traditional historic romance. You then provide a form of conscription before you give a fair opportunity to the recruit to volunteer. You stigmatize a man with conscription without any just excuse for so doing. Before any real conscription law is put into force, which is intended to be aimed at slackers only, every one should be given a just and fair opportunity to enlist. [Applause.] In other words, the proposed bill of the majority of the committee provides for a volunteer system to which is attached an odious conscript provision, and then throws upon the President the responsibility of putting the odius conscription into force.

No one can be enrolled under this provision for the selective draft without being stigmatized as a slacker, and no one can volunteer under the volunteer provision free from the threat of conscription. Congress then evades its responsibility by placing upon the President the odium of putting the conscript provision into effect. This is not what the President asked for. Under the plan submitted by the Secretary of War, the Regular Army and the National Guard are to be recruited to their full war strength by volunteering. This makes a provision for volunteers to the number of about 700,000 men. This provision for receiving volunteers is amply sufficient to take care of all those adventurous spirits who wish to join the Army and who might not be called under the selective draft. In the opinion of the President, this is as far as volunteering can be safely permitted. The selective draft then goes into operation without any of the stigma being attached to any of those brought in under it as a slacker.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. KAHN. Does the gentleman desire more time?

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. I would like to have three minutes in which to close.

Mr. KAHN. I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that I represent upon the floor of this House a people who have fulfilled every obligation in time of war and in time of peace. The people whom I have the honor to represent are no race of slackers. In every war of this country they have done their full duty. It was in Woodstock, Va., that Muhlenburg doffed his priestly robes to don the uniform of a soldier in the time of our Revolutionary War. Morgan led his brave Virginians through many of the storm centers of that war. I have the honor to represent here the survivors of that gallant band who gave to Jackson his sobriquet of "Stonewall" in the first battle of Manassas. I represent here survivors of that gallant band that climbed the bloody slope of Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg. I represent here the survivors of that band at Appomattox who, after the flag of the South had gone down in blood and tears, returned to ruined homes and devastated fields to face the problems of peace with the same fortitude and courage which they had displayed on a hundred battle fields. Anyone traveling now through the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah, or along the slopes of the Blue Ridge in Piedmont Virginia, will see how faithful and true these men have been since the war in restoring by the labors of peace the land for which they fought and bled to all its pristine beauty. Nor has the present generation been slow in its response to the call of their country in defense of her honor and her liberty. Already companies have been organized in my district and are now in the field ready for any duty which may be given into their charge. So far as I have been able to hear from them, old soldiers and young soldiers prefer that system which the President proposes and which is intended to fairly and equitably distribute the burdens of war. They are not afraid to do their part.

Standing here and speaking for those gallant young soldiers, I believe in the trying times coming that they will ever prove true to the teachings of their fathers and the traditions of their State, and they will call upon the soldiers from all sections to follow them as they carry the Star-Spangled Banner deep into the ranks of their enemy. I believe that they and the people of my district trust in the leadership of the President.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GORDON]. [Applause.]

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, these companies of patriotic citizens who have already organized themselves down in the home district of Thomas Jefferson will not have a chance to get into this war unless the majority of your committee is sustained. [Applause.] I call your attention to the fact that these gentlemen who have been eulogizing in such glowing words, as has the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON], these companies which have been organized of patriotic young men, can not get into the service under his draft system unless you adopt our amendment and give them a chance to enlist. [Applause.] If I am mistaken about that, I will ask any man to correct me.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. You are right.

Mr. GORDON. But he says, Why do you pass this up to the President? Why, the gentleman opened his speech here by saying what a patriotic duty it was for every citizen to stand by the President. We have been assailed in the newspapers in the United States as traitors to this Nation because we have exercised our own judgment in framing this legislation. We will meet you at Philippi on that proposition. We will not delay by the adoption of the majority proposition the enlistment and raising of an army one minute, and I challenge any man here to deny it. [Applause.] Not a minute. I understand my obligation to support the President. We are giving him all the men that he asks for, and we are trying to give to him a great deal better men than he asks for, if you want to know it. [Applause.] Why, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON] says why do you hang up over people's heads the threat of conscription? Why does the General Staff bill hang up the threat of conscription over the Regular Army and the National Guard? It is there.

The great change in the law is as to these extra additional men to be recruited for this emergency, and we adopt the identical language of the War Department bill as to the Regular Army and National Guard. Oh, but he says, the volunteers are mobs, the volunteers are mobs. You heard something some time ago when this war commenced about "Kitchener's mob," but "Kitchener's mob" is winning this war to-day. [Applause.] There is not a conscript Englishman, Scotchman, or Irishman upon the Continent of Europe, not one. They have not the conscripts ready yet. They have got to drill them longer. [Applause.] Now, there has been a good deal of talk and not much light furnished upon the differences in our committee in reference to this legislation. Nobody has told you, and nobody will tell you, why you can not detail a man for private service in a munitions factory as well when he volunteers as if he is conscripted. No; they just try to befuddle you. [Applause.] Capt. Benson testified before our committee, as you have been informed, but you have not been advised of all he testified to. A captain of the English Army, an officer in the regular service, testified that 5,000,000 men volunteered in England. All the men on the Continent fighting to-day are volunteers. They stopped volunteering early in the war because they could not take care of them, they came so fast. The gentleman wants a democratic Army. Do you want to impose upon the boys of this country under 20 years old the burden and obligations of fighting this war?

Mr. FIELDS. Will my colleague yield right there? Did not he state that the troubles in reference to recruiting in the British Army were based upon the fact they did not throw any safeguards around enlistments but took men in the army who had been in the munitions factories perhaps——

Mr. GORDON. Of course, that is true; the men sent back to munitions factories are volunteers, too.

Mr. FIELDS. Now, in connection with that we have provided these safeguards in our bill for the American volunteer.

Mr. GORDON. Yes; exactly the same as if we conscripted them. Now the gentleman says military experts advise the Commander in Chief. Yes; the military experts rejected territorial recruitment and the committee put it back in the bill. Do you know what territorial recruitment is? It is the proposition that those living in the same community may enlist together and go to the war together. A man wants to enlist and his younger brother also, and he can go to the front with him in the same company and take care of him. That originated in the Revolutionary War in 1776. That is the distinctive feature of the volunteer as against the conscript and standing army. It has since been adopted by every single nation in Europe and is in force to-day—the territorial recruitment proposition. That was rejected by the military advisers of the President and the committee had to put it back in the bill. There is no minority report on that proposition, however. The General Staff experts recommended that every bureau chief's salary be increased during the progress of this war and that they receive the pay and allowances of a major general—$9,300 a year. We took that out also. [Laughter and applause.] Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter during the War of 1812, when this Nation was engaged in war with the greatest military and naval power on the face of the earth, in which he said that at some time in the future we ought to adopt the policy of military training for our youths.

You have not heard any utterance from Thomas Jefferson in favor of the minority proposition, however, and you will not.

Mr. Chairman, one of the changes in the bill submitted by the War Department was to strike out the provision authorizing the President to conscript by lot and selective draft into the

military service of the United States 500,000 men, and later the same number, if he found it necessary, from those of our citizens between the ages of 19 and 25, and to substitute therefor a provision authorizing a call forthwith by the President for 500,000 volunteers, and later a call for the same number, if necessary, from those of our citizens of military age.

The President is also authorized to provide for the registration of all our citizens between the ages of 21 and 40, inclusive. Upon completion of the registration, if the men authorized and called have not been raised by voluntary enlistment, the President is then authorized to conscript them by lot and selective draft from those citizens so registered.

Every citizen of common sense is able to decide for himself which of the two foregoing plans more nearly complies with the principle of universal liability to service; no one who has read it claims that the War Department bill contained any provision for "universal training." The nearest approach to this title was the provision stricken out, authorizing the conscription from those between 19 and 25 of the men required, for the period of the war, not to train, but to fight, and we concluded that men between 21 and 40 would be better for that purpose; and if the volunteers could be obtained they would, with the same preparation, make much better soldiers.

On March 26, 1917, The Adjutant General instructed the chiefs of the bureaus in the War Department to furnish emergency supplemental estimates of the amounts required for the organization of a volunteer army of 500,000 men, in addition to the Regular Army and National Guard, which organizations were to be recruited to a little over 500,000 more, and Congress has been asked to appropriate for this number for the coming year, and no more.

Just when it was decided by the War Department to abandon this intention to call for 500,000 volunteers does not appear in the testimony before our committee, or elsewhere that I know of, but it was sometime since these estimates were called for, as the men outside of the existing organizations are referred to in the hearings before our committee from April 7 to 17 as "additional troops."

The American volunteer, properly trained and disciplined, is the most effective soldier the world has ever seen, because he is the most intelligent and courageous, and because he always has fought for what he believed to be the cause of liberty; he has fought and won every war in which this Nation has engaged; and it was only in the Civil War that conscription was resorted to by Congress, and it then proved a ghastly failure; only 62,000 men out of over 2,200,000 were raised in the North by draft, and most of these deserted or ran away at the first shot.

We are at war with the greatest military power on earth. We can not afford to send conscripts against the trained legions of the Kaiser. If we had tnree or four years in which to train them, you might make an effective force with unwilling men in it, but the time is too short and we ought to have all volunteers, because they can be trained and conditioned more quickly and they are the most effective and dependable soldiers in the world.

We are advised by the Department of War that the registration and training of officers will take three to five months; why should not the President at once call for volunteers and accept them when he is ready to equip and train them, while the process of registration and training of officers is in progress?

It has been said in this debate that the minority desire to avoid having an army made up of part volunteers and part conscripts, and therefore they propose to permit men to volunteer in the Regular Army and National Guard, until the President orders a draft into these branches of the service, but that no one shall be permitted to volunteer for service in the new force created for the present emergency.

Will not this create and emphasize the very distinction and comparison which it is sought to avoid? The majority report places all three branches of the service on an exact equality and authorizes the President to resort to the draft to fill up each of them on the same terms and conditions.

In their efforts to discredit the volunteer principle it has been necessary to ignore and repudiate the rules and regulations which have always obtained in the Army and Navy of the United States. Men are not detailed to-day in the Regular service to the Aviation Corps, because it is too hazardous; they are required to volunteer. In all our wars where men have been asked to perform a specially dangerous duty, volunteers have been called for from men already in the service. When Hobson sunk the *Merrimac* in the harbor of Santiago in the Spanish War he and the men who went with him volunteered for that service. [Applause.]

The President can not lawfully send beyond the confines of the United States the National Guard until the members volunteer or are drafted for that special service. Both the President and Congress recognized that fact last summer, when Congress, at the request of the War Department, authorized the President to draft the National Guard, then on the border, for service in Mexico, in anticipation of an attack upon our Regular forces which were then beyond the border in pursit of Villa. The authority conferred was not exercised by the President, because it did not become necessary, but both the President and Congress thereby recognized the legal status of the National Guard, which may only be lawfully called out by the President or Congress to suppress insurrection, repel invasion, or execute the laws of the United States.

The militia of the States, out of which is formed the Organized Militia, or National Guard, includes all citizens of military age.

When called by the President into the service of the United States during the War of 1812 some of the militia refused to cross the border for the conquest of Canada, and their right to so refuse was conceded. To what extent the United States Government can enlarge its powers over the militia, if at all, by "drafting" instead of "calling" them into the Federal service is doubtful.

So distinguished and able a constitutional lawyer as Daniel Webster contended on the floor of this House on December 9, 1814, that citizens of the States could not be drafted for an invasion of Canada or any other foreign country, and a conscription bill was defeated in the House at that time and for that reason, although we were then at war with England and had been for 2½ years.

The Judge Advocate General of the Army is reported to have ruled that Congress may draft into the military service the red-headed citizens only of the United States; this may possibly be true as a legal proposition, but no one would seriously consider doing such a thing.

Many have been misled into error as to the duty of Congress in this emergency by observing the operation of the military systems in Europe since the beginning of this war. For many years prior to the outbreak of the European war every country in Europe, except Great Britain, had compulsory military service; on their becoming of military age citizens and subjects of these countries automatically passed into military service for their terms provided by law, and on the expiration of these periods into the military reserve forces of their respective countries.

Upon the breaking out of the war, of course the young men then in active service were the ones first called to the front, and following these the men most recently in the service were called, reversing the order in which they had passed into the reserve. This was all done in accordance with previously existing law whereby these nations availed themselves of the services first of the citizens in active military service and called first those of the most recent and therefore the most effective military service and training.

But Congress can not properly apply this European system to the people of the United States in this crisis by drafting into the military service boys and young men between 19 and 25, and omitting those between 25 and 40. All in this country have had the same military training and experience between the ages of 19 and 40; there are no public reasons for discriminating against any class of our citizens of military age, or in favor of any, except that if the draft is to be applied it should not be exercised against minors who can not enter into a lawful contract except with the consent of their parents or guardians or by order of court.

I do not believe that any American citizen should be conscripted into the military service until he has first been afforded an opportunity to enlist. [Applause.] The English law, passed nearly two years after the war commenced, which puts men between 20 and 40 into the reserve, did not become operative against any Englishman until 30 days after the approval of the law and 30 days after young men to whom it applies arrive at military age. [Applause.]

Now, we have heard a good deal in this debate about slackers, and sulkers, and cowards, as well as in the newspapers. They are the men of which we want to make an army, we are told. If men would use just a little common sense they would know enough to know that cowards, and sulkers, and slackers do not make good soldiers. Take the experience of men in the Civil War, and they will tell you that most of those who were drafted deserted. [Applause.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Is it not also true that when the tribunal sits in judgment on these boys from 19 to 25, some

of whom are registered as slackers and some of whom are brave boys, that the boy that volunteers will be found to have to take "his medicine" and is more likely to go than the slacker?

Mr. GORDON. That is true.

Mr. COX. I was interested in the gentleman's statement about the 62,000 men being conscripted in the Civil War. Will the gentleman tell where he got those figures?

Mr. GORDON. I obtained them from the best available authority. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] made a statement here on the floor of the House as to the number of them, and he gave it at 62,000. I obtained that from somebody, and I considered it entirely reliable.

Mr. LANGLEY. The report of the Commissioner of Pensions shows that.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. It was shown before the hearings on this very bill.

Mr. COX. The reason I ask is this, that I addressed a letter the other day to the Adjutant General of the Army, and while I have not got his letter here I think he said it was seven hundred and sixty thousand and odd that were conscripted during the Civil War. That is my recollection.

Mr. GORDON. Oh, no.

I quote from the annual report of the Secretary of War for 1865:

> At the beginning of 1862, when recruiting was discontinued by the Secretary of War, there were 637,000 volunteers under arms, the surplus being turned away without record or pledge. The number of men raised in the North under act of March, 1863, was 1,369,343, but of these there were 1,076,558 volunteers under this enrollment act. The number of voluntary substitutes was 144,012, the number who escaped service by paying a fee was 86,724, and the number who were compelled personally to serve was 61,947. But 2.3 per cent of the total number of troops raised in the North from the beginning to the end of the war was raised by draft or conscription.

Mr. MEEKER. Where did he get his authority that most of them ran away at the first shot?

Mr. GORDON. Gen. SHERWOOD told me yesterday they sent him 72 conscripted men in the Atlanta campaign and that only 2 rendered any service at the front. [Applause.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I would like to ask the gentleman what he thinks would have been the result of that war if the northern Army had been composed of that character of men?

Mr. GORDON. The North never would have won the war.

Mr. CRAGO. Would the majority of those conscripts ever have tried to be volunteers in any case?

Mr. GORDON. I do not know. Capt. Benson says that there is not a particle of difference in England to-day between the men who came in under compulsion and those that volunteer.

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman thinks, then, that the English conscript is more constant in his service than the American?

Mr. GORDON. I will tell you what I think about that. The English conscription act is a very much more sensible proposition than the one proposed by the General Staff. [Laughter.] It gives every man an opportunity to volunteer, but 30 days after he becomes of age he becomes amenable to the law and passes into the reserve. So he is afforded an opportunity to volunteer. I think a provision like that would help some in this bill. Now, I want to know if this Congress of the United States can go out and look in the faces of these boys between 19 and 25 after it has voted to conscript them into the Army to the exclusion of everybody above 25 years of age? This Congress will cover itself all over with infamy as with a garment if it ever dares to enact such a law as that. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more.

Mr. GORDON. Now, a great deal of mystery has been thrown into this discussion by the gentlemen here, though I do not say intentionally. But they have ascribed to the volunteer system things that are not peculiar to that system at all. The Secretary of War, who has a letter embodied in the minority report of our committee, is an artist in the use of words, and I want you to just go and read the reasons that he gives there against permitting men to volunteer. He points out objections that are not peculiar to the volunteer system. Tell me why you can not assign a man to a munition factory who has volunteered just as well as one who is conscripted? There is not a thing in that argument at all. They have undertaken to discredit the volunteer soldier, and why men would seek to do that in the light of history is something that passes my comprehension. Why, they talk about the volunteers in the War of 1812, when this Capital was captured, but they never tell you that in the War of 1812 four States in New England refused to furnish a man or a dollar to prosecute that war. [Applause.] They do not tell you that the State of Massachusetts and the State of Connecticut refused to allow their troops to fight in that war. [Applause.] They ascribe it all to the volunteers. The trouble with that war was that the New England States did not volunteer. That was the trouble.

Mr. CRAGO. Under the plan proposed here these States could not refuse to furnish their proper number, could they?

Mr. GORDON. No. You could conscript them, but what good would they be after you conscripted them?

I want you to look at this thing as a common-sense proposition. We are in to win this war. The adoption of this draft at the outset looks like an indictment of every man that voted for this declaration of war. I voted for it and I did it conscientiously. I believe every word that was stated in that declaration of war, and I believe the American people will sustain the Congress and the President in the prosecution of this war.

If it is necessary I am ready to go back to my district and tell them why I voted for this resolution, and why the war ought to be vigorously prosecuted, but I do not want to clap the draft onto them the very first thing before I go home. [Laughter.] We want an efficient Army. I do not see how men can reason it out that you can take reluctant soldiers, when you may not have more than eight or nine months to train them, and assemble them into an effective army. I do not know how that could be done. We might be attacked. We have been told here by the General Staff and by military experts how many soldiers Germany could land here within a certain time. Of course, I never believed any such stuff as that. [Laughter.] But still if they believed everything they said, we ought to get ready for an invasion in case they settled the war over in Europe. We need these men. We are at war with the greatest military power on earth, but we are made to understand that we have nothing here to fight with but slackers. The German soldiers have taken compulsory military service with their mother's milk. They are accustomed to it. It does not work the harm and demoralization in those European countries that it would work here. But the American citizen is not accustomed to that sort of thing. He is used to fighting when he wants to fight. [Applause.] I think that as a matter of policy it is a very unwise thing to adopt this thing at the start, and I think it comes with very poor grace, if I may be allowed to say so, from the minority of the committee to criticize us for trying, as we did, to stand by the President, when we put in their own draft proposition as an alternative after having provided in the bill an opportunity for voluntary enlistment.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORDON. Certainly.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. And in line with that, the gentleman will recall that the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON] criticized us for putting the draft system in there as a means of driving men to volunteer. Is it not a fact that the general law now holds open the same system for a part of the Regular Army?

Mr. GORDON. I believe that is the fact, so that there is nothing in that argument. Oh, so many things are said to be known in this debate that are not so that it is really amusing. [Laughter.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Ohio yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Does the gentleman believe it will be possible to recruit this Army without resorting to conscription?

Mr. GORDON. Yes; I do.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Then, why put the conscription measure in your bill?

Mr. GORDON. Because you say we can not get the army without conscription, and the military experts say we can not; and we say we do not want to delay the President in the prosecution of the war a minute, and therefore, out of deference to the views of the War Department and the General Staff, we give you that machinery, and while building the machinery we give the American citizen a chance to volunteer. [Applause.]

Mr. LAGUARDIA. Is it because the majority of the committee does not want to assume the responsibility, and you are putting that feature in your bill so as to have something to stand behind? [Laughter.]

Mr. GORDON. Oh, not at all. I will say to the gentleman that it was my preference to put up a straight volunteer proposition first.

Mr. LAGUARDIA. That was the thing to do.

Mr. GORDON. But some of my colleagues in whom I have great confidence decided otherwise, and I decided to go with them. Now, you may criticize us for following the President too far. But it does not rest in your mouth to say that we ought to pass this bill in accordance with the War Department's recommendations while closing our eyes and ears and without having read it. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think I have touched upon most of the points I desired to make, and I thank the House for its courtesy. [Prolonged applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman returns four minutes.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CALDWELL].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, it has been stated in the public press, and perhaps to a certain extent justly, that I have been on all sides of this question. In the Sixty-fourth Congress I was known as the big-army Democrat. I offered an amendment providing for universal training for American youth to the military appropriation bill that year, and in this Congress I introduced the Chamberlain bill in the House—H. R. 19.

In committee I have insisted that provision should be made in this bill to take in all the men of military age above 26 who have had military training in this or some other country who can be spared from their civil pursuits, and who would be glad to volunteer for this emergency if they could do so without joining the Regulars or the National Guard.

If I have committed a breech of my duty in thinking out loud, then, of course, I must suffer the consequences. But I hope that I never reach the point where I become stubborn. As a member of the Committee on Military Affairs I have felt that it was my duty to thrash out any line of argument which my point of view yesterday, to-day, or to-morrow might suggest to my mind. If you will read the hearings you will find that I have earnestly and conscientiously endeavored to do that duty.

That work has been done I hope satisfactorily. We are now before this House with a bill, asking the Members of this House to make up their minds how much of that bill they will pass. We should not resort to any flights of oratory. We should not appeal to sympathy. We should not be too closely bound to tradition. We are living in the present, and this question must be discussed in the cold light of existing facts. We must be governed not by any criticism in the press, not by propaganda pro-English nor pro-German, not by the demands of those who pose as leaders of patriotic movements, but who fear that public sentiment may demand that they enlist, but by calm, sober judgment.

The statement has been made here that we need a willing army to begin the war, and that the only way to get a willing army is to call for willing men, but the answer comes back that when you draft American men you are going to have an army willing to fight anywhere to defend this Nation. [Applause.]

One of the most serious objections that I found to this proposition when it came before the committee was this: There are over 100,000 men in the United States of military age, who to a large extent would not go into the Regular Establishment nor the National Guard, and who would be glad to join the new army, but who would not be given an opportunity under the draft provision for the increased forces, because they were over the age to be called. It seemed to me that here, when we were about to organize an army we ought to place in the hands of the President the power to receive the services of all of these willing men who had been trained in Italy, Switzerland, Australia, or this or in any other country, where they have a military establishment, and who have made their home under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. I have felt that those men should have the opportunity to go in and fight for the country that they have made their home, and love for the liberty and happiness it insures. [Applause.] I felt that so long as it was possible to open that door, it was my duty as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs to demand that the door be opened, because I recognized that these men who had seen that kind of service might refuse to go into the Regular Army or the National Guard, and I wanted them to be among the first trained, for we will need trained men as noncoms in this war. I insisted upon it with all the power that is in me, and I insisted on it in the face of criticism from nearly every daily paper in the United States, aided and abetted by those who do not understand the issue here, those who have a selfish purpose, and those that seek to injure me. I would insist on it now, if it were not for the fact that I feel that I can trust the wisdom of the President and realize that a greater injury may be done the country through disagreement, dissension, or delay, and I thank those friends that have given me their counsel.

I hope that I now demonstrate that I have not confused stubbornness with firmness, and I pray that I never shall be so small as to adopt a policy that I alone can be right.

This is the day to get ready to fight the battles of that great war that we have declared against the despotisms of the world, and we can not delay. You ask, "If this is the condition"—and it is a fact admitted by the Secretary of War in his testimony before this committee—"why is it that the President refuses to open that door and receive the services of these men who can be spared from the industrial life of the country, men who are not married, men who have no dependents, men who perhaps have enough of this world's goods so that they can go away and come back again, or perhaps never come back again, without leaving anyone destitute? Why does the President of the United States refuse to accept the services of these men?"

I have tried to find the answer, and I believe I have found it, not in the record, not in anything that anyone has testified to before that committee, but in the facts that are known to us all.

In the national-defense act it is provided that the Regular Army may be raised to 287,000 men, and the Secretary has admitted that the War Department is going to raise it to that number. It is provided that in the event they do not get those men by voluntary enlistments they can draft them, and the Secretary intimates that they are going to do that. In that same act it provides that the National Guard may be raised to 641,000 men as a minimum, and the Secretary has admitted that he is going to call them. It is provided that when those men are carried away under the drafting provision of section 111 new battalions may be formed under section 79, and if those battalions are not created as fast as required, they, too, can be drafted from the unorganized militia, and the Secretary has admitted that they are going to get them. When you add them all together you find you have practically a million men. Follow me. Already in the law of this land, without the passing of a single statute, we have now the means of raising an army in time of war of a million men, and we are in war. The President wants an army, and how many does he want? Do not look at the words in the bill authorizing the number. Look to see what money he asks for. He has asked for three thousand million dollars, $3,000,000,000. The department has brought to this committee a detailed statement showing how it is going to be spent. They say it will provide for only 1,000,000 men; no more. Then why this provision for the other million men by conscription? The national-defense act in section 111 fixes the National Guard at 641,000 men in time of war as a minimum, not as a maximum. By the use of that statute they can pump into the American Army every able-bodied man in America between the ages of 18 and 45. Why does he want this power of conscription separate and apart? The answer is plain, when you once think of it. We have entered into a war to the like of which the history of the world has never shown a parallel.

When is it going to stop? Will 1,000,000 men do it, or 2,000,000, or 5,000,000, or 7,000,000? What Member of this House has heard any news from the battle line on the Russian frontier since war was declared by us? We have military observers in Russia, and their reports are coming by wireless through a censorship, and which of you has been able to find a single word as to what is going on there? Why does the President ask for this unreasonable thing? Why does he demand the power to draft a million men when he is not going to use them? Because undoubtedly there are indications that this war is not going to be disposed of in a little while; because, my friends, it probably appears to the President that there is a possibility that the manhood of America has got to take the place of the Russian soldier and carry our flag to Berlin and put down the Kaiser and his barbarism. [Applause.]

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman mean to state that the President has any such information, or is the gentleman just guessing at it?

Mr. CALDWELL. Guessing.

Mr. DENISON. Just guessing?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. If you can show any other reasonable ground on which the President of the United States, in this great crisis in America, would take issue with this representative body of the people and demand that this shall be written thus far and no farther, that he can not fight this war that we have agreed with him is just unless he has that kind of machinery, I shall be glad to hear any other reason. Gentlemen, I have followed the President in the past when I thought he was wrong, because I saw the possibility that he was right. To-day I see the possibility that this far-sighted, calm, peaceful man sees this thing, and for myself, I propose to vote with him on this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. SANFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALDWELL. Just for a question.

Mr. SANFORD. I want to understand the gentleman. Do I understand that the gentleman from New York is supporting the majority report or the minority report?

Mr. CALDWELL. My report. It is as follows:

[House of Representatives, Rept. 17, pt. 3, 65th Cong., 1st sess.]

INCREASE OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Minority views by Mr. CALDWELL, to accompany H. R. 3545:

I am in favor of the draft feature of this bill, and feel that it should be put in operation at the earliest possible moment. The words "draft" and "conscription" have come to have an odium given to them by the unfortunate use of the draft method only after a sufficient force could not be obtained to meet the requirements by volunteer enlistment. No such odium will attach if the draft is put into operation while the volunteers are coming in large numbers.

The bill makes it necessary to try out the volunteer system or declare it a failure before the draft can be put into operation. The volunteer provision is permissive only, but it leaves no other course open to raise the army we need now until volunteering has been tried and found unsatisfactory.

There is a large number of men of military age who have had military training in this or some other country who can be spared from their civil pursuits and who would be glad to volunteer for this emergency if they could do so without joining the Regulars or the National Guard. The bill will close the doors to these men if they are above the age of the selection (probably 26) and result in the loss of their services in the military arm, but this will not be as serious a loss as would come through delay, dissension, or division.

I have pressed this view upon the Secretary of War and upon the President, and my only answer has been that they thought that the situation could be best met by confining the volunteers to the Regulars and the National Guard.

There is much force in the argument that it is traditional with the English-speaking race to fight its wars with volunteers; that we should start our wars with a willing army, and that each individual was best able to judge for himself what particular line of endeavor he should best pursue in the defense of his country. But this is no ordinary war and should be approached with the hope that it will not last long, but with the intention of providing for the worst that could happen, namely, a long war, so therefore conscription at the outset is the logical answer.

Under the circumstances and because of the delay that must necessarily occur in the final passage of the bill carrying any kind of a provision recognizing volunteers, I am constrained to believe that the best interests of the country will be subserved by striking from the bill the provision of subdivision third of section 1, authorizing the President to call for volunteers, and the proviso accompanying same.

Respectfully submitted.

CHAS. POPE CALDWELL.

APRIL 21, 1917.

Mr. HOWARD. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. HOWARD. I want to ask the gentleman a question or two about the National Guard. I understood the gentleman to say that the machinery is now in operation by which the minimum number of National Guardsmen who may be drawn into the service is a million men.

Mr. CALDWELL. No; 641,000.

Mr. HOWARD. Does the gentleman know how many men they have now in the National Guard under the volunteer system?

Mr. CALDWELL. I can give it to the gentleman.

Mr. HOWARD. I would like to get that information.

Mr. KAHN. I can inform the gentleman. About 10 days ago they had 120,000 men.

Mr. HOWARD. One other question. Under the bill proposed by the administration these avenues for volunteer enlistment—that is, in the Regular Army and the National Guard—will be left open, as I understand it, for volunteer enlistments.

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. HOWARD. That will cover 650,000 men.

Mr. CALDWELL. When the Regular Establishment is carried up to the limit there will be 287,000 men. There are at present 137,000 men.

Mr. HOWARD. I hold a letter in my hand from the President, in which he uses this language:

Those who feel we are turning away altogether from the voluntary principle seem to forget that some 600,000 men will be needed to fill the ranks of the Regular Army and the National Guard, and that very great field of individual enthusiasm lies there wide open.

Mr. DENT. On page 216 of the hearings the Secretary of War gives the National Guard as 357,000 men. They now have 266,000. There is a deficit between what can volunteer and what we have now in the Regular Army of 623,000 men.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Chairman, yesterday a Member on this side of the House asked what wars, or what battles, members of the General Staff had fought in. I have taken the trouble to look up the record, and I find the following:

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL STAFF CORPS ON DUTY IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AND BATTLES OR ENGAGEMENTS IN WHICH THEY PARTICIPATED.

NAMES AND BATTLES, ETC.

Maj. Gen. H. L. Scott: Expedition against Sioux Indians, 1876; Nez Perces expedition, 1878; Crow expedition, 1883; Cattalubbuka, P. I., November 14, 1903, in which action was wounded; engagement with Moro Chief Hassan, February 14, 1904; second Sulu expedition, November 11 to December 1, 1903; third Sulu expedition, May 1 to 12, 1905; Looc, P. I., January 7, 1905.

Maj. Gen. T. H. Bliss: Coamo, P. R., August 9, 1898; Albonito, P. R., August 19, 1898; Bud Dajo, P. I., March 5 to 8, 1906.

Maj. Gen. E. M. Weaver: None.

Brig. Gen. W. A. Mann: El Caney, Cuba, July 1, 1898; Santiago, Cuba, July 10 and 11, 1898; San Luis, Luzon, P. I., May 17, 1899; San Fernando, P. I., May 25, 1899; San Blas, P. I., November 20, 1899; Passi, P. I., November 26, 1899; Romblon, P. I., December 16, 1899.

Brig. Gen. J. E. Kuhn: None.

Col. C. W. Kennedy: El Caney, Cuba, July 1, 1898; Santiago, Cuba, July 10 and 11, 1898.

Col. W. H. Johnston: Guanica, P. R., July 25 and 26, 1898; San Fernando, P. I., August 9, 1899; Porac, P. I., September 28, 1899; Angeles, P. I., October 11 and 12, 1899; Pandacaqui and Magalang, P. I., November 12, 1899; Bamban, P. I., November 12, 1899; Rivera de San Fernando, P. I., December 7, 1899; Botolan, P. I., December 8, 1899; Iba, P. I., December 9, 1899; Silang, P. I., January 7, 1900; Calaca, P. I., January 18, 1900; Taal, P. I., January 19, 1900; Matnog, P. I., December 19, 1900; Mongbong, P. I., January 25, 1906; Magton, P. I., March 23, 1906.

Col. R. E. L. Michie: None

Col. P. D. Lochridge: None.

Col. G B. Duncan: Santiago, Cuba, July 10 to 17, 1898; Guanica, P. R., July 24, 1898; La Loma Church, P. I., March 25, 1899; Mariquina and Rio Nanca, about March 31, 1899; Mariquina and Antipolo and Merong, between June 2 and 8, 1899; Guadaloupe Ridge, June 10, 1899; Block House No. 5, Manila, P. I., October 9, 1899; Anabo, P. I., January, 1901; Salitran, P. I., February 22, 1901; Pulongbunga, P. I., March, 1901; Majada, P. I., July 2, 1901.

Lieut. Col. W. S. Graves: Amarao, Ilocos Sur, P. I., February 11, 1901; Alaludig, P. I., March 21, 1901; Sibugnay, P. I., March 30, 1901; Lueguos, P. I., April 9, 1901; San Emelio, P. I.; small engagements in Ilocos Sur, P. I., February 12, March 8 to 29, and in Batangas Province, P. I., between July 19, 1901, and February 1, 1902; Caloocan, December 21, 1901.

Maj. Andrew Moses: None.

Maj. G. A. Nugent: None.

Maj. P. E. Pierce: Coamo, P. R., August 14, 1898; Aibonito, P R., Aust 19, 1898; Guadaloupe Ridge, P. I., June 10, 1899; Cavite Viejo, P. I., October 8, 1899; Rosario, P. I., October 9, 1899; San Francisco de Malabon, P. I., October 10, 1899; San Fabian, P. I., November 7, 1899; Rabon River and Santo Thomas, P. I., November 14, 1899.

Maj. R. H. Van Deman: San Blas, P. I., November 15, 1899; Janiuay, P. I., November 18, 1899; Passi, P. I., November 25, 1899; Dumarao, P. I., December 1, 1899; Antique, P. I., January 10, 1899.

Maj. J. MacA. Palmer: None.

Maj. Douglas MacArthur: None.

Maj. F. S. Cocheu: El Caney, Cuba, July 1, 1898; San Juan Hills, July 2, 3, 10, and 11, 1898; Calulut, P. I., August 9, 1899; Angeles, P. I., August 16, 1899, August 19, 1899; Bamban, P. I., November 11, 1899; Monte Paruyan, P. I., June 21, 1900; Urguis, P. I., June 30, 1900; Monte Paruyan, P. I., August 1, 1900; Badoc, P. I., August 29, 1900; between Currimao and Radoc, P. I., September 6, 1900; Radoc, P. I., September 13, 1900.

Maj. B. H. Wells: Santiago, Cuba, July 1 and 2, 1898, wounded on latter date; Iloilo, P. I., February 11, 1899; Jaro, P. I., February 12, 1899; near Jaro and Pavia, P. I., February 14, March 1 and 16, 1899.

Maj. D. E. Nolan: Point Arbolitos, Cuba, May, 1898; El Caney, Cuba, July 1, 1898; siege of Santiago, July 2 to 17, 1898; San Pedro Macati, P. I., June 10, 1899; Anabo, P. I., November 18, 1899; San Mateo, P. I., December 19, 1899; Montalbon, P. I., December 27, 1899; Silang, P. I., January 7, 1900; Indang, P. I., January 7, 1900; Naic, P. I., January 9, 1900; San Pablo, P. I., January 14, 1900; Sariaya, P. I., January 20, 1900.

Maj. D. T. Moore: Participated in a number of expeditions in the Provinces of Cavite and Laguna, P. I., from September, 1900, to March 16, 1901.

Maj. J. J. Kingman: None.

Capt. Tenney Ross: Engagement with Chippewa Indians at Leech Lake, Minn., October 5, 1898; expedition ending with fall of Malolos, P. I., March, 1899; expedition in Luzon, P. I., April to June, 1899; in number of minor actions in Philippine Islands between June, 1899, and March, 1902.

Capt. W. H. Raymond: Pinauran, P. I., November 22, 1900.

Capt. D. F. Craig: Bacolor and San Antonio, P. I., August 9, 1899; Santa Rita, P. I., August 10, 1899; San Antonio, P. I., September 9, 1899; Porac, P. I., September 28, 1899; Dolores and Porac, P. I., October 17 1899; Mabalacat, P. I., November 7 and 8, 1899; Bamban, P. I., November 11, 1899; Mangatarem, P. I., November 28, 1899; Balincaguing P. I., January 22, 1900; Oato Forts, P. I., October 24, 1904.

Capt. H. N. Cootes: Baliuag, P. I., June 8, 1900; Biac na Bata Pass, P. I., September 15, 1900; San Miguel de Mayumo, P. I., October 9 and 13, 1900; Kinnimitang, P. I., November 10, 1903; Candaba Swamp expedition, June 21, 1900.

Capt. A. B. Coxe: San Cristobal River, P. I., January 1, 1900; Cabuyao, P. I., January 1, 1900; Binan, P. I., January 2, 1900; Carmona, P. I., January 3, 1900; Luta, P. I., January 3, 1900; skirmishes at Rosario, P. I., May 6, 1900; Darosa, P. I., June 25, 1900; Bagumbayan, P. I., September 2, 1900; and Iba, P. I., February 9, 1901.

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, *April 24, 1917.*

So that the military attainments of men in the Military Establishment of this country is as great as could be expected.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. COX. What is the maximum number of men that can be recruited for the National Guard under the act of last year?

Mr. CALDWELL. Six hundred and forty-one thousand men.

Mr. COX. I understood the gentleman to say a while ago that that was the minimum number.

Mr. CALDWELL. That is the minimum number.

Mr. COX. What is the maximum?

Mr. CALDWELL. As many males as there are in the United States between the ages of 18 and 45.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. The gentleman stated that he had often voted with the President in the past when he though he was wrong, believing that by possibility the President might be right.

Mr. CALDWELL. The probability that he might be right.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Is the gentleman going to support the minority report on the basis of the request of the President or upon his own conviction?

Mr. CALDWELL. My position is this: I can see that the army we now need could be raised without the existence of conscription, but because I see the large probability that an army that we may need or will need can not be so raised, I believe it is desirable at this time to establish conscription before the odium attaches to it. [Applause.]

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. MONDELL. Do I understand that the War Department has convinced the gentleman that the entire burden of this war, so far as new units are concerned, shall be placed on the shoulders of boys from 19 to 25 years of age, as insisted on by the War Department?

Mr. CALDWELL. No; it has not.

Mr. MONDELL. Then the gentleman is only following the President and the War Department a part of the way?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes; if the gentleman wants to put it that way, but I will say for his information that the Secretary of War has yielded on that point.

Mr. MONDELL. Now, if the gentleman will be good enough to yield further. The gentleman referred in an answer to a question about the opportunity for enlistment in the Regular Army and the National Guard. The gentleman understands that the Regular Establishment does not invite the ordinary volunteer. Now, as to the National Guard, is it not true that a large proportion of the opportunities there are in new units, and if they should be received at this time 20 States stand ready to furnish new volunteer units to the National Guard which the War Department will not accept but has refused?

Mr. CALDWELL. I am glad the gentleman asked that question. On April 5, 1917, the Secretary of War sent out an order in which he directed the adjutant generals of the various States to cease organizing the new bodies of men in their States as a part of the National Guard. In our committee that order was taken up and discussed. After considerable discussion, and I might say pressure, at my request the Secretary of War asked the Judge Advocate General for an opinion as to whether or not he had the authority to issue that order. A few days after that the Judge Advocate General wrote an opinion in which he said that the Secretary of War did not have that authority, and I understand that since that time the Secretary of War has directed the adjutant generals throughout the United States, in those National Guard organizations, to increase their organizations up to 800 per Representative in Congress, House and Senate.

Mr. DENT. I think the gentleman is mistaken about that; he has directed them just the other way.

Mr. CALDWELL. I was so informed.

Mr. MONDELL. Let me say, for information, that I saw a letter in the hands of a Member of the House from the adjutant general of one of the States of this Union stating specifically that the War Department had not called on them for new units, and they were ready to furnish them.

Mr. CALDWELL. Let me say that I called the Secretary of War's attention to that fact and he told me that he had sent letters to every person who had theretofore made an inquiry about it, but he did not feel that it was necessary to send it to those States where no objection had been raised.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I was interested in the statement made by the gentleman about the purpose of a large army—that is, the probability of a separate peace with Russia. Does the gentleman think that the President had any such condition in mind at the time he advocated the selective draft system?

Mr. CALDWELL. I have no knowledge on the subject whatever, but I do say this, that as a Member of this House I am not going to stand between him and the care of such situation if it does happen, and I fear that it may happen. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ANTHONY].

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the House, I desire to preface my remarks with a reference to efforts which have been made to put forth a propaganda in this country to improperly influence the votes of Members of this body upon the pending legislation. As a sample of the methods which are being used to artificially stir up sentiment in the country, I desire to read to the House a telegram sent to me by a friend in my district:

The following telegram came in to-night: "New York, N. Y., April 16, 1917. The Secretary Chamber of Commerce (of a town in Kansas):

Representative ANTHONY, of your district, is reported opposed to universal military service and blocking President Wilson in his fight against Germany. We suggest you organize mass meetings in your district to show Representative ANTHONY that Americans who sent him to Congress demand that he support President Wilson and universal military training. Please arouse local interests and enlist strong newspaper support for this campaign. Please advise us at once, by wire, of your willingness to fight. American Defense Society, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York."

Then, as a comment on the telegram which I have just read, are these words:

No attention will be paid to this here. Congressmen may want to know, however, what methods are being used to work up sentiment by this defense society.

Mr. Chairman, it is not necessary for me to say that the statements that are made in this telegram reflecting on the loyalty of Members of this body that have been sent into my district and into yours are contemptible lies, and I want to brand the lying insinuation in reference to myself as a most miserable falsehood, and my district, I believe, knows it to be such. Such charges are beneath contempt, were it not that some people uninformed might be misled. [Applause.] But I believe it would be fitting and proper at some future time for this House to inquire into the motives of some of those New York gentlemen who belong to these bogus defense societies, and who are sending such telegrams abroad in the land to attempt to intimidate Members of Congress and prevent them from voting their honest sentiments. [Applause.]

I believe it would show that many of the members of some of these societies—at least the members of the society that paid $53 for sending nearly 100 telegrams to me from one town—would be found to be stockholders in munition plants or speculators in the bonds of the countries now at war. [Applause.] So much for that.

I desire to speak directly to the pending bill. In my judgment, if this country were really confronted by a situation which menaced us with an immediate invasion by some foreign power, I would say that the bill which has been sent from the War Department to the Military Committee of the House, and which is being supported by the minority of our committee to-day in this body, would represent little short of criminal negligence in not properly and at the earliest moment placing this country in a proper state of defense against a foreign foe. As I saw it, and as a majority of the Committee on Military Affairs see it, to wait six months—and in my opinion it will take six months before the machinery of conscription can be installed and placed in working order and the first conscripts sent into the training camps—to wait that long to organize the additional army of half a million men that the President asks for would be little short of criminal negligence in a critical situation. Therefore we are providing the machinery for immediately raising an additional army of 500,000 volunteers, which, gentlemen, can be placed in the training camps within 30 days, and at the end of the 3 months' time, which the Secretary of War himself admits will be the shortest time in which the machinery of conscription can be placed in operation, we will have this army of half a million men either in process of training or practically trained and ready for any emergency that may confront us.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Did not the Secretary of War also state that he would not be able to equip volunteers inside of six months, to give them the necessary training?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes; the Secretary made that statement and I considered that he was not warranted in making it. The Secretary stated that he could not take care of the training and equipment of an army of half a million volunteers in three months' time for the reason that he did not have the equipment. I reminded the Secretary of War that he did have the guns and that he could start the training of an army of half a million men as soon as he could put the guns in their hands, and that this country could within 30 days furnish uniforms and equipment, and I believe I am absolutely correct in my position. [Applause.]

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. ANTHONY. For a question.

Mr. BORLAND. In my recollection, we have 800,000 Springfield rifles?

Mr. ANTHONY. That is true.

Mr. BORLAND. And about 300,000 Krags?

Mr. ANTHONY. Three hundred and fifty thousand Krags.

Mr. BORLAND. A little more than 1,100,000 rifles, and my recollection is that the Regular Army, if recruited up to its full force, would make nearly 300,000 men, and the National Guard 625,000 more, and would not that practically absorb not only all of your volunteers, but all of your guns?

Mr. ANTHONY. I will state to the gentleman, that while I do not say it with absolute certainty, yet I believe it to be a fact, that the War Department has placed a contract for 1,000,000 Enfield rifles, the rifles used by the English Government—chambered for American ammunition which will be delivered perhaps within 60 days.

Mr. BORLAND. Deliver 1,000,000 rifles in 60 days?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. That is certainly news to this House.

Mr. ANTHONY. I do not know it to be a fact, but I believe they will be.

Mr. BORLAND. That is certainly news to this House.

Mr. ANTHONY. I will state to the gentleman that the great plant at Eddystone, Del., owned by the Baldwin Locomotive Works, has completed its contracts for furnishing rifles to the English Government and the Russian Government and we were told over six weeks ago by the president of that company, Mr. Vauclain, that he stood ready immediately to commence turning out rifles for the American Army, and our committee has been informed by officials of the War Department that such a contract has already been placed.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ANTHONY. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Is it not true our plants, arsenals, and such others as we might use—private plants which we may be able to contract with—in addition to the Eddystone Co., have speeded up in their output?

Mr. ANTHONY. I think that is the case, and I will say to the gentleman in reference to private plants for the manufacture of small arms in this country that their capacity is practically unlimited at the present time. There is no question about equipment of small arms for any army no matter how large.

Mr. SLAYDEN. We have heretofore given contracts with the idea to some extent of keeping them alive and in order to have some competition.

Mr. ANTHONY. Quite true.

Mr. TILSON. Does not the gentleman recall that Mr. Vauclain told a number of the members of our committee that the full capacity, if it reached full capacity, for the manufacture of the Enfield rifle was only 6,000 a day?

Mr. ANTHONY. I do not remember the exact figures, but the gentleman will agree with me in regard to the small-arms situation in this country that there is no trouble about the acquisition of small arms.

Mr. TILSON. It is the most serious trouble of all we are facing to-day, the trouble of small arms, and they are the most difficult arms to supply.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. That is an important item here. The gentleman across the aisle [Mr. BUTLER], a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, said that that plant was furnishing 7,500 a day.

Mr. BUTLER. Seven thousand five hundred, and furthermore it will furnish 15,000 rifles a day.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Chairman, I shall vote for the bill reported by the majority of the Military Committee because, in my judgment, it will give to the country, if its authorizations are faithfully carried out, the most effective Army possible of creation, and that in the shortest time.

The bill gives to the President all that he has asked for in the way of authority to enroll the men of the Nation of proper military age and to draft or conscript them into the armies of the United States should he deem it advisable, predicated, however, upon the failure of sufficient response to the call for volunteers which is the first authorization given to the President in the bill, although under its provisions all the machinery of the proposed draft is immediately put to work and can be utilized if it becomes necessary to do so.

But the measure brought before the Military Committee of this House by the Secretary of War with the approval of the President and which has received the indorsement of only a minority of the committee, if enacted into law in its present shape, would lay this Congress open to the charge of not having done its full duty to the country if the emergency which confronts us and the military menace from a foreign foe is as great as some think it to be.

Mr. Chairman, I make the broad statement that if the President is compelled to rely solely upon the legislation which the minority has indorsed to furnish the men for the proposed additional army of half a million men that it will be six months before the first conscripts will begin to filter into the training camps if we are compelled to wait for the months to elapse and the time to be consumed in setting up the complicated machinery of the conscription and completing the enrollment and exemptions of the men of the Nation eligible for military duty.

The Secretary of War when he appeared before our committee stated in answer to my question that it would take not less than three months to do this work. My own opinion is that it will waste nearer six months of valuable time,

I believe that it will be inexcusable negligence to defer the organization of this new army of one-half million men which the President desires, in addition to the 287,000 men of the Regular Army at war strength, and the 440,000 men of the National Guard at war strength also authorized by this bill, until next summer or next fall, as would be the case if sole reliance was placed on the conscripts to be secured by this measure.

If the country wants immediate military preparedness, and I believe it does; if this Congress wants to put this new army of one-half million men at once into training, and I for one certainly want it created at the earliest possible moment, the one way to get it now, and the one American way, is to give this authorization to the President to make an immediate call for half a million volunteers as we have provided.

If you will do this, there is not the slightest doubt that every State will furnish its full quota, and even before the time the machinery of an obnoxious draft is in working order a splendid army of American volunteers in process of training, if not fully trained, will be ready awaiting the President's command. [Applause.]

Mr. POU. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a brief question?

Mr. ANTHONY. I will yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. POU. I would like to ask the gentleman if the only difference between the advocates of the respective measures is as to the quickest and best way of raising an army that can win this war?

Mr. ANTHONY. Absolutely. I will say to the gentleman the majority of the committee is going further in putting the country in a state of preparedness than the minority or the bill the War Department provides.

Mr. POU. There is no division of opinion that an army sufficient to do the business ought to be raised?

Mr. ANTHONY. Absolutely not; only I believe the majority is going further toward that end than the minority.

Mr. KAHN. Of course, I challenge the correctness of that statement, and in my own time will show it is incorrect.

Mr. ANTHONY. I will be glad to hear the gentleman prove his statement to be correct, and if he can show that providing this country with half a million volunteers within 30 days and having them in training is not putting this country in a better state of preparedness than to wait six months for half a million conscripts I will acknowledge my mistake. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Will the gentleman yield further? The gentleman understands that the machinery for getting the conscripts goes into operation, according to the Secretary of War, in not over three months.

Mr. ANTHONY. Goes into operation at once, as is provided by our bill, but it will not be completed.

Mr. KAHN. To complete the registration will take about three months.

Mr. ANTHONY. That is what he says, but I believe it will take six months to have it all in good working order.

Mr. KAHN. Oh, the gentleman is entirely in error. The plans are already drawn by the War Department to put the machine into operation as soon as this bill is signed.

Mr. ANTHONY. I will bet the gentleman a new hat there is not a conscript placed in the training camps inside of three months in this country.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATHRICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BATHRICK. Does not the gentleman understand, or is it correct for me to understand, that we have power now to secure through volunteers over 600,000 men?

Mr. ANTHONY. Let me say to the gentleman that this proposition of individuals "volunteering" for service in the Regular Army or National Guard, as the country understands the word "volunteer," is a delusion, a snare, and a fraud. There is no opportunity being offered by the War Department, as the minority say is being offered, for the organization of volunteers by the War Department. An individual has the right to enlist in the Regular Army now as he always had, but American boys do not regard that as serving their country in a volunteer Army by any means. [Applause.]

Mr. BATHRICK. Now, is it not a fact that the War Department has issued an order that those volunteering under the present law can volunteer for service during the war?

Mr. ANTHONY. It is true they will be permitted to enlist for the war.

Mr. BATHRICK. Not for the seven years or four years?

Mr. ANTHONY. That is true.

Mr. BATHRICK. Then why are we not this moment placed upon the same plane as we will be after the bill is passed?

Mr. ANTHONY. Let me say to the gentleman that a volunteer army, as an American volunteer army is constituted, is raised in units——

Mr. BATHRICK. I understand.

Mr. ANTHONY. In the States by regiments, in localities by company units, with the pride of the State behind the regiment and with the pride of the community behind the company. That is the secret of the success of an American volunteer army, and that is why the American boy will gladly enlist in such an army.

Mr. BATHRICK. Now, I concede that, and I want to ask the gentleman one question more for information. The men who are volunteering now, do they not volunteer in the National Guard?

Mr. ANTHONY. No; they enlist in the Regular Army or the National Guard. There is no question of volunteering about it.

Mr. BATHRICK. They got their services without conscription?

Mr. ANTHONY. The word "volunteer" in such a case is a misnomer and ought to be so understood by the House.

Mr. BATHRICK. It is a distinction without a difference.

Mr. TOWNER. I would like to have the gentleman state to the House whether or not any plans have been formulated for taking this military census that the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] refers to.

Mr. ANTHONY. Perhaps the department has formulated such a plan and perhaps it has not.

Mr. TOWNER. Are we to understand the War Department expects to take a census of the country for military purposes?

Mr. ANTHONY. Unquestionably that is the purpose. They will do so under regulations which our bill authorizes them to draw up.

Mr. TOWNER. If that is the case, what machinery has the War Department for doing it?

Mr. ANTHONY. Under this bill the War Department proposes to take advantage of the machinery which exists in the civil departments of the Government and by use of local officials and agencies to take such a census of the men of military age in this country.

Mr. TOWNER. And, in your judgment, it would take six months to do this?

Mr. ANTHONY. Not merely to complete the census or registration; but it probably would to perfect all the machinery of the draft and have it in successful operation.

Mr. AYRES. Will my colleague yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. AYRES. I want to inquire if under the present arrangement in each congressional district 800 men are not permitted to enlist or volunteer in the National Guard or Regular Army?

Mr. ANTHONY. That is the maximum under the law now permitted for the National Guard.

Mr. AYRES. Is it not a fact that in the State of Kansas over 80 per cent have already registered and volunteered?

Mr. ANTHONY. That is true, if the gentleman means that Kansas has furnished already that proportion of the number of recruits needed to bring the Regular Army to war strength, according to our population.

Mr. AYRES. While in Illinois only about 18 per cent, in the State of Missouri 12 per cent, and in the Eastern States 10 to 15 per cent?

Mr. ANTHONY. And as a further jewel in the crown of the Sunflower State, let me say to the gentleman that Kansas has already more than furnished her quota of men for the United States Navy to-day [applause], and that the State of Massachusetts, whose Representatives on this floor are unanimous and strongest for conscription, is away short of its quota for both the United States Army and the United States Navy.

Mr. AYRES. Then I would like to ask my colleague if it is not a good argument for conscription in order to get these Eastern States in the service?

Mr. ANTHONY. I will say to the gentleman that a conscript is not a real soldier; that any soldier whose legs are chained to the wheels of his cannon never can be depended upon to fight a battle.

Mr. LANGLEY. I would like to say to the gentleman that on that question of census taking the civil officers over the country are as a rule not experts in that line of work. The greatest difficulty the Census Office has always had is to get experts to do that work, and they have never been able to get the work done within the time mapped out to do it.

Mr. ANTHONY. In this case it will undoubtedly be made compulsory upon the individual to report his own eligibility as well, so it will not take as long as a regular census.

Mr. OLIVER of New York. In opening your address you made a statement as to certain telegrams from New York organizations, and made certain references, and I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Can he tell this House whether or not the Chamber of Commerce of the great city of New York is a "bogus" organization, whether the cotton exchange or the produce exchange, or if the stock exchange are bogus organizations?

Mr. ANTHONY. I will say that such gambling institutions as the gentleman enumerates certainly come under the head of "bogus" outfits. [Applause.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. And how many of the members of those organizations are below 25 years of age?

Mr. LAGUARDIA. And does the gentleman know that the State of New York, with its vast population, in proportion to its population, was second in number in sending troops down to the Mexican border?

Mr. ANTHONY. I am glad to hear that.

Mr. GORDON. And I call the attention of the gentleman from New York to the fact that his own State constitution compels them to keep up their militia to not less than 12,000 men.

Mr. MEEKER. I would like to ask the gentleman if we do not give the wrong impression when we imply that when all the men of an eligible age are to be chosen by selection it means that they are not willing to go? I assume that every man in America is willing to go.

Mr. ANTHONY. I, too, do not question the willingness of the men of America to serve their country, and that is the reason we will have no trouble in getting all the volunteers this country will ever have need for.

Mr. MEEKER. That being true, is it not practical sense to let the Government supervise the selection of the men who go?

Mr. ANTHONY. We propose to do that in this bill by applying all the principles of the conscript exemptions to the volunteer, so that we can use the same discriminating judgment in the selection or rather the acceptance of our volunteers as we would with the conscript.

Mr. POU. Can not the Government apply a selection to the volunteers exactly as it may be applied to any other?

Mr. ANTHONY. Exactly. So that any man who is necessary, for instance, to munition-factory service will be left where he will do the country the most good.

Mr. SHERLEY. Am I correct in understanding you to say that men will volunteer if they will come in organizations from various States, but that they will not volunteer to fill up the Regular Army and the National Guard?

Mr. ANTHONY. Not so readily, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. SHERLEY. How does the gentleman expect to fill up those organizations, which are the ones that most quickly can be supplied and put in shape for fighting?

Mr. ANTHONY. We propose to fill them up by the draft, if necessary, as proposed in this bill.

Mr. SHERLEY. In other words, the gentleman is to try out his volunteer system, and if he does not get sufficient men for volunteer organizations to be created, he then proposes to draft in order to fill organizations already created?

Mr. ANTHONY. It may be absolutely unnecessary, and we do not propose to resort to the draft until it is necessary from the military standpoint.

Mr. SHERLEY. In other words, the gentleman thinks that you can expedite matters by creating organizations from the bottom up rather than by building up existing organizations?

Mr. ANTHONY. Oh, no. My argument in regard to the proposed additional army of one-half million men is that we create a more effective Military Establishment by means of a call for volunteers. We would thus get the very best men in the land to fill its ranks, and they are the men who fight winning battles.

Mr. SHERLEY. But leaving aside the question of the psychology of men, the gentleman is talking about time, and yet, if I understand him aright, those organizations which are now in a position best to be put into service at war strength he proposes to hold back and wait until the volunteer system has either won or lost.

Mr. ANTHONY. No. We propose the same authority as the administration bill proposes, absolutely. We do not change that authority in any respect.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman may want to get those figures right about enlistments. Here is a clipping from a Kansas paper, possibly from the gentleman's own paper.

Mr. ANTHONY. If it is from my paper, it will tell the truth.

Mr. BORLAND. If the gentleman will permit, I will read it. I read:

At the Kansas City station, which includes all of Kansas, 73.7 per cent of the allotment has already been filled. Kansas has done her duty—and the Kansas City station leads all others in the central district. Chicago, which was boasting its superior loyalty and accusing Kansas of being yellow only a few months ago, has enlisted only 18.1 per cent of its allotment. St. Louis is last, with only 11.2 per cent.

Those are evidently the figures that the gentleman from Kansas referred to.

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes. I am glad to have them.

Mr. LITTLE. Did the gentleman say 73 per cent?

Mr. BORLAND. Yes; 73 per cent.

Mr. LITTLE. I was informed that the entire enlistment there was filled up to full war strength. I got that from the Bureau of Navigation, not from the newspapers.

Mr. BORLAND. Sometimes the newspapers are right.

Mr. POU. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman from Kansas gets away from the question that was asked him by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY], I would like him to answer this question: Is there one single thing in the committee bill that prevents any man or discourages any man from exercising the right to enlist who has not enlisted?

Mr. ANTHONY. Absolutely not. It expedites enlistment.

One of the regrettable things in connection with this legislation is the vicious attitude of the metropolitan newspapers toward this bill. Instead of telling the people the truth that we are proposing a step in the practical creation of an army far in advance of the minority plan, they seem to have entered into a conspiracy to misrepresent, by raising a cloud of dust by defamation of the American volunteer. Let the truth be known that we are giving the President everything he has asked for in his bill, the draft, the conscription, and the full power to use it if it becomes necessary, but in addition to it all we provide the call for volunteers, which, in our opinion, will make it unnecessary for the President to stain the pages of any future history of this country with the enforcement of such an un-American military measure. I stand ready to put the power of conscription into the hands of the Government now, but I do not believe its use should be resorted to unless necessity should demand.

Of course, conscription is the easiest even if not the most patriotic way to fill the ranks of an army. Every technical militarist in the United States, every admirer of the great military machines which have been created by the military governments of Europe has longed for the time when such a system could be installed in our own country. When the great war broke forth two years ago and complications set in which threatened to embroil the United States this movement for compulsory service was inaugurated in the shape of a destructive campaign of criticism from military high brows, first directed against the National Guard, which Congress by special legislation was endeavoring to build up as the country's second line of defense. It is my belief that one of the purposes in some minds of keeping the National Guard in the Federal service for the past year in a monotonous, inane, and futile patrol of the Mexican border was in the hope that it would discourage these citizen soldiers and destroy the National Guard, most of whom left good jobs at home and who were ready and willing to serve their country in a real war, but who naturally tired of the hopeless military inactivity which prevailed on the Rio Grande. Nearly every Regular Army officer will privately admit the fine showing made by the guard in spite of the criticisms which filled their official reports, and which have been reechoed by the newspapers of the country. But the National Guard emerged from it all a splendid military force, seasoned by its training in the field, and of which the country is glad to make use of in the present emergency. Failing to destroy the National Guard with their uncalled-for criticism, these same conspirators, with the yelping of the metropolitan newspapers, are now denouncing the American volunteer for the same purpose of paving the way for the installation of a military system which is totally foreign to American ideals and American history. There is no question but that some people would like to set up in this country exactly the same form of a military autocracy which we are telling the military monarchists of Europe can no longer be tolerated under our present-day ideals of world democracy.

Of course, this country, having embarked in the world war, must prepare itself to do its part, and no one will go further than I to do so effectively; but I believe that the Representatives of the people of the United States will carefully deliberate before adopting military measures which are not to be approved by the American people themselves.

Every time this country becomes embroiled in war it is perhaps natural, but hardly creditable, that the people along the eastern and western seacoasts—which, if we did not have the adequate Navy the United States unquestionably possesses, would be more or less exposed—allow themselves to be thrown into a panic, which is voiced by the newspapers of the big cities along the seacoasts and the clamor of their Representatives in Congress for the most extreme measures of protection.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. ANTHONY. I would like to have five minutes more.

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas is recognized for 10 minutes more.

Mr. ANTHONY. In these great cities along the coast is centered the greater part of the financial wealth of the country and it was the moneyed interests of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco which, in the Spanish War, lost their heads and saw a Spanish fleet approaching every night in their dreams to bombard them, and these same people to-day, instead of using calm judgment and common sense in our military preparation, evidence that they would stop at nothing in the effort to have extreme measures adopted, which, while satisfying to their own sense of security and financial profit, would prove abhorent to the common people throughout this great land.

One of the arguments made in the minority report is that an opportunity is offered for volunteers in the provision which has already been made for the voluntary enlistment in the Regular Army of individuals who desire to offer their services. It is wrong in the War Department to advance such an argument to the country at this time, and it is equally wrong in the minority to claim that they are making provision for volunteers by a willingness to accept individual enlistments. This House must remember that there is no such thing as a volunteer army unless it is recruited as such in local units, by organizations in the various States with the pride of those States from which the regiments come and with the pride of those communities from which the companies of volunteers spring behind them.

It is also idle for the opponents of a volunteer army at this time to cite the mistakes which may have been made in past wars in the organization of volunteers as applicable now because these same criticisms can not justly be made to-day.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes; I yield.

Mr. AYRES. Is it not a fact that the National Guard organizations are recruited from particular localities?

Mr. ANTHONY. That is true so far as it is possible to so recruit them. But it is also true that from now on that practice will be discontinued.

Mr. AYRES. Why so?

Mr. ANTHONY. I think it is the purpose of the War Department, if this legislation is enacted, to wipe out the National Guard, and the country will never hear of it again.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I want to call the gentleman's attention to that part of the Senate bill which answers the question propounded by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] as to interference by our volunteer plan with filling up the National Guard. I read from the Senate bill. It provides that—

All voluntary enlistments shall be in the Army of the United States and those enlisted may be assigned upon enlistment to any force of said Army not required to be raised exclusively by selective draft.

In other words, I want to ask the opinion of the gentleman as to what he thinks of the proposition of making an army of 500,000 conscripts only, and the proposition that nobody but conscripts can go into this army. What does the gentleman think of that?

Mr. ANTHONY. I think it is absolutely un-American to pass such a proposition.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Does not the gentleman believe that there lurks behind this bill, if there is not indicated on its face, the purpose of fixing conscription as the permanent military policy of the country?

Mr. ANTHONY. Undoubtedly it will be the permanent military policy of the country if it is enacted in the legislation now before the House.

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes.

Mr. SIMS. I want to know in principle what difference there would be between requiring men to remain in the service and requiring men to enter the service? Is it not a fact that an

officer in the United States Army can resign to-day and quit the service voluntarily if he desires to do so?

Mr. ANTHONY. He can.

Mr. SIMS. Then does the minority propose to amend their bill so as to require the compulsory continuance in the service of officers and enlisted men?

Mr. ANTHONY. No. The officers are better paid than the privates, and they seldom resign. They are like Members of Congress in that respect. [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMS. In other words, they can keep the officers of the Regular Army in without resort to compulsion?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes. Now I would like to make this one point, if I may be permitted. It has been suggested on the floor of this House that it is our duty from the military standpoint to pass this bill, because it has the approval of the General Staff of the Army. It is true that the General Staff of the Army was organized some years ago for the purpose of formulating the military policies of the country, but, Mr. Chairman, I deny that the bill which came from the War Department or the measure of the minority has ever had the approval of the General Staff, as a whole. It has not. When the Secretary of War came before us he admitted that the bill which is supported by the minority was drawn up by himself; that he had consulted individual members of the General Staff in its preparation, but that he had not consulted the General Staff as a body, even in this great emergency with which the country is confronted. So that it is absolutely incorrect to speak of this bill as having the formal indorsement of the General Staff.

And now one more word, directed to the criticisms of Members here on the floor against the volunteer army. All the every officer. It is unquestionably the purpose to officer this proposed army, whether they are to be conscripts or volunteers, mistakes ever made by our volunteer armies in the past have come from the fact that they have been, in some cases, officered by inexperienced men. Under the provisions of this bill the President of the United States has the absolute power to appoint with skilled officers, first from the Regular Army, then from the National Guard, from former officers of volunteers, from all the military sources that remain in the country, so that this whole charge of improperly officering the volunteer forces to be raised will lie only in case the War Department fails to do its duty. This bill is properly safeguarded under the volunteer law of 1914, passed by this body, which law did have the approval of the General Staff at the time it was recommended to this House.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ANTHONY. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Would not the President have the same sources for officers of the volunteers that he would have for officers for the conscripts?

Mr. ANTHONY. We give the President exactly the same sources for officers for the volunteers as the bill would give him for an army of conscripts. [Applause.]

There is no question but that the American volunteer is the most effective fighting man that the world has ever seen. The only criticism that can be laid at the door of American volunteer armies heretofore organized was due to the fact that in some instances there were not trained officers to command them. Such criticism can not justly be made to-day, because under the act of 1914, under which the volunteers provided for in this bill will be organized, the President has the sole power to appoint efficient officers to command them. We can apply, and this bill authorizes, the same judicious foresight to the selection of our volunteer army that we would give to the selection of a conscript army. An example of the confused reasoning on this question which is advanced in the arguments of the advocates of the minority report is typical:

The kind of thinking that is done in denunciation of the American volunteer plan appears in this extract which the Indianapolis News quotes from the New York World as final proof of "the failure of the volunteer system":

"When the British volunteer army was recruited men whose services were invaluable to the military industries of the country freely enlisted, and the damage was incalculable. In one battalion there were 200 expert munition workers, who were worth their weight in gold to their country in the industry that they deserted."

And much more to the same purpose.

But why should America three years afterwards stupidly copy English blunders? The recruiting of the English munitions workers was not due to a defect in the volunteer principle, for conscription would have worked precisely the same.

The fault was with English foresight in not rejecting the volunteer munitions workers, because England did not foresee how valuable they would be at home. The volunteer plan does not imply that every volunteer must be accepted any more than the draft plan implies that everybody must be drafted into actual ranks. There will be in any case judicious selection.

Mr. FIELDS. Will my colleague yield to me to make a little statement?

Mr. ANTHONY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. FIELDS. I just want to state to the membership of the House that I shall print in the RECORD, as bearing upon the point of the colloquy between the gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN] and myself this morning, an article in the New York American of April 17, by John Temple Graves, which is headed as follows:

Army in a year by draft plan. General Staff to call out first 500,000 boys under 21 years of age.

I wish to print this article and let it go to the public for what it is worth.

Mr. ANTHONY. In conclusion I want to express the hope that the membership of this House will be able to withstand the clamor of the metropolitan press, will be able to withstand the pressure that is being brought to bear upon it by artificial means through the machinations of these so-called "defense" societies. I hope that the membership of this body will be able to resist all official pressure, that it will be able when this bill comes to a vote to be governed by its own conscience and its own honest convictions, that it will be able to say that it is a body of real representatives of the people, and not largely composed of official rubber stamps and rabbits, as its critics have charged it with being. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON]. [Applause.]

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Chairman, it is natural that every man who is willing to serve his country in time of war should wish to feel that he is impelled by patriotism and a sense of duty to his country to volunteer, rather than compelled by its laws to serve. It is impossible not to sympathize with this sentiment, but wars are not won by sentiment or paid for with sympathy. If one opposes the position of those who advocate the volunteer system it is impossible to avoid reckoning with a prejudice against compulsory service of any character, but the necessities of war can not be controlled by prejudice, however deep seated or well grounded. In war there is but one question to be answered. That question is, "How can the war be won in the shortest time with the smallest sacrifice?" No one dares to say that the volunteer system is the answer to that question. It is not suggested for its intrinsic merit, for it has none, but as a concession to sentiment and a compromise with prejudice.

Universal obligatory service has always been recognized as an essential principle of our Government, but the enforcement of the obligation by draft has never been adopted as the policy of the country at the beginning of a war. The draft has always been a last resort, when all those who were willing to serve and all who could be persuaded to serve or ridiculed or threatened into serving had joined the colors. It was odious, therefore, because it differentiated the patriot from the slacker and branded the drafted man with the stigma of the coward and the poltroon. It is this differentiation, this stigma, which the method of applying the draft as a last resort attached to the drafted man which makes it offensive. The point I am trying to make is that it is not the principle of universal obligatory service but the application of the draft as a last resort which is repugnant.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. ANDERSON. I have only 20 minutes. I can not yield. The bill reported by the committee does not remove the objection; it preserves it. No such differentiation or stigma attaches or can attach to the selective draft adopted as a policy in the first instance, for such a policy is based upon universal liability to service and assumes the willingness of every man to serve when he is called. [Applause.]

The so-called volunteer system is always advocated in the name and for the sake of the volunteer, but it is not the man who is willing to serve, but the man who is unwilling to serve who profits by its adoption.

Even those who advocate it do not dare to rest the safety of the Nation upon it alone. They assert that we have but to call for volunteers to get an immediate, spontaneous, and adequate response, but they have not the courage of this conviction. If they had, this bill would authorize a call for volunteers, and stop there. Instead, the bill provides for volunteering, but "passing the buck" to the President, authorizes him to draft if a sufficient number do not offer themselves. They exhibit the sort of spirit which the volunteer system always inculcates. It is the spirit of "let George do it." Thus the men with the highest sense of public duty and of greatest usefulness and spirit are sacrificed at the very first. Men who would be more useful in industry go to the front, while those whom industry could spare stay at home.

There are two fundamental objections to the volunteer system. First, it takes those who ought not to go; and second, it exempts those who ought to go.

If the plan proposed by the committee could be understood in all its cowardly surrender to expediency, in all its weak

yielding to prejudice and naked subversion of principle, it could not stand a moment. But this compromise is veneered with reasonableness and varnished over with a false appeal to patriotism. It pretends to appeal to the patriotic impulse of men to volunteer, while threatening them with the draft. It pretends to invite men to serve, while really affording a way to avoid service.

The whole philosophy of those who advocate the volunteer system is boiled down and condensed into this question: "Why should not the man who is willing to fight for his country be permitted to volunteer?" The answer to that question is this: "The right to enlist or not to enlist, to serve or not to serve, is not a privilege granted to the individual, but an obligation imposed by the Government. [Applause.]

The people of the United States are neither cowards nor slackers. Patriotism is a latent virtue, but its spark is found in every human breast. Every man can not serve his country on the field of battle, nor can every man serve with equal sacrifice to himself, his associates, his family, or his country, and it is not fair nor is it efficient to impose upon each individual the burden of determining whether he will undertake a service which is obligatory upon all alike.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to pause here to tell a story. I think I have never told it to any man here. It is a personal story, and I tell it only because it seems to have a bearing upon the questions which we are now considering.

When the Spanish-American War began I was 15 years old, the youngest of six boys, and going to high school. We all felt that at least one out of the six ought to respond to the call of the President. The others had ties which it was difficult to break and obligations from which they could not easily be relieved, while I was already a member of the militia and was bound by no obligations whatever. So we agreed that I should enlist, but, as I was under age, I had to have the consent of my father and mother. I went to my father to get his consent. A year ago he would have been called a "hyphenated American," for he was born in a foreign land, but he thought that he could give one son out of six to sustain the policies of the country which had given him opportunity and the benefit of free institutions. [Applause.] Together we went to my mother to get her consent. She, too, was a "hyphenated American." I never knew one who loved her native country better or was more loyal to the country of her adoption. For years an invalid, she was in bed with a sickness from which she never recovered. I told her what we boys had decided, and she asked me one question: "Do you think the country needs you?" I said, "Yes, mother." She signed the paper that permitted me to enlist with a hand that never faltered, while the tears rolled down her face. I know there are millions like her in the United States; but, gentlemen, it is not fair that the mothers of the country should bear the burden of the decision to send their sons to the front. That burden belongs to the Congress of the United States and the Government, whose policy and national life are at stake in this struggle. [Applause.]

It is charged in opposition to the principle of selective draft that the spirit of democracy and of liberty is opposed to any form of compulsion. Yet we pass laws every day, the wisdom and justice of which is denied by thousands, many of whom willingly accept them and all of whom are compelled to obey them. We pass tax laws, the injustice and inequality of which are often asserted by those who pay, and not infrequently admitted by those who impose and administer them, but all alike are obliged to bear the burdens which they impose, although the burden may be heavier upon some than upon others. We might as well say that only those who admit the wisdom and justice of the law should be required to obey it as to say that only those who are willing to serve should be required to serve; that only those who volunteer to pay taxes should be required to pay them as that only those who volunteer to serve should be required to serve. Such a doctrine is not democracy—it is anarchy. [Applause.]

The obligation to serve is a universal obligation, and the Government, which represents the democracy of the people, is in better position to say who shall serve, and when and how service shall be rendered, than the individual.

However repugnant the idea of compulsion may be, the fact is that force is indispensable to sovereignty. Without it, no nation can be secure against internal dissension or foreign aggression; without it, the universality and coincidence of benefit and duty, of privilege and obligation, of citizenship and service, are denied with impunity; without it, nations are mere associations of individuals, without power to secure individual liberty or enforce national policy. However we may try to delude ourselves into the belief that democracy and freedom have been won by the law of love, history forces us to the conclusion that liberty has been won and democracy sustained by the law of force. [Applause.]

By force we won independence; by force we won the freedom of the seas; by force we won our right to be called a Nation; by force we won a place among the Nations of the world.

Almost without exception, every war in which we have been engaged has been unnecessarily prolonged by the failure to adopt sound and vigorous policies at the outset, by the volunteer system, by short enlistments, by yielding to mild preachments. We can not now afford the unnecessary waste of life and treasure which the repetition of those mistakes will entail. We do not know whether this war will last three months or three years; whether we will need 500,000 men or 5,000,000. Wisdom requires that we base our calculations upon the longer period and the greater number. These considerations lead inevitably to the adoption of the selective draft at once. We dare not risk the failure of the volunteer system. We can not afford to venture victory on a compromise.

We are engaged in the greatest task that any nation has ever undertaken or can undertake. To this task we must bring every resource of the Nation. We are at war. Our first and only business is to win the war. War is the hardest and most practical of all undertakings. To its success every effort must be bent, every needful sacrifice made. There can be no surrender to compromise, no yielding to sentiment, no catering to prejudice. War is a hard-fisted, hard-headed, hard-hitting business. In it to yield to soft measures is to yield success. I have no thought that we shall be other than victors, but I will take no chances on having to accept loser's terms by adopting "rabbit" policies. I am eye-single about this business; to me there is but one ray of hope in all its terrible necessities. It is that by putting forth every effort now, by adopting sound and vigorous policies at the outset, we may end the war speedily without great sacrifice of lives or treasure.

The other day I heard a man make the statement that he was willing to fight for the country against invasion, but was unwilling to fight in the trenches in Europe. Such a statement must proceed from a misapprehension of the duties of citizenship and the rules and purposes which should govern the conduct of individuals and the relations of the nations to each other. To fight in self-defense, to fight against invasion, is not patriotism; it is self-interest. It is obedience to the first law of nature—self-preservation, which even the brutes obey. To fight for a principle, to fight for the rights of others and of your country, which you yourself may never have occasion to exercise; to fight for the freedom of the seas; to fight for the policies of your country and its place among the nations of the world wherever and whenever they are assailed—that is patriotism. [Applause.]

I have no sympathy or patience with the idea that we are making war to democratize Germany. We have no more business to make war to democratize Germany than we would have to make war to Christianize the Turks. I have even less sympathy with the view that we are fighting alone to enable a few men to risk their lives and the peace of the country on ships, belligerent or otherwise. We are fighting for the freedom of the seas for every man and every nation [applause], for the international policy of the United States and its place among the nations of the world, for a voice in the terms of peace and in making the rules which will govern the conduct of nations and mold the designs and purposes of civilization when peace has been once more established. [Applause.] To such a purpose a man may well yield the full measure of his obligation to his country.

The issue in this matter is the privilege of the individual to enlist or not to enlist, on the one hand, and the right of the Government whose policies and national life are at stake to adopt those measures which most certainly make for success, on the other. On such an issue I prefer to stand with my country. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL].

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I accord to every man only that which I ask of them, that in this hour of stress I am moved only by patriotic motives in that which I now advocate. I regret exceedingly that it has been necessary for me to part company with the distinguished minority leader, my good friend the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN]. But, looking at things as I do, I can not help but part company with him and his associates, for I believe that they are wrong in what they advocate.

I wish to state at the outset that I feel it is deeply to be regretted that the grave question we are about to decide has been surrounded by such a campaign of misrepresentation and the Members of this House have been subjected to such a tirade

of vilification as has occurred during the last few weeks. Never has there been such a misrepresentation of facts and never has the moneyed power resorted to such contemptible tactics to coerce a legislative body into bending to its will. Selfish greed, not patriotic motives, has inspired most of this abuse, and the men who instigated it are those who are preparing to profit most by the war, to gather in the blood-stained sheckels, and wax rich off the misfortunes of others. It has been my observation that most of these so-called American-rights leagues, defense leagues, and so forth, are personneled by men who have big financial interests at stake, and who will reap the golden harvest from the great calamity that has overtaken this Nation. They are interested in the manner in which this law is framed and who shall give their lives on the firing line, if need be, not so much from a sense of duty to their country but from a sense of apprehension as to how they are going to fare between now and the time the final gong is rung on the tragedy. That is the reason so many of them are anxious that the youths of our country be sent to the front and the able-bodied men denied that opportunity, even though it may be their wish to go.

If the call for volunteers should come these men know that many, probably thousands and hundreds of thousands of the men now working in their factories would feel it their duty to respond to the call and thus the men who are figuring on reaping the harvest from the inflated prices would have their output limited and their source of revenue reduced.

Wisely have they planned to have the boys who are of no use to them in a manufacturing way face the brunt of battle and stand the onslaughts that may be made against this country. The bill for selective conscription limits the age of those who may be drafted at a minimum of 19 and a maximum of 25 years. It can not be contended that any man has reached the zenith of his ability either mental or physical at the age of 25. Why, then, should this Government assume the right to say that because you are under 25 years of age you must go to war, and because another man is over that age he must not go whether he wants to or not? Why has this country the arbitrary right to say to the youth, you shall go but to the young man you shall stay. Is it fitting or right that this country in time of war shall pick out the vocation of its male citizens? The jingo press has tried to call down maledictions on the heads of those Members of this House who are supporting the majority report on this bill on the ground that they are unpatriotic and un-American. It is a clever form of abuse designed to arouse the people to a frenzy, but it is as false as it is contemptible. In fact conscription in itself is autocratic, not democratic; it savors of the monarchies of Europe and not the Americanism of the United States. Right here I want to state that if we must resort to conscription I propose that we shall raise the age limit so that every able-bodied man in the United States who is yet in the prime of life shall be subject to the call. At least this will place no unjust discrimination against the youths of our land, will not penalize them because they happen to be younger in years than you and I; will not cast a shadow over their young lives or blot them out because the world is young to them. And it will also place no unjust discrimination against the man of mature years who feels that it is his duty to respond to the call but who will be barred because perchance he was born in the eighties and not the nineties has reached the age of discretion and is not the unformed youth.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that the campaign of villification has been going on over the country. I do not know where it originates, but I do know that this morning's Post in the city of Washington, carried a three-page advertisement, and in the columns of that paper, paid for by some one, were three editorials taken from papers edited in my district. I am very sure that the gentleman who wrote the editorials did not understand what we are advocating here to-day. [Applause.]

The whole trouble about this proposition is that it is not understood. It has been a campaign of misrepresentation from the very start. Terms are used and mixed up, and the people that use them do not know to what they refer. For instance, "universal training" is brought into the argument and into this debate time after time, and there is no universal training in either bill—either of the majority or that which the minority advocates. Universal training is another proposition, and so is universal service.

Universal military training and conscription are two entirely different subjects. I call attention to this matter because of the fact that in the campaign of abuse that has been going on any man who dared to state that he was in favor of trying out the volunteer service before resorting to conscription has immediately been accused of being opposed to universal military training. This doubtless has been done with a design, for there are millions of people in the United States who are in favor of universal military training but are radically opposed to the other. I believe a large majority of the people believe that the young men of this country should be properly trained in military tactics so they could act promptly and efficiently in time of need. Universal military training should be a part of our general system of education. Knowledge along military lines should be inculcated in the mind of the young man the same as knowledge along industrial lines or any other business pursuits. He should be prepared to support and defend his country as he prepares himself to defend his home, his business, or his profession; but universal military training does not mean that he shall spend years in the idle routine of a military camp when he could be spending his time and energies far better in industrial pursuits. Give him the knowledge, inculcate in him the patriotism, and we will have an Army that will defend any nation, any country, without resorting to draft or conscription.

The accusation that has been spread by the propaganda that is trying to force a conscription bill through this House that the supporters of this majority report are hampering the President in the conduct of this war is false and has no foundation in fact. On the contrary, the passage of this bill would facilitate his actions, and would result in providing an army quicker than if we waited for selective draft. The Secretary of War has himself declared that it would take several months before a census could be taken and arrangements made whereby conscription could be put into effect. It has been estimated that it would take until September or October before the draft system could be placed in operation, and would probably be November before the men who were drafted could be placed in training.

Col. Roosevelt has stated that he could raise an army of 25,000 in two months and have them in the trenches in four. A prominent National Guard man in my State informs me that he can raise a brigade in Iowa in 30 days. From other sources comes the information that brigades, divisions, and companies can be raised in from 2 weeks to 30 days.

It is safe to say that if a call for volunteers was made we could have, beside the National Guard, 500,000 men under arms inside of four months. If we resort to conscription, the system will not be ready to be put into effect until long after we could have an army ready for the field under the volunteer system. Is it hampering the President to provide him with an army to defend this country? Is it un-American to resort to the quickest way to put this country in a state of preparedness? This bill provides that should sufficient volunteers not be forthcoming the President can resort to selective draft. It also provides that he can secure the census to make the draft as soon as he desires, and that he can be making all his arrangements while the call for volunteers is being answered. In plain words this bill provides for the quickest possible way of securing an army; a call for volunteers while a selective-draft system is being prepared and conscription as soon as it is ready to be applied if the volunteer system does not bring sufficient men.

The war councils have said that raw recruits would stand no chance if they were sent against the trained armies of Europe, and this argument is being used in favor of an immediate conscription plan, but I respectfully submit that trained armies are only secured by training soldiers, and the quicker these men are enlisted and put in training the sooner will we have the trained army that is necessary.

The only question before you now is the question whether the volunteer system is better to raise an army than the conscript system, and I want to call the attention of this House to the fact, and I want to congratulate the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, the chairman of the committee, upon the fight that he has made, a part of which he has already won for those who stand behind the President in this fight. There is no one standing out for the President's plan. One of the main things was the conscripting of boys under 21, and that they have abandoned. They have raised the minimum age to 21, as we raised it, and they raised the maximum age to 40, as the majority of the committee raised it.

I call the attention of this House to the fact that if it had not been for the 12 gentlemen on that committee that made the fight you would not have had these ages raised, as they admit now that they should have been raised. [Applause.]

I want to call attention to one or two other things briefly. You hear a great deal said about the volunteer enlistments in the National Guard and the Regular Army. It is true that that opportunity is afforded to everybody, but I call your attention to the fact that in the National Guard all over this country, especially in my district, there is no opportunity to enlist in the National Guard as a unit, only in about 7 towns out of 100.

Mr. AYRES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. AYRES. Why is it impossible for them to enlist as units in the National Guard?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Because the State has to furnish an armory, and armories are not there in the communities. There is a limit to the State furnishing armories.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. If the gentleman will allow me, one of the provisions of the Army bill is that the recruiting officer has a right to put a man in the Regular Army or the National Guard.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. That is true. The volunteer system, as we are advocating it in this bill, is founded on this fact, that it is better and you make your war more popular if you allow the units to come from small towns in the different States. There are any number of towns in my district that want to furnish 10, 15, or 20 boys—perhaps not a full company—but they want the boys to go out and fight as a unit; they want them to be associated in the field and in the battle and in the training together. I think it is a very good plan, and it tends to get enlistments. There is not any question about that. The plan of the War Department is not to take men as units but to take them from families and distribute them here and there and everywhere—put the man from Texas in a regiment from New York, composed of men that he never saw before. Just think of taking a boy 19 years old away from his father and mother, unwilling to go into the service, and putting him in a regiment where he never saw one of the men before, and putting him there not only for one year but for three or four years, and perhaps to go out and die. That is the plan of the War Department.

A Member has put in the RECORD an article that is supposed to have the authority of the War Department, saying that they did not intend to take the boys from 21 to 25, but the General Staff proposition is to take the first class from boys 19 to 21. Was there ever a more cold-blooded proposition proposed in a free Government than that? [Applause.] Talk about the Germans' ruthlessness, taking a man, their enemy, and compelling him to work for them, and yet in this Congress you propose to take your own boys and put them on the firing line; take them unwilling and put them up to be shot at. Gentlemen, although that proposition is already conceded in this House to be wrong, it is not dead. In the body at the other end of the Capitol they are now debating it, and if you by your votes defeat the majority's bill in this House you stand in danger of having to vote for that tomorrow or the next day. [Applause.]

Mr. MONDELL. Is it not a fact that even Germany, a military autocracy, has never attempted to break up the territorial organization of the German Army; that Bavarian fights with Bavarian, Wurttemberger with Wurttemberger, and Saxon with Saxon; and yet the War Department has been as insistent as it has on any part of its program on the proposition that our men shall not be territorially organized, and that Maine shall fight with California and Texas with Minnesota?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is absolutely right; and as I understand it they go further than that——

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE. I am sure my colleague from Iowa desires to be fair at least to the War Department. I would like to ask him if there was any such argument made by the Secretary of War or any representative of the War Department before the Committee on Military Affairs that it was the desire of the War Department to do any such thing as the gentleman from Iowa has said?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. To what does the gentleman refer?

Mr. McKENZIE. Taking the men from Texas and putting them with men from New York and breaking up the entire territorial organization of the troops. Was there any argument made for any such proposition?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I understand there was.

Mr. McKENZIE. I would like to have the gentleman cite me to it in the hearings.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. DENT. Unquestionably there was in the original draft of the bill by the War Department, as sent to the committee, a provision to the effect that all volunteer enlistments should hereafter be made in the Army of the United States. I asked the Secretary of War what that meant, and he said that it meant that the present organization of the Regular Army and of the National Guard would be destroyed during the period of this emergency and there would be substituted for them the Army of the United States, and that under this the President would have the power to send any enlisted man to any organization anywhere that he saw fit. But let me go further and state that the committee turned that proposition down, but before the committee reported the bill I received a letter from the Secretary of War receding from that position.

Mr. McKENZIE. The gentleman will permit me——

The CHAIRMAN. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McKENZIE. The statement that I challenge is the statement that the Secretary of War or any man representing the Secretary of War or the War Department advocated a military organization that would take men from one State arbitrarily and put them with men from other States, instead of permitting them to go as State units, and, furthermore, in reply to the suggestion of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. DENT] as to why they were going to enlist them in the Army of the United States, the Secretary said that it was in the interest of economy, in order that they would not have to have two recruiting stations, one for the National Guard and one for the Regular Army, in the same community.

Mr. DENT. That is the provision in the bill now.

Mr. McKENZIE. I challenge the statement of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] that the Secretary of War or anyone from the War Department advocated this inhuman and brutal proposition that he has set forth.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Who drew the original bill, may I ask the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. McKENZIE. Search me! [Laughter.]

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Did not the War Department draw it?

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Certainly.

Mr. DENT. In order that the facts may be kept as near correct as possible, on page 10, line 5, of the original draft of the bill that was submitted to the Military Committee by the Secretary of War there was this provision:

> All volunteer enlistments shall be in the Army of the United States, and those enlisted may be assigned upon enlistment to any force of said Army not required to be raised exclusively by the selective draft.

That was stricken out by the committee, and the Secretary of War finally yielded upon it.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. And, Mr. Chairman, that identical bill is now being considered in the Senate bill?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. And that is the bill that we will have to act on here finally?

Mr. DENT. Yes; probably.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. That is the bill that you are voting against to-day. [Applause.] I realize that it is very hard sometimes to keep track of the War Department, and I do not want to be understood as criticizing the General Staff. I have been here in Washington now for two years, and my admiration for the gentlemen of the General Staff is much greater than it was when I came here; but they make mistakes, just like everyone else, and I call the attention of this House to the fact, and every gentleman upon our committee knows it, that the General Staff of the War Department made a rule that they were not going to allow the National Guard to be enlisted with any more units, and when the Secretary of War came before our committee some of the gentlemen of the committee called his attention to the fact that they had not utilized the national-defense act and had not allowed it to become operative; that there was a place there for more units, and they did not seem to realize it, and in two days after that the General Staff came out with the statement, and you read it in your morning newspaper, that the War Department had discovered that we had a national-defense act [laughter], and that there was a place for more enlistments in the National Guard.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman has stated that the War Department changed its mind on one or two things. Did the gentleman change his mind, and did the majority of the committee change their minds, when they changed the language of their amendment to the bill so that it did not "pass the buck" up to the President quite so hard as the language of the bill now reads?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Why, certainly. The gentlemen of the committee only had a few minutes in which to formulate their minds, and they did change their minds, and when they find they are wrong they are willing to change their minds and they are willing to admit it.

Mr. KAHN. And so is the War Department.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. And the committee do not say that they have just discovered there was something in the law that they did not see there before when they had a chance to see it.

Mr. KAHN. But the gentleman does not give the War Department the right to change its mind, although he reserves to himself the right to change his.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. We did give them the right. I am not criticizing; I am simply calling attention to it.

Mr. MONDELL. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I will.

Mr. MONDELL. Is it not true that while the War Department reluctantly admitted that the national-defense act authorized the organization of new increments of the National Guard, the War Department is now declining to accept any of these new increments in the service though 20 States are ready to offer them? [Applause.]

Mr. HULL of Iowa. That is absolutely correct, and I want to call the attention of the committee to another thing in the national-defense act that I do not believe every Member of the House understands. That act provided for this very emergency. There is no limitation to the National Guard. It is not 800 to a congressional district, but it must be 800, and they can take as many more as they have offered to it, and they are not taking what is offered to it, and yet they want to go out in my district and conscript young people there to go to war. Now, my friends——

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Certainly, if I can get more time.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman can get more time. The gentleman is a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. At the close of the Spanish-American War there was made an index list of those who had served as officers in that war, probably some 1,000, I think. They signed that for service when called upon. I notice in the bill which the committee brought in that there is no consideration whatever given to those men. Does the gentleman know why that was done?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Well, it was not thought best—I had the matter up—it was not thought best by the committee, and I am not saying but what it was right, and I think we all practically agreed to it, that on this bill, which is designed to cover an emergency, it was best to keep those features of general legislation off from the bill. The committee was wise in that. We probably will take that up in another bill.

Mr. DYER. Does not the gentleman think that it belongs in this bill?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DENT. I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for five additional minutes.

Mr. DYER. Does not the gentleman think that belongs in this bill, because it is necessary to provide officers, many more than are available? West Point is not sufficient to furnish them, although they are graduating them before time, and there are thousands of men trained and who have had experience, and why should they be slighted and not given an opportunity?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I will say to the gentleman from Missouri that the committee tried to make as little difference in the bill reported as possible from the bill handed down by the War Department; and the War Department bill called for no provision as to Spanish-American War veterans.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman state whether or not he would be in favor of it?

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I would be in favor of it.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I am in favor of that myself, but on the advice of the majority of the committee it was thought best to leave it out.

Mr. EMERSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I will.

Mr. EMERSON. The gentleman is a member of the committee. What does the gentleman call this bill introduced, a volunteer bill?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes, sir.

Mr. EMERSON. Does the gentleman believe under a volunteer bill we can raise the men?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I believe you can raise at least half a million men, and I know you can raise them better, quicker, and that it will do a great deal to popularize this war if you call for them. [Applause.]

Mr. EMERSON. Why does the gentleman put at the end of his bill a conscription feature? Was that part of a volunteer system, or a kind of a club?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. No; that is not a club.

Mr. EMERSON. What is that?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. That is to give the President authority to take them if——

Mr. EMERSON. But if you can get them by the volunteer system you do not need a club.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. There might be a time coming when you can not get them.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. Of course, the gentleman can move to strike out the draft provision. [Applause.]

Mr. KEARNS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Certainly.

Mr. KEARNS. I think the volunteer plan was put in there to give such gentlemen as the gentleman from Cleveland an opportunity to enlist.

Mr. EMERSON. I will enlist just as quickly as any Member of this House will enlist—just as quickly.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Now, gentlemen, this——

Mr. EMERSON. I want some of these noisy fellows to enlist; I want to have some of these fellows enlist who voted for Mr. Wilson because he kept us out of war first. Now, when they will enlist——

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. There is no question but that the gentleman wants us to enlist first. [Laughter.]

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Does not the gentleman think that some of those who wanted us to go to war ought to enlist?

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. The fact remains that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany now?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. And the gentleman pictured a few moments ago in a graphic description of the poor young men being taken from their homes and their mothers.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I tried to.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Now, under your volunteer system, where are you going to take them from? [Laughter.]

Mr. HULL of Iowa. They volunteer themselves.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. And they volunteer three years younger than they do under our plan.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. If you want to go out of this House with me and walk out of your own accord, it is all right; but if I take hold of you and drag you out, it is another proposition.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. How about the man who is holding back and does not want to go?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I want to say to the gentleman from Ohio that your selective-conscription plan is a haven for sulkers.

Mr. JAMES. Then why did you put it in the bill?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I will say to the gentleman that if I had my way it would not be in there as it is written, but you understand that in a committee you have to compromise some differences.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. There were eight men who did not compromise certain differences.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. You have compromised.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Oh, no.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. You have compromised the very fundamental feature. You have come over to the majority side on that.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Oh, no.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Oh, yes; you have.

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. That was done before the dissension leading to the minority report in the committee, if the gentleman wants me to reveal committee proceedings.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Then you are not standing behind the President. And that is all the argument that you have.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I would like to say just a few words in regard to one feature running through all these debates, and that is this, that the volunteer system is a failure, and that we ought to avoid it, and yet it is the only system by which this country has defended itself for over 130 years. My friends, in yon Rotunda is a picture of the Surrender of Cornwallis. I ask some of you if that picture and the story that it tells is a failure? On the other side of the Rotunda is another picture, the Surrender of Burgoyne to Gen. Gates. Is that picture and the story that it tells a failure? This Congress is trying to write across those great pictures the words, "This is a lie." Is that great picture of Lincoln and his Cabinet at the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, made possible by the Volunteers of '61—is that picture a lie? You have in this great city of Washington many statues to the heroes of the Civil War—Gen. Logan, and many others. Are those lies. Was the story and the history that those men wrote a failure? My friends,

sitting in this House is one of our colleagues who volunteered in the Civil War, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SHERWOOD]. Is his life story a failure? I think not.

I hope that when this House votes on this measure it will repudiate this campaign of misrepresentation by such an overwhelming vote that the country will understand that these stories that we love so well were not a failure. [Applause.]

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. If I have any time.

Mr. DYER. The gentleman has spoken about the volunteers, and I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact and ask him whether he knows it to be a fact or not—I do—that of the 300,000 or more who enlisted for the Spanish War, the volunteers who served in the Spanish War, 98 per cent of those are to-day in favor of universal military service as provided for in this amendment?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I know nothing about that. I presume it is like a great many other things the propaganda is telling us. It needs investigation. [Applause.]

Mr. KING. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Yes.

Mr. KING. I was very much interested in the reference made to an advertisement in a certain newspaper published in the city of Washington this morning, because it undertook to set out editorials from every newspaper in the district of every man who voted against this war on the morning of the crucifixion—the morning of the 6th of April.

I want to ask you—and you can answer it later and insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] is going to insert the names of the battles in which our great generals fought—does the gentleman think that the man who publishes papers of that kind, wealthy men who sit in beautiful Venetian palaces and their purple opera houses, their gilded chairs, with red plush beneath them, while champagne glasses are clinking in the basement as one goes by there in the evening, can go on with that work forever and force the boys of this country between the ages of 19 and 25 years into the trenches of Europe and yet think a day of retribution will not come? [Applause.]

Mr. HULL of Iowa. The question may be pertinent, but I do not care to discuss it.

The volunteer soldier has always proven more efficient than the drafted soldier. The wars of the past have sufficiently proven this, and although one or two of our defense leagues have attempted to prove that the Revolutionary and Civil Wars were failures because our forefathers did not see fit to adopt selective draft, in the minds of the people they will ever remain as splendid achievements that could not have been accomplished had they been fought with men who were fighting because they were made to and not because their heart and soul were wrapped up in the welfare of their country. And just why is the volunteer army better? There are many reasons, and the principal one is that which I have touched upon before, that the volunteer is not merely a machine but puts his heart and soul into the conflict. Another reason is that volunteer units are much more proficient than other units. The community spirit is brought out in them. The volunteer companies are formed in the small towns and surrounding country. Comrades as boys, they volunteer as men, and side by side they fight as they had worked, with a common interest in each other and that comradeship that builds the proficient fighting machine. The rivalry that exists between units as to who shall be the honor unit brings out that spirit that goes to develop the true Americanism and make the men win against all odds. This is entirely lacking where men are thrown together with no incentive to fight and no comradeship with the men with whom they come in contact.

We are in the mightiest war of the ages. The world is engaged in a death struggle. Now that we have entered the arena we must bend every energy to win, and win an honorable victory as quickly and with as little loss of life and little suffering as possible. To win we must have an army, and I believe this method provides for an efficient army quicker and more practical than any other way.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. [Applause.]

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, it is very fortunate that throughout the debate thus far, however sharp our differences of opinion may be upon this very important measure, it has been fully recognized that whether we be for the one bill or the other bill we are all actuated by patriotic motives, and desire to do that which is best for our country in winning this war.

I have often been asked whether my constituents in my district indorsed the position that I have taken upon the various questions that have come before us during this session. I have always been compelled to say that I do not know. I do not know the opinion of my constituents upon this question, but at the very outset I wish to make an observation upon what I believe to be the duty and responsibility of a Member of Congress upon this bill and upon all measures relating to the war. Ours is a representative government. Upon that we all agree, but we do not always agree upon what the term implies.

Are Members of Congress mere instruments to register the will of their constituents from day to day, or is it their duty to exercise their independent judgment upon matters vitally affecting our national life? I believe that true representative government requires me to exercise my own judgment to a very large degree. Upon this measure the question to be asked is not what do my constituents to-day think about it, but what would they think about it could I present to each one of them the information I have and my reasons for the course of action that I believe I should take. My constituents and your constituents desire that we adopt such policies as will win this war in the shortest possible time, with the least sacrifice of life.

Upon that we will all agree; and believing that the selective draft or conscription plan will do more to secure this result than the volunteer system, I shall unhesitatingly give it my support. I believe that in the end my constituents will indorse my action, for they are patriotic and they are intelligent; but even though I believed my action would not be indorsed by my constituents, my course would be the same.

In time of war, when the very existence of our Republic is in danger, my first duty is to my country and not to my constituents. My political future is of small moment at such a time as this. When I vote to raise an army under any plan, knowing that many of those in that army may give up their lives for their country, I have no right to consider my political fortunes in that vote. Political defeat will be a small sacrifice for me to make compared to sacrifices others will make.

If this was a war to extend our trade, I would either vote against raising an army at all or vote for the volunteer system. If an army was proposed merely to show to our allies that we were willing to cheer them by having our flag upon European battle fields, I would vote for the volunteer system. If this was a war to destroy autocracy for the purpose of bringing liberty to other peoples, I would vote for the volunteer system. But none of these is the kind of a war in which we are engaged to-day. We must fight the autocracy of Germany, not primarily in the interest of the German people, but primarily in our own interest. We must fight autocracy in Germany in order to preserve democracy in America. If the Imperial German Government is victorious now, then we may look forward to the possible destruction of our liberties here.

I had hoped that our war with Germany, so far as fighting is concerned, might be confined to the sea. I still hope so, but we must be prepared to go further and do whatever may be necessary to win the war. I confidently hope and believe that before we will be ready to send any of the troops provided for in this bill across the sea the war will be over, but we should recognize now that if the war is not over within a year we will have to fight, not only with money and supplies, but with men. I am not going to give my reasons for this conclusion, but I am sure that time will demonstrate the correctness of this statement.

Men on this floor have said that if this country was invaded by the enemy they would not hesitate to do anything necessary to meet such invasion, but when it comes to sending an army overseas, different considerations should prevail. I can not understand the reasoning of those gentlemen. If a year from now this war is not over, and it can be won by our sending a million men to join 12,000,000 men fighting our enemy, what kind of patriotism is it, what kind of statesmanship is it that would wait for these 12,000,000 men to be defeated and then say, "Now we will get ready to fight." America will be forced to become an armed camp for a generation in that event, and we will have fastened upon us exactly that militarism that the volunteer advocates so much deplore, and which we all wish to avoid. I might possibly favor the volunteer system if we did not need to conserve every resource we have to win this war, but if we would win within the next 12 months without the loss of American lives, it will be because in that time we will have utilized all possible means of necessary production here. We must feed our own people, we must feed and supply our Army, and in addition we must, in large part, feed and supply the armies of our allies. Food and munitions to our allies now is far more important than sending them additional men to feed and supply. The next 12 months we must devote to production and training an army. Production is the first essential, men the second. Our Army should then be selected so as to interfere as little as possible with production and not at all

with production absolutely essential to carry on the war. This can be done and done only through the selective draft. The President is given authority to exempt all citizens necessary to that production, and through this system only can the proper policy be applied of utilizing the men of the Nation where they can be most useful in winning the war. Those should be put in training who can best be spared, those having no one dependent upon them and those who are consumers rather than producers. Under the volunteer system a large majority of those who will enlist ought not to be spared now for that purpose. Under the draft those will be taken who can best be spared.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from South Carolina?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes; for just a question.

Mr. LEVER. I understand that the bill of the majority of the committee exempts those engaged in the industries.

Mr. LENROOT. It authorizes the President to exempt them.

Mr. LEVER. Is it the gentleman's understanding that an amendment offered by the minority will include in that exemption also those engaged in agriculture?

Mr. LENROOT. I do not know what the intention of the minority is, but I am very frank to say to the gentleman that if no one else offers an amendment, I myself will offer one to make it clear that the President is authorized to exempt any class of industry that in his judgment is necessary for the national welfare.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. LENROOT. Just for one question.

Mr. TOWNER. I just wanted to say that that amendment was adopted in the Senate, and I understand that the gentleman in charge of the bill on both sides have no objection to its being adopted here in the House.

Mr. LENROOT. I am thoroughly in favor of that amendment.

Mr. TOWNER. I think there will be very little, if any, opposition to it.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Wyoming?

Mr. LENROOT. I regret I can not yield now.

But it is said that the bill provides for the same selection in volunteers as is provided in the case of draft. Granted; but if the volunteer system is to be so restricted, every man on this floor knows that the volunteer system will fail, for it has always been true that a large majority of volunteers have come from those engaged in productive employment, upon the farm, in the mine and factory. The bill reported by the majority of the committee provides that the draft can be resorted to only upon a finding by the President that the volunteer system is a failure. What would be the moral effect of such a finding upon Germany—our enemy? Would she not naturally conclude that America is unwilling to fight? And may not the very system that the majority advocates in this bill so prolong the war as to make it necessary to send our men across the sea? When if at the very outset we make it plain that the mighty power of this Nation is to be used to the utmost to win this war, and that if need be every man in it will be called upon to wage it to victory, it is more than probable that such a policy inaugurated now will result in an early ending of the war without the sacrifice of a single American life. [Applause.] The moral effect of that policy now will be worth more in ending the war than if we were prepared to send a half million volunteers to the battle fields of France to-morrow. [Applause.]

Much has been said as to whether this selective draft is not an infringement upon the democracy of America. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that the selective draft is the only democratic principle that ought to be adopted in time of war.

What is a democracy? What is our democracy? Is it an aggregation of 100,000,000 of people who shall receive privileges from the Government but be under no obligations to it? Is it a democracy to say that 100,000,000 of people shall enjoy the blessings of that flag, but only those who are willing to volunteer and die shall protect it? Is that your idea of democracy? It is not mine. Universal obligation to serve ought to be just as important as the privileges that the American people enjoy. [Applause.]

Men say that this selective draft will be dragging a man from his home whether he be willing or not. Let me give you my idea of the selective draft as proposed by the minority and of the conscript system proposed by the majority when the volunteer system fails. With the minority proposition, when a man is selected under a draft there will be no stigma upon him. He will walk out from his community, and his neighbors will point to him and say, "There is a man who has been chosen by our country for distinguished service. He is going to fight for us." That is the selective draft. But upon the failure of the volunteer system, when conscription is resorted to, what is the situation? The finger of scorn and of shame is pointed at the conscript then and he has the mark of a coward and a slacker upon him. Which shall we choose?

I am very much surprised at the attitude of so many of the Members from Southern States upon this matter of conscription. I wonder if you all realize that the Southern Confederacy in the Civil War, in the beginning of the second year of that war, resorted to conscription, resorted to a selective draft, based exactly upon the principle that is embodied in this bill? In the conscription laws of the Southern Confederacy there were certain exemptions of men working in mines, in furnaces, in foundries. The secretary of war of the Southern Confederacy was authorized to exempt from that selective draft operatives in woolen mills and in cotton mills and various other industries. Of that draft Col. Upton, whom you all know as one of the recognized military authorities of the United States, says in his work, The Military Policy of the United States:

> The Confederate armies, blindly created for 12 months and as blindly disorganized, in the hope of filling their depleted ranks by voluntary enlistment, were rapidly hastening to their dissolution. The proud Confederacy, whose flag had floated within the distinct view of the National Capital, through blunders of legislation was tottering to its fall. A month more, or two months at the farthest, and the gigantic rebellion, organized to establish the sovereignty and independence of the States, would be a thing of the past, its leaders fleeing from the wrath of a loyal and outraged people. The situation was desperate; the crisis had arrived; the triumph of the Union was at hand.
>
> At this juncture it was reserved for a Confederate Congress to explain for all time the meaning and extent of the power to raise and support armies. Appalled, but not unmanned, it rose to the occasion and setting an example that was followed a year later by the National Congress, resolved to meet the emergency by declaring every man between the ages of 18 and 35 a soldier. Had it been the object of the law to force reluctant citizens into the ranks the experiment might not have seemed hazardous, but going far beyond, to conscript armies numbering more than 100,000 soldiers, who had faithfully fulfilled their engagements and were already turning their affections homeward, the temerity of this legislation finds no parallel in the history of the world. But the end justified the means; the reorganization which was languishing was immediately completed; the ranks were filled up and given the strength of increasing numbers; the Confederate armies again took the field to baffle and resist the onset of the Union hosts until, dwindling to the former shadows of themselves, they were finally compelled to lay down their arms at Appomattox Court House.

So through the selective draft in the Civil War the Southern Confederacy was enabled to continue that war two years longer than would otherwise have been possible.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee and Mr. SHALLENBERGER rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. LENROOT. I would like 10 minutes more.

Mr. KAHN. I yield to the gentleman 10 minutes more.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. I am sorry I can not yield, because I want to refer to some other things, and I have only 10 minutes. If I can get further time, I will be glad to yield.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I was going to say that the ultimate history of the Civil War is that under that conscription system the South got pretty badly licked.

Mr. LENROOT. It certainly was, and personally I am very sorry that it resorted to the conscription, because otherwise the North would have won the war two years sooner than it did.

Mr. BURNETT. May I ask my friend——

Mr. LENROOT. I am sorry I can not yield further. I am always glad to yield when I have the time.

Mr. Chairman, much has been said about tearing the boys from their mothers' breasts under this conscriptive system. Of course there is no such issue before the House of Representatives to-day, because both majority and minority have agreed upon the age limit of 21 to 40 years for conscription. But while that is true, I want to call attention to this fact, that while these gentlemen of the majority have such tender concern for the boys of 19 and 20 years of age, and while they call attention to the fact, as they view it, that it would be a crime to take such tender youths and put them in the Army, their own bill, under the volunteer system that they advocate, provides for taking boys not 19 years of age but 18 years of age, or one year younger than the Secretary of War has ever proposed should be subject to selective draft. And I want to call attention to the fact that if you gentlemen succeed in your volunteer system, as against this selective draft, more boys under 21 years of age will fight and die for their country, if any fighting is necessary, than will

fight and die under the selective draft system, even that proposed by the Secretary of War. [Applause.]

In the Civil War upon the northern side there was a total of 2,606,341 volunteers, and out of that number—I quote from records put into the printed proceedings of the Senate last Saturday by Senator NELSON—out of that number 1,158,438 were boys 18 years of age; 844,981 were boys 17 years of age; 231,051 were boys 16 years of age. Do you think the boys of 1917 are less patriotic than the boys of 1861? If you want to protect the boys and not take an undue number of them, you will support the selective draft and you will defeat the voluntary system.

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. I can not yield now. And in your solicitude for the mother with a breaking heart, why, of course, there are mothers whose hearts are going to break whether their boys be taken under the selective draft or whether they go under the volunteer system. But, as was said by the gentlemen from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON], is it not apparent that instead of having mothers make the decision or the young boy make the decision, it is better to let the Government decide for them? [Applause.]

You know, as well as I do, that under your volunteer system in any community if under the selective draft five would be a fair proportion; under the volunteer system one boy would volunteer, and that would induce another and another and another, and under that volunteer system you would get them in crowds where you are breaking the hearts of twice as many mothers as you would under the selective-draft system.

I want to refer to another matter before I close. The gentleman from Nebraska, Gov. SHALLENBERGER, yesterday, in referring to his Swiss ancestors, paid a very eloquent and just tribute to that great and independent people, and he closed that eloquent tribute with the statement that the people in that little republic in the Alps had never bowed the head or crooked the knee to any prince or potentate upon earth. That was a just and well-deserved tribute to the people of the Swiss Republic, but it was a most unfortunate reference for the gentleman to make in attempting to use it as an argument for the volunteer system. I hold in my hand the military constitution of the Swiss Republic, and the first sentence is: "Every Swiss is bound to do military service." [Applause.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Does the gentleman mean to say that the selective-draft proposition whereby 1 man in 40 is taken in the same as the Swiss system where it says that every man is bound to do military service? [Applause.]

Mr. LENROOT. You may applaud the gentleman now, but you will come to regret your applause in just a minute, because in the same constitution—and the gentleman complains of this selective draft from 21 to 40—let me tell him what the Swiss system is. The Swiss system has three kinds of armies. The first line is the line that is called first in every war, exactly as will be called in this war, known as the Ausrug. They take the men from 20 to 32 years of age. The second line is called the Landwehr, composed of men between 33 and 40, and the third line is called the Landsturm, taking men between 41 and 48.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. They take every man; and the proposition in this bill is to take one man out of eight between the ages of 19 and 25.

Mr. LENROOT. They do not take every man, as I have shown, unless every man is needed. Now, let me ask the gentleman a question. If we have 6,000,000 men between the ages of 20 and 32 years of age, which is the Swiss system, and we need only 500,000, would the gentleman take every man or select 500,000 by lot? [Applause.] I wait for an answer. [Applause.]

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I did not hear the gentleman's question.

Mr. LENROOT. The Swiss take every man between 20 and 32, with some exemptions. If we have 6,000,000 men between the ages of 20 and 32 all subject to military duty and if we only needed 500,000, would the gentleman take and put under arms 6,000,000 of them or would he select 500,000 by lot, as in this bill?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. The administration plan proposes to have tribunals all over the country——

Mr. LENROOT. Oh, the gentleman gets away from the question. How would the gentleman select the 500,000?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I would call for volunteers and get what I wanted.

Mr. LENROOT. The Swiss Republic, from which the gentleman's ancestors came, do not do it in that way, and the gentleman referred to the Swiss Republic as the highest example of democracy in the world to-day. [Applause.]

Mr. RAGSDALE. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LENROOT. Yes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Suppose under the call for volunteers we get several million, how would the gentleman select the 500,000 out of them?

Mr. LENROOT. Of course, what would happen—and I want to be entirely fair—if we had a call for volunteers they would stop accepting them when they got the 500,000. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL].

THE NEW ARMY—HOW SHALL WE RAISE IT?

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, fortunately there are no differences of opinion in the House relative to the objects sought to be accomplished or the ends we seek to attain in the enactment of this legislation. There were differences of opinion as to the wisdom, propriety, or necessity of making a declaration of war, but the die having been cast, the declaration having been made, the representatives of the American people are united in purpose and determination to marshal, prepare, and utilize the Nation's resources of men and material in the best and most effective manner for the accomplishment of the purposes for which we have unsheathed the sword.

United as we are in our purpose to assemble and prepare the Nation's resources of men and material for any and every service that may be necessary to the accomplishment of the Nation's will, we have not been and we shall not be captious, contentious, or overinsistent as to the form and fashion of the legislation or the details of the plans or policies intended or necessary to meet the present emergency.

Sums of staggering magnitude have been and will be provided and appropriated to be expended within certain general limitations, largely at the discretion of the President and his immediate advisers. Legislation has been enacted and has been proposed and will be enacted conferring extraordinary and unusual authority on the Executive and the executive departments. Every doubt has been and undoubtedly will be resolved in favor of granting during the emergency the extraordinary powers asked by the executive departments, instead of, as in time of peace, resolving those doubts in favor of withholding or limiting those powers.

CONGRESS SHOULD PERFORM ITS DUTY.

While this has been and undoubtedly will continue to be the attitude of the Congress toward the executive branch of the Government, as it should be in the case of war and emergency, it does not, at least it should not, follow that Congress or its Members should cease to have opinions or express them, should cease to present what they conceive to be the view and attitude of a majority of the people they represent or abdicate their function as a coordinate branch of the Government, elected by and directly responsible to the people. That the entire Congress as the people's representatives is enlisted for the successful and energetic prosecution of the war, upon which many reluctantly entered, has been abundantly proven by votes in this Chamber since the state of war was declared.

It will, however, be a sad day for the Republic should the Representatives in both or either branch of Congress, or a majority of them, become the mere tools and instruments for the recording, validation, and confirmation of every proposal, purpose, or whim of the executive departments of the Government. If there were any who purposed to assume such an attitude on the theory that it was the easiest way, the one least liable to subject them to criticism, they ought in good conscience resign and make way for some one having reasonably the courage of their convictions. I hope there are none such. It is better for the country that a Member of Congress should occasionally be honestly wrong or mistaken than that he should be everlastingly trimming his sails to every fitful breeze that blows, though by so doing he may better weather the squall and by mere accident be occasionally right. [Applause.]

SCOPE OF THE BILL.

Mr. Chairman, these observations have, in my opinion, a very pertinent application to some features of the measures before us. This bill is intended, as declared by its title, "To authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States" and not, as many people seem to have erroneously supposed, to provide a permanent system of military training or service. Many of the questions, therefore, relative to military training and service which have been widely discussed and which the passing and the outcome of the present emergency may suggest or demonstrate as the proper and neces-

sary plan and policy of national defense are not before us for settlement.

Fortunately in this, as in other matters of legislation which have been presented to us since the declaration of war, and as I hope and believe will be the case in the future during this national emergency, we are largely and in the main in agreement. That all who enjoy the blessings of citizenship and residence in the Republic owe obedience to its laws at all times and especial circumspection of conduct in times of stress or emergency is axiomatic. That all males of suitable age and physically fit owe the Nation military service, and should cheerfully and enthusiastically render the same when needed or when called upon by competent authority is a fundamental and essential principle of our national life. That Congress has the power and authority to declare how, when, under what conditions and circumstances, to what extent, and with what exceptions this service shall be called for or demanded, either in preparation for or in actual participation in the national defense and the maintenance of the national honor, few will attempt to and none can reasonably, logically, or successfully deny.

AGREEMENT ON MOST PROVISIONS.

Being thus agreed on fundamentals underlying the proposition of this legislation we are also in agreement on most of its essential features. There are no serious differences of opinion, no differences that can not be adjusted without serious difficulty relative to the Regular Military Establishment or the National Guard heretofore authorized, particularly since the War Department has recently reversed its former decision as to the authority for the organization of new National Guard units.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. I yield.

Mr. BORLAND. The gentleman has once or twice referred in terms of criticism to the opinion of the War Department toward the National Guard. Is it not a fact that the authorization of the new unit of the National Guard rests with the State, and after the States have accepted a unit in the National Guard it then becomes incumbent on the Federal Government to accept the unit and furnish it with supplies called for by the military act?

Mr. MONDELL. I am glad the gentleman has referred to the attitude of the War Department toward volunteer organizations.

Mr. BORLAND. We have been through it repeatedly.

Mr. MONDELL. My understanding of the matter is this, that with exceeding reluctance and only under pressure the War Department has admitted that the national defense act authorizes new units of the National Guard, but up to this very hour the War Department has not called for new units and has not received those which have been offered. I understand that 20 States now stand ready to offer new units of the National Guard, which the War Department has made no effort or motion to equip or receive. [Applause.]

I will say further that it is my conviction, based on careful inquiry, that every influence of the Regular Military Establishment of this Government for the last two years and up to this time has been to discredit and discourage voluntary enlistment; that from the time we first began to send the National Guard to the border to this hour the Regular Establishment has opposed voluntary enlistments and done much to discredit and discourage the National Guard and all who have to do with voluntary service in the armies of the Nation. [Applause.] I want to absolve the President of the United States from any participation in or any sympathy with that attitude of the War Department. It is the attitude of the military mind, seeking to form a military instrument which they believe is best suited to their purpose, without regard to the views or opinions or feelings of the people who furnish the soldiers, the people whom you and I represent. [Applause.]

I am glad this question of the attitude of the military authorities toward volunteering has been raised, for it affords an opportunity to refer to a feature of the situation which is exceedingly interesting. Gentlemen who are supporting the War Department bill, in the very same breath in which they say volunteering is out of date, is a failure, ought not to be tried because it is haphazard, unscientific, takes the brave and leaves the slacker, will tell you that, anyway, the authorized increases of the Regular Establishment and the authorized National Guard will afford places for over 700,000 men, and that this will furnish all the opportunity necessary for volunteering.

If volunteering has all the faults they ascribe to it, if its effects are so unfortunate as they paint them, if it is such a failure as they would have us believe, why do not they have the courage of their convictions and apply their misnamed "selective" conscription to these services? Why continue, to the tune of three-quarters of a million of men, a system they insist is unfair, inequitable, and a failure at that. The fact is, as they know, your real volunteer does not take kindly to the Regular Army. It savors too much of professional soldiering to suit the citizen soldier. He likes to serve with men from his own locality, the boys he has been raised with. The Regular Army places him among strangers and in a strange organization.

As to the opportunities for volunteering in the National Guard are concerned, a persistent effort to discredit the guard and blunders in its management, for which the supply departments are largely responsible, have tended to make that service less attractive than it would otherwise be. Nevertheless, the guard regiments are being filled. As to the new units of the guard, which the War Department has at last reluctantly admitted are authorized by law, no encouragement has been given to raise them, or assurance that they will be equipped if raised, so that this alleged opportunity for volunteer enlistment is, to a large extent, a myth, and will continue to be unless the War Department radically changes its attitude. The fact is, however, that, in spite of these conditions of discouragement rather than encouragement, 30 thousand men have joined the Regular Army in about half that many days, besides the naval recruits and the filling of the National Guard units in the States.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

The differences so far as they exist among us relate, in the main, to the new and additional forces which the President is specifically authorized by this bill to organize and equip. Even as to these forces and the procedure proposed in the provisions of the bill providing for them we are largely in agreement. We are agreed as to the size of this force. It is to consist of a half a million men in the first unit, and an additional half million, in the discretion of the President, and in addition such recruit-training units as the President may deem necessary for the maintenance of such forces at maximum strength. We are agreed that there shall be registration of all persons liable to military service within the ages that may be agreed upon and as to the manner of that registration.

Now, as to our differences. The bill before us reported by the Military Committee of the House provides for the registration of all male citizens, or males who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of 21 and 40, inclusive. The proposal of the minority based on the recommendation of the War Department, approved as I understand it, reluctantly I hope, by the President, is to enroll only those between the ages of 19 and 25, inclusive. I understand that the Secretary of War has estimated the duration of this period of enrollment and registration at three months, which is probably the minimum time that would be required, after which, as proposed by the department bill, there is to be a draft or conscription by selection of a sufficient number of those registered to make up the authorized forces.

The bill before us, however, provides that these forces may be raised at once by volunteers between the ages of 18 and 40, or "upon the completion of the enrollment provided in this act, and in the event the President decides that such additional force or forces shall not have been effectively raised under the call for volunteers" the President may raise the additional and necessary forces by draft under the enrollment of men between the ages of 21 and 40, which the bill authorizes.

It will be seen that the important and essential differences between the bill before us and the recommendation of the War Department, approved by the President, are two in number: First, the scope of enrollment; second, whether there shall be a trial of volunteering. There has been much said of late as to the duty and liability of military service. That such duty and liability is at one and the same time one of the highest privileges and greatest responsibilities of a citizen of a free country there can be little difference of opinion; and in the case of the country's dire need the duty and responsibility begins with the dawning of manhood and only ceases with the coming of the infirmities of old age. Such duty should, however, never be imposed as an unnecessary burden in peace, and only as the welfare of the Nation may require, or in war, except to the extent that the maintenance of the independence or the liberties of the people may demand and the honor of the Nation and the protection of its citizens may require.

LIABILITY NOT CONFINED TO ONE CLASS.

When the need comes and the call is made, whether for volunteers or, if need be, conscripts, it should afford the opportunity and lay the duty upon all of sound and mature manhood, and never under any circumstances upon one class or those who happen to be of a certain limited range of age,

Why should volunteers, or even conscripts, exclude all above 25 years of age? By what perversion of the theory of universal liability and duty does the War Department propose to conscript boys of 19 and drag them from their homes and absolve men of 26 and upward from all obligations of service?

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that there should be a draft and that the first draft should include only those between 19 and 25, what possible excuse can there be, when we are going forth to enroll the Nation for military service, for not enrolling all of the mature, active, and efficient ages between 21 and 40? Is it the purpose of those supporting the bill approved by the military authorities to serve notice on the country that the burden of this war, of the fighting and the dying, is all to be borne, so far as the new forces are concerned, by the boys and young men of 19 to 25, and thus secure support for their plan of all men above 25? If that is not their purpose, why do they insist on enrolling at the beginning of a war that may require millions of men only the boys under age and a few years beyond? If I believed conscription necessary at this moment, I would resign my place on this floor and go home to my people before I would vote to conscript and take from their mothers and their families boys of 19 years of age, and yet this is what we are asked to do.

It is true gentlemen will say that is not in the bill now and that they are not standing for it. At the same time they are standing before the country pretending that they are upholding the War Department and the President. Upon nothing did the War Department insist more strenuously than upon the plan that was to lay the whole burden of this mighty conflict in its inception on boys and men 19 to 25 years of age. Under their plan all above 25, good citizens and slackers alike, would be able to lay the soothing unction to their souls that the Congress of the United States had absolved them from all obligation to serve their country in this great conflict, and that is what the gentlemen call providing for universal service. [Applause.]

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONDELL. Yes.

Mr. CRISP. The gentleman is an experienced legislator, and I would like to have his construction of one portion of this bill. In the bill before the House, which is the same for the majority and the minority side, providing for conscription between the ages of 21 and 40, there is provision that the draft shall be made under regulations made by the department. I would like to know whether the gentleman's construction is that the department can group the persons between 21 and 40 into classes and draw exclusively from any one of those classes?

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, before I answer the gentleman's question, if he will allow me, I would suggest that if the minority, the gentlemen who want to leave it all to the War Department, and say they are following the President, have come to accept the enrollment ages of 21 to 40, which the committee has placed in the bill instead of the ages of 19 to 25, for which the department contended, it is proof that they have learned something since this debate began, and that even they are no longer following the department's view.

Now, answering the gentleman's question, I would say that under the terms of the bill the department might group the enrolled men according to ages and draw their conscripts from a certain group. In fact, that is what the General Staff seem to have had in mind for in the New York American of the 17th of this month John Temple Graves, a well-known writer, who stands well with the departments of this Government, on the front page of that paper, in a signed article, says that he was informed by General Staff officers that it was their purpose to conscript the entire first unit of 500,000 from boys under 20 years of age. That would take about all the able-bodied boys of that age in the country. What a beautiful demonstration of democracy and universal service that would be. Whether John Temple Graves had authority for that statement so set forth in a great newspaper under his name I do not know, but my opinion is that he echoed exactly the sentiments of the War Department; that they proposed and intended to conscript 500,000 boys from the high schools and colleges and homes of the country, leaving the balance of the population, with regard to military obligations that these gentlemen prate so loudly about, entirely free to continue their present safe and gainful occupations.

VOLUNTEERING VERSUS CONSCRIPTION.

The bill before us proposes to begin volunteering at once, meanwhile enrolling for service and for conscription if it should become necessary all men between the ages of 21 and 40. In the three or four months before enrollment is complete and the first men could be secured under conscription, we would undoubtedly obtain a goodly number of volunteers. We certainly would unless those of us who believed it our duty in accordance with the recommendation of the President to take up the gage of battle Germany has thrown down were mistaken in the attitude of the American people toward the incidents and acts which we believed made war inevitable. At any rate, whatever number of volunteers were secured would be that much gained in time and opportunity for training and preparation, and if volunteering continued as rapidly as we could provide for training, furnish arms and uniforms, there would be no necessity for conscription.

If at any time under the terms of this bill the President decides that the forces provided for can not be effectively raised and maintained under the call for volunteers he may resort to the draft, and he will then have enrolled for the purposes of that draft not three and one-half or four million available boys under age and men under 25, 1 at least out of every 3 or 4 of whom he would be compelled to conscript, but twenty to twenty-five million of mature men between the ages of 21 and 40 only 1 in 20 of whom need be called to the colors. If a draft should become necessary and conscription is wise and proper, as some contend, how much fairer, how much more reasonable, how much better from every viewpoint would be a conscription selecting 1 out of 20 in the first instance from the entire body of our efficient manhood than 1 out of every 3 or 4 of the boys and the very young men.

HOW WE HAVE VIEWED IT IN THE PAST.

But I can not refrain from a very few observations relative to conscription. I may be old fashioned; no doubt I am; at any rate I can not forget nor can I bring myself to wholly discredit the teachings and exhortations of the scholars, statesmen, and orators of all our history even amid the necessary and inevitable excitement and hysteria of a world war. I can not forget that it has been our boast and glory in the past that volunteers gained the independence of the Republic, maintained its rights against the encroachments of the mistress of the seas, won for us the great southwest, and in the most awful struggle of history prior to the present war saved and cemented the Union. [Applause.]

A long line of statesmen, scholars, and orators have testified to the value, enlarged upon the glory, and extolled the triumphs and virtues of volunteer service, and on printed page in legislative hall, from stump and platform have dwelt with pride and spoken with enthusiasm upon our blessed freedom from the exactions, the burdens, the interferences, the restraints and the annoyances which are the inevitable accompaniment of the most reasonably and considerately administered system of conscription.

I have not time to even refer to the mass of sophistries, to the perfect flood of crooked and inverted logic which has been deluged on the country in an effort to convince people that the thing which we have always abhored and which at any time or under any conditions is at best an unfortunate necessity to be borne with fortitude because of its necessity is in a fact a great and glorious blessing. Conscription may be an unfortunate necessity before this war is over. Let us therefore prepare a broad rather than a narrow foundation for that contingency, but let us not endeavor to delude ourselves into the belief that compulsory military service is in itself a blessing.

IS PRUSSIA DEMOCRATIC?

Conscription has been widely heralded as being democratic. If it is, Germany and Austria are the most democratic countries on the earth, and Prussia is the one perfect and unrivaled fruit and flower of democracy, for Prussia was not only the mother of modern conscription, but she has developed and practiced it more completely and continuously than any nation on earth. Her universal service under conscription and the all-powerful military system and overbearing military caste which the system created was the natural, inevitable, and direct cause of the war, which, having devastated all Europe and a considerable part of Asia, has brought the new world within the circle of its devouring flame.

I am not surprised that men high in military rank, professional soldiers, have indorsed conscription, nor do I blame them for doing so from the purely military view. To one who desires a destructive instrument of gigantic power, instantly available when fully organized for any purpose for which its master wills to use it, there is nothing that compares to a nation enrolled, trained, and accustomed to universal conscript service. Every tyrant and usurper, every professional conqueror, every despoiler of the liberties of the people since time began, from the days of Belshazzar along the bloody trail traveled by the hordes of Gengis Khan to William Hohenzollern, has been a conscriptor and a firm believer in the virtues and efficiency of universal and selective conscription.

And yet I would not speak too harshly of conscription, for even democracies have sometimes, when their resources were drained to the limit, been compelled to resort to it, as we did

in the latter part of the Civil War, with much rioting and meager results.

VOLUNTEERING NOT A FAILURE.

It is loudly proclaimed, with little regard for the facts of history, that volunteering has been a failure. That is no nearer the truth than it would be to say that democracy has been a failure because autocracy and absolutism in Germany have proven wonderfully efficient. Under volunteering we raised all but 61,000 of the millions of men who fought in the Civil War. Under volunteer enlistment England raised, equipped, and trained, after the war began, more than 5,000,000 men—all of her troops who fought the victorious battle of the Marne and the great majority of those who are now fighting so valiantly and successfully in France and Flanders. To-day these English-speaking volunteers—Scotch, Welsh, Irish, English—are beating back the conscript soldiers of the Kaiser. [Applause.] Under a volunteer system Canada, with one-tenth our population, has raised and sent overseas nearly half as many men as we propose under this bill to give the President authority to enroll.

If you ask me, "What is the surest and most effective weapon or instrument for a tyrant, an autocrat, a usurper," I shall say unhesitatingly, "A force conscripted under universal service." If the question be as to the best kind of an army to fight the battles of a free people, I adhere to the opinion that it is a universally trained citizenship serving freely and voluntarily.

WHAT IS SELECTIVE CONSCRIPTION?

Conscription did not lose the ugly significance that has always attached to it until some master craftsman of sophistry coined the magic term "selective conscription," when, presto, change, the miracle was wrought and conscription passed from things abhorred to the category of things approved and embraced. [Applause.]

For selective conscription until actually applied is anything and everything you desire it to be. You may picture it the instrument of omnipotence, omniscience, and infinite disinterestedness and fairness, selecting those best suited, best qualified, and best equipped to serve. Your fancy may conjure a picture in which unanimous approval of those who go and those who remain shall wait upon the outcome. Your interest, your partiality, or your affection may present to you a selection which leaves safely at home those whose services at home are valuable to you, those whose shrinking from hard service you sympathize with or those you love. But unfortunately we shall not have the service of infinite wisdom or virtue, for our instruments of selection will be human, and at the best we could not hope to be free from faults of judgment, from prejudice, from favoritism, or even more serious faults or frailties. In any event, if the selection is to be from the comparatively limited number proposed to be enrolled under the War Department's plan, one in three of all those enrolled must go, however the selection be made.

We have not yet been enlightened as to the details of the proposed selections. The War Department tells us they have not worked them out, but a wide discretion in exemptions is allowed.

The bill authorizes the exemption from conscription or draft of customhouse clerks, persons employed in the transmission of the mails, workmen in armories, arsenals, and navy yards, all in the service of the United States, whom the President may designate, American seamen, and finally and all-embracing "persons engaged in industries found to be necessary to the maintenance of the Military Establishment or the effective operation of the military forces during the emergency." If all these are exempted from this selective draft, who is to go?

High-school and college youths, clerks, youths who have not yet demonstrated that they are invaluable in some particular enterprise or occupation. Under such a plan in some communities and some occupations, pursuits, and enterprises all must be selected, or practically so, and in other communities, other occupations, other pursuits, few or none will be called or chosen. All this is proposed, as I understand it, on the theory of democracy and universal liability to service.

It is insisted that volunteering is unfair, inequitable, unjust, in that under it the brave, the impulsive, the ardent, the enterprising, the venturesome, the conscientious, the patriotic serve and suffer while the cowardly, the indifferent, the selfish, the unpatriotic, the whole brood of slackers remain safely and securely at home. This is all true and regrettable; but how much will it be cured by selective conscription, under which the slacker in every form and guise will fairly smother the enrolling board with oaths and affidavits as to their unfitness or their disabilities on the one hand, or the indispensable character of their services to some essential industry of production, manufacture, or transportation on the other. On the other hand, those who are of the material of which volunteers are made, if their spirits are not crushed and their enthusiasm dampened or extinguished by the thought of conscription, will employ every argument and use every artifice to secure their acceptance. Which of these, think you, will, in the main, find their names on the muster roll? How many of a class of enthusiastic, patriotic college boys would seek to or would escape the draft? How many among the enrolled trapper boys or young miners or young farmer or village boys from my State would fail of enrollment among the conscripts? You say they would go, anyway, if they had a chance, and gladly; and so they would, many of them, and I want to give them a chance as volunteers and not as conscripts. [Applause.]

TO SUM IT UP.

In conclusion, let us sum up and see wherein our differences lie. You want an enrollment as the basis of conscription. We are with you for such an enrollment in order that we may know our resources of men and in order that we may draw on them as may be necessary. You desire to have that enrollment narrow, limited, confined to youths and men in their earliest manhood. We would begin our enrollment with men of legal age and full maturity and embrace within it all vigorous manhood up to 40. You would draft and draft only from your restricted class and absolve the bulk of the male population from all obligation of service. We would call on all of military age who desired to serve and receive them as honored volunteers into their country's service. Your plan may have the approval of the military mind. It may even have the recent and grudging approval of the President, burdened as he is with innumerable problems and surrounded as he must be at a time like this with men taking the purely professional military view of matters, but our plan has, or will have when fully understood, the approval of the hearts and consciences of the great body of the American people. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HEINTZ].

Mr. HEINTZ. Mr. Chairman, I have attentively listened, and have endeavored to follow, with no little difficulty, the reasoning of the majority. They start with saying that conscription is wrong, undemocratic, and wholly unjustifiable. They say they will not surrender to the request of the Secretary of War and of the General Staff their constitutional duty as representatives of the people to combat to the last this "autocratic" war measure. They refuse to grant to the Army the right to advise in any degree in this emergency. They say that the volunteer system of raising an army must be maintained, because it is of the very foundation on which our Nation is built.

And yet, in section 1, paragraph 3, you expressly give the President the right to exercise the draft—later on. You deny him the right under the circumstances as they exist to-day. You say it is your constitutional and patriotic duty to stand firmly against his request. And in the same breath you express a willingness to completely surrender the duty to the President, to be exercised by him a month or two months or three months atfer this bill is signed, and that under circumstances that may be exactly the same as those existing to-day, under the rules and conditions to be prescribed by the President, and he need not then even so much as consult you.

How do you explain the readiness to abandon this constitutional duty? Can what is autocratic and subversive of democracy to-day become democratic and American through the lapse of a few days? What is asked of you now you deny, but you are willing to grant to another the right to exercise the power hereafter, under circumstances which you can not foresee and over which you can have no control. Do you contend that what is fundamentally autocratic now will be fundamentally democratic then, or is it a plain case of what, in the language of the street, is called "passing the buck" and placing the responsibility of the final decision on the President?

Long before the opening of this special session of Congress I advocated a plan of raising an army, somewhat similar to the plan contained in the majority report. Even then I had not much faith in our ability to get an army by a call for volunteers, and I was always sensible to the fact that such plan was undemocratic, inefficient, wasteful, and wholly unjust.

But two considerations caused me to advocate a call for volunteers for a sufficiently long period before putting conscription into effect, and they were, first, to give due consideration to the convictions of the large number of sincere citizens who are eager for a volunteer army, and to prove to them conclusively, once and for all, the utter impracticability of such plan; and second, to give to the large number of able-bodied citizens between 25 and 40 years of age, who have shouted loudest for preparedness and for "universal" training, and indeed for war itself, an opportunity to prove their patriotism by action as well as by high-sounding words, and to demon-

strate their readiness to make personal physical sacrifice for the cause which they have so vociferously espoused.

But I have seen sufficient of the failure of the volunteer plan not to be willing to sacrifice time, nor to deviate from a firm conviction, in order only to further demonstrate its absolute futility. I saw its failure at the time of the call for Mexico last June. At that time those who were recruiting and those who were urged to enlist universally thought that the mission was to be real warfare in Mexico and not border duty only. Not only did the average citizen of military age refuse to enlist last June, but many who were above 25 and under 40, who had boasted of their military efficiency and who had received a certain amount of training at a considerable expense to the Government in money and in effort, gave deaf ear to the call.

In commenting upon those men from the Plattsburg training camps, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR], on the floor of the Senate on April 11, 1917, said—I quote from page 432 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

> I understand that this kind of military training is very effective. Now, why not make these men one of the military assets? The only way we can do it is by having some form, some measure, of enlistment. That has been proved by the fact that when we were asking for men to go into the Army in Mexico it is said that probably less than half a dozen out of the 30,000, or maybe more than 30,000, trained went from the Plattsburg camp. Now, my idea is that when we spend this money, especially as it is the law, we ought to uphold the law and ought to uphold the best interests of our country by having some measure of enlistment so that we can take advantage of it now that we need them

In my own vicinity there are about 140 graduates of these military training camps. Last June, when my home regiment was expecting to be sent to Mexico, I communicated with each of these cadets, most of whom are between the ages of 25 and 40, calling his attention to his duty to join the colors at once. I told them then that the time for words had passed, that the President had called for their services, and that it had come to the show-down. Only four out of the entire number responded, and these offered excuses for not joining the colors.

In the last two weeks I again addressed these young men, asking each one if he would enlist in case the volunteer plan of raising an army was decided upon, and of those who deigned to answer all replied in the negative except four. Do not lose sight of the fact that these are men of standing in their community, enjoying more than average incomes, physically capable, and who, when not talking about their own military training, were talking about preparedness generally. In fact, between talking privately and publically they were talking about all the time. I have no desire to bring contumely upon the heads of these young men who must, at least, be free of any abnormal craving for personal action, but I do purpose to state in no unmistakable language the present condition and the present state of mind of no small part of our people. If anything more were needed to prove the utter folly of wasting more time seeking volunteers, I might add that the condition just indicated is equally as prevalent among the general citizenship between the ages of 25 and 40—I do not know about the boys under 25, as they appear not to have been consulted—as it is among the representative young men just referred to, only among the more silent citizens it does not stand out so conspiciously.

Before passing, I wish to place in the RECORD the names of the four patriotic young men that stand out with such exceptional luster. Arthur Meyer, of Sayler Park; Russell Rankin, of Cincinnati; Charles Howe, of Covington; and Herbert Weil, of Cincinnati. And it may not be amiss to observe that one-half of the names are of Germanic origin.

I ask of those who advocate calling for volunteers, Whom do you expect to volunteer? I have yet to hear one of them say that he himself will be the first to offer his services. This conflict is not a war for the vindication of national rights and honor solely. We have been attacked and, at its foundation, it is a struggle for the home and family of every one of us. Are you who are asking for volunteers going to volunteer yourself, or are you simply asking some one else to volunteer to fight the battle for you and those who have the right to your protection?

Every hour that we devote to the endeavor of raising a volunteer army just that much longer is our country to remain standing still and uncommitted to any fixed plan, exposed and helpless. We are at war, and war to me means, and always has meant, not merely the passing of resolutions and making of speeches, but actual physical fighting, and we can not fight without men and equipment and hard training. The month that might mean victory or downfall when the time comes for the supreme effort may be in process of being lost at this very moment.

The service which I favor is a truly universal service. Not one that is "universal" for the other fellow and "exclusive" of one's self. If it is to be a burden and a hardship, why should it be saddled entirely upon the boys of tender years, especially when they have not been taken into our counsel and in no manner consulted as to their wishes? If, on the contrary, military service is to be a great benefit to its recipients, as is often stated by those between 25 and 40, why not make a more democratic distribution of it, as most men over 25 will no doubt be found to be more lacking and more needful of disciplinary training than those under that age?

I entirely agree that industrial preparation and industrial service are just as important as military endeavor, but it should be made universal in all departments of preparation and service and required of all men of military or industrial availability, whether their ages be 20, 25, 35, 40, or, indeed, 45. They all should be included within the provision of the conscription act, and the properly designated authorities should decide of their availability and in what branch of the service they can be of the greatest help. The wealthy flaneur and idler between 25 and 45 should be placed as firmly within the hold of the law as the shiftless loafer of the same age, and as well as the industrious student or artisan of youthful years. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEPHENS].

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose to vote against the volunteer provision of this bill, much as I dislike to oppose the recommendations of the majority of the Military Committee. I have the utmost confidence in the high purpose of these gentlemen and appreciate greatly the courage and patriotism they have shown in defending this provision in their bill, even in the face of the opposition of the metropolitan press that has fallen into the habit lately of impugning the motive of Members of Congress who follow their own convictions.

I will support the President in this matter because I am convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that the volunteer system is not only absolutely unjust, unbusinesslike and immoral, but in addition thereto would prove a dismal failure in the end. I would support the President in his plans as Commander in Chief of the Army, even though I had some doubt of the wisdom of some features of the bill for the reason that good business practice has proven that the chief in command should not have his plans weakened by being forced to accept compromises that in his judgment would make success doubtful. The President has been chosen by the people as their Commander in Chief. The people through their representatives have declared war. The President is in command and is responsible for his own acts to the people. My view is that so far as his military operations are concerned he should have full swing. To give the President what he thinks he needs, to do what we have by law directed him to do, is in my judgment sound business sense.

I am not of those who shout "stand up for the President" in times of peace and thereby abrogate the power of the people to speak through their representatives, but in time of war the man the people choose to command should be supported in matters he deems necessary to the success of the enterprise we have engaged upon. Aside from these sound reasons for supporting the President's war measures, I offer other arguments that seem to me unanswerable against the volunteer system, which is the bone of contention in the committee bill before this House, among which are the following:

First, the obligation of citizenship bears upon all alike. The universal liability of citizens to taxes for the support of the Government has been used by gentlemen in this debate to prove the equal liability of the citizen to military service. The analogy is perfectly proper and unanswerable, and I have heard no supporter of the volunteer system attempt to answer this argument. No matter what our practices in applying this principle in raising armies have been in the past, no one disputes that this obligation is universal. We recognize it generally in levying burdens on our citizens for the support of the Government. In times of peace the material burden of government consists largely of a tax in some form or another for raising revenues. This tax rate is always uniform upon a class of citizens or a kind of business and is never left to chance or the whims of patriotism of the citizen. It is an obligation the citizen owes, and the tax is a levy against him. He is not asked to volunteer his taxes. If he were asked to adopt such a volunteer system for tax purposes, and the life of the Government had to depend to-day on such an asinine system for raising the seven billions of dollars we have appropriated for war expenditures, I fear we would be utterly lost under such a plan. One only needs to apply the volunteer system to the revenue proposition to fully appreciate its weakness and danger to the Government if actually put into practice. Therefore, if it is unfair to the people and a weakness to the Government to be depend-

ent upon volunteers for a mere material support, how are we to justify a demand that the real patriots of the country volunteer a blood offering for its defense. To me the proposition of volunteers can not possibly be sustained on the ground of fairness and common decency.

The second reason for rejecting the volunteer system is it is not patriotic and has proven a national disgrace in actual practice in the case of the Civil War. In that great struggle for national unity we enlisted a total of slightly over two and three-quarters millions of men. Of this number 51 per cent, or about one and one-third millions, were boys from 10 to 19 years of age and only—mark the number—about 300,000 who had reached mature years of 22 and over. That is what the volunteer system brought us in a time of great stress. It was a national disgrace to rob the schools to get the boys to save the life of the country. Only about 300,000 men above the age of 22 could be found—and many of them had to be drafted—who loved their country well enough to fight for it; that is, before they sacrificed their sons first.

My distinguished colleague, Mr. SHALLENBERGER, in a splendid oratorical effort yesterday soared around the mountain slopes of the Alps paying high tribute to that splendid people who have maintained the standard of liberty there for a thousand years, leaving the inference that these people were free because of the volunteer system. As a matter of fact they are free for the opposite reason. These people no doubt owe their national existence to-day to the fact that under a system of universal service a Swiss Army of nearly a half million was mobilized on the borders of that little republic within 48 hours after the great war broke out. The Swiss did not rob the schools of the boys to make this army either. It was an army of brave and mature men that did not skulk behind a volunteer system. Picture this volunteer system at work in all its alleged glory during the dark days of the Civil War. You can see the recruiting stands in every city and village in the land. At first they had only a fife and drum to call attention of the needs of the country for men. The flag was floating and the martial music attracted the boys. A colored picture of valiant men in battle was pasted on the wall back of the recruiting officer. The farm boys left their teams at the hitching racks and joined the Army. The school boys in their first long pants left their classes, the boys in the shops and stores responded to the call until a mighty host of over 1,000,000 responded with the enthusiasm of youth, without counting the cost, to their country's need. The recruiting officer winked when they lied about their ages so as to be old enough to come under the requirements. There was an age limit during the Civil War, but under the volunteer system a small matter of age limit did not trouble the local captain who must have his company recruited to full strength. They had a natural right to be allowed to grow up to be equipped for life with an education before being sent into a long and bloody war.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman care to yield there?

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. I yield.

Mr. BORLAND. As I understand it so frequent was the habit of young men overstating their age in order to enlist during the Civil War that the Pension Department will not even accept the enlistment age as prima facie evidence of a man's age when he enlisted.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. I think that is true.

I repeat, it was a national disgrace and ought to bring the blush of shame to every true American to know that his country actually robbed the schools to get an army to fight for able-bodied men who stayed at home. That is the volunteer system in all of its alleged glory as it worked out in practice.

By and by the fife and drum were not sufficient to get men for recruiting the wasted ranks of the boys sent to the front. The boys were all gone except those that were growing up to the volunteering age, so a band had to be hired and public meetings had to be held to urge men to enlist. The slackers had to be snubbed by their friends, questioned in church, and insulted in public places to remind them of the universal obligation of citizenship. A leading citizen had to get on a dry-goods box in front of the recruiting office and make a plea for men to join the colors. The slackers avoided these places as they would a pestilence, but the honest, patriotic boys were caught like flies in a trap as fast as they got into long pants.

But the tug of war came on when the last call resulted in the draft. The men who had resisted snubs and insults because they would not volunteer now came face to face with a draft to go. They and their unpatriotic friends in certain localities resisted the draft, and riots occurred, but finally enough were drafted of mature men to raise the total of men over 22 in that great army of nearly 3,000,000 up to about 300,000. It is one of the most disgraceful spectacles that is afforded in American history, and I sincerely hope that we will not again make such a sacrifice of our schoolboys and our own self-respect by adopting the system of volunteering that has so signally humiliated us.

THE DRAFT RIOTS AN ARGUMENT FOR DRAFT.

The draft riots brought about by the slackers and their friends is offered as an argument against selective draft. Who was it that objected to draft? Was it the patriotic army at the front or their families at home? Not at all. It was the contemptuous citizens and their followers at home who were so devoid of manhood and common decency or for other reasons that they were callous to the opinions of the community as to their duty to enlist, who caused the draft riots. They should have been thrown into prison and tried for their lives for treason against their country in resisting the draft.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. I yield.

Mr. LOBECK. The reason why we had the draft at that time was because there were a number of people in the North who did not agree with Abraham Lincoln's policy.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. I think that is true.

Mr. LOBECK. It was the Knights of the Golden Circle and the copperheads in the North who caused those riots.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. That is true.

Mr. LOBECK. The young men who were patriotic went, and so did the older men. Now, the statement the gentleman put in there does not agree with history at that time.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. To offer the draft riots as an argument against the draft is to accept the standard of citizenship set by the most unpatriotic class of citizens and reject the standard of honor and citizenship set by the patriots who offered their services at their country's call, believing all able-bodied men needed would follow them. In the light of the facts of history no one can successfully contend that the draft should be rejected because a lot of disloyal slackers did not like the system. The men who did the fighting rejoiced that the Government finally had resorted to a method that would force the slacker into the ranks.

It is true the drafted man was in disgrace in the Army, and naturally so, because he had been driven in at the last hour. But that is no argument against the draft. Had the draft been ordered at the beginning of the war the boys would have been allowed to grow up and finish their school work. The men of the country would have accepted their share of the responsibility of citizenship as a matter of fact. The draft levy would have been accepted as just by the people, just as they accepted their tax levy. But to have to apply the draft the last year of the war was conclusive proof that it ought to have been applied at the very beginning. Then all the travail of the struggle for volunteers and the draft riots would have been avoided.

The third reason for rejecting the volunteer system is that it is impractical at this time because it is too slow. A great army is needed at once. It can not be even enlisted, in my judgment, under the volunteer system in a year, if at all, and then another year would be required in training it. One only needs to examine the experience of England, even in the face of imminent danger to the life of the nation, to see how burdensome is the work of clubbing men into volunteering. Clubbing is what it amounts to in effect, and besides that it requires an immense force of men and tremendous publicity to get together a volunteer army. There can be no advantage in the spirit of men who volunteer under such circumstances over those who are drafted, for the man himself, if he is forced by public sentiment to join the Army, feels no better about it than he would if drafted, just as the Government drafts his tax money. We are at war with Germany. The Congress has pledged all of its resources and all of its efforts to bring it to a successful conclusion. Now, do we propose to piddle along here a year to raise this army under the volunteer system and at the end of the year find we have again enlisted an army of immature boys? Or are we going to accept the selective draft system and secure an army ready to be trained within three or four months? The success of this war may depend upon the rapidity with which we create an effective army. Why go to war at all if we are not going to efficiently prosecute it?

The fourth reason for rejecting the volunteer system is that it is uneconomical. An army can be raised by selective draft in three or four months at a nominal cost, if war cost can ever be said to be nominal, while under the volunteer system millions on top of millions will be spent in one form or another in giving publicity to the need of the country for volunteers. This expense will string out over a long period of time, as is shown by the rate of enlistments at the present time, even in the heat of the war excitement, when the response is greater than it will be later, unless something happens at sea to stir the country to action. It will take so much money to drum

up this volunteer army and consume so much time that we will furnish an example to the world of the inefficiency of democracy, and in the end might find our allies in this war crushed. Then, indeed, would we have to adopt a businesslike system that would get results. It might be too late to save us from great humiliation at the hands of an efficient enemy that might put us to the greatest possible effort to defend ourselves.

THE SELECTIVE DRAFT WILL CONSERVE PRODUCTION.

There is no doubt in my own mind that the selective draft will work the greatest possible advantage to the country. It recognizes the necessity of mobilizing our full strength in this war by conserving all the sources of production. The war is not fought alone by men on the firing line, but it is fought equally by all the industries that are furnishing the men on the firing line with arms, ammunition, and all the materials needed for waging war. The selective draft system will take into account the need of greater production of food and will not rob the farms and factories of men needed to feed and supply the men in arms. It will also recognize the need of dependent families and not rob them of the men to support them. In fact, the selective draft system contemplates leaving men undisturbed who are engaged in occupations that are directly serving the needs of the country. They are filling honorable places in the scheme of war. The men unattached who are not activily engaged in production and who have no dependents will naturally be called first to do their bit where they can best serve. It is a sensible and economic arrangement and is certain to be approved by the people as just and fair and calculated to put the Nation in the best possible state of defense.

NEED OF A FOOD SUPPLY.

The need of foodstuffs will be the greatest need of the country in this war and it will be the most difficult to supply. Therefore the selective draft will greatly encourage food productions by excluding men engaged in food production from the firing line. The farmers in the great grain belt of the country are so highly skilled that their place can not be taken by men who have not been trained in agriculture.

The selective draft properly applied will save the trained men on our farms for food production, while the volunteer system will produce the great bulk of enlistments from the farm. The urban and country population in my own district is about equal, but up to the present time the indications are that twice as many farm boys are enlisting as city boys. This ratio can reasonably be counted upon to prevail under the volunteer system, because it has been the experience of the Nation in the past. The great Army of the Civil War was made up very largely of farmers. There were no speculators, traders, and war traffickers among the farmers then and there are none now. They did not hang around the moving armies to make money or stay at home and enjoy the business prosperity caused by war. They shouldered muskets and fought for the country, generally, while tradesmen, generally, did not. Therefore I repeat that if the volunteer system prevails we will again witness an army of farm boys with enough city-bred men among them to leaven the loaf, and as a result the country will go hungry.

A great metropolitan newspaper made an inquiry among Members of Congress as to their attitude toward admitting Chinamen to this country to work our farms during this war, so as to insure a bountiful supply of foodstuffs. This inquiry is an indication of the sort of ignorance that prevails among city-bred men as to the sort of skill required by the farm hands on an average American farm in the grain belt. The average number of horses that is handled by one man on the farm in a team is from four to six, and to handle such a team successfully requires years of training. To place such a team in the hands of a Chinaman who probably never handled a horse in his life would be the height of stupidity. It is not only impossible for such a man to handle such a team, but it would be equally impossible for him to control the machine the team draws. The metropolitan editor who thinks he has struck upon a solution of our food trouble by employing Chinese is no more stupid than the man who thinks the boys from the city can be used successfully on the farms. There has been a suggestion that these city boys, too young to enlist, can be drafted and sent to the farms to take the place of the farmers who go to the war. The suggestion is another delusion. But even if it could be put into effect it would prove a failure. These boys might be used to open gates, slop the pigs, bring up the cows from the pasture, carry water to the men in the fields, but to contend that boys under military age who never handled a horse, or a machine, or a modern farm power tractor, could go onto the farm and handle such an outfit and take the place of skilled men is quite absurd. One only needs to venture onto a farm in the great food belt of the West and witness the magnitude of these operations to see how long it would take to train such boys to be farmers. If it takes trained Army officers a year to teach a body of recruits the goose step and make them fit to meet an enemy, it will take five years to teach a city-bred man, who has never had any farm training, to be a successful food producer.

Another example of the ignorance displayed by the metropolitan press is shown by the following excerpt from an editorial:

SEND LOAFERS TO THE FARMS.

The bread line and soup house in every large city can be reduced, if not entirely eliminated by rigorous legislation forcing able-bodied vagrants and slackers into the country to work on farms.

The strong arm of the State should be used to sweep these beggars out of the cities and into the ranks of farm hands. The rule for sturdy men should be the rule enforced by John Smith at the founding of Jamestown: "He that will not work shall not eat."

Could any suggestion be more stupid or more insulting to the farmers of America than this? Why send this scum of the earth to the farmers? Why not put them in banks, stores, and factories? The skill required to be a bank clerk, storekeeper, or a factory worker is not one whit greater than that required to be a farmer. It is a scurvy return to make the farmers of this country, whose boys are the first to enlist, to suggest sending to them to occupy the vacant chairs of their absent sons the floating derelicts of human society produced in the cities. To send such debased creatures to isolated farms, among the women and children left behind, to be besmirched by their presence in their homes, is as inhuman and brutal as the outrage of the Belgians by the German Army. That is the ethical side, and is sufficient; but the practical side is none the less asinine. These derelicts have never learned to work at all. They are droppings of the society of the great cities. They are as utterly unfit for the farm as would be a horde of savages from the African jungle.

The clamor of the press for greater food production is long and loud, but it is incapable of results. There will be no trouble about food production at present prices if the men are not taken from the farms. We can cry for greater production till we are blue in the face, and not an acre more crop will be planted. That is not the way to get the acreage planted. Robbing the farms of trained farmers will not do it. The way is perfectly clear to me. If the farmer boys are chosen by selective draft, give them an honorable discharge and leave them on their farms. They will do their full part if they will feed the men we have on the firing line. It is just as patriotic to produce the things that make it possible for an army to exist as it is to fight in the ranks. One is absolutely dependent on the other. This argument is true also of every industry in the country that requires skilled men. Labor in shops and factories is infinitely more difficult to obtain than are men for the firing line. To take such men who are needed to produce supplies for the army in the form of ammunition and clothing and leave untrained men idle would show how incompetent we are and how unfit to manage the people's business with economy and dispatch.

Oh, but it is claimed that it is not fair to let the skilled, high-salaried man in the shop escape the dangers of the firing line and make the unskilled do the fighting. The answer to that argument is that there is more theory than fact in it. Some industries have almost as great a casualty list as did most of the wars we have fought in the past. A railroad locomotive brotherhood insurance company, for example, shows a casualty list much greater than any war we have ever waged in the past, and probably greater than that of any war we will ever have, even in these days of destructiveness. Men lose their lives in great numbers in every industry and tens of thousands are injured annually. The difference in the danger to life and limb between the two services—war and industries—whatever it may be, is compensated for by the honor, experience, and opportunity for advancement that comes to the soldier who takes the greater risk to life and limb.

It was currently reported around the Capitol that a survey was made by the police department of the available men suitable for the Army service on a single street in this city, and that it disclosed 1,400 young men without employment and who can generally be found in moving-picture shows each afternoon. I have no doubt that such a state of affairs exists, judging from my own observations. It not only exists here but probably in every city in this land. Is there anyone who believes that the welfare of this Nation will be best served by leaving this large mass of idlers, mere barnacles on society, to occupy space and consume food they do not earn, while we rob the farms, shops, and channels of commerce of skilled labor to fill up the Army with which to wage this war and thereby make futile our efforts to sustain ourselves? I have received many letters from the great States of New York and Massachusetts urging that these idlers and slackers be saved from draft. I receive these appeals with the same respect that I would receive an appeal from a man who wanted to go into the business of robbery and therefore did not want any laws passed to hamper that business.

Robbing is no more dishonorable than dodging one's duty to his country in time of war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Will the gentleman yield me two minutes more?

Mr. KAHN. I yield two minutes additional to the gentleman.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. War while it lasts is the biggest and most complex business in which man ever engages. A country goes to war for the purpose of maintaining its honor, its rights, and its very existence as a free people. Therefore the stake is so great all civil laws may be suspended when necessary during the war. The military becomes supreme for the sake of concerted action. To successfully conduct a war every industry that man is engaged in must be drawn upon to produce for the great enterprise. To talk about volunteers in such an enterprise is to talk about failure, bankruptcy, and despair. There should be no principle of volunteering recognized anywhere in time of war. It is no time to talk about individual liberty of action. War is tyranny temporarily submitted to for the sake of ultimate liberty after the struggle ends and the common enemy is subdued. To insist upon individual liberty of action in war is to lose liberty after the war by being subdued by the enemy. Every resource in men and materials should be subject to draft for the common good and to talk of depending upon volunteers when the life of the Nation is at stake is to advocate surrender to the enemy if volunteers do not respond. I would not raise a single soldier through volunteers in any arm of the service. I would raise men to serve in the Army exactly as we raise the tax money to support the Army. It is the only businesslike way to sustain the dignity and independence of the Nation. [Applause.]

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the chairman of the committee [Mr. DENT] a question?

Mr. DENT. Certainly.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. I have understood here this afternoon that the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, the great Speaker of this House, is to speak on this measure. I have some friends who are in the city who are very desirous of hearing this great citizen of the Republic speak. Can I ask the gentleman from Alabama if this is correct, and if it is correct, at about what time will the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] speak?

Mr. DENT. I will state to the gentleman from Iowa that the Speaker of this House does intend to address the committee on this subject, and that I have reached an agreement with him that, as well as I could, I would yield to him at about 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BATHRICK].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BATHRICK. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, after two days of able debate it seems useless to attempt further enlightenment upon the question of a volunteer system versus conscription. There is no terror in the word conscription. It means compulsory registration and universal liability to serve one's country.

I would like to see the man who denies this liability. Who is he that would claim the benefits of citizenship, who asks his Government to protect his rights and otherwise serve him and yet denies his own liability to serve his country in return? [Applause.]

I hold that the State exists for the man and that the man must live for the State, else his rights, his liberty can not live.

Mr. Chairman, so much of this ground has been covered that in my short time I can only go over it and pick up scattering ideas; but there is one phase of this question that I think still has not been fully touched upon, and slightly referred to by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. It seems that we can not play international politics in this country. There are too many men of many minds to permit the leaders, that we must rely upon to carry this war to a successful conclusion, to make their diplomatic moves in international politics count for the good of the country. That is the unfortunate situation at this moment.

What is Germany doing to-day in international politics? She is holding her men in leash on the Russian line, and has been doing so for a month and a half, hoping that Russia, in her unsettled condition, might make overtures for peace. That is international politics. The French and the English at Saloniki have three-quarters of a million men on that front, and yet there has been little fighting there for months. They have been waiting there, hoping that Bulgaria might see the light and sue for a separate peace. That is international politics.

Germany at this moment is playing international politics with us. Why, it has been nearly three weeks since this body met and decided to declare the existence of a war with Germany, and yet not a ship has been sunk or a man killed in all that time. It means that Germany knows by its bitter experience with Great Britain the results of aggressive action. That experience was that before she attacked England volunteering was slight, and there was doubt whether England could raise enough troops by the volunteer system; but by the bombardment of the English coast and English cities by Zeppelins and warships Germany sent hundreds of thousands of men to the recruiting offices. Germany had that experience with England, and now she is playing politics with us by not bombarding our coasts. Heaven knows we have enough unprotected places, and Germany has submarines with big guns. If late reports be true, she has not been sinking our ships. She has refrained because she has thought that opposition to the President's policy might yet prevail here, and she would wait awhile before she opened hostilities. She hopes that this opposition may create internal disunion and render us helpless.

If the President of the United States, having mapped out a plan for the benefit of the country, having decided upon a policy that might be of the utmost importance to this country, decides that he will do this or will do that, why, dissenters in the House and dissenters in the Senate rise and obtrude their opinions upon his plans, and they have been broken.

That has been the situation thus far in this war, and I have been wondering how far it will go. As far as I am concerned, I feel very much as some other gentlemen do, that I do not want entirely to abrogate my functions as a legislator. But a good deal of that is merely a matter of pride, more perhaps of pride than patriotism, if I should insist that my plan must supplant that made by our leader, by the man upon whom we must rely to carry on this war to success. And so, fearing that I might be an obstruction to his policy, to the best policy of the country, I am going to stand by the President of the United States.

We have sworn to support the Constitution, and it says the President is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. Whom shall we follow if not him? Shall we be safer to trust leadership to the dissenters? I would rather trust the President, with his superior information; I would rather trust the 55 soldiers of the General Staff than the lawyers and other laymen of this dissenting committee.

While I might if I chose add something to the many tearful statements that have been made here in favor of the volunteer system, yet I feel pretty much as some of these other gentlemen do that it is the nicest thing in the world to tell a man to be patriotic, but they have not thereby helped the matter any. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARRISON] pointed that out.

The committee brought in here a bill that provides neither for a voluntary system nor a conscription system, but for a system which is a mongrel, a weak compromise between the two; and while they are talking about saving the feelings of the people, about the pride of the patriotic men and boys of this country, they have done nothing to save their pride. If the draft system says, "Young man, you must come," their system says, "If you do not come, we will come after you and make you come." Their system is as much a threat as a straight draft system. And what kind of patriotism are we appealing to? Should any man feel hurt when his country calls? Is it not plain that it is democratic if we are all in the same class, where every man, as emergency may ensue, may be called upon to go out and fight for his country? If every man must do that, it is thoroughly democratic. I can not see how anybody can oppose that proposition. It is thoroughly democratic and based upon the ideals of equality. The people of this country will not be insulted if everybody is put in the same class; and when they say here that because we select the men from 21 to 40 years old, or the men from 19 to 40, or the men from 19 to 25, we have not made it democratic, they are not accurate. We desire to raise an efficient army. We must raise an army, but the greatest desideratum is that it must be efficient.

Who can deny that young men between the ages of 21 and 25 are more efficient to fight on the front and take up the battle of this country than men over that age? In all the physical strain that a man is subject to in any avocation he is a better man at 25 or 26 than he ever becomes afterwards. We all know that. We know that the average age of the soldiers of our Northern Army during the Civil War was under 19 years.

I do not believe that there is anything sinister, as has been intimated, back of this administration bill. It has been intimated that the Army officers of this country have arranged to better themselves, and that their object in proposing this conscription bill is that they shall be advanced toward high salaries and more prominent positions. I do not believe that, gentlemen. I do not think that the Members of this House ought to believe it. To say that the men we have taken from the farms and put

into the Military Academy, the men that we have taken from the shops, the men that Members of this House have themselves selected to serve their country and learn how to serve it best are unpatriotic is unfair. The inference is an insult to men who may die leading our soldiers to victory. Such men of every nation now at war have died for their flag and their country, and we have in our land men as brave and as true as any.

Mr. SWITZER. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATHRICK. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio, my colleague.

Mr. SWITZER. Does the gentleman believe there is any disposition on the part of anyone advocating the selective draft to keep ex-President Roosevelt from raising 100,000 men to go to France voluntarily?

Mr. BATHRICK. I have no knowledge on that matter.

Mr. SWITZER. I have heard it rumored around——

Mr. BATHRICK. Some Republican in the Senate has introduced a resolution, and I understand a Republican has introduced a resolution in this House, asking that the President send him. I am afraid it is a political matter.

Mr. EMERSON. Is it not just as much politics to reject him?

Mr. SWITZER. I do not believe the gentleman knows what I intend to ask, but I would like to have his opinion.

Mr. BATHRICK. I understand now. The gentleman is patriotic. He intends nothing political. So far as I am concerned, if Theodore Roosevelt were to raise one, five, or a dozen divisions of American boys who desire to volunteer to carry the Stars and Stripes to the trenches of France, I say let him go. [Applause.] That is my opinion of it, if you want it.

Mr. MASON. Does your bill provide that?

Mr. BATHRICK. It is not my bill that I am talking about. I am supporting the minority of the committee, which is the President's viewpoint.

Mr. MASON. You are talking about a bill. Does the bill you are supporting provide that?

Mr. BATHRICK. I do not think anyone knows whether it does or not. I think it is a question of technique which I can not answer offhand. Nevertheless, it should not be a political question, and you will all agree to that. I will say this as to my side and the politics about it. We Democrats went out on the stump last fall and besought the people of this country to stand by President Wilson, and they stood by him in the election. Now the people of this country want us to stand by President Wilson. [Applause.] There is no question about that, and I am one Democrat who will do it. There is no vital question of permanent policy involved in this contention; it is a question of following our leaders and winning this war. I will follow on, and there are thousands of the great people of my district who will follow him, too. Their brand of patriotism does not quibble upon how they are called by their country, but they are saying: "We are ready. Tell us when and where."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT].

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Chairman, the elaborate discussion this bill has already received from members of the committee which had it in charge and from the press makes further debate unnecessary, but I wish to state unmistakably my position.

Every nation has the fundamental right to command the services of all its fighting men in case of war. We are now at war with the greatest military power in the world, and although its armies are now so engaged by the other nations which are also at war with it that we seem to be in no immediate danger, yet both self-respect and self-protection for the future require us to prepare for the contest.

Our present military strength is insignificant compared with our adversary. To make ourselves formidable and even safe we must immediately train and equip an army. The question at issue is, Shall we form that army by accepting everyone who volunteers, or shall we select those who are most eligible for the service and whose withdrawal from their ordinary occupations would least cripple our industrial life?

The latter course seems to me the fairest and the wisest. If we assume that everyone is equally willing to give his services to the country, then it is wise to select those who will make the best soldiers and who can best be spared. If everyone is not equally willing, then it is not fair to allow the whole burden to fall on the patriotic and let the slackers escape. Nor do we want all the enthusiasts to go into the camps, thus leaving an abnormal average of indifference at home. The experience of England, which for nearly three years has been working out this same problem under the pressure of dire emergency, ought to teach us much. The overwhelming opinion there is that it is better that the Government should make the choice and not leave it to the individual. Success in war to-day depends so much on equipment and resources that it is necessary to organize and guard the whole industrial life of the Nation as never before. To determine when a man's service will be most useful for his country is not a problem he can solve so well as the Government. We are fighting the battle of democracy for the whole world, and it is the democratic way to make every man liable to serve the country and then let the country determine where that service can best be rendered. The rich and the poor, the active and the indolent, the willing and the unwilling, all should be treated with exact equality, with only one invariable rule, What is best for the Nation? The sacrifice can not be made equal for all, but the good of the country must govern.

It is not enthusiasm alone which can win such a war as this; it can be won only by a careful organization and development and coordination of all the industries and all the men of the country.

We have recently had an illustration in my own community of the unfairness of the voluntary system. Last summer our National Guard regiment was sent to the Mexican border. In it were many men with families dependent on them who suffered severely from their absence. There were plenty of men without families or dependents who would have made equally good soldiers. When they returned from Mexico they were allowed slowly to take up once more their business life and once more provide for the support and comfort of their families. But when this war broke out there was immediate necessity for guarding exposed localities. Was the inconvenience and business disturbance shifted and divided over the whole community? No; these same soldiers who had been sent to Mexico because they had volunteered and because the Nation had left the selection to the individuals themselves instead of making the selection for them—these same men again were called out because they were the only ones who had been adequately trained, and they and their families again had to bear all the inconvenience. The fair, the democratic, way is to assume that the country is entitled to the service of every man and that every man is willing, and then let him be selected whose age and relationship and occupation points to the Army as the field where he can be most useful. Such a system would save innumerable heartaches. In thousands of homes throughout the land the father and the mother will be wrestling anxiously and prayerfully with the question whether it is the duty of their boy to enlist, but their minds will be besieged by conflicting arguments, and the strain of the decision and then the uncertainty whether it was wise will bring anguish and bitterness into countless lives. Let the Government take that responsibility from them and decide where each man can best render service, and it will lighten the anxiety of our homes as well as secure the best contribution to every phase of our material activity. To enlist is not a privilege which should be granted to those who crave it; it is not a burden to be imposed upon those only who are patriotic enough to assume it; but it is a duty which should be apportioned by the Government upon those citizens whose condition makes it for the advantage of the whole community that they should do this work. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GALLIVAN]. [Applause.]

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, I have no quarrel with the men in this House who do not believe in compulsory military service, even at this hour of our Nation's peril. I did not formerly believe in it myself. In fact, I was one of those who had to be persuaded, but I have been watching the course of the enlistment plans of the War and Navy Departments with close attention, and I am sorry to say that, in my judgment, they have not been and will not be the success that we all had hoped for.

For instance, Mr. Chairman, I have just spent a few days in my home city—and I think no man will challenge the statement that Boston is as patriotic as any other city in all this land. I found a fine, healthy, whole-hearted approval of the action of Congress in declaring a state of war existing between this country and Germany, and I found that there were many young fellows applying for the right to enlist in the service of their country, with a fair percentage of them being accepted. I learned that some of our State militia regiments have been ordered to the colors, and that, as usual, the famous Fighting Ninth was being given the major portion of whatever responsibility now devolves upon our State troops which are guarding public works and highways. I also found that the enlistments were coming chiefly from one element of the population in my city; and while I am sorry in some degree to be compelled to say this, yet with some pride I want to announce to the House that in Boston it appears to be the Kellys, the Burkes, and the Sheas who are now volunteering their services in defense of the flag. For one, I do not believe that the glory which comes to

those who shoulder the musket or man the decks ought to be bestowed alone upon the descendants of the fighting race, and so that there may be glory enough for all I have made up my mind that I am going to vote for universal service, in order that all might have a share.

Now, it is a well-recognized fact that a call for volunteers brings instant response from pretty nearly all that is best in the manhood of the Nation. It finds its coldest response from those who are least fitted to survive and whose survival is of least value to the Nation. While I dislike the use of the word "conscription," I must say that conscription takes in everyone. We all must have recognized before this hour that a volunteer army divides our Nation into two groups, one a group of patriots and the other a group of slackers. There is a good deal in the newspapers these days about "slackers." It is not a pleasant word, and it has not a pleasant meaning. My idea of a "slacker" is one who dodges war service—one who, able to serve his country, refuses. During the first year of the war England reechoed with the word. The epithet was bestowed without discrimination upon every young man not in uniform, and then England adopted compulsory universal service, and slackers and rumors of slackers were no more. Thousands of brave young fellows were brought back from the trenches to serve in industry, where they rightly belonged. No man who was needed at home was sent into camp, and no man who was needed in camp was left at home. The new system was just and it was efficient. There are no slackers in England now, but our own America is having its turn. Why, I have noticed that the War Department has been obliged to issue notice that marriages contracted since the declaration of war will not be considered as excusing men from liability to military service; it has been discovered that many men of military age have suddenly married, and the Government rightly intends to put a stop to that sort of romance. It believes that the slackers—the horror of the Government and the bane of the Nation—must be balked, and if Congress at this time will stand firmly behind the President there will be no slackers. There will be a selective draft; those needed at home will stay at home; those not needed will go into the Army. All will automatically become patriots, and the Nation can settle down to its task with the knowledge that all is well; the whole citizenry will have contributed to the Army and patriotism will have have done its utmost. [Applause.]

Oh, yes; America has been prompt in offering its money. Shall it be less prompt in offering its men? Mr. Chairman, we want a citizen army drawn from the whole citizenry, drawn in orderly fashion, with selection of those best fitted to serve. Once more let me repeat that we do not desire to put a gun on the shoulder of any man who is needed at home; and, if you please, we do not want to support in home luxury any man who can well be spared at the front. Our country is preparing to take its part—and perhaps the greatest part—in the greatest of all wars. I ask you, Shall we make a fife-and-drum holiday of this grim occasion or shall we make it a great national effort, calling upon all alike for loyalty and service? Shall we follow the unfortunate example of the English and sacrifice our best and bravest in the early period of learning? There is no tragedy in all that grim story, splendid as are many of its pages, greater than the tragedy of the untold thousands of the best, the bravest, and the most promising of the English young men who were sacrificed to national inexperience in all the battles that lie between Ypres and the early stages of the Somme. [Applause.]

I do not desire at this time to go over the story of all the wars that this country has been engaged in to show the failure of the volunteer system, but I might remind you that when the Civil War broke out we pursued the same old policy of bounties and short-term enlistments which had obtained in our previous military struggles. You all remember the story of the first battle of Bull Run, when the raw and untrained troops of the North, who had enlisted for three months, were routed by the Confederate Army, and although this first defeat should have taught the North a lesson, we repeated it throughout the war and even aggravated the errors of the past. When regiments had been decimated at the front, instead of filling up these regiments, which had by that time trained officers, new regiments were organized under officers of little or no experience and were sent to the front to take the place of those men who had been hardened by campaigning. When the war was over the sacrifice of life due to ineffective and incompetent handling of the troops staggered the world.

I need not recall to you the lessons of the Spanish-American War or the methods pursued, and the results of those methods are undoubtedly familiar to all of you. We had no adequate standing army, no field artillery of any consequence, and an insufficiency of supplies. And, worst of all, there was a general lack of organization which would have spelled disaster had we been opposed by any forces of the first-class European nations. Let us not fool ourselves about the situation which now confronts our common country. We have been deluded by the peace advocates, and unfortunately their propaganda has taken a much stronger hold of the country than some of us believe. Until now we have been lulled into the belief that our present position on this hemisphere was the most natural defense and that the possibility of invasion or attack by a foreign foe was the dream of the military enthusiast and the professional soldier; and yet in my time in this House I have heard it repeatedly stated on the floor here, without adequate refutation or denial, that Japan, which is over 20 days' sail from our western shores, could land an army of 200,000 men upon our shores before we could transport any adequate forces to oppose their landing. Yes; and within the month I have heard one of the greatest military authorities in this country publicly announce that in a conflict with Germany, if the British fleet were caught napping, it would be the merriest kind of a military frolic for the German Navy to take the great city of New York.

Mr. Chairman, with such a situation confronting us, it ought to be apparent to all that our country is pressed by the necessity for immediate and drastic action. It will be a costly experience to prepare. Hundreds of thousands of men must be taken from the walks of life and must spend some time in learning the pursuits and practices of military life which are necessary for our proper participation in this war. I believe that the people of my State are substantially unanimous in the demand for this military preparation. I realize that perhaps the same enthusiasm does not present itself to the citizens of the Middle Western States, for many of them know what a warship looks like only from pictures. And at this point I venture to say that there is many a man in the Congress of the United States who up to this very moment has never yet beheld one of the fighting ships of our country's Navy.

When you talk about our citizen soldiery, may I be permitted to say that we in Massachusetts have done much, if not more, than any other of the States in the Union? We have five Infantry regiments, one of which, the gallant Ninth, is recorded at the War Department as having established for itself the finest record of any of the State troops which gathered along the Texas border a few months ago. Its history is one of a record of glorious achievement, and it has brought credit and distinction in all its service to the great Commonwealth which it has represented. We have a regiment of Coast Artillery which is better than that of any other military organization of its kind in the United States. With four fine troops of Cavalry, two batteries of Field Artillery long established and a third in process of organization, a signal corps, two ambulance companies, a field hospital company, and a corps of cadets, Massachusetts' contribution to the military preparedness of the United States now rises to the splendid figure of 8,000 men; but the people of my State believe that these young men ought not be the only ones called upon to help fight the battles of the country, and they stand almost united for universal liability to service.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GALLIVAN. Yes.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Is it not a fact that there are more volunteers in the Central Middle West than in any other part of the country? [Applause.]

Mr. GALLIVAN. I did not know that that was a fact, but I am glad to be enlightened.

Mr. GALLAGHER. We have had more volunteers from Chicago than from New York and Philadelphia put together.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I wish those volunteers would impress the Members of Congress to vote for this legislation. If they did, they would show more patriotism than their Representatives do. [Applause.]

Let us not continue to ignore the lessons taught us by our previous wars and place our ultimate reliance upon a few citizen soldiers, who, willing and ready, can not do it all. I can not believe that it will be necessary for us to taste the bitterness of national defeat before the Representatives in the Congress of the United States awake to the stern realization of the absolute necessity of putting into the law of the land the program of our great President. By this means, and this means only, in my judgment, will the Stars and Stripes continue to wave triumphant over a free democracy. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. LA FOLLETTE].

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, after I voted "no" on the war resolution I received many letters and telegrams regarding that vote, one of them read:

We have burned you in effigy and across your breast we placed an inscription reading, "The twentieth century Benedict Arnold."

Another was a copy of one sent to President Wilson, in which I was severely condemned for my vote against the not necessarily infallible advice of the President. The most of these communications I ignored, but at last the worm turned, and in one case I wired:

I presume the people of Blanktown are enlisting freely for the trenches of Europe, not awaiting conscription—the first resort of the tyrant having the power of life and death over his subjects, the last resort of a noble people believing in freedom of thought, speech, and action.

Mr Chairman, that message, sent in a spirit of irony, expressed a feeling and sentiment in my heart and soul that I still find there after having listened for all of two days to the specious arguments and elegant pleas of those here who stand for the General Staff and administration plan for selective conscription.

Mr. Chairman, for many months Members of the House of Representatives have been flooded with letters and telegrams, with newspaper clippings and newspapers with marked columns, all advocating and pleading for a system of universal military training. I had them until 48 hours ago in that form and language. Since then I got them from various county and State political and municipal body officials, giving out the idea that the people of their vicinities were "fierce" for universal military service and selective conscription combined, one term the exact antipode of the other. Universal and selective—one, everybody; the other, those I choose. The psychological moment had come to tear the veneering from the real purpose of the campaign for universal military training and show selective conscription, virtually the right to prescribe death for some of our boys and life for others.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. LUNN], the former Socialist mayor of his town, now an elegant exponent of the democracy of selection, near the conclusion of his fiery peroration used the words "universal military service under this selective conscription bill." There is not one iota or scintilla of universal service in selective conscription. Are we always to gull the people? Are they not worthy of a square deal? If we want to conscript in accordance with the President's advice, why not say so and leave off the false and misleading but just-sounding title of "universal military training"?

Mr. Chairman, we commenced this war with the people suffering under a misapprehension of the facts. We are now trying to put this selective draft over in the same way. The President, in his masterly diction and beautiful English, first took the "military" out of service and showed by suggestion how patriotic men could be raising "spuds" for the Army or engaging in manufacturing epaulettes for officers' garments and buttons for service uniforms, or in any of the walks of life on which the Nation's welfare depends, and he, in his infinite wisdom, is to be the sole judge of the need of such service. Both bills introduced into Congress make exempt certain classes of activities, and to that extent have already selected. They could have drafted an ordinary conscription bill giving all men between certain ages exactly the same opportunity for service. Oh, no; that would not be democratic! So they leave in the word "selective" and give to some administrative officer the right to say whose son shall fight in the trenches and whose shall raise Missouri mules for Army needs. "Consistency, thou art a jewel!"

Under selective conscription Mr. Johnson's son goes in the Army, has a leg or both arms shot off; his eyes are burned out; he may come home a poor wreck of humanity to drag out at best a miserable existence. The son of Mr. Morgan, if he has one, can be of more use to his country helping his noble father finance the nations of the earth. He lives out his life in opulence and plenty, loved and respected, sound of limb and full of life, and what time he does not put in making more money he may nobly devote to thinking out some method whereby his millions may be invested so as to avoid paying taxes to help pay Mr. Johnson's son and other war derelicts pensions on which to eke out the remainder of their miserable lives. I was moved almost to tears when I read in Sunday's paper John D. Rockefeller, jr.'s, quoted remarks on the beneficent leveling effect of universal military training as applied through selective conscription. Noble sentiments, but the administrative officer under the hallowed term of "universal service," with the "military" extracted, could easily see that John D.'s 19-year-old son, if he has one, is almost indispensable to his country figuring out just how much gasoline they could furnish the Government for war purposes and the populace for peace purposes without reducing the price too much to make it possible for them to buy a few more untaxed bonds to show their patriotism.

Mr. Chairman, I am a proscribed man, a traitor to my country, because under my oath of office and my right to freedom of speech and action guaranteed me by the Constitution of my country I had the effrontery to vote against the advice of him "who kept us out of war" against our going into war. To that extent I was guilty of lèse majesté. Oh, my countrymen and gentlemen, as I am already a goat, I'll go a little further and express my traitorous feelings somewhat in regard to the use of the word "slacker" as applied to our people. The President is reported as having given as one of his reasons for advocating the selective conscription of boys between 19 and 25 his desire to "catch the slackers." Oh, my God! Now, we go ahead and conscript an army and as they pass along—going, many of them, to a certain death—the public mind questions "How many of those are slackers?" Nineteen to twenty-five, just begun to live, and called slackers by those who have lived and sinned from twice to thrice their span of life. [Applause.] "Slackers," to use that opprobrious epithet in regard to boys 19 to 25, even though they do shrink from death, life looking joyful and bright to them, is an outrage. They were not shipping any arms and other contraband of war to Europe; some of them may even question whether it is right to ask them to die to guarantee what has been designated as a "doubtful legal right." I think to use a term like that in regard to boys and men of that age is altogether contemptible and totally inexcusable, especially in advance of any call for their services. I suppose along with the Stars and Stripes, in simple justice these conscripts you are going to shanghai, will be allowed to carry a simple banner stating, "Really and truly, our countrymen, we are not slackers."

Mr. Chairman, had this administration conscription bill been framed to catch the slackers between the ages of 25 to 60, I think there might be some need for it. [Applause.] Many men whose lives have not been what they should have been, desecraters of homes, betrayers of innocence, those who have ground down the poor and by other iniquitous practices have made themselves unfit to live, yet are afraid to die, might well be named slackers, but not our youth to be led like lambs to the slaughter.

The administration, which is credited with giving out this plan of selective conscription, has been quoted by the press as saying, "Young men who have married since this plan of service was given out to the public and in advance of the passage of the law—which the administration at least thought was sure to be passed as had been decreed—should not on account of such marriage be exempt." They are "slackers." Hundreds of such marriages have been consummated, hundreds, no doubt, arranged for in the natural processes of our people before the horrors of war were realized, and now by a war-mad press and, if quoted correctly, an offended administration, the young men who contracted them are to be forced to enlist for daring to realize their ambitions and satisfying nature's most ennobling and natural function by creating a home. They have failed to realize responsibility as exemplified in the "master's voice"; they are "slackers"; we will tear them asunder in the name of democracy for the good of the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, I would not feel justified in alluding to these newspaper utterances in respect to this matter had the administration not been so correctly reported by them for some months. [Applause.] Mr. Chairman, President Wilson has said:

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the Nation can make them.

The sentiment is grand, the diction perfect. How it electrified the hearts of the people who read it! "The sacrifices we shall freely make." Who are "we"? I suppose these 500,000 men who are to be conscripted now—5,000,000, maybe, later on—are a part of "we offering our services freely." Oh, no! It evidently did not mean "we the people." "We" had an entirely different meaning there. "We" must have meant "me and mine, Congress." It could have meant nothing else followed immediately by this selective-draft measure. By implication it says, "You may have been willing to have offered yourself freely, I don't know; I will not take any chances on you; obey your master's voice and come whether or no. I say you shall be one of the 'champions of mankind' in the name of democracy, and I'll make you fight for the 'faith and freedom of the Nation' as exemplified by Congress passing a selective-conscription bill as a fundamental principle of democracy." Oh, yes; we shall freely give our sons—such as I select—to down "Prussian militarism," which forces men to fight willy-nilly, thus making a great machine that is dangerous to the welfare of the world. We will "fight the devil with fire," and to scotch him we will adopt his own plan, which has been so effective, and we will "democratize" the German Empire even though

we will have to Prussianize and autocratize free America to do so. "We'll make 'em do it freely so as to secure the 'freedom of the Nation.'"

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to take up the time of the committee arguing as to the merits and demerits of the volunteer system; I will extend these deductions in the RECORD, if there is no objection. The volunteer system is the one under which all our victories have been won; our small experience with conscription did not exemplify its wisdom or efficiency. Mr. Chairman, I am not as much concerned just now as to the most efficient way—and no man values true efficiency more highly than do I—but I value more highly the fundamental principle of freedom and the perpetuity of the freedom of the masses of the people. God pity them, if to democratize Germany we are to be compelled to Prussianize America! [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HUSTED].

Mr. HUSTED. Mr. Chairman, three years ago next August the European war broke out. It was known from the start as a world war, and it did not require, it seems to me, a very far-sighted statesmanship to realize that it was going to be a difficult matter for this country to escape involvement. Many patriotic men did realize it, and through the newspapers and on the public platform called the attention of the people to our condition of unreadiness for war, and tried to create among the people a desire and demand for the adoption of a policy of thoroughgoing preparedness. One of the first and most zealous men in this work was our colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER]. Certain sections of the country appreciated the force of the arguments made in this educational campaign, and other sections turned an absolutely deaf ear. In December, 1914, after the war had been in progress for four months, the President of the United States in his address on the convening of the Congress decried the attempts which were being made to induce Congress to strengthen the military and naval forces. He asserted that we were in no danger of becoming involved in the war, that our isolated situation rendered us secure, and that the sentiment for preparedness was hysterical. Such a statement coming from the President of the United States greatly strengthened the position of the pacifists and measurably weakened the position of the advocates of preparedness, with the result that nothing was done for preparedness during the year 1914, and nothing was done for preparedness during the year 1915, although in the month of May of that year the German Government committed one of the worst and most indefensible crimes in history in the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania* with the loss of more than twelve hundred innocent lives, including 113 citizens of the United States.

In December, 1915, the President again appeared before Congress and delivered a message, in which he completely reversed himself from the position on the question of preparedness which he had taken a year before; but still the message was mild and pacific. It was not until the summer of 1916 that the President seemed to fully wake up to a true appreciation of our real situation, when he made his tour of the Middle West advocating a policy of preparedness for war. During the summer of 1916 we appropriated large sums of money to be expended by the War and Navy Departments in strengthening our military position, but to-day I regret to say that in many vital respects we are not much better off than we were three years ago. The hearings on this bill reveal a state of inactivity on the part of the War Department, which is exceedingly hard for me, at least, to understand. It appears that we have not made a rifle in a Government arsenal since the passage of the appropriation for that purpose last year, and that only a few thousand old rifles have been repaired; that we have very few machine and antiaircraft guns and not a single piece of heavy mobile ordnance and have not placed an order for a single piece, although the Secretary of War admits in the record that it is absolutely indispensable if our Army is to actively take the field. Under the most favorable conditions it is stated we should hope to be able to begin to get some of this necessary matériel at the end of 6 or 7 months, and that it would be the expectation of the War Department to have enough at the end of 14 to 16 months to equip an army of 500,000 men, but the General Staff estimates that it will take 30 months to get sufficient matériel to equip an army of 1,000,000 men. If we had started the work of preparedness 30 months ago, as we should have done in the light of the events which were taking place in the world, we could easily have to-day an army of 1,000,000 men fully trained and equipped with everything necessary for their protection and efficiency, ready to take the field at a moment's notice. If we had such an army now it would not have been necessary for us to provide for the issuance of $7,000,000,000 of bonds. If we had such an army now we would not be at war with Germany to-day and would not be in the humiliating position of having nothing to fight with but our Navy and our money, dependent for our protection upon the armies and fleets of our allies.

The President of the United States is at last fully awake to the needs of the hour. His war message was one of the finest public utterances of a century, breathing the true spirit of Americanism in every line. I believe that the War Department is also at last awake to the needs of the hour and from now on can be relied upon to push things with vigor. It is incomprehensible to me, in view of the existing situation and the valuable time which has been lost, that any attempt should now be made by the Congress of the United States to further impede the work of preparation by foisting upon the country the volunteer system of raising an army in the face of the lessons of history, of the experience of every nation which has tried it, including our own, and against the unanimous advice of the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and, what is really more to the point, the military experts of our Government. Under the feudal system, where the baron and his retainers were supported by the tenantry, the baron was under an obligation to perform military service for his tenants' protection; but in a democracy, where the privileges of citizenship are the same to all, the obligation to serve the country in the Army is the same to all, and no volunteer system should be permitted to furnish a cover under which the shirker and the skulker can hide and evade the performance of the military obligation which he owes to his country. The volunteer system is unfair, unjust, and undemocratic, and from a military point of view it is unscientific and wasteful. The chairman of the committee, in the course of his remarks, stated, as I understood him, that it did not make much difference how an army was raised. I beg to take issue with the chairman on that point. I believe it is of vital fundamental importance how an army is raised. Under the volunteer system the high-minded, patriotic, generous youth and a large proportion of all the men of military experience offer their services. Acting upon the assumption that no other than this initial force would be raised for the war, and without consideration of the selfishness of permitting the sacrifice, it would certainly be bad economy to permit the flower of the Nation's youth to be cut down to save the weeds; and if you intend to provide for raising additional increments to this initial force—and it would certainly be the supremacy of folly not to do so under existing conditions—then it would be most unwise to permit your best officer material to be killed off in the early days of the war and thus find yourself short of the right kind of men to train and lead the succeeding increments. Under such a system the tendency would be for each succeeding increment to be poorer in quality than the one which preceded it, and it is of the highest importance that the entire Army throughout the war should continue of even quality.

Under the administration bill the age limit of men to be taken by conscription was 19 to 25, inclusive, and under the committee bill it is 21 to 40. I understand the reason why the War Department limited the age to 25 years was because men under 26 were for the most part unsettled in life and not needed to maintain the industrial processes of the Nation, and also because it would be a somewhat difficult matter and take considerable time to eliminate from a wider conscription the men who were needed in industrial life, but I do not believe either reason valid. We all know there are hundreds of thousands of men over 25 years of age who are not engaged in an industry and just as available for military service as the men under 25 years of age. Under the administration plan the first increment of 500,000 was to be taken from men 19 to 25 years of age, inclusive, and then the second, the third, the fourth increment, and so on, until the entire number of available men of the country between these ages had been exhausted. It is to me an unthinkable proposition that the young men between these ages should be asked to make the sole blood sacrifice when all military experts agree that men in good physical condition up to at least 40 years of age are available for service. I think the committee was in error in fixing the minimum age at 21, and fail to see the force of the argument that no man should be sent to the front who is not old enough to vote. If a man is mature and fit for service from a physical standpoint, it seems to me it does not make much difference whether he is 20 or 21; but, on the other hand, if we fix the age at 21, we are depriving the country of the services of about half a million men annually, who are at least as old as the men who bore the burden of the Civil War in the Union and Confederate Armies.

I realize it is highly desirable that this measure shall be so framed as not to make conscription appear a penalty for the failure to volunteer, and for that reason the provisions of the British conscription acts appeal to me. I think we should pass a bill conscripting all of the men of the country between 19 and 40 years of age, inclusive, who would

then pass automatically into the reserve, permitting from this body volunteer enlistments until the Regular Army and National Guard units were at war strength, and then taking from the balance the additional increments required. The men in exempt classes or who were needed in industrial life would be excused from service and assigned to work in the industries necessary to the maintenance of the Army on proper proof. The administration bill, as I am informed, was prepared by the Judge Advocate General, under instructions from the Secretary of War, from notes prepared by the Secretary of War after consultation with members of the General Staff and other military experts. I believe the administration bill does not bear the full indorsement of the General Staff, and that in the bill the General Staff recommended there was provision for the establishment of a system of universal military training. The President, I believe, was opposed to that provision on the ground that when we are engaged in war is not the proper time to establish a permanent military policy applicable to peace conditions; that the present war will undoubtedly create many changes, and that we should not adopt a permanent military policy until we know what those changes are, so that we can shape our policy with reference to them. With all due respect for the President's judgment, I take the liberty to believe that he is just exactly as wrong on this proposition as he was in 1914 when he opposed the preparedness program. It seems to me that universal military training is so universal and so applicable to all conditions that I can not conceive of any circumstances which might arise in our national life that would not make its establishment a splendid thing for the country if only for the moral and physical betterment of our young men, and from a military point of view it certainly is and always will be the fundamental basis of national preparedness. The history of the world from the earliest times conclusively proves that any nation which neglects the military arts becomes soft, passes into a state of decay, breaks up, or comes under the dominion of a stronger and more virile State. [Applause.]

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES].

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, if a man favors voluntary service he ought to have the courage to say that he is for that kind of service and for no other; if he is against selective draft or conscription, he ought to have the courage to say that he is opposed to that kind of system and refuse to sanction it in any way.

We all respect a fighter and we all condemn a slacker—whether by that we mean a man who will not fight for his country or a member of a committee who shirks his responsibilities. If anyone wants to know what a "slacker" means, all he has to do is to examine the bill reported out by the majority of the Military Committee.

They did not have the courage to advocate an out-and-out voluntary system, and they did not have the courage to refuse to mention selective draft or conscription. So, like the slacker, they tried a compromise.

As the gentleman from California [Mr. KAHN] stated the other day, the four members of the Military Committee who saw service in 1898—the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. TILSON; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. CRAGO; the gentleman from Vermont, Mr. GREENE; and the gentleman from New York, Mr. LUNN—have signed the minority report favoring selective draft.

Upon looking over the names advocating the volunteer-service bill, I find some gentlemen of about the same age as those of the committee who saw service in 1898. I take it for granted that they did not believe in volunteer service at that time; at least they did not believe in it strongly enough to volunteer their services to their country. Apparently the only way their country could have secured their services at that time was to conscript them. As the volunteer system did not result in their volunteering their services at that time, so the volunteer system will not help us to get the boys of to-day who hold the same ideas now as some of the gentlemen held in 1898. To get the boys of like ideas in the Army to-day we will have to conscript them, and it might just as well be done now as later.

All of these distinguished gentlemen voted to declare war, all of these distinguished gentlemen voted for the $7,000,000,000 bill to carry on the war, and now they refuse to raise the soldiers to do the fighting.

Perhaps that is not exactly correct—they do not refuse to do it—they do not do it. It would look to an innocent bystander as if they thought it would not be good politics at this time to come out for selective draft, so they "pass the buck" to the President—not a very statesmanlike thing to do. They seem to desire to place themselves in a secure position, no matter what happens. If the President resorts to the selective draft system and it is not popular, they blame the President, and if it makes out all right, then they can say, "We did it; we gave him the authority."

The people back home are not much concerned these days about what is or what is not good politics. They only know that we are at war—even if some Members of Congress do not—and that they want it to come to a successful conclusion as soon as possible. The man who hesitates these days between duty to his country and good politics is absolutely lost forever, and he might as well order a reserve seat for a ride up "Salt River" now.

I am no new convert to universal training, universal service, or selective draft. I became a convert to all three when we went to Cuba in 1898.

Very few of the boys knew how to take care of themselves, and in most cases the officers did not know how to even take care of themselves, to say nothing about taking care of the boys intrusted to their care. I have seen men die like dogs because they had not the slightest idea of what ought to be done to protect their lives and they could get no help from their officers.

My own company was particularly fortunate in having a man as captain who did know what ought to be done, and, more than that, he made us do it. Most of us owe our lives to his ability.

It rained in Cuba every day and many of the officers did not know enough to insist upon tents being raised from the ground several feet; many of them did not even have their men build outhouses. If some of the gentlemen who advocate the volunteer system so strongly had seen as much of it as the ones who saw a little service, they would not be so anxious to continue the system.

As a comrade wrote me the other day, "Many a volunteer company would elect a bartender as captain one day and shoot him the next."

Capt. Millar has always advocated universal training and service, and is in favor of the bill for the "selective draft."

In a letter to me the other day he writes me in part as follows:

UNIVERSAL SERVICE.

HUBBELL, MICH., *April 12, 1917.*

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR COMRADE: I am thoroughly convinced in my own mind that universal service is the only method by which we, the American people, can be prepared at all times to meet such a crisis as we have at the present time. Furthermore, I feel it is the duty of every young man to devote some of his time in the service of his country.

The benefits to be derived by the young men are almost too numerous to mention. He would profit by being associated with young men from all parts of the United States, which would broaden his ideas of his fellow man. It would be a great benefit in building him up physically and mentally, but I think the greatest benefit would be discipline. This is something most of our young men seem to know little about. Without discipline you can not have efficiency. I believe this to be the aim of universal service—to have efficient men at all times to carry the burdens of the country.

Very truly, yours, GEORGE MILLAR.

Among those who saw service with us in Cuba in 1898 was Mr. Homer A. Guck, of Houghton, Mich., editor of the Mining Gazette, who saw service as private in Company D, Thirty-fourth Michigan. Here is an editorial that he writes, entitled "Conscription," which expresses the views of practically every man who saw service in 1898:

CONSCRIPTION.

The vital thing in the Army bill which Secretary Baker has submitted to Congress is its rejection of the volunteer system. Selective compulsory service must be resorted to if we are to have a representative, efficient, democratic Army. Every pacifist, every slacker, every enemy of military preparedness knows this. For that reason all the elements in Congress and out of it which want to retard military development and thereby keep our participation in the war down to a minimum are now making a drive against conscription. They want to retain the volunteer system, which has broken down every time the United States has relied upon it, and can be depended upon to break down again.

Representative ANTHONY, of Kansas, a Republican, but one of the chief supporters in the last Congress of the futile and fraudulent Hay bill, has given notice that he will try to amend the administration's measure in committee by substituting voluntary enlistment for the General Staff's selective compulsory service plan. The main fight in the committee and in the House will thus come on this proposition to denature the new Army bill—to stringhalt it after the treacherous Hay fashion.

The administration's draft makes some slight concessions to those who still cling to the ancient delusion that some subtle tribute is paid to individual and moral liberty in the haphazard, inequitable, let-somebody-else-do-it theory of military service. The staff plan provides that the Regular Establishment may be recruited to war strength by voluntary enlistment. But if volunteers do not come fast enough conscription will be resorted to. The ranks of the National Guard may also be filled by volunteering, so long as that method produces results worth while. But the President is to have, as he now has, the power to draft men for National Guard service. Conscription will be applied exclusively in raising the new armies, 500,000 men at a time.

In our opinion, the sooner the country gets on an exclusive conscription basis the better. Volunteering may be of some service for a few weeks, while the machinery of conscription is being set up. It may help a little to make up deficiencies in the Regular Army and in the National Guard regiments. Conscription is already authorized in the case of the guard. So the Regular Establishment is the only field in which volunteering can be of real value to the Government. We doubt whether it will be of real value there, for the class of volunteers to

which the Regular service appeals is now, as it has always been, exceedingly limited.

Many Congressmen are finding fault with the conscription theory. Some think it will be unpopular. Southern Democrats do not like its universality. They object to a draft which would apply equally to all citizens, white and black. But these objections to a method which the Government is obliged to apply if it wants to make war successfully should have been urged before war was declared. They have no pertinency now. All other considerations must yield now to the demands of a sound military policy. Pacifists, slackers, objectors to military service, and other obstructionists must recognize that their individual prejudices are no longer of consequence when weighed against the safety of the State and the efficiency of its armies.

Conscription must come, because there is no way to avoid conscription and still raise the sort of armies which we must raise. The administration has at last gotten right on the question of military preparation. It is accepting the views of the General Staff. Members of Congress who voted for the Hay law last year ought to be diffident about challenging the General Staff's authority. They did their worst in the way of picayunish amateurism. They ought to be very humble and silent now.

He also states:

We are pleased that JULIUS KAHN, a Republican, is the leader for the President to put through the most sensible, practicable bill that can be put into effect to bring about a real army in a real way. KAHN is one of the men of brains in the House.

Many of the boys throughout the country in 1898 who were patriotic enough to enlist found, much to their disappointment, upon their return that the coward, the "slacker," the boy with the "yellow streak," was holding down their jobs. If the bill as proposed by the committee goes through there will be thousands more of "slackers" holding down jobs that belong to better men.

The committee is afraid to come out now for an out-and-out "volunteer service" bill and against the "draft," but I understand that everyone of them voted to "draft" the members of the National Guard, whether or not they were willing. What they thought was all right to do to the National Guard they dare not do to the rest of their constituents.

Another thing, all politics ought to be eliminated from the Army that we are now raising for "fighting" purposes, not for "dress parade." A man ought to secure his job because he is qualified, not because he is a "good mixer" or is popular "with the boys." You generally find that the men themselves will regret their choice of a good mixer when they are put up against real service. And yet this bill evidently intends that that kind of thing shall continue. If these gentlemen ever had any experience with some of these volunteer officers they would not be so desirous of having this section in the bill. They would want to have the best man they could get on the job. I know a thing or two about incompetent officers who got their jobs on account of politics, "good mixers," and "one of the boys."

I have seen men having to wear the blue uniform instead of khaki when it was 90° in the shade and "no shade." There were thousands of khaki suits at Siboney; but the man who ought to secure them did not know how to do it. Many times there was sufficient grub to be had if the man who ought to know did know how to get it—seeing he did not, we lived on short rations many a time. There were ambulances that could be had if the man who ought to know did know how to get them—instead of that, sick as a man might be, he walked or rode in anything that could be had.

The little trouble we had in 1898 is only a mere skirmish to what is going on in Europe now, and for that reason we need the best men we can get in every position, and we should so frame every bill that ability counts instead of politics or good-fellowship.

Many of the letters that I have had in favor of universal service have been from people who at one time were "pacifists," or who believed we needed practically no army. The war in Europe has made them change their minds. Among those who are now convinced of the necessity of universal service is Judge P. H. O'Brien, our circuit judge, and one of the most influential Democrats in Michigan, and his letter, which I give in part, explains itself:

HOUGHTON, MICH., *April 7, 1917.*

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I meant to write you some time ago, but as my speech on "The Flag" contained a statement of my sentiments on the question of universal military training, I thought perhaps you would have secured a clipping thereof. I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the speech as it appeared in the Hancock Evening Journal.

Permit me to state that until recently I have been opposed to militarism in every form. The events of the last 30 months, however, have caused me to investigate the whole subject of national defense de novo. I am convinced not only from the development of the present great war, but also from a study of history, that any nation occupying any desirable and extensive portion of the earth's surface must be prepared to defend it. The choice, therefore, is between a large standing army and the adoption of a scheme of compulsory universal military training.

A standing army may very readily be used for the purpose of overthrowing the government and establishing tyranny. On the other hand, a citizenry trained to arms will always uphold democratic institutions.

Universal training itself will have a tendency to bring together in fraternal fellowship young men from every class of our population. This will serve to unify our democracy. Besides, I favor this method of training, because it places the burden of defense equally on all of our citizens instead of relying upon the voluntary efforts of the most unselfish.

I hope, therefore, that Congress will pass a bill adopting a permanent and comprehensive scheme of compulsory universal military training.

With kind personal regards, I remain,

Yours, sincerely,

P. H. O'BRIEN.

I have had some letters from people opposed to the idea of each man doing his "bit" in this national crisis, but I am glad to state that none of these un-American and unpatriotic letters came from the twelfth district of Michigan.

I received one the other day from one Rochelle—do not know what his nationality is, but, judging from the contents, should imagine he had some Chinese blood in his veins, as he was an avowed peace-at-any-price man. He wanted this bill so worded that he and his sons would not have to defend their country no matter what happened. These "yellow" boys who object to do any fighting themselves would be the first to cry for help if an enemy came in sight.

In the same mail I had two letters from fathers in my district. One, Alfred Gregor, a miner, had two sons in the service of their country. Like a good father, he did not regret their having volunteered. He says, in part:

I do not think we ought to stick to the volunteer system. All families should provide their share of the men for the Army and the Navy.

Another good patriotic citizen said, in part:

While I am too old for military service, being 65, I have four boys who are able and willing to serve their country, but I would want to see them go into the service with a fair chance, and not in an unprepared manner, and not under officers who do not know how to take care of their men, especially in camp. I hope Congress will pass the universal service law and distribute the duties of military service where they belong, upon all the citizens, and not upon a few who are patriotic enough to assume the burden.

To those Members who are afraid that if they vote for this bill they will "get in bad" with the members of the National Guard back home let me read the following from Col. Willard C. Fisk, Seventh Regiment, New York:

For all the officers and men of my command (the Seventh Regiment) and for the greater part of its 8,000 or 9,000 former members I want to say that we are unanimously, unalterably, in favor of universal training and service, and that as a fundamental democratic principle of government it should be exclusively under Federal control. I don't see how any thinking man with even small military experience can have any other opinion.

I have no criticism for the National Guard, but I recognize that, as constituted under the unfortunate and mistaken Hay bill, it is a weak reed for the country to rely on for its first-line force. For this country to contemplate entering a world conflict with no settled military policy, no reserve, a small army, a guard divided into 48 States, with no obligation on the youth and brawn of the country to serve, is certainly suicidal.

I love the guard. I love my own organization. I have heard it said that universal service means obliteration of the guard. I do not believe that is necessary, but if it is necessary why should it stand in the way of a broad, comprehensive policy for this country?

If it is any satisfaction to those who oppose universal service or the selective draft, I wish to state that they are not the only ones who hope that no bill of that kind will pass. They have good company in part of the Berlin press. The Die Post said editorially the other day:

So long as universal military service is not established in America by law, no German can be forced to take up arms against the fatherland.

The gentlemen who are against universal service and selective draft will have to decide in a day or so and show by their votes whether the Die Post will be pleased or whether the best interests of this country will be served.

A treasonable organization called the Antienlistment League, of which one Mrs. J. Sergeant Crime is secretary, is also opposed to universal service. Benedict Arnold or Judas Iscariot would be a better sounding name for an officer of such an organization as the Antienlistment League.

Another Spanish War veteran who writes—Mr. Frank C. Burmeister, of Kalamazoo—says, in part:

We glory in the stand you have taken in this crisis and hope you may always continue to fight for the right, as you have done.

Col. W. H. Thielman, of the Thirty-fourth Michigan, writes, in part:

When I use the word "universal" I mean that all young men should have this training, whether they are physically fit or not. It at least gives them discipline, and in case of war the physically unfit would be in fine shape to fill clerical positions, also positions in the commissary and Quartermaster's departments.

If time would permit, I would like to read you many more letters from men who have seen service. They all saw service either in Cuba or the Philippines or Porto Rico, and they all favor universal training, universal service, and the selective draft. They all know from experience how absolutely fatal it would be for the United States to go into this war with another experiment of the volunteer system.

Some of the opponents of universal service claim that it will make our boys more "bloodthirsty." Playing football, running races, and so forth, does not make a boy bloodthirsty; it makes him more self-reliant and more fitted for the battles of life.

Some of the strongest indorsements I have received have been from ministers of the gospel.

Rev. W. B. Coombe, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Crystal Falls, Mich., writes me:

The State press report that you are in favor of the selective draft. Glad to know it. On the right track, as usual. I have not heard a single person say aught against it. The people seem to think it is the only fair thing and proper way.

The following letter from Rev. Charles J. Johnson, of Marquette, Mich., speaks for itself:

APRIL 2, 1917.

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to inform you that at a patriotic service held in the First Methodist Episcopal Church last Sunday evening, April 1, that the inclosed memorial was signed by the citizens whose names appear thereon (excepting several whose signatures were secured this morning), and it is transmitted to you with the request that the same be presented to the House of Representatives.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES J. JOHNSON.

"We express our conviction that the safety and security of our Republic requires that we definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service. We would earnestly urge, therefore, that measures be taken for the immediate establishment of a permanent, adequate, and democratic system of national defense based upon universal military, industrial, and scientific service according to the capacity of each citizen.

"We also express our conviction that if the United States of America speaks as a Nation fully prepared for defense it can best serve the cause of international righteousness and universal peace."

Rev. Ernest M. Stires, D. D., St. Thomas's Church, in a sermon on Sunday last, well said:

Let the law take it for granted that all are ready to defend their country, their principles, and humanity. No other method is honest. We must not ask the unselfish to die that the selfish may live and flourish. We must not allow a man to serve on the firing line if some special skill makes him a hundredfold more useful in some other place. Honor may make him enlist, but experts should determine where each may serve best. Universal enlistment is the only fair, honest, economic method. With all my heart I approve the reply a friend of mine made some time ago to a pacifist. He said, "I will gladly join you in praying for peace if you will join me in preparing for war; then, whatever happens, we will be ready."

The beloved Bishop Fallows, one of the best-known Civil War veterans, said recently:

Universal military training will never develop a spirit of militarism in this country. It is a democratic movement and the very antithesis of militarism. I can remember over 50 years ago, when the same cry of militarism was raised after the close of the Civil War. Many well-meaning people said that with 2,000,000 soldiers back of him Gen. Grant would become a military dictator and that democracy in the United States would disappear. But those 2,000,000 soldiers returned to civil life after having saved the Union, and democracy in the United States became more of a living reality than it had been before. Military training has not developed militarism in Switzerland, Australia, or in our own State of Wyoming. I would like to ask the women of our country who oppose military training which they would prefer for their sons, the military camp or the pool room in our large cities?

"War is hell." Of course it is. It always was and always will be. "Bleeding Belgium" knows that "war is hell"; brave France knows that "war is hell."

We may have to decide in the future whether we wish to send a sufficient army to keep the "hell"—the burning of towns, the famine, raping, etc., in Europe or keep our Army here and have another "hell" over here later on. And I am in favor of confining the "hell" to Europe. Some people think we ought not to commence fighting until New York Harbor is attacked; others seem to think we ought to wait until they attack Michigan Avenue, Chicago; others seem to think we ought to wait until Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas are to be attacked.

The time to fight is as soon as we can get ready; the place to fight is where the enemy is now.

If the central powers can not be defeated by the nations now allied against her, they would find "easy picking" fighting us alone.

If we had—as we should have done—adopted a system of universal military training service years ago, we would not now be in the position of going in with other powers to defeat the common enemy. We would have had an efficient fighting force of fifteen to sixteen million men—an Army large enough to command the respect of every nation, central powers and the allied nations alike.

When the allies were going to blockade the Swedish coast some time ago, Sweden wrote one note of protest to the allies, but it was effective. Why? The allies knew that while Sweden only had a population of 6,000,000 it had 1,000,000 men who knew how to shoot, and to shoot straight. They believed that 1,000,000 Swedes could keep 3,000,000 Russians busy, and they changed their plans.

We have been writing notes to everybody for over two years. We have written to France, Spain, Mexico, Great Britain, Germany, and Austria, and have received not a satisfactory reply from any of them. If we had the army of free men fighting for a free Nation that universal military service would have given us, we would have received an immediate satisfactory reply from all of these nations, and we would not now be at war.

I have always claimed that at the outbreak of the war in Europe we should have served notice on every nation—allies and central powers alike—that we expected every right that we had according to international law respected, peacefully we hoped, but that we intended to maintain these rights by force, if necessary; and further, that we should have immediately commenced a system of universal training and service. If we had, I believe that we would have kept out of war. But these things are past and gone; it is "a condition, not a theory" that confronts us now; and it is up to us to do the best thing and the right thing now, not next month or next year.

Practically every man in the twelfth Michigan works in or around mines—copper and iron. There never was any doubt about the patriotism of these men, and if anyone believes that the miners are against universal service, selective draft, or a system so that "each man will do his 'bit,'" whichever you wish to call it, he ought to come up to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

They had a patriotic meeting at Ishpeming on the 18th, preceded by the largest parade ever held in the city. Among those on the program were gentlemen representing business men, doctors, women, mechanics, bankers, clergy, lawyers, immigrants, clerical forces, and the men working in the mines.

The papers state that the hit of the evening was made by those representing the miners.

Let me read to you part of the speech made by a miner, Mr. William Pryor:

I stand before you to-night to represent the miners, a band of noble and true men, whose hearts are throbbing and pulsating with love and patriotism for their country. Never in the history of our country has she been called to face a problem such as this. For three years we have stood on the banks and watched nation after nation drawn into the whirlpool until now we ourselves are caught in its clutches; and now the question is, Are we prepared to emerge with flying colors and to bring this warfare to a successful issue? The question is raised, Is the miner capable of producing enough mineral so that we can make ammunition enough and guns enough to protect our land? And I can hear the answer rising from a million throats that we are prepared.

All down through the ages the miner has played an important part in the progress of the world. We have stood the test of time; we have been the main spoke in the wheel of industry, and now we are called upon to produce the ore that is necessary for the advancement of our country. We have gone down into the depths and have brought forth the unseen wealth of our country. We have produced the gold and silver for the coins; we have produced iron ore for the building of our ships; we are going to protect this great Nation of ours. We have risen to the surface the coal that is necessary to use to warm our homes; we have gone down into the mines and have raised copper, lead, and zinc, and many other things to make ammunition to defend our country, and I feel sure, I am confident that in this great crisis the miner will rise to the occasion and will again bring forth the necessities, so that we can go forth and carry the flag and win this war successfully.

But, brother miners, that is not all that is required of us. We may be called upon to shoulder the gun and defend our flag, and I am confident that when that call comes the miners of this country will not be weighed in the balance and found wanting. We realize that it is better to serve our Nation for a period of war than to serve a foreign nation for the remainder of our lives. This struggle that we have entered into has not been our seeking. Our President and his Cabinet have done all in their power to evade this great crisis, but now it has come. Uncle Sam has gone in, and we will not let go until this German bully pays the debt he owes us and our flag.

We are Americans true; we will fight just like our fathers did, so for good old America we stand, a band of brothers, each by each and all by all, until she wins a glorious victory over her German foe.

Another miner, Mr. John Gray, said, in part, as follows:

I have been called upon to tell you what the sentiment is among the Cleveland miners in regard to the President's recent appeal. I can tell you that in a very few words: They are all willing to give the best there is in them, and will back the President to the last man. I have been working in and around the mines for more than 35 years and have met, and been intimate with, all the different nationalities of which the mining force is composed, and I find that they are the same to-day as they were 35 years ago—always among the first to answer our country's call, no matter what they are called to do.

Just at present, according to President Wilson's appeal, the iron miners can do more for the Government by staying at home and digging iron ore than we can by entering either the Army or Navy.

This is true, because the iron is necessary to carry on the war, and because of their experience the miners can work to the best advantage where they are now. Let me assure you that the men are ready and willing to dig iron ore; but, on the other hand, if conditions become such that they can render better service by fighting than by digging, they will be just as willing then to shoulder the gun as they are now to shoulder the pick.

Those whom President Wilson wants to enlist just now are the young men, the nonproducers.

I am not opposed to the "volunteer service" bill because I am afraid that my people will object to being conscripted. My people are willing to do their share, whether it is in the mine getting out copper and iron for munitions, whether it is to raise crops for the fighters, or whether it is to do the real fighting. In fact, many of the men who have already enlisted to fight could be of more service in the mines.

I have talked universal training and service for over two years. The people of the twelfth Michigan, while willing to do their share, want to know that the other man is also going to do his share. They know there is only one system by which each man can be made to do his "bit," and that is by the "selective draft."

Every man in my district is either an immigrant or the son of an immigrant, but they all are Americans.

They did not want war and hoped the same as myself, that war would not be forced on us. But we are at war, not on account of our own actions, but because another nation has forced war upon us.

I voted to table the McLemore resolution; I was against any embargo on munitions; I voted to declare that a state of war exists; I voted for the so-called billion-dollar bond bill; and I am going to vote for this bill as recommended by the President and by the General Staff.

There are thousands of former inhabitants of Germany and Austria in my district, but I have yet to receive a single criticism from any of those former Germans and Austrians because I voted to stand by the President instead of by the Kaiser. Gentlemen who believe that it is popular to sympathize with the central powers against this country mistake the good sense and patriotism of their people "back home."

At the time of tabling the McLemore resolution some Members who voted right were afraid they had offended their former German or Austrian constituents.

To show how my people felt, at the same time I received a letter from Mr. J. J. Wershay, of Calumet, Mich., secretary of the Austrian Rod and Gun Club, asking how they could affiliate with the American National Rifle Association. Why? To fight for the central powers? No; to fight as good Americans for this country.

A little later, when some people tried to foment strife among the Croatians, they held a mass meeting and asked the would-be trouble makers to leave the district. A mass meeting of the Croatians of Calumet was held on April 8, and strong resolutions, a copy of which I placed in the RECORD, were passed, in which they said, in part:

We are in absolute accord and sympathy with the declaration of the President and Congress of the United States, and we tender the President and Congress an enthusiastic and whole-hearted support and assistance in any demand that they may make upon us in this war that is now being waged for freedom of mankind and the triumph of liberty and justice.

Signed by Rev. Joseph Medin, Ph. D., chairman of the meeting.

The different German societies have appointed committees to draw up resolutions of their loyal attitude.

At a meeting held at the Germania Hall some time ago of the Eagles, the chairman of the meeting, Mr. T. J. Otto, was a German, and the principal speaker, Mr. Henry J. Lemcke, was a German. The following letter from Mr. Lemcke explains the attitude of 99 per cent of those of foreign birth and parentage:

SAGINAW, MICH., *March 29, 1917.*

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. JAMES: Permit me to express myself anent your speech delivered in Hancock, Mich., on the day of the public meeting held under the auspices of Aerie No. 382 of Eagles. Your speech on Americanism appealed to me and made a decided impression on all present, as was evidenced by the hearty and spontaneous applause which greeted your remarks.

As I informed the audience on that occasion, I again reiterate that I am of German parentage, that my dear old father, although a resident of this country nearly 50 years, was so German that he had not acquired the use of our language and spoke very broken English, yet withal he was a patriotic American citizen, believed in these United States against all foreign powers. I am proud of this fact, and also that the son is a firm believer in our institutions, always has been, and always will be.

Although my political affiliations have always been with the Republican Party, I say, and want to be emphatic in this declaration, that Woodrow Wilson is our President. We must stand by him. It is our duty always to uphold the dignity of our flag and our country. In doing these things we are simply carrying out the principles of the greatest patriotic fraternal society in all the world, the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

With personal good wishes to you, I remain,

Very sincerely,

HENRY J. LEMCKE,
Grand Worthy Chaplain, F. O. E.

As I said, I am not opposed to the volunteer service bill because I am afraid that my friends will object to being conscripted. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GALLIVAN] stated one reason why he was for "selective draft" was that he did not want his Irish friends to do all the fighting—he wanted to pass part of the glory around.

I doubt whether even the Irish in Boston have as good a record as that of Ironwood, in my district. In 1910 it had a population of about 14,000. About 10 days ago they sent 65 volunteers, according to a letter from one of the business men there. In a telegram from one of its prominent business men, Mr. William Nancarrow, he informs me that 100 more left last Friday. The balance of the county has sent enough to make it 200. I understand they expect to send 100 more shortly. I know most of these men, and I wish that many of them had kept at work in the mines, as I believe they would have been of more service to their country working in the mines at this time. The remarkable part of this is the fact that there had been no recruiting officer at Ironwood. All of these boys went to the post office and enlisted, and all joined the Regular Army.

The people of Ironwood are for the selective draft, according to all the information that I receive from that county, and want to know that while they are "doing their bit" the rest of the country will also do their "bit."

If there ever was any question as to whether or not the people and their sons, who come here from Europe, would be loyal the names of the first 65 speak for themselves. They include Polish, British, French, Scandinavian, Finnish, Austrian, German, Irish, and Italian.

I give the names as published in the Ironwood Times and the Ironwood News-Record:

William Thompson, John Zvonsowski, Wanty Dudwi, William Leary, Howard Shelley, Andrew J. Sopko, Pito Falsi, Leslie Kacsir, Arvid C. Forsberg, Albert Kruchy, Herbert Smitham, Verne Anderson, Peter Grenfell, Angelo Zanella, John L. Nichols, Ernest J. Thomas, Fred W. Pickard, Jake Yonkoski, John Leonard Olson, Benhard Orhn, David Hedlund, John Kinsmanich, Isaac Turner, Henry Hayes, Thomas Nattson, Adam Blazikowski, Lenkey Wick, John P. Shea, Roy Johnson, Frank Ramettu, Fred Kazvinsky, Nick Tregear, E. R. Staples, Isaac Chouinard, Ernest Nicholls, Edwin Carlson, Edward Psutka, Robert Johnson, William Johnson, Russell Mitchell, Clarence Halquist, William Pollari, Harvey Carlson, Edward J. Ossoweki, Joseph D. Sobolewski, Harold Erickson, Sam Usitola, Louis Duroy, Joe M. Sniezeck, Eugene A. Halsy, John Guouf, Paul Kolson, John Holecheck, Leonard Welch, Edward Duffey, John Figuli, Charles Bentzen, John Kachanski, Victor Kohkonen, Joseph Calligaro.

Many more enlistments, many the sons of immigrants, also enlisted from Iron Mountain, Iron River, Negaunee, Marquette, Calumet, Hancock, Houghton, and other towns in the twelfth Michigan district, but I have not yet been able to get a complete list.

A patriotic meeting was held at Iron River, Mich., a few days ago, and in resolutions adopted by over 3,000 voters they advocated universal service as the only fair and democratic system for the defense of the country. Similar meetings have been held all over the district, and more have been called. All are for universal service—selective draft.

One of the best arguments in favor of universal military service, conscription or selective draft—whichever you wish to call it; neither name frightens me—was made the other day by President Wilson in a letter to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HELVERING]:

The principle of selective draft, in short, has at its heart this idea: That there is a universal obligation to serve and that a public authority should choose those on whom the obligation of military service shall rest, and also in a sense choose those who shall do the rest of the Nation's work.

The bill if adopted will do more, I believe, than any other single instrumentality to create the impression of universal service in the Army and out of it, and if properly administered will be a great source of stimulation.

I took occasion the other day in an address to the people of the country to point out the many forms of patriotic service that were open to them, and to emphasize the fact that the military part of the war was by no means the only part and, perhaps, all things considered, not the most vital part.

Our object is a mobilization of all productive and active forces of the Nation and their development to the point of cooperation and efficiency.

The idea of the selective draft is that those should be chosen for service in the Army who can be most readily spared from the prosecution of the other activities which the country must engage in, and to which it must devote a great deal of its best energy and capacity.

The volunteer system does not do this.

When men choose themselves they sometimes choose without due regard to their other responsibilities.

Men may come from the farms or from the mines or from the factories or centers of business, who ought not to come, but ought to stand back of the armies in the field and see that they get everything that they need and that the people of the country are sustained in the meantime.

Those who feel that we are turning away altogether from the volunteer principle seem to forget that some 600,000 men will be needed to fill the ranks of the Regular Army and the National Guard and that a very great field of individual enthusiasm lies there, wide open, for all who wish to volunteer.

Another thing that we ought to do before we go home, if the law is not already strong enough, is to provide for death to every man who cheats this country by delivering inferior goods of any kind in either Army contracts or Navy contracts. [Applause.]

There are many people living to-day who are suffering from the "embalmed-beef" outrages of 1898. As has been well said, "the embalmed-beef outrages of the Spanish-American War were so unspeakably vile that the mere mention of them to-day nearly 20 years later, brings the blush of shame to every honest man. Shoddy uniforms, paper shoes, inferior powder, and

rotten food have been our invariable experience in time of war." The "embalmed beef" was bad enough, but when you were fed on so-called "fresh beef" which you had to scrape the "gangrene" off of before you tried to cook it was worse. A man who will do things of this kind is a traitor to his country, and ought to meet the fate of a traitor. [Applause.]

I would not ask anyone to do what I have not done and would not do, and what I am not willing to have my own sons do. I have two sons that are as dear to me as any sons are to their father. I know that in case of war, they are going to enlist. I want them to have a chance for their lives. The ones who enlisted in 1861 and 1898 did not have that chance, and if you pass the Dent bill, there are thousands of boys that will not have a chance for their lives to-day. I want to see a good system of universal training, universal service, and selective draft, so that every man will have to do his share, and every man who goes to fight will know what to do and have officers who know how to take care of him. I don't want my sons to have to do any fighting for the sons of men who are too "yellow" to enlist themselves, and whose sons are too "yellow" to enlist.

Every man should teach his son that it is not only his privilege but it is his duty to serve his country in any capacity that his country can best use him in time of war.

Let no one tell you as you grow
That nothing to the flag you owe;
Let no one whisper that it means
But pleasant days and peaceful scenes,
And merely calls to mind a land
Where wealth abounds on every hand,
Because no more that flag will fly
When men for it refuse to die.

And it may be, said I, "That you
Must some day serve that banner, too,
And then if such a day should come
That sounds again the stirring drum,
And blows once more the martial fife,
Be not a slave to peaceful life.
As they were men, be you a man,
And give that flag the best you can."

—Eddie Guest.

My district is strongly Republican, but some of the strongest letters that I have received to stand by the administration in this crisis are from rock-ribbed Republicans who voted the straight Republican ticket last fall. They realize that this is no time to talk partisan politics.

We are now a participant in the most bloody of all wars; our very existence as a Nation depends upon the outcome of the war. There is only one Nation that is financially able to pay an indemnity in case of defeat—we represent that Nation. This war can not be won by talk—it can only be won by the best army that can be raised. This is no time to try another experiment with a system that has always failed us.

We need men to mine the ore; we need men to raise the crops; we need men to make the munitions; we need men to do the fighting—the selective draft places each man where he can be of the most service to his country—it makes each man do his "bit."

The question of What is "good politics"? is not the question. Suppose our efforts should be temporarily misconstrued; it is more important to this country that this war shall be won quickly with the least number of men dying from disease and wounds than it is that we shall be returned to Congress. The selective draft is the only fair and equitable way—let us pass it unanimously. [Applause.]

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SAUNDERS of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 3545 and had come to no resolution thereon.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

By unanimous consent, Mr. CANNON was granted leave to withdraw from the files of the House, without leaving copies, papers in the case of Michael Rappel, H. R. 14921, Sixty-third Congress, no adverse report having been made thereon.

HOUR OF MEETING TO-MORROW.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow, and that general debate shall be continued on the bill H. R. 3545 under the same agreement heretofore obtaining, to run not later than 10 o'clock to-morrow night.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow, and that general debate shall be continued under the previous agreement to a time not later than 10 o'clock to-morrow night. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I suppose that means that the House will remain in continuous session?

Mr. DENT. That is the idea.

Mr. MANN. And that the bill will not be read for amendment to-morrow in any case?

Mr. DENT. The bill will not be read for amendment to-morrow.

Mr. MAPES. And that means that general debate shall close to-morrow night?

Mr. DENT. That means that if we should conclude general debate prior to 10 o'clock to-morrow night, I shall move to rise and then move to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a memorial signed by all of the teachers of economic and political science in Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, relating to raising war finances by taxation.

Mr. MANN. Does this have the approval of the gentleman's colleague?

Mr. RAMSEYER. It has.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Mr. GLASS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 71.

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House be granted permission to sit during the sessions of the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

VOTE ON THE BOND BILL.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for half a minute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to proceed for half a minute. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, on the 13th of April, when the bond-issue question was up, and at the close of the general debate, I understood that there would be no roll call the next day, and I responded to a request to make an address at Springfield, Ohio, on the following evening, and therefore I am recorded as absent, as I was. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing the address I delivered on the war in Springfield, Ohio.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks by printing a speech he made in Springfield, Ohio. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 9 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. to-morrow, Wednesday, April 25, 1917.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of Commerce submitting estimates of appropriations required by the Department of Commerce for the fiscal years 1917 and 1918 (H. Doc. No. 65); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

2. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication of the Secretary of War submitting an estimate of appropriation in the sum of $22,000, required by the Panama Canal (H. Doc. No. 66); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. ADAMSON, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 3650) to amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 20), which said bill and report were referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. ESCH, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to which was referred the bill (S. 1006) authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 21), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 1679) granting the consent of Congress to the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 22), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. PADGETT, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 1845) to authorize Peter Goelet Gerry to enter into a contract with the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of the United States, for use of the steam yacht *Owera*, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 19), which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DILLON: A bill (H. R. 3772) prohibiting the use of false weights and measures and prescribing penalties therefor; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3773) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Flandreau Band of Santee Sioux Indians against the United States; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. GRIFFIN: A bill (H. R. 3774) fixing the rate of postage on letters and mail matter sent to the soldiers and sailors; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3775) for the abolishment of the Office of Indian Affairs, the closing out of Indian tribal organizations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3776) for the abolishment of the Board of Indian Commissioners; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SABATH: A bill (H. R. 3777) to change the name of oleomargarine to butterine, and to change the rate of tax on butterine; to protect the consumers, dealers, and manufacturers of all kinds of butterine against fraud; and to afford the Bureau of Internal Revenue more efficient means for the detection of fraud and the collection of the revenue; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SNELL: A bill (H. R. 3778) authorizing a preliminary examination of the St. Lawrence River; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. HILL: A bill (H. R. 3779) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Norwalk, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. EDMONDS: A bill (H. R. 3780) to permit the manufacture of denatured alcohol by mixing domestic and wood alcohol while in process of distillation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EAGLE: A bill (H. R. 3781) to provide for the selection and acquisition of a suitable site on the Houston ship channel, in the State of Texas, at some point between Morgans Point and the Turning Basin near the city of Houston, and to erect thereon a navy yard, dry dock, a naval training station, an arsenal, and an ordnance factory; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON: A bill (H. R. 3782) to provide a preliminary survey of the Savannah River, at Augusta, Ga., with the view to the control of its floods; to the Committee on Flood Control.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 3783) to permit the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey to enter into certain contracts without complying with the provisions of section 3709, Revised Statutes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROWE: A bill (H. R. 3784) to amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. JONES of Texas: A bill (H. R. 3785) to establish a branch Federal land bank in west Texas; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 67) authorizing the transfer of the building recently erected for the Interior Department on square No. 143, in the city of Washington, to the War Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. CRAMTON: Resolution (H. Res. 70) authorizing the printing of 4,500 copies of the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission on their investigation of the financial history and operation of the Pere Marquette Railroad Co. and the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad Co.; to the Committee on Printing.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALMON: A bill (H. R. 3786) for the relief of C. R. Shaw, Allen Shaw, and Robert Shaw; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 3787) granting an increase of pension to Joseph R. Moore; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3788) granting an increase of pension to William A. Chappelear; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3789) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Jacob Miller; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HELM: A bill (H. R. 3790) granting a pension to I. C. Livingston; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BOWERS: (H. R. 3791) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Wallace; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRAND: A bill (H. R. 3792) granting an increase of pension to Robert Wilson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3793) granting a pension to Fred Silvey; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FAIRFIELD: A bill (H. R. 3794) granting a pension to Betherel J. Goff; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 3795) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Jubal Grant and to grant him an honorable discharge; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FRENCH: A bill (H. R. 3796) granting a pension to Martha A. Cary; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3797) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Bradish; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3798) granting an increase of pension to Joseph B. Rickart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Washington: A bill (H. R. 3799) granting a pension to Amanda Ball Johnston; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Texas: A bill (H. R. 3800) for the relief of the heirs of Felix Scott Chambers; to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 3801) granting a pension to George S. Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LENROOT: A bill (H. R. 3802) granting a pension to Victor A. Patterson, alias Victor Allen; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McANDREWS: A bill (H. R. 3803) for the relief of Mrs. Charles Petzel, widow of Charles Petzel, formerly a letter carrier in the service of the United States; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MUDD: A bill (H. R. 3804) for the relief of Louis A. Yorke; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. PHELAN: A bill (H. R. 3805) granting an increase of pension to Gustave Pinksohn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER (by request): Memorial of Federation of Citizens' Associations, of Washington, D. C., favoring fixing prices by the Government on all foodstuffs, etc., during the war; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also (by request), petitions of sundry economists and political scientists, relative to taxation for financing the war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: Resolutions adopted at a patriotic mass meeting of citizens at Coshocton, Ohio, indorsing the

declaration of war and pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BACHARACH: Memorial of Engineers' Club of Trenton, N. J., favoring selective conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAREW: Memorial of Chamber of Commerce of State of New York, for Federal control of military forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Philadelphia Board of Trade, in re general military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CARY: Telegram from E. G. Raeuber, secretary Wisconsin Pharmaceutical Association, representing 1,015 druggists of Wisconsin and members of the association, protesting against the imposition of a stamp tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, pledging support to the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DILLON: Petition of Lawyers' Club of Washington, D. C., favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, favoring suffrage for women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOOLING: Memorial of Tavern Club of Boston, upholding the President and favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, in re war-revenue legislation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: Memorial of Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and Queens, N. Y., providing different legislation relative to revenues; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of Alaska Legislature in connection with the consideration of House bill 20783; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, memorial of Automobile Club of America, favoring compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Lawyers' Club of Washington, D. C., favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, pledging loyalty and support to the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, protesting against the reimposition of Schedule B of the emergency war-revenue act, which places a stamp tax upon the products of this industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the American Society of Civil Engineers, of New York City, favoring universal military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Illinois Society, Sons of the Revolution, Chicago, Ill., favoring the raising of an army by conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Merchants' Association of New York City, N. Y., favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the University Club, of Rockford, Ill., favoring universal compulsory military training and service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GALLIVAN: Memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, pledging loyalty and support to the President of the United States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, favoring woman suffrage; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENSLEY: Petition of F. A. Moore and others, of Cobalt, Conn., favoring conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of citizens of Piedmont, Mo., favoring prohibition as a war emergency measure; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HILL: Petition of Messrs. Jessup, Harris & Dunn, of Stamford, Conn., in favor of universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HUTCHINSON: Petition of Ruling Elders' Association of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, N. J., relative to prohibiting the use of grain for malt or spirituous liquors during the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of Essex Trade Council, Newark, N. J., favoring Government control of food supplies; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of 72 citizens of Trenton, N. J., favoring selective conscription; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Engineers' Club of Trenton, N. J., favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JACOWAY: Protest of Bucilla Crochet Club, of Little Rock, Ark., against slaughter of veal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. LONGWORTH: Memorial of Presbytery of Cincinnati Presbyterian Church in the United States, for national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRATT: Petition of Rev. T. Johnson Bolger, C. N. Ellis, John S. Logan, and 245 other citizens of Elmira, N. Y., and vicinity, urging a nation unhindered by the liquor traffic, with all its miserable wake of wasted money and manhood, during the time of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Presbytery of Binghamton, N. Y., by George J. Michelbach, chairman, urging the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RAKER: Indorsement of John D. Hay, of San Francisco, Cal., of selective-draft bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, telegrams of C. Osgood Hooker, Burlingame; Lloyd P. LaRue, Grass Valley; Thomas A. Davies, grand recorder, Knights Templars, Sacramento; George W. Metvalfem, Kennett; Judge Francis Carr, Redding; A. D. Foote, C. E. Clinch, George W. Starr, and C. R. Clinch, Grass Valley, all in the State of California; and National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies, Military Training Camps Association of the United States, American Rights League, Aero Club of America, Naval Training Association of the United States, National Security League, American Defense Society, Business Men's National Service League, Mayor's Committee on National Defense, and Conference Committee on National Preparedness, Washington, D. C., indorsing universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWE: Memorial of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the lumber trade of the metropolitan district, for universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Brooklyn Engineers' Club, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWLAND: Memorial of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, of Philipsburg, Pa., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Bellefonte, Pa., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SNELL: Resolution of citizens of Franklin County, N. Y., that the President and Congress of the United States be requested to use all the power at their command to conserve the food supply of the country by closing breweries and distilleries during the continuation of the present war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolution of 1,200 citizens of Saranac Lake, N. Y., pledging their support on the administration Army bill providing for selective draft; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: Memorial of citizens of Middleville, N. Y., favoring prohibition of manufacture of alcoholic beverages during the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of citizens of Little Falls and Clinton, N. Y., favoring amendment abolishing polygamy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STINESS: Petition of Rhode Island Dental Society, to place dental surgeons of the Army on an equal basis with the Medical Corps; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. TINKHAM: Memorial of the Republican Club of New York, indorsing the Chamberlain bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: Memorial of the Maryland Society of the Sons of American Revolution, urging compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Rockville Christian Church, urging the passage of the national prohibition law, at least for the duration of the war; to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.